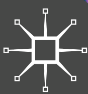

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Late-Victorian Girls and their Manuscript Magazines

Girlhood and Textual Transformation in Britain, 1860–1900

Lois Burke

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This book is dedicated to my dear family.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Victorian Girls and Their Manuscript Magazines, 1860–1900

Abstract The making of handmade or 'manuscript' magazines was a common leisure practice for young people in the late-Victorian era. Two interconnected movements taking place during this period—the explosion of the periodical press and the first Golden Age of children's literature—contributed to youthful interest in at-home magazine production. Affluent girls were particularly well placed to take a leading role in the production of manuscript magazines, due to their enhanced leisure time and textual prowess. Creating manuscript magazines provided girls the opportunity to socialise with peers and relations and hone their writing skills.

Keywords Manuscript magazines • Victorian girlhood • Juvenilia • Reading • Writing

She was a child—bah! The notion of that young thing writing!
It was too absurd.
—Charlotte Riddell, A Struggle for Fame *(1883)*

The *Scots Thistle*, which was established in Kilmarnock, Scotland, in 1885, was a handmade or 'manuscript' magazine, which circulated monthly amongst a small, dedicated group of middle-class professionals across the UK and Ireland until as recently as 2013.[1] Made up entirely of original

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contributions, the manuscript magazine included prose, poetry, photography, and painting. It also included a criticism page where members reviewed contributions and voted for their favourite submissions. This fascinating example of a handmade, periodically created text that sustained its existence for more than a century was created by a group of six schoolgirls. Though this may sound extraordinary, girls' participation in such writing projects was not exceptional in the later nineteenth century period, and it happened in the schoolroom, in the family setting, and amongst friends and acquaintances. This book sheds light on British girls' manuscript magazine cultures that existed during the nineteenth century's final four decades, specifically those formed outside of a formalised educational context. It presents these manuscripts, some for the first time in print, to illuminate this under-explored aspect of children's history.

The manuscript magazine is a little-studied aspect of nineteenth-century textual culture. Manuscript magazines are hand-written creations imitating the form of a magazine, periodical or newspaper. Although the term 'manuscript magazine' has been used since at least the early nineteenth century, a dictionary definition of the term does not exist. Many groups made manuscript magazines during the nineteenth century, but they were especially popular with young people, and girls had ample leisure time and motivation to create and maintain manuscript magazine projects. They were often made in collaboration with others, even as part of a network facilitated by the postal service. These magazines contained short stories and periodical fiction, essays, and 'news'—often of the family. They were created and circulated at intervals, and sometimes a subscription was charged. Broadly speaking, girls who wrote manuscript magazines were also consumers of them, and these manuscript productions were highly citational to the culture that the girls encountered. These observations permit them to be mapped onto later cultures of transformative writing.

In the manuscript magazine writing of nineteenth-century girls, we see how they chose to model themselves as authors and editors to their families, their peers, and themselves. Focusing particularly on girls' imitation of print culture, this study applies a bricolage of theories to understand this writing culture. In examining the girl writer in her writing reality and not her writing potential, it considers the girl writer as a 'being' and not as a 'becoming'; as engaging in a culture that was unique and valuable in her

life stage, not only as a rehearsal of what was to come. Since the publication of Philippe Aries' *Centuries of Childhood* scholars have proposed that childhood is a product of historical circumstances, and not a biological state. As a result of this, children's perspectives have been increasingly allocated significance in literary and historical research. With the rise of this new history of childhood a growing cohort of scholars have turned their attention to the excavation and analysis of juvenilia to consider the significance of the 'child as the creator of culture'.[2] Yet much of this work has tended to focus on the early literary productions of subsequently notable published writers. This book seeks to shift attention away from these famous examples of children's writing to some extent, to consider more quotidian practices of juvenile creativity. The aim of this shift is not only to enrich our understanding of childhood literature and history, but to consider how children's activities form a critical constitutive feature of wider social and cultural practices.

In the field of children's literature studies, there has been a marked shift from Jacqueline Rose's perceived 'impossibility' of children's fiction, which Rose proposed was due to the overwhelming adult involvement in every aspect of the production and dissemination of the literature, towards Marah Gubar's 'hermeneutics of recuperation' which proffers a model of 'kinship' between child and adult.[3] Gubar's 'kinship' model provided a refreshing intervention in oversimplifying discussions of children's 'agency', or lack thereof, in the context of children's literature and culture studies. The children's literature scholar Maria Nikolajeva coined the term 'aetonormativity' to identify and ultimately combat the norm of adult perspectives in studies of childhood and children's literature.[4] Yet amongst this work which seeks to reclaim and reappraise the significance of the child's position, children's own writings are still seldom considered in these contexts. 'Children's literature' has multiple definitions, but 'literature written *by* children' is likely the one that is least recognised, since there is little commercial or cultural value assigned to the writing of young people. This has remained relatively unchanged throughout modern history; as the quotation at the beginning of this chapter illustrates, the notion of a girl writing for publication was considered 'absurd' in the Victorian era.

A recent essay collection edited by Kristine Moruzi, Nell Musgrove, and Carla Pascoe Leahy prioritises children's perspectives not only for the

benefit of literary and historical studies but also for fields such as geography, education, and sociology. An issue which vexes each of these studies is that children's writing is not treated with the same seriousness as that which was penned by adults. This is due in part to the fact that in the literary 'polysystem' of Zohar Shavit's assessment, children's literature (interpreted in the traditional sense to mean literature written *for* children) has long been devalued.[5] Literature *by* children, then, is comparable to literature *for* children in that sense, and in fact is doubly marginalised. This book attempts to redress this devaluation, primarily by approaching children's literary attempts as a serious object of academic study and absorbing them into histories of contemporaneous literary and cultural developments. The following sections will plot the interrelated contexts of nineteenth-century print culture and children's fiction, and strategies of children's adaptive writing, all of which are crucial to understanding girls' roles in manuscript magazine writing. Firstly, a definition of Victorian girlhood is required to couch the context of girls' manuscript magazine cultures.

Late-Victorian Girlhood

This book is situated in a scholarly context that seeks to highlight the historical cultures of girls, in line with recovery projects that have focused on tracing the history of women writers. Elaine Showalter's second-wave feminist text *A Literature of Their Own* was one of the first recovery projects that focused on Victorian women's writing.[6] Showalter's study demonstrated the importance of considering neglected writers or texts alongside the canon, to avoid what Lillian S. Robinson describes as a kind of 'ghettoization' of new-found women writers.[7] Inspired by this cautionary message, this book considers girls' writings both distinct to, and indubitably within, Victorian literary culture. To date, much of the history of Victorian girlhood has tended to be written from a top-down perspective, reconstructed through medical or literary texts, or with a focus upon memoirs written in adulthood. Approaching girlhood culture through girls' manuscripts and practices has radical implications. It enables us to tease open how girls themselves responded to and created their opportunities for, far-reaching social and cultural advancement.

In recent decades there has been a resurgence of interest in girlhood, chiefly in the burgeoning interdisciplinary field of Girls Studies, which has

been pioneered by scholars such as Catherine Driscoll.[8] This book takes inspiration from this movement, especially its expansive critical scope. Driscoll claims that, since at least the nineteenth century, girls have had their own culture, which is linked to the popular media to which they are exposed and shaped. But this culture has been diminished and sidelined even while popular media has been obsessed with girlhood. She argues that historically 'girls have been employed to represent conformity and the mainstream, reflecting by opposition the authentic Subject of culture, though central to the field of culture more generally'.[9] In Driscoll's words, the convergence of girls and culture has been historically viewed as 'too problematic' and in fact girl culture is ostensibly 'almost impossible'.[10] Yet locating a specific self-generated culture of Victorian girls becomes realisable through studying children's literature in conjunction with girls' manuscript writing forms. Although some of the case studies presented in this book concern mixed-gender and mixed-age manuscript magazine projects, the focus will always be on the particular roles that girls adopted within them.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed various changes in the legal and education systems which affected the lives of girls in Britain. In 1875, the age of consent in England was raised to 13, and then raised again to 15 in 1885 with the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Spurred on by reforms following revelations of child prostitution, the Amendment Act sought to protect and regulate vulnerable girls. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 was the first of several acts of parliament passed between 1870 and 1893 to provide compulsory education in England and Wales for children between the ages of five and thirteen. Additionally, the average age of marriage increased, and the number of unmarried women increased towards the end of the nineteenth century. All of these changes contributed to the prolongation and protection of female adolescence.

For much of the nineteenth century, and especially for the later period, girlhood stretched from childhood until the age of marriage. Carol Dyhouse's explanation of Victorian girlhood as being demarcated by a combination of class status, social norms, and biological markers, is perhaps the most accurate assessment of this complex state,

> 'Girl' was used widely in nineteenth-century Britain, and it was used across class boundaries, unlike 'young lady', which generally excluded the working

> class. Middle-class writers in the Edwardian era often described girlhood as coming to an end when a young woman first menstruated, or first put up her hair […] Girlhood was definitely ended by marriage, although colloquially, familiarly (or rudely) women might still be described as 'old girls.'[11]

Dyhouse's work highlights the importance of class to our understanding of girlhood, and Kirsten Drotner agrees, claiming that 'through most of the nineteenth century, social difference separated women more thoroughly than divisions of age'.[12] Often girl-led manuscript endeavours were dependent on the peer relations of adolescence—siblings, friends, cousins—which were facilitated by a lack of certain markers of maturity or privilege such as matrimony, work, or formalised education.

The variable meaning of 'girlhood' in the later nineteenth century is a crucial critical backdrop for this book. Beth Rodgers asserts that 'there have, of course, always been girls, but what it means to be a girl is not always the same thing across time and circumstance […] but the very problem of definition is something of a consensus itself in discussions today'.[13] Rodgers refers to an 1887 article from *Girl's Own Paper* which described girlhood as a 'borderland' and 'the period when childhood is just melting into womanhood'.[14] The word 'adolescent' was not in circulation for most of the Victorian period but grew in popularity at the turn of the twentieth century with the publication of G. Stanley Hall's *Adolescence* in 1904. Given the complicated categorisation of what a 'girl' is, strict rules about the ages of girls will not be enforced in this study. For example, the Goslings who contributed to the manuscript magazine the *Barnacle* were older teenagers or even in their early 20s, some of them in education away from home. In contrast, Eglantyne Jebb, who was the chief writer of the manuscript magazine the *Briarland Recorder*, was several years younger than the Goslings and educated at home. The 'regular contributors' to the *Evergreen Chain* could be between the ages of 11 and 19. 'Honorary' contributors were either younger or older. The value of examining girls' culture through these different life stages within girlhood is that it provides insight into the nature of interaction, communication, and peer support between writers at different ages, which in turn paints a richer picture of girls' collaborations in manuscript authorship.

Girls' Literary Culture

Girls occupied an awkward position in relation to dominant debates on culture in the later nineteenth century, especially the widely debated topic of suitable reading material. In the 1860s, popular fiction such as penny bloods and sensation novels were viewed as damaging to young and impressionable readers. Anxieties around girl readers particularly flourished; James Eli Adams writes that 'critical invective of the 1860s was a harbinger of more direct attacks on mass culture' which 'was derided by association with blushing girls'.[15] In the essay 'Of Queen's Garden's' published in *Sesame and Lillies* (1865), John Ruskin advised 'keep the modern magazine and novel out of your girl's way'.[16] In 1867, Margaret Oliphant inveighed against girls' access to novels full of 'unseemly references and exhibitions of forbidden knowledge', expressing shock at their depiction of 'young women, moved either by the wild foolhardiness of inexperience, or by ignorance of everything that is natural and becoming'.[17] These anxieties around girls' reading habits steadily continued throughout the period. The critic Florence B. Low (1906) expressed concerns about the modern girl reader and her taste for low-quality literature of the moment,

> If she does not read the great novels in her youth, she is never likely to do so: [...] she will naturally want to keep abreast of contemporary literature, and [...] she will have no desire to read them. If till the age of eighteen or nineteen her taste for good literature has not been cultivated—or, to put it more truly, if till this age she has cultivated a taste for inferior books and really appreciates them—it is unnatural to expect that after twenty her taste will alter to any considerable degree.[18]

Low identified girls as particularly vulnerable to negative cultural influence, and highlighted the upper stages of adolescence as a crucial moment in a girl's cultural development. But Low's argument equally indicates that girls are receptive to positive cultivation. The manuscript examples of girls' writing projects in this book show that girls were cognisant of the importance of showing their familiarity with high-quality literature, and, on occasion, their resistance to such discourses.

With the inauguration of the New Woman literary genre and movements such as aestheticism advocating 'art for art's sake', questions about

the purpose of literature, and the representation of the female experience in literary culture, reached a zenith. These tumultuous changes were inevitably felt in children's literature and children's writing cultures, too. Children's literature came into existence in Britain in the eighteenth century, but the first 'Golden Age' of children's literature is generally regarded as beginning around 1865 with the publication of Lewis Carroll's bestselling book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and lasted well into the twentieth century.[19] As well as being the age of children's novels, the periodical press for young people also flourished during this time. Established authors started writing serially for children; for example, Robert Louis Stevenson published *Treasure Island* (1881–1882) in instalments in *Young Folk*s magazine. The periodical press and book publishing alike began to produce and promote subgenres organised by age and gender, exploiting the commercial possibilities contained in this division. Therefore, a specific literature for boys and literature for girls emerged in the later Victorian period. Published by the Religious Tract Society, the *Girl's Own Paper* was launched in 1880, shortly after the inauguration of *Boy's Own Paper*, and at its peak, the *Girl's Own Paper* reached a readership numbering 250,000. Such periodicals were renowned for their high-quality content for young readers. For example, during her editorship of the girls' magazine *Atalanta* (1887–1898), L. T. Meade secured articles from such admired writers as Amy Levy, Edith Nesbit, Frances Hodgson Burnett, and H. Rider Haggard.

The periodical press for girls facilitated a New Girl culture which reached a peak at the turn of the twentieth century. Sally Mitchell has examined the period of girlhood which materialised in the last decades of the nineteenth century and explored how girls took part in a culture that presented a newfound realm of opportunities for them. In using the term 'New Girl' Mitchell acknowledges the links to other new identities which were defined in the late nineteenth century. In considering one of the bestselling New Woman writers of the period, Ann Heilmann suggests that Sarah Grand's novel *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) depicts 'New Girls about to become New Women'.[20] Beth Rodgers, however, argues that these two identities were not necessarily linked by progression, and were even at odds with one another. New Girls had a discrete identity and culture of their own, which was primarily defined by their reading, and, as this book suggests, their writing culture. Kristine Moruzi considers six key

periodicals—the *Monthly Packet*, the *Girl of the Period Miscellany*, the *Girl's Own Paper*, *Atalanta*, the *Young Woman*, and the *Girl's Realm*—to be the forerunners in constructing different identities for New Girls and recognises that the trends in periodicals were ultimately driven by powerful girl consumers.

Experiencing this rich periodical press culture influenced girls' ambitions to write. Although both boys and girls enjoyed this targeted print culture, evidence suggests that girls particularly responded to it in manuscript form and were perhaps always likely to engage more than boys. Jane DuPree Begos has claimed that historically, more girls than boys maintain writing projects: 'It has always been "all right" for girls to sit quietly and scribble in a book'.[21] This mirrors a gender bias in the reading habits of young people: Kimberley Reynolds claims that girls have always read more material and in greater variety than boys.[22] The link between girls' heightened writing and reading practice can be seen in their manuscript textual cultures.

Recent studies have shown that New Girl literary culture placed value on girls as readers and recognised that girls were discerning and intelligent consumers of texts. Through her analysis of girls' engagements in magazine columns and magazine-established groups such as *Atalanta*'s 'Scholarship and Reading Union', Mitchell demonstrates that girls would read and use texts in various ways. Rodgers takes this idea further and acknowledges the girl as a creator in this configuration of literary culture. She notes how 'many [...] girl readers [...] made significant attempts to become "authors" themselves—as correspondents in girls' magazines, as diarists, letter writers and as aspiring literary workers'.[23] Books and magazines were tools for shaping the identity of the New Girl during the later nineteenth century, and their written responses to literature were also a fundamental aspect of this. Jane Hunter aptly summarises this phenomenon: 'Reading and writing, the twin activities of literacy, became the vehicles to self-culture and the central activities of many privileged Victorian girls' lives'.[24] This two-way dynamic is an essential consideration in analyses of girls' manuscript textual culture, since girls' reading material informed their writing, and they were often the intended audience of their textual creations.

A heightened awareness of girlhood as a life stage can be seen just as much in girls' manuscript magazines as in literature of the late-Victorian

period. For example, the *Horticultural Magazine* (1896–1899), the manuscript magazine created by the Hutchison children (Nita, Walter, Hilda, and Isobel) and Lensie Masson, included stories such as 'A Little Girl and Her Garden' and 'A Disobedient Girl', alongside typical essays on plants.[25] Martha G. A. Summers' *Family Magazine* (1866) included an essay 'The Effect of Novel-Reading on Girls' (Fig. 1.1), demonstrating Martha's awareness of wider discussions concerning girls' consumption of texts. The family manuscript magazine the *Punch Bowl* (1902–1906) presented an 'Illustrated Interview with Miss Orr' (Fig. 1.2) which displays girlhood posturing of authorship. In her interview, Marion Orr describes what she would do had she 'not won fame in a literary sphere'. Other examples of manuscript magazines presented in this book show a strong interest in girl-focused subjects.

Juvenilia

As so little critical attention has been paid to girls' writing, and especially girls' roles in manuscript magazine production, researching them can be fraught with difficulties. In her study of American girls' diaries, Karen Sánchez-Eppler acknowledges that 'there are as yet no archives of children's writing, and most documents penned by children are scattered, often unmarked, within collections of family or institutional papers. All of which is to say that the questions of power that characterize children's social place vex the study of childhood as well'.[26] Although still fraught with issues of power, the rich body of scholarship on juvenilia from the earlier nineteenth century provides an important context for the later period. Founder of the Juvenilia Press and *Journal of Juvenilia Studies*, Christine Alexander has analysed the 'microcosmic' manuscript magazines that Charlotte and Branwell Brontë wrote for their toy soldiers. In these minuscule manuscripts the handwriting is so minute that it seems to deliberately evade adult scrutiny; Alexander suggests it was a culture reserved for their eyes only.[27] The Brontë children's projects inspired other girls to write manuscript magazines. Martha G. A. Summers, a 14-year-old farmer's daughter from Dorset who penned the *Family Magazine*, wrote in her introduction to the manuscript magazine,

> It gives me great pleasure to introduce this periodical to my friends; many of whom, and I trust, will support me in the undertaking. I have now in my remembrance others who were successful in the enterprise; amongst them was Charlotte Brontë.[28]

61

The Effect of Novel reading on Girls.—

(Original.)

Who would imagine that the old antipathy to novels still existed in some branches of society! yet so it is. There exists amongst certain shades of middle-class society, an abhorrence to novels that a more liberal education alone can eradicate, I say, and confidently believe, that education would dispel the phantom; because it is founded on vague notions, rather than on any deep discernment, or cool judgment. Their notions are so vague, that they cannot for the life of them explain to you why they object to novels. There are those amongst them that will read nothing but dry matter of

Fig. 1.1 Martha G. A. Summers, 'The Effect of Novel Reading on Girls (Original)', *Family Magazine*, 1866, p. 61

18

Had I not won fame in a literary sphere, I think I may, without boasting hint that I might have earned my living at the bake-board."

"About out-door amusements?" I queried.

"Well, I cycle a bit, but find that most people ride too slowly for me. What is cycling worth without that glorious thrill experienced as one dashes down

Aged 15

ne precipitous hill, ardless of her latter d."

I have ever been an nest student of Shakes-re's works. Tell me you think it probable t Bacon ——"

strange feeling overcame I sank in a heap Miss Orr's feet. Her flashed fire, causing brain to reel.

pardon," I gasped ith difficulty I drew

Fig. 1.2 'N', 'An Illustrated Interview with Miss Orr', *Punch Bowl*, vol. XII, November 1905, p. 18

Laurie Langbauer, in her book on the juvenile tradition of Romantic era poets, encourages us to reconceptualise our views on what young people could achieve creatively. Langbauer suggests that the early nineteenth century witnessed a 'juvenile tradition' inspired by Romantic writers and artists.[29] Katharine Kittridge has identified '125 books of poetry that were published between 1770 and 1830 by authors under the age of twenty-one'.[30] However tempting it is to associate juvenilia with the exceptional precocious outputs of a canonical literary figure, children's literary creation was an everyday activity of literate family life. As Siân Pooley has highlighted, writing literary works for submission to published magazines was a familiar practice even for working-class families.[31] For children with enhanced privileges, such as those from middling and upper-class families, manuscript cultures were not only encouraged but were more likely to be preserved and passed down the generations, and more likely to be of interest to institutional archives and collections. As such, the case studies presented in this book are skewed towards privileged children.

Children's Manuscript Cultures

Within girls' archives, we see that various manuscript forms mix and meld together. This is especially true of the Jebb archive, which will be discussed in Chap. 3. This archive contains a collaboratively authored manuscript draft novel, diaries and pre-printed journals, manuscript magazines, other fragments of creative manuscript work, as well as published materials. This combination of textual manuscript cultures seen in archival collections shows that young people moved with ease between maintaining different textual and visual forms across different phases of their youth.

Manuscript magazine production overlapped with various aspects of children's lives, including play, education, and other forms of writing. Different forms of leisure are also important to consider alongside manuscript cultures. One girl writer featured in this book, Eglantyne Jebb, describes in her diary how she had 'lessons at 10. After that I played with my doll & wrote poetry till one', indicating that writing was part of a composite educational/recreational culture.[32] The adventurous children of Charles Dickens launched their periodical, *The Gad's Hill Gazette*, as an alternative to the more dangerous hobby of 'sinking a well' that they were forced to abandon.[33] The recent work of Karen Sánchez-Eppler has

highlighted how children's recreational writing cultures cannot be disentangled from the domestic, even mundane, aspects of child life. The writing groups that were depicted in manuscript magazines often had a real-life counterpart, meaning these documents were tied to at-home societies and theatricals. A distinct example of this practice can be seen in 'Little Women Clubs' or 'Louisa May Alcott Clubs' which will be discussed further in Chap. 3. The pages of the manuscript magazine allowed for a great flexibility of material expression too. In other manuscript magazines, the myriad references to the tools of creation, such as pens and paints; hobbies and educational activities such as botany, sewing, and learning French, all attest that these writings were enmeshed in a textual and material girls' culture. Items like photographs and flowers were sometimes pasted or tucked into the pages of manuscript magazines. Feminist critics have highlighted the relation between feminine writing and other feminine labour and hobbies such as sewing, weaving, and gardening. Such creative activities are considered to be delicate forms of skilled labour 'that function to preserve the fabric of women's experiences'.[34]

More visual or material-based documents created and kept by young women, such as scrapbooks and commonplace albums, are relevant to the wider context of manuscript magazine production. However, these forms were less concerned with creative writing and textual transformation than they were with the collection, reuse, and transformation of culture more broadly. Commonplace albums were volumes often created by an adult and gifted to a child. They might have contained verses of poetry, delicate watercolour paintings or sketches, and other words of wisdom taken from popular literature or scripture. Across the period, the keeping of commonplace books became widespread amongst literate classes, widely credited as an appropriate means of training the memory, bringing methodical procedure to reading and learning, and contributing to strategies of self-improvement.[35] Lorna J. Clarke highlights how literary activity was essential to Frances Burney and the Burney family identity, through their commonplace album.[36] The family of the prolific child writer and diarist Eva Knatchbull-Hugessen cultivated various kinds of manuscript material. This ranged from Eva joining with her brother in scratching their initials on furniture at sites of cultural significance to them; transgressing the norms of the diary genre in her many journals; compiling alternative juvenile anthologies for her brother to circulate at school; composing her own diary code to protest against the limitations of female education; and

writing a series of manuscript novels which satirised not only literary convention but also the Parliamentary politics of her father.[37]

Scrapbooks, in a more literal sense than the manuscript magazine, promoted the reusing of print culture. Scrapbook making gained popularity in the 1850s and the trend continued steadily throughout the century. As Alexis Easley highlights, the practice of scrapbook making was particularly popular with women and girls. Easley remarks that the technological developments of printing and reduction in print taxes 'created the cheap weekly periodical, the printed scrap, and the scrapbook as interdependent forms of new media'.[38] The manuscript magazine can also be added to this list of associated new media products. Although scrapbooks typically did not contain written text, they can be viewed as a textual form since their makers created new meanings and identities from reused print material. Writing was superfluous, according to Ellen Gruber Garvey, as the scrapbooker herself knew the significance of her assemblage. Garvey has argued that scrapbooks have allowed girls and women, particularly, to 'write with scissors', and facilitated 'writing that mattered to them'.[39] One of the most important affordances of manuscript textual practices was their place in fostering sociability for girls. Textual manuscript cultures can, therefore, be situated in the wider experience of girls' socialisation, play, and creativity.

Manuscript Magazines

An article written by the children's writer Margaret Child Villiers, Countess of Jersey, described how manuscript magazines were produced by groups of girls,

> The magazine in question was written by over twenty girls in the schoolrooms of their respective families, each number being composed of drawings and of stories and essays inscribed on detached pages; these were sewn into a cover by one of the joint-editors—not always an easy task, to judge by pathetic appeals for care occasionally interspersed amidst other matter, 'important pages' being sometimes lost in transit. The completed number was then circulated amongst the members, with blank pages left for written criticisms. These, as will be seen, were given with the utmost candour; it has been whispered that 'we praised our friends and abused those we did not like'; but surely such conduct was unknown amongst critics who had not yet failed in literature and art.[40]

The Countess of Jersey's summary rings true to several examples of manuscript magazines that will be presented in the book, from the description of the contents and composition, and the circulation process, to the emotional investment in the project.

Manuscript magazines created within a group of children were often produced by the editor receiving handwritten submissions, collating or copying them out into the issue, and then circulating the completed magazine. The child writer Molly Hughes explains in her memoir that her manuscript magazine was named 'The Bee, because it was to go from flower to flower collecting honey for its readers'.[41] A subscription payment was often required from contributors, mainly due to the cost of postage. Editors would issue scolding editorials if subscription fees were not paid, or if the circulation was held up due to one of the readers keeping the issue for too long and thus delaying its trajectory. Producing enough copy was another anxiety for child editors, who would implore their contributors to take responsibility for maintaining the continued viability of the manuscript magazine.

Manuscript magazines are still a largely unknown and underused resource, though developing research on the form shows that they were a mass hobby which effectively nurtured creative impulses and social affinities. Produced by literary societies in Britain and North America, some of the earliest uses of manuscript magazines were by adults in Mutual Improvement Societies. Established in the mid-nineteenth century, these societies already referred to their production as a 'manuscript magazine'. Lauren Weiss notes that we know little about the informal meetings of these societies since formal records were never taken, but reminiscences of these interactions can be found mainly in the memoirs of working-class and lower-middle-class men.[42] In other areas of society, the writing and printing of periodicals by asylum patients was encouraged by doctors during the nineteenth century, and many asylum periodicals are extant in UK and US archives.

Lewis Carroll, Robert Louis Stevenson, Virginia Woolf, and T. S. Eliot all produced manuscript magazines in their youth. Due to the fame of their authors, these manuscripts are all held in major collections and have been published or digitised. Children associated with canonical writers also produced manuscript magazines during the Victorian period, notably the children of Anthony Trollope and Charles Dickens, the nieces and nephews of G. K. Chesterton, the Rossetti family, the Lytton Strachey

family, and the son of Mary Elizabeth Braddon. Although it is impossible to grasp how many of these manuscript magazines were produced, and how many have survived, we can ascertain that these were much more widespread and heterogeneous than has previously been acknowledged.

Peer relationships were often fundamental to children's manuscript magazine production, whether these relationships were of friends, family members within the same generation, or acquaintances. Although adults occupied an important role in facilitating and encouraging children's manuscript magazine projects, often it was other children who were more important to the periodical's continuing success. In the words of Karen Sánchez-Eppler, children are 'forces of socialisation' in the configuration of their own creative agency.[43] In many of these manuscript magazines, girl writers rallied other contributors to get involved.

Manuscript magazines could also be intergenerational projects, involving the entire family to a greater or lesser extent. A contribution within a manuscript magazine could make niche references that were only meaningful to those living under the same roof. For example, one entry in the Jebb family magazine, the *Briarland Recorder* (see Chap. 3), presented a poem and riddle that could only be deciphered by those familiar with the family home. The poem was entitled 'What is the subject of this poem?' and the answer was, 'The wallpaper in the breakfast room, (left hand side of the door)'.[44] Some manuscript magazines continued for decades with a turnover of regular contributors, and the fact that they have survived indicates the importance of the manuscript magazine primarily in the family archive.

In middling or upper-class Victorian homes, children sometimes printed their manuscript magazines on an amateur press. Owning a press was a dream for literary-minded young people in the early-Victorian period. Emily Shore wrote in her diary that if they had lots of money 'we would have a noble library and printing-presses for us children to print all the productions of our pens'.[45] In America, the trend of juvenile amateur journalism was referred to as the 'Amateurdom' or 'the 'Dom'. Jessica Isaac, Victoria Ford Smith and Karen Sánchez-Eppler have connected the makeshift, homemade printing press of amateur journalism to boyhood cultures, since the professional and commercial veneer of the printed product appealed to boys' ideas of industry, or even 'playing at class' by imitating the working class paperboy.[46] Elissa Myers has tied girls' printed magazine production to the concept of amateur journalism in a nineteenth-century

American context, suggesting that girl amateur editors were treated with contempt and condescension by boy amateur editors.[47] Manuscript magazines were also produced in schools, and the contents of these magazines are reflective of the curricula and the adherence to the school's culture and expectations.

Some more renowned children's manuscript magazines had a large number of subscribers. The son of Charles Dickens, Henry F. Dickens, reflected that there were around 100 subscribers to his magazine, including some esteemed colleagues and friends of his father, like John Forster and Wilkie Collins. Although Charles Dickens did not contribute to the magazine, Christine Alexander has argued that Dickens' 'performative creativity' had an influence on his sons in the writing of their periodical.[48] This is similar to the mode of how Felicia Hemans funded the published volume of her juvenile poems in the early nineteenth century. Hemans was well-connected, and her publication was generously supported by her patroness the Lady Viscountess Kirkwall, and a large wealthy subscriber base.

The group of authors in a juvenile manuscript magazine could be developed in multiple ways: they could be relatives and acquaintances, school friends, or initially strangers. Kathryn Gleadle has studied how girls would write advertisements to be published in the printed magazines they read in order to enlist new writers to their manuscript magazine chain. A young Eva Knatchbull-Hugessen joined a manuscript magazine after seeing an advertisement for it in an 1878 volume of *Aunt Judy's Magazine*.[49] Knatchbull-Hugessen later went on to write for published magazines such as *Atalanta*.[50] This engagement had its antecedents in the late eighteenth century: Margaret Beetham suggests that early ladies' magazines encouraged reader participation through correspondence columns.[51]

The form of the manuscript magazine provided opportunities for young people, chiefly creative and entrepreneurial. Children could adopt different 'roles' in their publishing system, inevitably creating the potential for hierarchy and competition. Amongst girls, these roles often permitted some gender swapping: an adolescent girl would be addressed as 'Mr Editor', for example. But identities were always playful, and many writers opted for pen names, even if their readers knew exactly who was who. There were different genres that young people could experiment with, from different types of poetry, short stories, riddles, jokes, essays, and travel writing. One main genre of creative writing by girls that this book will consider is poetry, one of the main modes of expression for girls

in manuscript magazines. Late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular poetry was often written in what came to be associated with an 'effeminate' style, whether written by men or women. Writings in the poetess tradition were disseminated in various kinds of collections, such as miscellanies, literary annuals, and gift books, which were popular across middle-class households.

Adaptation and Appropriation

One of the most pervasive features of children's manuscript magazines is their citational quality. Manuscript magazines imitate the form and conventions of the periodical press, but adaptation also happens in the content of these productions. The scholar of adaptation theory, Julie Sanders, acknowledges that 'adaptations and appropriations can vary in how explicitly they state their intertextual purpose'.[52] This is true of girls' writings, as at times their appropriations are declared as such, and other times textual culture seems so enmeshed in their daily lives that literary citation is simply inevitable. Linda Hutcheon acknowledges that adaptation was a cultural phenomenon during the nineteenth century: 'The Victorians had a habit of adapting just about everything—and in just about every possible direction'.[53] The culture of pirated literature that emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is relevant here. Monica Cohen argues that the pirated 'fictionscape' of this period attested to the 'virtues of creative reuse'.[54] The appropriative writing practices of girls were taking place against this backdrop of creative reuse. Indeed, many of the writers who were frequently pirated during the nineteenth century (Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, J.M. Barrie, Robert Louis Stevenson) were just as frequently found in girls' adaptive writings.

It is important to acknowledge that girls were part of this mass participation in literary adaptation and appropriation in the nineteenth century, but also highlight their motivations behind this engagement. One issue in the examination of adaptation, according to Sanders, lies in the assumption of a stable literary canon containing texts that retain their cultural value over time.[55] Although studies suggest we can see a girls' canon at the end of the nineteenth century, it would be inaccurate to suggest that every girl was inspired by the same canon. Just as girls wrote in diverse forms and for different reasons, their cultural sources differed. Late-Victorian girls viewed their adaptive manuscript magazine writings as both within a literary tradition and also proudly on the outside of it. This book aims to

model its examination of girls' creative reading and writing cultures on how the girls forged these encounters themselves: combining highbrow and popular literature, mixing playfulness with earnest expression, sometimes demonstrating compliance to adult authority and at other times undercutting it.

Educationalists working today have extensively examined the mimetic instincts of children. Existing texts are used as a scaffold by children and young people in their writing and play. Jackie Marsh writes that 'children do not just adopt [...] narratives in an unreflective manner. They build on and develop [...] narratives in interesting, creative ways'.[56] Anne Haas Dyson draws upon the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia in relation to children's self-made cultures, suggesting that 'with this semiotic stuff they write themselves into a new social community', and recognises children as 'textual poachers' to use the words of Henry Jenkins.[57] These studies promote the value of creative reutilisation, viewing it as a vehicle for accessing creative writing and literacy pedagogy. In recent years, children's literature scholars have drawn attention to the critical literary skills of young readers. Aidan Chambers, for example, writes: 'If there is a deep interest in a subject, and the facilities are provided for its expression, children are [...] natural critics from quite early ages'.[58] Young people are selective in which cultural products they engage with, and they blur the boundaries of high and low culture in their reading and writing pursuits. Jackie Marsh suggests that in aiming to understand children's cultures, 'the strict dichotomy between high and low culture which has been posited for many years can no longer be sustained'.[59] This book will show how girls indeed combined references to various texts in their manuscript magazines, demonstrating the ordinariness of mixing high and low culture. Applying these disciplinary insights to a literary-historical reading of manuscript magazines aids our understanding of them as a form which had a specific function for young writers.

The following chapters of this book explore girls' differing roles in late-Victorian manuscript magazines in a chronological order. It will examine different examples of manuscript magazines, produced (1) within adult-led essay societies, (2) within families, and (3) amongst groups of young people. Chapter 2 is concerned with adult intervention and aspirational literary citation in Charlotte Yonge's the *Barnacle*. This chapter suggests that in some cases, published women writers acted as promoters and sometimes as gatekeepers for aspiring girl writers working in the manuscript magazine form. Chapter 3 examines the significant influence of canonical

children's literature on British girls' manuscript magazine cultures within families. Using the example of Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*, which itself draws upon Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*, it presents British child-authored manuscript magazines (the *Briarland Recorder*, the *Poodlewig Paper*) which drew upon the fictional March sisters' literary pursuits. Alcott's Pickwick Club provided potent inspiration for groups of girl siblings in particular to create their own exclusive writing clubs. Chapter 4 considers how the adaptive affordances of these girl-dominated literary spaces crystallised in the 1890s. In the *Evergreen Chain*, girls directly confronted their literary heroes and antecedents, questioning and subverting their authority. The conclusion draws together the commonalities across the examples of manuscript magazines and gestures to the potential for a transhistorical approach to analysing girls' adaptive writing.

In each of the case study chapters, long passages of the manuscripts are quoted, in order to provide a platform for the richness and diversity of these writings. Although each case study is unique and displays the heterogeneity of girls' authorial voices in the late-Victorian era, the themes of discrete adolescent peer collaboration and appropriative technique can be identified in each of them. Each of the case studies is complex and brings value to the vibrant contemporary research areas that have been outlined in this chapter. By exposing new archival materials, this book will provide an original contribution to ongoing and lively debates into girlhood culture, manuscript writing, and textual transformation in literary history.

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CHAPTER 2

Aspiration and Adaptation in Charlotte Yonge's the *Barnacle*

Abstract Adult models of authorship significantly shaped girls' manuscript writing cultures. This chapter will consider the *Barnacle*, a manuscript magazine edited by the writer Charlotte M. Yonge and circulated amongst her essay group made up of adolescent girls known as The Goslings throughout the 1860s and 1870s. This manuscript magazine presents a complex negotiation of cultural identity vis-à-vis literary knowledge and writing ability. The aspirational status of the manuscript magazine demanded an extensive cultural knowledge of the girl contributors, but they often mocked the hierarchy of highbrow magazine culture in their writing and illustration. The *Barnacle* is a prime example of girlhood adaptation and transformation in the manuscript magazine form, which fluctuated between valorising distinctly male or female models of authorship that were entrenched by the mid-Victorian period.

Keywords Charlotte Yonge • The *Barnacle* • The Gosling Society • Gender • Adaptation • History writing • Periodicals

> *Their present notion was to give out some subjects once-a-week, work them up at home, and meet to correct and compare results, and they had unanimously fixed on […] my stupid old self as the president,*

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L. Burke, *Late-Victorian Girls and their Manuscript Magazines*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-86524-4_2

> *critic, or as Penny called it, cricket, who was to chirp comments on my own hearth, and serve as a kind of centre.*
> —*Charlotte M. Yonge,* The Disturbing Element, or, The Chronicles of the Blue-bell Society *(1878)*

Although the manuscript magazine the *Barnacle* was read by and shared amongst adolescent peers, a specific age group of cultural understanding, it was edited by an adult, Charlotte Yonge.[1] There was a clear intergenerational dynamic within the pages of the *Barnacle*, as the girl writers admired the literary output of their editor, and viewed their own participation in the magazine as a sort of writer's apprenticeship, which could (and indeed did) lead some of them to writing careers. Julia Courtney highlights how 'several of the Goslings tried their hands [...] at fiction in the manuscript *Barnacle* before graduating to *The Monthly Packet*', a magazine in public circulation which was also edited by Yonge, 'and subsequently independent publication'.[2] The writing contained within both magazines reflects changes in literary trends and gendered cultural practices during this period. Articles in the *Barnacle*, for instance, critiqued the contemporary appetite for sensation fiction, celebrated girls' appetite for historical romance, and engaged in topical debates such as women's education—themes which will be discussed in this chapter.

Surviving volumes of the *Barnacle* are held in Lady Margaret Hall College, Oxford. They were gifted to the college in 1978 by Georgina Battiscombe (Esther Georgina Harwood), who was a Lady Margaret Hall student from 1924 to 1927, and wrote a biography of Yonge, entitled *Charlotte Mary Yonge: The Story of an Uneventful Life*.[3] Yonge also had a contemporary association with the college—she was friends with its first ever principal, Elizabeth Wordsworth, who was a prolific writer herself, as well as the great-niece of the Romantic poet William Wordsworth. It is believed that other volumes of the *Barnacle* are extant in private collections.

This chapter will build on the research of Julia Courtney and Georgina O'Brien Hill, who have authored the only two scholarly sources that analyse the *Barnacle* specifically. As such, this manuscript magazine is still an under-represented resource in studies on Victorian girlhood writing. The *Barnacle* displays a unique relationship to published fiction, a relationship that is based upon understandings of authorship, generic conventions, and ideas about propriety, which are all gendered. Aware of the types of writing that were available to them, the girl writers of the *Barnacle* recreated and emulated their favourite writers, but also engaged in appropriation in

order to demonstrate their learning, and mock texts that they found to be too prescriptive or didactic. Their shared cultural understanding with peers, as well as with the adult arbiter Yonge, shaped this writing practice.

Yonge's Two Magazines

The *Barnacle* manuscript magazine particularly flourished between the years 1863 and 1869, although it ran for eighteen years, ending by mutual consent between Yonge and her sub-editor Christabel Coleridge, a descendant of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in 1877.[4] By that time the *Barnacle* had at least 59 members, although some had only contributed for a short time.[5] According to Coleridge, who was also Yonge's biographer, the *Barnacle* was modelled on the *Hursley Magazine*, which Yonge contributed to circa 1853.[6] The name the *Barnacle* was inspired by the Barnacle goose, an animal with a folkloric history, and the Goslings referred to Yonge as Mother Goose. Associations to Mother Goose dating back to Charles Perrault's eighteenth-century fairy tales were playfully evoked by the girl writers in the magazine.[7] Georgina O'Brien Hill describes how the Gosling Society and their publication began:

> It began as a type of essay society in which monthly questions were set and responses sent in for Yonge to correct, critique and edit. This correspondence quickly developed into the production of home-made volumes of a quarterly illustrated magazine.[8]

By the 1860s Charlotte Yonge was an established and highly popular writer. Her bestselling *Heir of Redclyffe* (published in 1853) had been hugely successful and she had continued to produce two or three novels a year. Yonge was also the editor of the Anglican magazine, *The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church*, a position she was to hold for over forty years. The *Monthly Packet* encouraged reader participation, particularly in the essay society 'Arachne and her Spiders'. Indeed, the magazine was home to several essay societies, which required additional subscriptions from its members. Some of the societies focused on specialist subjects such as mathematics or botany, but the questions set by 'Arachne' (Yonge) to her 'Spiders' were related to culture or history, and were often on the subject of classical mythology.[9] In Greek mythology, Arachne was a mortal weaver who challenged the goddess Athena to a weaving contest. In Ovid's interpretation of the story, Arachne

beats Athena, and also insults the gods, so Athena transforms Arachne into a spider.[10] By aligning herself with this sobriquet in the *Monthly Packet*, Yonge positioned herself as a superior weaver of yarns (like Mother Goose) and also an advocate of minority success. Moruzi has suggested that Yonge was 'grooming a new generation of women writers' through her editorship of the *Monthly Packet*, and the same can be said of her manuscript magazine.[11] The work of the Goslings was merged into the 'Arachne and her Spiders' column when the *Barnacle* was ended in 1877.[12]

At any moment there were twelve members in the Gosling Society, who all produced material for inclusion in the *Barnacle*. Yonge's biographer Coleridge reminds us of the innovation of Yonge's manuscript magazine, as at this point in the century 'magazine competitions were not invented'.[13] The group of girls were a mixture of Yonge's relatives, their friends, and also avid readers of Yonge's novels and *The Monthly Packet*. In most of the title pages, drawn by one of the more artistically gifted Goslings, Alice Mary Coleridge, there are visual representations of goslings wearing long dresses, following the mother goose figure. The girls chose pseudonyms derived from nature, such as Bog Oak, Bluebell, Albatross, Windermere, Ladybird, or Firefly, although these did not obscure each writer's identity. The Goslings wrote diversely—the longest pieces of writing were serial stories, but the Goslings frequently contributed poetry, essays, maxims, travel diaries, as well as colourful pictures. Yonge set certain essay questions, some of which required research on a subject, but she clearly encouraged fun and imagination in her apprentices (which is demonstrated in the humorous drawings and creative writing) as well as scholarship and pious reflection (Fig. 2.1).

The hierarchical nature metaphor (Mother Goose and her Goslings) was deployed in other manuscript magazine endeavours that involved writers of different ages. Charlotte Lauder has researched the manuscript magazine the *Scot's Thistle*, which contained contributions from adults and children alike. The younger and more inexperienced contributors fashioned themselves as 'jags' or 'spikes' and the older members as 'leaves' and 'branches'.[14] This intergenerational aspect of manuscript magazine projects contributes to our understanding of dynamics between adult and child writers. Victoria Ford Smith has written on the underexamined practice of cross-writing in the nineteenth century, 'an authorial practice that hinges on the possibility of adult-child collaboration'.[15] By viewing children and adults as engaged in collaboration it is possible to credit children's participation in joint creative endeavours. The presence of

Fig. 2.1 Alice Mary Coleridge, 'Mother Goose as ye Modern Archimedes', *Barnacle*, Michaelmas 1867

intergenerationality in manuscript magazine production was marked more by solidarity than by tension, and this solidarity reflected a specialised incoming trend in periodical publications.[16] Many late-Victorian published magazines had intergenerational appeal—'*Sunshine* and *Little Folk*s

for the younger ones, and *Cassell's Family Magazine* for us all'—and Yonge's books would be considered to be 'crossover' fiction by today's standard.[17]

Adolescent Writing and Girls' Education

The type of writing found in the *Barnacle* shows that the practice of manuscript magazine creation was an intellectual and creative pastime that was particularly well cultivated by adolescent girls. The Goslings were not strictly permitted into the society by condition of their age, but Yonge had an idea of the ideal age range occupied by the Goslings. In a letter of 1871, Yonge wrote to the secretary of the Gosling Society, Christabel Coleridge, who recruited many of the Goslings, 'I think I told you I have promised to make her a Gosling though she is rather too young'.[18] Yonge referred to Margaret Anne (Macmillan) Dyer (b.1857/8), who would have been age 14 or 15 at the time of Yonge's letter. Similarly, a few years later in 1877 when Yonge was winding up the Gosling Society, she wrote to Coleridge: 'Frog is going to be married in September [–] so do not you really think it would be better to give a coup de grace to the Goslings and let them turn into Spiders[?]'.[19] In her study of working-class children's writing in newspapers and magazines between 1876 and 1914, Siân Pooley observes that teenage girls from the middle and upper classes ultimately won the most writing competitions.[20] Although at this point in history more younger and working-class children contributed to the columns of family magazines, it was middle- or upper-class teenage girls who impressed editors with their submissions of original fiction.

In her study of Victorian diaries and emotional labour, Anne-Marie Millim highlights how girl writers negotiated 'their own talent in light of culturally determined frameworks of authorship'.[21] Relating this observation to the *Barnacle,* it acknowledges that the girl writers carefully pitched their writing to meet Yonge's expectations but also fulfil their creative impulses. The Goslings had licence to write fiction and non-fiction on various subjects, in various genres—the diverse contents of published periodicals modelled diversity for the manuscript equivalent—but they also had to appease a specific discerning audience, and enter competitions for the best writing. Girls who committed to participating in a manuscript magazine, then, were committed to maintaining the standard of the published counterpart (in this case, the *Monthly Packet*), and by extension, the performance of 'real' authorship.

The posturing of professional authorship can be seen most explicitly in manuscript magazines in contrast to other forms of manuscript writing. The Gosling girls wrote with a known audience in mind: their fellow contributors and the editor. This differed from other domestic writing forms such as diaries and copybooks, which may have been shared with parents and siblings. Manuscript magazines were not suited to very young writers, who could not adhere to a house style mimicking the periodical press or aspire to the formal and cultural heights expected of adolescents; nor were they suited to adult writers who could not commit to an amateur production. Furthermore, as the *Barnacle* fostered connections between girls from their home, by enabling them to communicate both with each other and Yonge through the magazine as well as letters, the magazine was particularly suited to the domestic culture of unmarried daughters, who had enhanced leisure time, and the motivation and means for self-improvement.

Yet the nature of the public and private domains, societal expectations, and educational opportunities were changing for some young women while the *Barnacle* was being written, and the magazine manifests these contradictory discourses about a girlhood in transition. The domestic setting, which had been the lynchpin of girls' writing exploits, was no longer the only place where girls could be creative. Although the domestic space was essential to Yonge, who viewed girls as 'home daughters', this new generation of writers complicated this relationship.[22] Articles within the *Barnacle* comment on the developments in travel brought on by the railways, and some girls wrote travel memoirs. Letters sent from Cannes signed by 'Kittiwake', also known as Miss A. D. Johns, were sewn into the volume. While the middle-class girls of the *Barnacle* were becoming more mobile, the nature of education was changing too. Writing on the *Barnacle*, Courtney has highlighted how the period in which the Goslings were writing was a highly significant one for girls' education.

> The 1870s and 1880s saw a move away from home education for middle-class girls. The Goslings of the 1860s thus represent the last generation of daughters from educated clerical or professional families to receive a largely home-based, parent-centered education.[23]

The manuscript magazine represents a transition between these two modes that Courtney outlines: the Goslings idealised a feminine at-home education, like Yonge had, and embraced girls' schooling, particularly as they

got older. Many of the Goslings were raised in families working in education. They were vocal about how they prized education, and some of the older teenage contributors submitted their writing to Yonge from their all-female colleges. Yonge approved of the Cambridge Local Examinations and the Oxford Local Examinations when they were opened for women in 1865 and 1870. Yet counter-narratives of women's education, particularly Yonge's own argument that women should not go to university, inevitably fostered tensions within the pages of the *Barnacle*. In a letter to the women's rights campaigner Sarah Emily Davies, in response to her appeal for support in founding a new women's college, Yonge wrote that she had 'objections to bringing together large masses of girls' and preferred the idea of 'home education under the inspection or encouragement of sensitive fathers, or voluntarily continued by the girls themselves'.[24] Although Yonge made no reference to the importance of female mentors in this letter, she undoubtedly occupied this role for the Goslings.

The *Barnacle*'s Engagements with Published Fiction

The complicated process of girl writers honing their magazine-writing craft can be clearly viewed in the way that they engaged with published literature. In both the *Barnacle* and the later *Evergreen Chain* (see Chap. 3) it becomes clear that the girl contributors adapted and appropriated published works of literature in order to affix new meanings to them. Even original work is clearly situated within trends of their own reading—usually historical romance. The girls were inspired by stories of King Arthur, knights and chivalry. This is reflective of the books that they read, such as the historical novels of Walter Scott, as well as their educational focus on history books. Katie Garner has written about the ways in which Victorian girls' enthusiasm for reading *Le Morte Darthur* was 'often mocked and dismissed as romantic or sentimental' in stark contrast to boys' enthusiasm for the story.[25] In the girl-dominated context of the *Barnacle*, the Goslings were able to enact their appreciation for historical romance.

Inspired by medieval culture, the poem and illustrations by Anne Elizabeth Morshead (AKA Bog Oak) presented here in Fig. 2.2 evidence the convoluted process of transmission and adaptation that can be seen in the Gosling's engagements with fiction. Born in 1845/6, Bog Oak would have been 21 or 22 years old at the time of writing this for the *Barnacle*'s Michaelmas 1867 volume. She was a frequent contributor to the manuscript magazine, as were her two cousins Sparrowhawk (b. 1840/1) and

Fig. 2.2 Anne Elizabeth Morshead, 'Leonora', *Barnacle*, Michaelmas 1867

Iceberg (b. 1853/4). In 1868, only a year after contributing to this volume, Bog Oak left the Gosling Society and travelled to South Africa to carry out missionary work. She was a successful apprentice to Yonge, as she graduated to contributing to Yonge's published magazine the *Monthly Packet*.

The arresting feature of this short piece created by Bog Oak is not the poem itself but the finely detailed drawings. They depict Leonora and Wilhelm, two figures inspired by the ballad 'Lenore' written by Gottfried August Bürger in 1773. The original is set in 1648; William is a knight who has not yet returned from The Battle of Prague, and Lenore mourns him and quarrels with God over her strife. One night a stranger who looks like William takes Lenore away on horseback to her marriage-bed; by morning they arrive at a graveyard, where the mysterious knight loses its human appearance and is revealed to be death. Death shows Lenore a grave where William's skeleton is buried, and the ground gives away beneath her and she dies.

The ballad was extensively translated and illustrated throughout the nineteenth century. William Blake illustrated the ballad in 1796, and Julia Margaret Cameron published her translation is 1847, complete with illustrations by Daniel Maclise. Cameron's is perhaps the version that inspired the Gosling, as the writer used the spelling 'Leonora' rather than Bürger's spelling 'Lenore'. In her lengthy introduction to the short poem, Cameron aligns her translation goals with those of the originator, Bürger, rather than with Walter Scott or William Taylor, whose English translations of the story were well-known. Indeed, Cameron critiques their lack of fidelity to the plot, 'these distinguished men have infused their own genius into their translations, and Bürger is forgotten', whereas she 'does not profess to have added anything to the original'.[26] It is perhaps Cameron's writing back to these two influential male writers, Scott and Taylor, that influences the Gosling writer. Certainly, she borrows phrases from Cameron's version, which reads:

> Leonora from an anxious dream
> Starts up at break of day,
> "My William, art thou false or slain?
> Oh! William, why delay?"

In comparison, the Gosling begins her poem with:

> From visions of disastrous love
> Leonora starts at dawn of day:

"How long, my Wilhelm, will thou rove?
Does death or falsehood cause thy stay?"

The Gosling's adaptation of Bürger's ballad omits any supernatural elements. Instead, she focuses on the very beginning of the tale, which depicts Leonora as a romantic heroine, waiting on the return of her beloved Wilhelm: 'No tidings cheer'd her lonely hours / No rumour told her weal or woe'. By focusing on this section to suit her interpretation of the plot, the writer shows a preference for the tragically romantic premise of the story, over its Gothic dénouement. The drawings reflect this interpretive strategy too. The Gosling's rendering of Leonora shows her doubled-over and weeping out of a window, while a lady-in-waiting comforts her. She has witnessed the scene outside, which shows a woman greeting an armoured knight on horseback with a kiss. Confined to the domestic space, Leonora is positioned in the tower as a fairytale character. Like the fairytale character Sleeping Beauty, or Tennyson's Lady of Shalott, her waiting seems to be interminable. She is suspended in misery while those around her are relieved of their suffering: 'How welcome husbands come return'd / What tears, what kisses, greet the brave! / Alone poor Leonora mourn'd / Nor tear, nor kiss, nor welcome gaze'. The Gosling's approval of Cameron's translation, which situates itself as a superior version to those written by male writers that had gone before her, is telling, especially as the Gosling only focuses on one part of the story and thus cannot assert that it is a faithful adaptation. What is important here, more than an affiliation to the most faithful adaptation, is the Gosling's discerning impulse to demonstrate her desired version of the story. Appropriating existing published fiction to assert authorial autonomy is something which will be discussed in another of the Gosling's poems, 'The Distressed Damsel', later in this chapter.

Girls Writing History in the *Barnacle*

Fidelity in historical re-writing was clearly prized by the editor and the Goslings alike. It is reflected in Yonge's set essay questions, on topics such as 'Roncevaux—Is It Fact or Fiction?' These essays provided spaces where the girls would conduct rigorous research, critique the accepted published histories, and dispel widely disseminated myths. In response to this question one Gosling gives an account of the written histories of the battle and takes issue with the fact that Charlemagne is known as a French man when

he was really German. Julia Courtney has commented on the *Barnacle*'s fascination with history:

> the Goslings shared with Yonge an interest amounting almost to an obsession with the past. Here gender explains much. […] In reconstructing the past, novelist and student alike would find an area of power and control within the framework of accepted "facts" […] The historical novel might also provide a space in which to act out personal fantasies freed from the bonds of typical nineteenth-century existence.[27]

Courtney identifies the association between the work of aspiring women writers and mimetic forms of production where 'personal fantasies' are acted out. With regard to specific examples, we can see how girl writers claimed this 'area of power and control' within a sanctioned remit. The subject of history was an accepted topic for the Goslings to engage with, allowing a freedom to write convincing interpretations of historical events. It also allowed girls to appropriate a historical event or a historical piece of literature to inspire their own creativity. Engaging with the historical and the canonical, girls worked towards an idea of 'author' and negotiated with different models of authorship.

Scholars of women's history have noted how women writers from the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth century were prohibited from taking part fully in formal history writing, as it was seen as a specialised and masculine domain.[28] Bonnie G. Smith has argued that 'For almost the entire nineteenth century [a] model of "genius" inspired women writers and feminists […] But "genius" is a word rarely associated anymore with good history, whose watchwords are "research" and "facts"'.[29] However girl writers had female historian role models in figures such as Madame de Staël.[30] Writing about history was ultimately a way for the Goslings to work through their experience of comprehending historical interpretations and ultimately their own script of gender, as is seen in the romantic rendering of 'Leonora'.[31] As the Goslings contributed to the magazine periodically, the 'doing' of their gender, and its accompanying parts—their age and gender-specific interest in writing history, their intellectual accomplishments—was scheduled into their lives. The historian Jane Hunter corroborates this theory and suggests that through writing girls enacted their domestic femininity. She suggests that 'Girls came to use their writing […] not as an escape from the Victorian family, but as a way of discovering self within it'.[32] Thus writing creatively was a negotiation of their shared expectation of themselves as authors, as well as broader

expectations of them as young ladies in training. Making connections in their writing to other things familiar to them, whether it be their history books, or Charlotte Yonge novels, aided their navigation of their girlhood, and, as such, their forming identities.

Yonge and Gendered Writing

Girls' recreation of historical romance in particular carries another set of ideological issues, as the Victorian aesthetic of medievalism proffered a limited view of ideal femininity. This could cause conflict in aspiring girl writers who could not identify with either the female subject of the text, or the male speaker. As Adrienne Rich writes in *When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-vision*:

> It has been a particular confusion to the girl or woman who tries to write because she is peculiarly susceptible to language. She goes to poetry or fiction looking for *her* way of being in the world, since she too has been putting words and images together [...] she comes up against something that negates everything she is about: she meets the image of Woman in books written by men. She finds a terror and a dream, she finds a beautiful pale face, she finds La Belle Dame Sans Merci...[33]

In analysing the Goslings' quest for their self-made culture, Rich's statement is revealing. The girl writers who were on a journey of writing apprenticeship, though surrounded by female artists, were informed by a predominantly male oeuvre. Similarly Gilbert and Gubar comment on the effect of this distancing in the 'psychology of literary history—the tensions and anxieties, hostilities and inadequacies writers feel when they confront not only the achievements of their predecessors but the traditions of genre, style and metaphor that they inherit from such "forefathers"'.[34] As such, the quest to develop an independent culture which unavoidably drew upon a male tradition explains the many contradictions and variations we see in girls' appropriative writing.

Courtney has argued that some of the Goslings based the plots and characterisation of longer serial stories on Charlotte Yonge's books, which in turn were modelled on male-authored literature. Regarding this intertextuality, Courtney writes how:

> reading Yonge's novels would form part of [their] lifestyle, with its common culture and literary experience based on Scott, Southey, Dante, de la Motte-Fouque, Schiller, Shakespeare, Edmund Spenser, T. B. Macaulay, and others. The budding novelists of the *Barnacle* were creating worlds based on materials known to Yonge, at the same time incorporating forms and values they had imbibed from her own writing.[35]

The dual celebration and critique of a male tradition can be seen in the poem 'The Distressed Damsel', and covers of the *Barnacle* which depict Mother Goose conquering or casting away male-authored magazines. I discuss these two examples in greater depth later in this chapter, but it is significant to note here that these examples of creative writing by the Goslings depict an awareness and also a playful dismissal of texts written by men.

The Goslings' attempts to recreate Charlotte Yonge's high writing ideals signpost a complex relationship between the editor and her protégées. Yonge was a complex figure with seemingly contradictory politics, who promoted female authorship within a limited remit. In her 1892 article 'Authorship', Yonge wrote that girls should hold off trying to publish until they accrue enough life experience, and thus skill, as writers. A phrase in this article, 'meantime, it is quite well to write', designated adolescent writing as a practice which was only meaningful in its context, but necessary nonetheless.[36] Yet Yonge did not adhere to her own advice for girls, and herself published a book *Le Château de Melville* in French when she was 15 years old. This novel was inspired by *Veillees du Château, ou Cours de morale à l'usage des enfants* by Madame de Genlis (Stéphanie Félicité, comtesse de Genlis, 1746–1830).[37] Like other trailblazing female writers of the nineteenth century, the example that Yonge set did not marry with her written advice for girls.[38] This seemed to be consistent with many writers who were themselves precocious writers, regardless of their beliefs and hopes concerning the next generation of girls. Popular children's writer Jean Ingelow told 13-year-old Isabella Fyvie Mayo to hold off writing until she further develops her talent (advice that Ingelow herself did not follow, as she published anonymously as a child under the pseudonym 'Orris').[39] The tension between woman writer and aspirational girl writer also manifested in women's fiction. Mary Sebag-Montefiore has commented on this regarding the literary works of Mrs Molesworth, a contemporary of Charlotte Yonge, saying that 'Even though her heroines, like

their creator, long for work, she never lets them emulate her own success and independence in the workplace'.[40]

When Yonge started the Gosling Society, the anxieties around women and girl readers were at a peak. Yonge's project was a reaction to discourses of girls' and women's reading material as popular and low-quality, as we see in the cover images mocking published magazines. Furthermore, Yonge enjoyed her success as a professional writer despite the prejudices against the propriety of women writing. Within Yonge's lifetime a young Charlotte Brontë had received the infamous writing advice from Robert Southey, that 'Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life, and it ought not to be'.[41] Such prejudiced discourses surrounding the writing and reading of women and girls impressed the necessity of a unique mode of authorship amongst the Goslings, which was inevitably constrained by age and gender. This writing culture reaped the benefits of such marginalisation. As Penny Brown notes, Yonge through her fiction was 'demonstrating her awareness of the day-to-day frustrations of young females with the cultural and gendered influences on their lives, while doing her best to reconcile her young readers to their situation and encouraging them by depicting fulfilling channels for their energies'.[42] Although it was delimited by notions of propriety which Yonge espoused, the *Barnacle* offered a valuable creative output for the Gosling girls.

Adapting Yonge's Domestic Writing

In the *Barnacle* manuscript magazine types of appropriative writing were encouraged. Amongst the Goslings this was not perceived to be a passive or frivolous activity, but a component of their apprenticeship and an important stepping stone on the path to becoming a published author. In this sense, the manuscript magazine's approach to the condition of originality was akin to what Thomas Hardy also advised a young writer, as described here by Nicola Rowan Brooks:

> Hardy advised an 'unnamed young poet' to 'begin with *imitative poetry*' (*LW*: 430); the aspiring youth would thereby garner acceptance and praise while escaping, an embittered Hardy continues, the 'satire and censure' the critical papers 'are sure to bestow on anything that strikes them as unfamiliar'; anything 'original' will prove 'fatal'.[43]

The Goslings were imitators on multiple levels: they appropriated existing published fiction in their manuscript magazine contributions; they imitated and aspired to write like Charlotte Yonge, and appropriated the presentation of periodical magazines.

The Goslings' appropriation of Yonge took the form of mimicry. As the editor of the *Barnacle*, Yonge's approach to writing, and features of fiction that she liked and disliked, were well-known to the apprentice girl writers. Yonge grew up as an only child under strict parenting. As an adult she seldom paid visits to acquaintances, an example made by her mother, and never left the country throughout her life.[44] Her experience is reflected in her fiction, which is concerned with domestic relationships and setting. This was a source of idealisation for her admiring readers and contributors to the *Barnacle*. On the topic of the Victorian celebrity author, Alexis Easley has noted that 'For women writers, obscurity was required to maintain social respectability'.[45] Moreover, in eschewing the London publishing scene to adopt a domestic writing career, Yonge promoted a kind of female professionalisation which could take place in the home, but still attract readers. Georgina O'Brien Hill suggests that:

> Yonge's particular brand of domestic professionalism was founded upon the notion of work justified within a domestic framework […] The construction of a public identity which referenced Yonge's place in the family circle did not negate her status as a professional, but rather highlighted the domestic nature of her work.[46]

Confinement to the home, especially that of unmarried female writers (Yonge never married and none of the Goslings were married while contributing to the Society), was harnessed as a tool of girl writers, not a hindrance. Yonge did not equate professionalism in authorship with pecuniary success; indeed, she was sceptical about making any associations between literary value and commercial success. In her essay 'Authorship' she looks back to a time when amateur authors—she namechecks Horace Walpole as one such author—who 'thought it almost derogatory to accept any remuneration'.[47] Yonge acted on this belief, and gave her earnings from the sales of her books to the Church. It follows that the *Barnacle* harboured no ambitions of publication, money-making or fame. Instead, the Goslings made useful contacts through the magazine, and were able to showcase their writing. This creative nurturing launched the writing

careers of Christabel Coleridge and Mary Augusta Arnold, known by her married name Mrs Humphry Ward.[48]

The *Barnacle* differs from the kind of literature that was ultimately written in adulthood by the same individuals. Mrs Humphry Ward, for instance, was known for her anti-suffrage campaigning, and wrote religious, improving novels. Gillian Boughton has identified that Ward's juvenilia, like much of the creative writing seen in the *Barnacle*, is interested in girl characters and their familial relationships in the domestic context. One of her juvenile stories, 'A Tale of the Moors' is a Romantic piece, 'strongly influenced by the poetry of Byron, Tennyson, and Scott and the novels of Bulwer Lytton, Grace Aguiler and Miss Porter'.[49] Boughton also contends that some of young Mary's stories were also clearly influenced by the novels of Yonge.

Yet there were some instances where Yonge's taste in literature was not always honoured by her Goslings. It is not entirely known which contributions Yonge omitted in the manuscript magazine, but it would seem that she allowed story submissions to be circulated that she did not wholly approve of. Yonge was known to disapprove of stories that focused on romantic attachments, but Courtney has suggested that she approved the inclusion of one story, 'A Tale of Four Months', a 'love story dependent on the agonies of teenage passion' because of its 'high moral treatment'.[50] The story begins with two contrasting girl cousins, Emily and Matty. The older cousin Matty is 17 years old and in her maturity enjoys 'books she once thought dry'. Matty is courted by an Oxford undergraduate, Seaford, which makes her feel 'as bad as any silly girl in a novel'.[51] The dismissal of 'frothy' women's writing is reminiscent of George Eliot's 1856 criticism of the 'mind and millinery' novel. Eliot claims that the feature of these novels is a beautiful and intelligent female protagonist, who ultimately dismisses her education by marrying.[52] Like Eliot, Yonge had a strong moral code in her taste for literature, and in contemporary reviews Yonge's work was compared to Eliot as well as Austen.[53] In her article on authorship, Yonge asserted there was a present 'taste for sensation, and a certain conventional distaste for a moral, pure, and religious tone. It is a fatal thing to be led away by it'.[54] Regarding women writing characters, she wrote that 'it is true that women's good heroes are apt to be called prigs. But be content to have them so. If you sacrifice your womanly nature in the attempt at the world's notion of manly dash, you only sacrifice yourself, and mar the performance […] there is much to be said for a prig'.[55] The Goslings were clearly aware of the perceived dangers of reading, as

well as the moral and stylistic compass they were supposed to follow, and used the pages of the *Barnacle* to probe and mock this ideology.

Writing About Dangerous Reading

Yonge's name was a 'byword for decorous femininity' in the words of James Eli Adams.[56] The author Rhoda Broughton, who was known for her sensationalism in her early novels but was viewed by the end of her career as a safe and respectable writer, suggested, 'I began my career as Zola, I finish it as Miss Yonge, it's not I that have changed, it's my fellow-countrymen'.[57] Suffice to say that Yonge was considered to be a safe writer for young people, even a 'goody-goody' according to one reader who participated in Edwards Salmon's survey of juvenile literature taken in 1888.[58] Although her domestic and religious novels were widely read—she was placed at the top of the list of girls' writers in Salmon's survey—she was viewed as rather outdated by the turn of the century.

The Goslings understood the circulating discourses concerning the propriety of literature for girls like them. The *Barnacle* poem 'The Distressed Damsel' encapsulates the Victorian perceived dangers of reading for girls. Written by Bog Oak, it was included in volume XVII, from Michaelmas 1867. It is both knowing and mocking of the apparently inherent 'dangers' of girls' novel-reading. Its subject is a girl who reads novels, against her better knowledge:

> Both young and foolish then was she
> As by the sequel you will see.
> She <u>would</u> read novels, new and old,
> Although she had been often told
> That the preposterous things she read
> Would one day really turn her head,
> And that she should apply her mind
> In Maunder's treasury to find
> Things more improving far than those
> Which for her study now she chose.
> But no - she liked to please herself,
> So Maunder lay upon the shelf
> With Goldsmith, Clarendon and Hume,
> Macaulay and Miss Strickland's "Queens"
> With Bacon's "Essays," Johnstone's "Lives,"
> Good little books of village scenes,

> Theology in ponderous tomes,
> Written by bishops and by deans.[59]

In this poem, the writer shows her acute awareness of the literature deemed to be 'appropriate' for girls. Samuel Maunder (1785–1849) was a compiler of reference works with the chief purpose of education. His second published book, which Bog Oak refers to here, *The Treasury of Knowledge and Library of Reference* (1830), sold over 200,000 copies. Oliver Goldsmith's (1728–1774) publication of his enormously popular *History of England* (1764) elevated his status to 'among the most distinguished literati of the day'.[60] His *History* was accused of being above the reading ability of boys, but he defended his lack of condescension in the preface of further editions. The conduct writer Sarah Green recommended Goldsmith's dense history books for teenage girls, and Yonge wrote about how she was only allowed to read one chapter of one of Scott's *Waverley* novels if she had 'first read twenty pages of Goldsmith's *Rome* or some equally solid book'.[61] Yonge admitted in a letter to never having read Clarendon's *History*: 'To my shame be it spoken I have not read Clarendon; we ought to have read him aloud when we were diligent Dicks, instead of which I was set to read him to myself when I was too young and could not get on'.[62] David Hume (1711–1776) was a philosopher and historian; the first volume of his *History of England* (1754), covering the reigns of James I and Charles I, is probably the title that Bog Oak alludes to in her poem. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) was the most contemporaneous of the male writers that Bog Oak cites in her poem. In a letter, Yonge described how 'My mother and I diligently read 50 pages of Macaulay every night, in a state of mind amused, incredulous and indignant, but on the whole enjoying our readings'.[63] Yonge was an admirer of Agnes Strickland (1796–1874), and particularly her volumes of *Lives of the Queens of England* (1840–1848). She wrote to Strickland in 1848 to offer a small detail relating to theological history, signing it 'Hoping that you will excuse the liberty I have ventured to take, Believe me, Madam your obedient servant'.[64] Strickland's motto was 'facts, not opinions', which Yonge championed too. Finally, Bog Oak cites Francis Bacon's *Essayes* (1597) which covered a wide range of subjects, and Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets* (1779). *Lives of the Poets* contains biographies of 52 poets, who are notably all males.

Though many of these writers were read and admired by Yonge, these were all highly aspirational texts for the Gosling girls to have read.

Although published some decades after this issue of the *Barnacle*, Florence B. Low's article 'The Reading of the Modern Girl', published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1906, mentions some of the writers listed in Bog Oak's poem. Low is critical of the low-quality texts that late-Victorian girls were drawn to, and ambitious in her promotion of girls' engagement with literature. She writes, 'We ought not to expect a girl of eighteen to have read Locke, Bacon, Hobbes, or Hooker, but one might certainly demand something beyond two or three plays of Shakespeare. To know the best that has been thought and written by the noblest minds is to possess the key of an immortal kingdom from which, alas! at present too many of our young people are shut out'.[65]

By listing Goldsmith, Hume, Macaulay, and even specific texts, Bog Oak demonstrates that, unlike the girl of her poem, she is indeed familiar with these texts—they may well have been part of her library at home. In this sense, the poem ultimately reinforces the Gosling's posturing as a writer with a great knowledge of literary trends and politics. The subject of the poem places importance on the idea of selecting material to suit her personal taste—'But no—she liked to please herself'—and is ready to dismiss the aforementioned body of literature which is deemed to be improving. Indeed, the morally superior speaker begins the next stanza with:

> Fair maidens all who read my lay
> And throw it with a grin away,
> Pray do not throw away the moral
> But chew it as babes do their coral.

There is a correlation between the final sentiment of 'The Distressed Damsel' and Yonge's injunction in her essay 'Authorship' not to sacrifice one's womanly nature in having a casual attitude towards low-quality reading. The extent to which this can be considered a pastiche of advice literature for girls is debatable, as we know that Yonge held strong opinions about the suitability of reading and writing for girls.[66] Yet the poem is certainly comical and knowing. In the poem any kind of novel-reading seems to be coded as problematic, in contrast to the historical works, essays, and tracts that are recommended. Yet no specific novel titles are mentioned, and by doing this the Gosling maintains the appearance of unfamiliarity with such frivolous works of literature. The same writers and educators who championed children's reading of various histories of England also vehemently condemned novel reading. For Sarah Green, a

supporter of Goldsmith and a novelist herself, novels could be 'the most pernicious reading in the world'.[67]

'The Distressed Damsel' is set in the past tense, and thus situates the 'damsel' in question in an unspecified distant time. The opening rhyming couplet 'Both young and foolish then was she / As by the sequel you will see' distances the story temporally, and also distances the narrative voice from the conditions of 'young and foolish'. The poet of this original work specifies their own perspective on this subject. 'The Distressed Damsel' presents another method of demonstrating literary potential through the Gosling's ability to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate literature.

Reviewing Literature

Many review essays written by Goslings focused on the state of literary trends broadly, as opposed to targeting specific authors or texts. Some Goslings wrote essays in a series, and two of these focused on books. 'A Gossip About Books' was written by Gurgoyle, and 'Nursery Classics' was penned by Bog Oak. Both series are knowing and sophisticated in their cultural citations. The latter looks back on childhood fiction as a thing of the past—a subject of scrutiny and analysis. Bog Oak declared that she is no longer a consumer of children's fiction but is now a discerning reviewer. For instance, on the topic of the nursery rhyme 'Cock Robin', which is based on historical and mythical events, she writes how she finds it be 'infinitely surpassing Macbeth in originality, Hamlet in pathos, and King John in cruelty'.[68] Her assertion that the nursery rhyme exceeds some of Shakespeare's plays demonstrates her wide reading and her confidence in writing. This is reinforced by her historical knowledge, as well as her literary, as she argues cogently that the rhyme was originally based on the story of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Lord Darnley. This formal engagement with literature that was well-known to the Goslings demonstrates a learned approach to writing and authorship.

The 'A Gossip About Books' article series by Gurgoyle comically presents a history of bibliophilia.

> Perhaps the readers of the Barnacle will glance at the title of this article […] they will suspect to learn the last new opinion from the Satire-day Review of Gooseland […]. They are deceived, very much deceived. For once, we take upon us, one often attributes of a Bibliomaniac, as noticed above; we mean

> to look at books, not as things to be read, but to be regarded from any other possible point of view; as ornaments, relics, monuments, or old members of the society of olden days, about whose precious library we may wonder, & speculate.[69]

Here Gurgoyle playfully evokes the male-dominated periodical *Saturday Review*, and consciously adopts the role of bibliomaniac, which is usually (as evidenced in her examples of Thomas Frognall Dibdin—'a bibliomanaic is a peculiar animal, with tastes peculiar to himself')[70] male-dominated too. This, then, is an instance of gender and writer performativity. Gurgoyle suggests trying-out the role of bibliophile, treating books merely as material things, as opposed to reading them fervently to gain knowledge from them, as girls have been encouraged to do by figures such as Charlotte Yonge. Significantly, this performance mocks male literary authority, particularly the figure of the male collector. Gurgoyle's irreverent performance continues when she writes: 'A book, a volume, a leaf—what […] those familiar words would bring to our minds if we thought about it—literally they mean a bit of beech-bark […] and the broad dry leaf of a tree'.[71] Gurgoyle, by exhibiting her awareness of bibliomania and the process of bibliography, shows herself to be closer to these men whom she implies are profoundly different to herself: 'Now what was it that these Bibliomaniacs collected? Was their passion, merely in love of acquisition? Were these men nothing better than literary misers—It is a great question'. The knowledge of being excluded from a certain group, in this case bibliomaniacs and writers of the 'Satire-day Review' brings about this kind of response which is both mimicking and mocking. Courtney draws attention to this in the drawings of the *Barnacle*, and particularly a title page that depicts Mother Goose standing on copies of the *Barnacle* to allow her to toss a net filled with copies of other magazines, namely *Blackwoods*, *Temple Bar*, *Quarterly Review*, and *Cornhill* into the sea (Fig. 2.3).

This image has radical potential, suggesting a new kind of periodical literature made by and for women. Conducted by university men, the *Saturday Review* was a weekly magazine of a conservative bend and was well known for its reviews. Jennifer Phegley notes that the *Saturday Review* 'had a reputation for being dismissive toward women readers'.[72] The *Quarterly Review* was another conservative periodical, which published writers such as Samuel Smiles and Robert Southey. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was known for its literary talent, publishing writers including Margaret Oliphant and George Eliot, and situated itself against

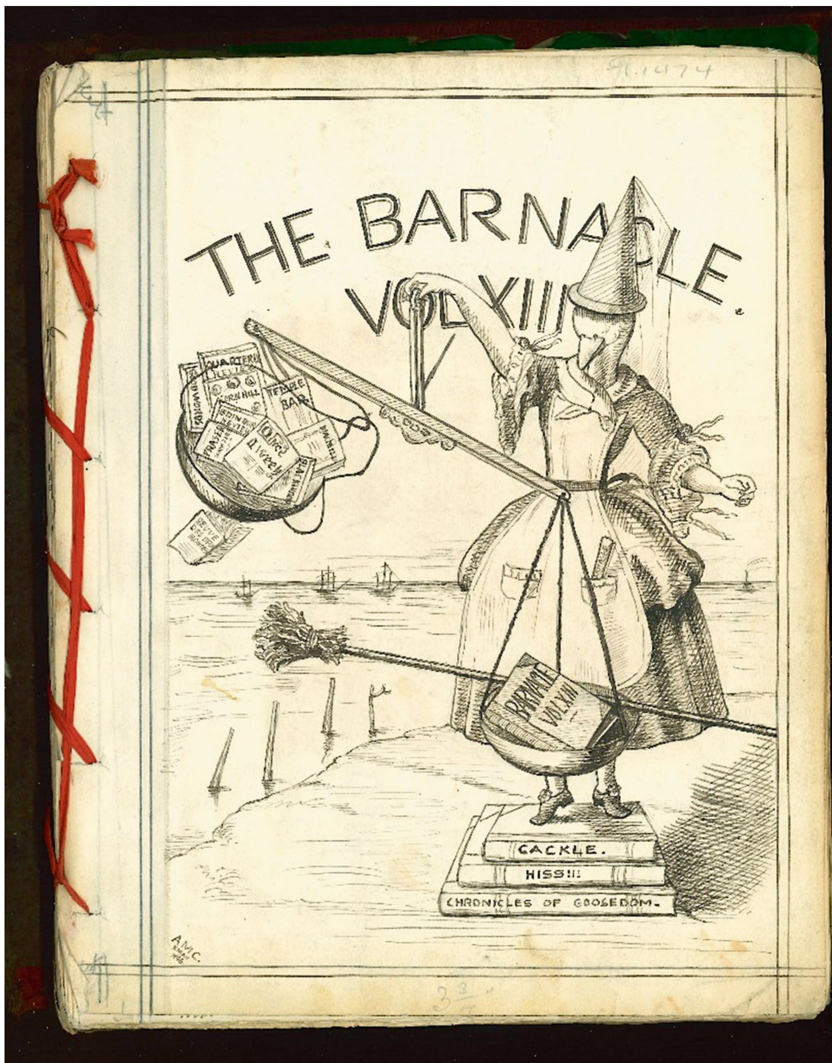

Fig. 2.3 Alice Mary Coleridge, *Barnacle*, vol. XIII, n.d

the Whig-supporting *Edinburgh Review*. Yet the Goslings also cite the family literary magazines *Cornhill* and *Temple Bar*, thus showing their diverse reading. Jennifer Phegley has noted that these family literary magazines did not espouse, and even defended the idea that women were uncritical readers.[73] The *Cornhill Magazine* combined critical reviews with serial novels by writers such as William Makepeace Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, George Eliot, and Elizabeth Gaskell. Women writers contributed 20 per cent of the contents of *Cornhill* between 1860 and 1900.[74] The shilling monthly family literary magazine *Temple Bar* published work by Jane Austen, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Arthur Conan Doyle.

In the Gosling's depiction of Yonge casting off these magazines, she presents Yonge as not only discarding the established canon but also appropriating the roles of author and editor. She is the complete arbiter of literary skill, taste, and acceptability. Her obvious association with Mother Goose is a further affront to the male culture of serious magazine writing. Angela Carter, in her 1992 *Virago Book of Fairy Tales*, wrote that 'it was Mother Goose who invented all the "old wives' tales" […] that is, worthless stories, untruths, trivial gossip, a derisive label that allots the art of storytelling to women at the exact time as it takes all value from it'.[75] In her feminist reading of Mother Goose, Carter insists that she is a figure of narrative power, but under the condition that this is a denigrated position.

Aware of the cultural dominance of published magazines, Mother Goose and her Goslings use them as springboards to launch their own manuscript magazine. Yet, alongside the mockery of these magazines, we can see the Gosling illustrator use a type of appropriation which amounts to ventriloquism. It is notable that the *Barnacle* illustrators drew their cover artwork inspiration from the *Hursley Magazine*, which Yonge contributed to in her youth. The illustrator does not depict herself or another Gosling throwing away the basket of magazines; rather, the action can be done by Yonge and Yonge alone.

Conclusion

Whether by strategies of appropriation, critique, or often a combination of both, the Goslings who wrote in the *Barnacle* demonstrated a culmination of their adolescent learning and culture through engaging with published literature. Aiming to impress their editor—a successful author who was cautious about girls' desires to write and publish too early—this dual approach of mimesis and critique was symptomatic of this uneven

relationship, as well as the girls' own developing approach to writing. Furthermore, articles that girls read concerning the dangers of reading, and explorations of the historical genre were germane to both the social and literary conventions of the decade they were living in, as well as the life stage they were occupying. For these girl writers there were great benefits to having a connection to Charlotte Yonge; not only were they from affluent families but they were associated with the literary elite. Conversely, in other manuscript magazines of the period, we see an increased independence from adult direction and more unabashed engagement with popular girls' fiction; features which will be explored in the following chapters.

Notes

1. The *Barnacle* (1863–1867), Lady Margaret Hall Library, 823.99 311–322. Material from the *Barnacle* is reproduced by kind permission of the Principal and Fellows of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
2. This has been argued by Julia Courtney in 'Mother Goose's Brood' *Character & Scenes: Studies in Charlotte Yonge*, ed by Julia Courtney and Clemence Schultze (Abingdon: Beechcroft Books, 2007) pp. 189–212, p. 190, and Georgina O'Brien Hill in 'Charlotte Yonge's "Goosedom"', *Nineteenth Century Gender Studies*, 8.1 (2012), para. 1–22.
3. This acquisition history was kindly provided by the librarian at Lady Margaret Hall. See also Georgina Battiscombe, *Charlotte Mary Yonge: The Story of an Uneventful Life* (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1943).
4. Christabel Rose Coleridge (1843–1921) had a successful career as a writer of children's books. She had conservative views about the future of girlhood, and in 1894 she published a collection of essays on the subject, *The Daughters Who Have Not Revolted*. She was the granddaughter of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.
5. Ellen Jordan, Charlotte Mitchell, and Helen Schinske, '"A Handmaid to the Church": How John Keble Shaped the Career of Charlotte Yonge, the "Novelist of the Oxford Movement"', in *John Keble in Context*, ed. by Kirstie Blair (London: Anthem Press, 2004), pp. 175–189, p. 185. There is a full list of the Goslings on the dedicated Charlotte Yonge Fellowship website.
6. Christabel Coleridge, *Charlotte Mary Yonge: Her Life and Letters* (London: Macmillan, 1902), p. 202.
7. Julia Courtney and Georgina O'Brien Hill have separately written on the folklore surrounding the Mother Goose figure.
8. O'Brien Hill, 'Charlotte Yonge's "Goosedom"', para. 9.

9. See Clemence Schultze, 'Charlotte Yonge and the Classics', in *Characters and Scenes: Studies in Charlotte M. Yonge*, ed. by Julia Courtney and Clemence Schultze (Abingdon: Beechcroft, 2007), pp. 159–188, p. 164.
10. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
11. Kristine Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood through the Periodical Press, 1850–1915,* (Farnham, Ashgate: 2012), p. 31.
12. O'Brien Hill, 'Charlotte Yonge's "Goosedom"', para. 22.
13. Christabel Coleridge, *Charlotte Mary Yonge: Her Life and Letters* (London: Macmillan, 1902), p. 201.
14. Charlotte Lauder, 'From "Thistleites" to "Thistleblaw": The Scots Thistle (1885–2013), a Scottish Circulatory Manuscript Magazine', *Four Nations and Beyond: RSVP and SCVS Event* (Glasgow Trades Hall, UK, 2022).
15. Victoria Ford Smith, *Between Generations: Collaborative Authorship in the Golden Age of Children's Literature.* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017), p. 14.
16. Justyna Deszcz-Tryhubczak and Zoe Jaques, eds. *Intergenerational Solidarity in Children's Literature and Film* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2021).
17. Molly Hughes, *A London Child of the 1870s* (London: Persephone Books, 2005) [1934], p. 159; Sandra L. Beckett, *Crossover Fiction: Global and Historical Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 88.
18. Charlotte Yonge to Christabel Coleridge, Sept 9th, 1871, 'The Letters of Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823–1901)'.
19. Charlotte Yonge to Christabel Coleridge, August 3rd, 1877, 'The Letters of Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823–1901)'.
20. Siân Pooley, 'Children's Writing and the Popular Press in England 1876–1914', *History Journal Workshop,* 80 (2015), 75–98.
21. Anne-Marie Millim, *The Victorian Diary: Authorship and Emotional Labor* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 4. Millin's analysis concerns the diaries of published authors, by viewing diary-writing as a process of practice in their professional development.
22. See Julia Courtney, '*The Barnacle:* A Manuscript Magazine of the 1860s' in *Girl's Own: Anglo-American Histories of Girls*, ed. by Claudia Nelson and Lynne Vallone (Athens: University of Georgia Press) p. 78.
23. Courtney, '*The Barnacle:* A Manuscript Magazine of the 1860s', p. 73.
24. Davies was a pioneering women's rights campaigner and was a co-founder of Girton college, Cambridge: the first college in England to admit female students. The letter is dated July 22, 1868, and as such represents Yonge's opinions during her editorship of the *Barnacle*. Yonge's letters can be found at a website hosted by the University of Newcastle, Australia: Charlotte Yonge, *Letters of Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823–1901)*, ed. by

Charlotte Mitchell, Ellen Jordan, and Helen Schinske (2007) https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/yonge/2259.

25. Katie Garner, 'More than a "Book for Boys"? Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte Darthur and the Victorian Girl Reader', *Media and Print Culture Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Victorian Reading Experience*, ed. by Paul Raphael Rooney and Anna Gasperini (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 35.
26. Julia Margaret Cameron, *Leonora* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1847), p. vi.
27. Courtney, '*The Barnacle:* A Manuscript Magazine of the 1860s', p. 81.
28. See Lisa Kasmer, *Novel Histories: British Women Writing History, 1760–1830* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2012). Mary Spongberg claims that 'there is evidence to suggest that women have engaged in historical writing from the first century CE'. See Mary Spongberg, *Writing Women's History Since the Renaissance* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2002), p.1.
29. Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 15.
30. The writings of Madame de Staël (1766–1817), a prolific French writer and respected intellectual, provided inspiration for Victorian girl writers, notably George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë. See the notes to the Juvenilia Press editions of George Eliot's 'Edward Neville' and Charlotte Brontë's 'Albion and Marina'.
31. This harks back to Judith Butler's theories on gender performativity, which suggest that gender is inscribed and reinscribed through a repetition of acts. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1990).
32. Jane Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 40. Jane refers to American girls' diaries specifically in her book, but her theory can be applied to British girls' life writing more broadly.
33. Adrienne Rich, 'When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-vision', *College English*, 34.1 (1972), 18–30, at p. 21.
34. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 46.
35. Courtney, '*The Barnacle:* A Manuscript Magazine of the 1860s', p. 95.
36. Charlotte Mary Yonge, 'Work and Workers: Authorship', *Monthly Packet* 3 (Fourth Series) (1892), 296–303.
37. See Coleridge, p. 150.
38. I am thinking, for example, of Eliza Lynn Linton, who was the first salaried female journalist in Britain, yet was known for her anti-feminist essays such

as ‘The Girl of the Period’. Eliza Lynn Linton, *The Girl of the Period and Other Social Essays* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1883).

39. I have written about the juvenilia of Scottish women writers in ‘The Young Woman and Scotland: The Late-Victorian Writings of Ethel Forster Heddle and Isabella Fyvie Mayo in Girls’ Print Culture’, *Scottish Literary Review*, 14.1 (2022), 43–64. https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/857664.
40. Mary Sebag-Montefiore, ‘Nice Girls Don’t (But Want To): Work Ethic Conflicts and Conundrums in Mrs. Molesworth’s Books for Girls’, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 26.3 (2002), p.375.doi:10.1353/uni.2002.0038.
41. Letter from Robert Southey to Charlotte Brontë, 12 March 1837, Brontë Parsonage Museum, BSIXSou.1837-03-12.
42. Penny Brown, *The Captured World: The Child in Nineteenth-century Women's Writing in England*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993, p. 102.
43. Nicola Rowan-Brooks, ‘Thomas Hardy, Victor Hugo, and the “Sincerest of Flattery”, *The Thomas Hardy Journal,* 36 (2020), 65–77.
44. Julia Courtney has written on this aspect of Yonge’s personality: ‘All her life she carried filial obedience to extreme lengths: forbidden by her parents to enter the cottage homes of her village neighbours for fear of moral or physical contamination, she observed this prohibition for the rest of her life’. Julia Courtney, ‘College Street, Hursley, and Otterbourne: Charlotte Mary Yonge and Her Circle’, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society*, 49 (1993), 195–205 http://www.hantsfieldclub.org.uk/publications/hampshirestudies/digital/1990s/vol49/Courtney.pdf
45. Alexis Easley, *Literary Celebrity, Gender, and Victorian Authorship, 1850—1914* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013), p. 12.
46. O’Brien Hill, ‘Charlotte Yonge’s “Goosedom”’, para 7.
47. Charlotte Yonge, ‘Authorship’.
48. Mary Augusta Ward, known in her publications as Mrs Humphry Ward, was also a popular author, mainly of adult fiction, although her first novel, *Milly and Olly* (1881), was a children’s text. She was also known for her polemical views on women’s roles later in her life. She was the founding president of the Women’s National Anti-Suffrage League, creating and editing the paper the *Anti-Suffrage Review.*
49. Gillian Boughton, ‘The juvenilia of Mrs Humphry Ward (1851–1920): a diplomatic edition of six previously unpublished narratives derived from original manuscript sources’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1995), p. 5.
50. ‘The Barnacle’, p. 86 and p. 89. The author of *A Tale of Four Months* is identified not by a typical Gosling pseudonym, but by a monogram com-

bined of the letters Y, I, J, and M. It is unknown whether this connoted one writer or several writers; presumably the identity of the author(s) was obscured because of its risky content.

51. See volumes 11, 14, 17 of the *Barnacle* for *A Tale of Four Months.*
52. George Eliot, 'Silly Novels for Lady Novelists', *The Westminster Review* (1856), 442–461.
53. See Gavin Budge, *Charlotte M. Yonge: Religion, Feminism and Realism in the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 27.
54. Yonge, 'Authorship'.
55. Ibid.
56. James Eli Adams, *A History of Victorian Literature*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 2012) p. 315.
57. Marilyn Wood, *Rhoda Broughton: Profile of a Novelist* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993), p. 122.
58. Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1888), p. 28.
59. Bog Oak, 'The Distressed Damsel', *the Barnacle*, Vol XVII Michaelmas 1867.
60. John A. Dussinger, 'Goldsmith, Oliver (1728?–1774), author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10924 [accessed 13 December 2018].
61. Sarah Green, *Mental Improvements for a Young Lady, on Her Entrance Into the World; Addressed to a Favourite Niece* (Minerva Press, 1793), p. 98. See Matthew Grenby's *The Child Reader* for further information on Green and Yonge's opinions on juvenile reading. Matthew Grenby, *The Child Reader*, p.125; p. 221.
62. Hannah More, *The History of Diligent Dick, or, Truth Will Out, though it be Hid in a Well* (London: Evans, 1829). This was a cheap repository tract. Yonge writes this about Clarendon in a letter to Mary Anne Dyson dated October 29th, 1848, 'The Letters of Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823–1901)'.
63. Charlotte Yonge to Anna Butler, January 28th, 1856, 'The Letters of Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823–1901)'.
64. Charlotte Yonge to Agnes Strickland, April 5th, 1848, 'The Letters of Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823–1901)'.
65. Florence. B. Low, 'The Reading of the Modern Girl', *Nineteenth Century* 59 (Feb 1906), 278–287, 278.
66. Although published after the era of Gosling Society, Charlotte Yonge's essay on 'Authorship' addressed to amateur authors is of significance here.
67. Green, *Mental Improvement for a Young Lady,* p. 101.
68. Bog Oak, 'Nursery Classics: Ye doleful dittye of ye sad death of puir Cock Robin', *The Barnacle*, Vol XI.

69. Gurgoyle, 'A Gossip About Books', *the Barnacle*, Vol VI, Christmas 1864.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2004). P. 20.
73. Ibid.
74. Janice H. Harris, 'Not Suffering and Not Still: Women Writers at the *Cornhill Magazine*, 1860–1900', *Modern Language Quarterly* 47.4 (1986), 382–392.
75. Angela Carter, *The Virago Book of Fairy Tales* (London: Virago, 1991), p. xi.

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CHAPTER 3

Little Women and Sibling Relationships in Family Manuscript Magazines

Abstract The first Golden Age of children's literature infiltrated children's imaginations and their manuscript magazine projects. The beginning of the era, from the 1860s, saw a shift from the sermonising children's literature of previous years to more enjoyable tales which established a children's literature canon, and increasing specialisation in terms of books for different ages and genders of young people. This chapter will examine the late-Victorian cultural afterlife of *Little Women*, an early example of literature for children that resonated widely and established a concrete model for children's productive imitation. Focusing on a family-made manuscript magazine, the *Briarland Recorder*, this chapter examines what adapting Alcott's novel meant for feminine identities in the production of manuscript magazines, especially amongst sisters. Manuscript magazines were often produced in family contexts, which helped to foster sociability and a sense of family identity. Although the development of a manuscript by an unrelated adult and child was unusual, like with Yonge and her Goslings, it was commonplace for adults to be involved in, and encourage, the manuscript writing pursuits of their younger family members. As we will see in the *Briarland Recorder*, manuscript magazine projects could occupy an important place in upholding the identity and reputation of elite families.

Keywords *Little Women* • Pickwick • Children's literature • Modern girlhood • Sisters

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Then with a flash of inspiration a happy thought occurred to us—a newspaper! What an excellent idea! We will run a newspaper.
–Henry F. Dickens, 'The True Story of the Gad's Hill Gazette' (1929)

The Jebb Family Manuscripts

One girl who wrote extensively in her family setting at this point in the century was Eglantyne Jebb (1876–1928), who is best known for co-founding the Save the Children Fund in 1919 along with her younger sister Dorothy Buxton. Amongst her many achievements in adulthood, Eglantyne drafted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which evolved into the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.[1] Her childhood writings, which have never been studied until now, document the earliest thoughts on girls' education, sibling relationships, and personal ambition of one of the most significant humanitarian figures of the early twentieth century. They also shed a light on the dynamics of girls' writing culture within a broader family setting, and within sisterly collaborations.

The Jebb sisters' writing practices were subject to myriad influences, and this chapter will examine playful and creative approaches to adaptation and appropriation in their child-led manuscript magazines. Focusing particularly on Eglantyne Jebb as the driving force behind her family manuscript magazine, it will examine her relationships with her siblings in their shared reading and writing culture. References to literature, and particularly Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* in the manuscript magazine, function to ground this youth culture in a wider literary context. Eglantyne voices the subject of 'modern' girlhood through her sarcastic and ironic writings, which both draw upon and mock contemporary fears about the future of girlhood. Eglantyne's knowing and appropriative writing culture was symptomatic of her modernity. By the final decades of the nineteenth century, with the culmination of various social and cultural changes affecting women, girls increasingly became the subject of debates concerning conduct and education. The figure of the New Woman which emerged at the *fin de siècle* was independent, educated, and rejected conventional feminine traits, marriage, and motherhood. This new model of womanhood was highly controversial and was explored at length in late-Victorian journalism. Extended debates about the 'Women Question' were also raised in girls' magazines and fiction, and in girls' own writings.

Eglantyne was born and raised in a country house in Ellesmere, Shropshire. The fourth child of Arthur and Eglantyne Louisa Jebb in a

family of gentry, her relations were distinguished by their social conscience.[2] Arthur was a Conservative, a country landowner and ex-barrister, yet he co-founded the Ellesmere Literary and Debating Society where topics for debate included state socialism. Her mother, known as Tye, was an Irish-born artist and poet who founded the Home Arts and Industries Association, one of the most influential arts and education charities in England at the time.[3] Eglantyne's older siblings were Emily (Em), Louisa, and Richard, and her younger siblings were Dorothy and Gamul. The Jebb family all wrote, and many life writing articles from Eglantyne's parents, her aunt, and siblings are still preserved. Francesca Wilson, who has researched the Jebb archive, suggests that because of the family's prosperity the Jebb girls experienced a prolonged period of girlhood. Their middle-class youth was creative and idyllic; they were required to make their own entertainment, and this manifested in outdoor activities, reading, and writing. On various occasions, the children saw their father speak at his Debating Society, and Arthur clearly cultivated the skills of rhetoric in his offspring. He encouraged and contributed to the family manuscript magazine the *Briarland Recorder*, which Eglantyne edited from the ages of 12 to 15.

The *Briarland Recorder* included a mixture of short stories, poems, riddles, and puzzles, which were standard inclusions in other girls' manuscript magazines of the era. Also included was 'News of the Month' and a births and obituaries page, which reported on the family's domestic animals. Drawings were limited, but in one issue there was a full-page advert for Pears soap (Fig. 3.1) which imitated the commodity culture of late-Victorian magazines. There are also rare printed sections, and allusions to the Jebb family's printing press in the documents, as in Eglantyne's 1886 diary: 'The Printing Press has been mended but we have not got it yet'.[4] Themes of the stories and poems, which I will analyse in detail later in this section, were particularly concerned with the girls' home education, the process of collaborative writing, and girlhood conduct in a changing society. The magazines, held at the Women's Library in the London School of Economics, are part of a large archive of the Jebb girls' writings.[5] Other materials include diaries written by Eglantyne and Em, fragments of jointly written stories by the two sisters, Eglantyne's draft writing book, and a colourful book of Eglantyne's invented maps depicting countries such as 'Jebbyland'. The extent and variety of this collection demonstrates the intellectual accomplishments of the Jebb family and Eglantyne in particular, but also shows the diverse nature of girls' manuscript cultures.

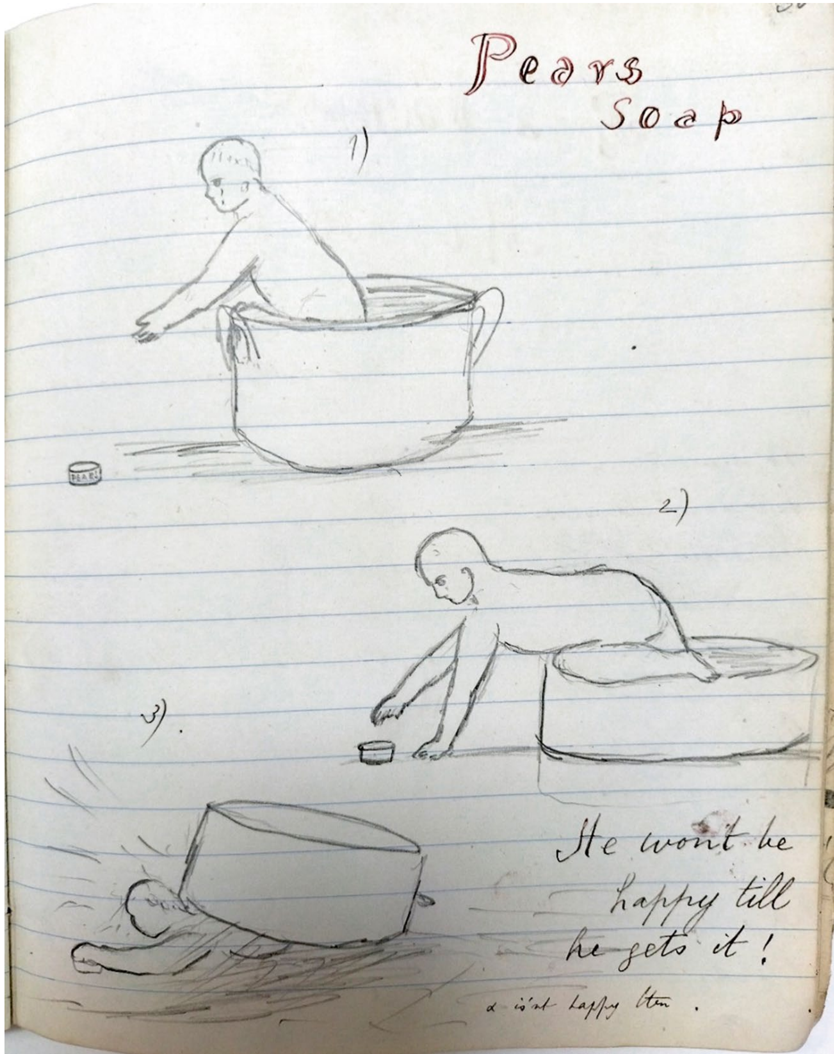

Fig. 3.1 'Pears Soap', *Briarland Recorder*, March 1890–August 1891, p. 35

Even as Eglantyne's writing reflected a child's understanding of print culture, it engaged with an adult and androcentric vision of this culture. Eglantyne's siblings enthused retrospectively about her passion for stories in her youth, and particularly her improvised storytelling ability.[6] The family shared reading and writing experiences: every week each child wrote to their aunt Nonie, Arthur's older sister. Em would read improving texts by Ruskin to the family, and their parents would read Dickens aloud 'until the children were old enough to take the task from them'.[7] Amongst themselves the children established their own parsing society, where they would talk on a subject that they would pull out of a hat. Presumably, this was inspired by their experiences of seeing their father debate at the Ellesmere Literary and Debating Society. An all-male debating competition was also depicted by Eglantyne in her 1886 diary. Eglantyne's understanding of adult male knowledge appears in her version of a newspaper article in her diary. Having turned the rectangular diary vertically, she wrote in columns, reporting on hearing three men in a competition to give the most compelling speech 'without preparation on a chosen continent'.[8] The three male characters speak on Africa, Europe, and Asia, respectively, and reveal Eglantyne's knowledge of the British Empire. In real life the Jebb girls were exposed to this androcentric practice from a young age, aware that this arena was not open to them, but that they might find another way to be knowledgeable and influential amongst themselves. The manuscript magazine exemplifies Eglantyne's role in developing cultural values amongst her siblings, and the diaries of Eglantyne and Em indicate the negotiations at work between male/female and adult/child modes of authorship in girls' writing culture from this period.

The Development of a Shared Magazine

The *Briarland Recorder* was a manuscript magazine which was started in 1889 by 12-year-old Eglantyne. In the first issue, Eglantyne states: 'The *Briarland Recorder* was founded May 1889', marking an official inauguration of the project. In the manuscript magazine Eglantyne lists her siblings' roles: she was the 'editor and secretary', and contributed under the pseudonym of 'R. Hare'. Her younger brother and sisters were given specific roles and pseudonyms, which are proudly detailed throughout the volumes. Her younger brother Gamul used the pseudonym of 'Professor Stamps', sometimes 'A. G. Stamps' who was 'Professor and Reporter'.

Her younger sister Dorothy, aged 8 in 1889, was known as Letitia Perkins, or Countess Consequence, and was listed as an 'Honorary member'. Eglantyne's older sister Emily was aged 17 at the time of the first issue and was not part of the editorial team but contributed using the pseudonym 'Periwinkle', which presumably reflected her contributions related to her study of art in Dresden. An older sister, Louisa (Lil) Jebb, used the *nom de plume* 'Pollywol'.

The siblings' pseudonyms acted not as a method of veiling identity, but as a way to assume a discrete character, giving power and agency to the juvenile writers through performance. Pseudonyms allowed them to perform adult job roles, such as professor or a reporter, and also allowed them to feign the trappings of a long-running, respected magazine by assigning honorary memberships, which were usually only given to long-standing and highly valued contributors in published magazines. The children's mutual embracing of the imitation of the professionality of periodicals indicates what William Corsaro terms the 'shared and valued childhood symbolic cultural capital'.[9] Like the Brontë siblings and the members of the Gosling Society, who were discussed in Chap. 2, the Jebb children cultivated a mutual understanding of their manuscript magazine's purpose, and worked together to realise it.

Prestige and Humour in the *Briarland Recorder*

The process of writing the magazine was relished by Eglantyne, as she recorded detailed information about its production. One poem, 'On the Opening' (Fig. 3.2), which was included in the first volume, renders the image of the siblings coming together in their 'meeting room' to take on their roles in their cultivated print culture:

1.
Though the meeting-house is dingy & full of dust,
And the audience are rude,
For with laughter they bust,
& the Editor red, on his fingers has ink,
& young often giggles & does not often think,
& though the apartment ill comfort does afford,
Long may the Recorder live to record.

Vol I   1

The Briarland Recorder or Spectator

Poets corner.
(On the opening)
1 Though the meeting-house is dingy & full of dust,
And the audience are rude, for with laughter they bust,
& the Editor red, on his fingers has ink,
& Young often giggles, & does not often think,
& though the apartment ill comfort does afford.
Long may the Recorder live to record.
2. Long life to the Reporter, Proffessor & all,
Long life to Mr Pollywog so distangué & tall
As they gravely sit on their old rickety chairs,
And talk of poetry, articles, letters affairs
Hurrah, for the pen, the writers good sword!
And long may the Recorder live to record!
The Editor

Dainty Jack.
"Come down to dinner, Jack,
Now why do you tarry
Come down, I say,"
Said little punctual* Harry.
"Do not want to go,
Because there is rabbit curry,
I don't like it,
I'm not in a hurry."
"O Jack you must, you little dainty,
You must all the same,
They will be so cross
Especially that old dame."
Then came his little sister
To say there was fish
Then Jack went down in a hurry
For that was his favourite dish.
L. Perkins

* spellt by the author "punchewill"

Fig. 3.2 L. Perkins, 'On the Opening', *Briarland Recorder*, vol. 1, May 1889, p. 1

2.
Long life to the Reporter, Professor & all,
Long life to Mr Pollywoll, so distingué & all.
As they gravely sit on their old rickety chairs,
And talk of poetry articles, affairs, letters,
Hurrah for the pen, the writers [*sic*] good sword!
And long may the Recorder live to record![10]

The poem gives the impression that the children revelled in the domestic, amateurish culture of their editorial meetings. Their personalities elevate their dingy, dusty meeting room to a juvenile writer's haven. The triumph is that the children have a space where they can both 'giggle' and 'talk of poetry articles, affairs, letters'. They are 'distingué' yet they do 'not often think'. This celebration of the juvenile writer's apparatus for cultural participation echoes what Bette London writes about the Brontës' juvenile exploits; that their specific style of writing, mistakes and all, deliberately went against the standards expected in adult mainstream publications. Indeed, this amateurish mode of production was even encouraged by the family. The making of the *Briarland Recorder* took place in a mixed-gender group of siblings. In this way, the magazine differs from the *Barnacle* and the *Evergreen Chain*, which were written by girls who were distantly acquainted. Yet as the middle Jebb child, Eglantyne took a directorial role in the magazine's production and wrote most of its content, and her role is the focus of this chapter.

Despite the impression of informality in the poem 'On the Opening', control and order were administered in the *Briarland Recorder*—particularly in Eglantyne's editing of the stories. Aspirations of professionalism in the Jebbs' writings are to be heeded, as Bette London argues. London writes that the children's 'imaginary worlds' and 'elaborate literary constructions' could transform 'into a practice so sustained as to command professional recognition yet so extensive as to enter the realm of the transgressive'.[11] The sustained nature of Eglantyne's magazine meant that stories and characters were developed and revisited, new writing identities were invented, and the content pushed the boundaries of gender performativity and literary appropriation.

After nearly a year of maintaining the magazine had passed, in March 1890 Eglantyne (R. Hare) contributed a poem, 'On the anniversary of B.R.', which continued the tradition of promoting the magazine as a sophisticated scholarly enterprise:

1.
For many months hath our B.R.
Much laboured for mankind,
Its sole aim being to improve
The populace's mind.
And everybody will agree
Its wit & use combined.

2.
Use—for it doth keep us
From what we're much inclined
Which is, as everybody knows,
To overtax our mind.
With Rule of three & Proportion,
& bad things of that kind.

3.
Distinguished writers contribute
To make our aim complete,
& scrolls & scrolls of wisdom
They lay down at our feet;
There's Professor A. G. Stamps,
I'm sure he can't be beat!

4.
In our revered paper
His wisdom it doth shine.
And Pollywol—slow you know,
She writes a word, writes a line,
Stops to think, and at last
Brings something very fine.

5.
Periwinkle doth discourse
With free & ready pen,
But with tears I'm forced to say
It's only now & then.
In the clouds doth our youngest
Often take high flights,

6.
From which she sometimes doth descend
To give us poems of knights.
For fleety flights was she renowned
But now she's turned steady,
And writes with gravity most great,
& language free and ready.

7.
O prosper, prosper! Good B.R.,
& labour for mankind,
& let your purpose ever be
To elevate the mind.
Then everybody will agree
You're [*sic*] wit & use combined.[12]

This homage to the magazine is an explicit declaration of juvenile brilliance. Eglantyne's style was mimicked by her younger sister Dorothy. In the same volume as Eglantyne's poem, Dorothy contributes 'A no-named poem' which is signed off with both her aliases: C. Consequence and L. Perkins. It is clearly an imitation of her older sister's editorial tone:

Now that the B.R. is begun,
In the name of R. Hare
A request to the public I'll make
Which must be tended with care.

You authors of the learned B.R.
Must rack & rack your brains,
To give some contributions
Over which are spent great pains.

And may learned A. G. Stamps
Send papers of wisdom great,
And R Hare & Pollywoll
Contribute things of weight,

And may little Periwinkle
Write something nice & sweet,
Interesting & amusing
Just to fill a little sheet.

And I hope in days to come
New authors will arise
That will fill our B.R.
With papers learned & wise.[13]

Simultaneous boasting about the manuscript magazine and acknowledgement of its amateur status are specific to children's aspirational literary cultures. The inflating sentiment in 'On the Opening' of 'Hurrah for the pen, the writer's good sword! / And long may the Recorder live to record!'

reflects writings and drawings in the *Barnacle* and the *Evergreen Chain* ('best of all magazines!') which also boast the esteem of the publication. Furthermore, this technique was seen often in low-quality children's magazines of the 1860s, which attempted to prove their merit against similar publications. Diana Dixon observes how the editors of these magazines 'tended to wax lyrical when extolling the virtues of their own product'.[14] Since Jebb's manuscript magazine was presented as a thing of interest to adult as well as child readers, it was self-consciously written to both amuse and instruct, with personalised contributions that were meaningful to the family coterie. The *Briarland Recorder* provides insight into the interpersonal relationships amongst these late-Victorian young writers, particularly with regard to their self-identification within peer groups, and the interactions between these groups. Although Eglantyne set the tone for the magazine, her younger siblings Dorothy and Gamul were particularly keen to also contribute to it, or, indeed, were biddable to her specifications. Eglantyne's role in the construction of her siblings' manuscript culture shows an embedding in the adult world. Although this is based on the institutional structure of adult cultures, it is organised by the collective actions of children. From an early age, Eglantyne reproduced her understanding of culture and society through her creative outputs.

Appropriating Alcott and Dickens

A significant example of Eglantyne's reproduction and re-interpretation of her childhood literary culture is when she appropriates sections from a published novel in her manuscript magazine. The two poems discussed in the previous section ('Prestige and Humour in the *Briarland Recorder*), and indeed other writings in the *Briarland Recorder*, have an intertext in the fictional manuscript magazine the *Pickwick Portfolio*, made by the March sisters in Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868). *Little Women* tells the story of the four March siblings: Meg, Jo, Beth, and Amy (like the four Jebb sisters) and their experience of growing up at home during the American Civil War. They are all involved in reading, writing, and theatricals. Jo, who, according to Cadogan and Craig, 'epitomizes the desire of many girls for participation in literary life', writes a novel which is memorably burnt by her younger sister Amy, and together the sisters organise their own society, 'The Pickwick Club'.[15]

Dickens' first novel *The Posthumous Paper of the Pickwick Club* (1836–7) spawned various clubs from its initial serialisation. In the novel, a group

establish the travelling society the Pickwick Club of London. Samuel Pickwick is the elderly founder of the Pickwick Club, where he is surrounded by his admirers. Tracy Tupman fancies himself as a romantic interest, though is unsuccessful in his conquests. Snodgrass is described as 'poetic', although he never writes a line of verse, and Nathaniel Winkle is an inept sportsman. The novel satirises scientific societies and the masculine makeup of these groups. It is significant, then, that many of the spin-off clubs that were founded were intended for women or girls only. The Lafayette Pickwick Club in Indiana was founded in 1889, and was open solely to women, with an average age of nine years amongst the membership. Various early-nineteenth-century girl writers recorded reading *The Pickwick Papers*. The diarist Emily Pepys reads it shortly after reading Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit*, and Emily Shore describes how 'My brothers and sisters, and even papa and mamma, who read them with the keenest relish, have long revelled in them, and admire their wit and talent exceedingly'.[16] Diarist and manuscript magazine writer Eva Knatchbull-Hugessen documented how various members of her family would enjoy reading *Pickwick* characters aloud. Indeed, Eva compared differing newspaper reports of her politician father through the lens of *Pickwick*: 'After lunch, did a lot of pasting for Papa, capital fun reading the abuse of him in the Mercury, and praise in the Chronicle [...] Reminded me of Pickwick'.[17] Eva's knowledge of Dickens' literary club was part of the fabric of her familial manuscript culture. It is accepted that Dickens' work was a fixed feature of Victorian families' shared leisure time; the newest Dickensian instalment would be read aloud by a parent or child. It follows then that *Pickwick* offered an appealing model of playful authorship for Victorian youths to imitate. The character of Pickwick was appealing to other published nineteenth-century authors, too. Dostoevsky described him as 'a positively beautiful man', 'funny', and evoking compassion; attributes that Louisa May Alcott also identified.[18]

Little Women's Pickwick Portfolio

Louisa May Alcott was a keen supporter of manuscript juvenile writing, which can be seen in her life as well as her fiction. In *Little Women*, the March sisters' literary society and its manuscript publication *The Pickwick Portfolio* are introduced as such:

> As secret societies were the fashion, it was thought proper to have one, and as all of the girls admired Dickens, they called themselves the Pickwick Club.

> With a few interruptions, they had kept this up for a year, and met every Saturday evening in the big garret, on which occasions the ceremonies were as follows: Three chairs were arranged in a row before a table on which was a lamp, also four white badges, with a big 'P.C.' in different colors on each, and the weekly newspaper called, The Pickwick Portfolio, to which all contributed something, while Jo, who reveled in pens and ink, was the editor. At seven o'clock, the four members ascended to the clubroom, tied their badges round their heads, and took their seats with great solemnity. Meg, as the eldest, was Samuel Pickwick, Jo, being of a literary turn, Augustus Snodgrass, Beth, because she was round and rosy, Tracy Tupman, and Amy, who was always trying to do what she couldn't, was Nathaniel Winkle. Pickwick, the president, read the paper, which was filled with original tales, poetry, local news, funny advertisements, and hints, in which they good-naturedly reminded each other of their faults and short comings. On one occasion, Mr. Pickwick put on a pair of spectacles without any glass, rapped upon the table, hemmed, and having stared hard at Mr. Snodgrass, who was tilting back in his chair, till he arranged himself properly, began to read [...][19]

This detailed description of the March girls' role-play demonstrates that it was carefully organised and orchestrated. The oldest sibling Meg was assigned the highest role, as well as the namesake of Dickens' eponymous character. The other March sisters all adopted male personas from the novel, which reflected their own personalities. Furthermore, the detail about the Pickwick Society's 'ceremonies' also supplies insight into the officiality and importance that the girls accorded to this joint venture. The ritual of the meeting room with its three chairs hints at the imaginative proclivities of the sisters, especially their transgressive desire to perform a male gender and profession. This is emphasised when their boy neighbour Laurie is brought into the fold by tomboy-editor Jo, and the other sisters express their disapproval. Mr Winkle (Amy) says, 'We don't wish any boys; they only joke and bounce about. This is a ladies' club, and we wish to be private and proper', and elder sister Meg agrees: 'I'm afraid he'll laugh at our paper, and make fun of us afterwards'.[20] When Laurie attempts to join one of the girls' other societies, the 'Busy Bee Society', in which the girls practice their various feminine accomplishments outdoors, Meg is again reluctant to allow him to participate: 'We should have asked you before, only we thought you wouldn't care for such a girl's game as this'.[21] Regarding their cultural activities, the March sisters are aware of the gendered disparity between themselves and their neighbour, but also actively claim a space of their own.

Little Women is autobiographical to an extent, and the descriptions of writing in the *Pickwick Portfolio* reflected Alcott's home life as a girl, in which she would write stories and stage plays with her family. Krissie West has written about how Alcott also takes inspiration from her own previous work, claiming her own 1852 short story, 'The Masked Marriage', as Meg's in the *Pickwick Portfolio*. Further, Alcott's 1856 story, 'The Sisters' Trial', could be read as a precursor to *Little Women*, with its story of four sisters including one who is a writer, one an artist, and one keen on music, beginning at a Christmas which is marked by poverty.[22] Alcott alludes to the fact that the *Pickwick Portfolio* is based on a real life example when she writes, 'I beg leave to assure my readers [it] is a bona fide copy of one written by bona fide girls once upon a time'. This 'bona fide copy' refers to her own manuscript magazine the *Olive Leaf* (1849), based on the *Olive Branch,* a Boston paper published by Thomas Norris. In 1848, when Alcott was 15 or 16, she wrote 'The Rival Painters. A Tale of Rome' which would later become her first published story under her own name when it was printed in 1852 in the *Olive Branch*.[23] But indeed the contents of young Alcott's the *Olive Leaf* were borrowed directly from Dickens. The name 'Samuel Picksniff' is written under the title, and beneath the Dickensian name is 'Poet's Corner / To Pat Paw / By Augustus Snodgrass'.[24]

The Jebb's Imitation of Alcott's 'Anniversary Ode'

The volume of the *Pickwick Portfolio* that the March girls work on in *Little Women* is visualised in the novel, and it bears a striking similarity to Jebb's poem 'On the Opening' which was presented earlier in this chapter. The opening poem of Alcott's *Pickwick Portfolio* is titled 'Anniversary Ode' under 'Poet's Corner' and evokes the figures and processes involved in the making of the magazine:

> Again we meet to celebrate
> With badge and solemn rite,
> Our fifty-second anniversary,
> In Pickwick Hall, tonight.

We all are here in perfect health,
None gone from our small band:
Again we see each well-known face,
And press each friendly hand.

Our Pickwick, always at his post,
With reverence we greet,
As, spectacles on nose, he reads
Our well-filled weekly sheet.

Although he suffers from a cold,
We joy to hear him speak,
For words of wisdom from him fall,
In spite of croak or squeak.

Old six-foot Snodgrass looms on high,
With elephantine grace,
And beams upon the company,
With brown and jovial face.

Poetic fire lights up his eye,
He struggles 'gainst his lot.
Behold ambition on his brow,
And on his nose, a blot.

Next our peaceful Tupman comes,
So rosy, plump, and sweet,
Who chokes with laughter at the puns,
And tumbles off his seat.

Prim little Winkle too is here,
With every hair in place,
A model of propriety,
Though he hates to wash his face.

The year is gone, we still unite
To joke and laugh and read,
And tread the path of literature
That doth to glory lead.

Long may our paper prosper well,
Our club unbroken be,
And coming years their blessings pour
On the useful, gay 'P. C.'.
A. SNODGRASS[25]

The fictional *Pickwick Portfolio*, and this poem specifically, were sources of inspiration for the Jebb children. Though there is no evidence in the *Briarland Recorder* of Eglantyne reading Alcott's novel, Eglantyne's own poem 'On the anniversary of B.R.', is indebted to Alcott's creation, from its inclusion in 'Poet's Corner', to the rhyme scheme. In both poems, the topic is the society members, their *noms de plume*, and the desired longevity of the magazine.

The Jebb children's idea of producing the *Briarland Recorder* was potentially a result of reading *Little Women*. Since Alcott's novel was still popular with British girl readers in the 1880s and 1890s, it is highly likely that Eglantyne would have encountered it. Philip Waller has acknowledged that *Little Women* was amongst the favourite books of the British artist and writer Constance Smedley (1876–1941) when she was a girl, and Edward Salmon's 1888 survey, *Juvenile Literature as It Is*, discussed its continued significance in detail.[26] Moreover, Salmon suggests that the secret of Alcott's popularity was:

> that she gave her own large heart to her creations—if, that is, Jo and Amy, and Meg and Laurie, and Mr and Mrs Marsh can properly be called creations. They were rather pen and ink portraits of living beings—none other in fact than her own parents, and sisters, and friends. Jo was to Miss Alcott what David Copperfield was to Charles Dickens. After the first few pages of 'Little Women,' one knows Jo personally. Her character, her sympathies, her trials, stamp her upon the memory as a person worthy of a place among one's literary friends.[27]

Eglantyne Jebb admired and adapted these 'literary friends', especially their writing culture. Eglantyne's engagement with *Little Women* is multifaceted, as she not only appropriates a literary text, but draws upon the process and materiality of juvenile cultural production. As I will demonstrate through other examples of the Jebb's manuscript magazine contributions in this chapter, the children did explicitly reference other authors in their writing and wove these references into their creative work.

Alcott's text was entrenched in Eglantyne's cultural arsenal. As Salmon has suggested, *Little Women* was highly influential for young readers. The novel occupied a ubiquitous status during the beginning of the first Golden Age of children's literature, and its unacknowledged appropriation in Eglantyne's writings marks a change in the type of reading material from the Gosling Society writers of the previous decades, who were fascinated by history writers. By 1880 the word 'girl' became, as Mitchell

observed, 'dramatically visible' in titles of advice books and fiction.[28] Eglantyne grew up around a literary culture which depicted and reinforced a culturally mobile girlhood of the late-Victorian era.

The *Pickwick* in the *Poodlewig*

Alcott's descriptions of girl-led societies, meetings, and publications had mass appeal and inspired various real-life counterparts. Another example of a manuscript magazine explicitly mentions taking inspiration from *Little Women*'s girls' writing group. The *Poodlewig Paper* (Figs. 3.3 and 3.4) was started in London in 1898 by the Coke family and their cousins.[29] The contributors were mixed gender; Desmond Coke (1879–1931), the youngest son of the journalist and author Charlotte Talbot Coke (1843–1922), was aged 19 at the time of the first issue and went on to publish fiction in later adulthood. Desmond's two older sisters—Isabel and Dorothy—also contributed to the magazine. The first issue from September 1898 explains that there were three editors who took turns editing the magazine.

One of the editors, Isabel Bayley (née Coke), who signs herself 'Moi-même' (myself), explains the source of the magazine's title, through the performative and oblique use of a pretend interview entitled 'The Editor at Home (see foot note)*'. The footnote reads: '*The Editor hopes it is not an unpardonable breach of editorial etiquette to publish an interview of oneself'. In the interview, the editor reveals that 'the paper will hold no very "advanced" views, & yet it will we hope be as acceptable to the "new" as to the old—youthful talent will be encouraged & in fact the only thing which will I feel sure never be focused in our pages is ill-nature'. Regarding the name, the *Poodlewig Paper*, the 'editor' says to the 'interviewer':

> I must also mention before you go […] that the Poodlewig Paper owes its origin to the discovery in an old attic of a similar magazine kept by myself & sisters in the early—no say when we were young—That magazine in its turn was suggested by Jo & her sisters in 'Little Women.' And now I think I have told you everything.[30]

If we accept this germ of truth within this constructed interview, the *Poodlewig* of the 1890s was based on an earlier girl-led magazine (likely from the 1880s, like Jebb's *Briarland Recorder*) which was inspired by the Pickwick Club in *Little Women*. Although the new magazine was created

Fig. 3.3 *Poodlewig Paper*, vol. 1, no. 1, September 1898

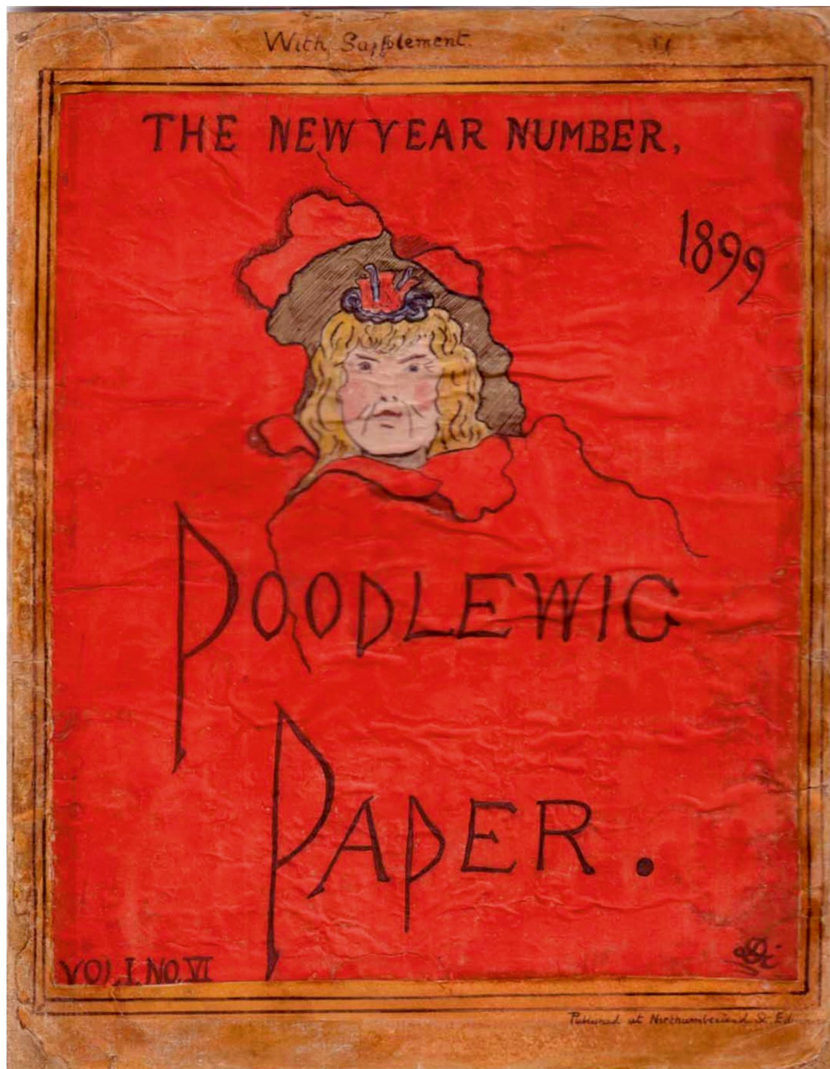

Fig. 3.4 *Poodlewig Paper*, vol. 1. no. VI, 1899

and edited by a mixed-gender group of cousins either on the cusp of adulthood, or, like Isabel, already engaged in marital life, it is significant that it draws upon a juvenile girl-centred writing tradition. Isabel grew up as the middle child of the six Coke children, and there was only one year between her eldest sister Diana, the second Geraldine, and Isabel. One can imagine that these three girls, encouraged by their literary mother, would write together.

It is also significant that the girl editor recounts this history through a mock interview. She presents the persona of a woman journalist and editor as a feminine parody:

> It was with some trepidation that I wounded my way through the shady avenue that leads to Grosvenor Hall. For the lady I was about to interview had the name of being rather haughty in her manner to strangers. –
>
> However having rung at the portal & gained admission I eventually found myself in what I concluded must be the Editorial boudoir, a charming little sanctum replete with art treasures & beautiful flowers.
>
> […]
>
> Contrary to the usual custom of ladies interviewed she had no cooing doves upon her shoulders, neither did she carry a basket of freshly gathered red roses.[31]

The magazine editor mocks the idea that interviews with lady authors are presented in a way which highlights the trappings of the feminine writing space. As for so many professional women writers of the era, this was within the home. Nevertheless, the focus on the location of writing, and the adoption of a professional literary persona, makes 'The Editor at Home' interview comparable to Eglantyne Jebb's 'On the Anniversary of the B.R'. The common association with Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* goes on to prove that children's writing cultures as represented in fiction held a grip on groups of related children and family life more broadly in the late nineteenth century.

Child-Centred Subjects in the *Briarland Recorder*

The close-knit depiction of sibling co-creation in *Little Women* shows the importance of manuscript magazine societies for fostering community. The *Briarland Recorder* disseminated important information to all members in the Jebb household and drew on their family's domestic lives to inform their familiar readers. The recurring 'News of the Month' section

reported on the children in their various pursuits and educational activities, and inflated their positions through mock royal titles:

> Prince Gamul departed for the first time to pursue his educational studies at Slough […] from thence his Highness writes: 'It is Great fun here,' to use his most toward learnedness's own expression. His Royalship Richard departed to Marlborough College the same day, having left special orders for his birthday cake to be sent to him on the day of his festival.
>
> At home the Princesses continue to learn wisdom under their Royal Instructress, who exercises them in Body and Mind.
>
> Her Greatness Emeline, hath painted, with her own fair hand, many excellent landscapes […][32]

The children were raised in a middle-class environment and this exaggeration of status in their writing demonstrates their dual aspiration for and mocking of their class. Reports of Richard's school education away from home and Eglantyne and Emily's home education were reported with equal importance, emphasising the heterogeneity of the children's activities at this point in time. In a later volume the magazine tells of Em Jebb's stay in Dresden, where she studied art, and also involves the adult family members in the royal news circulation:

> Prince Richard returns from his pursuit of knowledge at Marlborough college on the 6th of April. We hope he has caught the creature up.
>
> Prince Gamul's term of mind-relief begins this year on March 26. Easter Sunday falls on March 29.
>
> The Dowager Lady Bun is sojourning at Mentone.
>
> The Princess Emily is following in the footprints of the ancient Masters at Dresden. She returns home in May.
>
> His Majesty delivered a lecture on the 'Cries & Songs of Birds' to the assembled Multitudes of the Ellesmere Literary Soc. on Wednesday last.[33]

Here we see that the children's father, Arthur Jebb, held the highest position in this fantasy hierarchy. He was 'His Majesty', their mother Tye was 'the Queen', and their aunt was the 'Dowager Lady Bun'. The children viewed their magazine as reflective of their domestic taxonomy; it was still wedded to the reality of their family life even as it played with fantasy. This fantastical performance is of particular pertinence to the construction of girlhood culture and agency in Eglantyne's manuscript magazines and diaries. Eglantyne draws upon her home literary and creative environment—in this case her knowledge of her siblings' education and

guardians' pursuits—in order to express her own agency within this close-knit family.

Gender Performance in the Jebb Writings

There is an indication that the Jebb girls aspired to a kind of study that was still male-dominated during the late-Victorian era. The first instalment of one of Eglantyne's serialised stories, 'Records of a Gate', enacts a discussion about scholarship between a young brother and sister, Harry and Jenny. The story tells of a boy who is 'coming home from school, holding in one hand his slate & his books, & in the other the chubby fingers of his little sister'.[34] He sees another boy carve his name into a tree, and, seeing that it is part of a scholarly tradition to do so, stops to do it too: 'why, all the fellows do, so now I'm a scholar, of course, I must too'. His little sister protests, telling him 'you're not a scholar [...] I'm more 'n a scholar than you'. She goes on to say, 'Lend me your knife, Harry, I'll cut mine too', to which Harry responds, 'You gals always want to do what the boys do'. But Harry does cut Jenny's name into the tree, underneath his own. Eglantyne's story depicts the gendered discrepancy felt by girls who envied the education of their brothers. Through Jenny's sense of injustice, depicted in her belief that she's 'more 'n a scholar' than her brother, Eglantyne explores the tensions felt by younger sisters towards older brothers in formalised education. Eglantyne's own brothers, Richard and Gamul, both attended the boarding school Marlborough College in Wiltshire. Although Eglantyne proudly details the remote education of her brothers in her 'News of the Month' feature, in this story she recognises the significant differences in the experiences of girls and their brothers. Although, Eglantyne, Dorothy, and Lill did go on to have a university education, a privilege that few women could access at the time.

On several occasions in the magazine, the editor is referred to with male pronouns. This happens particularly in letters which have apparently been sent to the editor by 'Judge Gravity', who is also known as the family dog, Jock. The younger sister Dorothy would write as 'Judge Gravity', and address the letter with 'Mr Editor, Sir'. Gilbert and Gubar write that, for Victorian women writers who used male pseudonyms, 'the cloak of maleness' functioned as a 'practical-seeming refuge from those claustrophobic double binds of "femininity"'.[35] Adopting a male persona augmented the creative licence that girl writers had at their disposal. As Eglantyne's editor persona is referred to as 'Mr Editor, Sir' by the other

children, this indicates that the male label is a result of an inside joke, perhaps based on the example of *Little Women*, or children's shared knowledge of the male-dominated nature of their print culture at home. By the time that the Jebbs were writing in the 1880s, the New Woman writers were challenging male magazine writers' 'sexual prerogative, their monopoly on professional careers, and even those bastions of gentlemanly privilege, Oxford and Cambridge'.[36] In the *Briarland Recorder* we see that this challenge to a masculine monopoly on education and professionality was also challenged by New Girls through their writing.

Educational prospects for girls shifted dramatically during the 1880s and 1890s. Elementary education became available to every child in England in 1870 but it was only made compulsory in 1880. The first female university students gathered in 1869, but, as Mitchell has highlighted, 'although intellectual magazines discussed women's higher education during the 1860s and 1870s, the surge in interest did not reach a wide public until the next decade'.[37] During the year 1878, the University of London began to admit women and the Association for the Higher Education for Women at Oxford was established.[38] Yet this did not mean that girls were immediately benefitting from the same level of educational access and autonomy as their brothers.[39] In the *Briarland Recorder* Eglantyne writes of Em studying art in Dresden, where she spent six months studying portrait painting and improving her German. Linda Mahood suggests that this was typical of 'many affluent English girls'.[40] When they grew older, both Eglantyne and Em studied at Oxford, and Lill and Dorothy studied at Cambridge. Mitchell notes that

> even by 1915, no more than a few thousand women had been students at Oxford or Cambridge, taken examinations for a London degree, or attended classes at one of the mixed-sex provincial universities. Nevertheless, the knowledge that women had surpassed men in institutions central not only to the intellectual but also to the political and cultural life of the nation gave the idea of 'college' an enormous impact on a thoughtful girl's sense of potential.[41]

Yet during their childhood, the Jebb girls' access to higher education was uncertain. Their father, Arthur Jebb, did not believe in sending his daughters to college. Although he encouraged Eglantyne's creative and intellectual aptitudes in her girlhood, he feared for her becoming a 'bluestocking', and wrote in a letter to his wife in 1891 that a 'ladies'

college seems to me a ladies' school with all its evils intensified, because the time of life is just the most impressionable and hazardous as any'.[42] He refused to spare 40 pounds per annum to send his eldest daughter, Lil, to Newnham College, so his sister Louisa Jebb (Aunt Bun) paid the fees.[43] Arthur died in 1894 and it was Aunt Bun who helped to pay for Eglantyne's fees when she went to study History at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, in 1895. Aunt Bun also paid for the youngest daughter Dorothy to go to Newnham to study Economics and Moral Sciences. The first letter that Eglantyne sent from university was to Bun, in which she movingly writes:

> When I first heard of your helping in our educational expenses, I began to take an interest in living, as opposed to dreaming [...] It was such a blessing to know that there was no necessity to drivel through [...] days and months; to know that a stepping-stone was laid for you, just at the moment when you would want it most.[44]

Aunt Bun was a major influence during Eglantyne's girlhood. Along with her governess, Bun was Eglantyne's day-to-day contact. She supervised the girls' lessons and was a great supporter of higher education for women, having attended Newnham College herself, the second college at the University of Cambridge to admit women after Girton College. Bun was an unconventional New Woman figure and an inspiration for the girls; Em called her 'the companion of pranks and the inspirer of dreams'.[45] Their unmarried aunt wore shorter skirts, a man's linen collar, and was often engaged in outdoor activities and manual work. The New Woman type which Bun adhered to was newly flourishing, and girl writers living earlier in the nineteenth century would not have had direct guidance from a strong proto-feminist role model in the immediate domestic space.

This tussle between conservative Victorian beliefs of the separate spheres—which Chap. 2 explored in relation to Charlotte Yonge—and the New Women identities which were being created in the 1880s was distilled in literature for girls. Mitchell notes how 'the boy dream had multiple resonances: girls wanted active games, a serious education, and adult rights and responsibilities', yet fiction for girls 'mixed its messages, simultaneously permitting boyishness and ambivalently undercutting it'.[46] New Girls who possessed boyish traits were a source of concern for some Victorian writers. Girls who were too boyish could be labelled hoydens, and risked their future marriageability. Yet the use of male pseudonyms in their writings proved that this was not a marked concern for the Jebb girls.

Caught between the influence of their father who did not want to send his daughters to university, their New Woman Aunt who advocated higher education, and their own co-produced aspirations in their written culture, the Jebb sisters navigated these contradictions which affected the lives of girls in the 1880s and 1890s through their writing projects.

Conclusion

The Jebb siblings actively constructed their own experience of girlhood through their creative, culturally engaged, and appropriative literary culture. Girls who wrote in the 1880s had new opportunities and aspirations which were not available to writers like the Gosling Society who wrote in the 1860s and 1870s. This is reflected in the Jebbs' ironic stories and poems about girls' education and conduct. Moreover, the Jebb sisters' manuscript projects demonstrated the specific peer culture that was cultivated between the siblings. The differences in the siblings' life stages and educational experiences were to be both mocked and celebrated. The collaboration was orchestrated by Eglantyne, but each young contributor of the *Briarland Recorder* adopted a role according to their aspirations, and Eglantyne interacted with them according to their age. The nurturing of collaborative writing was also based on a shared understanding of literary knowledge; the Jebbs' sibling culture was, therefore, deeply indebted to print culture.

The Jebb siblings appropriated the process of manuscript magazine collaboration represented in *Little Women*. Alcott's novel, which celebrates the in-between culture of girls on the cusp of womanhood, was a model for Eglantyne's perception of her own ideal sibling culture. More broadly, the significant intertext of Alcott (as well as Dickens) speaks to the intergenerational and transnational appeal of children's literature. The adaptation of Alcott in the amateur family-made magazines *Briarland Recorder* as well as the *Poodlewig Paper* communicates this celebration of adaptive writing and derivative culture. The Jebbs' cultural engagement in the *Briarland Recorder* was attuned to the gendered status quo of literary production and knowingly subverted this. Eglantyne's performance and reproduction of girlhood culture was aware of its liminal position in a larger literary culture. But, in claiming a space and developing networks of cultural production through sibling collaboration, Eglantyne, with Em and Dorothy, cultivated a writing culture which epitomised the hopeful new girlhood of the later nineteenth century.

Notes

1. 'UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)', *Save the Children* www.savethechildren.org.uk/what-we-do/childrens-rights/united-nations-convention-of-the-rights-of-the-child.
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3. See Linda Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action: Eglantyne Jebb and Save the Children, 1876– 1928* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
4. Eglantyne Jebb, 'Journal 1886', pp. 8–9. JEJB/A/01/01-13.
5. My thanks extend to the Women's Library for their permission to reproduce this material (JEJB/A).
6. Wilson, *Rebel Daughter*, pp. 46–47.
7. Ibid. p. 46.
8. Eglantyne Jebb, 'The debate', *Journal*, Volume II, pp. 38–43.
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12. Eglantyne Jebb, 'On the anniversary of the B.R.', *Briarland Recorder*, March 1890–August 1891, pp. 10–11.
13. Dorothy Jebb, 'A no-named poem', *Briarland Recorder*, March 1890–August 1891, p. 31.
14. Diana Dixon, 'From Instruction to Amusement: Attitudes of Authority in Children's Periodicals before 1914', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 19.2 (1986), 63–67, p. 64.
15. Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, *You're a Brick, Angela! The Girls' Story From 1839–1975* (London: Gollancz, 1976), p. 37.
16. Emily Shore, *Journal of Emily Shore* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1891 and 1989), p. 233.
17. Diary of Eva Knatchbull-Hugessen, 10 March 1878, Kent History and Library Centre, U 951/F 30/3, p. 54.
18. Charles Dickens, *The Pickwick Papers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. x.
19. Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women* (London: Puffin, 1994), p. 141.
20. Ibid. p. 146.
21. Ibid. p. 195.
22. Kristina West, *Louisa May Alcott and the Textual Child* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020) p. 196.

23. Joann River, 'Eliza Ann Woodruff Hopkins (E.A.W.H.) and The Olive Branch, Boston, Massachusetts', http://josfamilyhistory.com/htm/hopkins/hopkins-eliza/eawh-articles/theolivebranch.htm; Madeleine B. Stern, 'Louisa May Alcott and the Boston "Saturday Evening Gazette"', *American Periodicals*, 2 (1992) 64–78. Alcott received $5 for her tale.
24. *Olive Leaf* (1849), Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Am 1817.2.
25. Ibid. p. 142.
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28. Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880–1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 6.
29. My thanks go to Andrew Scott for sharing his family magazine the *Poodlewig Paper* with me.
30. Moi-même, 'The Editor at Home', *Poodlewig Paper*, 1.1, September 1898, p. 17.
31. Ibid., p. 15.
32. Eglantyne Jebb, 'News of the Month', *Briarland Recorder*, Volume III, September 1889–February 1890, p. 10.
33. Eglantyne Jebb, 'News of the Month', *Briarland Recorder*, March 1890–August 1891, pp. 32–33.
34. Eglantyne Jebb, 'Records of a Gate', *Briarland Recorder*, Volume III, September 1889–February 1890, p. 2.
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37. Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 49.
38. Rhama D. Pope and Maurice G. Verbeke, 'Ladies' Educational Organizations in England, 1865–86', *Paedagogica Historica*, 16.2 (1976), 336–361 (p. 336). See also Gleadle, 'Magazine culture, girlhood communities, and educational reform'.
39. See Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge, 1981), p. 120.
40. Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action*, p. 58.
41. Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 49. Some girl writers of the *Barnacle*, explored in Chap. 2, attended women's colleges.

42. Letter from Trevor Arthur Jebb to Eglantyne Louisa Jebb, 4 October 1891 (Jebb papers). See Mahood, 'writing a rebel daughter', p. 4.
43. Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action*, p. 59.
44. Wilson, *Rebel Daughter*, p. 57.
45. Mahood, *Feminism and Voluntary Action*, p. 58.
46. Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 105; p. 108.

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CHAPTER 4

Community in Girl-Led Manuscript Magazines of the 1890s

Abstract The 1890s was a significant decade for women's equality, and girls were experiencing rapid changes in all aspects of their lives. These changes were reflected in their manuscript cultures, especially in girls' engagement with genre and textual appropriation. In 1890s children's manuscript magazines there is a greater freedom to engage with different kinds of fiction and other content in these magazines, such as children's fiction and advice literature, and we see clear parodic engagements with literature. This chapter focuses on the example of the manuscript magazine the *Evergreen Chain*, and particularly the changing relationship to original versus derivative content in a predominantly girl-led context.

Keywords *Evergreen Chain* • Peer culture • Circulation • Canon • Criticism • Genre • Gender

> *They were totally ignorant of the outside world. […] Kipling, Caine, Corelli, and even the name of Gladstone, were only names to them. […] With me it was different. Where I obtained my information, unless it was born in me, I do not know.*
> —*Miles Franklin,* My Brilliant Career *(1901)*

The six surviving volumes of the *Evergreen Chain* held at the Museum of Childhood in Edinburgh date from 1892, 1893–4, 1895, 1897, 1898,

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L. Burke, *Late-Victorian Girls and their Manuscript Magazines*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-86524-4_4

and 1899.[1] Exact details of how the manuscript magazine began are not known, but when the first editor Miss Lear handed editorship over to 16-year-old Olive Johnstone Douglas in 1894, she mentioned that Miss Johnstone Douglas had helped to found the group. Miss Lear listed two addresses; one in Edinburgh and one in London. Olive Johnstone Douglas lived at Comlongon Castle in Dumfries, Scotland, and most of the contributors listed Scottish addresses. Some of the contributors were related (Olive's sisters Nina and Caroline also contributed to the magazine), and the others were presumably linked by family acquaintance.[2] Each magazine issue contains short stories, longer stories in serial format, poems, riddles, drawings, and paintings. Every young person in the Chain would send their creative work to the editor every month who then copied out the writing in her own hand and pasted the pictures into the bound volume. The editor then sent the completed issue, with notes, and criticism in later volumes, back around the *Chain* members. They were under strict instruction to send it on to the next member at the provided address, and to not keep the volume for longer than two days.

The contributors were adolescent girls, although there was a minority of boy writers: 5 out of 34. In the first volume from 1892, the ages of contributors were between 11 and 14 years old. The contributors had in common the experience of middle- or upper-class childhoods. The Honourable Isobel Edwardes contributed from the beginning of the magazine, when she was 13 years old. Both Isobel Edwardes and the Johnstone Douglases were descended from royalty.[3] As has been suggested in Chap. 2 on the *Barnacle*, sustained manuscript magazine writing found in wealthy domestic spaces and schools was likely to be preserved. Yet unlike the *Barnacle*, the *Evergreen Chain* was entirely written and edited by adolescents. As the editor seldom set essay questions or writing prompts for the contributors like Charlotte Yonge did for the Goslings, the tone of the *Evergreen Chain* differs significantly. The manuscript magazine functioned as a site for girls to explore literary creativity, without the expectation to research as rigorously as the Goslings did, but with self-imposed peer pressure. In the *Evergreen Chain*, as with examples dating from earlier decades, we can see an engagement with concepts of originality and imitation through the girls' poetry and stories.

An opening poem in the *Evergreen Chain* introduces the manuscript project and describes its function:

The Evergreen Chain is a magazine
Of far & wide renown.
The writers are, some of them, not thirteen,
And the head of it all is lovely "Miss Brown."
"It goes on its round each month in the year,
The addresses are given inside,
The rules are not strictly kept, I fear,
Which the Editor made as a General Guide."
"Towards the end of the month come letters, with curses,
From the justly impatient "Miss Brown":-
"Oh, where are your drawings, your stories & verses?

The receivers these of take them meekly,—or frown!"
"Two of the writers are very well known to the author of this little ditty,
After one of these letters, she hears a moan:-
"No time,"—"no ideas,"—seems a Pity!"
"But in spite of these letters, delays & small woes,
Which are kept quite behind the scenes,
The result is a neat-written volume, which grows,
Of the Evergreen Chain, Best of All Magazines!"
(by S.E. otherwise "Sarah", a pal of "Miss Brown's")[4]

This poem describes the collaborative process of creating the manuscript magazine, and reflects the core focus of the magazine, which was the lived experience of its writers and readers. This theme is evident in the serialised story submissions that focus on domestic life, encompassing relationships with siblings, parents, and governesses. The stress on young adolescent experience is also evident in the magazine's inclusion of work done by 'Honorary Members', who were either older or younger than the regular contributors. Regular contributors who were not listed as 'Honorary' were aged between 11 and 19 years old. This special inclusion of the work of 'Honorary Members' is established by the editor in the very first issue of the magazine:

> The Editor wishes to say that although Honorary Members are permitted to contribute to the Magazine, under no condition will the Magazines be forwarded to them for reading, so that as they will not even see the Members contributions there can be no rivalry between Honorary Members who may be grown-up and junior members.[5]

Submissions from 'Honorary Members' were welcomed, but rivalry across generational boundaries was limited, as these members could not read the completed manuscript magazines. The competitive aspect of the magazine was strictly maintained to function amongst direct peers, in order to enable the contributors to hone their craft.

The competitive element increased as the magazine and its contributors matured. In the early volumes a story competition was occasionally held, and the best story was decided by the editor and earned a few shillings as a prize. However, in later volumes a voting table was introduced, in which the contributors could mark 'x' next to their favourite piece of writing or drawing. The Critic's Page was also introduced, which provided a short appraisal of each submission to the *Chain*. This was written last, as the critic would remark on the number of checks that each submission received. The Critic's Page was long left anonymous, although in the March/April volume of 1899 it is signed 'A. M. Hitchcock, Head Mistress of Kensington High School'. Agnes M. Hitchcock was Headmistress at the school from 1879 to 1900, and during this time she made a lifelong friendship with her student Emily Wilding Davison, the staunch suffragette who, in protest, threw herself under King George V's horse at the 1913 Epsom Derby.[6] It is unknown how Agnes Hitchcock was recruited to comment on the *Evergreen Chain* but it is germane to consider that her support of women's education cultivated one of the most militant early feminists. Hitchcock joined the *Evergreen Chain* in its latter stage, when the contributors were in their late teens, and functioned as a distant reviewer. This wider context in which the *Evergreen Chain* girls were writing differs vastly with the anti-university beliefs held by Yonge during her editorship of the *Barnacle*, or equally by the father of the Jebb girls who wrote the *Briarland Recorder*.

From the beginning of the *Evergreen Chain* regular contributors deliberately included their age at the request of Miss Lear: 'The editor should prefer if each Member, when signing her name, would also state age'.[7] When the second editor, Miss Johnstone Douglas, ran a competition for the best story in an 1895 volume, she stated that she would 'judge the stories, according to the age of the competitors'.[8] As only one reward of one shilling was given out for all age groups, the editor presumably wanted to know the age of contributors so that she could show more leniency and give more feedback to younger writers. Strict guidelines on contributors' ages were enacted in other manuscript magazines during the nineteenth century. Pat Pflieger points out that the *Weekly Magpie* (1859), an

American magazine edited by 15-year-old Thomas Donaldson, Jr, had to amend its rule of 'No Contributions are inserted from persons over 15 years of age' when the editor himself surpassed that age.[9] Similarly, in later volumes of the *Evergreen Chain* the editor is made to reconfigure her categorisation of contributors by age. From the 1898 volume Miss Johnstone Douglas groups the contributors into Class I and Class II; contributors in Class I are over the age of 19, and girls in Class II are under the age of 19. However, the upper and lower limits of the two classes were not clearly delineated, and some contributors were still given the vague 'Honorary Member' label, which did not demarcate their age. The strategy of confining the age of contributors worked towards promoting teenage writing as a discrete category, which was deserving of its own platform.

The 1890s Cultural Context

The title of the magazine might have alluded to an investment in sharing literature that had previously been marginalised. *The Ever Green: Being a Collection of Scots Poems*, published in 1761, was the project of Allan Ramsay—a poet, publisher, librarian and playwright of early Enlightenment Edinburgh.[10] His collection features Scots poems, including several by the Scottish makar and love poet Alexander Montgomerie (1550–1598). It was re-printed by the Glasgow publisher Robert Forrester in 1875, 17 years before the first existing volume of the *Evergreen Chain* was written. Patrick Geddes' *Evergreen* magazine (1895–97, 4 volumes) reflected Allan Ramsay's project to renew and consolidate Scottish culture. Geddes (1854–1932) was a polymath interested in reconceptualising cities, communities, and cultures. His short-lived 'little' magazine was published as the Celtic Revival and Arts and Crafts movement peaked in Scotland. It was compared to other avant-garde magazines such as the *Yellow Book*, often unfavourably. Elisa Grilli suggests that the *Evergreen* was something of an amateur magazine, as it prioritised its decentralised aesthetic over the remuneration of the contributors and editors.[11] As the editor of the *Evergreen Chain* and many of the contributors were based in Scotland, they perhaps drew inspiration from Allan Ramsay's reprinted publication which revived older poetry for contemporary nineteenth-century audiences. Therefore, the title of the magazine coded it as a serious though marginal literary endeavour imbued with national cultural pride. The poem that is cited at the introduction to this chapter, for instance, encapsulates the feelings of joy and duty that the *Evergreen* contributors felt.

Although writing the original content sometimes engendered 'delays & small woes', ultimately the contributors continued to submit work to the collaboration as they prided it as being the 'Best of all Magazines'. Unlike the writings of Charlotte Yonge's Goslings in the *Barnacle* magazine, which cited popular periodical magazines such as *Temple Bar* and *Blackwood's* in order to suggest the superiority of their own publication, the poetic homage to the *Evergreen Chain* focuses only on the experience of the *Chain* members. This may not be coincidental but rather might be indicative of significant developments in girls' culture.

The period between Yonge's the *Barnacle*, which began in the 1860s, and the 1890s *Evergreen Chain*, witnessed many great changes that affected girl writers. Elaine Showalter's historiography of women's writing points to the 1890s as the decade during which earlier modes of 'imitative' writing turned subversive. In her theorisation of the three stages of women's writing during the nineteenth century, she suggests that following a stage of mimesis and 'advocacy of minority rights and values' is a final stage of 'self discovery, a turning inward freed from some of the dependency of opposition'.[12] Showalter argues that by the end of the Victorian era, women writers were rejecting their ties to the masculine literary world, and made women's experiences and trials the central concern of their fiction. New Woman writers of the *fin de siècle* critiqued gendered double standards, such as the social stigma attached to 'bachelor' women who worked and never married, or who were sexually liberated.[13] These upheavals in women's writing at the end of the nineteenth century inevitably filtered through to aspiring girl writers.

Adolescent girls read Olive Schreiner's novel of a modern girlhood *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) which, according to Mitchell, 'contained forbidden knowledge about feminism, atheism, cruelty, and sexuality'.[14] New Woman novels containing similar themes written by L.T. Meade and Sarah Grand were also read by girls. One of Meade's novels, *The Cleverest Woman in England* (1898) was described in publishers' advertisements as being about 'emancipated women devoted to the cause of their sex'.[15] Magazines for girls including *Girl's Own Paper*, *Atalanta*, and *Girl's Realm* all produced articles on the New Woman, on education and careers for girls, but not without inconsistencies. For example, the much-maligned symbol of New Woman identity—the bicycle—was offered as a prize in magazine competitions. The medical contributor to the *Girl's Own Paper*, Dr Gordon Stables, approved of cycling for girls, but other health warnings associated with the activities of modern girlhood were simultaneously

issued by other magazine contributors.[16] There was no doubt that in the 1890s the complexion of girlhood had changed and was changing still.

Mitchell and Moruzi have both suggested that through reading, circulating and contributing to published magazines, girls engaged with political debates about the changing social position of women and girls. For example, Moruzi highlights that the magazine the *Young Woman* (1892–1915) sought to educate girls on how to choose a husband, and 'expands notions of girlhood by insisting that men be held to similar standards as women'.[17] The middle-class girl writers of the *Evergreen Chain* could expect to pursue qualifications and a career of the sort that their mothers could not. They had the potential to write, and aspired to write, in ways which had previously seemed unattainable. Disrupting the feminine domestic hegemony through manuscript magazine writing became possible in the *Evergreen Chain*. Before this, the *Barnacle* promoted writing practice as a proponent of separate sphere values: for the editor Yonge, a woman writer still had to maintain traditional feminine attributes, and she viewed women as 'inferior' to men. Yet by the 1890s the girl writers of the *Evergreen Chain* had begun to ask further questions about the nature of authorship for girls. In one memorable poem from an 1894 volume of *Evergreen*, the speaker discusses various careers of men, and in the final stanza turns to her status as an at-home writer: 'No examinations [...] but Alas! Also no pay'.[18]

In the final three decades of the nineteenth century literary production had tripled, and fiction had a mass readership. Peter Keating, in his study of fiction between the 1870s and 1914, calls this period an 'age of transition', which many contemporary writers acknowledged. This transitional stage, he argues, 'could provoke uncertainty, confusion, pessimism [...] alternatively, it could inspire pride, excitement, and eager anticipation'.[19] As magazines, New Woman fiction and other kinds of new literature came to inform the manuscripts that girls could recreate at home, while the discourse surrounding genre and propriety changed too. Although differences in genre were evident, girl writers still engaged with the same techniques of appropriation that they had used in manuscript efforts of previous decades.

The dual approach of mimicry and parody was still a useful way to approach the writing of literary fiction. The contributors' and the editor's commitment to realist writing was inconsistent during the course of the *Evergreen Chain*'s run. Writing across a combination of genres, from the familiar historical romance to nonsense poetry, was acceptable in its pages.

The manuscript magazine manifested the negotiation of transition, in understandings of literary fiction and also in the symbolic understanding of girlhood. This flexible approach to genre reflected both the autonomy granted by the manuscript magazine form, and the effusion of children's literature at the end of the nineteenth century. By analysing girls' responses to contemporary ideas about genre, as well as their strategies of textual appropriation, one can comprehend the mechanics of girls' self-directed manuscript culture.

Thematising the Writing Process in the *Evergreen Chain*

The writers of the *Evergreen Chain* did not shy away from representing the difficulties girls faced when writing creatively. 'A Poem' is a short story concerning a girl character who is mocked by her siblings for writing a poem. Alice, the writer, is 'nearly thirteen' and a middle child. The story is set in the shared home schoolroom amongst Alice's older siblings, who are particularly scathing about her literary efforts. The story begins like many other stories in the *Evergreen Chain*, with a discussion between children; but in the story's focus on Alice's struggle for creative acknowledgement, it becomes more metatextual than other stories about cruel sibling behaviour. The story launches into Alice's humiliating experience:

> "Go on Alice, we all want to hear it, so read it, do, there's a dear."
> And the five children, clustered round the schoolroom fire, looked imploringly at their little sister.
> Alice hesitated. "I wish I had never told you about it," she said, "it is so silly."
> All the same she unfolded a bit of foolscap paper and began
> "The lady sat in her flowery tower
> "A letter by her lay
> "Her heart was sad for the news was bad
> "She could not more be gay.
> "Tomorrow morn if all went well
> "She was to have been wed
> "But she shook in her shoes when she heard the news
> "That Thomas was now dead. --
> Alice paused. "There are eight verses" she said, "do you like it, shall I go on."
> "I daresay it's very nice," said one of her brothers "only isn't it rather odd."
> "To begin with" said Edith, "who is the lady?
> Alice looked a little confused.

> "Oh! Just a person, she said, "who lived hundreds of years ago."
> "Then her lover's name wouldn't have been Thomas" objected Edith, "however never mind, go on."
>
> "No, don't Alice dear," said Edith, her eldest sister, "it isn't a nice poem dear, and I don't think it's poetical to say, she shook in her shoes," and Ella laughed as she glanced down the neatly written verses.
> "I don't care," cried Alice angrily, "I think you're very rude and I won't read you any more."
>
> There was a shout of laughter at this and a chorus of voices cried "We're only too glad." This was too much for Alice's feelings, she seized the paper from Ella's hand and slamming the door after her, she ran downstairs. Her feelings were really hurt, it had been her first poem and she assured herself it would be the last.[20]

In the first verse of Alice's recounted poem we can detect the common themes that have been identified in the writing of adolescent girls: expressions of self-doubt, tropes of historical romance, and a prizing of historical accuracy. The first line presents 'a lady' 'in her flowery tower', which immediately sets the poem in a location both distant in time, and potentially fantastical. This is confirmed when Alice is questioned on her historical accuracy by her older sister, which was a priority of studious girl writers. This can be seen in the Goslings' commitment to accurate historical research in the *Barnacle*'s articles, which they had come to expect from Yonge's challenging essay society in the *Monthly Packet*.

Edith, the 15-year-old sister of the young poet Alice, functions as the arbiter of literary credibility. When Alice admits that her 'lady' is 'just a person' 'who lived hundreds of years ago' Edith immediately criticises Alice's choice of name for what will presumably be her chivalric hero: 'then her lover's name wouldn't have been Thomas'. Edith's superior knowledge over Alice's comes only from her extra two years in the schoolroom. Yet within the culture of adolescent writing, this can make all the difference. This goes to some extent to explain the strict membership categorisation in the *Evergreen Chain*, wherein younger or older writers could contribute, but were considered to be 'Honorary Members'. An image which particularly captures this hierarchical relationship in children's manuscript magazines is from the 1910s example the *Pierrot* (Fig. 4.1). The *Pierrot* was edited by teenage Ruth Dent and written by her band of younger contributors. In the image, 'The Arrival of the

Fig. 4.1 'The Arrival of Pierrot', *Pierrot* (loose sheet), n.d. p. 45

Pierrot', the oldest and tallest girl in the group holds power over the manuscript, keeping it just out of reach from the young and eager readers and writers.

In 'A Poem', the *denouement* does not give Alice the reassurance in her creative efforts that she initially craves. A rich neighbour moves next door

to the family, and one day Alice finds the old man reading her story in their living room. He criticises it too, remarking, 'who wrote this rubbish'. When Alice tells him it is hers, he laughs and she snatches it off him, tearing the manuscript in the process. He asks how he can make it up to her, and she says she longs for a pony. On Christmas Day a pony called Toby is sent to her, and the story ends with her receiving the gift. This is regarded by all of the children as a happy resolution: 'Edith and the twins have written poems too in hopes that generous old gentleman will tear them and give them ponies to make up. […] I really think she will always remember her first poem which brought her greatest wish'.[21] Alice's poem is ultimately forgotten about, and her satisfaction with the pony supersedes her ambitions to write. For the writer of 'A Poem', Helena Mary Gillon, the story announces a recognition of forms of girlhood writing; she depicts Alice's fascination with the historical romance genre. By playfully mocking this habit of girl writers, to experiment with writing without thorough research, she highlights the superiority of the older girl who possesses greater experience in writing and reading. But, by introducing the pony as an alternative reward to the glory of having Alice's poem appreciated by her siblings, and older adults, Gillon also debunks the great sincerity that girls attach to their writing efforts. She suggests that writing is but one of many pursuits that girls desire. Yet 'A Poem' demonstrates that the external critique of writing attempts is still a cause of anxiety for aspiring girl writers.

Appropriating Children's Literature and Culture

The poem 'Bagheara' indicates that wide reading and a knowledge of literary culture were still valued attributes in girls' manuscript writings of the 1890s. But at this point a new canon of source texts fit for adaptation had emerged, and included titles of children's literature. 'Bagheara' was written by a contributor identified only as H.N.C., age 18, and was included in the January 1898 volume of the *Evergreen Chain*. The poem anthropomorphises a black cat who chooses to name himself after Rudyard Kipling's black panther character in *The Jungle Book*. Bagheara is apparently immersed in literary culture, as we see in the following stanzas:

VIII
He was very well read
Thought highly of "Stead"
Liked "Merisman", "Kipling" and "Twain",
But he said for my part
I see no one in art
To compare with the great "Louis Wain."

IX
His own name he took
From the famed "Jungle Book"
For thought he—"I can see nothing clearer
From tail-tip to paws
We're as like as two straws
From henceforth my name is "Bagheara".[22]

The listed cultural allusions in 'Bagheara', which we have seen in other examples of children's poetry in manuscript magazines, show that the poem is a display of knowledge. It is a playful contribution to a magazine which featured all kinds of submissions. Most explicitly the poem engages with Rudyard Kipling's collection of stories *The Jungle Book* (1894). In *The Jungle Book* Bagheara is a black panther who serves as a protector and mentor to the 'Man Cub' Mowgli. In 'Bagheara' the writer extends the character of the panther by endowing him with literary cultivation. The writer makes the connections between the representations of cats in popular culture (Kipling and Wain) and creates an amusing appropriation by merging the two together. The artist Louis Wain created various depictions of anthropomorphised cats, which decorated late-Victorian and early-Edwardian nurseries. He contributed regularly to children's books and magazines, and his illustrations were often of a sardonic nature. The speaker 'liked' Mark Twain, whose best-known children's novels were *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1875) and its sequel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). The writer of 'Bagheara' displays her contemporary literary knowledge in this poem. By prioritising one artist over others, she shows a kind of discernment learnt from adults. Yet, by inciting artists who were specifically appealing to a young audience (Wain and Kipling), her critical approach to literature is distinctly youth-led.

Humorous writing can also be seen in the 'Nonsense Rhyme' sections in the *Evergreen Chain*. Edward Lear's foundational collection of limericks *A Book of Nonsense* was published in 1846, but the form was popular up until the early twentieth century. Girls of the *Evergreen Chain* were

interested in re-creating nonsense rhymes in the 1890s. For example, the Hon. Isobel Edwardes, aged 13, wrote a limerick in the November 1892 volume of the *Evergreen Chain* which clearly drew on one of Lear's poems:

> There was an old man of Quebec
> Who had an extraordinary neck
> It would twist and twould turn
> Til they called him the heron
> And sent him away from Quebec.'

For comparison, Lear's rhyme goes:

> There was an Old Man of Quebec,—
> A beetle ran over his neck;
> But he cried, "With a needle I'll slay you, O beadle!"
> That angry Old Man of Quebec.

Edwardes maintains the nonsensical nature of the rhyme, but furnishes the appropriation as her own by changing the animal that is mentioned from a 'beetle' to a 'heron'. The limerick form is an example of writing, like folk and fairy tales, which has a non-fixed point of origin. The term 'limerick' only became used to describe this type of nonsense rhyme at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, it was not until the third edition of *Nonsense Rhymes* was published in 1861 that Lear de-anonymised himself, and the limerick form gained huge popularity. Thus, the girls of the *Chain* embedded themselves in the habit of appropriation which they witnessed elsewhere.

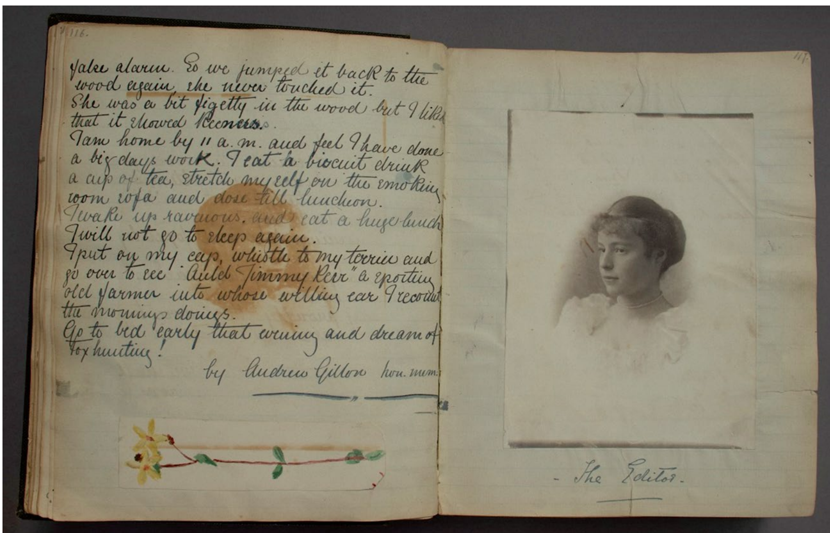
Editor's Reports and Critics Page

Although manuscript magazines of the 1890s presented new opportunities for girls to engage with different genres in creative writing, there were still rules to follow. Criticism of girls' writing attempts can be seen in the editor reports and critics pages in the *Evergreen Chain*. An editor report was written when the competition element was introduced in 1893, so that the editor could provide feedback on the submissions and justify her choice of winning story. Often the editor report focused on the formal elements of the contributions, such as spelling and grammar. At other times the critique moves to subjective features of style and genre. The girls' attempts to recreate reality were particularly scrutinised. In the

December 1893 volume, the editor chose a winning story which was signed by the pseudonym 'Lalla'. The editor, Miss Olive Johnstone Douglas (Fig. 4.2), began with her criticisms of the story: 'I must tell "Lalla" that parts of her story are very carelessly written and she has not taken enough trouble to word her sentences clearly and correctly'.[23] Although 'Lalla's' story contained some of the worst in faults of style, she awarded the prize because:

> her story makes a sort of picture—she saw it in her mind's eye and she has written down what she saw in such a way that we see it to. For instance when she described the nursery, she mentioned just those things which brought a picture before our eyes—the blazing fire, the tea-things ready to be washed, we can imagine the two little figures on the hearthrug, and so on.[24]

The writer was praised for her ability to describe the domestic detail of the story in a convincing way. Lalla's story is used as an exemplar, and the editor goes on to suggest how the other writers of *Evergreen* could endear their stories to her literary judgement:



116.

false alarm. So we jumped it back to the wood again, she never touched it.
She was a bit figetty in the wood but I liked that it showed keenness.
I am home by 11 a.m. and feel I have done a big days work. I eat a biscuit drink a cup of tea, stretch myself on the smoking room sofa and dose till luncheon.
I wake up ravenous, and eat a huge lunch I will not go to sleep again.
I put on my cap, whistle to my terrier and go over to see "Auld Jimmy Kerr" a sporting old farmer into whose willing ear I recount the mornings doings.
Go to bed early that evening and dream of fox hunting!

by Andrew Gillon hon. mem.

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— The Editor.

Fig. 4.2 Olive Johnstone Douglas, 'The Editor', *Evergreen Chain*, March 1897, p. 117

> I daresay you think I am very fault-finding but you know people cannot correct their faults if they do not know of them. And I daresay too that some of you do not understand all I have said, but you will someday, if you go on trying to write stories, which I hope you will all do. And this is my parting word of advice, try and make your stories as much like real life as you possibly can. Tell us what you see and hear in the world round you, and don't, oh don't write stories that are only echoes of stories you have read.[25]

As one of the older and more experienced members of the *Chain*, as well as the person who judged the writing competition, the editor felt able to give the members advice on their writing technique. Notably, she reinforced the advice given by adult arbiters of children's culture, that young writers should acknowledge their limited life experience if they want to be taken seriously. The editor encouraged members to write with restricted imagination to reflect their real lived experience. This editor also advised against imitation, like Charlotte Yonge did, as it indicated a lack of wider world knowledge. This editorial advice worked against the explicit desires of the *Evergreen Chain* writers to engage with entertaining children's fiction like *The Jungle Book*. We see a tension here between the younger girls' writing impulses and the older girl editor's role in guiding her younger contributors.

A similar dynamic can be found in the manuscript periodical the *Red Heart Magazine* (1894–1895). The magazine and its society were made up entirely of girls aged 13 years old and upwards, with the editor, Alice Bowden, being the oldest at 18 years old. The girls predominantly lived in Edinburgh, Dumfries, and North Berwick addresses, though a few of the girls lived in the south of England. As in similar manuscript magazines, the girls adopted pseudonyms, they established a 'critic's page', and they also included an 'exchange page' so that girls could offer to swap books. The assessment of the contributions in the critic's page, much like in the *Evergreen Chain*, was often concerned with the lack of originality in the submissions that the younger girls offered. In the issue of *Red Heart Magazine* from August 1894, the critic's page reads: 'This poem is not good. Snowdrop must observe the same precautions as Robin, and we would also recommend her to get hold of more original ideas'.[26] Advice like this was repeatedly issued, and in the issue that followed two months later, the editor wrote: 'members must study their nouns & pronouns, & above all, be original. They must try to write in their own way, not anyone else's & then they will by degrees find out what their special gift is'.[27] Girl editors encouraged their writers to develop their own unique style.

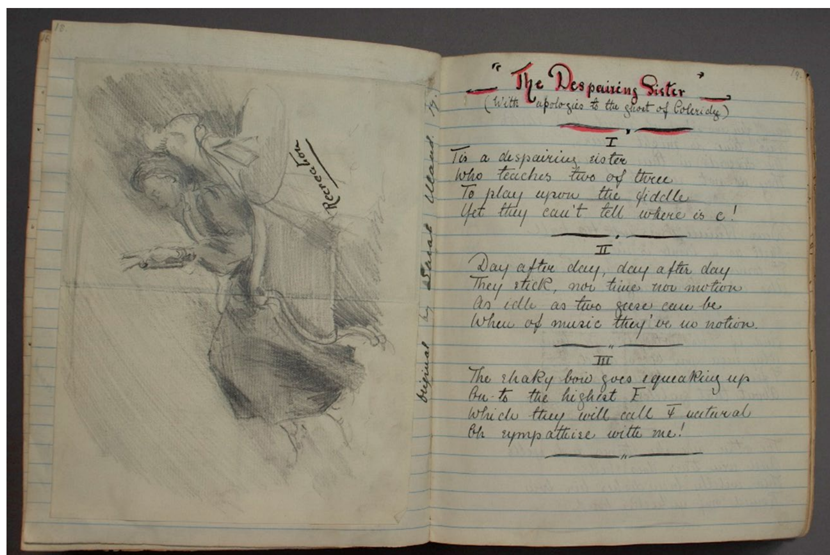
Feminist theories of gendered writing enhance our understanding of appropriation, imitation, and originality in girls' manuscript magazines. Adrienne Rich sees re-vision as an act of feminist survival in a male-dominated society. She writes that 're-vision—the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction—is for us more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival'.[28] In the context of the manuscript magazines, girl writers repeatedly revise male-authored texts. This not only represents the girls' valuation of established cultures, but also marks an inauguration into a culture of interpretive reproduction. Considering the socio-historical context of the magazine's production, in 1890s Britain, it is germane to situate the revisionary impulses in the *Evergreen Chain* as influenced by contemporary debates about women and authorship.

Realist writing, according to George Eliot and Charlotte Yonge, was the enterprise of serious female writers. For conservative Victorian writers, fancy and sensation were the antithesis of writing informed by reason and research.[29] Yet restricting imagination goes against the impulse of young writers, who via 'unfamiliar or extra familiar connections, lifestyles, landscapes, and literature [...] anticipate[d], imagine[d], or invent[ed], whether as a means of temporary escape while still home, or as a process of preparing for the as-yet untravelled territory of adulthood'.[30] Writers who were older and more experienced (even negligibly so, like *Evergreen Chain*'s young editor) encouraged girls to put aside the play of writing, and to instead write in a realist register, drawing on their real life experience to write convincing stories. Of course, this advice was rather limiting, and as the *Evergreen Chain* members were keen readers as well as writers, their writing appropriated imaginative modes that they had seen in published form. The advice from *Evergreen Chain*'s editor on the limited knowledge and experience of girl writers is close to what Charlotte Yonge advised in her article 'On Authorship', in which she wrote that young people's 'knowledge of life cannot help being limited, and if taken from books, their work is imitative'. The fear of imitation is repeated in the *Evergreen* editor's page—'<u>don't</u> write stories that are only echoes of stories you have read'. This can potentially be read as contradictory, as some members engaged explicitly with appropriating existing fiction, just as the manuscript magazine as a whole is an imitation of the printed magazine form.[31]

Advice on Imitation

Whether praised or criticised for it, writers of the *Evergreen Chain* nevertheless wrote in imitative forms. The April 1897 volume of the *Evergreen Chain* includes a poem titled 'The Despairing Sister (with apologies to the ghost of Coleridge)' (Fig. 4.3) written by a 15-year-old, identified by her *nom de plume* as 'Anna Commena', which is a knowing but self-deprecating nod to the Byzantine princess and writer Anna Comnena (1083–1153). The poem describes the eponymous sister's frustration at trying to teach her siblings how to play the fiddle. The writer does not acknowledge Samuel Taylor Coleridge in the poem, nor does she adopt his themes, but instead recreates the meter of 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner':

> I
> Tis a despairing sister
> Who teaches two of three
> To play upon the fiddle
> Yet they can't tell where is c!


"The Despairing Sister"
(With apologies to the ghost of Coleridge)

I
Tis a despairing sister
Who teaches two of three
To play upon the fiddle
Yet they can't tell where is c!

II
Day after day, day after day
They stick, nor time nor motion
As idle as two geese can be
When of music they've no notion.

III
The shaky bow goes squeaking up
On to the highest E
Which they will call F natural
Oh sympathise with me!

Fig. 4.3 Anna Commena, 'The Despairing Sister (with Apologies to the Ghost of Coleridge)', *Evergreen Chain*, April 1897

II
Day after day, day after day
They stick, nor time nor motion
As idle as two geese can be
When of music they've no notion

[…]
Dear Winnie comes into the hall
Meek as a lamb is she-
"It comes by change when I am good
Also when I'm naughtee

VI
And if I do not play in time
Why need you be so wild?"
I feel inclined to use bad words
About that guileless child.

VII
The other one she storms and yells
And even tears does shed,
Then wildly brandishes her bow
Round my unlucky head

VIII
Right thumbs bend in left thumbs poke out
I scold and I correct
The thought of Mr Slocombes wrath
On them has no effect

IX
It has on me: the bare idea
Of what my master'll say
When that pair plays before him
Does fill me with dismay

Ostensibly the content of the poem was typical of other *Evergreen* submissions in its focus on sibling relationships, and the dramatisation of an ordinary domestic interaction. The poor fiddle players are described as 'guileless', 'idle', and 'meek' children, in language that reflects the youthful experience of being scolded in educational contexts.

Yet the deprecatory subtitle of the poem, 'with apologies to the ghost of Coleridge', makes it clear that the poem is another piece of imitative work. In the critic's page, 'The Despairing Sister' receives the following

appraisal: 'This parody only remains a parody for the first few verses. The end [...] drifts away into quite a different sea, both of ideas & rhythm & the peculiar "chant" of the "Ancient Mariner"—The last verse is faulty in grammar & construction. "Master'll" is quite impossible'.[32] As the critic recognised it to be an adaptation of 'Ancient Mariner', this demonstrates the shared oeuvre of the contributors of the *Evergreen Chain*.

The critic is hardly flattering about the writer's adaptive effort. The critique of the poem stressed that it was not close enough to the work of Coleridge to qualify as a parody. The writer borrowed the structure of four-line stanzas with rhyming couplets from 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner':

> It is an ancient Mariner,
> And he stoppeth one of three.
> 'By thy long grey beard and glittering eye,
> Now wherefore stopp'st thou me?'[33]

The critic's issue is that the ideas, rhythm, and 'peculiar chant' of 'Ancient Mariner' are lost as 'The Despairing Sister' goes on. This goes against the emphatic advice that was given by the editor: '<u>don't</u> write stories that are only echoes of stories you have read'. Therefore, it seems as if adaptive forms of writing were welcomed in the magazine, but the contributors had to adhere to certain strategies of adaptation.

An essay on 'Beowulf', written by the same contributor in the July 1897 volume of the *Evergreen Chain,* adopted a different approach to textual appropriation, and the author, Anna Commena, was praised in the critic's page. The essay began by contextualising the historical adaptations of the story:

> The story of Beowulf is very old indeed, in fact some parts of it are traced back to the stone age when the North people first came out of the east, and, in superstitious dread of the strange and uncouth creatures that they found dwelling in the gloomy caves and morasses of those wild lands, turned them into the 'nickers' and 'trolls' and 'giants' of early folk-lore.

Commena avoided criticism in the critic's page because instead of attempting adaptation, she produced a researched critical essay. The editor appraises it as a 'refreshing departure from the "story" proper' and is praised for seeming 'thoroughly imbued with a love of the subject'. This

example refers back to the idea that it is in a female tradition to 'do justice' to a text.

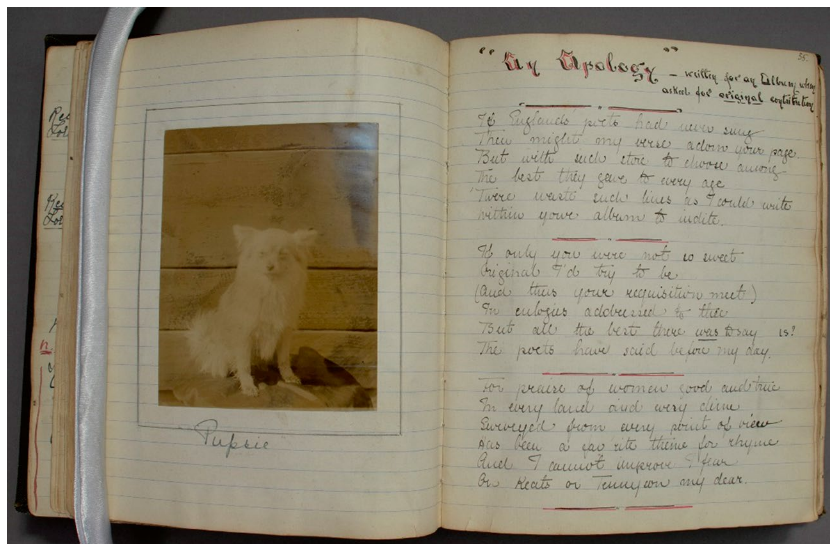
Adolescent girl writers assume this position on several occasions. Even though the contributors aspire to create original pieces, and adapt literature in intellectual ways, they are most of all encouraged by the older editors to prove their worth. This is done either through engaging with the domestic realism that they can truthfully write about, or through the process of researching and critiquing. Both strategies allowed girl writers to demonstrate rigour in their development of culture.

Pressures of the Canon

Girl writers of the *Evergreen Chain* were aware of a male canon, which they used as a yardstick for their own literary creations. In the later volumes of the *Evergreen Chain* from 1898 and 1899, when most of the contributors were aged 19 or approaching the later teenage years, there manifested a more direct and aware confrontation with ideas of authorship and imitation. One poem, 'To Alfred Lord Tennyson', is presented as outright hero-worship for the recently deceased Poet Laureate:

> Poet, whose words have charmed me from a child,
> Thousands rise up to bless thy name today,
> And tens of thousands bow beneath thy sway,
> On whom thy countenance hath never smil'd
> Although the echo of thy words have fill'd
> Their hearts to overflow, while a bright ray
> Hath fall'n on Life, and Sorrow's mantle grey
> Like Dawn's swift arrows, and dark pain is still'd.
>
> So from the darkness comes the lucent light
> So from the rock the chrystal waters flow
> And we are strengthened by thy inmost thrive.
> The use of "measured language" shines most bright
> When happiness is parted from our sight,
> And by thy faith a deeper trust we know.[34]

The context of the poem, the blessing of 'thy name today' in 1898 is perhaps associated with Leslie Stephen's biography of Tennyson, which was published that year.[35] His depiction as a 'lucent light' which 'shines most bright' implies the benevolent and celestial configuration of Tennyson in Stephen's imagination.


35.

"An Apology" – written for an Album when asked for original contribution

If England's poets had never sung
Then might my verse adorn your page.
But with such store to choose among
The best they gave to every age
'Twere waste such lines as I could write
Within your album to indite.

If only you were not so sweet
Original I'd try to be.
(And thus your requisition meet)
In eulogies addressed to thee
But all the best there was to say is!
The poets have said before my day.

For praise of women good and true
In every land and every clime
Surveyed from every point of view
Has been a fav'rite theme for rhyme
And I cannot improve I fear
On Keats or Tennyson my dear.

Fig. 4.4 Katharine L. Osler, 'An Apology', *Evergreen Chain*, March and April 1899, p. 35

Also anticipating the need to qualify their creation, Katharine L. Osler, aged 19, submitted 'An Apology, written for an Album when asked for [an] original contribution' (Fig. 4.4) to the magazine. 'An Apology' dramatises a girl writer's realisation of her distance from published writers and their seemingly unsurpassable work:

> 'An Apology'—written for an Album when asked for [an] original contribution.
>
> 'If England's poets had never sung
> Then might my verse adorn your page.
> But with such store to choose among
> The best they gave to every age
> 'Twere waste such lines as I could write
> Within your album to indite
>
> If only you were not so sweet
> Original I'd try to be
> (And thus your requisition meet)
> In eulogies addressed to thee

But all the best there was to say
The poets have said before my day.

For praise of women good and true
In every land and every clime
Surveyed from every point of view
Has been a fav'rite theme for rhyme
And I cannot improve I fear on Keats and Tennyson my dear.

And I should certainly have thought
You would have had enough to do
As "art is long" and time is short
To read your English Classics through
Without expending precious time
On frivolous and modern rhyme.

So be admonished pray by me
And seize the moments as they pass
Take Alfred Tennyson to tea
Keep Shakespeare by the looking-glass.
And don't until you've read them through
Ask amateurs for "something new."'[36]

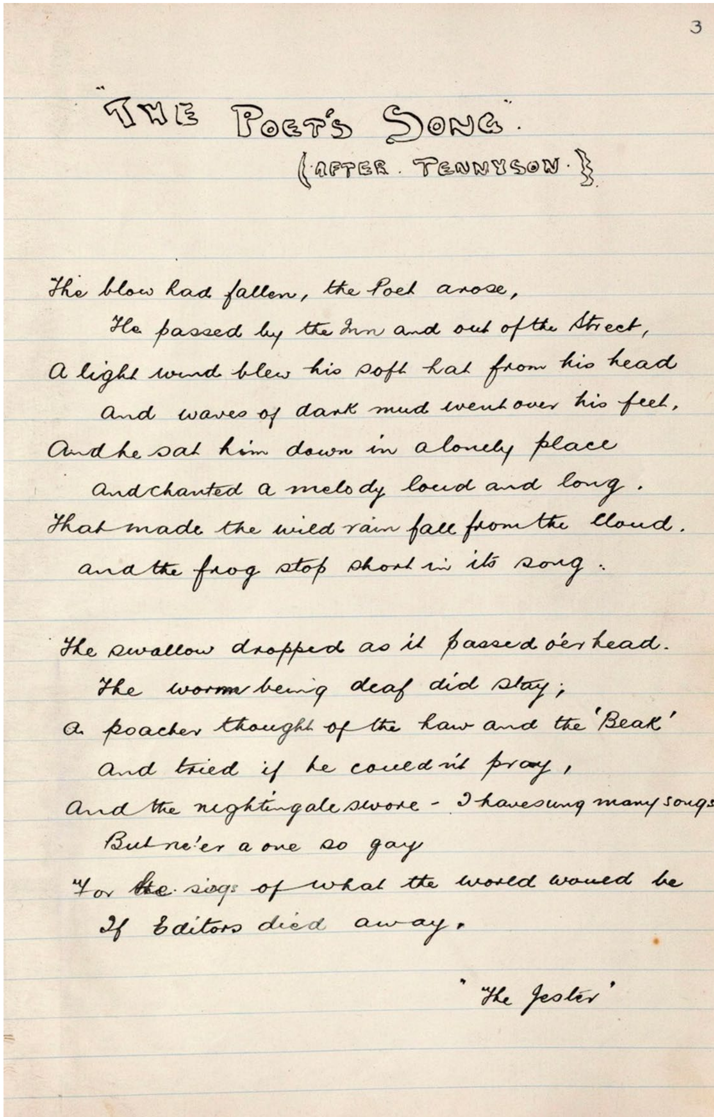
In this poem Katharine expresses a Bloomian 'anxiety of influence' in her acknowledgement of literary tradition. Her worry that she 'cannot improve' on Keats and Tennyson epitomises Adrienne Rich's feminist argument about the re-visionary impulses of women writers, chiefly that 'the myths and images of women' have been a source of 'particular confusion to the girl or woman who tries to write […] she meets the image of Woman in books written by men […] she finds La Belle Dame Sans Merci'.[37] Through her experience of contributing to the *Evergreen Chain*, this girl writer realised her exclusion from the image of authorship that she had consumed. Moreover, by evoking the maxim 'art is long and time is short', she dwells on the temporariness of not just human life but of adolescence specifically, and how this transitional stage wrestles with aspirations to literary greatness. The positioning of the girls as 'amateurs', the antithesis of Tennyson and Shakespeare, yet always beholden to their example, shows that girl writers felt cowed by tradition and held to standards they could not hope to achieve. While this alone did not prevent girls from writing entirely, it did force them to content themselves with private, manuscript publication.

Another turn-of-the-century manuscript magazine, the intergenerational *Punch Bowl* (1902–1906), featured several explicitly adaptive poems. A 1905 issue featured 'The Poet's Song (After Tennyson)' (Fig. 4.5), and the following issue featured the poems 'Kubla Khan Revised', which referred to Coleridge's poem, and 'Toots, With Apologies to Rudyard Kipling', which adapted Kipling's comic verse 'Loot'. 'Toot' was one of the pseudonyms of the authors in the Orr family who produced the *Punch Bowl*. Though we see declarations of apology to canonical authors in the contributions of older manuscript magazine writers, we see how this was also expressed by young amateur writers in the *Evergreen Chain*.

Writing the Bigger Picture: Work and Pay

As well as being a venue for working through girls' writing strategies, manuscript magazines also articulated the practicalities of being a girl in the 1890s. One poem in the *Chain* makes a bitter complaint on the subject of girls' irreconcilable relationship to professions. 'Life's Difficulties' was written by an 'Honorary Member', known only as J.H. and due to the knowing tone of this poem, it is plausible that this was an older member. The poem begins by discussing the *Chain*, and the trouble of composition, but swiftly moves to broader issues which affect the lives and work of women and girls, via a comparison with men working in the armed forces:

> When invited to write for the "Evergreen Chain"
> Sensations at first are those of some pain
> Your brains at that moment are sure to be 'out'
> And you wonder, whatever you can write about.
>
> Well, first take the army, and all it entails
> Or the soldier, whose stout heart with fear fairly quails
> When he thinks of the knowledge his brains must contain
> E'en the bravest, these thoughts might well render insane.
>
> […]
>
> Then think of the Navy with its long line of ships,
> Which, daily increasing, now make 'Trial trips!'
> All full of brave sailors as anxious to brave
> The dangers and horrors of Life "o'er the wave."[38]



3

"THE POET'S SONG".

(AFTER . TENNYSON .)

The blow had fallen, the Poet arose,
He passed by the Inn and out of the Street,
A light wind blew his soft hat from his head
And waves of dark mud went over his feet,
And he sat him down in a lonely place
And chanted a melody loud and long.
That made the wild rain fall from the cloud.
And the frog stop short in its song.

The swallow dropped as it passed o'er head.
The worm being deaf did stay;
A poacher thought of the law and the 'Beak'
And tried if he couldn't pray,
And the nightingale swore - I have sung many songs
But ne'er a one so gay
For ~~the~~ sings of what the world would be
If Editors died away.

"The Jester"

Fig. 4.5 The Jester, 'The Poet's Song (After Tennyson)', *Punch Bowl*, vol. XII, November 1905, p. 3

The speaker begins her poem metatextually, musing about having writer's block when asked to pen something for the *Evergreen Chain*. The second stanza abruptly moves on to consider male soldiers at war, as well as those 'brave' men at sea in the navy. She seems to have sympathy for men in these roles, and at first, it reads as if their serious and noble work is exampled to trivialise her apprehension about writing for the magazine. Yet the tone soon turns, as the speaker describes the 'veneer' and 'sneer' of lawyers and barristers. These male professions are evoked to emphasise the speaker's exclusion from such employments.

> The Law of our Land is a study for some
> And if lucky the Star soon provides an income
> So Lawyers and Barristers, all wear a long gown
> And curled wig in the court, of course not in the town.

The resolution of the poem arrives in a humorous quip about rejecting these demanding roles, and instead staying in a state of 'play':

> P'raps from all the Professions which exist in our day,
> Tis best to keep clear and just take your own way.
> Hunt, golf, and fish or a good day's play
> No examinations for these but Alas! Also no pay.[39]

The speaker resolves to distance herself from the professions she discussed in the previous stanzas. In a potentially subversive statement, she advises her audience to 'keep clear and just take your own way', encouraging active pursuit of an occupation, detached from the roles which have been exclusively occupied by men. This shows a growing awareness of the paid employment opportunities for young women in the 1890s. During this decade, girls' magazines such as *Atalanta* started to publish job advertisements for roles such as typists and secretaries. Journalism also became a profession which was increasingly occupied by women. Women's paid writing opportunities were at their most prominent and visible than ever before.

This is perhaps the most explicit critique of economic gender inequality in the *Evergreen Chain*. It is the first time that pecuniary matters are raised in the context of the magazine, which is, of course, written for pleasure and not for profit. Yet, like the poem 'The Despairing Sister' which was categorised as a parody of Coleridge's work, the rhyme scheme of this

poem prevents it from being read as truly scathing. The rhyming couplets give the poem an upbeat tone. Equally, the more poignant lines of poetry can be read as flippant because of this effect: 'Tis best to keep clear and just make your own way' as well as being subversive, can be read as vague, even a dismissal of seeking professions entirely.

Yet the reality of girls seeking developmental opportunities is something that can be seen in the pages of the *Evergreen Chain*. The first editor of the magazine resigned in the February 1894 volume of the magazine because she was about to pursue education:

> It is with great regret that the Editor feels herself obliged to resign. She finds it impossible any longer to give the time which the work of editing entails as she is preparing for an Examination which will take up all her spare time.
>
> The Editor is very sorry to give it up as the Magazine has given her a great deal of pleasure. It is, however to be carried on by Olive Johnstone Douglas who helped to start the Magazine, who will arrange all the contributions with the help of a friend who will do all the copying.[40]

Running the *Evergreen Chain* was not feasible alongside the new educational opportunities for young women. It was strictly a temporary pursuit, fit for the experience of adolescence. Contributors to the *Chain* left because of examinations, too. In the January 1895 volume, the editor's page includes the notice: 'The Editor has to inform the members that Joan Howard has left the Mag:-- as she is kept busy preparing for an exam. There are now only 12 members of the mag'.[41] The realities of shifting girlhood life in the 1890s are manifested in this manuscript magazine.

Connections Through Manuscripts

The *Evergreen Chain* attests to the historical conversations that were taking place in girls' self-made cultural products at the close of the nineteenth century. In the manuscript magazine, girl writers were in discussion with literature that was consumed by them and transformed into manifestations of their lived experience. Girls were constantly in conversation with various writers, genres, and time periods. With the repeated citation of Coleridge, Tennyson, and Kipling in these late-Victorian magazines, we see how the canon for young readers was expanding, and provided a springboard for girls' parodic and critical writing. Yet even though we can see that these manuscript writings are so dependent on the contemporary

socio-cultural climate, the creativity in them demonstrates a newfound freedom in this kind of authorship. The creative narratives that girls write in manuscript form possess a meaningful relation to their social formations. The *Evergreen Chain* was a long-running and successful manuscript enterprise, despite, or perhaps even because of, the changing goalposts for contributors in terms of the literary quality. It is significant to note that these rules and regulations were instated and maintained by girl editors.

Notes

1. The *Evergreen Chain* (1892–1899), Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh, MC.2018.059. Material from the *Evergreen Chain* is reproduced by kind permission of the City of Edinburgh Council Museums & Galleries; Museum of Childhood. I have maintained the original spelling, grammar, and punctuation of the manuscript magazines where possible.
2. No other life writing documents are attached to the magazine volumes, but it is likely that the contributors were in correspondence with each other through letters.
3. Melville Henry Massue, The Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *The Blood Royal of Britain Being a Roll of the Living Descendants of Edward IV and Henry VII Kings of England, and James III, King of Scotland* (London: T.C. & E. C. Jack, 1903).
4. 'To the Evergreen Chain', the *Evergreen Chain*, 1895, p. 75. It is not clear who 'S.E.' or 'Sarah' was; if described as a 'pal' she was perhaps an honorary member of the *Chain*.
5. 'The editor', the *Evergreen Chain,* August 1892, p. 63.
6. Carolyn P. Collette, *In the Thick of the Fight: The Writing of Emily Wilding Davison, Militant Suffragette* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), p. 7.
7. 'The editor', the *Evergreen Chain*, August 1892, p. 63.
8. 'The editor', the *Evergreen Chain*, January 1895, p. 74.
9. Pat Pflieger, 'Teens with Printing Presses, 1812–1859', *Humanities and Social Sciences Online*, https://networks.h-net.org/node/2602/discussions/1413175/american-childhoods [accessed 21 May 2018].
10. Allan Ramsay, *The Ever Green, Being a Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600* (Edinburgh: Alexander Donaldson, 1661).
11. Grilli, Elisa, 'Funding, Publishing, and the Making of Culture: The Case of the *Evergreen* (1895–97)', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 1.2 (2016), 19–44, at p. 20.
12. Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own, British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 13.

13. Texts such as these include Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did* (1895), Emma Brooke's *A Superfluous Woman* (1894).
14. Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880–1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 143. Mitchell also cites the girlhood memoir of Helen Corke, who 'felt no longer alone' when she read *The Story of an African Farm,* p. 141. See Helen Corke, *In Our Infancy: An Autobiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 97–98.
15. Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 11.
16. Ibid., p. 110.
17. Kristine Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood in the Periodical Press, 1850–1915* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 139.
18. J. H., 'Life's Difficulties', the *Evergreen Chain*, March no 6, 1894, pp. 35–37. The full poem will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.
19. Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel, 1875–1914* (London: Faber & Faber, 1898), p. 3.
20. Helena Mary Gillon, 'A Poem', the *Evergreen Chain*, January 1894, pp. 5–21. I have presented the poem with the same line breaks that were used by the editor who copied out the poem.
21. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
22. H.N.C., 'Bagheara', the *Evergreen Chain*, January 1898, p. 61.
23. The editor, 'Editor's Report', the *Evergreen Chain*, December 1893, p. 6.
24. Ibid., p. 8.
25. Ibid., p. 10.
26. 'Critic's Page', the *Red Heart Magazine*, August 1894, p. 24.
27. 'Critic's Page', the *Red Heart Magazine*, October 1894, p. 33.
28. Adrienne Rich, 'When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-vision', *College English*, 34.1 (1972), 18–30, at p. 18.
29. See Maura Smyth, *Women Writing Fancy: Authorship and Autonomy from 1611 to 1812* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 151.
30. David Owen and Lesley Peterson, eds. *Home and Away: The Place of the Child Writer* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2016), p. xv.
31. Charlotte Yonge, for instance, was inspired to launch the *Barnacle* because of another manuscript magazine she had read.
32. 'Critic's Page', the *Barnacle*, April 1897, p. 136.
33. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner', *The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2008).
34. Blanche Stewart, 'To Alfred Lord Tennyson', the *Barnacle*, May 1898, pp. 19–20.

35. Leslie Stephen, *Studies of a Biographer Volume I* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1898). Stephen's essay of Tennyson had been previously published in a magazine.
36. Katharine L. Olser, 'An Apology', the *Evergreen Chain*, March and April 1899, pp. 35–36.
37. Rich, 'When We Dead Awaken', p. 21.
38. J. H., 'Life's Difficulties', the *Evergreen Chain*, March 1894, pp. 35–37.
39. Ibid., p. 37.
40. The editor, the *Evergreen Chain*, February 1894, p. 71.
41. The editor, the *Evergreen Chain*, January 1895, p. 91.

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CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Abstract During the final decades of the nineteenth century, adolescent girls played a significant role in manuscript magazine productions amongst family, friends, and unrelated peers. With their enhanced leisure time and extensive education, many girls took pleasure in the pursuit of manuscript magazine production, treating the process with care and attention. Girls' propensity to take up roles as editors in manuscript magazine projects, and to introduce competition pages and critics pages, attests to the seriousness with which they accorded them. We saw that girls of a literary mind made manuscript magazines and that these productions were often steeped in textual references. Adaptations of existing literature, whether histories, poetry or prose, were a key mode of expression for girls. This observation adds a new facet to previous research which has sought to uncover the extent of girls' rich cultural lives during the later nineteenth century.

Keywords Girlhood • Authorship • Scrapbooking • Gender • Zine cultures

Examining manuscript cultures and specifically the manuscript magazine form means contextualising girls' cultures in book and periodical studies and histories of adaptation and appropriation. The frameworks that have been utilised in this book can enhance future studies of Victorian girlhood

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cultures. For instance, the use of sociological methodologies on children's shared cultures and adaptive instincts adds unique insights into the established view of female Victorian writers and their goal to carve out a literature of their own. In combining these approaches in this book, we can appreciate more comprehensively the writing impulses of girls, especially in the later Victorian period which was a culturally fertile moment for children and adolescents. The study of children's manuscript forms is in many ways still 'in its infancy', as Kathryn Gleadle wrote in 2019.[1] To date, there has been no academic book dedicated to the manuscript magazine, detailing the various social groups that utilised the form and the different purposes these manuscript projects served. A forthcoming book, co-authored by myself and Charlotte Lauder, offering a broad overview of the manuscript magazine, will provide a much-needed introduction to the form for a multidisciplinary arts and humanities readership, and will hopefully spur further research on the topic.

This book is indebted to discoverable and accessible archives. Improving access to collections is important to enable democratisation of this knowledge to students and researchers. Feminist research, which places importance on girls' cultures, still has much work to do in recovering the heritage of women and marginalised people through collections work. Maryanne Dever suggests that 'archives retain a sustained gravitational pull on feminist researchers. We experience them as sites of promise and desire, even as we recognise they are also sites of power and privilege that have long been implicated in acts of violence and erasure'.[2] Furthermore, the 'archival turn' taking place across the humanities more broadly, as well as increased digitisation efforts in collections, means that, in the words of Susan Howe, 'the nature of archival research is in flux'.[3] It is timely and important, in feminist archival research, to reflect on one's own intervention in the archive. A further complication is created when we add the category of childhood to feminist archival searches. Since the manuscripts discussed in this book are well maintained in libraries and museums and have been placed there by conscientious descendants or collectors, it is inevitable that they represent the girlhood of middling or elite children. The sample is made up of white, majority Protestant, affluent families and is representative of what is extant. Future work ought to attend to underrepresented children and further consider the specificity of national and regional identities in children's writing, which this book has highlighted as a rich area of study.

The chapters of this book have demonstrated the significance of girls' various roles in manuscript magazine creation during the final four decades of the nineteenth century. Girls' textual creations were diverse, and the manuscript magazine format provided a fertile outlet for collaborative writing projects. It allowed girls to try out the role of writer within a protected and encouraging (though often competitive) space. The unique attributes of each manuscript highlight that girls' collaborative writing culture was richer and more networked than has previously been imagined. Initiated by various motivations, each manuscript magazine project had varying levels of involvement and influence from adults and adult culture. This nurtured a style of writing which was clearly authorised by adults but did not necessarily require their direction. These projects took place across different contexts: there were author-led initiatives for aspirational girl writers, like the *Barnacle*, and sibling-led magazines like the Jebb family's *Briarland Recorder*, as well as ventures almost wholly independent of adult intervention, like the *Evergreen Chain*.

The content of manuscript magazines, written as they were during an age of transition for girls, often played out the movement of young women into professions and educational opportunities. These shifts can be identified in the Gosling Society and their relationship to the famous writer Charlotte Yonge, or the instances of girls leaving their manuscript project the *Evergreen Chain* in order to sit examinations. These manuscripts were complete microcosmic productions that manifested a highly specific cultural moment for girl writers, and they also provided an important stepping stone in their lives more widely.

To many of the girls in this study, authorship was still largely coded as androcentric and exclusionary. Girls' negotiation of an authorial identity demonstrated their conciliation of both societal gendered expectations and their own aspirations of authorship. As professional authors like Yonge insisted that girls should indeed write, but limit writing to manuscript forms and the years of adolescence, attempting to follow such advice meant that girl writers worked through a complex trajectory of compromises to arrive at their own writing culture. Indeed, that is how girls' writing style might be distinguished from other examples of children's or women's writing. It involved a unique compromise between ostensible dichotomies: agency and compliance, originality and imitation, child and adult, even masculine and feminine. Ultimately, girls embraced and

claimed these compromises as a foundation of their own discrete writing culture. This was encouraged by girls' cultural products of the time such as published magazines, which reified girls' sense that they were entitled to a cultural space of their own.

This book has identified that girls' writing culture was rooted in textual engagement and adaptation. Girls' appropriation of fiction tacitly responded to competing ideas of masculine and feminine forms of writing. Girls appropriated male writers—sometimes venerated them and other times critiqued and parodied them. But they also drew on distinctly female styles which sought to carve out a writing voice and a writing space divorced from male models of authorship. Textual evidence from case studies epitomised this negotiation of gendered understandings of writing, for example, in the Jebb sisters' adaptation of *Little Women* or in the Goslings' dismissal of published magazines in the *Barnacle*. Moreover, girls showed a stable and rigorous engagement with literary culture, both popular and highbrow, often unsettling the distinction between the two.

Girls' Adaptive Cultures Across Time and Space

Although this book presents case studies from a focused period, the 1860s to the turn of the twentieth century, it also aims to contribute to a transhistorical discussion about children's creative licence and practices of adaptation. Edel Lamb's work on girlhood authorship in Renaissance England is a prime example of comparable research. Lamb has found examples of girls penning and publishing a 'Continuation of *Arcadia*', extending the world of Philip Sidney's unfinished manuscript in line with Renaissance-era adaptive conventions of 'continuing' a text.[4] Turning to the early twentieth century, we see that girls' manuscript magazines such as V. F. Furniss' *The Flappers Magazette* (1924–1933) demonstrated a continued trend which drew upon contemporary cultural movements.[5] All of this demonstrates that children's manuscript production did not spontaneously emerge in the second half of the nineteenth century and retreat again by the turn of the twentieth. Many shared practices and processes are on a continuum in a long history of youth cultures. Scholars including Ellen Gruber Garvey and Michael Ray Smith have compared nineteenth-century manuscript practices of creating scrapbooks and manuscript magazines to the functions of digital technologies like blogs and social media.[6]

Sarah Glosson applies the term 'fandom' to practices taking place in the nineteenth century, writing that nineteenth-century fandoms of Jane Austen manifested as fan writing, pilgrimage, and collecting.[7] The aspects of fan writing and collecting are especially relevant for thinking about girls' manuscript cultures of the period.

One might compare the culture of the manuscript magazines the *Barnacle* or the *Evergreen Chain* with subversive, do-it-yourself zine cultures. Alison Piepmeier sees a comparison between female writing cultures of the nineteenth century and zine-making in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. She writes that nineteenth-century scrapbooking, for instance, provided a space to 'comment on mainstream culture', to give 'critiques of public life', and also 'to construct community and solidarity'.[8] Regarding zine culture, Kate Douglas and Anna Poletti write: 'Young women have engaged in life narrative practices in order to disrupt and renegotiate dominant discourses of girlhood, young women's creativity and their agency'.[9] This disruption can also be witnessed in the textual adaptations of late-Victorian girl writers—in their subtle expressions of resistance in revising printed material. These brief transhistorical comments all work to suggest that there is a great deal more to be said about how girls have harnessed texts to carve out their own identity as authors through their manuscript textual creations.

Notes

1. Kathryn Gleadle, 'Magazine Culture, Girlhood Communities, and Educational Reform in Late Victorian Britain', *The English Historical Review*, 134.570 (2019), 1169–1195.
2. Maryanne Dever, 'Archives and New Modes of Feminist Research', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 32.91–92 (2017), 1–4 (p. 1).
3. Susan Howe, *Spontaneous Particulars: The Telepathy of Archives* (New York: Christine Burgin/New Directions, 2014), p. 9.
4. Natasha Simonova, 'Approaches to Authorship in the *Arcadia* Continuations', in: *Early Modern Authorship and Prose Continuations. Early Modern Literature in History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137474131_3
5. *The Flapper's Magazette* (1924–1933), Princeton University Library, 8784 Pams, Box 3.
6. Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, pp. 3–4; Michael Ray Smith, *A Free Press in Freehand* (Michigan: Edenridge Press, 2011).

7. Sarah Glosson, *Performing Jane: A Cultural History of Jane Austen Fandom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020).
8. Alison Piepmeier, *Girl Zines: Making Media, Doing Feminism* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), p. 30.
9. Kate Douglas and Anna Poletti, *Life Narratives and Youth Culture: Representation, Agency and Participation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 121.

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