THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES OF ELLEN WOOD (1814-1887)

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the writing life of Ellen Wood (1816-1887), the popular Victorian writer best known for her 1861 bestseller, *East Lynne*. Through its focus on Wood's publishing history, this thesis investigates how the professional identities and authorial strategies adopted by Wood throughout her long and successful career contributed to her success as a popular woman writer in a competitive periodical and literary marketplace.

The study is organised chronologically and splits Wood's literary career into seven parts. The first chapter considers Wood's anonymous contributions to mid-century periodicals and considers how text-associated signature provided an opportunity to work within the constraints of the house style of a periodical while also building a literary identity. The second chapter accounts Wood's transition from the lowly paid periodical contributor to the more lucrative form of the novel and outlines the early formation of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. The third and fourth chapters cover the period immediately following the astronomical success of *East Lynne* and identify two specific phases where there is a noticeable shift in Wood's literary and publishing strategies which I have coined the 'prolific' and 'strategic' phases of her career. The fifth chapter concerns itself with her editorship of the *Argosy* magazine, which she also owned for a time, and the sixth chapter considers the significance of Wood's masculine identities, particularly in contrast to the overt femininity of her famous 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. The final chapter considers Wood's literary legacy and asks how much it contributed to her condemnation as the 'conservative sensationalist' which rendered her insignificant for many years of academic research until the resurgence of interest in popular fiction writers in the 1970s.

Wood's importance as a successful Victorian writer identifies her as a significant case study in Victorian literary history and her manipulation of authorial identity reveals much

about the necessity of strategy in Victorian publishing. Overall, this thesis argues that Wood's manipulation of authorial and professional identities to achieve success in a competitive literary marketplace allows her to expose the cultural boundaries imposed on writers, and particularly women writers, even if her conservative persona and popular status prevented her from truly challenging them. A study of Wood as a significant figure in nineteenth-century publishing history spans multiple aspects of Victorian research making her deserving of single-author study.

Introduction

'[On] the title page of the book I must request you to put "By Mrs. Henry Wood, Author of 'Danesbury House.' Be particular that the Christian name (Henry) is inserted.'

Letter from Ellen Wood to George Bentley, 8 Aug. 1861[1]

In 1861, in a letter written to her publisher, George Bentley, a tenacious and demanding writer, Ellen Wood,[2] negotiated the details of the publication of what would become her most successful novel: *East Lynne* (1861). Long considered a 'founding text of the sensation school' that dominated the fiction market of the 1860s, *East Lynne* catapulted Wood to literary celebrity and kick-started a successful career spanning over four decades.[3] In her letter to Bentley, Wood demanded that her authorial identity be defined not only by her previous work but also by her husband's Christian name - a choice that would come to characterise her literary career. This direct exchange between writer and publisher reveals Wood as an astute businesswoman with an attention to detail that continued throughout her publishing life. Furthermore, it is indicative of her acute awareness of the workings of the literary market, including the significance of authorial identity and branding. Wood consistently managed, adapted, and carefully cultivated her authorial image and it is this conscious and deliberate manipulation of professional identities through complex combinations of authorial names, narrative voice, thematic focus, form, and genre, with which this thesis is concerned.

What follows is a detailed study of one of the most prolific authors from the Victorian period. While centrally focused on publishing history, the thesis relates Wood's commercial

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1 Reprinted in Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* [1861], ed. by Andrew Maunder (Ontario: Broadview, 2000), p. 694.

2 I use Ellen Wood or Wood when referring to the writer/editor as opposed to her authorial identities.

3 Tabitha Sparks, 'Sensation Intervention: M.C. Houstoun's Recommended to Mercy (1862) and the Novel of Experience', in Anne-Marie Beller and Tara MacDonald (eds.), *Rediscovering Victorian Women Sensation Writers: Beyond Braddon* (Abington: Routledge, 2014), pp. 10-24 (p. 10).

success to the development of her varied literary output and her use of literary identities. During a career spanning forty-one years, Wood wrote over thirty novels and produced more than 500 contributions in sixteen different periodicals. Within this remarkably large oeuvre, several narratives were republished in variant forms as part of longer works. Therefore, one of the interests of this thesis is the extent of Wood's reuse and reframing of material. By extension, the study is concerned with how the complex publishing history of her works affected the literary material she produced. The aim is to understand her work in the context of the choices open to women writers in the mid to late nineteenth century, and to explore how serialisation and magazine publication both supported and limited the careers of professional women authors.

Ellen Wood: A Life

Wood's professional writing career was to some extent driven by financial and personal necessity, and her biography is of considerable importance to how I analyse her body of work.[4] My argument follows a chronological structure that is punctuated by various biographical transitions. An evangelical, Ellen Wood, née Price, was born in 1814 to a successful Worcestershire-based glove manufacturer. Suffering from a debilitating spinal curvature, her observational skills and passion for storytelling were developed during her

[4] While conscious of the pitfalls of a biographical reading during a single-author study, sections of this thesis consider the blurring of the boundary between Ellen Wood, the writer, and Mrs. Henry Wood, an interfering narratorial presence. The level of intimacy sought by the strategic choices made in Wood's most well-known authorial identity invites speculation and comparison between the fictional morals of her characters and her own personal life. Although writing fictional work, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator is looking over the shoulder of the reader and guiding their reading of the text through persistent comment. This is particularly problematised by the non-fictional guide to child rearing, *Our Children* (1876), which adopts the Mrs. Henry Wood persona and style into a non-fictional setting. See Chapter Five, 'The *Argosy* Magazine' for a detailed discussion of this text.

confinement to a reclining position throughout in her teenage years.[5] Following her marriage to Henry Wood, a banker, in 1836, and the family's relocation to France, Wood entered the literary market in her thirties.[6] Starting as an anonymous writer contributing short stories and articles for the *New Monthly Magazine* for little pecuniary reward, the family soon became dependent upon her writing following the failure of her husband's business venture.[7] On the family's return to England, Wood contributed more frequently to magazines, initially driven by difficult financial circumstances, which enabled her to launch a literary career in order to support her family.

Wood's literary trajectory altered dramatically with the serialisation and volume publication of *East Lynne*.[8] The exponential success of the novel, despite its scandalous content featuring bigamy and adultery, was in part due to favourable reviews,[9] demand in the circulating libraries, and the popularity of the stage adaptation, which became a stalwart of Victorian drama throughout the nineteenth century.[10] Together with the popularity of the

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5 Janet L. Grose, 'Ellen Price Wood (Mrs. Henry Wood)' in Abigail Burnham Bloom (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (London: Aldwych Press, 2000), pp. 411-414 (p. 411).

6 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle' was Wood's first traceable periodical contribution in February 1846, but she did not contribute regularly to periodicals until February 1851.

7 Jennifer Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist: Ellen Price as Author and Editor of the Argosy Magazine' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Interdisciplinary Work and Periodical Connections: An Issue in Honor of Sally H. Mitchell (Summer, 2005), pp. 180-198 (p.181).

8 Serialised from January 1860 to September 1861 in the *New Monthly Magazine*, the novel went through four editions in six months after publication and sold over 500,000 copies by the end of the century (C.B. Shuttleworth, *A Record of the Unveiling in Worcester Cathedral of the Memorial Tablet to Mrs. Henry Woo*d (London: Macmillan, 1916), p. 79).

9 Samuel Lucas' 1862 review in the *Times* is credited by Charles Wood as the dominant influence on the success of *East Lynne*. He claimed that 'its effect was powerful and immediate. No sooner had it appeared than the libraries were besieged' (Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs Henry Wood* (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1894), p. 245).

10 The popularity of the stage adaptation of *East Lynne* was considerable. In March 1863, there were 'three stage versions playing in New York' (Ann Cvetkovich, *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture, and Victorian Sensationalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 213) and the play was a 'useful standby and guaranteed money-earner for theatre managers and performers for the rest of the century' (Lyn Pykett, *The Nineteenth-Century Sensation Novel* (Tavistock, Devon: Northcote House Publishers, 2011), p. 132). One 1898 review claimed that the play was 'nearing its 6,000th performance' towards the turn of the century ('The Olympic,' *Era* (31 Dec. 1898), n.pag) and the stage adaptation spawned silent movie versions in 1916 and

'sensation fiction' genre of which she was a pioneer, Wood became a household name and implemented strategies to capitalise on this potentially ephemeral success. Despite a proclivity towards the sensational and melodramatic, her literary endeavours maintained a foundation of the Evangelical, Victorian teachings of morality that presented 'Mrs. Henry Wood' as a model of female pious Anglicanism. Through the distinctive combination of overt moralising and exciting plotlines, Wood developed a unique identity, utilised the diverse periodical market to cultivate her readership, and established 'Mrs. Henry Wood' as a literary celebrity. Following her husband's death in 1866, she purchased the *Argosy* magazine and became its author-editor, using the magazine as a vehicle for her own fiction and regularly contributing up to half of its contents.[11] Wood's tenure at the *Argosy* proved successful as the magazine achieved a circulation of 20,000 under her editorship.[12] Wood continued to edit and headline the magazine until her death in 1887 when her son, Charles, took over its editorship.[13] The combination of a biographical framework and attention to the periodicals market facilitates a reading of Wood's dynamic and proactive approaches in cultivating identities and occupying carefully selected locations within the market. Rather than splitting Wood's career into component parts, this thesis aims to construct a rich narrative that elevates the understanding of Ellen Wood, the writer.

1925 and a 1931 'talkie' which received an Oscar nomination for Best Picture.

[11] Beth Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship in Victorian Culture: Sensational Strategies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 101.

[12] The increase in circulation due to Wood's position as celebrity author-editor meant that the magazine's surpassed the reading figures of Belgravia, the literary magazine edited by Wood's sensation fiction rival, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, by 5,000 (Charles E. Pascoe, 'The Story of the English Magazines,' *Atlantic Monthly* 54 (September 1884), pp. 364-74, (p. 369)).

[13] Charles had, in truth, been orchestrating much of the day-to-day running responsibilities of the magazine in the later years of Wood's life due to her declining health and continued to feature his mother's works in the magazine until 1899 (Lucy Sussex, 'Mrs. Henry Wood and Her Memorials,' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 157-168 (p. 159)).

To understand Ellen Wood's publishing history it is important to consider the wider context of nineteenth-century print culture. By focusing on one author and a single ideological concern, the professional identity, this thesis provides a study of the implications of professional identity on both Wood's publishing and, more widely, literary magazines and authorship. The rich material provided by the sustained interest in Victorian periodicals has provided the context through which Wood's complex publishing history becomes valuable as a case study.

In identifying the key role of the periodicals marketplace in Wood's development and adaptation of professional identities, this thesis has been indebted to the important work done by scholars in contextualising the mid-nineteenth-century periodical marketplace and unearthing its complexities as a working environment, particularly for women writers. The multifaceted nature of the Victorian periodical and literary networks, as outlined in the comprehensive overview provided in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor's *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*,[14] played a key role in building an understanding of Wood's publishing history. Furthermore, the relationship between the composite parts of the periodical network, including editors, writers, and consumers, highlights the complexity of the market,[15] while Margaret Beetham's description of the periodical as a valid 'publishing genre,'[16] particularly for women writers,[17] and identified the complexities of serialised fiction

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[14] Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: British Library 2009).

[15] See Laurel Brake, *Print in transition, 1850-1910: Studies in media and book history* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein, (eds.), *Nineteenth-century media and the construction of identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), and Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (eds.), *Encounters in the Victorian press: Editors, authors, readers* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[16] See Margaret Beetham, 'Periodical writing' in Linda Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 221-235.

[17] See also Joanne Shattock, 'Becoming a professional writer' in Linda Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 29-42 and Joanne Shattock (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) for

in magazines. These key texts, which all emphasise the significance of Victorian print culture when considering nineteenth-century literature, enabled the authorial posturing evident in Wood's publishing history to be contextualised.

By extension, this thesis engages with the comprehensive scholarship that addresses female Victorian authorship within periodicals specifically by considering authorship as 'a cultural construct that emerged and changed drastically, in accordance with changing economic conditions, social circumstances, and institutional arrangements for the writing and distribution of books.'[18] Linda Peterson and Alexis Easley examine how Victorian women writers cultivated authorship, negotiated fame, and capitalised on the periodicals tradition of anonymity.[19] Fionualla Dillane and Daun Jung both emphasise the importance of identity to authorship, particularly in periodicals through the writing of George Eliot, the Brontës, and Elizabeth Gaskell.[20] Dillane's focus on the early writings of Eliot before becoming George Eliot and Jung's tracing of the critical history of the authorial identities for Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell, and the Brontë sisters provide a contrast for the expectations for canonical writers against Wood's status as a popular writer. My project emulates the methodology of these scholars by considering the material relations of Victorian print culture to contribute to this rich research regarding Victorian authorship using a non-canonical, yet popular writer such as Ellen Wood.

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key texts relating to opportunities for women writers.

[18] M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (M.U.A.: Wadsworth Publishing, 2011, p. 31)

[19] See Linda H. Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and the Facts of the Victorian Marketplace* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2009), Alexis Easley, *First Person Anonymous: Women Writers and the Victorian Print Media*, 1830-70 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), and Alexis Easley, *Literary Celebrity, Gender, And Victorian Authorship, 1850-1914*, 1st ed. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011) in particular.

[20] Fionnuala Dillane, *Before George Eliot: Marian Evans and the Periodical Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) and Daun Jung, 'Critical Names Matter: "Currer Bell," "George Eliot," and "Mrs Gaskell"' *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2017), 45, (pp. 763-781).

After a period of being disregarded by scholars in favour of canonical Victorian figures, there was a resurgence in scholarly attention to Wood's fiction after the feminist recovery of popular fiction by Elaine Showalter and Winifred Hughes.[21] Since the re-emergence of Wood's work specifically, and popular fiction more generally, as a fruitful area of study, her writings have been of increasing interest to scholars in fields such as women's writing, popular fiction, sensation fiction, melodrama, crime fiction, and magazine editing.[22] Rather, while existing scholarship on Wood is substantial, it is somewhat fragmentary, typically appearing as single journal articles, contributions to essay collections, or as one chapter of a larger study dedicated to a specific scholarly area such as editorship or sensation fiction. One exception, however, is a special issue of *Women's Writing* dedicated to Wood, which collates scholarship from Tamara Wagner, Alison Jaquet, and Cheryl Blake Price, among others, and indicates the kind of sustained and focused interest in the prolific writings of Ellen Wood on which this thesis aims to build and contribute.[23]

Unsurprisingly, because of the volume of Wood's published work, scholars seldom have read all of her works. Therefore, an extensive overview of the entirety of her oeuvre does not exist. That said, the diverse research conducted has provided a rich tapestry of scholarship across Wood's career from which this thesis has developed. In much of the research conducted on Wood, the duality of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand of piety and sensation has been highlighted. For example, Lyn Pykett and Ann Cvetovich situate Wood's

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[21] See Showalter's *A Literature of Their Own: From Charlotte Brontë to Doris Lessing* (Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1977) and Hughes' *The Maniac in the Cellar: Sensation Novels of the 1860s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[22] To date, Mariaconcetta Costantini's *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020) is the only book-length study engaging exclusively with Wood.

[23] See the introduction for an overview of the special issue (Emma Liggins and Andrew Maunder, 'Introduction: Ellen Wood, Writer', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2008), pp. 149-156).

writing in the contextual background of the sensation genre and explore the complexity of the genre in which contemporary notions of femininity are both reasserted and challenged through melodrama and female community.[24] Similarly, Deborah Wynne considers the placement of Wood's novels in monthly magazines and questions whether the seemingly conservative depictions of Victorian households support a veiled attack on contemporary divorce laws and criticisms of social class.[25] Other scholars such as Beth Palmer and Jennifer Phegley have conducted extensive research into Wood's editorship of the *Argosy*. Palmer identified the disparity between the evangelical message and sensational plots in Wood's writing and editing of the magazine while Phegley argued that the *Argosy* represented Wood shedding the sensationalist tag in favour of consolidating a domesticated magazine.[26]

Although chiefly concerned with themes such as popular fiction, editorship, or melodrama, many academics have maintained an interest in Wood's authorship and the strategies she adopted to negotiate the literary marketplace. Andrew Maunder identified Ellen Wood's 'ambiguous, shifting persona' and the 'modern' way in which she 'carefully moulded her image through selective publicity' yet stopped short of examining all of Wood's literary personae.[27] The significance of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand has encouraged scholars explore Wood's authorship. Janice Allan considers contemporary reviews and motivated changes to *Parkwater* (1875) as a means to illustrate how Wood manipulated her narrative

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[24] Lyn Pykett, *The Improper Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992) and Ann Cvetovich, *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture, and Victorian Sensationalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

[25] See Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

[26] See Beth Palmer, *Women's authorship and editorship in Victorian* culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Jennifer Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist: Ellen Price as Author and Editor of the Argosy Magazine,' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Interdisciplinary Work and Periodical Connections: An Issue in Honor of Sally H. Mitchell (Summer, 2005), pp. 180-198.

[27] Andrew Maunder, 'Ellen Wood was a Writer: Rediscovering Collin's Rival', *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*, No. 3 (2000), pp. 17-31 (p. 19).

to temper the scandalous content of the plot, protect her literary reputation, and respond to contemporary debates.[28] Anne-Marie Beller questions the conservative reputation of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' by exploring the depiction of death and contemporary standards of femininity, and Mariconcetta Costantini considers how representations of professionalism in Wood's novels echo the negotiation of her own professional role as a writer in 'a social reality influenced by separate-spheres ideology.'[29] The scholarship of Alison Jaquet and Marie Riley has been pivotal for this project as Jaquet argues that the merging of the detective and the domestic coincide with the domestic professionalism prevalent in the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' identity and Riley directly considers the pecuniary implications and motivations of Wood's professional endeavours.[30] The existing research contributes to 'an increasing critical awareness that Wood's perceived conventionality was carefully constructed and complexly shifting' upon which this thesis builds.[31]

My research draws on the important work done by these scholars in questioning the 'decidedly more ambivalent portrait' of Ellen Wood in contrast to the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona by which she was known.[32] However, the central focus of this project lies in the relationship between the professional identities Wood adopted throughout her career and the periodical and literary market. Simply put, this thesis shows the significance of

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[28] Janice Allan, 'A 'base and spurious thing': Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's "Parkwater" (1857)' *Critical Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2011), pp. 8-24.

[29] Anne-Marie Beller, 'Suffering Angels: Death and Femininity in Ellen Wood's Fiction,' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (August 2008), pp. 219-231 and Mariconcetta Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel* (Bern: Peter Lang 2015), p. 98.

[30] Alison Jaquet, 'The Disturbed Domestic: Supernatural Spaces In Ellen Wood's Fiction', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 244-258 and Marie Riley, 'Writing for the Million: The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood' in *Popular Victorian Women Writers*, eds. Kay Boardman and Shirley Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 165-185.

[31] Beth Palmer, 'Dangerous and Foolish Work': Evangelicalism and Sensationalism in Ellen Wood's *Argosy* Magazine' *Women's Writing* Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 187-198 (p. 189).

[32] Allan, 'A 'base and spurious thing': Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's "Parkwater" (1857)', p. 9.

professional identity in Wood's commercial success, before, during, and after her adoption of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. In this way, I treat Wood's professional identities as 'cultural and discursive constructs of Victorian print culture.'[33] While this thesis recognises the role of reviewers in the conception and dissemination of authorial identities, the focus of this project is the perceived agency of Wood's authorial identities as a professional strategy shaped by the literary market. Wood's complex naming and publication history provides an opportunity to explore this idea of authorial identity as a cultural construct in the example of a successful and popular Victorian writer. Furthermore, by conducting a detailed study of Wood's extensive publication history, this research demonstrates the influence of the literary marketplace in effectively shaping Wood's authorial manipulation as a means towards achieving commercial success. Building on this research, the thesis identifies and analyses texts that have not been considered and identifies trends in Wood's publishing history that reflect the possibilities and limitations available to women writers in the mid-century periodical market. Thus, one of the key aims of the thesis is to reflect this huge output by offering a more detailed bibliography of Wood's published work than any that currently exists.

Authorial Identities: Terms and Definitions

The thesis is organised as a chronological study of the successive phases of Wood's career. The use of a chronological rather than a thematic or comparative structure was required by my central interest in evaluating Wood's evolving authorial self-fashioning and responsiveness to the literary marketplace, something especially important and particularly

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[33] Daun Jung, 'Critical Names Matter: "Currer Bell," "George Eliot," and "Mrs Gaskell"', p. 763.

complex for a woman writer. Wood's successive use of a variety of pseudonymous, semi-transparent, and deliberately asserted identities to sign her work clearly suggests the way in which popular writers of fiction sought to define their identities as a commercial necessity. This thesis explores the entire spectrum of authorial devices including those that lie between the modes of full anonymity and literary personae. Despite the substantial research of pseudonyms and anonymity in Victorian periodicals, there is still significant work to be done on authorial devices where the author is identified, yet not necessarily known. Little attention has been paid to the writerly identities between the anonymous and the pseudonymous.[34] Pseudonyms, and by extension authorial identities such as by-lines and initials, are 'endlessly instructive […] whether they represent an attempt to acquire auctoritas and gravitas, or an attempt to shed them.'[35] By extension, discussion of the writerly identities between the public and the pseudonymous are particularly significant in the study of authorial identities in periodicals due to the requirement of an anonymity in order to fit into a magazine's house style against the necessity of an author building an identity and brand. In order to discuss this terminology effectively, it is important to provide the definitions by which these terms will be considered.

Following the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of 'bearing no author's name; of unknown or unavowed authorship,'[36] I use the term 'anonymous' to account for an 'unsigned article'[37]

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[34] See Jolein De Ridder and Marianne Van Remoortel's 'Not "Simply Mrs. Warren": Eliza Warren Francis (1810-1900) and the "Ladies' Treasury,"' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter 2011) pp. 307-326 and Susan Hamilton, 'Marketing Antifeminism: Eliza Lynn Linton's "Wild Women" Series and the Possibilities of Periodical Signature' in Wagner, Tamara (ed.) *Antifeminism and the Victorian Novel: Rereading Nineteenth-Century Women Writers* (Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2009). Ridder and Van Remoortel trace Warren's use of signature during her editorship of the Ladies' Treasury and Hamilton considers use of signature in Linton's periodical contributions following her signing of the 1889 antisuffrage petition.

[35] Marie McClean, 'Pre-texts and paratexts: The Art of the Peripheral,' *New Literary History*, 22.2 (1991), p. 276.

[36] 'Anonymous,' *Oxford English Dictionary Online* [Accessed 24/7/19].

[37] Brake and Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, p. 18.

in which there is no traceable allusion to Ellen Wood as the writer within the text itself.[38] The term 'pseudonym,' depicts the use of 'a false or fictitious name, especially one assumed by an author; an alias'[39] and denotes Wood's named literary identities including 'Mrs. Henry Wood,' 'Johnny Ludlow', and 'Ensign Pepper'. The term I use to articulate the authorial identities between full anonymity and pseudonym is 'text-associated signature'. This term specifically refers to instances in which there is a deliberate allusion to a previously published text in the by-line in order to develop a semi-transparent, and easily discarded, literary identity.[40] I use the term 'initials' to denote the infrequent instances in which Wood uses her own initials 'E.W' when writing beyond her literary identities. The terms 'literary persona' and 'authorial identity' are used to refer to the characteristics and gendered expectation of the narrative voice adopted within a fictional work. The implications and allusions to these terms will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters as the thesis encompasses how these carefully orchestrated identities were crucial to the building and adapting of Wood's identity as a professional writer operating in a demanding literary marketplace.

The sequence of authorial identities evolved by Wood and the places that she chose to publish her work had important implications for the style and content of her work in constructing, and fulfilling, readerly expectations. Thereby, due to the complicated nature of Wood's publishing history, tracing and displaying the professional identities of this prolific author is also accompanied with complexity. Before the serialisation of *East Lynne* in 1860,

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38 This definition disregards details found in ledgers and contributor lists and considers only the authorial information available to the reader of the periodical within the text.

39 'Pseudonym,' *Oxford English Dictionary Online* [Accessed 24/7/19].

40 The implications of this range of authorial identity will be discussed throughout this thesis, but further clarification of the implications in terms of gendered expectation and identity will feature in Chapter One: '(Semi-)Anonymous: Unsigned and Text-Associated Signatures (1849-1859)'.

Wood contributed 59 narrative strands to five different periodicals.[41] Of these narratives, 28% were published anonymously and 70% were published using thirteen distinct text-associated signatures, with the most frequent signature alluding to 'The Unholy Wish,' a short story published in April 1853.[42] These (semi-)anonymous identities will be examined in detail in the first chapter of the thesis.

After the success of her bestseller, 'Mrs. Henry Wood' evolved as a carefully constructed professional identity that became associated with particular kinds of writing. The development of an identifiable brand garnered a fame based on her captivating, if exaggerated, plot lines, and status as a respectable wife and mother. Effectively repeating and revisiting similar themes, character types, and plots while reusing and adapting her previously published material, Wood promoted a sense of familiarity in order to generate a readerly expectation on which she could build a loyal readership and income. Seemingly, Wood's exploration of literary persona culminated with 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. However, this is not truly accurate. Although Wood used her most famous professional identity in the majority of her literary publications after *East Lynne*, she often used text-associated signatures alongside her famous identity to allude to her previous works and remained restricted by the house style of the magazine in which she chose to publish until her purchase of the *Argosy*. Until the end of her career, Wood consistently experimented with narrative voice, genre, and thematic focus under the protection of her famous brand and continued to publish

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41 I use the term 'narrative strand' here to mean the number of distinctly separate storylines published by Wood in this period. In truth, these 59 narrative strands are made up of 158 individual contributions to magazines and grouped to denote short stories, for example those finished within one single issue, as well as serialised narratives that spanned across as many as thirteen monthly issues.

42 The missing 2% is accounted for by the contribution published under the name 'Ellen Wood' in *The Keepsake* annual. The text-associated signature alluding to 'The Unholy Wish' made 28% of the contributions ('The Unholy Wish', *New Monthly Magazine*, 97, 388 (April 1853), pp. 410-423).

anonymously and using pseudonyms. The subsequent chapters trace the constant, yet subtle, shifts in identity through the different phases of Wood's professional development. In my examination of the evolution of Wood's professional identities, I also pay particular attention to the masculine pseudonyms Wood utilised as a complete departure from her matronly brand and the rare, yet significant, occasions upon which Wood used her initials as means of promoting a more professional and assertive demeanour.

This thesis examines how Wood used and adapted her professional identities in order to establish a marketable and stable persona on which she built her literary reputation, but, crucially, how these identities were shaped by the opportunities afforded to, and the difficulties experienced by, women writers within the literary market. In essence, this thesis explores the use of authorial identity to examine the extent to which Wood and, by extension, her contemporaries felt the need to 'propitiate her audience in her presentation of gender' as a professional woman writer, but also the strategies she adopted to break free from the constraints interposed by her gender.[43]

Chapter Outlines

The structure of the thesis works as a chronological guide to Wood's literary output. Each chapter both identifies a distinct phase in Wood's literary life and engages with a different aspect of the opportunities, demands, and challenges of authorship for a nineteenth-century woman writer.[44] The penultimate chapter 'Masculine Identities' breaks the chronological structure by discussing Wood's male personae. Despite the disruption to the chronological

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[43] Gisela Argyle, 'Mrs. Humphrey Ward's Fictional Experiments in the Woman Question,' *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900, Vol., 43, No. 4, (Autumn, 2003), pp. 939-957 (p. 953).

[44] These include anonymity, male pseudonyms, popularity and women writers, serialisation, professionalism, fame and celebrity, and literary legacy.

order, placing the masculinities chapter at the final point where Wood retained ultimate control over her literary legacy before her death ensures the thesis provides a contrast to the central argument which is chiefly concerned with the development and evolution of the overtly feminised 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. In this way, the gendered expectations manipulated by Wood's negotiation of professional identity become more pronounced.

(Semi-)Anonymous: Unsigned and Text-Associated Signatures (1846-1859)

The first chapter considers Wood's use of anonymity and signature in periodical publications between 1846 and 1859. Through her earliest contributions, including her anonymous literary debut in *Union Magazine* and a poem, signed 'Ellen Wood', in the once popular, yet outmoded annual, *The Keepsake*,[45] I illustrate Wood's astute awareness of building a reputation and establishing influence in order to succeed in the literary market in the very beginnings of her career. Both the content and the placement of her earliest writings indicate a savvy operator conscious of literary identity, capitalising on the limited opportunities available to female writers, and building relationships in literary circles, which ultimately enabled her to become a regular periodical contributor.

After a brief hiatus, Wood's writing appeared in periodicals with increasing regularity after 1851. The chapter examines the eight-year period during which a financially challenged Wood was afforded the opportunity to write 55 different narrative strands to two magazines under Harrison Ainsworth's editorship, the *New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany*.[46] My research illustrates how Wood used both complete anonymity and the easily

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[45] Anon., 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle,' *The Union Magazine* (Feb 1846), pp. 144-156 and 'Ellen Wood', 'The Exile's Wife to her Sleeping Child,' *The Keepsake for 1850* (Autumn 1849), pp. 97-98.

[46] Of these 57 different narratives, 18 were single-issue short stories and the remaining 37 stories were

discarded, semi-anonymous text-associated signature in these monthly magazines to build towards a stable authorial identity and add value to the magazine, but also as a cloaking mechanism to self-consciously evade detection. With a particular focus on the texts featured in Wood's evolving literary identities, the chapter argues that Wood's experimentation with signature, genre, style, and thematic focus are initially shaped by the demands of the magazine, yet reveal a rising influence over her editor and a conscious development of authorial identities.

The Transitional Period: From Contributor to Novelist (1859-1861)

With a decade of writing experience, a shift in Wood's publishing history articulates a desire to transition into the more lucrative publishing arena of novels. With reference to contemporary debates surrounding the woman writer, the second chapter examines the modification of Wood's literary strategies that enabled her transition from an anonymous writer, with constantly shifting authorial identities, to the bestselling author of *East Lynne*, 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.

While her desire to write longer narratives was somewhat appeased by the publication of a strand of thirteen connected short stories published in *Bentley's Miscellany* between 1855 and 1856,[47] Wood's ambition of advancing to the more lucrative novel remained unachieved until her 1859 winning entry to an amateur Temperance competition. This chapter identifies the shift in Wood's publishing towards serialised narrative threads and

narratives that were serialised over varying periods ranging from two to thirteen weeks.

[47] These narratives made up *The House of Halliwell*, which reappeared as a serialised novel posthumously in the *Argosy* from January to December 1890 (Mrs. Henry Wood, *The House of Halliwell: A Novel* (London: Bentley, 1890)).

reads the publication of her first novel, *Danesbury House* (1860), as an example of a motivated female writer breaking beyond the limitations placed upon her by the tutelage of her editor and the perceived safety of the monthly periodicals.[48] Furthermore, my reading of *East Lynne* works to both define and challenge the characteristics of the literary identity that defined Wood's literary life. While *East Lynne* provides evidence of the 'woman to woman address'[49] perceived to be typical of Wood's writing, the chapter also examines the significance of motivated changes made from the serialised text to the volumised novel as evidence of Wood's awareness in modifying her text in response to her transition from periodical contributor to established female novelist. Through these texts, Wood demonstrated an astute consciousness of the limitations of her position as a woman writer, the significance of literary identities, and the necessity of proactive business acumen in order to progress in the literary market. Thereby, these formative novels illustrate Wood's shifting focus towards the more profitable form of the novel within, and beyond, the limited opportunities offered to her as a female writer.

The Prolific Phase (1861-1863)

The third chapter deals with the period of most prolific publication for Wood. Publishing in both weekly and monthly magazines, this chapter is concerned with serialisation and the form of the novel and identifies prolificacy as a carefully chosen publication strategy to capitalise on the exponential, and most likely unexpected, success of *East Lynne*. This chapter is also concerned with the breadth, location, and type of publication Wood selected and the

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48 'Mrs. Henry Wood', *Danesbury House* [1860] (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1893).

49 Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 98.

implications these choices had on the development of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. This chapter identifies the prolific phase of Wood's literary career; a period in which she serialised multiple novels, often simultaneously, across several different, yet carefully chosen periodicals and highlights the physical volume of work required by an ambitious writer keen to maximise the success of a bestseller. During this time, I argue, Wood experimented with genre across the mass market of periodicals in order to proliferate the potential reading public and establish a clearly defined brand with a loyal readership.

The Strategic Phase (1864-1867)

A marked change in Wood's publication policy defines the period between 1864 and Wood's purchase of the *Argosy* in 1867. In what I have identified as the strategic phase of her career, the chapter considers Wood's transformation from an overworked prolific writer desperate to capitalise on her success, to a measured and composed novelist being selective with both the frequency and location in which she publishes her work. Here, I use contemporary debates surrounding the professionalism of the literary profession, with particular reference to women writers, in order to contextualise Wood's shift in publication choices during this period. Debilitated by illness exacerbated by the sheer productivity of the prolific phase, Wood's changing publication strategies show a clear movement avoiding the frantic pace and commitment of weekly serialisation to a preference for the more manageable workload of monthly magazines. Of similar significance during this period is the first instance of Wood's novels appearing only in three-volume format instead of being serialised in magazines first and the chapter considers the impact of lending libraries to Wood's increasing popularity and fame.

The Argosy Magazine: Ellen Wood, the celebrity author-editor (1867-1887)

The fifth chapter is concerned with the twenty-year span from 1867 to 1887 during which she edited and, for a time, owned the *Argosy* magazine. The chapter outlines the place that the magazine occupied in the market before considering the role of fame and literary celebrity, which enabled Wood to finally gain full control over her literary output. Within this framework, Wood's depiction of professional writing in her earliest discoverable fictional story, 'The Story of Gertrude Lisle' is contrasted with a subplot of *Roland Yorke* (1869), the sequel to Wood's second most successful novel *The Channings* (1861).[50] The extent of Wood's reusing and reframing previous material is then considered in terms of her effective management of a busy workload, a pointed attempt to gain from previously unprofitable endeavours, and also a reassertion of a carefully cultivated literary identity. The chapter closes by considering the material Wood published during this period outside of her own magazine including two didactic non-fiction conduct books regarding child-rearing in a blurring of the fictional and reality of Wood's writing and persona.[51]

Ellen Wood's Masculine Identities

In the penultimate chapter, the overtly feminine identity of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' makes way to a focus on the masculine identities Ellen Wood adopted. Temporarily abandoning the

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[50] Mrs. Henry Wood, *Roland Yorke: A Sequel to the Channings* (London: Bentley, 1869) - serialised in the Argosy from January-December 1869 - and Mrs. Henry Wood, *The Channings: A Tale* (London: Bentley, 1862) - serialised in the *Argosy* from September 1861 to April 1962.

[51] 'Mrs. Henry Wood', *Our Children* (London: Daldy, Ibister & Co., 1876) and 'Mrs. Henry Wood', *About Ourselves* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1883).

chronological framework of the thesis, I contextualise the contemporary significance of male pseudonyms and begin by discussing three boys' stories, 'Elchester College', 'Orville College', and 'William Allair', which remained under the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' authorial persona.[52] The chapter considers the significance of gendered persona as the contrast of the overtly feminine narrative presence of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' undermines the authorial authenticity required to legitimise the boy's stories. With reference to Wood's 'Ensign Pepper' masculine identity featured in the 1850s, I foreground the self-consciousness with which Wood adopted male pseudonyms as a means of authenticating her tale and pay significant attention to Wood's self-identification with her fictitious male alter ego. The chapter also questions how Wood's experimentation with specifically male literary personae impacted on her authorial identities and her reception in the periodical market.

Literary Afterlife (1887-)

In the introduction to their special edition of *Women's Writing* dedicated to Wood, Emma Liggins and Andrew Maunder noted that being 'so obviously middlebrow proved helpful to [Wood's] sales in her own day but has hindered her subsequent reputation'.[53] The final chapter is concerned with Wood's literary reputation after her death in 1887 and asks the extent to which Wood's lack of authorial control impacted on the literary legacy she faced in the years following her death. The chapter deals extensively with the material in her magazine, *Argosy*, in order to question her influence on the magazine after her death, during

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[52] Mrs. Henry Wood, 'The Elchester College Boys,' in Mary Hewitt (ed.) *The Golden Casket: A Treasury of Tales for Young People* (London: James Hogg and Sons, 1861), Mrs. Henry Wood, 'Orville College,' *Routledge's Every Boy Annual 1868* (London: Routledge, 1868), and Mrs. Henry Wood, 'William Allair; or Running Away to Sea,' *Quiver* (Dec 1862-Jan 1863).

[53] Liggins and Maunder, 'Introduction: Ellen Wood, Writer', p. 151.

which her material continued to feature until the turn of the century. Of particular interest are the obituaries and memorials published in the magazine directly after her death and on subsequent anniversaries. Working with previous scholarship, the chapter questions to what extent the memorials written by her son, Charles, and other *Argosy* material defined Wood as the "conservative sensationalist" and a typical Victorian popular writer which effectively demoted Wood into academic obscurity.[54] The thesis concludes with a consideration of how Wood's most celebrated persona, 'Mrs. Henry Wood,' came to dominate her literary legacy. Fionnuala Dillane suggests that the perception of George Eliot's most famous literary persona came to impact on the writer's career 'to the detriment of the complexity of her work and to the annoyance of the writer herself.'[55] However, the final chapter of the thesis considers the impact of her own cultivation of the dominant 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand on the literary legacy of Ellen Wood.

Conclusion

Using a chronological study, organised by her literary output, as a framework, this thesis traces the development of Ellen Wood's literary career from an anonymous periodical contributor to the celebrity-editor of a magazine with a clear focus on the ever-evolving gendered authorial identities, both within and outside her most famous literary persona, 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. In providing a more detailed bibliography of Wood's work, this research contributes a comprehensive examination of Wood's literary output and suggests that her

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[54] See Jennifer Phegley, "Motherhood, Authorship, And Rivalry: Sons' Memoirs Of The Lives Of Ellen Price Wood And Mary Elizabeth Braddon", in *Women Writers And The Artifacts Of Celebrity In The Long Nineteenth Century* (Farmham: Ashgate, 2017), pp. 189-204 and Lucy Sussex, 'Mrs Henry Wood and Her Memorials,' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 157-168.

[55] Dillane, *Before George Eliot*, p. 4.

use of authorial identity is evidence of her professional agency. In this way, the thesis explores the extent to which Wood's 'conventionality and respectable literary reputation' and commercial success is a direct result of the strategies in authorial and professional identity.[56]

[56] Kate Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction 1860-1880* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2012), p. 59.

The Professional Identities of Ellen Wood (1814-1887)

Chapter One- (Semi-)Anonymous: Unsigned and Text-Associated Signatures (1849-1859)

In 1861, 'Mrs. Henry Wood' achieved literary fame, and infamy, as the author of the scandalous bestseller *East Lynne*.[57] Despite being relatively unknown, Ellen Wood had, in fact, been writing in the periodicals marketplace for more than ten years. However, the true significance of Wood's earliest writings upon her professional identities has yet to be fully explored and it remains a 'neglected period in Wood's career.'[58] In this chapter, Wood's publishing history between 1846 and 1859 is utilised in two distinct ways. In the first section, I trace her literary beginnings. Her first two publications, and the sites in which they are published, indicate Wood's consciousness of the opportunities, limitations, and challenges of the literary market for a woman writer and I explore how these formative experiences shaped her subsequent publishing strategies. In the second section, I consider Wood's prolific contributions to Harrison Ainsworth's *New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany* between 1851 and 1859.[59] Here, I demonstrate how Wood's use of semi-anonymous 'text-associated signatures' and full anonymity exemplify the significance of professional identity to her navigation of the periodicals market. The specific strategies adopted in the contributions to these magazines reveal her experimentation with signature, narrative style,

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57 *East Lynne* was serialised in the *New Monthly Magazine* from January 1860 to September 1861.

58 Janice Allan, 'A 'base and spurious thing': Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's "Parkwater" (1857)' *Critical Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2011), pp. 8-24 (p. 9). Scholars such as Mariaconcetta Costantini, Marie Riley, and Beth Palmer have made referred to some of Wood's writing pre-*East Lynne*, but it is yet to receive sustained analysis as a period of Wood's authorial development.

59 Before the beginning of *East Lynne*'s serialisation in January 1860, Wood had contributed 59 narrative strands to five different periodicals. I use the term 'narrative strand' here to refer to the separate narrative arcs published by Wood in this period. In truth, these 59 narrative strands are made up of 158 individual contributions to magazines and grouped to denote both short stories, i.e. those finished within one single issue, as well as serialised narratives, which spanned across as many as thirteen monthly issues.

and thematic focus within the constricted site of the conservative monthly magazines. In this way, this chapter demonstrates how Wood's material before *East Lynne* was shaped by the periodicals market in which she published her work and documents the development of her distinct literary voice.

Much of the difficult methodological work for this chapter has been in identifying the material that Wood produced over this thirteen-year period. Despite the requirement of anonymous publishing in periodicals, the important work done by the *Wellesley Index* and the *Curran Index* to identify writers in key Victorian magazines has been crucial.[60] Similarly, bibliographical texts such as *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* have been useful sources, although they often focus on Wood's novel output to the expense of her anonymous contributions.[61] Informed by existing scholarship, I have conducted careful searching of the extensive digital holdings of databases, such as Proquest's *British Periodicals*, to identify Wood's prolific output.[62] The heavily populated databases facilitate author searches to trace works across different periodicals and gain a full view of publishing practices. The combination of these resources and my own research has enabled me to

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[60] Walter E. Houghton, *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013) and The Curran Index, http://curranindex.org/contributors [Online- Accessed 1st August 2021].

[61] The New Cambridge Bibliography lists Wood under 'Minor Fiction 1835-1870' alongside contemporaries such as William Harrison Ainsworth, Wilkie Collins, Sarah Ellis Stickney, Geraldine Jewsbury, Eliza Lynn Linton, Margaret Oliphant, and Charlotte Yonge. The bibliography only includes Wood's novels, with no mention of the serialisation of her texts. Interestingly, the bibliography also wrongly attributes a novel entitled 'Edward Burton' (1890) to Ellen Wood, which is in fact written by Mr. Henry Wood, a pioneer of the 'New Thought' movement in 19th century America (George Watson (ed.), *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971)).

[62] See Rolf Burgauer, *Mrs Henry Wood: Personlichkeit und Werk*, (Zurich: Juris-Verlag, 1950), p. 101 and Alan John, 'Mrs. Henry Wood Contributions to Periodicals, Novels, and Stories' https://archive.org/details/MrsHenryWoodBibliographyOfContributionsToPeriodicals [Online- Accessed 1st August 2021]. Katherine Bode's 'Thousands of Titles Without Authors: Digitized Newspapers, Serial Fiction, and the Challenges of Anonymity,' *Book History* (Vol. 19, 2016), pp. 284-316, is a key text that considers methodology in searching digital databases in relation to anonymity and serialised fiction in Australian newspapers.

examine Wood's publishing history and formulate the most comprehensive list of her writing to date.

One of the remarkable aspects of Wood's publishing history is the frequency with which she recovered and reused the material written before the conception of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.[63] As a writer keen to reutilise works for which she received little pay, Wood's publishing strategies actually aided the process of identifying her work. Of the 59 narrative arcs published by Wood between 1846 and 1859, 49 were reused in some format, including her first traceable periodical contribution. Historically, Ellen Wood's first published work has been identified as 'Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic,' a short story published anonymously in the *New Monthly Magazine*.[64] The bibliographical information available and the existing scholarship regarding Wood's output certainly confirm this assumption.[65] However, my research considers a short story Wood wrote for *The Union Magazine* in 1846 and a poem published two years later in the literary annual *The Keepsake*.[66] Considering the first 'entry into the public world of print' as 'an important first step' in a writer's career,[67] the first section of this chapter will illustrate how these two pieces of writing, which have yet to receive critical attention, establish her awareness of the opportunities and limitations of the literary market, and functioned as a learning experience

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63 Many scholars acknowledge Wood's recycling of material and both Andrew Mangham and Janice Allan have identified alterations in the reprints from this period that appear to protect the Mrs. Henry Wood brand. These texts and Wood's motivated changes will be discussed in more detail in this chapter and chapter 2.

64 Anon., 'Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic', *New Monthly Magazine*, 91:362 (Feb. 1851), pp. 245-255.

65 For example in Burgauer, *Mrs Henry Wood: Personlichkeit und Werk*, p. 101, and Matthew Pires, ''Boulogne-Sur-Mer, of all places in the world!': France in the works of Ellen Wood,' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 169-186 (p. 178).

66 'Ellen Wood', 'The Exile's Wife to her Sleeping Child,' *The Keepsake for 1850* (Autumn 1849), pp. 97-98.

67 Alexis Easley, 'Making a Debut' in Linda Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 15-28 (p. 16).

for Wood about the adaptability, networking, and the logistics necessity to produce a Victorian periodical.

In February 1846, Ellen Wood submitted an unsigned story entitled 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle' to *The Union Magazine*.[68] Despite being published anonymously, several identifying features reveal Wood as the author. In the first instance, the piece bears a striking resemblance to Wood's writing style, which is often associated with multiple narratorial interjections, direct reader addresses, and a melodramatic tone.[69] However, the reprint of the tale in her *Argosy* magazine in June 1870 presents the most compelling evidence that Wood is indeed the author of the story.[70] Scholars have acknowledged that Wood was responsible for much of the unsigned material in *Argosy*, 'regularly [writing] up to half of the material for her magazine,'[71] and, as this thesis will demonstrate, this reuse of the material is consistent with Wood's strategy of recycling previously published works. While acknowledged as a reprint, Wood's name is not directly associated with the republished story and, unlike other examples of her reused stories, 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle' undergoes very little alteration.[72] However, what is truly striking about this contribution, particularly in relation to a discussion of Wood's fledgling literary career, is the tale's content.

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[68] Anon., 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle,' *The Union Magazine* (Feb 1846), pp. 144-156. All subsequent references will appear in the body of the text. Alan John's bibliography of Wood's periodical contributions is the only other source that has identified Wood as the author of this text. This particular issue of the monthly magazine included an illustration by Phiz, a handwritten manuscript of John Keats's final poem 'Bright Star,' and a rather damning review of Charles Dickens' Christmas books.

[69] In the text, the narrator addresses both the characters, 'make the most of your darling visions while they last, Gertrude Lisle!' (p. 153) and the reader 'Do my readers require to be told the sequel?' (p. 154). These direct addresses became pivotal to the woman-to-woman address associated with the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' identity, particularly due to the famous 'Lady-wife-mother' address in *East Lynne* (p. 92). Similarly, the recycled themes often associated with Wood's writing include issues of class division, unhappy marriages, alcohol dependency or temperance, and unfulfilled destiny. The next chapter will examine the traits of Wood's most famous professional identity in more detail.

[70] Anon., 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle,' *Argosy* (June 1870), pp. 436-449.

[71] Beth Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship in Victorian culture: Sensational Strategies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 101.

[72] Aside from minor punctuation changes and the reduction of an overuse of italics, the tale is almost

The narrative documents the unrealised literary dreams of Gertrude Lisle, the daughter of a troubled and hasty marriage between an aristocratic woman and her shopkeeper husband.[73] Despite being blessed with 'genius of the highest order' (p. 148), Gertrude's secret dream to become an author is hindered by her unstable class position, particularly after she descends into poverty due to her father's dependency upon alcohol and her mother's extravagance. As well as harbouring a professional dream, Gertrude also yearns to marry William Ricard, her lover, who awaits a handsome inheritance from his father. Ricard and Gertrude are depicted as equals who are 'both gifted with unusual intellect' (p. 147), despite their different class positions, yet the relationship is dissolved when Ricard's father threatens to disinherit him if they marry.[74] In the tale, Wood displays a keen awareness of the requirements of a successful literary career despite her limited experience. In effect, the story acts as a cautionary tale warning that possessing 'every requisite for becoming an author' (p. 148) did not guarantee Gertrude the literary success and fame that she anticipated would elevate her social position. While Gertrude's pursuit of 'fame' and 'appreciation' (p. 149) is not explicitly criticised by the narrator, the naivety highlighted by the protagonist's 'hopeful dream' (p. 149) actually illustrates Wood's own knowledge of the 'cultural economy in the literary marketplace.'[75] Essentially, the narrative articulates the requirements of literary

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unchanged. Further analysis of 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle' features in the fifth chapter of this thesis 'The Argosy Magazine: Ellen Wood, the celebrity author-editor (1867-1887).' Here, I examine Wood's literary representations of authorship with reference to the author subplot featured in *Argosy* months earlier in *Roland Yorke* (January- December 1869).

[73] There are also significant biographical parallels between Wood and Lisle. Wood's literary ambition and close relationship with her middle-class father is emulated in Lisle's character. Also the penchant for storytelling and gifts of 'a great imagination, a remarkably retentive memory, and unusual intellectual capacity' echo the characteristics Charles Wood ascribes to his mother in the *Memorials* (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1894), p.148.

[74] Here, the two aspects of Gertrude's dream, literary success and marriage, are conflated so her professional failure is inextricably linked to her failure to acquire a husband. While Gertrude's failure as a woman to attract a husband is directly linked to her class ambiguity, the text does not allude to Gertrude's gender as a contributing factor in her failure as a writer.

[75] Jennifer Scott, 'The Invisible Hand of the Literary Market: Authorial Self-Fashioning in Grant Thorburn

success by outlining the crucial missteps that prevented Gertrude from reaching her dream. Throughout the text, the narrator confirms the veracity of Gertrude's 'rare and surpassing' genius and the 'infinite superiority' of her work (p. 153). However, the narrative identifies two elements necessary to obtain access to the literary market that Gertrude fails to acquire: reputation and influence. Without the professional skills and network required to gain access the market, Gertrude's literary prowess is insignificant.

Victorian writers relied on the periodical press, which made it possible for 'men and some women to earn enough by writing to be able to live respectable middle-class lives'[76] and the prevalent 'convention of anonymity' made it a 'relatively accessible medium of discourse for women writers.'[77] Yet, the narrator highlights Gertrude's reluctance to utilise the periodicals market as an unsigned writer as she brooded 'for months, nay, years […] upon the possibility of publishing, anonymously at first, till her writings should be known and appreciated' (p. 149). Here, Wood establishes the possibility afforded women writers particularly, without risk, to build a reputation within this medium as a means of gaining access to the competitive publishing market. The narrator concludes that Gertrude's status as 'poor [and] unknown' ensured that she was 'consequently neglected (p. 154). While the opportunity to build a reputation in periodicals is missed by Gertrude, Wood's own professional conduct is in direct contrast. As the second section of this chapter demonstrates Wood capitalised on the opportunities afforded to her and utilised the experience she gained

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and John Galt,' *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 40:1 (2017), pp. 51-69 (p. 52).

[76] Margaret Beetham, 'Periodical Writing' in Linda Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 221-235 (p. 222).

[77] Alexis Easley, 'Authorship, Gender and Power in Victorian Culture: Harriet Martineau and the Periodical Press,' in Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein (eds.), *Nineteenth-century media and the construction of identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 154-177 (p. 154).

in the periodical market to achieve the 'fame in the mouths of men' (p. 149) that Gertrude strove towards.

The narrative similarly highlights the significance of influence in gaining access to the literary marketplace. The subtle criticism of Gertrude's failure to act assertively indicate a necessity in the market for the 'business acumen' and 'ambition to succeed' that Wood herself displayed in her professional conduct.[78] For example, Gertrude offers her work to a London publisher in a letter 'with great timidity and without giving her name' (p. 150) which is quickly rejected due to 'an unusual multiplicity of business' (p. 150). Here, Wood articulates the difficulties for unknown, and unconnected, writers to obtain exposure in a saturated environment, despite the quality of the writing, which is deemed 'worthy to take their station by the side of the most successful' and far superior to the 'trash perpetually put forward from the press' (p. 153). Particularly for women writers, it was difficult to 'gain access to masculine social and professional networks' and the narrator acknowledges Gertrude's lack of literary contact as key to her ultimate failure.[79] In a final deathbed scene, Gertrude regrets her naivety and reliance upon success and sums up her situation: 'the merit which I depended on was never looked into; and through want of influence I was unable to make it known' (p. 156).

This story effectively articulates the challenges and opportunities faced by would-be writers in the 1850s and the significance placed upon influence and reputation coincides with Wood's subsequent publishing practices. During her next literary venture, a poem published in the *Keepsake* annual, Wood gains access to a form known to accommodate women writers and a networking circle that ultimately enables her to avoid Gertrude Lisle's fate. After

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[78] Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 66.

[79] Easley, 'Making a Debut,' p. 15.

building a relationship with a former editor of *The Keepsake*, Harrison Ainsworth, Wood began publishing regularly in monthly magazines, which she utilised to experiment with form, style, and professional identities while building her literary reputation.

Once a 'highly profitable publishing fad' during its peak in the 1830s,[80] Wood's contribution to *The Keepsake* came when the popularity of the form had begun to wane, yet marked a significant platform from which she could launch her literary profession.[81] Annuals were anthologies of poetry and prose sold once a year during the build up to Christmas and often given as elaborate gifts.[82] Intended for a middle-class, and often female, reader, the annuals were 'moderately priced' from 12 shillings to £3.[83] *The Keepsake* cost a guinea (21 shillings) for the entirety of its run from 1828 to 1857, making it an extravagant purchase for many middle-class houses.[84] Kathryn Ledbetter argues that the *Keepsake*'s mixture of 'engraved illustrations, poems, stories, essays, and beautiful bindings combined to appeal to the new bourgeois public, anxious to prove their cultivated tastes by appreciating art, literature, and manners.'[85] The annual promoted the middle-class lifestyle it helped to cultivate in its contents, and editors were deemed to be the guardians of morality for both the annual itself and the middle-class reader to whom it was marketed. The 'handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated' annuals were desirable as a physical object as well as a

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80 Kathryn Ledbetter, '"BeGemmed and beAmuletted": Tennyson and Those "Vapid" Gift Books,' *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Summer 1996), pp. 235-245 (p. 235).

81 Ellen Wood, 'The Exile's Wife to her Sleeping Child,' *The Keepsake for 1850* (Autumn 1849), pp. 97-98. All subsequent references will appear in the body of the text.

82 Harriet Devine, 'Introduction' in Harriet Devine (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Short Stories By Women: a Routledge Anthology* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp.1-12 (p. 2).

83 Katherine D. Harris, *Forget me not: the rise of the British literary annual, 1823-1835* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015), p. 1.

84 'Introduction to The Keepsake,' *Romantic Circles* (October 1998), [http://www/rc.umd.edu/print/editions/lel/ksintro.htm]. Accessed 1st August 2021.

85 Ledbetter, '"BeGemmed and beAmuletted": Tennyson and Those "Vapid" Gift Books,' p. 236.

vessel for informative and entertaining literary content.[86] Margaret Linley argues that though the annuals appeared to reflect the values of the upper and middle classes, the reality of the genre was a negotiable site that reflected the changing landscape of politics and social tastes.[87] However, the popularity of the genre was dwindling by the 1850s, when it was deemed 'beneath the dignity of famous authors to contribute.'[88] Despite this fall from popularity, which saw many annuals cease publication, *The Keepsake* maintained a readership. Wood's decision to publish in the annual indicates an early interest in capturing the attention of the large, predominantly female readership of this yearly, conservative-thinking publication and making use of a form that accommodated women contributors.

The annuals are a significant source to consider in terms of the publishing opportunities for female writers. With a rich history of female editors and contributors, the annuals 'made a possible a steady income for professional women writers from the upper and middle ranks of society and provided a forum for their self-representation on an unprecedented scale.'[89] As well as the potential financial gains, female contributors were also able to earn 'a degree of cultural authority' through the 'feminine coding' of the annuals. [90] Bound in 'feminine sympathy,' the annual created a relationship between production, of the physical object itself, and consumption, by the female reader, which Linley argues creates a 'cosmopolitan democracy' incorporating 'geographically separate locations and diverse social

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86 Devine, 'Introduction', p. 2.

87 Linley discusses the negotiable cultural value placed on the annual beyond its economic worth as suggested by Leigh Hunt in the 1828 *Keepsake*, 'Pocket-Books and Keepsakes' in her essay 'A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy,' in Laurel Brake, B Bell, and David Finkelstein (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 54-74 (p. 62).

88 Frederick Winthrop Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift-Books* (Boston: The Boston Book Co, 1912), p. xxi. Barbara Onslow includes a comprehensive account of the objections that writers had to contributing to annuals in her chapter 'Gendered Production: Annuals and Gift Books' in Joanne Shattock (ed.) *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 66-83.

89 Linley, 'A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy,' p. 62.

90 Linley, 'A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy,' p. 63.

identities.'[91] The creation of this reading community was replicated in the readership of periodicals and a unifying factor very much at play in Wood's later editorship of the *Argosy* magazine.[92] The 'cultural distinction' and 'political coherence' which created 'a democracy of identity' was articulated by female readers in their choice to purchase annuals and periodicals and it is this defining but empowering sense of community that drives the economic thrust of the periodicals market.[93] Therefore, women writers could utilise feminine coding practices in the content curated in the magazines or annuals to create economic security and establish a female readership.

The Keepsake for 1850 featured 21 female contributors, many of whom were regular contributors.[94] Of the 21 female writers, ten used a name that clearly signified their marital status, yet surprisingly Wood was not among them.[95] Ledbetter notes the 'increase in the usage of married titles' in the later editions of the annual were indicative of their 'proper support of the reigning Victorian domestic ideology.'[96] While this suggests that it is a decision by the editor to align the publication with contemporary social and political norms, Wood resists this trend by signing her poem 'Ellen Wood'; using her married surname, yet not explicitly declaring her marital status.[97] Displaying the same 'feminine delicacy that attracted

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91 Linley, 'A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy,' p. 69.

92 See Chapter 5 (The Argosy Magazine: Ellen Wood the celebrity author-editor (1867-1887)) for a detailed analysis of Wood's editorship of her monthly magazine.

93 Linley, 'A Centre that Would not Hold: Annuals and Cultural Democracy,' p. 69.

94 There were ten male contributors and two gender ambiguous by-lines, which have not been attributed as yet (V and EMB). While there are 21 different female names, one female contributor left her writing unsigned and Anna Savage Shipton produced poems under both her married name (Mrs. Shipton) and maiden name (Anna Savage). Anna and Joseph Shipton were married in 1848 and separated in 1852 following Joseph Shipton's infidelity.

95 Ten contributors used some variation of Mrs. and eleven contributors, including Wood, concealed their marital status.

96 Kathryn Ledbetter, '"White Vellum and Gilt Edges": Imaging The Keepsake,' *Studies in the Literary Imagination* (Spring 1997), 30, 1, (pp. 35-49), p. 45.

97 Wood only uses her full name on two further occasions. Once in a particularly sternly written letter to the editor of the *Times* on October 28th 1871, defending herself against plagiarism claims made by Caroline Norton (p.6) and again when serialising the 'Our Children' stories. Instead, she often writes anonymously or

a primarily female readership,'[98] 'The Exile's Wife' fits within the constraints of the annual and was afforded an accompanying illustration by T. F. Marshall,[99] engraved by Alfred T. Heath,[100] which received rare praise in an *Athenaeum* review.[101] However, Wood's poem and by-line articulate the 'subversive female power' exercised through the annual,[102] which went to great lengths to conform to the Victorian norms yet 'frequently exposed the unreliability of assumptions' about domestic tranquillity.[103] The tales of 'unhappy marriage and lack of opportunities for women' in most volumes of *The Keepsake* echoed the tropes of the sensation fiction genre that Wood pioneered.[104] Therefore, it is unsurprising that Wood's contribution to the annual features themes that were shared in her later literary catalogue.

'The Exile's Wife to her Sleeping Child' features a first-person speaker, the titular exile's wife, who addresses her dozing infant and contemplates her worries as the wife of an exiled man and a devoted mother. The speaker recognises her powerlessness and expresses her determination to protect her child from the realities of the 'cold world' (p. 98). The use of iambic pentameter and a simple rhyme scheme create an easily accessible natural tone to the poem, which captures the conversation between mother and child. The poem confirms the

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adopts 'Mrs. Henry Wood,' semi-anonymous by-lines, or other pseudonyms. In very rare occasions, she utilises her initials 'E.W'. The significance of all of these professional identities are considered in this thesis.

98 Harris, *Forget me not: the rise of the British literary annual, 1823-1835*, p. 1.

99 Thomas Falcon Marshall (1818-1878) was a versatile artist who exhibited at the Liverpool Academy and at the Royal Academy in London after 1839.

100 Alfred Theodosius Heath (1812-1896) was an engraver and the son of Charles Heath, the engraver and proprietor of *The Keepsake*. The annual's engravings were under the superintendence of Frederick A. Heath, Charles' eldest son, who took over the Heath engraving interests after the death of his father in 1848.

101 Anon. 'The Keepsake. 1850' *The Athenaeum* (Dec 1, 1849), p. 1202. Despite describing the annual as a whole as 'sad,' the review deemed the engraving 'worthy of the best days of the Annual' (p. 1202).

102 Ledbetter, '"White Vellum and Gilt Edges": Imaging The Keepsake,' p. 35.

103 'Introduction to The Keepsake,' *Romantic Circles*, n.pag.

104 'Introduction to The Keepsake,' *Romantic Circles*, n.pag. Interestingly, the language used to describe the phenomenon of annual publishing during its most popular period in the 1830s is strikingly similar to that used to refer to sensation fiction during the 1860s. A reviewer refers to the genre as an 'epidemic' and the 'sickness' that encouraged the reader to consume these texts (Jane F. Wilde, 'The Countess of Blessington,' *Dublin University Magazine* 45 (1855), p. 342).

conservative and feminine approach of the annual, but also portrays the 'subversive female power' referenced in Ledbetter's reading of *The Keepsake*.[105] The speaker's identification as 'The Exile's Wife' evokes a sense of female powerlessness and places blame for the family's plight firmly with her husband.[106] The absence of female power is articulated through the speaker's overt reliance on the only figure over which she has any influence: her child. The poem establishes a close relationship between the speaker and the child through the repeated use of 'my,' which establishes a sense of ownership and mutual dependency. Referred to as 'my [precious] child,' 'my own', and 'my beautiful' (p.97), the suffocating relationship reflects the 'maternal melodrama' identified by E. Ann Kaplan in her study of *East Lynne*.[107] As Kaplan argues, the speaker's lack of control in terms of her social and legal situation stimulates a hysterical and overwhelming protection of the woman's realm of child rearing, which provides a space for female power within a patriarchal realm. However, the complex dynamic between mother and child ensures that the power is not entirely held by the parent. Acting as a source of solace, the child has 'beguiled [the speaker] of [her] grief' and 'chased back half [her] cares' (p. 97). Here, the child's agency renders the mother passive and dependent upon the child's influence to appease her 'lonely heart' (p. 97). The careworn parent and the sleeping child are constantly contrasted, particularly when the child is elevated to a higher level through a direct communication with angels that allegedly whisper 'words of love to infant dreamers' (p. 97). Cruelly separated from this knowledge of 'pure and bright' heaven that she seeks (p. 97), the innocent reposed child becomes the only link between the

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105 Ledbetter, '"White Vellum and Gilt Edges": Imaging The Keepsake,' p. 35.

106 It is tempting to perform a crude biographical reading here, considering that Wood lived in France, effectively as an exile, after the failure of her husband's business and the death of her first daughter, Ellen.

107 See E. Ann Kaplan, 'The Political Unconscious in the Maternal Melodrama: Ellen Wood's *East Lynne* (1861)' in D. Longhurt (ed.) *Gender, Genre and Narrative Pleasure* (Manchester: Allen & Unwin, 1987), pp. 31-50.

speaker and God. The 'cares' and 'grief in many a sad, sad hour' experienced by the mother depicts an isolated and care-worn figure with no autonomy (p. 97). However, the child also occupies a role as a figure of promise. 'Newly blown' and a 'bud of promise' (p. 97), the child represents new life, opportunity, and room for growth beyond the challenging circumstances in which the exiled wife finds herself.

The poem articulates a subtle critique of the position of the distressed and powerless mother while conforming to the constraints of the publication to promote middle-class values. The child represents an opportunity for the mother to create something new protected from the worries of her world. In the same way, Wood's ascent into the literary world presented her with such an opportunity to use her skill as a storyteller and creator of life to create a solution for the powerless woman saddled with the problems of her husband. Considering her biographical context, Wood's decision to sign the poem 'Ellen Wood' in some ways protected against a biographical reading that would link the plight of 'The Exile's Wife' too closely with Wood's own circumstances. Rather than styling herself with her husband's name, as was the practice of many contributors of *The Keepsake*, writing as 'Ellen Wood' suggests an emerging self-consciousness about her commercial identity amid her pursuit of financial security through writing. Akin to the example of Gertrude Lisle, Wood's pursuit of independence is tempered by the demands of the marketplace, as she is subsequently required to relinquish her by-line and publish anonymously in monthly magazines. However, the insistence of incorporating her husband's name in her most famous professional identity suggests that Wood's conduct was influenced, in part, by the women writers who promoted their marital status in *The Keepsake* as a means of projecting the middle-class values and sense of propriety that the annual promoted.

The popularity of the annuals was beginning to wane in the 1850s when Wood contributed her poem. Christmas annuals, which appealed to a wider, family-based audience rather than aiming for a specifically female readership, began to dominate the late year market [108] and the thirtieth annual issue of *The Keepsake* in 1857 effectively marked the end of this 'phase of book-making.'[109] However, the fad of the annual holds a significant place in the history of bookmaking in the Victorian era as it occupies a site to discuss the impact of the technological advancements, the publishing and artistic marketplace, and, most crucially for this thesis, the increasing opportunities for women writers to advance in the literary market. With this in mind, it is rather extraordinary that Wood's publishing career began in this outmoded sphere considering that she is often depicted as a literary pioneer who always understood literary fashion and was in the vanguard of contemporary trends.[110] Wood's use of a format of publishing that had passed its prime suggests that while she was always changing with the zeitgeist, she was also a follower of tradition. By extension, it also suggests that Wood exercised flexibility in her strategies by capitalising on the opportunities afforded to her to contribute to a renowned form and establish important connections within the literary network. It is this balance between Wood's political and business-minded foresight, her grasping of opportunity, and her links to the past that this thesis continues to dissect.

Occupying a starting point for Wood's writing, these texts establish the beginning of the development of the professional identities Wood cultivated in order to achieve success in the nineteenth-century publishing arena. This thesis will track Wood's movement from the

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108 Devine, 'Introduction,' p. 2.

109 Winthrop Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift-Books*, p. xii.

110 Marie Riley, 'Writing for the Million: The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood' in *Popular Victorian Women Writers*, eds. Kay Boardman and Shirley Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 165-185 (p. 167).

annual, a physical object sturdy enough to 'withstand multiple rereadings,' to the ephemeral form of the monthly (and weekly) magazine designed to be 'expended once it had been read once.'[111] In adapting her writing from the formal structure of poetry to the malleable serialised short-story, Wood's writing moved from the setting of the annual, treasured and constantly reread over the course of a year, back to the throwaway, disposable format of a monthly magazine, designed to be read and shared before being discarded for the next instalment. Choosing to publish in *The Union Magazine* and *The Keepsake* as an unknown writer, Wood was unlikely to make significant financial gain. However, as Barbara Onslow argues, the 'interlocking circles' of the annual meant that networking was crucial for the annual to succeed, both for editors and contributors.[112] As William Harrison Ainsworth edited *The Keepsake* during the 1830s, it afforded her the opportunity to establish a relationship with him, which led to her becoming a regular contributor to the monthly magazines he edited. This marked a shift in Wood's development as a literary professional and an intelligent and well-timed move from a decreasingly popular mode to a thriving magazine market. These alterations indicate crucial turning points in Wood's career as she attempted to establish herself as a novel writer using the periodical press as a gateway and, by necessity, began to write anonymously and using by-lines.

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111 Katherine D. Harris, 'Feminizing the Textual Body: Female Readers Consuming the Literary Annual,' *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (December 2005), pp. 573-622 (p. 580).

112 Barbara Onslow, 'Gendered Production: Annuals and Gift Books,' p. 76.

Anonymous Identities

From February 1851 until the serialisation of *East Lynne* (January 1860 to September 1861), Wood contributed over 150 texts, or 56 narrative strands, to two periodicals edited by Ainsworth, the *New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany*.[113] Written for little or 'no remuneration,' Wood's earliest published texts reveal an inexperienced writer providing sketches and short stories portraying life in provincial France.[114] Invariably attractive to female writers, the 'policy of anonymous publication' common in periodicals provided 'effective cover' for women interacting with 'conventionally 'masculine' social issues.'[115] As the anonymous contributions, and the income they could potentially generate, became increasingly important to her struggling family, Wood contributed more frequently, writing monthly from June 1854. Consequently, the increased significance of her literary pursuits accentuated the professionalism that Wood needed to bring to her writing, which led her to an increased use of signed contributions. Many Victorian women writers wrote anonymously and 'deploy[ed] multiple and cross-gender pseudonyms' in periodicals, which both enabled 'a strategic exploitation of different genres and writing opportunities and a defence against the damaging effects of gender politics.'[116] So while a movement 'towards signed publication' in periodicals both 'constrained the range of topics women could pursue,' it also provided opportunities for 'strategic self-marketing' and remained one of the only way writers could 'achieve literary fame'.[117]

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113 See Appendix I for a list of Wood's publications during this period. *The New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany* will be referred to as the *New Monthly* and *Bentley's* for the remainder of the chapter.

114 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 90.

115 Alexis Easley, *First-Person Anonymous: Women Writers and the Victorian Print Media, 1830-70* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 1.

116 Beetham, 'Periodical Writing,' p. 226.

117 Easley, 'Making a Debut,' p. 23.

Of the narratives published by Wood in these magazines, 28% were published anonymously and 70% were published semi-anonymously using thirteen distinct semi-anonymous signatures.[118] In these contributions, Wood utilised text-associated signatures, which indicate a deliberate allusion to a previously published text in the by-line.[119] While Margaret Beetham argued that anonymity and 'the use of multiple pseudonyms' effectively 'prevent[ed] the development of a recognizable authorial voice,'[120] my reading of Wood's publishing history illustrates how her use of text-associated signatures developed a semi-transparent literary identity, and seemingly commenced her development of various professional identities.

Maintaining an equal level of protection as complete anonymity, the text-associated signature simultaneously hid the identity of the writer while directly referencing other contributions they had written, thereby, effectively creating an easily discarded, but traceable, literary identity. Within the 'legacy of anonymity,' reference to the names of the works written by an author 'might well have been more familiar to readers than the names of the authors themselves.'[121] Just as the 'allusiveness of the title' is dependent upon the reader's 'identification of a link between the title and the subject matter,'[122] Wood used her newly established reputation as the author of another tale as an element of authentication in the same way a reviewer would guarantee 'competence' or 'publicly sanctioned expertise

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118 The missing 2% is accounted for by the contribution published under the name 'Ellen Wood' in *The Keepsake* annual. The text-associated signature alluding to 'The Unholy Wish' made 28% of the contributions ('The Unholy Wish', *New Monthly Magazine*, 97, 388 (April 1853), pp. 410-423).

119 Mariaconcetta Costantini refers to Wood's 'camouflage strategies' in her text *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020), p. 9.

120 Beetham, 'Periodical Writing,' p. 227.

121 Laurel Brake, *Print in transition, 1850-1910: Studies in media and book history* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), p. 41-2. While signature was not the norm for many periodicals in the 1850s, monthly magazines began to adopt by-lines increasingly in the 1860s and only newspapers featured unsigned work by the 1890s.

122 Marek Krawiec, *Cross-Circular Dimensions of Language Learning and Teaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p. 166.

in a particular providence of study' by their signature.[123] Indeed, like her contemporaries, Wood was able to 'manipulate her own identity' to fit the 'rhetorical purpose' determined by the 'subject matter, readers, and editorial guidelines.'[124] Wood was certainly not alone in her use of signature as a means of creating a traceable path by which her work would be identified and followed by a conscientious reader. Jolein De Ridder and Marianne Van Remoortel identified Eliza Warren Francis's 'abundant use of signature' and 'gendered performativity' as a periodical editor of *Ladies' Treasury* (1857-95) and noted that she was 'careful never to relinquish the possibility of identification altogether.'[125] Similarly, Julie Sheldon suggests that Elizabeth Rigby, an early Victorian critic, 'normally left a trail of clues as to her identity' in her reviews and Wood utilised her text-associated by-lines in a similar fashion.[126] The temporary personas provided a risk-free means of exploring a variety of writing styles and topics in order to hone her literary skill, develop as a writer, and craft a literary persona she believed would provide the optimum pecuniary reward. Wood's complicated publishing history of anonymous contributions and those using text-associated signatures, which changed frequently both within a publication and in different magazines, exposes the beginning of Wood's manipulation of authorial personas.

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123 Kelly J. Mays, 'The disease of reading and Victorian periodicals', in *Literature in the marketplace: Nineteenth-century British publishing and reading practices*, ed. by John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 167.

124 Alexis Easley, 'Authorship, Gender and Power in Victorian Culture: Harriet Martineau and the Periodical Press,' p. 159.

125 Jolein De Ridder and Marianne Van Remoortel, 'Not "Simply Mrs. Warren": Eliza Warren Francis (1810-1900) and the "Ladies' Treasury",' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter 2011) pp. 307-326, (p. 313).

126 Julie Sheldon, 'In her own métier': the Quarterly review of Jane Eyre,' *Women's History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 5 (November 2009), pp. 835-847 (p. 836).

Text-Associated Signatures

Writing anonymously was the norm for a nineteenth-century female writer who 'sought freedom from discrimination' at the hands of reviewers and protected their femininity through anonymity.[127] While many periodicals were 'marked by apparent anonymity,'[128] the constant modification of Wood's text-associated signatures becomes significant in association with the meticulous creation and protection of her subsequent professional identities. While editors afforded writers a 'by-line' on the belief that 'their regular association with a journal would boost readership,'[129] Wood's semi-anonymous identities showcase a self-conscious writer and editor aware of the vital implications of authorial image, through name or text-association. Ascribed as an 'apprenticeship for a would-be writer',[130] anonymous contributions to periodicals provided the opportunity for an inexperienced writer to develop their literary skills. Although the introduction of 'named contributors' had the risk of threatening the 'collective identity' of periodicals through 'house style' and 'the collective 'we',' both the *New Monthly* and *Bentley's* created the collective identity through the tone and content of their contributions, which ensured Wood's writing was obliged to conform to the established house style.[131] The collective authorship in serials through 'intertextuality and editing' ensured that the writer was obliged to compose their work 'within codes of discourse,' which are determined by both the type of piece they were

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127 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 33.

128 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 33.

129 Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnson, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 39.

130 Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender, and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), p. 2.

131 Brake, *Print in Transition,* p. 15.

writing and the publication in which it would appear.[132] Therefore, despite the opportunities it created for women writers, the Victorian periodical press also placed limitations on their careers by reinforcing the separate spheres ideology in 'masculine' periodicals written for and by men, and 'feminine' periodicals, written for and by women. Thereby, as women 'could only speak freely on issues outside the female sphere if they wrote in a masculine voice,'[133] the site of her publication in the *New Monthly* and *Bentley's Miscellany* certainly initially determined the style of the narratives she could produce.

Described as having a 'manly' tone', the *New Monthly*'s *Magazine*'s 'preference for political and military articles' suggested a predominantly male readership and a distinct gender divide rendered fictional contributions to the magazines as 'marginal'.[134] Wood's early publications often featured 'anti-Catholic' and male-focussed narratives in accordance with the periodical,[135] yet show a developing sense of authorial identity as she negotiates the balance between contributing tales suited to her reader, and masculinity of the publication, and developing her own voice.

In 41 narrative strands published to the *New Monthly,* Wood published eight anonymously and utilised five different texts as text-associated signatures. By alluding to her previous works, Wood was able to carve a literary identity while maintaining a protective anonymity to shield her reputation. Between 1851 and 1853, Wood signed as the author of 'Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic' (1851) for 5 narrative strands.[136] After its publication in April 1853, 'The Unholy Wish' featured in her signature for 18 narrative

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132 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 18.

133 Alexis Easley, 'Authorship, Gender and Power in Victorian Culture,' p. 163.

134 Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 61-4.

135 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 90.

136 Anon., 'Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic', *New Monthly Magazine*, 91, 362 (February 1851), pp. 245-255. All further references will be given within the body of the text.

strands including the short story 'Ashley', which took over as the by-line in December 1856 and continued through to the serialisation of *East Lynne*.[137] Wood's use of signature was generally consistent in the *New Monthly* as she used the allusive by-line to develop a series of semi-anonymous literary identities; however during the use of 'The Unholy Wish' in her by-line, Wood tweaked her authorial identity significantly. Between July 1854 and November 1855, while using 'The Unholy Wish', Wood also published under a male pseudonym, 'Ensign Pepper',[138] and utilised 'The Elopement' in her signature.[139] Although it is impossible to be certain, beyond a doubt, with whom the responsibility for the decision to modify the names under which Wood's narratives appeared, the evidence of her forthright business acumen and her subsequent manipulation of professional identities indicates that it is likely to have been, at the very least, initiated by Wood, even if the final decision was made by Ainsworth, the magazine's editor. This perpetual shifting of literary identities, whether initiated by Ainsworth or by Wood herself, is indicative of Wood's active attempts to forge a persona and position for herself in a crowded literary marketplace and foregrounds her manipulation of literary identities. My analysis of each of the text-associated signatures provide potential motives for Wood's discarding of one text-associated signature and adopting a different text into her literary identity. Furthermore, Wood's increasing influence over her editor as she transitioned towards the longer, female focused narratives she evidently preferred similarly becomes apparent. The mercurial identities of Wood's anonymous contributions become evidence of her development of a more stable semi-anonymous identity in the *New Monthly*.

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137 Anon., 'The Unholy Wish', *New Monthly Magazine*, 97, 388 (April 1853), pp. 410-423 and 'The Author of "The Unholy Wish",' 'Ashley,' *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1856), pp. 261-273. All further references will be given within the body of the text.

138 See the Masculine Identities chapter for references to the Ensign Pepper texts.

139 Anon., 'The Elopement', *New Monthly Magazine* (January 1855), pp. 1-17. This featured as the by-line for a single story of a narrative strand spanning eight serialised stories from January to August 1855.

Wood's first contribution to the magazine, 'Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic' (February 1851), became her first text-associated signature, and displays her writing style at its most unrefined. The signature was used for five of the ten narrative strands contributed to the magazine between March 1851 and May 1853.[140] Set in provincial France, the narrative warns husbands of the potential perils of a wife becoming controlled by her priest through confession and ends with the husband's dramatic and bloody suicide.[141] Decidedly anti-Catholic, the tale is specifically aimed at men with the narrator directly addressing the male reader, in typically recognisable manner for readers of Wood's later novels: 'Husbands of England! thank God that you are far removed from these crying evils: they are no fictions' (p. 255). The subsequent contributions under this signature similarly provide an explicitly anti-Catholic viewpoint, which was a popular trope and topical of the time,[142] and deal with the negative influence of the foreign religion on the happiness of married couples. However, after publishing 'The Unholy Wish' in April 1853, which provides similarly clear warnings to a specifically male reader, this time regarding the potential perils of associating with flirtatious women, Wood seemingly deliberately stepped away from the overtly anti-Catholic tone that defined the writings under the 'Seven Years' signature and took on 'The Unholy Wish' as her new narrative identity.

'The Unholy Wish' sees two men, James, the surgeon's assistant, and Tom, the squire's son, vying for the affections of the town flirt, Emily. After Emily's rejection, James flees the

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140 The other five narrative strands were published anonymously.

141 For an extensive discussion of the portrayal of France and Catholicism in Wood's writings see Matthew Pires' article '"Boulougne-Sur-Mer, of all the places in the world!": France in the Works of Ellen Wood', *Women's Writing,* Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 169-186.

142 Wood's early anti-Catholic writings addressed a particular 'niche' for such narratives in the early 1850s which has been explore by many scholars, including D.G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1992) and Edward R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 2016).

village, but not before wishing 'to God [Tom] may break his back' (p. 421). Before the story concludes, this wish is 'strangely fulfilled' in a steeplechase accident (p. 422), which echoes a real-life incident reported in the *Freeman's Journal* six months before the story appeared.[143] Association with the deceptive Emily clearly hinders the men as the narrator alerts male readers to the false promises made by flirtatious women. These warnings aimed at a male reader through direct narratorial address are paired with a gossipy tone more applicable to a female audience. The use of typically feminine narrative methods, which 'replicate the rhythms of women's conversation' through gossipy tone, 'leisurely pace', and reminders of trivial details,[144] combined with advice directed to male readers indicate Wood's attempts to fit her evolving narrative style to the male reader of the magazine. The narrative techniques applied appear more suited to a female reader to the male *New Monthly* reader. The direct addresses, warning men of 'consequences of their own temerity,' (p. 423) 'solicit the reader's attention for a particular moral point of view' allowing Wood to stress her moral lesson and control the readers perspective of her narrative.[145] This narrative control, which consistently 'reminds the reader that she holds the strings which set the puppets in motion,' was continued throughout Wood's literary career, and later formed part of her trademark didactic narrative mode.[146] As Wood evolved as a writer, the focus on her reception and the construction of her literary identities suggests a conscious decision to continue writing using these techniques, but to direct it towards the more receptive, impressionable female reader,

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143 Anon, 'Sporting Intelligence', *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* [Dublin, Ireland] (October 23 1852), p.17. Integrating real life events into narratives was a well-used writing technique used by popular writers such as Reynolds and Dickens long before birth of the sensation genre.

144 Lyn Pykett, *The Improper Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 119.

145 Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 119.

146 Anon., Review of 'St. Martin's Eve,' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 21, 544 (March 31 1866), p. 387.

who would be more likely to heed her lessons. Indeed, Wood's subsequent publications, 'Two Phases in the Life of an Only Child' and its sequel 'Georgina Vereker,' which utilised 'The Unholy Wish' as a text-associated signature, adopted a feminine-focused content and tone by linking the transgressions of Georgina as an adult to the passionate, overindulged upbringing she had from her melodramatic mother. Wood continually altered her narrative perspective during this period and continued to experiment with her authorial identity.

Writing as 'Thomas Pepper', Wood experimented with narrative voice by posing as a soldier sending letters home from the Crimean War. Despite having written about male issues from a male perspective for a male reader in the magazine, 'Ensign Pepper' marks the first occasion that Wood's first-person narrator is identifiably masculine and signifies Wood's ongoing consciousness of authority and signature in her literary personae.[147] During this period, Wood experimented further by adopting the signature 'by the author of The Elopement', which she used only once in the texts' sequel 'The Reception of the Dead' in February 1855.[148] Set in an exclusively female French finishing school, the narrative strand of 'The Elopement' indicates an alteration in Wood's assumed reader as the subsequent tales take a decided turn towards feminine issues and environments.[149] In contrast to George Eliot's 'mastery of the mostly masculine *Blackwood's* voice,' Ellen Wood dissociates increasingly from the male leanings of the magazine in favour of a focus on female experience in which she had experience and knowledge.[150]

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147 Together with the topical nature of the Crimean War, Wood's consciousness of the reader's perception of authenticity plays a significant role here in the choice to adopt a male persona. In fact, by using multiple signatures within the text, she plays with the idea of authenticity, storytelling, and writing. 'Ensign Pepper' will be discussed at length in the Masculine Identities chapter.

148 'The Author of 'The Elopement', 'The Reception of the Dead,' *New Monthly Magazine* (February 1855), pp. 427-440.

149 Indeed, the narrative strand eventually became integrated into her popular novel *St. Martin's Eve* (1866) as a sub-plot.

150 Fionnuala Dillane, *Before George Eliot: Marian Evans and the Periodical Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge

Indeed, there is a marked shift in Wood's publishing practices after 1856, the year in which the Wood family suffered further financial issues and returned to England, taking up rented residences in Upper Norwood. Relocation to London was typical of women writers flocking to the capital to 'seek literary opportunities' and together with her contributions to the *New Monthly*, Wood also began to contribute to *Bentley's Miscellany*.[151] Although she published two 'manly sketches' in 1855,[152] Wood's stories appeared frequently in *Bentley's* from September 1856. Here, the contrast between Wood's publishing practices in the two magazines becomes significant. In effect, the *New Monthly* began to function as a site in which Wood established a loyal readership by developing a consistent literary brand through regular publication and the established, stable text-associated signatures featuring 'The Unholy Wish' and 'Ashley' after a short period of experimentation. In contrast, Wood's contributions to *Bentley's* depict a writer again benefitting from the safety of anonymity to play with form and her literary identity without jeopardising the reputation she had built at the *New Monthly*. This period represents Wood's increasing alteration of the content of narratives, which begin to contain an explicitly feminine prominence more coherent with her emerging narrative style.

In July 1856, Wood published 'Ashley' in the *New Monthly*, a story of an aristocratic man marrying his 'half-caste' ward, under the by-line of 'The Unholy Wish' (p. 268). In the story's sequel, the by-line changed to allude to 'Ashley,' which became Wood's final text-associated signature in the *New Monthly*. Adopting a trope that featured heavily in sensation

University Press, 2013), p. 108.

151 Alexis Easley, 'Making a Debut' p. 17.

152 Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63.

fiction, the narrative sets up a direct contrast between one female character displaying the features of a 'proper' Victorian woman and another who is deemed 'improper'. What is, perhaps, less expected, is that the 'improper' woman, the 'hot and fiery' Lauretta (p. 268), achieves the reward traditionally reserved for deserving young women of Victorian fiction: respectable marriage to a wealthy and attractive husband. The attributes of normative femininity are called into question as Lauretta declares that Anna, representative of the 'proper' woman, 'ought to have been born a slave [...] the blacks on grandpapa's estate are under no worse thraldom than you' (p. 266). Wood's unattractive portrayal of the 'proper feminine' as a 'repellant piece of marble' (p. 268) predates Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Aurora Floyd* (1863), which similarly celebrates a transgressive female with the same 'flashing eyes' as Lauretta's at the expense of the 'proper' female character (p. 262). Therefore, Wood anticipates her more radical rival, which makes clear the complication that the early stories pose to Wood's assumed conservative reputation.[153] Once we become familiar with the content of 'Ashley', Wood's efforts to distance herself from it and, more specifically, its explicit critique of middle-class feminine propriety, becomes far more understandable as she attempts to re-fashion herself as a 'respectable' authoress. If this story calls into question critical assumptions about Wood's treatment of gender, it also allows us to re-visit the prevalence of the 'woman to woman' address within her corpus. Wood's address to male readers in 'Ashley' happens through the character of Arthur, who began the 'fading of his inheritance' by 'his own folly' of flirting with Lauretta while promised to Anna (p. 273),

[153] Throughout her career, Wood balanced the necessity of representing appropriate Victorian ideals, regarding gender and respectability, alongside discussing potentially subversive nature of the topics in her texts, which kept her writing popular and relevant. My reading of Wood's perceived conservatism and radicalism is in the discrepancies between her portrayal of fictional worlds that upheld the Victorian status quo and the controversial elements that also challenged them.

resulting in Lauretta's revenge of marrying the upper-class figure of Sir Ashley. The narrator's judgmental address to Arthur is also an address to the male reader: 'Serve you right, Mr. Arthur, for you have been unpardonably sweet upon that impulsive girl' (p. 268). The moral cautioning of her male reader precedes her 'woman-to-woman' addresses, which suggests that she coined this narratorial technique in earlier writings and used it to its best advantage, through the profitable market of sensationalism. Wood's ability to persuade Ainsworth to accept her 'preferred style of fiction, tales of female suffering and disappointment' coincides with the development of the more feminine 'Ashley' signature in the *New Monthly Magazine.*[154] The regular appearance of her narratives from 1856 in Ainsworth's other monthly magazine, *Bentley's Miscellany*, further indicate both Wood's increasing influence and her rising literary capital as a popular, and ambitious, periodical contributor.

Similarly to the *New Monthly*, *Bentley's* had a reputation as a conservative, masculine magazine offering 'fiction, humour, essays, and the work of eminent illustrators.'[155] Featuring 'one thread of gender articles, on men, [concerning] "men of letters'' and "great men",'[156] *Bentley's* had been among the largest circulating magazines in the 1830s, which reasserts Wood's tendency to publish in established and traditional publications in the early part of her career.[157] Therefore, while Wood had gained access to a potential new readership, she remained constrained by the requirements of conforming to the house style. As with her

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[154] Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63. The Author of 'Ashley' is the signature under which Wood published 'Parkwater', which has received critical attention from Janice Allan and Marie Riley in terms of the depiction of pernicious reading practices as a critique of contemporary literacy debates. See Allan, 'A 'base and spurious thing': Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's 'Parkwater' (1857),' pp. 8-24 and Riley, 'Writing for the Million: The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood,' pp. 169-171.

[155] Don J Vann and Rosemary T Van Arsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 135.

[156] Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 88.

[157] Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), p. 393.

contributions to the *New Monthly*, although she wrote 50 individual contributions to *Bentley's* between January 1855 and November 1859, many of these stories are linked and actually culminate in fifteen separate narrative threads. From governesses, gossip, and the medical profession to mesmerism, gambling, murder, and smuggling, Wood covered a large spectrum of topics, although always returning to her preferred female-focused plots. Many of the literary techniques present in the *Bentley* papers are indeed associated with the developing 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona. The stories contain exciting plots, a heavy handed dose of coincidence, a moralizing, intrusive, third person narrator, and extensive use of melodramatic language to 'enliven […] stories for serial readers.'[158] However, the stability of a female-gendered professional identity developing in her contributions to the *New Monthly* during the late 1950s, which resulted in the serialisation of *East Lynne* using the 'Ashley' text-associated signature, is contrasted with a distinct instability of authorial identity in *Bentley's*.

Of the fifty individual contributions made by Wood to *Bentley's* between January 1855 and November 1859, over half were completely anonymous: a significantly higher proportion of anonymity than the 13% of anonymous contributions to *New Monthly*. The remaining twenty-three contributions featured seven different text-associated signatures.[159] Wood's alternative set of semi-anonymous personas differed from those of the *New Monthly* by only alluding to texts published in *Bentley's*, thereby increasing the exposure of her developing narrative style among the reading public. As with the *New Monthly*, the text alluded to in the signature often depicted a direct continuation from the success of a previous story. For example, the stories published directly after 'The Red Court Farm' utilise that as its text-

158 Dillane, *Before George Eliot*, p. 5.

159 See Appendix I for a list of the *Bentley's* contributions and the relevant text-associated signatures.

associated signature.[160] However, in contrast to concerted effort to create a stable literary identity evident in the publishing practices of *New Monthly*, the semi-anonymous text-associated signatures are altered more frequently in *Bentley's* and subsequently suggest a more experimental approach. Her first narrative published in *Bentley's Miscellany*, 'War and the Paris Mesmerists,' featured as a by-line for one single-issue story.[161] After publishing anonymously for the next three narrative strands, 'The Red-Court Farm' is adopted as a text-associated signature across five narrative strands from May to September 1857.[162] Her text-associated signature was shifted to allude to 'The Passing Bell' in October 1857 and, here, the use of text-associated signature becomes particularly unstable.[163] In one narrative strand of five contributions published from November 1857 to March 1858, three different texts are alluded to in the by-line. The story 'Rushing Headlong into Marriage' marks a shift towards feminine narratives in *Bentley's* and features as Wood's text associated signature for its sequel.[164] However, her identity changes again to allude to 'Moat-Grange' in two separate narrative arcs from June 1858 to January 1859.[165] Finally, Wood returns to anonymous publishing for her final three narrative threads featured in the magazine. Again, although there is no evidence to confirm Wood as the instigator of these changes, and factors such as reader response to the tale should be considered, the consciousness with which Wood approached her authorial identities and the increasing influence she had over Ainsworth suggests that she is likely to have had significant input in these decisions.

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160 Anon., 'The Red Court Farm,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1857), pp. 169-183.

161 Anon., 'War and the Paris Mesmerists,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1855), pp. 78-91. This tale was decidedly male-focussed and contributed to the contemporary scientific debates regarding mesmerism.

162 Both 'The Red-Court Farm' and 'The Passing Bell' have male focussed plots regarding smuggling and doctors respectably.

163 The Author of 'The Red Court Farm', 'The Passing Bell,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (Jan 1857), pp. 514-528.

164 Anon., 'Rushing Headlong Into Marriage,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1858), pp. 338-351.

165 The Author of 'The Passing Bell', 'Moat-Grange,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1857), pp. 477-490.

The inconsistency of Wood's professional identity in *Bentley's* is best illustrated in the narrative thread of five stories published between November 1857 and March 1858. The signature under which the connected texts appear is significantly altered when the trajectory of the continued narrative following one family shifts towards a more feminised focus. The first two tales feature 'The Passing Bell' as their signature and have a male-orientated tone.[166] For example, 'Midnight Doings',[167] a decidedly masculine text that tells of Charles Dalrymple, his gambling habits, and alleged suicide, is followed by 'Too Much to Wear',[168] which features Charles' sister, Selina, married to a distant relative who stands to inherit the Dalrymple estate. Echoing her brother's ruinous propensity for gambling, Selina develops a 'mania' for dresses and accumulates a £3,000 debt far beyond the means of her husband's limited income (p. 95).[169] By transferring similar issues of excess from the masculine realm of gambling and drinking to the domain of fashion, Wood translates her work to a text firmly placed in the female sphere. The texts that follow 'Too Much to Wear' document the detrimental effect of Selina's extravagance on both her husband and the surrounding community and it is only when the true heir, Charles, returns, having been believed dead, that order is re-established. Following this significant change in literary signature and identity, Wood's identity once again reverts to complete anonymity through 'Rushing Headlong into Marriage',[170] which became the signature of its sequel 'Three Hundred a Year', yet continues the female focus of the narratives.[171] In these overtly feminine texts, two recently married sisters are compared:

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166 The Author of 'The Red Court Farm', 'The Passing Bell,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (Jan 1857), pp. 514-528.

167 The Author of "The Passing Bell', 'Midnight Doings,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (July 1857), pp. 561-574.

168 The Author of "Midnight Doings', 'Too Much To Wear,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1858), pp. 87-102. All further references will be within the body of the text.

169 See also Mariaconcetta Costantini's reading of the link established 'between matrimonial compromise and the fashion market in *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020), p. 41.

170 Anon., 'Rushing Headlong into Marriage', *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1858), pp.338-351.

171 The Author of 'Rushing Headlong into Marriage', 'Three Hundred a Year,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (January 1858), pp. 449-464.

Augusta, married to an idle, spendthrift husband with an income of five-hundred a year, and Annis, married in a love-match to a clerk with three-hundred a year. In what could be read as a blurring of the boundary between fiction and reality, considering her own personal circumstances during this period, Wood's story features women struggling financially and foregrounds the importance of household management. The tale distinguishes Augusta's poor household management from Annis' frugal economy as she lives within her means. Reading like a contemporary domestic handbook, once Augusta's husband descends into debt, Annis teaches her sister intricate ways of saving money while maintaining the appearance of a comfortable lifestyle. Following these more feminine texts, Wood's signature changes once more to an earlier story, 'Moat-Grange', concerned with the Dalrymple family. Here, she returns to the more masculine content of shootings and gambling. Ainsworth was reluctant to allow Wood to serialise a novel in his magazines before the success of *Danesbury House* and the alterations to Wood's contributions, in terms of content, signature, and style seemingly indicate Wood's attempts to find her voice as a writer and convince Ainsworth of her literary value. With her final ten contributions to *Bentley's* appearing entirely anonymously, Wood's semi-anonymous persona in the magazine seemingly came to a halt. However, the increasing frequency and length of narrative strands that Wood is afforded in the magazine indicates Ainsworth's 'depend[ance] upon her provision of regular, free articles and stories'[172] and Wood's growing literary accomplishments. For example, the average number of stories in the *New Monthly* within a connected narrative strand under the 'Seven Years' and 'The Unholy Wish' by-lines were just two, yet that number doubled to four under the feminised 'Ashley' by-line. Most significantly, Ainsworth allowed Wood the opportunity

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[172] Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63.

to write extended narratives, such as 'The Elopement' which featured as a by-line and encompassed a narrative strand spanning eight serialised stories, and a thirteen-part narrative strand, 'The House of Halliwell', as she attempted to demonstrate her ability to construct sustained narratives of novel length and begin her transition from periodical contributor to novelist.

While contributions to *Bentley's* and the *New Monthly Magazine* gave Ellen Wood experience of writing to the demands of the marketplace for short fictional work and allowed her to develop a range of narrative voices, she understood that novel writing was the central element of a professional literary career. To some extent, her periodical contributions were typical of those produced by an amateur writer, and the use of various anonymous and text-referential authorial personae confirms her work as that of someone outside the profession of letters. But, driven by the need to earn money as well as by literary ambition, Wood recognised that the better financial returns were to be gained from novel writing. Considered the 'central commodity' of the nineteenth century, novels paid considerably more than the 'filler material' of short stories and sketches, which may have contributed to profit-orientated Wood's determination to become a novelist.[173]

Using the decade in which she published semi-anonymously to 'refine [her] craft', Wood's texts display a 'keen awareness of [herself] not as publishing in a vacuum but as part of a wider and diverse community' and it is this consciousness that enabled Wood to identify the optimum persona for herself and construct and maintain it through the next two decades in which she was an active writer.[174] While the *New Monthly Magazine* served an invaluable purpose in the development and launch of Wood's literary identities with its loyal

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173 Emma Liggins, *The British Short Story* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 7.

174 Andrew Radford, *Victorian Sensation Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 19.

'conservative bourgeoisie' reader and rigid editor, Ainsworth, unaware of changing literary trends,[175] following *East Lynne* Wood made use of other publications in the Victorian marketplace and began to withdraw from the *New Monthly* causing many readers to take their custom with her. Wynne's observation of Ainsworth's editorial mistakes in failure to support the popular, but controversial, sensation novels serialised in the *New Monthly* with relevant features provide evidence of his inability to 'adapt his magazine to provide a suitable environment for their novels' and failure to consider the 'integrated approach' as apparent of newer magazine editors.[176] Wood's evident awareness of the literary market is displayed in her distancing herself from the magazine and eventually editing her own, the *Argosy*, where she would have absolute control over every aspect of her publications. Although hesitant to adopt the terminology, in many ways my readings of Wood's anonymous periodical contributions serve as 'a pre-history of the novelist that followed' in a similar vein to Dillane's reading of George Eliot's early writings.[177] The thesis contends that examination of this formative decade enables a better understanding of the role of professional identities as shaped by the periodical marketplace and provide an greater insight into the creation of the famous 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. Rather than allowing 'Mrs. Henry Wood' to 'over determine the ways that we read' Wood's other professional identities,[178] this thesis enriches the reading of Wood's conduct as a successful negotiator of the literary marketplace.

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175 Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 35.
176 Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 37.
177 Dillane, *Before George Eliot*, p. 5.
178 Delaney, *Before George Eliot*, p. 6.

Chapter Two- The Transitional Period: From Contributor to Novelist (1859-1861)

In 1860, Ellen Wood entered her first novel, *Danesbury House*, into an annual Temperance League competition open only to amateur authors.[179] Despite her regular contributions to monthly magazines, Wood's novel was accepted and won the one-hundred-pound prize. Hiding behind 'presumed amateurism,' Wood successfully operated on both sides of the amateur and professional dichotomy.[180] The unidentifiable nature of anonymous writings ensured that Wood maintained her amateur status without the 'highly professional way' she conducted herself in her periodical writings being recognised.[181] Her decisive action of entering the competition created a career-changing shift which coincided with contemporary changes in publishing following the growing popularity of sensational serialised novels, following Wilkie Collin's *The Woman in White*, and the success of domestic fiction and conduct books in establishing female writers as credible voices.[182] The publication of *Danesbury House* altered Wood's literary status from an anonymous periodical short-story contributor, with constantly shifting authorial identities, to a prize-winning novelist building a recognisable brand. This chapter, then, uses the texts written during this transitional phase to examine the impact of the formal shift from publishing connected narratives in magazines to writing sustained narratives in (serialised) novels on the formation of Wood's most famous authorial identity, 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.[183]

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179 Mrs. Henry Wood, *Danesbury House* [1860] (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1893). Subsequent references will appear in the body of the text.

180 Jennifer Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist: Ellen Price as Author and Editor of the Argosy Magazine' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Interdisciplinary Work and Periodical Connections: An Issue in Honor of Sally H. Mitchell (Summer, 2005), pp. 180-198 (p. 181).

181 Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p. 181.

182 Wilkie Collins, 'The Woman in White,' *All the Year Round* (26 November 1859 – 25 August 1860).

183 Essentially, my distinction between 'connected narratives' and 'sustained narratives' is determined by the title under which the narrative appears. 'Connected narratives' denotes a series of short stories containing

From Contributor to Novelist

If the 1850s built the foundation of her professional conduct as a woman writer, the turn of the decade reveals Wood as an opportunist, grasping literary success and capitalising on contemporary trends, and a marketing strategist, as she continued to recognise the significance of literary identity in the cultivation of her famous persona. Often identified as the period in which sensation fiction 'exploded onto the literary scene,' 1859 to 1860 is indeed a period of cultural significance for the emergence of sensation fiction and the formation of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.[184] However, as Anne-Marie Beller suggests of the sensation genre, rather than a sudden inception, Wood's literary identity emerges as a product of a 'dawning recognition' of her authorial competence following the success of her first novel.[185] As early as 1855, Wood exhibits a recognition of the serialised novel as an achievable opportunity for women writers, who were accustomed to periodical publishing, to capitalise on the increasing legitimacy of the form and successfully transition from an unpaid short story writer towards the more lucrative novel.

For many nineteenth-century women writers, the periodical press was 'a useful entrée into the predominantly male world of publishing,'[186] yet novels, the 'central commodity' of the nineteenth century, were often the aim as they paid considerably more than the 'filler material' of short stories.[187] The 'multiplicity of writing' produced by Victorian magazines was dominated by the 'serialisation of novels' which were 'avidly read and […] circulated

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continuing plots or character, yet with the absence of single, unifying title. The term 'sustained narratives' refers to serialised narratives that appear under a single title name.

184 Winifred Hughes, *The Maniac in the Cellar: Sensation Novels of the 1860s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 5.

185 Anne-Marie Beller, 'Sensation fiction in the 1850s' in Andrew Mangham (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Sensation Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 7-20 (p. 8).

186 Beth Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship in Victorian Culture: Sensational Strategies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 4.

187 Emma Liggins, *The British Short Story* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 7.

internationally.'[188] However, the transition from lowly-paid short story contributor to serialised novelist eluded Wood until the success of *Danesbury House* proved her literary value to her editor, William Harrison Ainsworth. Despite her years of composing connected narratives in the magazines, featuring a continued or related plot between different issues, Wood had not yet reached the status of novelist by compiling the sustained narrative of a serialised novel under a unifying title. Although the distinction between the connected narratives of short stories and the extended plot of the serialised novel may seem minimal, the implications on the value and status of the writer were considerable.[189] While periodicals afforded women writers access to the publishing market and enabled them to address the topics of the day with immediacy, novel writing possessed 'greater prestige and […] an aura of permanence' found lacking in short stories.[190] The ephemeral nature of magazines versus the 'lasting worth' of books ensured that novels possessed a higher cultural capital within the Victorian literary marketplace.[191] By this argument, Wood's short stories straddled the lines between literature, 'the art of writing something that will be read twice,' and journalism, 'what will be grasped at once.'[192]

The placement of serialised fiction in periodicals similarly designated them a marginal presence in terms of the cultural worth they held, yet the possibility of republication in

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188 Kate Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction 1860-1880* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2012), p. 11.

189 While this chapter focuses on the significance of the shift in form between the connected short story and the serialised novel, serialisation itself is a significant factor in Wood's literary success and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

190 Linda H. Peterson, 'Writing for Periodicals' in Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2016), pp. 77-88 (p. 79).

191 Margaret Beetham, 'Periodical writing' in Linda Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 221-235 (p. 221).

192 Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and Industrialisation of Publishing*, 1800-1850 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 10.

volume editions provided the higher prestige of the novel form and produced key opportunities for pecuniary rewards. Serialised novels that were published pre-volume, either in magazines or part issues, often 'culminated' in the 'appearance of the book edition simultaneous with the last number in part-issue or in the magazine.'[193] The volume edition presented additional avenues for income together with the potential for 'huge purchases of the circulating libraries that provided a guarantee of sales and a means of distribution of both the serial and the volume form.'[194] Also, the 'possibility of maintaining copyright of their intellectual property […] that might yield significant income over a lifetime' represented a key opportunity for increased authorial control and future earnings.[195] Therefore, the transition from short story writer to published novelist significantly improved the earning capability of the author, which had real implications for their approach to form, writing, and authorial identity.[196] Wood identified the increasing legitimacy of the form of the serialised novel as an opportunity to increase her earnings by recognising the subtle distinction between the connected narratives of the short stories she produced regularly and the realm of serialised novels she wished to infiltrate. While the 'hard work' put in by Wood during her 'unsigned and unpaid journalism' during the 1850s are indeed evidence of her 'hopes of eventually breaking into the industry in more lucrative fashion,' Wood's publishing practices during this period, and a revealing posthumous editor's note written by her son, also demonstrate her

193 Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition, 1850-1910: Studies in Media and Book* History (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), p. 13.

194 Brake, Print in Transition, p. 13

195 Peterson, 'Writing for Periodicals', p. 79.

196 See Simon Eliot's 'The Three-Decker Novel and its First Cheap Reprint, 1862-1894,' *The Library*, sixth series, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 1985), pp. 38-53 for a discussion of the pecuniary implications of the three-volume novel.

desire to transition from producing connected narratives for periodicals to creating serialised novels as early as the mid-1850s.[197]

The House of Halliwell

A thirteen-part series of connected, yet self-contained, narratives was published anonymously by Wood in *Bentley's Miscellany* from September 1855 to November 1856. Despite the absence of a unifying title, they all, to varying degrees, relate to the Halliwell family and were republished posthumously as a serialised novel, *The House of Halliwell*, in 1890.[198] Wood frequently exploited her previously published fiction by reprinting her stories, often in an expanded form, or by incorporating elements of her periodical plots into larger narratives. Thereby, while the re-use of her published work is certainly not uncommon, *The House of Halliwell* provides an early indicator of her concerted efforts, desire, and intention to move away from single issue and limited part narratives to producing serialised novels with more profitable prospects. *The House of Halliwell* is also particularly notable for a revealing editor's note, accompanying the first instalment in 1890, which indicated such a process by suggesting how, even so early in her career, Wood was both considering of the form of the novel while writing for periodicals and developing the recognisable voice of 'Mrs. Henry Wood.'[199]

Written by her son, Charles, the note acknowledged the previous publication of the tales, as a series of short stories, and suggested it had been prepared for publication in three

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197 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship in Victorian Culture*, p. 4.

198 *The House of Halliwell* was serialised in Wood's magazine, *Argosy*, from January to December 1890, three years after Wood's death, and featured as the leading story by 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. The narrative centres around the extended family of Hester Halliwell, who opens a school after a failed engagement, and addresses plots regarding poor household management and unequal marriages which would be familiar for readers of Wood's fiction. See Mariaconcetta Costantini's reading of Hester as a spinster in *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020), p. 64.

199 See Appendix A for a copy of the Editor's Note.

volumes 'at that time', yet never offered to a publishing house.[200] The veracity of this statement is questionable and it is unclear as to whether it was rejected by a publisher, or whether Ainsworth was an impediment in its publication in his attempts to keep Wood as an unpaid contributor.[201] Admitting that if 'Mrs. Henry Wood' were still here, she would 'widen and elaborate' the tale, the note acknowledges the differences in 'style and construction' from Wood's subsequent works and suggests it provides 'additional interest as showing forth the development of dramatic and constructive force' (p. 1). Essentially, Charles markets the novel as an opportunity to catch a glimpse of the literary progression of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. Despite the self-conscious tone of the editor's note, Charles' suggestion that 'every page bears the unmistakable impression of the hand of the author of "East Lynne," whose place in the world of Fiction is marked by so distinct a style and individuality that these are at once identified' (p. 2) intimates an innate quality of Wood's literary style perceptible even at this early stage of her writing career.[202] While other narratives republished posthumously from this period underwent extensive alteration in order to integrate into the Mrs. Henry Wood brand, *The House of Halliwell* escaped significant reworking; the piecemeal short stories were rearranged into a chronological order and the predominantly first-person narratives were changed to an exclusive third-person narration.[203] The restraint of the changes to the revised text suggests a self-consciousness that is echoed in the editor's note, yet also foregrounded the increased significance of literary identity. In the first-person narrative, Hester often

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200 Charles Wood, 'Editor's Note to 'The House of Halliwell'', *Argosy* (Jan 1890), p. 1-2 (p. 1). All further references will be given in the body of the text.

201 It is also unclear if the stories were truly unpaid or if there was a question of copyright ownership. Due to the lack of evidence, it is difficult to conclude accurately.

202 The posthumous marketing of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' as a literary identity is discussed at length in the Afterlife chapter.

203 Nine of the thirteen contributions that make up *The House of Halliwell* feature Hester Halliwell, the protagonist, as a first-person narrator, two have a combination of part third-person narration and part Hester's account, and two feature a third-person narrator solely.

operates as the moralising voice, yet that perspective is replaced by a respectable, pious third-person narrator in the republication which more suitably aligned with contemporary domestic female voices. The increasing popularity of opportunities for women writers and the success of domestic novelists, such as Mrs. Oliphant for whose 'entertaining and highly moral novels … readers had an insatiable appetite,' and the popularity of advice books, such as Mrs. Beeton's *Book of Household Management* and Sarah Ellis's conduct manuals, identified the middle-class woman as a moralising force both in the home and within literature itself.[204] Advice books such as Dinah Mulock Craik's *A Woman's Thoughts About Women* ensured a notion of 'female sisterhood through empathy' gained traction and certainly influenced Wood's approach in creating her most famous literary identity.[205] If Wood's anonymous narratives were 'specifically designed' to fit in with the house style of Ainsworth's magazine, which promoted the 'conservative values of domestic management for women and thrusting entrepreneurship of men,' the cultivation of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' grew through the popularity and significance of the moralizing voice of the middle-class woman in the more lucrative literary form of the (serialised) novel.[206]

Here, the form of the novel, which 'literally constructs and enforces the notion of the individual author,' is inextricably linked to the transformation of the nameless contributor to the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand as the production of a sellable and marketable literary identity works with the 'public thirst for the named individual that nineteenth-century

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[204] Monica Correa Fryckstedt, 'Defining the Domestic Genre: English Women Novelists of the 1850s,' *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring, 1987), pp. 9-25 (p. 19).

[205] Sally Mitchell, 'Women's Thoughts and Women's Novels,' *Victorian Web* (2007), n.pag [Accessed 1st August 2021].

[206] Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 64.

reader/consumers exhibit.'[207] The 'commercial marketing' of novels that specifically linked 'a writer's name' to a text became a significant aspect to Wood's desire to establish a stable literary identity from which she could build.[208] Therefore, to become one of the 'nurtured anonymous authors whose 'names' were revealed and commodified in book publication,' Wood had to move beyond her text-associated signatures and cultivate a specific, and marketable, literary identity.[209] As with contemporary writers such as Elizabeth Gaskell, who similarly started out her career as 'a natural story teller […] but an uncertain novelist,' Wood's transition from periodical writer to author required a 'growth of artistic control and powers and methods of expression' as well as 'the growth of imaginative insight and self-knowledge.'[210] The experience Wood gained as an anonymous writer enabled her to conduct a clarification of her aims and themes as she carved a place for herself in the literary marketplace. As her skills increased and her brand became increasingly established, the authority with which she approached her fiction became more pronounced.

Although somewhat appeased in the 1850s with the more consistent publication of her short stories, the lack of opportunity for Wood's transition into novel writing provided by Ainsworth is exemplified by her submission into the Temperance competition ultimately won by *Danesbury House*, which provided her with the recognition and experience to take the next step. In her success with *Danesbury House*, Wood received a legitimate reward that transformed her into a professional writer complete with a sense of self-assurance and literary prestige. Producing a successful serialised novel demonstrated an ability to harness

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207 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 19.

208 Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: Ideological work of gender in mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 108.

209 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 16

210 Edgar Wright, *Mrs. Gaskell: The Basis for Reassessment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 17.

the power to 'secure a commitment' from a reader in a longer literary form which is likely to boost magazine sales.[211] Without the success of *Danesbury House*, Ainsworth was either unable or, more likely, unwilling to believe that Wood possessed such literary power and 'Mrs. Henry Wood' may never have emerged as one of the most popular writers of the Victorian period. As she moved into the more lucrative business of writing novels, the design of her texts became focused on her marketable identity as she began to define 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.

Defining 'Mrs. Henry Wood', novelist

Having exploited the anonymity of the periodical press, this thesis has demonstrated Wood's narrative flexibility and experimentation of literary identity in the early period of her career. If her previous writing was defined by its fluidity in moving from one narrative identity and style to another, the conception, definition, and finetuning of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona in this period evidences the significance of professional identity in the nineteenth-century literary market. In a move which Jennifer Phegley considers the 'ultimate amateur event,' Wood's entry into the Temperance League novel-writing contest essentially marks her transition from 'hobbyist' anonymous contributor to novel writer.[212] An astute businesswoman with knowledge of the commercially popular, Wood's first novel presents evidence of the formation of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, with a distinct narrative style and overtly feminine narrator, as she capitalised on the opportunity afforded by the

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211 Paul Rooney, 'Readers and the Steamship Press: Home News for India, China, and the Colonies and the Serialization of Arthur Griffiths's Fast and Loose, 1883–84,' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (2014), pp. 31-49 (p. 42).

212 Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist,' p. 184. Advertisements suggested that the prize was 'unanimously awarded by the adjudicators' and that the demand for the volume had been 'so great' that the first and second editions had been 'exhausted in fifteen days' (Anon., 'Advertisement' *The Athenaeum* (Mar 17, 1860), p. 385).

Temperance League contest. Yet, an understudied anonymous temperance story, 'The Transformed Village', published weekly in the *Sunday at Home* magazine in 1859 reveals Wood's previous experience in this genre.[213] An obvious precursor to *Danesbury House*, 'The Transformed Village' indicates both the significant influence of authorial identity as well as its restrictions. Wood's developing narrative persona built around a number of tropes of the feminine – the critique of indulgence, the defence of temperance – as the values expressed in her fiction began to assimilate a carefully-built, self-conscious, and distinctly feminine narrative persona. The temperance texts both define the emerging style of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand, further evidence Wood's acute knowledge of literary marketplace, and indicate the significance of branding in the conception of a successful identity.

The Temperance Texts and establishing the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' style

Emulating both the religious tract, a form in which women writers were 'among the most successful at making their voices heard,' and the increasingly popular conduct book, Wood's use of the issue of temperance in these texts, a cause 'for which evangelicals were vocal in campaigning,' as a means of making a livelihood but also to 'positive social effect' essentially foregrounds her approach going forward.[214] Although an opportunistic move by an author capitalising on the popularity of the moral ideology of temperance and exploiting it to break into print, it also instilled a sense of the popularity of engaging fiction with a moral message that became integral to Wood's famous literary persona.[215]

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213 'The Transformed Village, or what may be effected by perseverance and prayer,' *Sunday at Home: A Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading* (June 2, 1859), pp. 337-340, (June 9, 1859), pp. 353-356, (June 16, 1859), pp. 369-373, (June 23, 1859), pp. 385-389, (June 30, 1859), pp. 401-405, (July 7, 1859), pp. 417-421, (July 14, 1859), pp. 433-437, (July 21, 1859), pp. 449-453. Subsequent references will appear in the body of the text. Wood has been attributed as the author by Rolf Burgauer in his study, *Mrs Henry Wood: Personlichkeit und Werk* (Zurich: Juris-Verlag, 1950).

214 Claudia Nelson, 'Children's writing' in Linda Peterson (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 251-264 (p. 254).

215 The theme of temperance reappears in several of Wood's texts, most notably in *Mrs. Halliburton's*

Written hastily due to the impending competition deadline, *Danesbury House* is a cautionary tale following the family of Mr. Danesbury, a manufacturer who has children by two wives, the first of which advocates temperance and the second of which raises her children to drink beer and wine. After the unfortunate poisoning of one of his brothers in childhood by an inebriated nurse, the eldest son of the first Mrs. Danesbury, Arthur, 'grows into a model evangelical Christian' and enters into partnership with his father.[216] In his position as a successful businessman, Arthur's attempts to 'bring others to the moral consciousness' by championing temperance and the evangelical message is contrasted with the unfortunate demise of his siblings who were raised by the second Mrs. Danesbury as wine-drinkers.[217] 'The Transformed Village,' was published anonymously from 2nd June 1859 to 21st July 1859 in The Religious Tract Society's penny weekly *Sunday at Home: a family magazine for Sabbath reading*.[218] Writing in one of the religious-focused magazines on the market that found 'favour in the eyes of the working classes' alongside the *Leisure Hour*, the narrative foregrounds the temperance storyline of *Danesbury House*, as it documents the ability of a new rector applying the teachings of God to transform a village community through advocating temperance.[219]

Troubles (1862). The debate regarding raising children to drink either water or wine which is integral to *Danesbury House* also featured in 'The Physicians Home', one of the short stories that made up *The House of Halliwell* (June 1856).

216 Palmer, *Women's authorship and editorship in Victorian culture*, p. 91. Arthur and his sister, who were raised as water-drinkers by the first Mrs. Danesbury, are moderate and successful in the novel while William, the poisoned baby raised by the second Mrs. Danesbury alongside her biological children, Robert and Lionel, suffer particularly tragic consequences due to their indulgence.

217 Palmer, *Women's authorship and editorship in Victorian culture*, p. 91.

218 Featured as the leading story in the cheap weekly magazine, which taught readers to create a moral and religious home, the narrative spanned over eight weeks and was afforded an illustration in each issue.

219 Edward G. Salmon, 'What the Working Classes Read,' *The Nineteenth century: a monthly review*, Vol. 20, Issue 113, (Jul 1886), pp. 108-117 (p. 113).

As was commonly done by contemporary journals such as *British Workman*, both texts use the community setting as a visual consequence of intemperance. In 'The Transformed Village', the 'flourishing' public-houses are contrasted against the 'dilapidated fences … roofs, walls, door, and windows, and still more dilapidated men and women' (June 2, p. 338) while in *Danesbury House*, the 'tumble-down, dirty houses' with 'dilapidated windows' are compared to the thriving Danesbury manufactory (p. 50). The detrimental effects of the community drinking 'away their wages' ('TTV' June 2, p. 338) extend to the 'ill-mannered' children who were 'the result of neglect and example' ('TTV' June 2, p. 339) and 'sat about, or lay in the gutter' (*DH*, p. 50). Both narratives feature an idling working class, hindered by the prevalence and temptation of public houses and the lack of 'guiding hand' or 'sympathising friend to encourage them to do good' ('TTV' June 9, p. 354). While both texts implement a middle-class figure as a force for transformation in the villages by advocating temperance, the shift from a religious emphasis featured in 'The Transformed Village' to the focus on domesticity and industry in *Danesbury House* not only reflect the differences in the form and location in which the stories appeared, but also the emerging trajectory of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand.

The moral message of 'The Transformed Village' intimates that both the example of a middle-class working professional and the Evangelical teachings of the rector are required to transform the village. Mr. Mayne's amelioration of the village and its inhabitants is facilitated by encouraging the daughters of the squire, who had been described as equally ineffective at improving the community as those who frequented the ale house. Mr. Mayne encourages the squire's daughters to teach at the newly-formed school, which is initially met with distain by Mrs. Hooper who describes the working-class children as 'unwashed, half naked little barbarians, ignorant and wicked' (June 16, p. 370), and addresses the housing issues. In

Danesbury House, the religious emphasis is muted and superseded by the significance of middle-class industry and domesticity. By appropriating and reworking the narrative from the religious weekly to the novel form, Wood modifies her approach by placing the Danesbury family at the centre of the novel. Arthur occupies the role of the 'guiding hand' previously held by Mr. Mayne and implements similar changes to improve the town including forming a literary institution. The centrality of the Danesbury family creates a more domestic-focused narrative, as the issue of temperance is linked to the rise of the middle-classes and the lack of communication between the separate spheres of Mr. and Mrs. Danesbury, situated in Danesbury Works (the public domain) and Danesbury House (the domestic sphere) respectively. The 'heavy moral tone and catastrophic trajectory' of the temperance tales certainly 'set a precedent for much of Wood's later work,'[220] and *Danesbury House*'s inclusion of duels, fatal accidents, and suicide provided the sensational element which cemented Wood's place as 'precariously perched on the border *between* sensationalism and domestic realism.'[221] In writing for the competition, in which Wood was required to create an engaging tale advocating temperance, Wood was no longer tied to a publication's house style and able to define her own literary voice, which culminated in the combination of didactic, pious narration with sensational plotlines which later became synonymous with the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand.

With an 'emphasis on suffering,' *Danesbury House* both domesticates and sensationalises the temperance narrative by including both the evangelical teaching of

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[220] Andrew Mangham, 'Ellen (Mrs. Henry) Wood', in *A companion to sensation fiction*, ed. by Pamela K. Gilbert (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 244–256 (p. 248).

[221] Janice M. Allan, The Contemporary Response,' in Andrew Mangham (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Sensation Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 85-98 (p. 91).

moderation and adequate parenting alongside sensational, melodramatic scenes.[222] The 'emotional power of melodrama' is integral to how Wood used sensation to create a community of her readers[223] and implemented the literary style associated with the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator for which she became famous. The collective pronouns 'we' and 'our' used throughout 'The Transformed Village' to contribute to the collective identity of the magazine are replaced with direct reader addresses in *Danesbury House* which adopt emotive, melodramatic language to elicit a shared response between reader and narrator: 'Reader! you do not believe it; but I am telling you nothing but truth! How could they have fallen from their pinnacle, to shame and misery such as this? How indeed!' (Chapter V).[224] In recreating the literary strategies used by magazines to create a strong relationship with their reader which shared values and maintained sales, Wood used her ability to portray believable characters, described as 'our personal friends' by her friend Mary Howitt, to translate the 'personal connection' her reader felt to her characters to a corresponding 'personal connection' to Mrs. Henry Wood.[225] The use of a conversational narrative tone in phrases such as 'Yes, she was; even that virago' (*DH*, Chapter VII) emulates gossip, which is a bonding, community forming activity, particularly associated with women. Although Wood became associated with a woman-to-woman address often perceived as 'an integral part of [her] narrative style,' in the temperance texts,[226] the addressed reader is consistently gender

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222 Palmer, *Women's authorship and editorship*, p. 91.

223 Nicholas Daly, 'Melodrama,' *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 46, Issue 3-4 (Fall/Winter, 2018), pp. 766-769 (p. 767).

224 In 'The Transformed Village' even the composition of the tale appears as a collaborative endeavour as it is introduced as 'the village of which we are about to write' (June 2, p. 337).

225 Gretchen C.Bartels, , 'The Editor as Producer: Nineteenth-Century British Literary Editors,' [PhD Thesis: University of California, Riverside] 2013, p. 141-2.

226 Janice Allan, 'A 'base and spurious thing': Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's "Parkwater" (1857)' *Critical Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2011), pp. 8-24 (p. 16). One single exception to the gender-neutral addresses appears in the final chapter of Danesbury House in which a 'workingman' is referred to by the narrator (Chapter XXVI).

neutral. In fact, female influence is seemingly diminished in 'The Transformed Village', as the local old maid, Mrs. Nancy Bateman, is referred to by the village inhabitants as 'Parish Blister' due to her incessant attempts to 'prick up [the] consciences' of the community by lecturing them with references to the Bible (June 2, p. 340). Lacking social capital as an unmarried woman and physically limited by lameness, Mrs. Nancy Bateman's attempts to improve the village are ineffective until the arrival of the rector, Mr. Mayne, who essentially implements her teachings. Similarly, in *Danesbury House*, the 'overt message' of the novel is presented by the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator, who gains authority 'under the protective umbrella of her husband's name.'[227] Yet, the message is '[reinforced by] Arthur Danesbury's 'paternalistic didacticism' as the temperance lesson is rearticulated through the idealised middle-class character.[228] While seemingly seeking validation through the male characters, it actually articulates the 'paradox of didactic stories' which was how to effectively 'educate' through their fiction without 'losing their own self-respect in the process.'[229] Wood had identified the 'the contradictory nature' of the feminine ideal and, in moving towards the domestic fiction genre in *Danesbury House*, she utilised the tropes of conduct books in her own fiction to 'expose women's dissatisfactions with domesticity' while protecting her literary name.[230] Wood was beginning to 'establish her reputation' during the same period as the 'advice about running the home and domestic economy' featured in Mrs. Beeton's *Book of Household*

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227 Emily Allen, 'Gender and Sensation', in *A Companion to Sensation Fiction*, ed. Pamela K. Gilbert (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 401-413 (p. 411).

228 Palmer, *Women's authorship and editorship*, p. 91.

229 Linda Claridge Middup, '"Dear! How tiresome it must be to be so religious! […] and where's the use of it?"' Religious Identity and the Empowerment of Femininity in Mary Martha Sherwood's The Fairchild Family (1818) and The Rose: A Fairy Tale (1821)', *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, Issue 9.3 (Winter 2013), pp. 1-17 (p. 1).

230 Emma Liggins, 'Good Housekeeping? Domestic Economy and Suffering Wives in Mrs. Henry Wood's Early Fiction' in Emma Liggins and Daniel Duffy (eds.) *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 53-68 (p. 53).

Management (1861), which was 'first published in the pages of the widely read *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, from 1859-1861.'[231] Wood's subsequent writing emulated conduct books in seeking not to 'change a woman's position in society' but create female communities and fictional representations to 'make her feel empowered within that position.'[232] Wood's creation of an overtly feminine persona indicates the 'conscious marketing strategy of a commercially clever entrepreneur' aware that her literary success was dependent upon 'maintaining her reputation.'[233]

After years of 'playing the amateur to Ainsworth's professional' and Ainsworth's reluctance to allow Wood to serialise a novel due to his dependence on her contributions,[234] the success of *Danesbury House* enabled Wood to insist 'on being an equal partner in the business of authorship and publishing.'[235] Featured in advertisements for *Danesbury House* that predate Wood's well-known insistence to her publisher that 'the first name be included,' the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' name became associated with both prize winning fiction, 'unanimously awarded [£100] by the adjudicators,' and high level of sales, 'so great has been the demand for this Volume, that the First and Second Editions were exhausted in Fifteen Days.'[236] *Danesbury House* afforded Wood the reputation, stature, and, most importantly, the confidence to speak with her own voice and identify the readers she wished to reach. *East*

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231 Liggins, 'Good Housekeeping? Domestic Economy and Suffering Wives in Mrs Henry Wood's Early Fiction,' p. 54.

232 Middup, '"Dear! How tiresome it must be to be so religious! […] and where's the use of it?"' Religious Identity and the Empowerment of Femininity in Mary Martha Sherwood's The Fairchild Family (1818) and The Rose: A Fairy Tale (1821)', p. 4.

233 Jolein De Ridder and Marianne Van Remoortel, 'Not "Simply Mrs. Warren": Eliza Warren Francis (1810-1900) and the "Ladies' Treasury"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Winter 2011), pp. 307-326 (p. 319-320).

234 Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63.

235 Jennifer Phegley, 'Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry: Sons' Memoirs of the Lives of Ellen Price Wood and Mary Elizabeth Braddon' in Ann R. Hawkins and Maura Ives, *Women Writers and the Artifacts of Celebrity in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 189-204 (p. 193).

236 Anon., 'Advertisement- £100 Prize Tale', *The Athenaeum* (Mar 17, 1860), p. 385.

Lynne began its serialisation in the *New Monthly* shortly afterwards. Encouraged by a letter from Mary Howitt which praised the monthly parts of *East Lynne* and suggested that she had 'only to publish the work with [her] name attached to it, and [she would] at once become famous,' Wood began to 'takes control of her image just as she is on the cusp of literary celebrity' by insisting on the inclusion of her husband's name in her literary identity and incorporating the prize winning *Danesbury House* as her accompanying text-associated signature.[237] However, this refinement of her literary identity was not the only significant change made to Wood's bestseller in the transition from serialised text to volumised novel as Wood's redrafting of the text indicates a fine-tuning of Wood's literary persona as her transformation to successful novelist was completed.

Serialised from January 1860 to September 1861 in the *New Monthly Magazine*, Wood's bestselling novel, *East Lynne,* firmly launched her career as a successful, professional writer, unquestionably aided by a glowing 1862 review from the influential *Times* critic Samuel Lucas.[238] Despite its popularity in serialised form, the novel was rejected by several publishing houses on account of its sensational portrayal of adultery and divorce until Bentley's agreed to publish the text on a 'half-profit basis' shortly after the end of its serialised run.[239] Having utilised her experience as a prolific contributor to periodicals to develop a distinctive literary style, like other female writers such as Florence Marryat, Wood 'used [contemporary] domestic ideology to [her] advantage by creating [a] suitably feminine persona [...] compatible with the market.'[240] In a letter to George Bentley, discussing the

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237 Bartels, 'The Editor as Producer: Nineteenth-Century British Literary Editors,' p. 140.

238 Samuel Lucas, 'Review of East Lynne', *The Times* (25 January 1862), p.6.

239 Joanne Shattock, *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 156.

240 Georgina Ellen O'Brien Hill, The Woman Author-Editor and the Negotiation of Professional Identity [PhD

three-volume publication of *East Lynne*, Wood specifically requests the inclusion of 'by Mrs. Henry Wood, Author of *Danesbury House*' on the title page and insists that Bentley is 'particular [that] the Christian name (Henry) is inserted.'[241] Protected from 'prejudiced judgements by reviewers' courtesy of the semi-anonymity of the text-associated signature used to serialise the novel in the *New Monthly,* Wood attached her name to the novel on its publication in volume form.[242] With ten years' experience of contributing to monthly magazines, Wood had developed her literary identity and the publication of *East Lynne* and *Danesbury House*, plus their popularity, allowed her to name her professional identity to create her own brand in the emerging 'sensational' genre. Wood's sensational yet pious writing was required to be 'more carefully orchestrated' after this adoption of the 'matronly sobriquet 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.'[243] Whereas the anonymous writings provided protection to her private feminine identity and were easily shed and refashioned, the deliberate choice of adopting her married name, and insistently including the Christian name of her husband, firmly defined Wood as a gendered writer and as the property of her husband. Although indicative of a 'desire to appease Victorian gender ideals,'[244] the controversial content of the subversive sensation genre simultaneously challenged the very ideals her authorial name attempted to uphold. While it is appropriate to suggest a 'discrepancy between the narrator's opinions, which often echo those of Victorian propriety, and the author's opinions, which may be significantly more radical', the purpose of the overtly feminine and righteous narrator,

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Thesis] (Chester: University of Liverpool, 2009), p.10.

241 Andrew Maunder, 'Appendix A: Letters from Ellen Wood on the writing and publication of East Lynne' in Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2000), pp. 693-697 (p. 694).

242 Valerie Sanders, 'Women, fiction and the marketplace' in Joanne Shattock (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 142-161 (p. 147).

243 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 91.

244 Janet L. Grose, 'Ellen Price Wood (Mrs. Henry Wood) (1814-1887)' in Abigail Burnham Bloom (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (London: Aldwych Press, 2000), pp. 411-414 (p. 412).

'Mrs. Henry Wood,' became to mask these discrepancies along the tightrope of conforming to propriety and artistic license.[245] By 'craftily [using] her gentlewomanly demeanour'[246] to establish a literary career as a 'moral force in popular literature,' Wood made use of her status as a wife and mother to reinforce and authenticate the moral message of her texts.[247] The 'devout respectability, which she attempted to transmit to her prose' was supported by the combination of the matronly 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, validated by the 'long term invalidism [which confined] her to quiet domesticity', and the distinctively pious, didactic narrative voice.[248] The importance of Wood's cultivation of a respectable persona is understandable when the publishing history of the mid-nineteenth-century is considered. Reliant upon a text gaining 'rhythm' through serialisation, publishers and authors were simultaneously reliant upon the 'huge purchases of the circulating libraries that provided a guarantee of sales and a means of distribution of both the serial and volume forms.'[249] Acceptance into successful circulating libraries, such as Mudie's, was often aided by a respectable tone and valuable lessons in the novels which the owners believed would be beneficial to their readers and enhance their own reputation. Therefore, Wood's respectably sensational identity guaranteed the combination of an exciting plot with a didactic narrator, that aided the development of young impressionable women, rendered lending libraries like Mudie's increasingly likely to purchase texts written by 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.

Crafting her own style of writing, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator became instantly recognisable to nineteenth-century readers with this unique mix of pious teachings and

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245 Grose, 'Ellen Price Wood (Mrs. Henry Wood) (1814-1887)', (p. 412).
246 Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p.181.
247 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 92.
248 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 82.
249 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 13.

sensational content. Particularly celebratory of the rising of the bourgeoise and sympathetic to issues of middle-class marriage, Wood wrote about her own experience and aligned herself with her specifically female middle-class reader with shared morals and ideals. Lyn Pykett identified Wood's 'intrusive, moralising and gossipy feminine narrator' who uses the shared experience of a gossipy tone to introduce the reader to subjects commonly beyond the reach of a 'proper' woman writer by simultaneously distancing them from the 'evil passions of human nature'.[250] The 'much-noted moralising of the narrator' together with the 'consistently woman-to-woman address' renders the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator assuredly feminine.[251] Wood used narrative techniques such as direct reader address and emotive, melodramatic language to link sentimentality, overt religious moralising, and sensational events to the identification with her specified reader. By establishing an intimate relationship with her reader, particularly in the direct addresses which use the phrase 'dear reader',[252] the approachable 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator invoked intense emotions in deathbed scenes and preaching pity for erring heroines, such as Isabel Vane in *East Lynne*. Wood portrayed her villains with equal strength, castigating Francis Levison in *East Lynne* and specifically noting to illustrators to contrast Archibald Carlyle's dark clothing with Levison's 'showy style'.[253] While creating a shared narrative experience, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator simultaneously elevates herself as superior, 'periodically apostrophising the reader' insisting on the veracity of her narratives and '[reassuring] that deviance was being described for cautionary purposes

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250 Lyn Pykett, *The Improper Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 115.

251 Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 118.

252 Garrett Stewart, *Dear Reader: the Conscripted Audience in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 133.

253 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 96.

only'.[254] For which, the didactic narrator would ensure the reader learned a valuable lesson and allowed her to 'strike the right ideological note'.[255] The 'urgently didactic "preacher" rhetoric'[256] encouraged an intimate relationship, 'a kind of covert solidarity,' between the narrator and the assumed 'female, middle-class, and leisured' readers.[257] The novels which followed *East Lynne* continued the 'staid and domestic reputation' which distanced Wood from 'the more dangerous facets of sensationalism even while her fiction worked to elicit the most sensational effects on its readers.'[258] However, the overtly feminine and religious nature manifested so strongly in the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona proved 'more controversial, for some critics, than her sensationalism' as they considered the possibility of the explicit piety as potentially performed and disingenuous.[259]

However, while the wholesome 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrative style provided a respectable persona in contrast to her 'fast' contemporaries such as Braddon,[260] Wood simultaneously used the sobriquet to integrate less than respectable content and topics into her novels questioning patriarchal norms and the position of women.[261] Rather than solely a means by which to enter the literary industry respectably as a woman writer, Wood's 'perceived conventionality' is now perceived as 'carefully constructed and complexly

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254 Marie Riley, 'Writing for the Million: The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood' in Kay Boardman and Shirley Jones (eds.), *Popular Victorian Women Writer* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 165-185 (p. 169).

255 Marie Riley, 'Writing for the Million: The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood' in Kay Boardman and Shirley Jones (eds.), *Popular Victorian Women Writer* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 165-185 (p. 169).

256 Mary Lenard, *Preaching Pity: Dickens, Gaskell, and sentimentalism in Victorian Culture* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), p. 47.

257 Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: from Charlotte Bronte to Dorris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1999), p. 159.

258 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 83.

259 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 84.

260 Andrew Radford, *Victorian Sensation Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 5.

261 See Lyn Pykett, Deborah Wynne, and Marie Riley for allusions to the subversive aspects of Ellen Wood's sensation fiction.

shifting.'[262] The 'moral posturing and apparent conservatism' through the foregrounded narrative voice allowed Wood access to tread on 'territory that might have been considered inappropriate [for a woman writer] without offending the sensibilities of her readership.'[263] Although never explicitly critical of domestic norms, Wood's narratives offer 'suggestions of the effects on women's lives of male inadequacy' which brings into question Wood's status as merely a conservative writer.[264] The careful construction and adaptation of literary personas indicated by the re-fashioning of material throughout Wood's career has similarly provided a new perspective on the reputation of Wood as the 'mild sensationalist'.[265]

Re-Defining 'Mrs. Henry Wood': *East Lynne* and Motivated Changes

The creation of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' trademark ensured that publications by Wood conformed to the restrictive nature of the sobriquet adopted. Wood's later writings demonstrate an acute awareness of the importance of the narrative's audience, and Wood altered her writing accordingly. These are minor, yet significant, alterations made from the serialisation of *East Lynne* in the three-volume novel. The 'little time for revision or careful writing' determined by the 'vast' and timely business of the 'popular new magazines' which serialised novels was less important for the volume version of the text.[266] In terms of plot, the only change made to the serialised version is the representation of the train crash.[267] In the serialised text, Isabel writes a letter, alone, informing her relative, Lord Mount Severn, of the crash and her, presumed fatal, injuries. However, in the novel version, a 'Sister of Charity' (p.

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262 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 189.

263 Riley, 'The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood', p. 168.

264 Christine Gibbs, 'Sensational Schoolboys: Mrs. Henry Wood's The Orville College Boys,' *The Lion and the Unicorn*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (January 2000), pp. 45-60 (p. 56).

265 Allan, 'Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's 'Parkwater'', p. 23.

266 Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 157

267 Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2000), chapter 33. Subsequent references to be given in the body of the text.

374) speaks to Isabel about redemption in death, and the Sister helps Isabel with the letter to Lord Mount Severn. Wood's more Evangelical context through the addition of the Sister, demonstrates her desire to appear pious, but also attempts to gain sympathy for the deviant Isabel. The heightened Christianity, perceived sense of sisterhood, and helplessness of Isabel constructed through the changes reduces the feeling of agency associated with adulterous women and, equally importantly, feeds into a construction of Wood herself as a woman of morals. Both Isabel's and Wood's femininities are enhanced, as Isabel finds herself powerless, weak, and disfigured, and Wood becomes the reader's spiritual guide through an explicit discussion of sin and redemption. Here, as elsewhere, narratorial address is a method through which Wood applies the morals of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' to the reader.

Through her 'consistently woman-to-woman' narratorial addresses, Wood assumes 'a shared experience and a community of values with her reader', most famously in *East Lynne*'s 'Lady-wife-mother' address (chapter. 29).[268] Crucially, a direct address from the narrator to *East Lynne*'s male readers which features in the *New Monthly* version is omitted from the 1861 novel. Chapter five of the novel contrasts Cornelia's passion for making money and Carlyle's more ethical business strategy, however the serialised narrative features the narrator explicitly addresses a male reader in reference to Carlyle's moral business ethics: 'Against his interest?' sneers the reader. No: rest you assured, sir, that when business is conducted upon honest and sincere principles, it must and it does prosper.'[269] The deliberate omission of this address, as the refashioned 'Mrs. Henry Wood,' indicates the perceived reader change as the three-volume novel, unlike the *New Monthly*, was aimed primarily at a middle-class female reader. The significant changes in *East Lynne* display Wood's acute

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[268] Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 119.

[269] 'The Author of "Ashley",' 'East Lynne', *New Monthly Magazine* (Feb 1860), p. 152.

consciousness of the importance of ensuring the text is appropriate and targeted to its altered audience in order to generate maximum success. Concurrently, in moving from anonymous serialiser to respectable novelist, Wood's construction of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, by which she sustains her properly classed and gendered identity throughout the majority of the remainder of her literary career, becomes firmly established.

A study of the textual variants also reveals significant alterations to the representation of individual characters. For example, Carlyle's excuse for kissing his eventual second wife, Barbara Hare, but not expecting her to fall in love with him is that he kissed her 'as a pretty girl: man likes to do so' (*New Monthly Magazin*e June 1860, p. 218). However as this rather flippant attitude undermines Carlyle's representation as the perfect middle-class gentleman, it is removed from the novel version (213) where Wood constructs herself as a champion of bourgeois values. Similarly, Isabel's confrontation with Lady Mount Severn who, in Chapter 12, accuses her of flirting with Levison, is re-worked to highlight Isabel's rebelliousness when her retort, '"is it you, or I, Lady Mount Severn'" becomes '"It is you, not I, Lady Mount Severn."' Although only a small change, Wood demonstrates the potential for deviance hidden in Isabel. A more significant alteration is made in Chapter 16 when the overt sexualisation of Barbara, confessing her feelings to Carlyle, is re-written as disease. While the *New Monthly* version represents Barbara 'swelling and panting' with a 'steam of excitement' (*New Monthly Magazine* June 1860, p. 217*),* the novel transforms these expressions of desire into 'hysterical symptoms' and 'passionate uncontrol' (p. 212). Thus, the novel employs medical discourse to explain feminine passion, with Carlyle even demanding of Barbara, "'are you ill?'" (p. 212).[270] In much the same way, the original version accentuates that Barbara has

[270] See Andrew *Mangham's Violent Women and Sensation Fiction: Crime, Medicine, and Victorian Popular Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) for an extended discussion of disease and women in sensation

inherited the strong will of her father (Jan 1860, p. 40), while the novel version adds that "in her it was very much softened" (p. 61) and the scene with Carlyle represents Barbara's only deviant act.

Wood's moderation of Barbara's uncontrolled passions in the novel version of *East Lynne* indicated a desire to cleanse the text of any reference that could be deemed inappropriate for the assumed female audience. This textual cleansing is particularly significant considering the popular reading of Barbara's function of 'counterbalancing the negativity of her … rival's conjugal [model] until she becomes a model wife for Carlyle at the novel's ending.[271] Another example of these purifying changes is Cornelia's claim that 'it was his own fault they came' (*New Monthly Magazine* March 1860, p. 284), in reference to Mr. Kane's children, is an implicit acknowledgement of male sexual desire and, while suitable for a male audience, the phrase became a victim of Wood's self-imposed censorship when moving from publication in the *New Monthly* to the novel edition. All the significant changes in *East Lynne* display Wood's acute consciousness of the importance of ensuring the text is appropriate and targeted to its altered audience in order to generate maximum success. Simultaneously, Wood re-defines the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona that emerged from *Danesbury House* by which she sustains her properly classed and gendered identity throughout her literary career.

The emerging popularity of the periodical press enabled Wood to make use of the decade of experience she had under Ainsworth's tutelage writing serialised short stories to develop as an experienced, yet new serialised novelist. Rather than being 'frustrated' by the

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fiction.

[271] Mariaconcetta Costantini, *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020), p. 75. Costantini provides a fascinating discussion of multiple female characters in Wood's novels in relation to the Griselda theme, including Maria Godolphin and Charlotte Pain who are discussed in this thesis.

limitations placed on the female writer like some of her contemporaries, such as George Eliot, Wood emulated the subverted female power of the annual to embrace the 'limited ways her persona was personified' and created the overtly feminine 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator.[272] Here, Wood utilised her opportunities and the limitations placed on her to create a brand from which she gained success. Ainsworth, who Deborah Wynne argues had 'unwittingly stumbled on two bestselling authors' in Wood and Ouida, failed to adapt his magazine 'to provide a suitable environment' for their increasingly popular novels.[273] Therefore, soon after their respective successes, both writers 'withdrew' from Ainsworth's magazine in favour of more lucrative deals elsewhere.[274] For Wood, while *East Lynne*'s astronomical success established her as a household name, it had also defined her as a founder of the 'sensational' genre and its infamy threatened the validity of the respectable reputation she sought for the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand.

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272 Fionulla Dillane, *Before George Eliot: Marian Evans and the Periodical Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 12.

273 Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 36.

274 Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 37.

Chapter Three- The Prolific Phase (1861-1863)

With the consecutive successes of *Danesbury House* (1860) and the phenomenally popular 1861 bestseller, *East Lynne,* Wood established herself as a household name, and her fiction became a valuable commodity in the literary marketplace.[275] Now firmly placed as a well-known and commercially successful author, Wood sought to build upon this success to change her position and influence in the literary marketplace. This chapter will consider how her publishing conduct immediately after the success of the novel showcases a desire to become a prolific, popular, and successful novelist. In the first instance, there was a significant change in the quantity of writing Wood produced. Previously contributing just two short stories a month to two magazines edited by William Ainsworth (*New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany*), after *East Lynne* Wood expanded her readership, and workload, by publishing in several different magazines in both weekly and monthly formats. Between September 1861, which marked the concluding instalment of *East Lynne*, and December 1867, when Wood's material appeared in her newly purchased *Argosy* magazine, she wrote for seven different publications (*The Leisure Hour*, *Quiver*, *New Monthly Magazine*, *St. James's*, *Once A Week*, *Good Words*, and *Temple Bar*). Her extensive output during this time includes three novels serialised monthly, six novels serialised weekly, five short stories, and a boys' story serialised weekly. During this period Wood also, for the first time, published three unserialised novels in volume format and one other boys' story. This was a key point in the formation of her reputation as a bestselling novelist in the years after the success of *East Lynne*.

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[275] As discussed in the previous chapter, this success was undoubtedly aided by Samuel Lucas's positive review of *East Lynne* in *The Times* (1862) and the nationwide showings of the dramatised version of the novel. See 'Appendix E: Contemporary Reviews' in Ellen Wood, *East Lynne*, ed. by Andrew Maunder (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2000), p. 712-714. Wood was considerably irked that she received no profit from the eminently successful stage show due to contemporary copyright laws.

In the next two chapters, I argue that Wood's publishing activities during this period can be best understood as belonging to two distinct phases, during both of which she further developed her authorial persona under her chosen writing name of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. The years between 1861 and 1863, which take the focus of this chapter, might be usefully described as Wood's prolific phase. What followed between 1864 and 1867 might be similarly characterised as the author's strategic phase. These two phases signify a dramatic shift in the patterns of Wood's publishing following the prolonged serialisation of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* over 27 months. Her prolific phase spans the time between the final instalment of *East Lynne* in September 1861 and conclusion of *The Shadow Of Ashlydyat* in November 1863, which directly followed the serialisation of *East Lynne* in the *New Monthly Magazine*. During this phase, Wood produced material at an astonishing rate as she capitalised on the success of *East Lynne*. She utilised six different publications and contributed twelve titles of varying lengths and formats. Her level of multi-tasking during this time was perhaps best illustrated by the fact that she serialised three novels concurrently for thirteen months. While this prolific phase is defined by an apparent desire to produce as much material as possible, the subsequent strategic phase is characterised by a significant decrease in the quantity of material Wood publishes. January 1864 marks the beginning of this second 'strategic' phase with the beginning of the serialisation of *Oswald Cray* in *Once A Week*. From this time until December 1867, when Wood's material first appears in her newly acquired magazine, the *Argosy*, Wood's workload was reduced drastically as she serialised just three novels in three magazines (*Once A Week*, *Household Words*, *Temple Bar*). Additionally, for the first time since *Danesbury House*, she published novels in three volumes that had not been serialised in a magazine.

This chapter, then, examines Wood's output during the first of these two phases. Here, I consider her prolific phase in the context of serialisation as Wood used the extensive periodical network to enhance her popularity and temporal appeal. While the anonymous period was a section of Wood's career where she experimented with literary form and signature, Wood continued to use text-associated by-lines as a form of advertisement plus as the continuation and development of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand. However, more interestingly, Wood used this period as a means of experimenting with publication processes[276] using weekly and monthly magazines to disperse the Mrs. Henry Wood name throughout the marketplace. Yet, she was still selective in the types of publications she chose to contribute her work, which indicates a clear focus on what type of writer Wood strived to be.

In order to consider the significance of these distinct phases in Wood's career, it is important to establish the nature and significance of the serialisation of novels in nineteenth-century Britain, which has been described as 'uniquely the age of the periodical'.[277] Increases in literacy, the removal of taxes on knowledge and paper, and the emergence of the middle-class readership ensured a spike in popularity of the literary market of which periodicals undoubtedly benefited.[278] The 1861 abolition of stamp duty reduced the cost of printed material which meant the texts became cheaper and more widely available reflected in an exponential increase in sales. The mid-nineteenth century was a 'period of unprecedented

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[276] It is important to note here that Wood had limited agency over the publication process for the magazines, which would have been a negotiation between publishers, editors, and printers. However, the trends in Wood's publication pattern in this period indicate her development as a newly-established author.

[277] Don J Vann and Rosemary T Van Arsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 7.

[278] See Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English literature and the industrialization of publishing, 1800-1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) for a discussion of the cultural and technological advances that resulted in the expansion of the periodical press during this period.

expansion in the area of publishing, which saw a significant growth in the number of new journals, many of them devoting considerable space to serialised fiction'.[279] Popularised by the success of Dickens's *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1836-1837), many of the emerging magazines sought serialised fiction as a means of establishing a 'structural engagement' of the reader. [280] The serialized novel, 'broken up in time and space with fixed pauses between published instalments' effectively 'shape[d] the reading and writing practices of the period.[281] This new format 'hooked the reader into the magazine for months or weeks' establishing both a readership but also a fan base and a sense of loyalty to an author or magazine.[282] However, despite its emerging popularity, the serialised novel was still defined by the instability of its periodic format.

The regular pauses between instalments ensured that the 'back-and-forthness of transference and countertransference' in the narrative echoed the 'affective oscillations between fiction and world' for the reader.[283] In this way, the reader's consumption of the novel is punctuated by real life, but also other texts that they encounter, whether that be in the magazine in which the novel was published, but also by other material they consume in the week or month between issues. Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund articulate this as the way in which 'a work's extended duration meant that serials could become entwined with readers' own sense of lived experience and passing time.'[284] The fiction becomes part of the

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279 Anne-Marie Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', *Women's Writing*, Vol. ii, No. 23 (2016), p. 246.

280 Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, *Victorian women's magazines: An anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 4.

281 Susan Bernstein, 'Seriality', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* Vol. 46, No. 3/4 (2018) pp. 865-868 (p. 866).

282 Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 4.

283 Bernstein, 'Seriality', p. 866.

284 Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund, *The Victorian Serial* (New Brunswick: University Press of Virginia, 1991), p. 8.

reader's reality, which becomes crucial to Wood's particular focus on creating a shared community with her readers. Equally importantly, the reader becomes influenced not only by their own lived experiences, but by all of the supplementary material encountered in this 'one serial moment' which can influence the reader's response to themes they recognize across magazines and other forms of media.[285] This means other material, either in that particular periodical or in other publications within that serial moment, need to be considered in a reading of these texts in a process of 'reading sideways'[286] as opposed to reading the text as a stand-alone piece of literary endeavour. Consequently, just as this type of consumption of fiction meant that readers had to 'hold many plots in their minds simultaneously,' it was equally challenging for the writer who produced piecemeal parts of, often, several narratives over a prolonged period.[287]

Due to the nature of its publication, therefore, serial publication created tension for the writer between the demands of form and aesthetics. This tension is palpable through the difficulty of maintaining popularity and intrigue during the elongated timeframe integral to serialisation while protecting the aesthetic process for the professional writer creating a viable narrative. Many writers worked on several serialised texts concurrently so another challenge was the seemingly simple task of avoiding plot holes, repetition, and the amalgamation of stories. Also, the collaborative nature of the periodical meant that the magazine often consisted of 'individuals' contributions patched together and fitted, very practically, to the space, readership, and politics of the structure of a single periodical

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285 Robyn Warhol, 'Seriality', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* Vol. 46, No. 3/4 (2018) pp. 873-876 (p. 874).

286 Linda K. Hughes, 'Sideways! Navigating the Material(ity) of Print Culture', *Victorian Periodical Review* Vol. 47, No. 1 (2014), pp. 1-30 (p. 3).

287 Warhol, 'Seriality', p. 874.

issue.'[288] To achieve the presentation of unity within the magazine, the serial fiction writer must adhere to the specific rules of the publication and fit their narrative within the narrow confines of the presumed readership.

However, despite the various challenges faced by writers involved in serial publication, it remained a useful tool for writers. The prolonged presence of the literary characters within the consciousness of the reader stimulated a sense of intimacy rarely achieved with other forms of publishing. Regularly scheduled revisits to a character or literary world invoked the character into the role of a distant family member with whom the reader became emotionally invested. Particularly in the case of sensation fiction, the presumably female reader who had bought into the continuous intimacy that serial publication provided were 'simultaneously flattered and consoled by the sense of belonging to a discriminating, sympathetic female circle where domestic problems may be shared, and often solved.'[289] However, this is not just confined to female writers and female readers. Robert Patten argued that Dickens's serialised novels took Wordsworth's use of recollection beyond 'the solitary and personal memory but rather with the social shared recollections of a common alphabet of mediated experiences.'[290] The fragmentation of the form worked particularly for women writers attempting to incorporate their literary work into their lives. Traditionally viewed as 'an inferior artistic form that fractures or impedes unified plots driving toward endings that confer meaning on entire novels,' the serial has more recently been considered as 'an expression of capitalist practices that appropriate storytelling and intimate audience relations

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[288] Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell, 'Introduction', in Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (eds.), *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 1.

[289] Barbara Onslow, 'Textual Encounters in Eliza Cook's Journal: Class, Gender and Sexuality', in Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (eds.), *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 89-99 (p. 92).

[290] Patten, 'Serialized retrospection in The Pickwick Papers', p. 133.

to mask rationalized production of text and the creation of additional demand for the product'.[291] However, just as Hughes and Lund reconceptualised the form in relation to equating serialization with the female reproductive cycle, I would like to consider serialisation as a workable solution for the growing force of women writers during the mid-nineteenth century.

For women writers, serialisation provided an opportunity to manage their writing within the demands of their domestic lives and afforded them the option to be considered a "hobbyist" writer, producing a small number of pages of narrative each week or month. Rather than dedicating full-time hours to their literary work, serialisation allowed a more transient approach to professional writing, which undoubtedly appealed to women writers who often had to manage a balance between their professional and household duties. This ability to adapt the material conditions of production during serialisation related specifically to middle-class female readers who were 'defined by their vulnerability to interruption.'[292] Just as their readers faced the constant threat of interruption from household duties, women writers often encountered the same issues as they ran a household, raised children, and supported husbands alongside their literary commitments. Therefore, the serial novel, 'itself a form defined by its interruptions in the text',[293] provided a solution to the time management problems for both female readers and writers, by accommodating the regularly suspended leisure time afforded to the reader and repeatedly halted creative periods for the writer. Short stories, of course, could also address 'the demand for reading in restricted units of

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[291] Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', in John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (eds.), *Literature in the marketplace: Nineteenth-century British publishing and reading practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 144.

[292] Hughes and Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', p. 146.

[293] Hughes and Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', p. 147.

time'.[294] However, as Hughes and Lund point out, the 'slowly accreting and intimate form of the serial novel' created a satisfactory solution for both female readers and writers while also managing to incorporate the 'gathering and dispersal of narrative energy in a single burst'.[295]

The piecemeal nature of serialised fiction meant that it 'was often fragmented, interspersed, and intertextual'.[296] This fragmentation also provided a positive opportunity for women writers, whose writing was usually subject to the gender bias of literary critics. As 'authoritative pronouncements were not available on a work of fiction in process,' women were 'afforded a space in which to explore and discover their own reactions to a literary work'.[297] Due to this absence of authoritative, and often condemning, words of a (presumed male) literary critic, the reactions of female readers had more influence on the collaborative assessment of a text and worked to recommend the text. Many scholars have confirmed that letters received by the editors and authors, plus instant 'responses to plots and characters' stimulated changes to the narrative during its completion, which undoubtedly had an effect upon the finished product.[298] For example, Mary Elizabeth Braddon altered her adaptation of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* due to feeling 'so apt to be influenced by little scraps of newspaper criticism, & by what people say to me.'[299] Ellen Wood insisted that she never read, or responded to, any reviews of her texts.[300] Yet, it seems highly unlikely that any nineteenth-century author was able to be entirely oblivious to contemporary responses to their writing. Indeed, in a response to Caroline Norton's claim that *East Lynne* was plagiarized from her own

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294 Hughes and Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', p. 147.
295 Hughes and Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', p. 147.
296 Brake and Codell, 'Introduction', p. 3.
297 Hughes and Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', p. 146.
298 Brake and Codell, 'Introduction', p. 5.
299 Hughes and Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', p. 145.
300 Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood* (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1894), p. 56.

short story, Wood specifically references the *Saturday Review*, which, she notes 'rarely fails to give me an ill word when it can'.[301]

Prior to *East Lynne*, Wood wrote series of short stories that extended beyond one edition of a magazine, but never a sustained narrative text that was marketed as a serialised novel.[302] In the specific type of writing that became synonymous with 'Mrs. Henry Wood.' established in her first serialised novel, *East Lynne*, it became clear that several elements of serialised fiction worked well with the brand Wood was cultivating. The interfering pious narrator and the intimate sense of community within the readership cultivated by Wood's narrative style, particularly aimed towards the presumed reader of the inexperienced middle-class woman, suited the 'sense of intimacy and connection serial publication created between audience and text, or audience and author.'[303] Almost mimicking the 'calling' visit of a middle-class woman with a card presented at the door, Wood's distinct style provided a short interim period of storytelling for the middle-class female reader. Although, as we see in this chapter, Wood's writing during this period extended beyond the confines of a middle-class female reader as she contributed material for different types of publications and utilised both weekly and monthly magazines.

Many serialised novels, including *The Pickwick Papers*, were subsequently published in single volumes or as triple-deckers, which then became the defining format of the text. Despite being a 'staple of the magazine', serialised fiction has rarely been considered the 'text

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301 Ellen Wood, 'To The Editor of The Times', *The Times*, Sat Oct 28 1871, p. 6.

302 See chapter 1 for a discussion of the serialised version of *The House of Halliwell*, a novel published posthumously which is compiled of loosely related series of short stories published between September 1855 to November 1856, in which I argue that the stories could be read as Wood's first attempt at a serialised novel.

303 Hughes and Lund, 'Textual/sexual pleasure and serial publication', p. 145.

of the novel' over the book version.[304] Therefore, 'fiction is only a periodical form in a limited and contingent sense'.[305] The hierarchy established between serialised versions of a text and subsequent volume versions illustrates the difficulty concerning the definition of the 'text' in a piece of serialised fiction. Is the text the whole of the narrative, or the weekly or monthly parts? Each part stands alone as a closed text yet remains an open section of the overall narrative with unfinished plots and unsolved mysteries. For Wood, moving towards this notion of serialised novels left ample opportunities for expansion within the text, whether that was in the form of undiscovered secrets, unexplored characters, or unfinished plot lines. A long-running, expansive serialised text afforded the opportunity to create a large cast of linked characters between novels and chances for counter narratives that allowed Wood to revisit themes and subjects with a different perspective. This open-yet-closed nature of serialised fiction evidently created issues for the writer, too, who had to produce a set amount of material for each installment, yet complete a coherent novel as a whole. Ouida, Wood's contemporary, articulated the potential issue with the serial form, arguing that 'the writer sacrifices form and harmony to the object of attaining an exciting fragment for each division of his work'.[306] The disruption to 'form and harmony' articulated by Ouida here disappears in the volume version of the text, often with small amendments, which ensures that the later published version gained more prestige and influence as well as longevity. However, while serialised production was a necessity for many writers (particularly women) it also stimulated debates of anxiety around the quality of work produced quickly and to demand.

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304 Margaret Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', in *Investigating Victorian journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), pp.19-32 (pp. 24–25).

305 Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', p. 24–25.

306 "Ouida," undated (*circa.* 1882) letter to *The Times* on "English Novels," quoted in Eileen Bigland, *Ouida: The Passionate Victorian* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1951), p. 163.

Similarly to other female popular writers such as Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Wood 'epitomised the extraordinary productivity of the Victorian popular writer' which, in turn 'helped to fuel contemporary anxieties about the transition towards mass production, the commodification of culture, and large, discrete readerships.'[307] That fear of the commodification of culture also fed into anxieties regarding professional writing for women, particularly because Wood is essentially marketing herself as a Victorian woman. Dismissed as 'popular and journalistic' the emergence of serialised sensation fiction attributed to the 'violent stimulation of serial publication.'[308] Together with the anxieties regarding the subject matter of fiction created by women such as Braddon and Wood, the popular writer, and especially the woman writer, was under intense scrutiny by an increasingly sceptical critic responding to these anxieties. The increased demand in the periodicals market created more 'opportunities for women in fiction and journalism, [and] an increasingly democratised reading public.'[309] This insatiable appetite created a wide dispersive readership that was available to be targeted by ambitious writers, who were encouraged by the breadth of the marketplace to experiment with tone, style, and form in order to establish their own place inside the bustling, growing, and yet competitive marketplace of periodical fiction. Following *East Lynne*, Wood's novels were often criticized for their sensational depictions of crime with one reviewer claiming that they were 'expurgated versions of the Newgate Calendar [that were] toned down so as not to offend the most delicate propriety'.[310] Geraldine Jewsbury noted, that Wood's novels had 'a quality that oversees a multitude of sins. Their *readableness*

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307 Anne-Marie Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', *Women's Writing* (2016), Vol. 23, No. 2, p. 245.

308 Alison Chapman, 'Achieving fame and canonicity' in Linda Peterson (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 73-86 (p. 77).

309 Anne-Marie Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation', p. 246.

310 Anon., 'Review', *The Reader* (Oct 22, 1864), p. 505.

is recognized by those who are most alive to their faults . . . and to the undiscerning and not fastidious people who form the majority of readers they are sources of keen excitement.'[311] Mary Elizabeth Braddon received similar criticism about the 'speed and rapidity of her composition' and the sacrifice of 'quality to quantity.'[312] In this chapter, I will consider this most productive period in Wood's literary career in terms of how serialisation and the publishing processes in which Wood operated impacted upon the development of her literary identities. Despite being 'forever associated with her early commercial hit', Wood proved that she was not a 'literary firework' as her critics assumed.[313] This chapter considers the texts that worked to consolidate the success that *East Lynne* afforded, and serves as an opportunity to 'watch a novelist building on her own momentum'[314] by examining the periodical market in which she conducted herself, but also the subtle changes to her literary identities.

Following the bestseller: *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* in the shadow of *East Lynne*

Serialised monthly in the *New Monthly Magazine* directly following *East Lynne* (October 1861 to November 1863), *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* was Wood's 'preferred' of all her works[315] and was deemed her 'cleverest work' in a 1863 review.[316] It also features as one of the sensation novels read by Molly in James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* (alongside *East Lynne*) and Edwina Cruise asserts that the novel had an influence on self-confessed Wood fan Leo

311 Geraldine Jewsbury, 'Review'*, Athenaeum* (July 1, 1865), p. 12.

312 Anne-Marie Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation', p. 248.

313 Andrew Maunder, 'Mrs. Henry Wood', *The Literary Encyclopedia,* 18 July 2001. [http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=4790, accessed 1st August 2020]

314 Andrew Maunder, 'Mrs. Henry Wood', *The Literary Encyclopedia,* 18 July 2001. [http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=4790, accessed 1st August 2020]

315 Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood* (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1894), p. 255.

316 Anon., 'Review', *The Spectator* (Dec 5. 1863, p. 2828) quoted in Monica Correa Fryckstedt 'Geraldine Jewsbury's "Athenaeum" Reviews: A Mirror of Mid-Victorian Attitudes to Fiction' *Victorian Periodicals* Review, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 13-25 (p. 22). This is an opinion which was shared by Geraldine Jewsbury, who had read the manuscript of the novel.

Tolstoy's composition of Anna Karenina.[317] Serialised for a staggering 27 months, the initial advertisement simply read that it would continue monthly 'until completion'.[318] In Rolf Burgauer's study of Wood's output, *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* is among the few of Wood's many novels deemed to be 'important' enough to get a synopsis.[319] It is also one of Wood's better-known novels after *East Lynne*, possibly because of the temporal proximity to *East Lynne* itself, but also because the novel was also published monthly in the *New Monthly Magazine* directly after the bestseller. Shedding the previous identity alluding to 'the Author of Ashley', *The Shadow of* Ashlydyat is among the first pieces of writing to feature *East Lynne* in the by-line. Although *East Lynne* was the first full-length novel that Wood had published, it was yet to achieve the astronomical success that followed Samuel Lucas's influential January 1862 *Times* review. Despite *East Lynne*'s notoriety, Wood sought to link it with *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* as a means to draw in the monthly readers of the magazine, with whom it proved popular, and to continue to establish her own literary brand. Removing the name of 'Ashley' from her by-line also marked a transition in Wood's career from a lowly, unpaid, under-appreciated contributor to a popular novelist.[320] In terms of Wood's prolific output, *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* began its serialisation during the same month that *The Channings* commenced its weekly serialisation in the *Quiver* and the publication of 'A Race for Life', a three-part short story published weekly in *The Leisure Hour*.

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317 See Edwina Cruise, 'Tracking the English novel in Anna Karenina: who wrote the English novel that Anna reads?' in Donna Tussing Orwin (ed.), *Anniversary essays on Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 173.

318 Anon. 'Advertisement', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art;* 12.305 (August 31, 1861), p. 233.

319 Rolf Burgauer, *Mrs Henry Wood: Personlichkeit und Werk* (Zurich: Juris-Verlag, 1950), p. 25.

320 See chapter 1 for a discussion of Wood's short story 'Ashley'.

The pecuniary rewards that Wood was able to demand drastically changed after the success of *East Lynne*. On top of receiving a £150 advance for *The Shadow of Ashlydat* from Bentley's,[321] upon the release of the volume edition of the text, the novel's profits were split into three parts: two of which belonged to Mrs. Henry Wood and the remainder to Bentley himself. Wood received one thousand guineas in anticipation of her profit share paid in two parts: £500 one month after publication and £550 three months after publication. Wood capitalised on the half-profits as Bentley's profit amounted to £325 1s 3d.[322] Wood's stocks had risen exponentially and she had found herself famous overnight. This put her, and her business-manager son, in a position of power, from which she 'fought vigorously to hold on to her' profits and 'waged many a successful battle' over the course of her career.[323] *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* marks an interesting transition point as Wood grapples with her newfound fame. In terms of publication history, this novel is significant because it functioned as source of consistent income enabling Wood to explore other opportunities in other periodicals as she sought to expand her readership. As the final contribution she makes to the *New Monthly Magazine*, the novel marks a new phase of her literary career as the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' style becomes more pronounced and Wood enters contemporary debates surrounding feminist issues and marital names while also reusing similar themes to *East Lynne*.

The novel depicts the downfall of the Godolphins, a respected family who own a banking house who lose their estate, Ashlydyat, as a result of the fraud and embezzlement of George, the second eldest son, and a mysterious supernatural family curse, the titular Shadow

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321 Beth Palmer, *Women's authorship and editorship in Victorian culture: Sensational strategies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 2.

322 R C Terry, *Victorian popular fiction, 1860-80* (United States: Humanities Press Intl, 1983), p. 44.

323 Terry, *Victorian popular fiction,* p. 44.

of Ashlydyat.[324] The novel contains numerous plot lines and follows several themes that are prevalent in Wood's writing including secrets, fraud, and the supernatural. As one of Wood's better-known texts, *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* has had significant attention from academics for its depiction of female death and the supernatural.[325] While the existing scholarship discusses Wood's depiction of ideal femininity within their own context, my reading incorporates the sense of female identity, particularly for married women, which links to both contemporary issues of female autonomy and relates to Wood's literary identity as 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.

Although a novel concerned with the fraudulent and secretive actions of men, the depiction of the female characters of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* articulate Wood's social consciousness most effectively. As stated by Anne-Marie Beller, Maria, George Godolphin's wife, embodies Wood's perception of ideal femininity through 'the most consistent outward signs of … weakness, passivity and delicate health.'[326] Yet, the treatment of female characters within the text, and in particular their identity, provides a more complex reading of ideal femininity, which references contemporary debates regarding a woman's legal rights and coincides with Wood's formation of her own professional identity.

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[324] The supernatural theme is explored in detail in Alison Jaquet's article 'The Disturbed Domestic: Supernatural Spaces in Ellen Wood's Fiction' *Woman's Writing*, 15:2, pp. 244-258, and Tatiana Kontou's chapter 'Sensation fiction, spiritualism and the supernatural' in Andrew Mangam (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Sensation Fiction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 141-153. George Robb refers to Wood's biographical background as a banker's wife turned to ruin and having to support the family with her writing as evidence of her influences for the novel and uses the text to discuss women and white collar crime, suggesting that the novel gave an example of why the 'ubiquity of financial fraud in so much domestic fiction seemed to warn women away from the share market' (George Robb, 'Women and White-Collar Crime: Debates on Gender, Fraud and the Corporate Economy in England and America, 1850–1930', *BRIT. J. CRIMINOL*. (2006) 46, pp. 1058–1072 (p. 1065).

[325] Anne-Marie Beller analysed death and femininity in the novel in some detail in her paper 'Suffering Angels: Death and Femininity in Ellen Wood's Fiction,' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (August 2008), pp. 219-231.

[326] Beller, 'Suffering Angels: Death and Femininity in Ellen Wood's Fiction,' p. 223.

Writing of Elizabeth Gaskell's relationship with Charles Dickens, Kate Watson recognised the 'gendered struggle between criminal husband and victimized wife' in her fiction as a 'metaphorical reflection' of the 'conflict in authority' between Gaskell and her editor, Dickens.[327] As the gendered struggle is articulated through the control of language and writing in Gaskell's example, the patriarchal control over female identity in *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* refers to Wood's own struggle for power and autonomy as a writer finally moving beyond the hold of her editor and provides a clearer criticism of Victorian gender norms than *East Lynne*.

Wood's preoccupation with the fluidity of identity becomes significant for her female characters in the novel. Using the tradition of married women taking on the name of their husband, Wood explores the identities of the women and links it to their autonomy. While Maria Hastings becoming Mrs. Maria Godolphin after marrying George Godolphin conformed to the standard Victorian marital practices, the pointed change in the names that Maria is referred to, both in dialogue between characters and the narration as the story progresses is extremely revealing. After the bank closes its doors due to George's villainy, Maria is often referred to as 'Mrs. George Godolphin' as George has fled to London to escape the distain of his scorned customers. Previously in the novel, Maria had been referred to by her first name and it is only when she is answerable for George's crimes in his absence that both characters and the narrator refer to her as Mrs. George rather than Maria.

Contrastingly, Charlotte Pain, the fast woman and Maria's love rival for George, keeps her name despite her marriage. By marrying her distant relative, Mr. Pain, Charlotte's transition from Miss Charlotte Pain to Mrs. Charlotte Pain is evidence only of her greater

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[327] Kate Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction 1860-1880* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2012), p. 41.

freedom in the identity of her marriage. Rather than becoming the property of her husband as evidence by the surname, Charlotte keeps both her identity and her fast nature as a married woman. By extension, the death of her husband, which is later revealed as a fraudulent death to escape bankruptcy, and Charlotte's transition into widowhood, similarly achieves little change in Charlotte's manner or behaviour. Despite conforming to the customs of other married women, Charlotte managed to sustain her own identity and the Mrs. preceding her non-altered name only gives her more license to act of her own accord as her husband fails to control her.

Tracey Teets Schwarze argues that 'the chaste and faithful women of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* die […] painful and untimely deaths' yet fails to 'chastis[e] its philandering men.'[328] However, while I agree that the text does not explicitly place blame at the feet of the men, as Beller states, it is made blatantly clear that 'George's actions are the direct cause of his wife's gradual decline and death.'[329] Beller agrees that the 'death of virtuous women in *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* … read as a critique of gender roles,' but the amalgamation of marital identity throughout the novel also serves to critique these gender roles.[330]

Indeed, there is a sense of 'martyrdom' that Maria embraces through tears and melancholy when George abandons her for London after the run on the bank, which Wood 'conveys as heroic.'[331] But while Beller reads the contrast of Charlotte Pain's 'power, self-reliance and courage' as 'the converse of Maria's delicacy …. [and] a badge of her vulgarity,'[332] Wood's depiction of Charlotte is more complex than merely a brash counterpart to contrast

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328 Tracey Teets Schwarze, *Joyce and the Victorians* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), p. 11.

329 Anne-Marie Beller, 'Suffering Angels: Death and Femininity in Ellen Wood's Fiction,' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (August 2008), pp. 219-231 (223).

330 Beller, 'Suffering Angels: Death and Femininity in Ellen Wood's Fiction,' p. 221.

331 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 223.

332 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 223.

against the saintly Maria. It is true that Charlotte 'anticipates Eliza Lynn Linton's ''girl of the period'' and can neither comprehend nor sympathize with Maria's aptitude for suffering,'[333] Wood appears to present Charlotte as a criticism of the gender ideals that Wood herself is promoting. The 'masochism' identified by Beller as key to Maria's depiction as an ideal woman, is compared with Charlotte's strength:

> 'You may remember it was observed at the beginning of her history that she was one unfit to battle with the world's sharp storms it had now proved so. Charlotte Pain would have braved them, […] have weathered them jauntily on a prancing saddle-horse; Maria had shrunk down, crushed by their weight. Il y --a let me once more repeat it-- Il y a des femmes et des femmes' (481).[334]

While Beller is right that Wood appears to approve of Maria, 'that delicate, refined, sensitive woman' (481), rather than Charlotte, who George assures his dying wife that 'men do not marry women such as [her]' (480).[335] However, the criticism is not as simple as this binary between a good, ideal woman and a wild, dangerous one. As Beller suggests, Wood's depiction of the 'powerless Victorian wife [unable] to exert … influence over the rakish and irresponsible husband'[336] criticises the traditional relationship and lack of communication between Victorian husbands and wives. As the anti-heroine Isabel Vane 'manages to retain the sympathies of the reader' in *East Lynne* despite her transgressions, Charlotte Pain also provides a sense of intrigue, compassion and a sense of an alternative for the reader.[337] The 'conflicting constructions of femininity' that Beller describes as negotiated by Wood in

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333 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 224.
334 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 224.
335 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 224.
336 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 225.
337 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 225.

relation to females in *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* and *Verner's Pride*, can be discussed in Charlotte Pain's identity.[338]

This concern similarly extended to Wood's own life and identity, particularly within her writing life. The power that lies with Charlotte Pain's character that originates from her fiery nature and draws admiration from the narrator, and by extension, also the reader. But this power that Charlotte has as an attractive single woman is somewhat amplified by her marriage to Rodolphus. By becoming a married woman, who has also kept her identity within her name, which acts as a signifier for the power she yields within the marriage itself, becomes even more ferocious upon her husband's alleged death. Upon his return, some of this impetus is lost as Charlotte's power alters. However, this idea of power is also evident, to some extent, in Maria's marriage. Although her body takes the toll of her strength with her illness and subsequent death, Maria is presented by Wood as a paragon of strength. However, the lack of autonomy articulated by Maria's blame in George's crimes due to her marital identity echoes the themes of *East Lynne*, where the narrator chastises the woman in the relationship with scornful reproaches and cruel treatment within both the narration and the plot, yet the underlying, although unspoken, criticism of the male counterpart in the marriage becomes noticeable. In *The Shadow of Ashlydyat*, there is more of an explicit critique of contemporary marital relations in terms of the power share between a man and his wife. Isabel Vane has agency and chooses to go away with Levison. She is, essentially, the creator of her own downfall, despite Archibald's obvious role in creating a barrier within their relationship. However, in *The Shadow of Ashlydyat*, Maria's actions are exemplary. Her suffering is ultimately due to the actions of her husband, as she played no role in the

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338 Beller, 'Suffering Angels,' p. 225.

circumstances that created the downfall of the family. If *East Lynne* is billed as a conduct book explaining what not to do in a marriage, *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* provides a paradox. Despite doing everything that she can to assist her husband, acting as the perfect wife, and running the household with ease albeit with secrecy surrounding the financial implications, Maria is blameless. In this respect, the fault within the marriage is less evidently with the female member, but more with the male member. It is he who ensures that the family, and town, falls to ruin. In this way, *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* is a clearer criticism of the male role within the marriage than *East Lynne* and clearly articulates the powerlessness of the female character depicted as the 'ideal'.

The *Quiver* – a shift in subject matter and beginning weekly publication

Immediately after the success of *East Lynne*, Wood began publishing in the new weekly magazine, *Quiver*. Commencing publication in 1861 and closing in 1900, the *Quiver* was a 'weekly compilation of general fiction and non-fiction with strong religious and moralistic overtones.'[339] Established and initially edited by John Cassell, a 'self-made man and proponent of Evangelicalism and the Temperance Movement,' the *Quiver* was aimed at 'a middle-class … audience' as a 'piece of didacticism'.[340] However, the magazine was considered to be 'lower down the social and educational scale' than the most successful periodicals of the day.[341] Its subtitle, which claimed to work 'in defence of biblical truth and the advancement of religion in the homes of the people' fitted perfectly with the emerging moral, didactic persona of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. The magazine 'sat awkwardly between *Once a*

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339 Don J Vann and Rosemary T Van Arsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 140.

340 Simon Cook, 'The Quiver', *Victoria Web*. [Accessed 30th June 2020].

341 Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustrated Books: The Hey-Day of Wood-Engraving* (London: The British Museum, 1994), p. 38.

Week and *Good Words'*, sold at a penny, and included material such as advice on prayer as well as three of Wood's serialised novels, *The Channings*, *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles,* and *William Allair*.[342] The varied content of the magazine originated from the 'semi-religious' journals popular in America upon which it was modelled,[343] but also emulated the popular genre of weekly family magazines like Dickens' *Once A Week* and *Household Words*. The Norfolk News deemed the *Quiver* 'a decidedly religious serial, but its contents are so varied and interesting that anybody might read them with pleasure and everybody with profit'[344] and the *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* suggested that the magazine was 'calculated to amuse both young and old, at the same time that it inculcates sound doctrinal views' during a positive review of 'the excellent moral tone [of *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles*] … mak[ing] it acceptable to every Christian household.'[345] Like the *New Monthly Magazine*, the *Quiver* was not illustrated, but this was Wood's first experience of the physical demands of producing material for a weekly magazine. Just as Wood's publications in the *Quiver* represents a change in the speed and quantity of labour during her most prolific period, my reading of the novels also show a writer adapting her style to conform to the requirements of the magazine and wrangling and experimenting with her focus, intended audience, style, and themes.

The weekly magazine 'encouraged a straddling of the divide between newspaper and magazine.'[346] Not quite like the daily newspaper but also not like magazines that could be

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342 Simon Cook, 'The Quiver', *Victoria Web*. [Accessed 30th June 2020].

343 Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell, 1848–1958* (London: Cassell, 1958), p. 59.

344 Anon., 'June Periodicals,' *Norfolk News* (June 14, 1862) Issue 912, p.2.

345 Anon., 'Literature, Science, and Art,' *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* (Dec 13, 1862), Issue 5220, p.6. The use of the non-differential word 'Christian' in this review is particularly poignant considering Wood's anti-Catholic writing in the 1850s (see Chapter One).

346 Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of nineteenth century journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: British Library 2009), p. 666.

bound into volumes, 'weeklies cover the spectrum in between.'[347] The brevity and temporality of the format, plus its ephemeral nature, meant that the target reader was often very specific which spawned multiple genres of weekly magazine, for example religious papers, family papers, those targeted particularly to women or children, and, later in the century, for specific professions. Like their monthly counterparts, the weeklies contained different types of writing from a vast array of contributors, yet had to maintain a house style to produce a coherent text. In the first issue, which featured Wood's first serialised novel *The Channings*, the magazine overtly outlines its aims and intentions by equating the multifaceted and multi-authored nature of the Bible with the magazine itself. The article articulates the magazine's unique selling points, for both the reader and the potential contributor, but also provides a helpful link for me between the religious text, the weekly magazine, and the serialised novel.

The article assimilates the 'construction and authorship' of the seminal text composed of 'stray leaves' and 'irregular contributions,' which 'when collected together and looked at as a whole, turn out to be *a book!*' to the way in which the magazine itself was compiled.[348] Containing 'almost every species of literary composition- history, poetry, biography, law, letters, high argument, word-pictures, sketches of character, parable, proverb, and various other forms of writing,' the composition of the Bible is aligned with the multifaceted nature of the magazine, which undergoes a process by which the work can then be 'seen to be consistent, harmonious, and complete' (p. 1). This reading of the composite parts of the Bible serves to reflect the 'feeling in which the present publication originates, the objects it

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347 Brake and Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of nineteenth century journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 666.

348 Anon., 'THE QUIVER,' *Quiver* London (Sep 1861), p. 1. Subsequent references appear in the text.

contemplates, and the means by which they will be attempted to be secured' (p. 1). Using the Bible in this way, as a template as a multi-authored and diverse collection of literary endeavour with a focused aim to disseminate the teachings of Jesus Christ, the *Quiver* clearly states its intentions within the periodical market.

The piecemeal reading of the Bible also fits with the form of serialised fiction that Wood contributes to the magazine. The article considers how the various contributions of the Bible are collected together 'with a beginning, a middle, and an end; with a system of thought running through it, gradually developed growing and expanding' until the work 'can be viewed and apprehended as a whole' (p. 1). The collation of material published over an extended period of time succinctly describes the process by which the serialised novel eventually becomes a three- or one-volume text. Missing from the article is an account of the toil and effort that goes into the editing process of combining these separate and individual parts into one larger whole. Similarly, the demands on a writer with the requirement to conform to the exacting standards of a coherent magazine within a weekly deadline are glossed over.

In the same way that monthly serialisation in a magazine required the writer to provide succinct and entertaining parts that mark up a coherent piece of a whole narrative, plus fit into the remit of the magazine itself, in the weekly format these demands remained, although with a shorter deadline. The parts had to be made more concise and striking to fit within the weekly format. The plotting of the novel had to be altered to fit the weekly parts, as did the use of cliff-hangers, pacing, and other literary techniques. Therefore, the adaptation for a writer accustomed to producing work monthly towards a weekly production must have been incredibly challenging. For Wood, this shift in production must have been particularly difficult considering that she was also serialising *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* in the

New Monthly Magazine simultaneously. While it appears that Wood was keen to capitalize on her success with *East Lynne*, by writing across publications and expanding her readership, the *Quiver* novels are somewhat alienated from the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand in the first instance as the first instalments of *The Channings* were published without any reference to its famous author. Although this was changed in the third instalment to include reference to *Danesbury House* and *East Lynne* in a text associated by-line.[349] The difference in the format, price, and intended audience meant that the sensational and scandalous subject matter of *East Lynne* would not fit the magazine, so any allusion to her most famous text disappeared after the success of *The Channings*, after which the text-associated signatures deployed only alluded to works that had featured in the *Quiver* itself.[350]

Here, it is clear that Wood is exploring avenues beyond *East Lynne* and the attempts to distance the *Quiver* material from her most famous, and infamous, novel suggest a new and distinct path for Wood's writing as she amends her authorial identity to move away from the sensational text and forge a new avenue of writing opportunities. The remainder of this section will discuss the novels that featured in the weekly magazine in terms of Wood's stylistic choices, both in terms of theme and alterations to her narrative voice, the publications in the *Quiver* offer a different perspective on the writing of Wood as she changes her focus in order to align herself with the magazine and its audience. However, the experience of this magazine served to alter and change the trajectory of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand, which became more developed as Wood moves into the strategic phase of her literary

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[349] Similarly, chapter titles do not accompany the instalments until the third issue, which indicates a fledging magazine which is adapting as it is published.

[350] It is important to note that many of the advertisements for the magazine referenced Mrs. Henry Wood's name (but not *East Lynne*) yet the fiction itself was most often accompanied by the text-associated by-line of 'The Channings'.

life and reached a culmination in the procurement of her own magazine in which she had ultimate and complete control of her authorial identities for the first time.

Tucked alongside guides to scripture, and musings on the spreading of the religious message,[351] Wood serialised three novels and a boys' story[352] consecutively in the *Quiver* from October 1861 to September 1863 during the serialization of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* in the *New Monthly Magazine*: *The Channings* (October 19, 1861- April 12, 1862), *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* (April 19, 1862- Dec 6, 1862), and *Squire Trevlyn's Heir* (Feb 7 - Sept 19 1863). All three novels show the more religious, respectable, family-orientated side of Wood's narratives and were amongst her most successful publications after *East Lynne.*[353] *The Channings* is Wood's second most successful novel, and has been described as 'a very different class of story from *East Lynne*'[354] and 'instrumental in consolidating her success.'[355] However, as intimated here and from the use of by-lines, there is a concerted and distinct alienation of *East Lynne* from these texts, which is also reflected in the reviews of the novels.

In the years immediately following her bestseller, the reviews of the *Quiver* novels almost always compared the texts to *East Lynne*, either in terms of style or success. The stark

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[351] One reviewer commended *The Channings* as 'a fine piece of writing' among 'some very valuable little snatches in the way of practical helps to life such as "Self-Culture," "Guide to Duty" etc.' (Anon., 'Literature,' *Inverness Courier* (Feb 13, 1862), Vol. XLIII, Issue 2309, p.2).

[352] The boys' story, 'William Allair' (Dec 13, 1862- Jan 31, 1863), will be discussed in the Masculine Identities chapter.

[353] A reviewer of *Trevlyn's Hold* comments there is 'some cleverness brought by the aid of a good moral' and positively compares Wood as 'parts herself widely' from Braddon 'by a higher tone of mind and some religious purpose' (Anon., 'Literature,' *The Examiner* (Apr 30, 1864), p.278).

[354] Maunder, 'Ellen Wood was a Writer', p. 34. Wood disposed of the copyright to Bentley for £500 in 1862, however, any 'advantages' made in French, German, or in the United States were retained by Wood. Interestingly, the copyright was bought back by Charles Wood in 1879 for £1800. By comparison, the Tinsley brothers gave Braddon £1000 for her second novel *Aurora Floyd*.

[355] Marie Riley, 'Writing for the Million: The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood' in Kay Boardman and Shirley Jones (eds.), *Popular Victorian Women Writers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 165-185 (p. 174).

difference in content and tone adopted in the *Quiver* novels was hotly debated among the reviewers of the narratives. A positive review of *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* commends the domestic content of the novel arguing that Wood 'keeps clear of the popular temptation [towards sensationalism], and trusts to the true human interest.'[356] The review praises the 'simple, natural force of her style to produce an effect' in the novel coupled with a mention of Wood's 'high-toned, spiritual, energetic, and just mind, speaking through the medium' of the novel.[357] Reviews of *The Channings* also commended how Wood 'adopted … a different method of producing an effect on the minds and sympathies of her readers' and claimed that 'the reputation of its author will be increased in the opinion of those who value good writing, and steadiness of purpose.'[358] However, like several reviewers who noted the reduction of the sensational element, many regretted that the subsequent offerings from Wood did not indicate 'a real power of writing fiction' like her infamous bestseller[359] and deemed the novels 'deficient in the attractiveness which made "East Lynne" so popular.'[360] Similarly, *Squire Trevlyn's Heir* was considered 'more interesting and less melodramatic' than some of Wood's other works, particularly due to a reduction in the amount of crime in the novel, but it is still considered 'not up to the standard of 'East Lynne', which seems to be still *the* work of this prolific author.'[361] On the evidence of these reviews, if *East Lynne* 'raised a curiosity' about Wood's potential ascension to the 'front rank of novelists,' these novels 'quenched that

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356 Anon., 'MRS. HALLIBURTONS' TROUBLES,' *Morning Post* (Dec 6, 1862), Issue 27759, p.3.
357 Anon., 'MRS. HALLIBURTONS' TROUBLES,' *Morning Post* (Dec 6, 1862), Issue 27759, p.3.
358 Anon., 'The Channings,' *Morning Post* (April 22, 1862), Issue 27564, p.3.
359 Anon., '*THE CHANNINGS,' Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (May 10, 1862), 13, 341, p. 539.
360 Anon., 'The Channings,' *Morning Post* (April 22, 1862), Issue 27564, p.3.
361 Anon., '*Trevlyn Hold; or, Squire Trevlyn's Heir,' The Athenaeum* (Apr 9, 1864), p. 507.

curiosity'[362] or ensured the potential of *East Lynne* as a 'happy accident.'[363] However, these novels were still deemed successful, with one reviewer calling *The Channings* a 'very creditable performance,'[364] yet they appear to reduce Wood's potential from a celebrated literary figure to a mere talented drawer of characters and storyteller.

Similarly to these reviews, Andrew Maunder deemed *The Channings and Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* as 'domestic novels,' recounting the 'emphasis on Christian fortitude' in *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles*, and identified them as indictive of 'the way in which Wood could move out of the sensation category with apparent ease.'[365] He argues that they serve as 'expressions of Wood's femininity' and suggestions that her 'textual and physical appearance as a sweetly conventional lady novelist were not merely an affection.'[366] According to Maunder the novels are evidence that Wood's writing often functions as 'explicit restatements of her conservative Anglican beliefs.'[367] While these novels do reaffirm Wood's religious beliefs, Maunder does not consider the role of the magazine in which Wood published these novels and the effect that they had upon the style and content of these texts.[368]

Indeed, the tone, style, and content of the *Quiver* novels differ exponentially from *East Lynne*, as the reviews intimated. As a fledgling magazine, the *Quiver* was still defining its

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362 Anon., '*THE CHANNINGS,' Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (May 10, 1862), 13, 341, p. 539.

363 Anon., 'MRS. HALLIBURTON'S TROUBLES,' *Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (Dec 13, 1862), 14, 372, p. 713.

364 Anon., '*THE CHANNINGS,' Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (May 10, 1862), 13, 341, p. 539.

365 Maunder, 'Ellen Wood was a Writer', p. 6.

366 Maunder, Ellen Wood was a Writer, p. 7.

367 Maunder, Ellen Wood was a Writer, p. 7.

368 By extension, the femininity that is expressed by these 'domestic' novels further serves the development of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand as a pious, and didactic mode of fiction. Indeed, the image of Wood as the 'sweet lady novelist' was not an affectation, yet it was exactly that, an image, which was promoted, enlarged, and part of a larger marketing strategy that culminated in the Mrs. Henry Wood brand splashed over the pages of her literary magazine.

specific readership during the first few years in which Wood contributed her serialised novels. This uncertainty towards the intended reader for the magazine is palpable in the three novels Wood serialised. Although the magazine was focused on a religious message, it was also a family magazine targeted to men, women, and children.

Interestingly, a reviewer of *The Channings* considered the 'instrictive passages, the Scriptural quotations, and the teachings of parental wisdom' to 'come in very heavily' and suggested they had been put in 'as a matter of business' as 'grace comes in at dinner-time' rather than as 'the sole interest of the writer.'[369] A particularly condemnatory review of *The Channings* acknowledged that 'many of its peculiarities are, no doubt, owing to a polite consideration for the tastes of the readers of that periodical' in which it appeared originally.[370] The review casts doubt on the *Quiver* reader has having adopted a 'somewhat imperfect standard of intellectual excellence' if the difference between *East Lynne* and *The Channings* is 'not from the authoress's incapacity, but from her too ready deference to their vitiated tastes.'[371] The reviewer rants that the 'whole story is permeated by a languid stream of theological sentiment, which the readers of the *Quiver* may possibly appreciate, but which to the general reader recalls the association of an unusually tame curate and dull afternoon discourse.'[372] The reviewer warned that Wood 'must not allow the *Quiver* or any other enthusiastic adviser to tempt her into forgetting the cardinal rules of an art in which she has already shown herself capable of no mean success.'[373] However, as she moved towards novel

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369 Anon., '*THE CHANNINGS,' Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (May 10, 1862), 13, 341, p. 539.

370 'THE CHANNINGS,' *The London review and weekly journal of politics, literature, art, and* society (Apr 26, 1862), 4, 95, p. 396.

371 'THE CHANNINGS,' *The London review*, p. 396.

372 'THE CHANNINGS,' *The London review*, p. 396.

373 'THE CHANNINGS,' *The London review*, p. 396.

writing, the texts were often expunged of some of the more overt Evangelical content through a series of motivated changes as the narrative makes the transition from the serialised contributing to a magazine to a three-volume novel.

The transition from serialised version to the three-volume novel indicated the influence of the *Quiver* magazine, in terms of the focus on Evangelical teachings and the weekly publication, plus illuminated the tweaks that Wood made to her texts as they were transferred from the magazine to under the brand name of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. In the concluding paragraph of chapter two of the volume edition of the text, Wood's narrator characteristically steps into the text to assert that, 'Yes. The boys had active hands and healthy brains- no despicable inheritance, when added to a firm faith in God, and an ardent wish to use, and not misuse, the talents given to them.' The focus on the boy's story, the interfering narrative presence with an informal and familiar tone, and the allusion to a Evangelical faith are all characteristic of Wood's later writings. However, in the original version of the text, which featured in an overtly Evangelical weekly magazine, the text originally read that the 'ardent wish' was to 'serve Him.'[374] There is also an allusion to Bible teachings as the narrator links the novel with a specific lesson: 'As the chaplain to the high sheriff told the judges and others in his assize sermon, that the Holy Spirit, as promised by Jesus Christ, can alone renovate hearts and turn them from evil, so Mr. and Mrs. Channing, actuated by this self-same Spirit, had endeavoured to implant the striving for it earnestly and rightly in their children's hearts' (p. 10).

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[374] Anon., 'The Channings: A Tale,' *Quiver* (September 7, 1861), p. 10. All subsequent references will appear in the body of the text.

As well as a diminishing of the overt Evangelical teachings that featured in the original publication, Wood also removes the final sentence, 'You will find, as you read on, whether it brought forth fruit' (p.10), which attempts to grip the reader into purchasing the next instalment in the following issue. Throughout the religious tracts are removed from the novel version as it is made to fit more closely to the Mrs. Henry Wood style without the constraints of the *Quiver* magazine.

Making connections: *The Leisure Hour*, religious magazines, and short stories

During this prolific period in which she serialised six novels and one short boy's story, Wood also found time to contribute five short stories to three extra publications. With the exception of *St. James's Magazine*,[375] a literary monthly, the magazines in which Wood chose to publish her work featured with a specifically religious tone. After serialising a three-part short story in *The Leisure Hour* directly after *East Lynne*, Wood contributed a serialised novel, *A Life's Secret*, in the magazine, which received some substantial criticism as explored below. In a similar style, Wood wrote two short stories for *Good Words*, in March and August 1863, before serialising *Oswald Cray* in the magazine in January 1864. Targeting religious magazines, it appears that Wood's short stories functioned as a way into the magazine, as she juggled an intense writing schedule, before she had the opportunity to contribute a longer piece of fiction. In this way, these magazines provided an opportunity for Wood to further extend her ever growing readership and tweak her writing while operating within a type of magazine that she had previous experience of and proven success in.

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[375] Wood wrote 'The Brilliant Keeper' for *St. James's* monthly magazine in February 1862. Again, although this short story features the intrusive narrator and themes that feature across Wood's oeuvre, extended analysis of this story does not contribute to my argument.

The Leisure Hour was a weekly periodical produced by The Religious Tract Society. According to Richard Altick, *The Leisure Hour*, *'*like *Good Words*, mingled instruction and recreation, with special emphasis on travel and natural history.' [376] Illustrated by Du Maurier, the *Leisure Hour* was the first illustrated magazine to which Wood contributed alongside writers such as Walter Besant, Mrs. Oliphant, and Stanley Weyman. The magazine was designed to be a more openly religious alternative to other popular 'penny weekly … magazines such as the *Family Herald* (1842-1940) and the *London Journal* (1845-1928),' and targeted a 'cross-gender and cross-generational audience' as a family magazine.[377] The material in the penny paper was not always overtly religious but featured a mixture of articles including serialised fiction, which was often 'anonymous,' of a 'self-improving nature' and featured as 'the most prominent and length attraction.'[378] *A Race for Life* was serialised in *The Leisure Hour* in September 1861. Wood used the by-line 'by the author of *Danesbury House*' for all of the contributions to *The Leisure Hour*. The risqué content of *East Lynne* was inappropriate for the religious tone of the magazine. The story returns to a previous setting of Wood's from the fiction produced in the 1850s in France and also returns to a tale of a glove manufacturer, of which Wood had extensive knowledge due to her father's business. It also features several other well-used plot lines such as a patriarch leaving a family with nothing after his death and the unspoken love of two characters who are unable to unite due to monetary circumstances. However, we do see the novel introduction of a bear attack, which acts as the driving force for the resolution of the narrative. There is a palpably religious

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376 Richard D Altick, *The English common reader: A social history of the mass reading public, 1800-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), p. 361.

377 Barbara Korte and Doris Lechner, *Popular History in Victorian Magazines Database* (University Library at University of Freiburg, 2014) Web. Accessed 20th June 2020. doi:10.6094/UNIFR/2014/1.

378 Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds.), *Dictionary of nineteenth century journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: British Library 2009), p. 356.

message in the story but also a criticism of the Catholic faith that reverberates through the text and echoes back to Wood's previous anti-Catholic writing in the *New Monthly Magazine*. There is a sense of middle-class values being promoted with Robert Letellier reacting to his father's death, where he stood to inherit the status as master of the company, only to have to work his way up through the business and proving himself worthy of both the position and the hand of his partner's daughter.

In January 1862, during the serialisation of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* in the *New Monthly Magazine* and *The Channings* in the *Quiver*, Wood began serialising *A Life's Secret* in *The Leisure Hour*. Such a level of intense productivity during this period illustrates Wood's ability to capitalise on her increased stock and influence with publishers and editors of magazines. Also, from a biographical standpoint, Wood's family was in financial difficulty and were reliant upon her income to subsidise them. However, the novel that appeared in *The Leisure Hour* has a remarkably different style from her other outputs. Wood had previously written a short story, 'A Race for Life' for the magazine the month after *East Lynne* was finished.

A Life's Secret was serialised weekly and anonymously from January 1862 to May 1862. It proved to be a rather controversial novel which centred on a narrative concerning bigamy, and included scenes depicting trade union activity, including a less than flattering portrayal of strikes. Writing as 'E.W' in the preface to the republished version of the novel in 1867, Wood allows the reader an insight into the workings of her professional mind. Describing the previously anonymous novel as 'not ... to me so eligible for republication as some other works that [she has] written', 'E.W.' explains how she has been pressured 'by many different applications' into the publication of the serialised tale in novel form. The text includes an attack on 'what [Wood] saw as unscrupulous Trade Unionists' and the preface

explains the reason for the revived interest that justified a republication: 'strikes, as we all know, have been latterly growing into notoriety' (p. 1). Involving herself in a politically charged topic such as strikes, the original editor of *The Leisure Hour* when *A Life's Secret* was serialised placed a disclaimer and Wood inserted a note which emphatically states that the author was not attempting to address 'the vexing questions between masters and men, between capital and labour' but simply with the 'truest sympathy with their suffering families' (p. 1).[379] Wood compares the two moments in which the text had been published, arguing that during its original publication in 1862, 'the disaffection lay, comparatively speaking, in a nut-shell,' however she argues that her text had become more significant in 1867 when striking had 'become a stupendous evil; and none, I think, can foresee where the evil will end' (p. 1). Despite the argument that repopularises her own text, Wood maintains her hobbyist persona by justifying its republication on the back of 'many different applications' from others for her to republish the text (p. 1). She describes that she would not listen to the requests at first as she did not perceive the novel to be 'eligible for republication, as some works that I have written' (p. 1). Here, the suggestion is that other texts that she has written may well also be suitable for republication. However, the 'step has been so pressed upon [her], and from quarters bearing weight, that [she] at length yielded' (p. 1). In this way, Wood maintains the reputation she had built by portraying herself as a pawn in the republication process, and to not seem so energised, but letting the reader know the controversy and, crucially, the intention of the novel itself. Stepping back from the text, the editorial 'E.W.' insists the 'political bearings' that the novel addresses are left to 'wiser heads than [hers]' but expresses a wish to reach out to 'even one workman' with the hope of 'avert[ing] seasons of bitter

[379] Here, Wood engaged with contemporary political discourse, yet attempted to shield her womanly persona from the criticism of a woman writer engaging in such discussions by way of the preface.

suffering [for] his family' (p. 1). By focusing on an individual rather than the striking problem itself, Ellen Wood avoided the scandal of a popular woman writer becoming involved in political issues which contemporary readers would assume she had no understanding of. By signing herself using only her initials, Wood almost removes her gender in the preface and distances this statement from the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. Constantly adapting her writing to align herself with the popular trends of the time of publication and reusing yet refashioning her existing material under a new professional identity, Wood's astute business acumen is palatable through the re-fashioning of her anonymous texts.

The novel features the death of the patriarch at the beginning of the text, which ensures the family dynamics are in transition throughout. The heirs and young male characters must prove themselves worthy of the position vacated by the loved head of the family. Austin Clay, one of the main characters involved in the scenes of Trade Unionists, has the gift of the ability to read a person's countenance, which we see time and again in the characters upon which Wood bestows respect and admiration. The mad woman, driven insane by the ill treatment of a man is reminiscent of the madwoman in *The Channings*, who creates the diversion by which the money is stolen. The focus in the narrative upon the exclusively male environs that Wood had little or no knowledge of was a source of criticism in the reviews as it was deemed inappropriate for a woman writer to dare to contribute to the debate surrounding these issues of which she could not have any insight.

A Life's Secret was not the first story written for *The Leisure Hour* by Wood. From 12th September to 26th September 1861, the same month as the final instalment of *East Lynne* in the *New Monthly Magazine*, Wood wrote a three-part story called 'A Race for Life'. As stated in previous chapters, Wood had become accustomed to creating short stories with multiple instalments when she was writing for the *New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany*.

As was the case with Harrison Ainsworth, Wood's initial short story in the magazine provided an opportunity to create connections at the magazine and establish herself as a reliable and successful periodical contributor that was in demand. The next section of this chapter will consider these short stories as a means by which Wood was able to create connections within different publications and extend her readership while experimenting with different forms and modes of publication in preparation for her descent upon editorship herself.

By the end of 1863, which marked the closing of the 27-month serialisation of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat*, Wood appeared to change the tactic of spreading her work across different publications and publishing at such a demanding output. The shift from January 1864 saw Wood producing just three serialised novels in three magazines until her acquirement of the *Argosy* in 1867. There were also three novels which were not serialised, but written as a three-volume text. This stage of Wood's career, I refer to as the strategic phase as Wood began to take more careful control over her output and streamlined her brand. The publication of the three-volume editions of *The Channings* and *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* also depict the prolific nature that defined this period for Wood. *The Channings* was published in April 1862 at 31s. 6d. and then at 6s. in November of that year. *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* was also published in three-volume form in November and appeared as a six-shilling reprint six months later. However, in the case of *Verner's Pride* in 1863, Wood had changed her publishers moving 'from Bentley's system of early reprints to the more conservative practice of Bradbury and Evans.'[380] Simon Eliot argues that although it is difficult to identify the driving force behind the reprint policy, an established popular writer such as Wood 'could be assumed to have some leverage on his or her publisher' and suggests that Braddon's

[380] Simon Eliot, 'The Three-Decker Novel and its First Cheap Reprint, 1862-94', *The Library*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 1985), pp. 38-53 (p. 48).

reprint policy, which remained consistent across three different publishing houses, intimates 'a considerable degree of authorial influence.'[381] However, most interestingly for my identification of Wood's prolific and strategic phases, Eliot notes that the publishing policy changed as Wood changed publishers between this period. In the prolific phase, where Wood's focus was increased quantity of material bearing her authorial identities in the market, the reprints had just a seven- and six-month gaps in the cases of *The Channings* and *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* respectively, however, as Wood changed publisher and moved into the strategic phase of her career, she adopted a 'more conventional spacing' of fourteen months between the first and second editions.[382]

381 Eliot, 'The Three-Decker Novel and its First Cheap Reprint, 1862-94', p. 48.
382 Eliot, 'The Three-Decker Novel and its First Cheap Reprint, 1862-94', p. 48.

Chapter Four- The Strategic Phase (1864-1867)

Following the prolific output of 1861 to 1863, there was a significant change of pace to Wood's publishing habits. This chapter will examine the next period of Wood's career as she changed her priority from endeavouring to keep her name in the magazines, and publishing as much as she could, to being more selective and strategic about the type of magazines she writes for and the literary relationships she built. During this period, there was a shift from the hectic and demanding weekly publication to a more controllable monthly publication. Although I have dubbed this period the strategic phase, Wood continued to write prolifically serialising two novels concurrently: *Lord Oakburn's Daughters* in the weekly magazine *Once A Week* and *Oswald Cray* in the monthly magazine *Good Words*. This period also saw a shift into volumised production, as Wood published the first novel that has not been serialised in a magazine since *Danesbury House*, *Mildred Arkell*, as well as two others, *St. Martin's Eve* and *Elster's Folly*. Through these texts, Wood used the reputation and popularity gained during the prolific phase to establish a literary significance and impact, which allowed her to reduce her workload as the immense pressure of publication took a toll on her physical health.[383]

This chapter will consider how the doctor-focused texts serialised in *Once A Week* and *Good Words* articulate Wood's ideologies regarding professionalism, which can also be extended to a reading of Wood's sense of her own professional identity of a (woman) writer. The more controlled and assured sense of professional stature is also depicted through the shift from weekly to monthly production, and Wood's transition from serialised texts to a

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[383] Mariaconcetta Costantini argues that Wood used her illness as 'a means of professional self-empowerment' by 'transform[ing] her space of domestic seclusion into a space of literary production' in her text *Mrs. Henry Wood* (p. 15). This perceived fragility also ensured she could uphold the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona contrary to the professional empowerment her work provided.

relationship with lending libraries, such as Mudie's, by using the Victorian standard three decker format to publish three novels. This significant change altered Wood's status as an established novelist, not just a contributor to a magazine. The publication changes can also be used to track Wood's training for the editorship of her own magazine by examining the novels published during this time and the shift in her publishing practices.

The Rise of the Professional

The debates surrounding professionalism were hotly contested in the mid-nineteenth century. While the rise of capitalism and industry in Britain caused significant changes to the Victorian social structure, many groups of workers were vying for the superior status as a 'profession' previously reserved for elite branches of the church, law, medicine, and army officers. Keen to 'develop jointly accepted ethical principles and behavioural standards' that would define them as a profession,[384] many professionals during the mid-century particularly sought to redefine their working identity. Rather than prioritising conventional 'gentlemanly' ideas of refinement and gentility, the rise of the Victorian bourgeoisie meant that the values upheld by them—morality, hard work, industry – became imbibed into the existing professional ideal. However, this updated ideal included areas of tension in which the professional was interested in 'two conflicting orientations: the capitalistic-entrepreneurial and the vocational.'[385] So, while part of the focus of the professional bodies was to redefine their specific area and the ideological ideals, this dichotomy between the 'entrepreneurial notion of profit and the Christian ideal of calling'[386] created a tension in the process. The struggle between following a pre-determined and noble/natural suitability for an occupation

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384 Mariconcetta Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel* (Bern: Peter Lang 2015), p. 9.

385 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel,* p. 9.

386 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 9-10.

and the requirement to generate an income is epitomised by Wood's career as a woman writer and her depiction of professions throughout her career. However, in four texts written in *Good Words* and *Once A Week* between 1862 and 1864, Wood focused almost exclusively upon the medical profession, which this chapter will read as a definitive answer to the debate regarding doctors and the professions more widely, incorporating the difficulties faced by a working writer too.

During this crucial period for the Victorian notion of professions and within her own literary career, Wood began publishing in *Once A Week* and *Good Words,* serialised two novels in *Once A Week* (*Verner's Pride* in June 1862-February 1863 and *Lord Oakburn's Daughter's* in March 1864-October 1864) and a novel and a short story in *Good Words* ('The Night Walk Over the Mill Stream' January 1863 and *Oswald Cray* January 1864-December 1864). This period functions as a bridge between the prolific phase, which I have identified in the previous chapter, and the strategic phase, of which these texts signal the beginning. All of these texts share a narrative focussed upon the professional capacity, capability, and responsibilities of doctors. Written during a period where Wood is exploring her own professional capabilities as a woman writer, this section will build upon the groundwork done by existing literature utilising some of these texts to incorporate this period of Wood's career into my argument. Mariconcetta Costantini's *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel* is hugely influential on this aspect of my writing as she identified the significance of the relationship between sensation fiction and the professionalism debates during the mid-nineteenth century and referred to several of Wood's texts in doing so. Tabitha Sparks uses the role of the doctor in Victorian texts to examine the decline of the marriage plot.[387]

[387] Tabitha Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel: Family Practices* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 3.

Similarly, Cheryl Blake Price presents Wood's doctors as Bluebeard-inspired poisoning threats[388] and Julie Bizzotto contrasts the sensational and sermonising framework of the texts in terms of the weekly and monthly formats of the magazines in which they appeared. My argument will expand upon the significant work of these academics to examine these doctor-based texts into my discussion of Wood as a case study of professionalism and gender in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace.

Professionalism & the woman writer

The 1861 Census became a significant turning point in the establishment of multiple professions as occupational groups previously referred to under the umbrella term of 'educated persons' were classified by their specific professions such as artists, actors, editors, and writers.[389] This official certification of each professional body provided the impetus to create a coherent and reputable set of standards that standardised the occupation across the country. The emergence of sensation fiction 'occurred at a time of significant changes in the professional status of writers, who were acquiring more visibility in the system of cultural production.'[390] However, as Anne-Marie Beller pointed out, literary labour was stuck between definition as a 'profession or a trade' and, for example, George Eliot's role as one of the 'authors who actively sought to promote the cultural validity and prestige of the novel' yet 'expressed resentment' that the work of "serious" writers gained less monetary reward in comparison to popular writers such as Braddon and Wood.[391] During this strategic phase,

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388 See Cheryl Blake Price, 'Medical Bluebeards: The Domestic Threat of the Poisoning Doctor in the Popular Fiction of Ellen Wood' in Louise Penner and Tabitha Sparks (eds.) *Victorian Medicine and Popular Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), pp. 81-93.

389 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 10.

390 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 95.

391 Anne-Marie Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2016), pp. 245–261 (p.247).

Wood moved from prolific and varied serialisation and a connection with both sensation fiction and the popular, to a more concerted effort to enter the prestige of the volume novel. While Wood was ultimately primarily concerned with the pecuniary success of her novels, she was also concerned with the 'vulgarity of professionalism', which she combated by tailoring a 'domestic role' for herself as 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.[392] In other words, she was not one of the novelists that Eliot identified as those that only care for writing what will sell and therefore 'carries on authorship on the principle of the gin-palace.'[393] Of course, firstly, the gin-palace reference is ironic considering all of Wood's numerous disparaging literary depictions of alcohol-serving establishments, but the allusion that Eliot occupies here is a lack of morality and sense of consequence, which is a criticism that cannot be successfully landed at Wood's feet. So, not merely a gin-palace writer, striving purely for profit, nor a highbrow author, seeking prestige and commendation, Wood occupies a third category as a moralistic and didactic storyteller, who is interested in popularity and success, but not at the expense of a moral message.

Costantini identifies Ellen Wood as one of the four 'embattled novelists' who were 'active participants in the Victorian process of redefinition of professionalism' alongside ME Braddon, Wilkie Collins, and Charles Reade.[394] The discussion of professions during this crucial time demands attention as it helps to 'shed light onto the peculiarities of a literary phenomenon that strongly influenced mid-Victorian culture.'[395] Costantini identified a need

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392 Mariaconcetta Costantini, *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020), p. 19.

393 George Eliot, "Leaves from a Note-Book", *Essays of George* Eliot, ed. Thomas Pinney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 437-51 (p. 440) quoted in Anne-Marie Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2016), pp. 245–261 (p. 247).

394 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 16.

395 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 17.

for ‘a comprehensive investigation of the modalities with which the practitioners of the genre narrativized their society’s and their own concerns about the changing facets of professionalism,’ which she successfully addresses in her pivotal text.[396] However, this thesis attempts to expand upon the crucial groundwork done with a specific emphasis on the writing of Ellen Wood and the multiple facets of her intersection with Victorian culture. Linda Peterson identified the anxieties that surrounded the middle-class professionalisation of writing from the 1840s onwards due to close association with working-class modes of production. She notes that they ‘feared the taint of trade because they sold manuscripts to publishers and thus, perhaps, dealt in commodities: books, pamphlets, articles.’[397] Anne-Marie Beller has identified these anxieties about industry, economics, and trade within the literary market as ‘an integral paradox in the endeavour to professionalise Victorian authorship yet simultaneously retain tradition aesthetic values.’[398]

As new professions began to establish homogeneity and ‘occupational categories previously viewed as non-professional [were] elevated,[399] the traditional professions were also challenged to consolidate the various hierarchical levels of their profession more evenly. While traditionally connected with the upper ‘leisured class’, the ideals of the professional, and thereby the ideals of the Victorian gentleman, gradually adjusted to incorporate the ‘self-help virtues (industry, self-assertion, compromise)’ of the Victorian middle class ‘with the old

396 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 17.

397 Linda H. Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and the Facts of the Victorian Marketplace* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2009), p. 2.

398 Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s *The Doctor’s Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', p. 248.

399 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 12.

hallmarks of gentility (leisure, generosity, probity).'[400] An example of one of these traditional professions subject to change during this period is the medical profession.

The role of the nineteenth-century doctor

As the notion of professionalism itself became under scrutiny and subject to redefinition, the 'so-called traditional professions [including medicine] went through important reforms.'[401] Traditionally, the medical occupation was segregated into three distinct tiers, of which only the most superior group, physicians, reserved the right to be referred to as professionals. Dealing in 'theory, diagnosis, and prescription,' the prestigious physicians made up around five percent of all medical practitioners at mid-century.[402] The less prestigious surgeons, who 'studied anatomy and treated external disorders and were not known as men of science and learning,' were not considered professional men and neither were the third and lowest tier of apothecaries, who were considered 'drug-prescribing tradesmen.'[403] These hierarchical distinctions were undoubtedly linked to class, with the majority of physicians hailing from the leisured class. A fourth distinction of general practitioners, who sought to link the medical boundaries described above, was particularly present in rural areas away from 'teaching hospitals and specialists.'[404] However, due to the wide reach of the general practitioner's work (he could also practice midwifery), the reputation of his work was degraded despite, or because of, offering a wide range of services

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400 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 12.
401 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 10.
402 Tabitha Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel: Family Practices* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 12.
403 Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel,* p. 12.
404 Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel,* p. 12.

at a good price to his predominantly middle-class clientele.[405] However, the 'demands of the lower medical orders for higher status and opportunities posed new challenges to the whole professional body'[406] and the unstable position of the profession stimulated a plethora of concerns which were varied and widespread.

In a profession that was threatened by 'quacks' and unskilled charlatans, The Medical Act of 1858 'established a unified register of approved practitioners and created the General Medical Council as an ethico-legal watchdog, helping to substantiate the profession's credibility.'[407] In her doctor-focussed texts, Wood identified and debated these concerns, which helped to substantiate the profession itself, kept up with the zeitgeist of the debate, and consolidated the concerns with those of the professional writer. Wood not only used the untrustworthy or incompetent doctor to 'tap into anxieties about the relationship between medical professionals and women.'[408] She also created a contrasting medical figure in each text to generate a discussion about professionalism in general; a contemporary debate which she became part of as a contemporary woman writer. In addition, as there was often a female victim of the (exclusively male) doctor's incompetence or villainy, Wood also enhanced her discussion of gender dynamics featured in previous novels, particularly in terms of traditional Victorian marriage in the cast of the characters with dual identity as wife and patient to a doctor. As opposed to Wood's previous contributions during this period, these were single instalment stories that were not returned to. Both published in January 1863 and featuring

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405 Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel,* p. 12.
406 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 291.
407 Tabitha Sparks, *The Doctor in the Victorian Novel*, p. 17.
408 Cheryl Blake Price, 'Medical Bluebeards: The Domestic Threat of the Poisoning Doctor in the Popular Fiction of Ellen Wood', p. 83.

the by line of 'By the author of East Lynne,' Wood attempts to establish herself within these magazines with a larger circulation and a wide readership.

The Doctor Texts

Verner's Pride was published in *Once a Week* from 28th June 1862 to 7th February 1863. An 'Illustrated Miscellany of Literature, Art, Science and Popular Information,' edited by Samuel Lucas, the magazine's characteristic feature comprised 'large showy engravings - some illustrating fiction, others depicting notable personalities of the day.'[409] It was considered a 'family magazine of a 'respectable' nature.'[410] The novel has a bigamous plot and features people of the Mormon faith. Wood continues many of the themes already discussed in her previous works, and, indeed, this chapter, such as bigamy, professions, and gender. Wood's preoccupation with communications between the sexes persisted, but the casting of doctors in significant roles in the novel becomes important in terms of Wood's own negotiation with her profession as a woman writer, which is in progress during this period. In this novel, profession became an important factor, which echoed Wood's previous children's writings as she consistently chose to have doctors as an integral part of the large cast of characters that habituate her novels. *Verner's Pride* has Doctor West, a staunchly traditional doctor, and Jan Verner, who has a much more relaxed way of life and tends to prescribe simple remedies over expensive medicines. By contrasting these characters in this way, there is a criticism of the institutionalisation of medicine and the way that it is run in this particular

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409 Don J Vann and Rosemary T Van Arsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 139.

410 Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 15-16.

setting. Jan's less formal and more holistical approach is contrasted with Doctor West's traditional application of medicine, which serves as a criticism of the rigidity of the medical profession. In this way, Wood questions professionalism in the same way that she navigates these anxieties within her own sense of professional identity. The anxieties raised in terms of suitability for a profession and the various obstacles faced in that are repeated across Wood's novels and writing. There is an indication of a certain sense of anxiety about her own professional identities and possibly serves as a critique of her husband, a man who had the opportunity to become a professional but failed in his business.

Similarly to *Verner's Pride*, the main plots of the *Lord Oakburn's Daughters,* serialised in *Once a Week* from March 19, 1864 to Oct 8, 1864, centres around medical professionals and the marriage plot. Advertised as by 'the Author of East Lynne,' the novel was both never at the front of the issue, but always towards the middle or back in the magazine. Despite featuring in the 'lavishly illustrated' *Once A Week*, which claimed to 'give prominence to 'serial tales by Novelists of Celebrity', the 'pride of place was usually given to short stories and novellas, often by anonymous or minor writers.'[411] Notably less religious-focussed than Wood's previous contributions, *Lord Oakburn's Daughters* appears to be a return to the sensationalist genre. Set in the midlands, beginning in 1848, the narrative follows the fate of Captain Frank Chesney, later the Earl of Oakburn, and his three daughters, Jane, Laura, and Lucy. A complex family drama involving a murder mystery of a Mrs. Crane, a young woman who had just given birth to her first child. Mrs. Crane is eventually revealed to be the estranged fourth daughter of Captain Chesney, Clarice. Having had left the family home to become a governess, Clarice changed her name to avoid any shame on the family. While

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411 Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 28.

working as a governess, Clarice (now Miss Beauchamp) meets Mr. Carlton, a charming physician, and marries him. Mr. Carlton then moves to the hometown of Clarice to set up a practice, and unknowingly falls in love with her sister, Laura. However, when Clarice returns to her hometown disguised in name as Mrs. Crane, Carlton takes the opportunity to rid himself of his wife so he can marry Laura, his first wife's sister (although he doesn't know of the connection due to Clarice changing her name). Due to confusion about the medicine that a different doctor, Dr. Grey, administered Mrs. Crane and an issue with a drunk nurse, Carlton initially evades capture. Dr. Grey takes the blame for the young mother's death, which shatters his reputation in the town and ruins his family medical business. However, the mystery is solved due to the amateur detective skills of two of novel's most idealised characters: Frederick Grey, keen to clear the name of his father, Dr. Grey, and Jane Chesney, seeking the fate of her estranged sister, Clarice. Both with different motives, the two amateur detectives solve the case between them. The novel charts Wood's return to sensationalism, indicates Wood's constant reworking and reusing texts, and exemplifies Wood's engagement with the contemporary debate surrounding the professionalism of doctors.

Contemporary response and a return to sensationalism

Incorporating bigamy, murder, mystery, and detection, *Lord Oakburn's Daughters* is undoubtedly a return to sensation. The oft-quoted *Athenaeum* review of the novel describes Wood as 'the originator and chief of the sensational school of English novelists'[412] and another review states that the novel's theme of 'bigamy can claim title as the quintessential sensation device since it figures so prominently.'[413] The novel received positive reviews, with one

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412 Anon. 'Lord Oakburn's Daughters' [Review], *The Athenaeum* 1927 (Oct 1, 1864), p. 428-429 (p. 428).

413 [Alfred Austin], 'Our Novels. The Sensational School,' *Temple Bar* 29 (1870), p. 415.

reviewer complimenting *Lord Oakburn's Daughters* for the 'originality of its plot'[414] and it maintained its popularity being named in the June 1895 edition of *The Bookman*.[415] Many of the reviews discussed the prompt start of the novel in which 'Mrs. Wood plunges at once into startling incidents which cannot fail to beget an interest in the story.'[416] However, some reviewers found the resolution of the novel, which depended on an upper maid with a bandaged head being mistaken for a man, 'feeble' and 'disappoint[ing]' exclaiming that 'these sensation writers often spoil their best effects by a manifest absurdity.'[417] The *Saturday Review* claimed that *Lord Oakburn's Daughters* 'fully maintains the level of literary merit which [Wood] has attained in her previous works of fiction.'[418] Many of the reviews recognised that Wood was not holding herself to a high literary sense of refinement, but producing entertaining and readable products for a captive audience. The *Saturday Review* concluded that 'Mrs. Wood puts forth her usual facility and skill, and the book, as a whole, is certainly one of the most entertaining of the season. With more attention to those defects of conception…, it might have been pronounced one of first-rate excellence.'[419] Some of the reviews noted that in order to maintain the suspense of the mystery, Wood was 'constrained by the structure of the story to conceal the workings of the criminal's remorse,' which would, of course, give away the plot.[420] For this reason, the characterization of the novel was

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414 Anon., 'OSWALD CRAY [Review]. Masson, David (ed.). The Reader, 1863-1867; London 4.103 (Dec 17, 1864): 762-763, (762).

415 Anon., 'MONTHLY REPORT OF THE WHOLESALE BOOK TRADE,' *The* Bookman; London 8.45 (Jun 1895): 72-72.

416 'LITERATURE' *The Dundee Courier & Argus* (Dundee, Scotland), (May 11, 1864); Issue 3356, p. 12.

417 Anon., 'Editorial,' *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Parish Register and General Advertiser for Gloucester* 2856 (October 11, 1864), p. 8.

418 Anon., 'LORD OAKBURN'S DAUGHTERS' [Review], *Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (Oct 15, 1864), pp. 488-9 (p. 488).

419 Anon., 'LORD OAKBURN'S DAUGHTERS' [Review], *Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (Oct 15, 1864), pp. 488-9 (p. 488).

420 Anon. 'LORD OAKBURN'S DAUGHTERS' [Review], *The Morning Post* 28331 (October 4, 1864), p. 3.

criticised as Wood seemingly prioritised plot over depth of character. One reviewer even claimed that Wood had 'shown how a "sensation" novel of enchaining interest may be written without outraging probability or wounding the most scrupulous morality.'[421]

As Julie Bizzotto suggests, *Lord Oakburn's Daughters* is 'much more emblematic of the sensation genre than *Oswald Cray*, and Wood's religious tone in the novel is much more subtle than in *Oswald Cray*.'[422] So, this novel marked a return to the sensation genre and the bigamist plot also features an incestuous marriage, which was prohibited by English law, as Mr. Carlton weds two sisters. Concerned about the sensitivity of her reader, Wood included a disclaimer in the narrative asking the reader to 'bear with me while I relate it' (1). Wood warned of the unsavoury nature of the novel's contents when she stated that 'these crimes, having their rise in the evil passions of our nature, are not the most pleasant for the pen to record' (1). However, she recognised that these ghastly events hold intrigue for the reader as she claimed that 'it cannot be denied that they do undoubtedly bear for many of us an interest amounting almost to fascination. I think the following of what took place will bear such an interest to you' (1). This startling warning on the opening page of the narrative is, in fact, a clever marketing tool. By promising the reader scandalous material to come, it piques the interest of the periodical purchaser and instils a need to keep returning to the narrative. This sense of warning is supported on the fateful night of Mrs. Crane's death where the narrator signposts the significance of the scene to the reader. In a direct address, the narrator states that 'it may strike the reader that all these details have been given at some length; but, as was afterwards found, the smallest event of that ill-starred night bore its own future

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421 Anon. 'LORD OAKBURN'S DAUGHTERS' [Review], *The Morning Post* 28331 (October 4, 1864), p. 3.

422 Julie Bizzotto, 'Sensational Sermonizing: Ellen Wood, *Good Words*, and the Conversion of the Popular,' *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2013), 41, pp. 297-310 (p. 307).

significance' (44). At once, this engages the reader into looking for minute details for clues and suggestions that may be significant during the subsequent chapters. It also allows the narrator to justify the style of narration and almost pre-empt the criticism of a reader who feels that the narrative is too slow and focusing too greatly on details, which was a frequent criticism of Wood by reviewers.

The melodramatic scene of Mrs. Crane's death echoes other death scenes across Wood's oeuvre and the sensation genre. The proceeding paragraphs intimate a scene of calm and relaxation, then '[a]n awful cry; bringing the nurses' confession to a standstill; an awful cry of alarm and agony. But whether it came from Mrs. Crane on the bed, or Mrs. Gould by her side, or from both, Nurse Pepperfly was too much startled to know' (45). The silence of the scene after the disturbing cry reverberates through the narration of this passage as the narrator's slow scanning of the room to distinguish the source of the screams builds anticipation. The melodramatic style and intentional pacing of narration works to heighten the senses of the reader and build intrigue: 'Oh, then was commotion in the chamber! What was amiss with their patient? Was it a fainting-fit?—was it a convulsion?—or was it death? Was it the decree of God that was taking her from the world? Or had some fatal drug been given to her in error?' (46). With a rapid succession of questions, the narrator emulates the panic of the scene within the language used to describe it. It transpires that the medicine given to Mrs. Crane was prussic acid, which proves to be fatal.

Another key aspect of many of Wood's plots is chance. Coincidence and chance are prevalent during the sensation genre and a chance meeting features significantly as a plot driving force in the novel. The 'singular coincidence' that Jane should bump into Mrs. West in London, the one person who could 'unravel the fate of Clarice Chesney' (366) typifies the significant role of coincidence in sensation novels. However, the narrator also suggests that

it was 'something more than chance … at work' (366). Similarly, Wood's oft used melodramatic narrative style is particularly suited to this genre as the narrator intercepts with direct reader addresses at points of moral uncertainty to advise both the characters and the reader. After Mr. Carlton's request for her hand is rejected, Laura Chesney faces a moral dilemma familiar to readers of Wood's novels. The narrator steps in with the following advice:

> Should it be obedience or disobedience? Should she bear on in the straight line of duty, and be obedient to her father, to all the notions of right in which she had been reared; or should she quit her home in defiance, quit it clandestinely, to become the wife of Mr. Carlton? Reader! It has indeed come to this,--grievous as it is to have to write it of a well-trained gentlewoman.' (123)

The interjection echoes the lady-wife-mother address in *East Lynne*, which prescribes obedience and duty over passion. Of course, Laura does not heed this advice and proceeds to elope with Mr. Carlton. During her journey to the train station, she experiences a series of incidents of bad luck; she loses her shoe, gets wet in a passing rainstorm, and sees her father whom she is trying to evade. During their escape, Mr. Carlton discovers that the incumbent earl had died, making Captain Chesney the earl of Oakburn proper and raising Laura to the stature of a lady. He chooses not to disclose this to Laura, and it is suggested that it is because he is concerned that she may change her mind about eloping with him. Again, the narrator intervenes warning the reader 'Don't you ever attempt a similar escapade, my young lady reader, or the same perplexing griefs may fall to you' (155). There are other incidents where the melodrama of *East Lynne* is overtly referenced. On the news of little George Smith's death, Jane laments that she 'never gave [her nephew] a kiss for his mother's sake!' and Jane has an emotional outburst crying 'Dead! He was—as I believe—my little nephew' (427). The language here is very similar to the infamous 'Dead! And never called me mother' line which

was a notoriously emotional scene of William Carlyle's death in the dramatic version of *East Lynne*. Although the line never appeared in the text, it had become synonymous with the bestseller, which is indicative of the influence of the dramatic adaptation, and one of the issues that irked Wood as she did not receive any monetary income from the success of the adaptations.

Similarly, Jane Chesney's disgust at her father's marriage to the governess prompts a particularly melodramatic interjection by the narrator:

> 'Oh, reader! surely you can feel for her! She was hurled without warning from the post of authority in her father's home, in which she had been mistress for years; *she was hurled from the chief place in her father's heart*.' (246)

The tone of the interjection influences the reader to feel sympathy for Jane, who is depicted as a kind of feminine ideal despite her unconventional relationship with her father. In an ironic twist considering his reaction to his daughter Clarice's desire to become a governess, Captain Chesney, now Lord Oakburn, marries Miss Lethwait, his youngest daughter Lucy's governess. This refers to the contemporary anxieties surrounding the respectability of the relationships between governesses and the family and links to the relationship of the doctor and the patient.[423] This is raised by Laura who asks Jane:

> 'What was my offence?—that I chose the husband he would have denied me. And now look at what he has done?—married a woman obnoxious to us all. If it was derogatory in Miss Laura Chesney to choose a surgeon when she had not a cross or a

[423] See also Mariaconcetta Costantini's chapter 'Unconventional Low-Class Women in *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020), pp. 157-189 for a comprehensive discussion of Wood's use of governesses, nurses, and other working women.

coin to bless herself with, I wonder what it is for the Earl of Oakburn to lower himself to his daughter's governess?' (262).

Although Jane admits that 'there was some logic in Laura's reasoning,' she once again submits to parental authority arguing that Laura 'owed obedience to her father, and had forfeited it' (262). On Miss Lethwait's arrival in the home as the new Lady Oakburn, Jane suggests that Eliza had no right to 'beard her in her home' (244). The new Lady Oakburn will usurp the position that Jane currently occupies.

As ever, Wood's reworking of previous tropes both shows her ability to work as a thrifty and clever writer, but also makes a significant point about her changing perspectives over the years as her writing becomes more ingrained in the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand. Echoing the previously discussed trope of doctors being at the mercy of their patients and their sense of duty overwhelming the balance of their lives, Wood uses doctors to create a debate about professionalism. Mr. Carlton leaves his house in a hurry after receiving a note when Hannah, his servant, exclaims 'I never say such patients as his! … They can't even let him get his meals in peace' (35). The disturbance of everyday life echoes the disturbances in Wood's writing life and the interruptions in the reading patterns of the consumer of once a week. However, this suggests an unhealthy interruption as it is preventing his personal sustenance. Wood even takes the opportunity to reference another imagining of the doctor life that she wrote previously by referring to Tom West. As a young doctor experiencing his training, he provides an alternative perspective on the medical profession (368-9).

As in *Verner's Pride*, Wood contrasts two types of medical professional in *Lord Oakburn's Daughters*. Both novels even receive a mention as 'among the more important'

examples of fictional representations of doctors in *The British Medical Journal* in 1890.[424] Wood herself infuses the text with medical terminology when Mrs. Gould is described as 'helplessly rubbing her hands, her head shaking with a tremulous motion, as though she had St. Vitus dance' (14). The common name for chorea minor or Sydenham's chorea, a disorder that causes rapid, uncontrollable movement of the face, hands, and feet. Some of the contemporary material in *Once A Week* indicates a proclivity towards discussion of medical practice. The article 'Ear for Eye,' published during the serialisation of the novel discusses the invention of the stethoscope and the 'almost entirely new system of diagnosing, and consequently of treating, diseases particular to the organs of the chest.'[425] The article seeks to demystify the stethoscope by explaining its usage to the wider reading public. However, the object of the stethoscope can be used as an analogy for sensation fiction. Invented to 'serve to intensify the sounds' of the patient's chest, the stethoscope acts as sensational texts do in turning up the volume of the marriage plot, amongst others, in order to 'lead to a better notion of their significance.'[426] The stethoscope article contributes to my discussion of Wood's relationship with the notion of professionalism. The writer explains that 'the value of the results [of the stethoscope] depends far less on its nearer approach to perfection than on the skill and loving zeal of its possessor'.[427] Despite the technological advances, the skill and knowledge of the medical professional is still the significant aspect of the diagnostic tool. Affording 'indications of priceless value' to the 'skilled and truth-seeking operator,' the stethoscope is an invaluable tool in the arsenal of the doctor.[428] The writer's warning that

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424 Anon., 'Queries' *The British Medical Journal* (Oct 18, 1890), p. 936.
425 Anon., 'Ear for Eye,' *Once a Week,* p. 80.
426 Anon., 'Ear for Eye,' p. 80.
427 Anon., 'Ear for Eye,' p. 80.
428 Anon., 'Ear for Eye,' p. 81.

'there is nothing abstruse of mysterious about the stethoscope, nothing in its use at variance with common sense, and nothing more vain than its employment without the guidance of common sense'[429] speaks to the intention of the article to dispel the anxieties surrounding this new piece of technology. However, it can also relate to Wood's use of the sensation genre, which amplifies the volume of marital problems and family crime in a fictional representation of contemporary debates and should be consumed with the proportionate perspective.

Reputation and review

The vital role of reputation and review further link the contemporary doctor debates and the discussions surrounding the professional writer. When Mrs. Crane arrives in the town 'expecting to be ill' (3), she is keen to employ the services of Mr. Carlton over the Grey doctors to maintain her secret identity. Despite the recommendation of the Grey doctors' traditional service by Widow Gould, which started with their father, Mrs. Crane's preference for Mr. Carlton is explained through her argument that 'men of skill struggling into practice should be encouraged' (7). The feudalist presentation of medical skill as hereditary reflects back to the change in emphasis on the doctor role and is manifested in the mystery plot of Mrs. Crane's death. Stephen Grey searches the surgery and brings out a glass jar labelled Hydrocyanic Acid and shows that it has 'cobwebs upon it, woven from the stopper to the jar, and the dust on it an inch thick' (57), which provides evidence that it 'must be six weeks at least' since the jar had been in use. However, an over-zealous Frederick, 'every restless, ever seeking to be in action, as boys of that age are sure to be' (58) proceeds to dust the surgery and accidently voids the vital evidence that would have proven Grey's innocence. Moreover,

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[429] Anon., 'Ear for Eye,' p. 83.

as well as functioning as a crucial piece of evidence which clears Dr. Grey from guilt, at least in the eyes of the reader, it establishes the Greys as a solid and old medical practice which has connotations of prestige, knowledge, and experience. Wood is careful to mention that the doctors used other methods before the hydrocyanic acid, which explains its lack of use. Thereby, the doctors are depicted as clever and mindful practitioners. However, as the evidence is effectively voided by Frederick, Dr. Grey remains under suspicion, and the suspicion of the crime, even without the guilt, begins to impact upon the practice of his surgery as Wood highlights the significance of reputation for a professional.

Public opinion begins to turn against Stephen Grey, which has a detrimental effect upon his and his brother's practice. Here, Wood links reputation and gossip as Grey is presumed guilty by the consumers of his service. The lack of trust in a figure such as a doctor is fatal to their success, particularly in a small village, and this foregrounding of the importance of reputation could be transpired onto the reviewing aspect of writing. Mr. Carlton begins to use gossip to take away business from the Greys after the coroner's inquest finds them innocent: 'a great inciter to this feeling [of public favour turning against him] was Mr. Carlton. It was he who did most towards fanning the flame. This was not generally known, for Mr. Carlton's work was partially done in secret; but still it did in a measure ooze out, especially to the Greys. That Carlton's motive must be that of increasing his own practice, was universally assumed…' (254). The open knowledge of Carlton's sabotage of the Greys' medical reputation is presented as common practice and the reputation is only reinstated on the reveal of Mr. Carlton's villainy (471).

This theme of reputation is explored further when Mr. Carlton's requests Laura's hand in marriage. On admitting his intention to marry Laura Chesney to her father, he is astonished by the suggestion and calls Mr. Carlton a 'mad fellow' asking his servant to remove him from

the house (120). Captain Chesney's objection lies with Mr. Carlton's profession as a 'common apothecary, … a dispenser of medicine! And *you* would aspire to a union with the Chesneys?' (120). In response, Mr. Carlton relies on institutions for support as a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and he argues 'one [name] might prove equal, if not superior to the other' (120). Captain Chesney's disgust also lies in one of the contemporary anxieties regarding doctors. Before evicting Mr. Carlton he accuses 'How dare you take advantage of your being called into my house professionally, to cast your covetous eye on any of my family? Was that gentlemanly, sir? Was it the act of a man of honour?' (120). The fear of doctors entering the family home with less than honourable intentions, particularly as it pertained to the precious daughters of the house, was rife during this period of the debate regarding professionalism of the doctor. This fear of the professional utilising their occupation to gain trust, which they would ultimately break, and access to the family home and its occupants echoes contemporary fears of sensation writers and the impressionable middle-class female readers.

While engaging with doctors that complicate the notion of professionalism, Wood 'evokes the gothic villain of the fairy tale 'Bluebeard' in order to explore the influence medical men were exerting in the home.'[430] All of the victims are women placed at the hands of a male medical professional, either through their treatment or through their personal relationship in marriage. In respect to the 'patient-wife' examples in these texts, Blake Price argued that 'each victim is in a position of double- subjection to the power of their doctor-husbands.'[431] While it is indeed true that 'their deaths provide a stark illustration of the unequal relationship

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[430] Cheryl Blake Price, 'Medical Bluebeards: The Domestic Threat of the Poisoning Doctor in the Popular Fiction of Ellen Wood' in Louise Penner and Tabitha Sparks (eds.), *Victorian Medicine and Popular Culture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press (2016), pp. 81-93 (p. 82).

[431] Blake Price, 'Medical Bluebeards: The Domestic Threat of the Poisoning Doctor in the Popular Fiction of Ellen Wood', p. 82.

between male doctors and their female clients,'[432] Wood simultaneously discusses the complex notion of professionalism and doctors to provide a narrative and potential solution for the inequality in the power dynamics of traditional Victorian marriages and gender norms.

From Serialised Texts to Triple-Deckers to Magazine Editor

The increased assurance with which Wood conducted herself in the literary marketplace is deftly depicted in her shift from writing at breakneck speed in weekly publications towards monthly production, and the transition from publishing serialised texts to a relationship with lending libraries, such as Mudie's, by using the Victorian standard three decker format of novels. Her continued success, although not quite replicating the success of *East Lynne,* established her 'newly won prestige as a social and ethical force' which altered the trajectory of her writing.[433] As her celebrity increased, she became less reliant on the reputation and quality of a magazine to establish her significance-- her name did that alone. This change altered Wood's status as a novel writer, not just a contributor to a magazine, despite the fact that the 'distinction between 'journalistic *recording*' and literary *creation* was an unstable boundary in the mid to late Victorian period.'[434] While the 'common pattern' of a serial 'appear[ing] in a periodical' and then its subsequent 'issue in book form' was 'not a certified path open to all', it was a means of publication that had been utilised by Wood since her emergence onto the literary scene.[435] However, during this period, Wood experimented with publishing three novels without a serialising run in a magazine, *Mildred Arkell* (1865), *St.*

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[432] Blake Price, 'Medical Bluebeards: The Domestic Threat of the Poisoning Doctor in the Popular Fiction of Ellen Wood', p. 82.

[433] Andrew Radford, *Victorian Sensation Fiction: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2009), p. 76.

[434] Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', p. 249.

[435] Kate Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction 1860-1880* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2012), p. 11.

Martin's Eve (1866), and *Elster's Folly* (1866). Material from all three novels had appeared in periodicals as short stories, yet the completed narratives were new compositions on their publication in novel form.

Throughout the century, writers 'debated the pros and cons of periodical versus book publication.'[436] The development of a mass readership and an emerging print culture ensured that novelists 'experienced a relevant transformation of their socioeconomic and professional standing.'[437] Overtaking poetry as the most popular literary genre, the three-decker novel became a valuable commodity for the newly emerged middle-class reader and membership to circulating libraries made the relatively expensive novel available to the lower middle-classes without a substantial outlay.[438] Despite the freedom that the circulating libraries afforded the reader, Mudie and his contemporary library owners 'exerted extraordinary commercial and financial power on publishers and authors.'[439] Novelists were conscious that their commercial success was dependent upon their novels meeting 'the approval' of the owners and were subsequently subject to 'both direct and indirect aesthetic policing and censorship.'[440] While the 'proximity' to 'more ephemeral forms' proved problematic for those writers who sought to promote the 'cultural prestige' of the novel,[441] Wood's dalliance with publishing directly to novel form was short lived.

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436 Linda H. Peterson, 'Writing for Periodicals' in Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2016), pp. 138-149 (p. 79).

437 Costantini, *Sensation and Professionalism in the Victorian Novel*, p. 95.

438 Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction 1860-1880*, p. 24.

439 Lyn Pykett, 'A Woman's Business: 1830-80' in Shaw, Marion (ed.) *An Introduction to Women's Writing: from the Middle Ages to the present day* (London: Prentice Hall, 1998), pp. 148-176 (p. 156).

440 Pykett, 'A Woman's Business: 1830-80', p. 156.

441 Richard Salmon, 'Farewell Poetry and Aerial Flights': The Function of the Author and Victorian Fiction", *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, ed. Francis O'Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 134-155 (p. 141).

While her conservative and pious reputation ensured her status as a firm favourite in the circulating libraries, the movement from the collaborative periodical to the individualistic novel jarred with her narrative style and creation of an inclusive community of readers. In figuring out 'how to adjust to, incorporate, and abject competing ways of thinking about the individual' in the form of the novel, Wood's text lost the participation inherent in monthly magazines, as well as the increased earning potential.[442] Rather than displaying a preoccupation with literary aesthetics and the prestige of the novel form, Wood recognised that her increasing celebrity profile and the success of the novels published outside a magazine bearing her name only provided evidence that the public appetite for 'Mrs. Henry Wood' was not waning. She was encouraged enough to purchase her own magazine, in which she could have ultimate editorial control and maximise profits. The next chapter will explore how the publication changes and the multiple opportunities for profit in the literary marketplace informed Wood's editorship of her own magazine, the *Argosy*.

[442] Nancy Armstrong, *How Novels Think: The Limits of Individualism from 1719-1900* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2005) p. 10.

Chapter Five- The *Argosy* Magazine: Ellen Wood, the celebrity author-editor (1867-1887)

Following her husband's death, Wood purchased the *Argosy*, a monthly magazine with a full-page wood-engraving, in 1867 and became its celebrity author-editor, regularly contributing up to half of its contents.[443] Despite the prolific nature of her output in the early 1860s, Wood published just two short stories in the entirety of 1865 before commencing the year-long serialisation of *Lady Adelaide's Oath* in *Temple Bar* in April 1866.[444] After *Lady Adelaide's Oath*, Wood again disappeared from the periodical marketplace until her re-emergence as the celebrity author-editor-owner of the *Argosy* in December 1867. Previously established as a popular writer, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand attracted a large following and the monthly circulation for the magazine rose to 20,000 within three years of her takeover, exceeding Braddon's magazine *Belgravia* by 5,000.[445] Serving as a 'showcase for her own fiction', the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona was established sufficiently to withstand the translation from 'a "hidden" professional identity into a very public position as the magazine's editor and primary contributor' by the time of her takeover of the *Argosy*.[446]

The Celebrity Author-Editor

The family magazine was a 'profitable business venture' which simultaneously allowed an ever image-conscious Wood to retain ultimate control over the presentation of her

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443 Beth Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship in Victorian Culture (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 101.There are some discrepancies in the accounts dating the year of Henry Wood's death. Some claim he died in 1866, yet the year-long hiatus Wood took in 1865 suggests his death came before the serialisation of *Lady Adelaide's Oath* (April 1866 - March 1867). Braddon also wrote under different names to disguise the extent of her multiple contributions to Belgravia.

444 Interestingly, this occurred merely months after John Maxwell, the partner of Wood's literary rival Mary Elizabeth Braddon, sold *Temple Bar* to Richard and George Bentley in January 1866.

445 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 100.

446 Jennifer Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist: Ellen Price as Author and Editor of the *Argosy Magazine*', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Interdisciplinary Work and Periodical Connections: An Issue in Honor of Sally H. Mitchell (Summer, 2005), pp. 180-198 (p.181).

professional identities.[447] The editors of bustling Victorian periodicals were 'both influential and resourceful' and Wood, like many others, used the magazine 'as a site for marketing [her] work and career.'[448] Self-promotion became integral to a successful literary career to the extent that Eliza Lynn Linton lamented how literature, 'once a grave and honourable profession', had 'degenerated into a noisy, pushing, self-advertising trade.'[449] The role of author-editor, 'newly combined' and 'newly available' to women, enabled influence over the way in which 'fiction was shaped, produced, and consumed.'[450] As well as affording women writers 'control over the dissemination of their work,' it also provided 'status, contacts, and remuneration.'[451] Increasing numbers of female writers, including Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Anna Maria Hall, and Florence Marryat, took advantage of the possibility to gain control over their own creative output and finances through editorship which created an 'atmosphere' in which they could 'succeed' but also 'inflect to some degree the nation's cultural values.'[452]

The editor had a varied role, with responsibilities ranging from 'soliciting articles, managing a magazine's finances and employees, and overseeing production' to 'maintaining a house style, proof-reading articles, providing contributions, and corresponding with readers.'[453] While many of these attributes were characterised as masculine, the tasks could

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447 Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian family literary magazines and the cultural health of the nation* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, c2004), p. 70.

448 Kay Boardman and Shirley Jones, 'Introduction' in *Popular Victorian Women Writers* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 1-22 (p. 1).

449 E. Lynn Linton, 'Literature Then and Now,' *Fortnightly Review*, (April 1890), pp. 517-531 (p. 520). See Phillip Walker's chapter 'Product Advertising and Self-Advertising' in *Writers, Readers and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 329-364 for a detailed account of the role self-promotion, advertisements, and merchandise played in authorship of the late nineteenth century.

450 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 3.

451 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 3.

452 Andrew Radford, *Victorian Sensation Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p 91. Braddon edited *Belgravia* (1867-1899), Hall edited *St. James' Magazine* (1861-1900), and Marryat edited *London Society* (1872-1898).

453 Beth Palmer, 'Assuming the role of editor' in Linda Peterson (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 59-72 (p. 59).

be conducted 'in domestic spaces or alongside familial duties [and] combined with other jobs.'[454] Considering the fluidity of the role, the 'working methods could be tailored to individual [woman's] needs' and the position was accessible to female writers, particularly those with experience and connections in the industry.[455] In her role as celebrity author-editor of the *Argosy*, Wood 'rightly predicted that her name would be a big enough draw to achieve profitable circulation.'[456] While her celebrity status defined her as the 'big name' editor, the careful control of her literary personae deemed it unlikely that she would have 'left most of the day-to-day details to subordinates'.[457] Instead, her approach meant that it was more likely she was a 'hands on' editor who 'oversaw every aspect of production, including the make-up and timing of articles and reviews.'[458] The draw of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' name also allowed Wood to operate 'within the context of a highly developed sense of [her] readership,' which was palpable through the careful consideration of material in the magazine, fellow contributors, but also the perceived mission.[459]

In the case of the celebrity author-editor, the reader was provided with a clear sense of the identity of the magazine through their perception of the author themselves. The editor's role as 'a conduit between text and audience' perfectly suited the transition of Wood's literary brand from novelist to editor.[460] The sense of stability within the work created unity across the magazine, editor, contributors, and readers. However, the accountability for

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454 Palmer, 'Assuming the role of editor', p. 59-60.
455 Palmer, 'Assuming the role of editor', p. 59-60.
456 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship,* p. 102.
457 Robert L. Patten and David Finkelstein, "Editing *Blackwood's*; or, What Do Editors Do?' in David Finkelstein (ed.) *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2006), pp. 146-183 (p. 150).
458 Patten and Finkelstein, 'Editing *Blackwood's*; or, What Do Editors Do?', p. 150.
459 Boardman and Jones, 'Introduction', p. 13.
460 Joel H. Wiener, *Innovators and Preachers: The Role of the Editor in Victorian England* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), p. xii.

the content of the magazine brought its own problems as they served to define the writer with whom it was so closely linked. Therefore, any brush with controversy would have substantial repercussions. In emblazoning the magazine with her most successful literary identity, Wood inextricably linked her future success with the magazine and tied the fate of the magazine with the author-editor herself.[461] In this way, the editorial voice became an extension of her authorship and the author became part of the 'marketable commodity' for consumption purchased by the reader.[462] The celebrity author-editor, at once, provided a close connection between the reader, the author, and the magazine. This notion of a tight-knit community had already been mined by Wood in her authorship strategies. By taking control of a magazine, the collective 'us' or 'you' referred to by the authorial or editorial voice expanded as the reader felt connected to the author and, by extension, the magazine. Editors had a keen sense of their audience and while some 'wrote primarily to entertain,' it became clear that Wood also desired to emit a degree of Evangelical teaching in order to educate her reader.[463] Wood's aligning of the magazine's message closely with her own Evangelical and moral values further established the branding of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' literary identity.

As well as boosting their literary profile, control over the content of the magazine allowed the editor to decide 'what material would best complement their own work.'[464] While many utilised their editorship as a networking opportunity, Wood seemingly avoided literary

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461 Here, Wood is following the example of the most famous author-editors of the mid-nineteenth-century, Charles Dickens. In his magazines *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, Dickens' presence was palpable. This is as opposed to the anonymous editorship of more literary magazines such as George Elliot's unpaid and anonymous editorship of the *Westminster Review*.

462 P. David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), p. 6.

463 Boardman and Jones, 'Introduction', p. 13. Palmer explores this extensively in her paper ''Dangerous and Foolish Work': Evangelicalism and Sensationalism in Ellen Wood's *Argosy* Magazine,' *Women's Writing* Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 187-19.

464 Palmer, 'Assuming the role of editor', p. 61.

circles and preferred to select her contributors from her circle of friends who shared the same values as herself. 'Personally known' to few of her contemporaries, she 'made no pose as a literary celebrity,' which Malcolm Elwin perceived to be because 'she never conceived herself in that light.'[465] Her actions enabled her to maintain her unassuming profile as 'Mrs. Henry Wood' by intimating that 'her world was her family and her stories,' which downplayed the challenging and demanding professionalism required of the position.[466]

Wood's ownership of the magazine ensured she also acted as a publisher-proprietor editor characterised by displaying 'an active interest in his property' and who 'managed to obtain major works that recouped their substantial cost by running both in the periodical and in a variety of volume formats.'[467] The pecuniary reward for editing was considerable, both through the salary connected with the job, but also by the earnings made from subsequent volume editions of the serialised novel. Having already proved her worth as contributor to magazines, the new role as a 'strategic operator in [the] shifting landscape' of periodical editing meant that, in a new and more profound way, Wood's choices directly 'affected the ways in which texts and images in their publications were received and understood by their readers.'[468] However, despite the positives of creative control and potential profitability, the 'professional visibility of Wood's editorial position' undermined the 'domestic image' of Mrs. Henry Wood that she cultivated throughout her career.[469] The tension between the image of the 'devoted wife and mother' versus the 'hard-nosed professional writer' was never more

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465 Malcolm Elwin, *Victorian Wallflowers* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), p. 243.

466 Elwin, *Victorian Wallflowers*, p. 243.

467 Patten and Finkelstein, 'Editing *Blackwood's*; or, What Do Editors Do?', p. 151. The major works obtained were actually provided by Wood herself, which reduced overheads.

468 Palmer, 'Assuming the role of editor', p. 70.

469 Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p.183.

pronounced.[470] Jennifer Phegley has argued that by the time Wood bought the *Argosy*, she was 'ready to translate her "hidden" professional identity into a very public position as the magazine's editor and primary contributor' and pointed out that her capacity as editor gave her the 'opportunity to counter some of the negative criticism she had received as a sensation novelist and to make a case for herself as a more respectable writer.'[471]

Taking Over the *Argosy*

Despite vowing to 'stand or fall by the success', Alexander Strahan was keen to shed his ownership of the *Argosy* in 1867 due to his rising debts and controversy surrounding the serialisation of *Griffin Gaunt*, a sensational Charles Reade novel.[472] Strahan deemed Wood a suitable candidate to continue the future of the magazine, due to her 'respectability, popularity, and ability to write for different markets'.[473] On taking on the magazine, Wood immediately exercised her complete creative control as editor and owner by employing various strategies to bookmark the *Argosy*'s transformation.

Under Strahan's editorship, *Argosy* was priced at a shilling and featured an illustration of an anchor with the words 'Anchora Spei' or 'anchor of hope. The tagline, 'A Magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays, and Poems', perfectly described the content of the magazine, with fiction occupying the front space, featuring the infamous *Griffin Gaunt* in the first issues, followed by poetic contributions by Christina Rossetti, Isa Craig, and Jean Ingelow, alongside travel writing and non-fiction from writers such as Anthony Trollope and Robert Buchanan.

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[470] Emma Liggins and Andrew Maunder, 'Introduction': Ellen Wood, Writer', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2008), pp. 149-156 (p. 153).

[471] Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p.181, p. 186.

[472] Patricia Thomas Srebrnik, *Alexander Strahan: Victorian Publisher*, p. 91. *Griffin Gaunt* featured sensational tropes, such as bigamy, murder, and mistaken identity, with which Wood was familiar.

[473] Andrew Maunder, 'Introduction' in Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2000), pp. 9-36 (p. 25).

On Wood's procurement of the magazine, the title remained unchanged and the magazine's mixture of fictional tales, poetry, travel writing, and opinion pieces was preserved, which replicated the format and maintained the cultural capital achieved by the magazine, albeit tinged with notoriety and scandal. Yet, the alteration of the tagline to 'Laden with Golden Grain' articulates both the altered course of the magazine, in providing fortifying, wholesome, and nourishing content, but also speaks to the value added to the magazine in its association with 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.

Under Strahan's ownership, the magazine appeared without an editorial by-line which was quickly remedied by Wood who ensured that 'Edited by Mrs. Henry Wood' featured prominently on the cover of each volume until her death in 1887. With her experience in the industry, Wood recognised the influence of her literary identity and utilised the opportunity of owning and editing the magazine as a chance to create a vessel of self-promotion over which she had complete control. Her experience in the literary marketplace taught her the lucrative opportunities available through the serialisation and subsequent volume versions of her novels, which has been addressed in previous chapters of this thesis. Another significant change Wood made to the magazine was to ensure that the volumes ran from January to May and June to December under her ownership, rather than December to May and May to November as had been the custom under Strahan. Wood abandoned the format of marketing the volumes as the 'Christmas Volume' and 'Midsummer Volume' and stretched two volumes equally across the full calendar year. Altering her previous serialisation methods, Wood began to serialise her novels in 12 monthly parts to coincide with the volume format of the magazine. This meant that a full copy of her serialised novels would be available to purchase in several forms: the twelve-monthly parts, the biannual volumes of the *Argosy*, or in the

novel form after serialisation. Here, Wood uses her editorship to control how her readers consume her fiction while maximising the profits available to her.[474]

Foregrounding her own serialised novels, providing the majority of the content, and incorporating few other contributors, often her like-minded friends chosen because of their 'Christian respectability' to 'complement her own carefully crafted profile', but also sometimes well-known writers,[475] Wood was able to 'reinforce her own celebrity' while 'cut[ting] down on overheads' ensuring the magazine was easily operable from within her home.[476] Wood's practice of recycling texts she contributed to the *New Monthly* during the 1850s was common among writers and editors and often incorporated an element of self-promotion.[477] While anonymous short stories allowed writers to 'experiment with ideas which they would explore at greater length in their novels', Wood's short stories allowed her to develop the narrative persona that would become 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.[478] Thereby, on the launch of her professional career following *East Lynne*, Wood was able to republish and refashion the texts she had previously created for no pecuniary reward. The furious pace of publishing in periodicals ensured that there was little, if any, time for 'revision or careful writing,' and thereby their republication allowed her to reformat them to converge with her identity, plus fine-tune them to a standard more befitting her professional status.[479] The inclusion of previously written material also created time for other pursuits, particularly important when Wood's workload increased exponentially as editor, and incorporated the

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474 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 101.

475 Such as Christina Rossetti, Anthony Trollope, Frances Power Cobbe, and Margaret Oliphant.

476 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 102.

477 Wood's republishing of recycled and recrafted versions of her earlier texts has been highlighted by many scholars following Rolf Burgauer's identification of the tendency in *Mrs Henry Wood: Personlichkeit und Werk* (Zurich: Juris-Verlag, 1950) pp.97-104. Similarly, in her editorship of *Eliza Cook's Journal*, for example, Eliza Cook reprinted her poems at the end of each number.

478 Liggins, *The British Short Story*, p. 7.

479 Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 157.

time-management skills learnt in the home and applied them to the public publishing domain. Like a thrifty household manager, Wood reused her short anonymous narratives to fill her magazine just as Ainsworth had used them decades previously. While periodicals 'nurtured anonymous authors,' the name and brand of the author once revealed became 'commodified', allowing the names to achieve an enhanced value through the 'recognition of authors by readers and consumers'.[480] Consequently, previously anonymous works that were 'reintroduced into periodicals with a signature' served to increase the profile of the writer.[481] By republishing her previously anonymous texts in the *Argosy*, Wood was able to maintain a high level of contributions with less work, utilise existing texts within a different context, and most importantly, refashion the texts to reinforce the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand.

This chapter, then, considers the role of the *Argosy* in reframing her most famous professional identity, 'Mrs. Henry Wood' within the twenty years of her editorship, 1867-1887. Moving beyond the previous phases of her career in which she sought to cement her place in the Victorian literary market, this chapter highlights Wood's contrasting fictional depictions of authorship and pointed recycling of previously published material which establishes Wood as a savvy operator and assured captain of her ever-expanding literary empire. The continued self-fashioning in the editorship and ownership of the 'determinedly non-controversial, and non-political monthly magazine,' *Argosy*, also enabled Wood to enter the realm of instructional non-fiction in her ventures beyond her magazine.[482] Indeed, her editorship of the *Argosy* was used 'to forge a new public image as a respectable professional

480 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 16.
481 Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 16.
482 Maunder, 'Introduction', p. 25.

woman writer' and moved Wood beyond the restrictive tag of sensationalist to establish 'Mrs. Henry Wood' as a respectable celebrity Victorian author-editor.[483]

The *Argosy*

Standing 'at the helm' of the magazine as a 'compiler, organizer, and shaper of texts', Wood certainly used the *Argosy* to navigate 'the turbulent sea of nineteenth-century print culture and serial publication'.[484] As well as a vehicle to promote her own material and take control of her literary output, the *Argosy* became the medium by which Wood shaped the opinions of her reader. The newly altered format of the magazine served to foreground it's editor's brand, and Wood serialised a novel a year until ill health halted her productivity in 1874. In the dual role as editor and writer of the leading narrative, Wood's control over the supplementary material in the magazine is significant to a study of her editorship and authorship. Indeed, two supporting pieces that featured in the first edition of the magazine have deservedly received sustained critical attention from scholars. Both articles seek to shift the standards of literary value towards the strengths of Wood's writing and circumnavigate perceived weaknesses of accusations of sensationalism and melodrama.

In 'Our Log-Book', a recurring feature in which contemporary texts were reviewed, Wood's readers were instructed 'to use the feelings or emotions a text elicited as their criteria for literary value'.[485] Previously incarnated as 'The *Argosy*'s Log,' under Strahan's ownership, 'Our Log Book' is a key example of how Wood deftly altered the course of the *Argosy* in what

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483 Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p. 181.

484 Gretchen C. Bartels 'The Editor as Producer: Nineteenth-Century British Literary Editors,' (PhD Thesis: University of California, Riverside, 2013), p. 4.

485 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship,* p. 191. Bartels incorporates an interesting reading of 'Our Logbook' in comparison to Thackeray's "Roundabout Papers" as a means of an editor building a continuous relationship with their reader and reaffirming the morals of the magazine. Jennifer Phegley also engages with 'Our Log Book' as evidence of Wood's control of both the magazine and her literary persona.

Palmer argues is an attempt to 'realign critical standards to suit Wood's own sensational productions.'[486] The readjustment of the reader's perception of 'suspect concepts of sensational "emotion" and "feeling"' towards a 'moral purpose' was echoed in 'Past Sensationalists', the other unsigned article which has received attention from scholars of Wood's editorship.[487] For example, Jennifer Phegley's discussion of the article 'Past Sensationalists,' thought to be penned by Wood and featured in the first edition of the magazine under her editorship, outlines Wood's attempt to utilise a discussion of gothic novelists as a form of self-defence about her own craft. Indeed, the headlining fiction, *Anne Hereford*, appears to be reliant on the melodramatic literary techniques for which Wood was repeatedly criticised. However, like 'Our Log-Book', the material in the magazine attempts to provide 'an artistic rationale for her use of marginalized fictional forms and … [shifts] attention to the importance of gaining a reader's sympathy and providing cultural critique'.[488] The article elevates the novelist to a 'social historian' by arguing that 'they deserve more critical attention than they had been receiving.'[489] *Anne Hereford,* the first serialised novel, and the accompanying articles established Wood's presence in the magazine, provided stability to the format of the magazine in its infancy, and expressed her intention to reconceptualise the sensational tag that often accompanied her writing. Using her notable

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[486] Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship,* p. 105. Interestingly, during the serialisation of *Anne Hereford*, the reading of the titular character is also directed by Harry Chandos, who would be her husband by the end of the novel. Wood's use of nautical imagery, equating the extensive library to 'a wild sea' during Anne's acceptance of Harry's offer to guide her reading, echoes the title of the magazine, an argosy or a ship filled with rich cargo, but also fits with the notion of directed reading that is imbibed in Wood's magazine (Wood*, Anne Hereford*, p. 177). Therefore, the true captain of the readership is Wood herself, projecting her influence through the editorship role, but also through the male protagonist of the story.

[487] Beth Palmer, ''Dangerous and Foolish Work': Evangelicalism and Sensationalism in Ellen Wood's *Argosy* Magazine' *Women's Writing* Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 187-198 (p. 196). 'Past Sensationalists', *Argosy* (Dec 1867), pp. 49-56.

[488] Jennifer Phegley. 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist: Ellen Price Wood as Author and Editor of the *Argosy* Magazine', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Volume 38, Number 2, Summer 2005, pp. 191.

[489] Bartels, 2013, p. 121. Readings of the 'Past Sensationalists' has also featured in the writings of Katherine F. Montgomery, Tamara Wagner, and Beth Palmer.

influence as celebrity author but also navigator of the *Argosy*, this chapter explores ways in which Wood used astute strategies to realign the standards expected by the reader in order to further promote the material she produced and challenge the values of the literary marketplace from within.

Roland Yorke and Gertrude Lisle- Writers in Wood's Fiction

Commencing her custom of running a serialised novel from January to December in line with the publishing practices of different formats of the magazine, Wood chose *Roland Yorke* as the second 'Mrs. Henry Wood' serialised novel featured in the *Argosy*. A sequel to *The Channings*, Wood's second most successful novel after *East Lynne*, Wood shifts the perspective of the narrative from the idealistic Channings family to the Yorkes, a popular yet unconventional family with Irish heritage who operate as antagonists in the first novel. Published simultaneously with *The Shadow of Ashlydat,* which featured in the *New Monthly Magazine* directly after the ending of the run of *East Lynne*, *The Channings* was the first novel serialised by Wood after *East Lynne* outside the *New Monthly Magazine*. Appearing anonymously in the weekly religious magazine *Quiver*, *The Channings* had presented Wood the opportunity to operate within the publishing practices of weekly instalments to a slightly different audience, but also new territory in terms of content and plot. *The Channings* featured many of the hallmark Mrs. Henry Wood traits,[490] however, at the heart, it showcases Wood's depiction of the boys of the Channing family, echoing the intentions of her boy's stories rather than building on the marital drama of *East Lynne*, which features more heavily in *The Shadow of Ashlydyat*. Therefore, *The Channings* is where Wood explored other avenues

[490] For example, family melodrama, mistaken identity, theft, coincidence, marriage plots, and overbearing narrative voice.

of storytelling outside the constraints of being the author of *East Lynne*. With this in mind, in choosing *Roland Yorke*, a sequel lifting a minor character into a hero of another text, Wood streamlined her literary identity by claiming *The Channings* and it's off-shoot *Roland Yorke* as another branch of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand in the *Argosy* magazine. Of particular interest in *Roland Yorke* is Wood's depiction of the literary profession and the impact of reviews, especially in comparison to her depiction of writing at the commencement of her career in the guise of Gertrude Lisle.[491] In the twenty years between the original publication of 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle' (1846) and the serialisation of *Roland Yorke* (1866), Wood had seldom depicted writers within her literary characters. However, the contrast of Hamish Channing and Gerald Yorke in her second serialised novel of the *Argosy* provides a rare insight into Wood's imagined creation of a writer based on her own experience while incorporating a rewriting of the distinction between the Channings and the Yorkes.

While writing is central to 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle' as the narrator explores the nuances of a talented female writer's attempt, and ultimate failure, to gain entry into the literary marketplace, it operates as a subplot in the novel. The central mystery of *Roland Yorke* is actually unconnected to the titular character, but is concerned with the death of a young barrister, John Ollivera. His death is ruled to be suicide, in most part due to a hastily written and highly suspicious suicide note, although several characters, including his brother and cousin, refuse to accept this and suspect foul play. However, multiple forms of writing are significant throughout the text. The writing for particulars of potential new houses of Mrs. Bede Greatorex, the extravagant wife of a barrister, is noted as that it 'took her about three-quarters of an hour' (71) and Roland's work as a copier is contrasted with the creative work

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491 See Chapter One for a detailed synopsis of 'The Story of Gertrude Lisle'.

of the two novelists, Hamish Channing and Gerald Yorke. The narrator even muses on the best way to impart knowledge to the reader when imparting some of the evidence from the trial, the narrator claims that 'the better way' to 'collect the various items together for the reader will be to transcribe some of the evidence given before the coroner' (21). However, the comparison of two writers in the text, Hamish Channing and Gerald Yorke, further build on the class connotations developed in the first novel, depict the development of Wood's drawing of stock characters, and provide an insight into the opinions of Wood on writing which is missing from much of her literary catalogue.

Hamish Channing was the manager of a failed bank in Hestonleigh, the setting of *The Channings*, who removed himself and his family to London on the collapse of the bank, which the narrator pointedly notes was not due to mismanagement, to take up a secretarial job. However, just like Gertrude Lisle, Hamish is noted as being gifted with 'that rarest of all God's gifts, true genius' (124) and has an ambition to become a successful writer. However, where Gertrude Lisle merely dreamed of publishing, Hamish works to tight deadlines on his manuscripts and proof sheets in the evening after his day job exclaiming that he has to get his manuscript in the next day 'or they will not insert it in next month's number' (122). Wood's depiction of the literary sphere as inaccessible to women in Gertrude Lisle's story is echoed when Hamish rebuffs his wife Ellen's offer to learn to correct the proofs to ease his workload with 'What an idea!' (122).

As with Gertrude Lisle, Hamish is aware of his own genius, which the narrator self-consciously refers to as 'the divine light (is it too much to call it so?) that lies within them shines like a beacon, pointing on to fame; to honour; above all, to appreciation' (124). Much like Wood's own experience of writing, Hamish had to turn to writing to enable his family to remain at the same standard of living after the collapse of the bank, the means of which were

'beyond his salary and his wife's income' (125). However, rather than being a toil, writing is depicted as a 'haven of rest' and satisfies the 'repressed yearning' he experienced when unable to write at the bank (125).[492] Hamish is one of the gifted individuals, like Gertrude, who is 'of a higher and nobler and rarer order' (124), however, where Gertrude's struggle is in the unfulfillment of her potential due to lack of opportunity, Hamish receives a different treatment in *Roland Yorke* which effectively articulate Wood's altered perspective on the literary marketplace.

The extreme sensitiveness that is suggested in Gertrude Lisle is fully realised in Hamish Channing. Together with his genius, Hamish has the 'invariably accompanying attribute' of 'refined sensitiveness' (124) which is effectively his downfall. Like Gertrude, Hamish dreams of fame and fortune courtesy of his genius and works on a novel, 'the precious gem on which all his hopes and love and visions were centred' (125) while writing 'for periodicals had to be done' (125). The sense of joy and fulfilment experienced by Hamish in the act of writing is extraordinary: 'A glad light beamed from his eyes; a joy, sweet as some divine melody, lay ever on his spirit. Oh, what is there of bliss and love in the world that can compare with this!' (125). As with Gertrude Lisle, the prospect of monetary reward pale in comparison to the rewards that writing, and the prospect of fame and appreciation offer. The narrator exclaims that 'the thought that *money* shall be one of the returns, would be unendurable; never accepted, I honestly believe, without a blush' (126). For Hamish, the creative toll of writing is absent, yet the physical work required is outlined in Hamish's wish that there would be 'four-and-twenty hours' in a day rather than twelve and that he had 'two sets of brains and hands instead of one' (127). Interestingly, this recognition of writing as a form of physical labour is

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[492] This echoes Charles Wood's depiction of his mother's writing experience in her *Memorials*.

eliminated from Charles Wood's portrayal of the ease with which his mother completed her writing duties.

By comparison, the aristocratic Gerald Yorke works as a reviewer and shares Hamish's ambition to become a successful novel writer. There is an immediate contrast between the attributes of the two writers; where Hamish is depicted as a writer of genius, Gerald is discussed in terms of having 'a good deal of talent' and considered 'what may be called a dashing writer (131). Rather than having talent in creating a literary masterpiece, Gerald 'could cut and slash a rival's book to shreds more effectively' than anyone and his primary concern in writing a book, if he could 'get through it' would be if it 'made a hit and brough him in some money' (157).

The two different approaches to writing effectively denote the class distinction between the two characters. Despite his aristocratic status, Gerald lacks the resources to fund his lifestyle and 'took writing as a temporary means of living' (157). Gerald is idle and extravagant with his money; he lacks the hard-working nature that the middle-class Hamish possesses and that is crucial to success in the writing industry. Hamish works endlessly to support his family almost 'wearing himself out' (131). In contrast, Gerald attends elaborate parties, spends little time with his wife and children, and constantly evades his multiple debtors. Similarly, the narrative of Gertrude Lisle indicates Wood's astute knowledge of the difficulties of becoming successful in the literary market. While the narrator does show sympathy for the titular character, the influence of the teachings of her aristocratic mother, who alienated Gertrude due to her inability to accept her new class position as a shopkeeper's wife, are always at the forefront of the tale. There is a sense of criticism for Gertrude by the narrator due to the lack of hard work and industry despite the talent she obviously has, plus a distaste for the entitlement of success that Gertrude is perceived to have.

The most telling criticism of the writers in *Roland Yorke* appears in the conclusion of the subplot which ultimately leads to Hamish's untimely death. On reading Gerald's novel, Hamish gives an honest and constructive account of its weaknesses. Despite Hamish's negative feedback, Gerald publishes the novel and writes an anonymous review of glittering praise. Meanwhile, Hamish's novel is also published, and it is remarked by the narrator that it is a work of genius, but it receives poor reviews which are orchestrated by Gerald and his acquaintances. The sensitivity with which Hamish writes such expressive prose works against him as he has a devastating reaction to the negative reviews. The impact of the mental anguish caused by the reviews and the physical toil required to produce the work tell on Hamish's body and he wastes away to the brink of death. In a deathbed scene typical of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand, Gerald acknowledges his role in the decline of Hamish's health and ensures Hamish is aware that the novel has begun to get the acclaim it deserves, despite his meddling.[493] The narrative articulates the dichotomy between worth and value inherent in the reviewing system and the ease with which it can be skewed. However, Wood also provides hope for the aspiring writer, which is notably missing in the Gertrude Lisle tale but perhaps pertinent to her own literary career, that real genius is eventually celebrated and recognised for its worth despite scathing reviews.

Here, as Braddon did in her depiction of Sigismund Smith, a sensation novelist, in her 1864 novel *The Doctor's Wife*, Wood champions the 'productive labour' of the prolific popular writer,[494] and contributes to contemporary debates surrounding writing, professionalism,

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[493] Gerald's deceit in the reviewing process is aligned with white-collar crime by the narrator, which often features in Wood's narratives.

[494] Anne-Marie Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2016), pp. 245–261 (p. 253).

middle-class values, and working-class labour and production that pervaded the mid-nineteenth century. While Braddon uses Smith to 'validate her own prolific production and popular status' by contrasting the productive popular writer's new modes of literary production against the older aristocratic methods of Lansdell, the novel's Romantic poet figure, Wood also presents a criticism of the popular reviewing platforms and highlights the lack of progress for women entering the profession with the anonymous reprinting of the story of Gertrude Lisle in the *Argosy* in June 1870, six months after the final instalment of *Roland Yorke* in the magazine.[495] Unlike other examples of Wood's reprinted tales, 'The Dream of Gertrude Lisle' undergoes very little alteration in the republication aside from punctuation changes and the pulling back of an overuse of italics. It is acknowledged that the story is a reprint, but Wood's name is not associated with it. By republishing the story in the *Argosy* unaltered, Wood presents a damning indictment of the limited progress made in women's place in the industry and further justifies her position as owner-editor of a popular magazine which consciously promoted female writers.

Reasserting and Distancing from 'Mrs. Henry Wood'

While within the confines of the *Argosy* magazine, Wood had complete and ultimate control over the presentation of her literary brand. However, she continued to adopt a fluid and conscious approach to her professional identities even outside her literary magazine. This section of the chapter will be primarily concerned with Wood's attempts to use her most famous literary identity outside the *Argosy* in the genre of non-fictional child-rearing conduct books. Additionally, one of the most notable examples of the evolution of Wood's approach

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[495] Beller, 'Popularity and Proliferation: Shifting Modes of Authorship in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife* (1864) and *Vixen* (1879)', p. 253.

to the dissociation of her professional identities lies in her correspondence with newspapers and magazines, often in defence of her art and criticism of contemporary copyright laws.

In letters written to the editor of the *Times* in 1863 and 1867 respectively, Wood signed off using 'The Author of East Lynne' to pledge her charity to a group of needlewomen and request permission to clarify the distinction between herself, Mrs. Henry Wood, author of East Lynne' and 'Mrs. Wood', author of Sir Cyrus of Stonycleft'.[496] Wood writes with deference, requesting 'space to … set at rest a small matter that causing … some misapprehension', and signs both letters with 'your very obedient servant'.[497] In contrast, in 1871 when Wood wrote an assertive and lengthy response to claims from a Mrs. Norton that she had plagiarised the plot of *East Lynne* from one of her stories, she adopted the signature 'Ellen Wood' and signed off with 'I am, Sir, very sincerely yours'.[498] Additionally, a letter written to the *Athenaeum* in January 1882 in which Wood asserted her authorial authority over the copyright of *East Lynne* in light of the news of Palmer's lawsuit uses the signature 'Ellen Wood'.[499] The assurance developed through her successful position in the literary market is evident when she steps away from the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona to articulate her dissatisfaction at the plagiarism accusation and the copyright laws. The letter in the *Athenaeum* reports on a successful lawsuit by Thomas Ashcroft Palmer, who had produced one of the most successful adaptations of *East Lynne*. Wood's assertive tone is palpable when she wrote, 'I cannot quite understand this; but will you allow me to state that the copyright of *East Lynne* is my own exclusively, and that I have never given Mr. Thomas Ashcroft Palmer

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496 The Author of East Lynne, 'To the Editor of the *Times'*, *The Times* (December 14, 1863), Issue 24741, p.12 and 'Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Henry Wood', The Author Of East Lynne, *The Times* (January 25, 1867) Issue 25717, p.10.

497 The Author of East Lynne, 'Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Henry Wood', *The Times*, p.10.

498 Ellen Wood, 'To the Editor of the *Times'*, *The Times* (October 28, 1871), Issue 27206, p.6.

499 Ellen Wood, 'East Lynne' *The Athenaeum* (Jan 21, 1882), p. 94.

any right over it, directly or indirectly'.[500] As these examples indicate, Wood developed a clear distinction between the professional writer Ellen Wood, adopting the signature 'Ellen Wood' and the literary identity 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. This separation is further defined in her attempts to use her success as a fictional writer to produce popular conduct books on child rearing and Evangelical teaching. Utilising techniques honed during her literary career, Wood produced a series of non-fiction books designed to expand her commercial reach and extend her teachings to a wider audience.

Our Children & Didactism

Our Children is a didactic work of non-fiction published in 1876.[501] Rather than publishing through Bentley & Son, as was the custom for Wood in this period, this text was published by Daldy, Isbister & Co. a year after they had published the one volume version of her serialised novel *Bessy Wells*.[502] *Our Children* is, essentially, a self-help guide to parenting, which outlines the crucial importance of Evangelical teachings in the upbringing of 'our' children. Unsurprisingly, the definition of the limits of 'our' children is made clear to be a term meaning children of white, middle-class, British, Victorian children raised in a religious household. Wood argues that suitable Evangelical teachings will equip the child, often specified as male, through their childhood, adulthood, and even into the afterlife. The book discusses the various specific requirements, including prescribed passages from the Bible, which will imbibe middle-class values into the child. These are typical of Evangelical teachings, including middle class values such as duty, hard work, propriety, and morality. The tone is

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500 Ellen Wood, 'East Lynne' *The Athenaeum* (Jan 21, 1882), p. 94.

501 'Mrs. Henry Wood', *Our Children* (1876). Further quotations appear in the body of the text.

502 *Bessy Wells* was serialised in the *Sunday Magazine* and is one of only two publications serialised outside the *Argosy* since Wood acquired it in 1867. The other is the serialisation of *George Canterbury's Will* in Tinsley's Magazine from April 1869- May 1870.

overtly didactic, and greatly resembles the narrative voice featured in many of Wood's works of fiction. The text is highly critical of contemporary standards of parenting and the inapt teaching of children, which it is argued, is detrimental at all stages of life. This subject matter, discussing a suitable education of children, echoes themes discussed throughout Wood's fiction, particularly in her stories about boys and some novels more specific to a female readership such as *Mrs Halliburton's Troubles* and *Mildred Arkell.*

The title itself, *Our Children*, establishes the specific readership for whom this text is produced. This communal notion of 'our' children intimates a shared experience and immediately establishes a bond that makes Wood appear approachable and understanding despite the heavily critical and superior tone utilised later in the text. The terms 'we,' 'us,' and 'our' are prevalent throughout as Wood identifies herself both alongside her reader, yet also presents herself as superior to them in both knowledge and application of this teaching. Having established herself as 'Mrs. Henry Wood', a household name and a respectable woman in her fiction, despite the scandalous nature of the plots at times, Wood capitalised upon her core readership of young, middle-class parents, particularly mothers, who relied upon the guidance provided by novelists to encourage them of the correct way to behave according to their class and gender constraints. The middle-class reader of her novels can be sure that the 'our' of the title may well encompass someone like them as well as parents and grandparents keen for the advice of the well-respected editor of a religious magazine that they welcomed into their homes each month. As an established name in the Victorian literary market, Mrs. Henry Wood almost came to resemble a member of the family providing crucial advice to a concerned new parent. Wood's stance on child rearing had been discussed widely in her fiction, i.e. in *Danesbury House* and *East Lynne*, and her intrusive narrator establishes a clear opinion of how children should be raised, both in the narrative voice and in the plot

lines that reward children raised in a specific way and warn against the lazy parenting of wayward, spoilt children. Despite this, Wood attempts to present the content of her child-rearing manual as a unifying topic that transcends class boundaries, yet maintains the gender norms expected by the Victorian reader. While describing this singular experience of parenthood across class lines, with an Evangelical, and middle-class, emphasis on the importance of duty and guidance from God, Wood establishes different gendered expectations of parenting. Arguing that children represent 'the most solemn duty assigned to us in this world' (18), Wood emphasises the importance of women, regardless of class, in the task of raising children, 'especially those who are young mothers: from that royal lady who will some time share the throne of these realms, to the poor wife who hides herself amid the unwholesome back lanes of the metropolis, or within the walls of a mud hut on a country plain, and begs for bread that keeps life in her little ones' (17-18). Here, Wood extends the text's reach by ensuring it is appropriate across the classes, yet targets the anxious young mother as a potential reader. As in her fiction, Wood uses emotional language in her argument that all mothers love their children and are 'instinctively anxious to do their best,' and then switches the language to a more authoritative and superior tone when she suggests that 'some' or the 'great majority' of mothers are not doing their duty to their children 'in a better way than any hint of [hers] could teach' (19).

A key feature of the text is the repetition of a quotation from Proverbs chapter 22, verse 6 which reads "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it." Wood utilises this quotation as she expands upon her argument, and it begins to act as a signpost in each of the short chapters to re-establish both the central point of her argument and cement the centrality of Evangelical teachings. Using a writing style familiar to her regular readers, Wood sits as a superior presence that constantly addresses the woman

reader directly. She repeats the first section of the quotation "Train up a child in the way he should go", italicised for emphasis and emotionally calls out to her reader in a remarkable section that is worth quoting at length:

> 'I would that this injunction were engraven on the heart of every one of you who may be a mother! Has it ever occurred to you to remember what a charge of responsibility is laid upon you by God when he gives you a child? The child is yours; yours to tend, to mould, to educate; and, rely upon it, he will be very much what you make him. According to the seed you implant in his little pliable heart, so will the fruit be.' (35)

The tone in *Our Children* would be familiar to readers accustomed to the writings of 'Mrs Henry Wood'. The melodramatic narrative voice is present and the voice is friendly, yet almost intrusive as she constantly confronts the reader, asking if they are guilty of the crime of failing to raise their children in this specific way. There is a sense of anguish surrounding modernity and the speed of modern life, which she describes as 'one swift, headlong race—a continuous fight in which there is so much to do that the half of it has to be left undone' (4). However, this strain on the time and availability of the parents is not deemed to be sufficient reason to neglect to raise you children adequately, to Wood's standard. Wood argues that the speed of modern life has led to a neglect of religious duty, particularly as it pertains to the teaching of children. Her statement that 'some of us have become too busy to read …that great Book' (3) simultaneously aligns her with her reader, using us, while casting judgement of those that would recognise this as true to their lives. This tension between Wood casting herself as a knowing voice that preaches a better, more fulfilling way to teach children a Evangelical lifestyle, and creating a sense of inclusion or understanding as to this problem, is palpable throughout the text. On the one hand, Wood appears to be superior and, at times, altruistic tone to her assertions too: 'Bear with me while I say something of that which I would

say. It is in your interest, my readers, not my own.' (20) This idea that her writing is providing a magnanimous public service becomes troubling when it is published for a profit and narrated with the same tone and voice of that of her novels, which were often criticised for their scandalous content. While Wood was able to use her narrator in fiction to distance herself from the more shocking contents by providing a pious, moralistic commentary, it may be difficult for a contemporary reader to take seriously the advice of that same narrative voice from a sensation novelist outside the fictional framework of a novel.

As Nicola Diane Thompson asserts, 'all Victorian women novelists, whether we now label them radical or conservative, were fundamentally conflicted in their own beliefs about women's proper role.'[503] The notion of a middle-class woman occupying a public space through their writing directly challenged the dominant separate spheres ideology and Wood's writing indicates this conflict in her beliefs as to a proper role for a woman. This sense of conflict was manifested in her professional identities utilised throughout her career and family life but also in the depictions of female characters in her texts. While many of the writers of sensation fiction, such as Braddon or Wood, are 'celebrated as explosively radical,'[504] Wood's use of characterization does produce radical elements of a woman's role, which were often neutralized by the plot. In Wood's case, her overt moralistic tone and persona also aided the neutralisation of the radical points made about both a woman's role in contemporary society and that of men too. Such a practice is described by Mariaconcetta Costantini as a 'puzzling combination of anti-feminist rhetoric with a covert critique of domestic ideologies.'[505] Therefore, while Wood occupies a space somewhere between an

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503 Nicola Diane Thompson, *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) (p. 3).

504 Thompson, *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question* (p. 4).

505 Mariaconcetta Costantini, *Mrs. Henry Wood* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2020), p. 3.

antifeminist writer, who punishes erring female characters and promotes conventional gender expectations, and a radical writer, discussing and challenging issues such as female agency, abortion, female education, and critiquing marriage.

Rather than argue that Wood was more subversive than previously considered, or that there is a fervent feminist voice hidden behind all of the piety and didactic tones, it is important to consider her writing as a product of her time. While 'sensitive to contemporary issues' Wood 'strove to express her concerns without violating established norms and tastes.'[506] Aspects of Wood's work were certainly subversive as a woman writer engaging with scandalous topics such as bigamy, divorce, and murder, but, in particular, her consideration of a woman's role in marriage and her sympathetic portrayal of erring female characters indicate a strong opinion, at least, on the woman question. However, much like the criticism of writers such as Braddon, Oliphant, and Ouida claim, the resolution of Wood's texts often reaffirmed the Victorian status quo. Wood's novels can be read as class conduct guides for the middle-classes and her foray into child-rearing conduct books represented a less subtle approach to the proliferation of her Evangelical, Victorian teachings. In her novels, Wood defines and redefines the middle-class ideal with emphasis on profession and hard work for men, and domesticity and marriage for women. Often, a traditional resolution prevails- the roughly painted, often upper-class, villains get punished, the flirtatious wilful girl often has an unhappy marriage and too many children, and the good girl is rewarded with a happy marriage. The popular genre that Wood occupied and the specific literary persona she created almost made this a certainty. The popularity of Wood's novels ensures that she has a cultural significance and is deserving of the 'renewed and sustained attention for their

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[506] Costantini, *Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 3.

cultural significance and for their aesthetic merits.'[507] Although an argument for Wood's aesthetic merit may be a more difficult sell, this thesis has indicated that her deft handling of her professional identities alone make her a worthy candidate for reassessment.

Wood's overtly feminine presence as 'Mrs. Henry Wood' lay in direct contrast to George Eliot's 'androgynous or even masculine narratorial persona (alongside her masculine pseudonym, of course) who takes authoritatively erudite stances on matters of public concerns, are directed at educated readers, male as well as female.'[508] Whereas Eliot sought to distance herself from her fellow women writers, particularly in her own essay "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists," and establish herself as a serious, literary writer, Wood did the opposite. Occupying a place as an overtly feminine, religious writer who embraced her popularity and used it to her advantage, Wood's femininity is crucial to her brand. Unconcerned with the perceived literary merit of her material, Wood's focus remained upon the market value of her works and her ability to maintain a private life outside the Mrs. Henry Wood brand. While many Victorian women writers compared themselves unfavourably against writers like Eliot (for example, Margaret Oliphant in her autobiography), it appears that Wood defiantly refused to be cast as either an established working woman with the status of 'honorary Great Men' or 'lauding them as vessels of the unitary, eternal, and ultimately silent sanctity of womanhood.'[509] Wood wanted to be a quiet, reserved, woman at home and a businesswoman at work and her use of professional identities exemplify this.

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507 Thompson, *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question* (p. 13).

508 Thompson, *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question* (p. 9).

509 Tricia Lootens, *Lost Saints. Silence, Gender and Victorian Literary Canonisation* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), (p.10).

Alexis Easley articulated the difficulties of the 'contradictory role' of Harriet Martineau as 'a woman activist', which she describes as 'neither strictly public nor private.'[510] As in the case of Wood, by producing her work in 'the privacy of her own home', she was able to both 'make a living' and 'influence the direction of society as a whole'.[511] While Martineau participated in 'public debates' as a journalist, Wood used more covert methods of building her pious reputation in her literary empire to subtly add her voice to the political debates surrounding the woman question in the mid-century. Like Wood, Martineau faced health issues throughout her life and was required to use her writing to support her family after the failure of her father's business in 1829, after which she had to begin to shed her anonymity and publish her writing under her own name. As Easley argues, after the publication of *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832-34) Martineau was 'catapulted into literary stardom. Suddenly she was no longer the obscure journalist who campaigned for women's rights under the guise of anonymity; she was the newly crowned feminine genius, whose growing literary reputation was called upon to be of service to a variety of radical causes.'[512] While Wood certainly did not achieve the same critical acclaim or political presence as Martineau, this sudden emergence from relative obscurity was an outcome shared by the two women and like Wood, Martineau struggled with this new public role: 'as a literary celebrity, she found it increasingly difficult to speak out on women's issues from a depersonalized point of view.'[513] In the same way that Martineau travelled to America to comment on women's issues to create some physical distance between her comments and her interests, Wood utilised her personas and professional identities to create a distance from Mrs. Henry Wood the narrator,

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510 Easley, 'Gendered Observations: Harriet Martineau and the Woman Question' (p. 83).
511 Easley, 'Gendered Observations: Harriet Martineau and the Woman Question' (p. 83).
512 Easley, 'Gendered Observations: Harriet Martineau and the Woman Question' (p. 84).
513 Easley, 'Gendered Observations: Harriet Martineau and the Woman Question' (p. 84).

who is overtly moralizing and arguably antifeminist, to Ellen Wood, a successful businesswoman who utilised the popularity of her texts to discuss women's issues in a subtle, almost non-politicised manner.

While her actions both in the *Argosy* and beyond served to consolidate the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand she spent years developing, the Johnny Ludlow stories in which she shed her name gained the most critical acclaim. In these stories, Wood posed as a boy reflecting on his childhood and sharing stories of his hometown of Worcester, with which Wood is synonymous. However, as the next chapter indicates, Wood's exploration of professional identities extended to gender bending and her masculine identities not only span the entirety of her literary career, but also provide a fascinating insight into the gender politics of the nineteenth-century literary market. As 'Mrs. Henry Wood', the gender of the author was so foregrounded in her identity that the choice to use a specifically and markedly masculine persona is particularly significant to a study of her professional identities.

Chapter Six- Ellen Wood's Masculine Identities

So far, this thesis has concerned itself with tracing Ellen Wood's professional identities to the culmination of her overtly feminine persona, 'Mrs. Henry Wood', for which she received popularity, commercial success, and some acclaim. This chronological study of her literary output has unpicked the minutiae of the development of Wood's career defining literary persona. However, this chapter breaks the chronological structure to consider the significant role of the masculine professional identities adopted by Wood throughout her long and industrious career. These male identities provide a counterpoint to the previous discussion of Wood's approach to professional writing and further uncovers the demands of the literary marketplace for a female writer. In contrast to many of her contemporaries, Wood utilised male literary identities not to disguise her position as a woman writer and gain access to more prestigious or highbrow sections of the literati, but merely to add a sense of authorial authenticity to her narrative. The male-focused narratives also provided Wood an opportunity to exhibit a different aspect of her writing or disguise the prolificacy of her contributions to the *Argosy*. In this way, Wood's masculine identities indicate a preoccupation with pecuniary success and moral integrity which superseded her pursuit of literary acclaim.

After establishing the role of the male pseudonym for the nineteenth-century woman writer, the first section of this chapter will examine the use of signature in Wood's first male persona, 'Ensign Pepper'. The humourous contrast of differing accounts under different signatures in the texts reveals a preoccupation with literary personae and identity which further exemplifies my argument. The chapter will progress to the discussion of three 'schoolboy' texts published under the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' name after the success of *East*

Lynne.[514] The schoolboy stories will be utilised to argue that the creation of 'Johnny Ludlow,' Wood's most successful male pseudonym, partially stemmed from reviewers' criticisms of the disjunction between the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, the narrator of the schoolboy stories, and their masculine setting, content, and language. The final section of this chapter will focus on the well-received tales printed in the *Argosy* under the pseudonym 'Johnny Ludlow'. Representative of her successful gender-bending, the chapter will uncover the complex relationship between Ellen Wood and her most famous male pseudonym.

Male Pseudonyms

Female writers in the nineteenth century, most famously George Eliot and the Brontë sisters, often adopted male pseudonyms 'to disguise their identities' in a patriarchal society that deemed their writing as inferior.[515] In 'shrouding the "disability" of femininity', masculine personas allowed women the opportunity to 'overcome the prejudices' of the patriarchal literary marketplace, however, Wood's use of masculine identities appears to differ from many of her contemporaries.[516] Catherine Judd outlines three reasons a nineteenth-century woman writer would choose to adopt a male pseudonym; the first as a 'necessary mask' to shield from the 'prejudices of the literary marketplace,' the second to 'shield her name [and] protect her family honour', and the third as a 'need to feel masculinized before she could pick up the "phallic" pen.'[517] As Judd insinuates, George Eliot used her male pseudonym to

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514 The texts that I consider as the 'schoolboy texts' are *The Elchester College Boys* (1861), *The Orville College Boys* (1867), and 'William Allair; or Running Away to Sea' (serialised weekly from December 1862 to January 1863).

515 Patricia Lorimer Lundberg, 'George Eliot: Mary Ann Evans's Subversive Tool in Middlemarch?', *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Fall 1986), pp. 268-279 (p. 270).

516 Catherine A. Judd, 'Male pseudonyms and female authority in Victorian England', in *Literature in the marketplace: Nineteenth-century British publishing and reading practices*, ed. by John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 250–268 (p. 250).

517 Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England', p. 251.

promote her own social and moral authority in the literary market. However, Wood's masculine personas do not appear to conform to these reasons. In adopting a male pseudonym, Wood was at the 'height and the trademark of feminine role-playing' which echoed her approach to literary identities throughout her career.[518] As previously discussed, Wood's adoption of her husband's name served to shield her narratives from criticism by using a protecting overt femininity to preserve her reputation. Rather than hiding her work behind the mask of the male name, Wood used her masculine identities to showcase a different side of her writing outside the overpowering 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona. While ME Braddon, Wood's sensational rival, was often criticised for her extensive knowledge of exclusively male environments, knowing 'much that ladies are not accustomed to know,' Wood's conspicuous femininity, together with her use of male personas, offered protection from such criticism, despite her texts displaying considerable knowledge of masculine environs.[519] Rather than disguising her position as a female writer, Wood's masculine identities added authenticity to the tales by supposedly originating from a credible source.

Ensign Pepper

Wood's anonymous contributions to the *New Monthly Magazine* required her writing to conform to the style of the publication, which consisted of 'politics and social comment' presented predominantly in a 'manly tone'.[520] While 'self-consciously appealing to the

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[518] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: from Charlotte Bronte to Dorris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1999), p. 57.

[519] Henry James, 'Miss Braddon', (first pub. *Nation* 1865 repr. *Notes and Reviews* Cambridge Mass., 1921, 115-5) quoted in Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914* (London: Clarendon Press, 1995) p. 275. Braddon's representation of male-only environments often implied a distinctly unfeminine sexual knowledge, as opposed to Wood's knowledge of more innocent schoolboy adventures, which tended to increase the criticism she received at the hands of male reviewers.

[520] Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 62, p. 63.

magazine's male readers by both direct address' and 'employing masculine topics like steeple chasing', the anonymous contributions include Wood's first masculine identity, 'Ensign Pepper'.[521] Published between July 1854 and November 1855, the Ensign Pepper texts appeared as a series of letters sent home from the Crimean War. As one of the first conflicts to be extensively documented, the British reading public had the opportunity to gain a novel insight into day-to-day experiences of war. Adapting her writing with aims of commercial popularity, Wood capitalised on this interest by posing as a low-ranking officer. Utilising the time gap between the letters arriving home from the front, Wood was able to create a seemingly plausible narrative based on the exhaustive war details in the Victorian press.[522]

The 'Ensign Pepper' letters provide several contrasting identities, distinguished by signature, which coincides with Wood's fluid approach to her own literary identities. While Sally Mitchell has identified Ensign Pepper's contrasting accounts 'depending on whether his letters were intended for a male friend, his guardian, or his girlfriend,' the specific use of signature in the texts has hitherto been overlooked.[523] Wood's decision to incorporate different signatures arguably foregrounds her own interchangeable use of signature and construction of several literary identities. Pepper's descriptions of events at war differ enormously in each letter and Wood constructs individual signatures for each recipient. Indicative of an awareness of the power of signature, this manipulation of the narratives for

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521 Janice M. Allen, 'A 'base and spurious thing': Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's Parkwater (1857)', *Critical Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2011), p. 13.

522 As the letters are found and subsequently published 'by a direct Providential accident', Wood imitates a distinctly feminine method of publication. Many nineteenth-century female writers would publish their works anonymously as mysteriously discovered letters and diaries in order to shield their identity, protect their femininity, and distance themselves from the public domain. Therefore by portraying these fictional letters as genuine and utilising a male voice, Wood subverts this implicitly feminine mode of publication.

523 Sally Mitchell, 'Wood, Ellen [Mrs. Henry Wood] (1814-1887)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29868, accessed 11 July 2020], p. 3.

a particular purpose is a technique which is subsequently implemented in Wood's own literary career. For example, one of the most striking differences accounts for Pepper's arrival at Scutari hospital. To his guardian, Pepper presents himself as a selfless, considerate comrade, claiming to compassionately replace an unwell colleague at the hospital who was too weak for the journey; 'for if we did not help each other, out here, dear sir, who is there that will help us?'[524] However, the letter to his friend, Gus, reveals a mix up by the officials who sent the ill soldier to the trenches while Pepper supplants the fatally injured comrade at the hospital to 'see the girls who [had] come out' as nurses.[525] Unrepentant at the later report of his friend's death, Pepper exposes his true selfishness in direct contrast to the persona provided for the guardian. The numerous identities adopted in the texts are negotiated through signature, style of writing, tone, and content adopted to each of his four correspondents; his aunt, to whom he is 'Thomas Pepper', his girlfriend, to whom he is 'Tom', his friend, to whom he is 'Tom Pepper', and his guardian, to whom he is 'T. Pepper'.

The letters to his aunt, signed 'your affectionate nephew, Thomas Pepper,' often concentrate on his plight, starvation, and righteousness. Portraying himself as an innocent among mischievous soldiers, Pepper adopts a perfect nephew persona to persuade his aunt to send him food and money, using emotive language to invoke pity: 'I feel sure, dearest aunt, you cannot let me remain in this forlorn state so do send me off a hamper immediately.'[526] There is also an emphasis on domestic experiences at war, often describing the price of food, clothing, and cooking rather than accounts of battle: 'I have nothing to say about the war or the siege. Some night skirmishes take place occasionally... That's all.'[527] In the letters to the

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524 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (June 1855), p. 142.
525 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (June 1855), p. 151.
526 Anon., 'Stray Letters from the East', *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1854), p. 345.
527 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (April 1855), p. 429.

female correspondents, domestic references are often used to describe warfare, the most vivid of which describes blood gushing from a soldier's body: 'If you'll just watch the pump-spout the next time your cook's pumping water into a bucket to wash the potatoes, you'll have an idea of how it came out of him.'[528] By using familiar domestic images, Wood replicates how English soldiers may describe unfamiliar events in a way the correspondent, and reader, can understand. Similarly, as 'Tom' in the letters to Fanny, his girlfriend, the comparison of the Crimean heat to a domestic oven during a dinner-party allows Wood to apply her domestic knowledge to intensify the vividness and effect of the description.[529] The letters to Fanny, which feature the intimate signature 'your ever devoted, Tom,' present Pepper as a warrior 'in the midst of gore and glory.'[530] Using language that implies gallantry, bravery, and valour, 'Tom' takes undeserved credit for British war achievements: 'You have got a hero at last, for I have taken Sebastopol. *I* did it; that is, I chiefly contributed to the glorious capture.'[531] While the letters to female correspondents use signature, tone, and language to invoke pity and esteem, the male correspondents receive contrasting accounts of life at war using different signatures.

To his friend Gus, a candid account of war is provided using the amiable signature 'yours old "fellow", or "boy", or "chum", Tom Pepper'. The informal language used under the 'Tom Pepper' signature, with juvenile vocabulary such as 'stupid, thickheaded, brag-all and do-nothing boobies' and 'such a game,' contrasts with more refined language featured in other letters.[532] The content of the 'Tom Pepper' letters provide colourful details about the

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528 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (September 1855), p. 38.
529 Anon., 'More Stray Letters from the East', *New Monthly Magazine* (September 1854), p. 52.
530 Anon., 'More Stray Letters from the East', *New Monthly Magazine* (September 1854), p. 50.
531 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from Sebastopol', *New Monthly Magazine* (November 1855), p. 293.
532 Anon., 'Stray Letters from the East', *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1854), p. 347. Anon., 'More Stray Letters from the Seat of War', *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1854), p. 462.

idle, pleasure-focused ensign life before the battles, having a 'jovial time' with 'delicacies in the eating line, [...] prime smoking, and bets and billiards'.[533] Concurrently, the frank nature ensures that criticisms of the war management and dire conditions, moderated for his other correspondents, become more explicit and images of warfare become more graphic; 'yells of despair and pain, smell[s] emitted from burning human flesh.'[534] The familiarity between the friends provides an opportunity for unguarded language and content to include distinct criticism of the war management. 'Tom Pepper' implies treachery, and even murder, at the hands of British officials and provides numerous examples of incompetency, including officials' refusal to accept vegetables that would cure soldiers of scurvy 'because the bills of landing were written with blue ink instead of red.'[535] Wood repeatedly criticises the red tape involved in British warfare through Tom Pepper's unreserved letters to his friend. However, the criticisms are overarched by Pepper's humorous and contradictory accounts, more concerned at the effects on his home life that his letters' publication will have, 'I have called the governor a humbug!', than his criticisms of 'the management and short-comings in the Crimea.'[536] While the 'Tom Pepper' letters offer an unrestrained account of war, the 'official' letters sent to his guardian provide a stark contrast in the representation of the same events. Under the distinguished signature, 'yours very dutifully, T. Pepper', the letters to his guardian claim to represent 'a fair specimen of the average official letters that go out from camp,'[537] that are drawn 'very mild' and 'put the best construction on things.'[538] Written communally with other ensigns, using a more respectful tone and sophisticated vocabulary, the 'T. Pepper'

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533 Anon., 'More Stray Letters from the East', p. 47.
534 Anon., 'More Stray Letters from the Seat of War', p. 458.
535 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (April 1855), p. 430.
536 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from Sebastopol', p. 296.
537 Anon., 'Tom Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (February 1855), p. 162.
538 Anon., 'Tom Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', p. 162.

letters provide official accounts of war tactics, including specific place names and military terminology. Although the incompetency of the officials is suggested, it is treated with an ironic emphasis on his guardian's anticipated admiration of the officials' 'obedience to official routine.'[539] By manipulating the narratives by using different signatures, the fluidity of authorial identity is exposed, which Wood made use of extensively throughout her career. In the same way that Wood reshaped the narratives of her anonymous writing to complement the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona later in her career, 'Ensign Pepper' reshapes his war narratives according to the persona adopted for each letter. Prior to the letters' publication, Wood had only made use of two text-associated signatures in 23 contributions. After experimenting with the Ensign Pepper personas, the variety of signatures used in her anonymous contributions increased considerably to ten text-associated signatures across 36 separate tales.[540] As discussed in the previous chapters, Wood negotiated the literary market and generated her own persona using signature and text association, which is arguably influenced by the experimentation during the Ensign Pepper letters.

The masculine identity of 'Ensign Pepper' must have appeared authentic as Charles Wood's documents Wood meeting a couple who were 'certain [the letters were] genuine.'[541] Emphasising the couples' 'astonishment' at finding the author of 'those masculine and realistic letters' was the 'calm, gentle, refined lady' they had met, Charles reinforces the frail, gentle 'Mrs. Henry Wood' image and celebrates Wood's ability to create a convincingly male narrative.[542] Wood's seemingly effective gender-bending in the construction of a male

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539 Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (April 1855), p. 422.

540 See Appendix B for a simplified table of the text-associated signatures used by Wood during this anonymous period.

541 Charles W. Wood, 'Mrs. Henry Wood. In Memorium,' *Argosy: a magazine of tales, travels, essays and poems* (Apr 1887), p. 269.

542 Wood, 'Mrs. Henry Wood. In Memorium,' p. 269.

persona would be revisited in the extremely popular *Johnny Ludlow* series later in her career. However, following the success of *East Lynne*, Wood attempted to integrate her, now famous, 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrative style with three texts published specifically for young boys, *The Elchester College Boys*, *The Orville College Boys,* and *William Allair*. Treated as precursors to Johnny Ludlow, these three narratives provide evidence for the factors contributing to Wood's decision to revert to adopting a masculine identity in specifically male texts rather than integrating the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator.

The Schoolboy Stories

Considering the popularity of stories written for boys which, from the 1860s, 'commanded a readership from ragged school to country house,' it is perhaps unsurprising that Wood recognised the potential for profit within the genre.[543] Fiction aimed at boys was 'dominated' by male writers, yet some authors such as Elizabeth Eiloart and Annie Forsyth Grant proved that women writers could have success in the genre.[544] The 'urgent need for children's moral education' arising from the prolifieration of the literary market saw 'an increase in the numbers of works of didactic and Evangelical fiction that incorporate[d] the new mode of domesticated fantasy, justified as a vehicle for moral education.'[545] Contemporary Victorian ideology that portrayed 'teaching and guiding children' as part of the 'domestic duties' expected of a woman suggested that Wood's moral, didactic, and Evangelical tone was the perfect fit in children's literature as it had proved to be in the middle-

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543 J.S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 102.

544 Claudia Nelson, 'Children's writing' in Linda Peterson (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Victorian Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 251-264 (p. 263).

545 Alison Chapman, 'Phantasies of matriarchy in Victorian children's literature' in Nicola Diane Thompson, *Victorian women writers and the woman question* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) (p. 61).

class literary market.[546] Also, writing as a children's author was unlikely to be criticised as an 'unfeminine attempt to thrust oneself into the public sphere' but as 'socially positive' which aligned with the established 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand.[547] Although several of her texts incorporated narratives focused on schoolboys, for example *The Channings* (1862), Wood produced just three narratives under the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand that could arguably be described as schoolboy fiction. Christine Gibbs argues that Wood's decision to produce few boys' stories rested purely on the 'genre [proving] less profitable.'[548] While this was certain to represent a factor in Wood's decision, my research suggests that the disjunction between the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator and the 'masculine' content of the stories had a negative effect on their believability, which Wood always strove for, and conceivably informed Wood's decision to return to a male persona in the forthcoming *Johnny Ludlow* stories. The inconsistency between the overtly feminine 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator and the male-only environments of college and life at sea impaired the credibility of the narratives. Although not exposed to first-hand experience of life at sea or college, Wood's physical proximity to the Worcester Cathedral and its scholars in her youth, plus her companionship with younger brothers, and role as a mother to three boys gave her a familiarity with the male-only environs represented in the boys' stories. *The Orville College Boys*, essentially an extended, sensationalised rewriting of *The Elchester College Boys*, tells the story of the schoolboys' adventures, including an attempted duel, a boy almost drowning at sea, and a schoolboy being accidentally shot. Although the tamer *Elchester College Boys* follows William Ord, a precursor for Johnny Ludlow, in his attempts to secure a scholarship at the school, the

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546 Nelson, 'Children's writing,' p. 252.

547 Nelson, 'Children's writing,' p. 252.

548 Christine Gibbs, 'Sensational Schoolboys: Mrs. Henry Wood's The Orville College Boys' *The Lion and the Unicorn* (January 2000), p. 46.

narrative still includes sensational scenes including a savage birching and a boy being locked in a crypt. *William Allair,* serialised in the religious weekly the *Quiver*, is a cautionary tale to boys keen to become sailors, describing shocking conditions of near starvation, strenuous work, and even intimations of sailors considering cannibalism in a shipwreck.[549] Each of the texts feature the narrative techniques that Wood became well known for, including her 'inimitable concoction of excitement and conventionality, subversiveness and propriety.'[550] The moralising, pious 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator, famous for the 'lady-wife-mother' speech in *East Lynne,*[551] uses a similar direct reader address, as the narrator constantly pleads with the assumed reader: 'Oh, boys! my dear young fellow-workers for whom I have written this story! Do you strive, earnestly and patiently, to do your duty in this world; and take that legacy home to your hearts!'[552] Although writing for a distinctly different readership, Wood continued to use the same melodramatic writing style as her sensational adult literature. The opening sentence to *William Allair,* 'I like writing for boys, and I am going to tell them a story of real life,' immediately identifies her assumed reader, yet appears to be speaking over the heads of the children to the adults who are assured that 'Mrs. Henry Wood,' the author of 'the Channings' and 'Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles', will provide a moral, appropriate tale for their children.[553] For both the publisher and Wood, the pull of her celebrity appeared to pre-empt sales and the reviews of each tale appear to prove the accuracy of this, admitting the 'prestige attached to her name ensure[s] a hearty welcome.'[554] However, many of the reviews

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549 Described as containing 'profitable reading of a religious and moral kind' in a review of *William Allair*, the *Quiver* provided the perfect place for Wood's moralising tale and to maintain her pious persona adopted after *East Lynne* (Anon., 'Literary Notices', *The Bradford Observer* (Jan 15, 1863), p. 7).

550 Gibbs, 'Sensational Schoolboys', p. 46.

551 Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* ed. Andrew Maunder (Hertfordshire: Broadview, 2000), p. 334.

552 Mrs. Henry Wood, *The Orville College Boys: A Story of School Life* (London: Routledge, 1871), p. 299.

553 By the author of "The Channings," "Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles," etc., 'William Allair: or, Running Away to Sea', *Quiver* (December 13, 1863), p. 171.

554 Anon., 'Illustrated gift Books for the Young' *The Morning Post* (Dec 12, 1866), p. 3.

emphasise a woman's alienation from these male-only areas, with one reviewer of *The Orville College Boys* exclaiming that Wood 'does not seem to know much about either boys or colleges,'[555] and a scathing reviewer of *William Allair* announcing that 'Mrs. Wood cannot delineate English school-boy life, and betrays a lamentable want of knowledge of the relative positions of master and pupil in our schools.'[556] It appears that Wood had cemented her literary reputation so effectively that the association of her name gave an undesirable impression of the authenticity of her children's stories. While some reviewers commended Wood's ability to capture boys' vocabulary and events which 'perfectly harmonise[d]' with their own experience of school, the inconsistency between the pious, motherly narrator and the content of the tales had a detrimental effect on their commercial success.[557] Robin Melrose and Diana Gardner suggested that 'nineteenth-century writers of children's books used one of two approaches to their audience: the 'I know better' approach or the 'I'm one of you approach.'[558] Following the limited success of her schoolboy stories featuring the perceived superiority of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator, by changing tack and adopting a male pseudonym, Wood gained authenticity, credibility, and, ultimately, success. Unsurprisingly, on her return to children's writing Wood reverted to using a masculine identity, following the success of Ensign Pepper, which provided the opportunity for a seemingly authentic voice to narrate the stories, while maintaining Wood's values and literary prowess.

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555 Anon., 'Our Literary Table', *Fun* (October 26 1867), p. 69.

556 Anon., 'William Allair; or, the Running Away to Sea', *The Reader* (Nov 21 1863), p. 600.

557 Anon., 'New Novels', *The London Review* (July 6 1867), Vol. 15, No. 366, p. 23.

558 Robin Melrose and Diana Gardner, 'The Language of Control in Victorian Children's Literature' in Ruth Robbin and Julian Wolfreys (eds.), *Victorian Identities: Social and Cultural Formations in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), pp. 143-162 (p. 145).

Johnny Ludlow

Having successfully negotiated a male identity through 'Ensign Pepper', Wood created a series of short stories in the *Argosy* featuring the signature 'Johnny Ludlow'. Despite her status as editor of the *Argosy* magazine and the presence of her similar 'schoolboys' fiction, Wood was not uncovered as 'Johnny Ludlow' until 1879, a decade after the publication of the first story. Praised by reviewers as 'superior to the work of sensationalists,' the stories enjoyed critical praise and popularity.[559] In the preface to the first collection of *Johnny Ludlow* stories, Wood's reasoning behind disguising herself as the true author places an emphasis on the importance of authenticity: 'my only motive for not putting my name to them was that they appeared to be told by a boy; and to append my name as the Author would have destroyed the illusion; or, at least, have clashed with it.'[560] Wood's awareness of the detrimental effect of a contradiction between narrator and narrative content in her previous schoolboy stories, as previously discussed, could significantly influenced her decision to adopt the male pseudonym in the *Johnny Ludlow* stories. Many readers and reviewers had been initially fooled by Wood's persona, believing Johnny Ludlow to truly exist: 'The *Argosy* has a very remarkable contributor in Johnny Ludlow. His papers possess some of the finest humour [...], some of the deepest insight into human nature we have met with for many years.'[561] Thereby, the authenticity and success of Johnny Ludlow controverted the criticism of

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559 Mitchell, 'Wood,' p. 2. The first series of stories were published by Bentley in 1874, followed by six subsequent series in 1880, 1885, 1890 (4th and 5th series), and 1899. However, by the third series, Kate Watson notes that the 'limited shelf-life' of the detective genre altered the opinions of reviewers (Kate Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction 1860-1880* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2012), p 61).

560 Ellen Wood, 'Preface,' *Johnny Ludlow: First Series* [Fifth Edition] (Bentley: London, 1880), n.pag.

561 Anon., 'The Argosy- Opinions of the Press' *The Times* (Jan 3 1870) p. 14 col. A. Charles Wood also references one particular letter, among many, sent to 'Johnny Ludlow' from a reader who expressed interest in spending an evening discussing 'reminiscences of old college days' over a cigar (Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 210).

reviewers that denied Wood's ability to accurately portray masculine aspects of life in the schoolboy stories.

The ninety *Johnny Ludlow* short stories document the adventures of a young boy in Worcester through Johnny's memories of incidents featuring an intricate network of extended family, friends, and neighbours.[562] The stories often include petty crimes or mysteries and the first-person narrative emulates a juvenile vocabulary flourished with colloquial phrases such as 'muff,'[563] and 'licked into next week'.[564] Johnny Ludlow's 'short sentences with simple vocabulary' were typical of the speech of older children in Victorian fiction and provide a conversational quality to the narrative which is believable and relatable.[565] The authentic vocabulary which provided an 'accurate rendering of both Worcestershire dialect and young men's slang' indicated Wood's 'skill with voice and tone.'[566] Similarly, in the pursuit of authenticity, the county of Worcester is described in detail, 'you must know the long green lane leading to Cookhill; it is dark with overhanging trees, and uphill all the way.'[567] The conspicuous realism employed in both the descriptions of the settings and characters, many of which were based on real people, leant 'credence to the stories which typically veer[ed] towards the supernatural or the melodramatic.'[568] While each tale is 'each complete in itself' they also 'tend to interconnect' due to the presence of Johnny Ludlow

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562 Michael Flowers estimates there are more than one thousand one hundred named characters across the stories. See his informative website for an introduction to the stories, Michael Flowers, 'The Johnny Ludlow Stories: A Brief Introduction' www.mrshenrywood.co.uk/ludlow [Accessed 26 Mar 2020].

563 Mrs. Henry Wood, 'Losing Lena', *Johnny Ludlow First Series* (London: Bentley, 1895) p. 6.

564 Mrs. Henry Wood, 'Wolfe Barrington's Training', *Johnny Ludlow First Series* (London: Bentley, 1895), p. 31.

565 Raymond Chapman, *Forms of Speech in Victorian Fiction* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 167.

566 Mitchell, 'Wood, Ellen [Mrs. Henry Wood] (1814-1887)', p. 3.

567 Wood, 'Losing Lena', p. 10.

568 Maunder, 'Mrs. Henry Wood', *The Literary Encyclopaedia*, 18 July 2001. http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=4790 [Accessed 23 August 2020]

himself but the rich network of characters in the fictional world.[569] Jaquet reads the 'recurrence of characters […] and constant shifts in time and place' as evidence of 'an excess, an incompleteness, which can never be full contained or represented.'[570] Emulating the serialised fiction Wood wrote earlier in her career, the Johnny Ludlow stories provide unlimited opportunities for exploration of the idyllic Worcester environment she created. The expansive nature of the imagined world is possible due to the absence of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator imposing herself upon the narrative and disrupting the chronological order of the tale. As opposed to the spiritual guide of a wife or mother, Johnny provides an alternative didactic figure that represents the 'innate moral wisdom' of the orphaned, innocent child, who 'feels rather than intellectualizes.'[571] Contrasting delicate Johnny with both Tod, his mischievous step-brother, and Squire Todhetley, his blundering step-father, the narratives often feature Johnny 'having brought the other characters [and thereby the readers] around to his morally upright Christian point of view.'[572] As the moral complexity of the plots diversify, sensitive Johnny retains the moral message of the *Argosy* and becomes an integral part of Wood's literary identities.

The perceived complexity of the relationship between Wood and her most famous male pseudonym is truly revealed in the posthumous *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood.* Seemingly, 'Johnny Ludlow' held a particularly special place in Wood's literary experience, with Charles describing him as 'Mrs. Wood's companion, continually in her thoughts, and very

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569 Watson, *Women Writing Crime Fiction 1860-1880*, p 62.

570 Alison Jaquet, 'Detection and the Domestic: Discursive Practices in the Writing of Ellen Wood' [PhD Thesis] The University of Western Australia (2009), p. 56.

571 Beth Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship: Sensational Strategies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 105.

572 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 106.

much in her heart.'[573] Charles also intimates that Ludlow had 'become part of her life; a reality; endowed with existence' (p. 266) and revealed how Wood revelled in reading reviews of the stories as it felt like 'reading about herself from, as it were, an outside point of view' (p. 248). Ludlow is portrayed as her masculine self, a literary embodiment of childhood memories effortlessly 'arising as if it were from a long closed cavern of memory' in her native Worcester (p. 267). Sharing a delicate body and an ability to 'read people as easily as a book,' Wood's repeated identification with 'Johnny Ludlow' can ensure he is read as her literary male self.[574] Charles' exaggeration of Wood's 'quiet way- too delicate and sensitive to be actively among [the boys in her childhood]' renders a position for Wood as a distanced spectator, who 'must have closely observed their characters and dispositions, [to] grasp and comprehend [the] many-sided [...] nature of a school-boy' (p. 295). This spectator position is mirrored in Johnny, who is 'not the hero in any one story,' and often occupies a liminal existence spectating rather than participating, yet frequently teaches his classmates and guardians valuable lessons.[575] Concurrently, the Ludlow stories are described as evidence of Wood's 'fertility of invention,' which foregrounds Wood's femininity and Charles Wood also portrays 'Johnny Ludlow' as a literary child that Wood figuratively gave birth to and nurtured through life.[576] Wood's tireless campaign to create and maintain the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona is referenced again as Charles defines Wood primarily as a woman and mother by utilising birthing imagery alongside descriptions of Wood's writing. While the 'Johnny Ludlow' persona can be read as either a male embodiment or a literary offspring of Wood's creation,

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573 Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 265. Subsequent references appear in the body of the text.

574 Wood [as Johnny Ludlow], 'Losing Lena', p. 15.

575 Anon., 'Johnny Ludlow,' *The Saturday Review* (May 9, 1874) Vol. 37, Iss. 967, pp. 602-604 (p. 603).

576 A reviewer from *The Globe* uses this expression when reviewing Johnny Ludlow and it is quoted in the Bentley's publicity accompanying the Second Series of the tales in 1895 (Mrs. Henry Wood, *Johnny Ludlow: Second Series* (London: Bentley, 1895)).

importantly, and independently of this, the stories provide a different aspect of her writing, where she is free of the Mrs. Henry Wood persona, yet still protected under a new masculine name.[577] Beth Palmer argues that by 'cross-dressing as Johnny Ludlow' Wood was able to 'reinforce the healthy, moral tone' in the *Argosy* and 'gave readers (particularly male ones) another figure to identify with.'[578] Wood primarily used Ludlow as an alternative voice which continued to convey the same Evangelical and moral message found in the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, and, more largely, in the *Argosy* magazine. Considered to be an extension of the evangelically pious, didactic writings that featured in Wood's editorship of the *Argosy*, many of the Johnny Ludlow stories 'place feeling in a position of centrality to faith,' and just as the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' identity personifies the ideal wife/mother role, Johnny is a perfect embodiment of the fragile youth who teaches valuable lessons based on his sentimentalism.[579] This approach replicates Wood's signed writings which couple evangelicalism with sentimentality and feeling. Wood's use of the 'innocent child [...] as the perfect catalyst for the conversion of corrupt adult characters' places Johnny in the same position as 'Mrs. Henry Wood' in her fictions as she used many of the same literary techniques but also employed the same self-fashioning as featured in her 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona.[580]

While Wood's masculine identities offer a deviation from the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator that presides over the majority of her writings, the use of similar literary techniques and storytelling, plus the integration of the moral and pious message that she became known for, ensure that there is not an obvious contradiction between the styles. Another chance to

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577 Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England', p. 251.

578 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 101.

579 Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 106.

580 Lynne Vallone, 'Women writing for children' in Joanne Shattock (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 275-300 (p. 279).

'disseminate to a receptive audience social or moral messages about which [she was] passionate,' children's fiction provided the opportunity to extend the reach of her literary fiction and expand the reach of her magazine in the case of the *Argosy*.[581] Instead of creating a masculine name to hide her writing behind, Wood embraces the new pseudonyms to introduce the authenticity she achieved in her female-focused writings through the title of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. The complex relationship Wood developed with Johnny Ludlow, who is portrayed as both a male self and literary offspring by Charles Wood in the memorial, offers a fascinating line of research which may be developed further in the future. The masculine pseudonyms, and male focused writings, showcase Wood's diverse storytelling prowess while exhibiting her as a savvy businesswoman always keen to maintain her image and reputation.[582] The 'multifaceted consistency' of Wood's writing across the overtly feminine persona to the male pseudonyms she adopted reveals a deeper understanding of her varied, but ultimately consistent, use of professional identity.[583]

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581 Nelson, 'Children's writing', p. 263.

582 Wood's self-fashioning as explored in previous chapters was replicated with the Johnny Ludlow stories as two of the tales published in the *Argosy* were omitted from the Johnny Ludlow collections. The first story, 'Shaving the Ponies' Tails' was presumably omitted due to the uncharacteristic physical violence bestowed on Tod by his father. This self-censoring on Wood's part is typical of her business acumen that invariably strove to protect her literary identities. The omission of the two tales as further evidence of Wood's self-fashioning would be an interesting line of study to explore in a larger project.

583 Andrew Maunder, 'Ellen Wood was a Writer: Rediscovering Collin's Rival,' *Wilkie Collins Society*, No. 3 (2000), pp. 17-31 (p. 20).

Chapter Seven- Literary Afterlife (1887-)

When questioning why George Eliot's penname persisted long after her death, yet Charlotte Brontë is rarely referred to as Currer Bell, Daun Jung asserts that 'any name which has been marketed for longer periods of time is more likely to grow rigid than other names which have not'.[584] For Ellen Wood, who spent decades purposeful shaping her 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, the conscious construction of her identity ensured her literary legacy far beyond the time during which it was used. Jung's consideration of the significance of the author's death on their subsequent reputation certainly raises questions about authorial control, legacy, and literary afterlife, which I explore in this final chapter. While the consistent popularity of *East Lynne* on the stage into the early 1900s secured Wood's status as a household name, it also ensured that her literary reputation was tied to her most famous and most sensational novel. After her death in 1887, Wood retained a presence in the *Argosy* magazine until the turn of the century. Scholars have identified the 'laudatory' biography, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood* (1887), written by her son, Charles, as a posthumous text which 'solidified the legend of Mrs. Henry Wood'.[585] Yet, the true extent of the multiplicity of material concerned with 'Mrs. Henry Wood' which appeared in *Argosy* after her death, including obituary poems, memorials, and tributes, alongside as the (re-)publication of her fiction have yet to be analysed at length.[586] This chapter considers how and to what extent the posthumous traces of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' in her *Argosy* magazine reinforced and redefined her literary

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584 Daun Jung, 'Critical Names Matter: "Currer Bell," "George Eliot," and "Mrs Gaskell"' *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2017), Vol. 45, pp. 763-781 (p. 765).

585 Jennifer Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist: Ellen Price as Author and Editor of the *Argosy* Magazine', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Interdisciplinary Work and Periodical Connections: An Issue in Honor of Sally H. Mitchell (Summer, 2005), pp. 180-198 (p. 182).

586 Following Wood's death in February 1887, the editorship of the *Argosy* passed to her son, Charles, who held the position into the twentieth century. Charles had, in fact, been increasingly hands on with the daily running of the magazine in Wood's later years.

reputation. Furthermore, this chapter argues that in firmly establishing herself as 'Mrs. Henry Wood', the emphatically Victorian lady, wife, and mother, the rigid posthumous rewriting of Wood's famous persona effectively orchestrated her fall from popularity following the turn of the century and her subsequent demotion to academic obscurity.

A Literary Afterlife: Memorialising Mrs. Henry Wood

In the absence of an autobiography and scant remaining letters or documentation, Charles Wood's *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood* has become the source upon which scholars are reliant when researching Ellen Wood's biography.[587] More befitting as a 'hagiography' than the 'domestic biography' genre to which it belongs, the adoring posthumous report of Wood's life adds complexity to the discussion of Wood in its attempts to 'refigure the image' of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' into the quintessential Victorian 'domestic angel'.[588] The account 'obscures and mythologizes' Wood, depicting her as a 'fragile and delicate' woman with a 'carefully ruled' home, and cemented Wood's place as the ideal wife and mother despite her literary pursuits.[589] The persona of the 'loveliest and most modest of women' offered by the memorial disguised the focused, tenacious businesswoman who became the family's breadwinner following her husband's business failure.[590] The effortlessness of Wood's control over her home, marriage, and demanding literary career reduced her profession to a hobby and is consistent with the Victorian belief in a woman's innate ability to effectively run a

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587 Charles Wood's three-part memorial for his mother, 'Mrs. Henry Wood: In Memoriam', published in the *Argosy* from April to June 1887 immediately following her death.

588 Alison Jaquet, 'Detection and the Domestic: Discursive Practices in the Writing of Ellen Wood' (PhD Thesis: The University of Western Australia, 2009), p. 25.

589 Deborah Wynne*, The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 64; Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood* (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1894), p. 36; Charles W. Wood 'Mrs. Henry Wood, In Memorium', *Argosy* (April 1887), p. 227.

590 Charles W. Wood, 'Mrs. Henry Wood. In Memorium', *Argosy* (June 1887), p. 442.

household. Wood's portrayal as an ideal woman firmly places her writing as secondary, after her Evangelical devotion to God and her family. With 'references to Wood's novels as they relate to her personal experiences pepper the narrative,' the details of Wood's life as a professional writer are purposefully vague and allusions to the workload required for her 'most prominent professional endeavour as *Argosy's* editor' are notably absent.[591] As Lucy Sussex has suggested, it is likely that Charles' depiction of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' 'probably began with mother' as the virtuous description of the memorial is consistent with the persona forged by Wood throughout her career as both a writer and editor.[592] The combination of 'Mrs. Henry Wood', the pious, fragile woman embodied in the moralising narrator in her novels, with the resolute, efficient businesswoman who existed in her proficient writing career suggests that the orchestrator of Wood's public persona was, in fact, Wood herself.

Occupying a 'spiritual authority,' Wood appears to have written, or at least heavily influence, her own biography from beyond the grave.[593] However, rather than 'usurping the male power of speech and writing' by overtly composing her own autobiography, Wood recruits the pen of her son to document a specific version of her life.[594] Charles' assertion that 'such presence and influence as hers do not cease with death' is certainly manifested in both the *Memorials* and the *Argosy* more widely.[595] Instead of taking up the pen of autobiography, Wood hides behind her son's hand, which masks the 'transgressive desire for cultural and literary authority' which would have been inherent in her own retelling of her literary life.[596]

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591 Jennifer Phegley, 'Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry: Sons' Memoirs of the Lives of Ellen Price Wood and Mary Elizabeth Braddon' in Ann R. Hawkins, and Maura Ives (eds.), *Women Writers and the Artifacts of Celebrity in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 189-204 (p. 192).

592 Sussex, 'Mrs Henry Wood and Her Memorials', p. 166.

593 Mary Jean Corbett, 'Feminine Authorship and Spiritual Authority in Victorian Women Writers' Autobiographies,' *Women's Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1990), pp. 13-29 (p. 13).

594 Corbett, 'Feminine Authorship', p. 13.

595 Charles Wood, 'Memorials' (Apr 1887), p. 263.

596 Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Woman's Authorship: Marginality and Fictions of Self-Representation*

The transfer of power of her words to the hand of her son reinforces the hobbyist façade created by the memorials as an autobiographical account suggests an element of self-importance which would challenge the frail persona represented in the pages of the memorial. The protection developed by the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona would have been undermined by a self-written autobiography which would see Wood 'representing herself publicly'.[597] Despite seeking success through her industrial approach to writing, Wood, like many of her contemporaries learned to deflect the appearance of 'actively desiring celebrity' in order to 'perpetuate a sense of women's "natural modesty"'.[598]

Having contributed travel writing to the *Argosy* regularly before his mother's death, Charles became the editor of the magazine and controlled the entirety of Wood's literary income. Unsurprisingly, the altered book version of *The Memorials*, published in 1894, appears to fuse two genres of biography and travel writing, incorporating elaborate descriptions of the places Wood grew up and including several illustrations of Worcester and the family home. Charles even began to use *The Memorials* in his by-line that supported his papers for the *Argosy* magazine as he utilised the memoir as a means to 'negotiate [his] own position within celebrity culture'.[599] Jennifer Phegley successfully argues that the process of depicting his mother's writing as 'household craft' would elevate his own career as 'high arts or businesses'.[600] In this way, Charles' depiction of Wood's work benefited him twofold; it signified the importance of his own career while ensuring the continuation of the overtly

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(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 49.

597 Corbett, 'Feminine Authorship', p. 13.

598 Weber, *Women and Literary Celebrity in the Nineteenth-Century: The Transatlantic Production of Fame and Gender* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), p. 4.

599 Jennifer Phegley, 'Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry: Sons' Memoirs of the Lives of Ellen Price Wood and Mary Elizabeth Braddon', p. 189.

600 Phegley, 'Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry', p. 190.

feminine 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona from which he could prosper. Phegley's notion that Charles' memorial displayed a 'desire to untangle' his career from his 'famous mother' is challenged by Wood's continued presence within the *Argosy*.[601] Recognising that the literary capital of the magazine lay within its association with his mother, Charles continued to publish her work and negotiated reprints after her death. In essence, in maintaining the visibility of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' in the magazine, through both her fiction and other material, effectively 'perpetuat[ed] her fame and his fortune'.[602]

Ellen Wood's Death: The Elegies

In addition to Charles Wood's eulogising memorials, 'Mrs. Henry Wood' featured in almost 100 different *Argosy* articles following her death in February 1887. The preoccupation with death in Victorian culture, manifested to extremes in Queen's Victoria's extended mourning of Prince Albert, represented the reality of elevated mortality rates, but also provided opportunities for income in industries such as dress making, literature, and beyond due to elaborate mourning practices which were fashionably adopted.[603] Deathbed scenes, widowhood, and suicides were frequently employed in Wood's fiction as death functioned as a melodramatic vehicle through which Wood could articulate the 'doctrines of sin, assurance, and atonement' that were integral to the Evangelical theology she promoted.[604] While Wood was not afforded the 'thousands' of mourning words and memorabilia produced by the death

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601 Phegley, 'Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry', p. 191.

602 Phegley, 'Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry', p. 197.

603 Patricia Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996), p. 5. Artifacts of material culture such as post-mortem photographs, mourning dress, and jewellery also commodified death during the period.

604 Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, p. 5. See Andrew Mangham, 'Life After Death: Apoplexy, Medical Ethics and the Female Undead', Women's Writing, Vol. 15, No. 3 (2008), pp. 282-299 for a discussion of Wood's use of undead characters as a criticism of masculine medical advancements.

of Charles Dickens, her demise was felt across the literary landscape and her obituary featured across multiple national and regional publications.[605] In contrast to the 'functional' genre of the obituary, the *Argosy* emulated the 'poetic responses' to Dickens' death in the form of a series of three elegies, which appeared in consecutive years after Wood's death.[606] The poems facilitated an 'expression of grief' and enabled the reader to 'maintain a sense of continuity in the face of loss'.[607] All three featured her death date as a subtitle, yet, in the 1888 and 1889 verses, this date is the sole signifier of the poem's subject. Wood's name is omitted with the understanding that this date would be instantly recognisable to the dedicated *Argosy* reader. The poems perpetuated the complexity of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand by either depicting her primarily as a woman and mother with little mention of her professional endeavours or placing particular emphasis on Wood as a literary figure. Each written by a different poet, the elegies echo the sentiments of the *Memorials* and serve to both strengthen Wood's association with the magazine and reinforce the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand in their depiction of the writer and her literature.

The first poem, 'In Loving Remembrance: Mrs. Henry Wood', published in the month following her death, was written by Sarah Doudney, a prolific novelist, poet, and close friend of Wood's.[608] Depicted as the epitome of Victorian femininity, Doudney describes Wood as a 'firm friend, sweet mother, true and loving wife' and promotes Wood's feminine attributes and virtues of 'patien[ce]' and 'calm' (p. 162). A subtle link between Wood's life and her

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605 April Patrick, 'How Victorian Periodicals Mourn: Obituaries and Memorial Essays,' *Victorian Review*, Volume 43, Number 2, Fall 2017, pp. 196–199 (p. 196).

606 Patrick, 'How Victorian Periodicals Mourn: Obituaries and Memorial Essays,' p. 196. Patrick's definition of the obituary as a 'functional genre' is certainly suitable here as a replicated obituary containing details of her illness and a list of her publications featured in multiple newspapers and magazines (p. 198).

607 Anis Bawarshi, 'The Genre Function', *College English*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (2003), pp. 335–60 (pp. 355-6).

608 Sarah Doudney, 'In Loving Remembrance', *Argosy: A Magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays, and Poems* (Mar 1887), p. 162. Subsequent references appear in the body of the text.

literary endeavours acknowledged that both the narrative of Wood's life and the life of her narratives have come to an end: 'Her spirit hearkened to the high behest; / The work was ended, and the tale was told' (p. 162). Doudney's inclusion of references to a 'voice calling her— "Come and rest' and that her 'work was ended' in death inferred that in life, Wood was incredibly active, a safe bet considering the prolific nature of Wood's publications (p. 162). However, as in Charles Wood' *Memorials*, the physical toll and extent of the immense literary exertion on an aging, unwell writer and editor were obscured from view.

Doudney's authority as a close personal friend of Wood's reinforced the veracity of her matronly image and includes the *Argosy* reader in the collective 'we' who 'have loved her, know her loveliness' (p. 162). Incorporating a close acquaintance of Wood's with her dedicated readership created a community of mourners and produced the kind of shared experience of grief that so often featured in Wood's melodramatic works, most famously in the demise of Isabel Vane in *East Lynne*.[609] The inclusion of *Argosy* readers continued in a description of the echoes of Wood's voice reaching 'our common strife' which extended the community of grief experienced by *Argosy* readers.[610] While acknowledging her death, Doudney's references to Wood's speaking voice infers a continued presence. The 'soft tone' of Wood's voice, which continued to 'echo… like a silver bell' despite her demise, can be read as the continuing presence of her words; her literary presence (p. 162). Wood's echoing voice premonitions her continuing presence in the magazine and validates Charles Wood's claim

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[609] See Ann Cvetkovich, *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture and Victorian Sensationalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992) for a comprehensive discussion of melodrama and shared grief in *East Lynne*.

[610] Unlike many of her contemporaries, Wood abstained from profitable reading tours and appearances within literary circles, presumably in an attempt to maintain the separation between her public and private lives, so readers were unlikely to have heard her voice.

that 'such presence and influence as hers do not cease with death'.[611] However, while subsequent poems followed in 1888 and 1889 as an opportunity of remembrance, their focus altered from memorialising a friend to maintaining and elevating Wood's literary presence and influence in the magazine and beyond.

Both entitled 'In Memoriam', the 1888 and 1889 poems do not refer to Wood explicitly, yet feature her death date beneath the title.[612] Although allusions to Wood's physical characteristics through her 'earnest eyes' and feminine descriptors, such as 'gentle' and 'wise', used in the 1887 poem are repeated, the 1888 and 1889 poems elevate Wood beyond her womanly persona and promote the afterlife of her texts (1888, p. 190). Challenging Wood's feminine, fragile persona by casting her as an immortal, powerful deity, the poems link her physical body with her mortality as the speaker notes: 'She sleeps in peace the gentle and the wise / Who woke at will the nation's smiles and tears' (1888, p. 190). Acknowledging her gentle nature in life, the speaker establishes the profound powers of Wood's writing. The commanding term 'woke at will' depicts her as an omnipotent figure who casts her powers of literary affect across an expansive readership (p. 190). The presumed reader of the 1888 poem, addressed using plural pronouns 'we' and 'our' to continue the community of mutual mourning introduced by Doudney, is altered in the 1889 poem towards Wood herself (p. 190). Adopting second person singular pronouns, 'thee' and 'thy,' which evoke reverence and a removal from intimate familiarity, the poem addresses Wood directly (p. 110). While the final obituary poem replicates the more sombre, mournful tone of Doudney's piece, both poems perpetuate the image of Wood as an immortal, superior being

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611 Charles Wood, 'Mrs. Henry Wood: In Memoriam', *Argosy* (April 1887), p. 265.

612 F., 'In Memoriam', *Argosy* (March 1888), p. 190; M.J.R, 'In Memoriam', *Argosy: A magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays, and Poems* (Feb 1889), p. 110. All subsequent references appear in the body of the text.

by depicting her as eternal and ethereal. The 1889 poem suggests that in her death, 'the glorious setting sun' which placed a 'halo around [her] name,' enabled Wood to 'rise again' in 'brighter worlds' to be 'crowned with the blest' (p. 110). Wood's literary afterlife transcends time as she is reborn through her literature and occupies a monarchical presence with the glory of a crown and purity of light that promotes her 'deathless fame' (p. 110).

The discourse of the eternal appears in both poems as Wood's perceived ability to transcend time affords both her texts and her persona a perennial quality. Wood transcends from a sleeping body in life to the 'immortal' deity or monarch sitting on a 'throne of noble thought' with a 'crown,' which marks her ascent from mortal storyteller to a supreme being through her death (1888, p. 190). The immortality and omnipotence depicted in the 1888 poem through the 'crown of the immortal' is echoed almost identically in the 1889 poem's depiction of an 'immortal … wreath we twine / Around thy brow' (p. 110 and p. 190). Here, a proportion of power is bestowed upon the speaker, and therefore the *Argosy* reader included in the pronoun 'we', as this line suggests that their influence and continued readership elevated Wood to literary prominence. Both poems refer to Wood's literary ability to '[wake] at will the nation's smiles and tears' (1888, p. 190) and 'at will provoke our mirth; / Or bid our tears of sorrow flow' (1889, p. 110) and note Wood's superiority in her depiction of characters. However, whereas the 1889 poem recognises this superior ability to create 'a thousand lives' that 'owe [Wood] their birth' to lament the loss of a talented writer with no mention of the texts which still remain (p. 110), the 1888 poem uses references to her most famous characters, or 'children of our own world', as an opportunity to outline the significance of Wood's continuing literary impact (p. 190).

Although the 1888 poem exalts Wood as an immortal deity whose words 'still ripple […] on the crystal fount of love', the speaker tempers the supernatural depiction through

natural images of the 'tender dove' and 'whispering lovers,' to denote the effortlessness of Wood's words that 'flowed spontaneous from that generous heart' (1888, p. 190). The images of purity, naturalness, and an instinctive outpouring from a 'generous heart' elevate the value of Wood's contribution to literature. In discussing Wood as a mother to her literary works, described as 'the fair children of her glowing brain,' she appears as a mother whose fictional creations become 'children of our own world … / Not in ethereal robes, but nature's dress' (1888). Wood's ability to portray an expansive cast of popular, likeable, and relatable characters grounds the unearthly image of Wood through the authenticity of her characters. The speaker reasserts themselves as part of the large community of *Argosy* readers when referencing Wood's characters, stating 'we know them well,' (p. 190) and proceeds to afford a stanza to three of Wood's most loved protagonists: Isabel Vane, the ill-fated adulteress of *East Lynne* (1861); Roland Yorke, an amiable character from *The Channings* (1862) who lent his name to the novel's sequel, *Roland Yorke* (1869), and Jan Verner, an unassuming second-born son of a gentleman who becomes a doctor in *Verner's Pride* (1863). The selection of characters is telling, particularly as these texts were some of Wood's best-selling novels, and the characters chosen are arguably those which would have evoked a sympathetic response or created an affable relationship with.[613]

The declaration in the 1888 poem that 'she is not dead' epitomises the memorial poem's portrayal of Wood as an everlasting, eminent presence and argues that Wood's literary afterlife is continued by those very characters she created that live on in the memory

[613] The omission of one of Wood's most loved characters, Johnny Ludlow, her male pseudonym, with whom Wood was considered to have a special relationship, detaches Johnny from the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand and an alternative persona which enabled her to diversify her audience and experiment into different forms of writing, as well as contributing to her magazine under several different names. See Chapter Six, Masculine Identities for my discussion of Wood's close relationship with Johnny Ludlow.

of her devoted readers: 'in her creations she is ever ours!' (1888, p. 190). The evocative language and repeated reference to some of Wood's most-loved characters defines the 1888 poem as a lament for the loss of the writer, but also a celebration of her life's work. Considering the careful construction of her public persona, initiated by Wood and continued by her son, it is difficult to deny that this poem also operated as a veiled advertisement, reminding the reader of their appreciation for Wood and urging them to unearth their copies of the novels mentioned, or, preferably, to buy a copy of the texts, which were still in print. While the closing stanza of the 1888 poem presented Wood as an everlasting presence, the 1889 poem is more sorrowful and conclusive: 'Thy triumphs won, thy trials o'er, / Peace to thy memory: not in vain / Thy life was spent; / Thy heart's best thoughts with us remain— / Thy years were lent' (p. 110). While Wood's best creations or 'thoughts' remained on earth through her fiction, the poem is much more referential to the natural conclusion of life being 'spent' and the years on earth being 'lent' by God to be returned (p. 110). The treatment of death in this poem is much more consistent with Wood's approach to death in her fiction, often depicted as a reward for an ailing, suffering hero(ine), and more in line with the unassuming persona of 'Mrs. Henry Wood' in the *Memorials*.

In contrast to the more personal poem written by Wood's close friend Doudney, the 1888 poem could be read as an opportunist exercise in marketing, reminding the reader of Wood's superiority as a writer, their favourite characters, and Wood's close association with *Argosy* in one emotional piece. The 1889 poem continues the promotion of Wood's literary prowess, yet reframes it more closely with her established brand by tempering the immortal elements of her literary afterlife. The later poems are evidence of Charles Wood's continual promotion of his mother, through her own republished texts, his memorials, and this other material, as a means to prolong and re-establish his mother's posthumous literary presence

in the magazine in order to extract the optimal pecuniary reward from decades of meticulous branding and prolific writing, a strategy undoubtedly designed by Wood herself. If the obituary poems articulate the traumatic absence of Wood from the pages of the *Argosy* magazine, her fiction, which continued to appear in its pages, provided the imaginary presence of the mother of the magazine and the text. In this way, Wood continually asserts her authority on both the magazine and the texts themselves even in the afterlife.

Argosy Presence

After establishing 'Mrs. Henry Wood' as the feminised, maternal ideal in the *Memorials* following her death, Charles Wood's editorship of the magazine effectively functioned as a continuation of Wood's premiership over the *Argosy*. In introducing the *Memorials*, Charles' assertion that 'a few words … should be given at once in memory of one whose name has been so long a household word in the pages of this magazine, and has contributed so greatly to its remarkable success' at once justifies the inclusion of the *Memorials* and confirms Wood's continued presence in the magazine.[614] The pointed allusion to the 'name' which 'contributed so greatly' to the success further proclaims the significance of the naming process which produced 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. This foregrounding of her maternal literary identity continues in the posthumous output, when despite her death, Wood's placement as the ideal Victorian mother, who is the 'actual and symbolic site of generation, the earliest influence on development, and the domestic anchor of the most basic socioeconomic unit', extended to the magazine as her material and name haunted the pages until the turn of the century.[615] Much literary capital and value rested with the magazine's association with 'Mrs.

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614 Charles Wood, 'Mrs. Henry Wood: In Memoriam,' *Argosy* (April 1887), p. 251.

615 Caroyln Dever, *Death and the Mother from Dickens to Freud (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Henry Wood', and while Charles' decision to memorialise his mother in the pages of the *Argosy* is unsurprising, the consistency and longevity of her presence perhaps is.

(Re)-Published Texts: Posthumous Editions

Readers of the *Memorials* would not have been surprised by the ongoing publication of Wood's work in the *Argosy*. Teasing that there was 'much finished work' that she had left behind, the *Memorials* heavily suggested Wood's continuing presence in the magazine, promising that 'for some years to come, her hand will be almost as visible as ever in the pages of the *Argosy*,' a promise he dutifully kept.[616] Under Charles Wood's editorship, *Argosy* serialised three of Wood's novels and published three connected narratives, six short stories, and three 'Johnny Ludlow' tales between her death in 1887 and January 1899. Wood's method of thriftily reusing and repurposing material extended to her literary afterlife and many of the 'finished works' she left behind were, in fact, reprints and extensions of previously published publications.

Wood's death in February 1887 occurred during the second month of the serialisation of *Lady Grace*. One of three longer narratives published posthumously, *Lady Grace* provides a case study of the material Wood left behind as the treatment of the text is typical of the posthumous publication strategies adopted for her remaining material. *Lady Grace* is the story of Rev. Ryle Baumgarten, the rector of Little Whitton, and engages with the themes of household management, second marriages, and child rearing with which Wood was commonly associated. Ryle's first wife, the daughter of the former rector, who successfully ran the household on £200 a year, is contrasted with his aristocratic second wife, whose

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1998), p. xii.

[616] Wood, 'Mrs Henry Wood: In Memorium', *Argosy* (May 1887), p. 353.

extravagant spending squandered his fortune despite an increased income of £900 a year after he became Dean of Denham. After his descent into debt and sudden death, the narrative's concerns turn to the fate of the dean's children and extended family. The novel amalgamates a narrative thread of two short stories contributed to *Bentley's Miscellany* in the 1850s and two loosely connected tales published in October 1860 and December 1872.[617] Although it is uncertain when the alteration of the tale took place, the carefully considered omissions are suggestive of a motivation to conserve her respectable persona.

Alongside minor alterations to provide clarity or embellishment, the significant changes to the narrative represent a concerted effort to minimise the animosity between the wives present in the earlier imaginings of *Lady Grace*. In the original short story, the rivalry set up between Ryle's first wife, Edith, and his subsequent wife, Lady Grace, is decidedly more pronounced. As the sister of the Earl of Avon, Grace wields her power to position Ryle as the replacement for the ailing rector of Great Whitton on the mistaken understanding that he intends to propose to her. Both versions of the text include Grace's misunderstanding and the subsequent reversal of her influence on realising his love for Edith. However, the posthumous version omits a deathbed exchange between Ryle and Edith in which she articulates the jealousy and ill-will between the rivals for Ryle's hand. Wood removed Edith's dying plea for Ryle's protection for their child against mistreatment from his second wife, 'when she shall be your wife, […] shield my child from her unkindness', and all further references to Grace's resentment towards Edith. Ryle's request for Grace to 'let [her] jealousy die out and not visit it upon him' and Grace's suggestions that the 'lavish … affection'

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[617] The stories extended to complete Lady Grace are 'Great and Little Whitton' (Sept 1859), 'The Dean of Denham (Oct 1859), 'Mary Dyvenor' (Oct 1860), and 'Cyrilla Maude' (Dec 1872).

bestowed on Cyras suggested 'that you loved her better than you love me' are all omitted.[618] As too was the narrator's overt confirmation the dean was 'right […] in believing that Lady Grace disliked him'.[619] These omissions dilute the controversy of the novel and align the text more closely with the matronly persona Charles Wood promoted in the *Argosy* following the redefinition of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand in the memorials. They also articulate the self-consciousness with which the novel was published regarding reissuing of previous material. From Wood's perspective, failure to expand upon her short stories, which 'contained the germ of what, elaborated and worked out, would have made a long novel' was a 'waste of good material', and her practices of recycling material for which she received little pay endured through her lifetime and beyond.[620]

While seasoned readers of Wood's fiction would recognise the similarity of the abusive second wife plot to her controversial 1866 novel *St. Martin's Eve*, in which a stepmother is partially (or, as in the serialised version, wholly) responsible for the death of her stepson, the omission of these scenes render *Lady Grace* as a less obvious re-writing of *St. Martin's Eve*. After a single moment of violence in which she slaps him in response to his cruelty to her son, Lady Grace's indifference to her stepson, combined with his father's indulgence, culminates in Cyras' recklessness and running up of debts, which ultimately contribute to his father's death.[621] In downplaying the significance of the animosity and rivalry between the two wives, the rewritten version of *Lady Grace* escapes criticism as a reimagining of *St. Martin's Eve*. The pointed engagement with contemporary debates regarding female

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618 Anon., 'The Dean of Denham', p. 375.

619 Anon., 'The Dean of Denham', p. 376.

620 Charles Wood, 'Mrs Henry Wood: In Memorium', *Argosy* (May 1887), p. 338.

621 Wood supplants the animosity between Cyras and Grace from the short story towards the nurse, Jaquet, who is dismissed due to a deception by Cyras.

madness and inheritance laws present in her depiction of an abusive second wife in *St. Martin's Eve* is diluted to a more respectful and tentative viewpoint in line with the image her son sought to publicise. Described as 'steeped in motherly sentimentalism' and 'somewhat old-fashioned', *Lady Grace* is aligned with the expectations of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand.[622] Despite the alterations, the novel received rather unfavourable reviews, with critics agreeing that the posthumous stories 'do not, we regret to say, sustain the reputation acquired by the author of *The Channings* and *East Lynne*'.[623] Many reviews made reference to the piecemeal nature of the text and the unfortunate absence of the author, declaring it 'very slightly put together' with 'many threads left hanging loose, which under happier circumstances, would doubtless been woven into the main fabric'.[624] Although this type of criticism was detrimental to the reception of *Lady Grace*, it also fostered a sense of nostalgia and appreciation for the recently departed writer.

Unlike Charles Dickens' *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, which was left unfinished by the death of the author, Charles Wood's claim that when Wood's 'pen was laid down for the last time, there was nothing to be ended' was seemingly verified by the continued serialisation of *Lady Grace* until October 1887.[625] However, since her procurement of the *Argosy*, Wood's publication strategy of serialising novels had ran from January to December, spanning the entirety of the year to optimising opportunities for reprints and library circulation, before being replaced by another headlining 'Mrs. Henry Wood' serialised text. As *Lady Grace*

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622 'Our Library List', *Murray's Magazine* (Nov 1887), p. 719.

623 'Lady Grace', *The Academy* (Oct 15, 1887), No. 806, p. 250.

624 'Our Library List', *Murray's Magazine* (Nov 1887), p. 719.

625 Charles Wood, 'Mrs Henry Wood: In Memorium', *Argosy* (May 1887), p. 353. Charles' response to the suggestion that *Lady Grace* was not completed by commenting '[in] this, as in all the events of her life, my mother made no mistakes' provides distinctive evidence for her integral involvement in the planning of her posthumous literary output and suggests a level of criticism aimed at writers, such as Dickens, who depart the earth with unfinished material (p. 76).

reached a conclusion in October, there was an absence of Wood's serialised texts until January 1888 and the commencement of the next novel extended from short stories, *The Story of Charles Strange*, which re-established the January to December publication pattern. It is probable, therefore, that Wood may have made more alterations to the story had she survived. On republication into three volume form, *Lady Grace* made up two volumes and was supplemented by three other stories, which indicates a self-consciousness regarding the brevity of the novel.[626] Many of Wood's story arcs which had been published in the 1850s, but not expanded upon or reprinted during her lifetime, were placed into collections printed by Bentley sporadically up to the end of the century. The preface to one such collection of stories recounted the method by which their new arrangement meant they would be read 'virtually as new matter' and identified Wood's intention, 'had she lived, to weave [the] stories into one romance' by introducing 'fresh plot' and 'new characters' into the narrative, thereby 'connecting one story with another' just as she had done with *Lady Grace*.[627]

The combination of republishing of Wood's material and commemorating her in the *Argosy* was continued by Charles and he repeatedly 'enlists the help of other 'friends' to memorialise Wood'.[628] As in the obituary poems, the continuous memorialisation of Mrs. Henry Wood, 'the very model of middle-class womanhood,' and the promotion of her literary material and 'successful professional career' in the *Argosy* articulates the tension which was 'inherent' in her professional identity.[629] One of the striking ways in which this tension is

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626 The stories were unmarked republications of short stories Wood wrote during her anonymous phase in the 1850s.

627 'Preface' in Mrs. Henry Wood, *Ashley and Other Stories* (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1897), n. pag.

628 Jacquet, 'The Disturbed Domestic: Supernatural Spaces in Ellen Wood's Fiction', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 244-258 p. 246.

629 Jacquet, 'The Disturbed Domestic: Supernatural Spaces in Ellen Wood's Fiction', p. 246.

articulated is in Charles Wood's methods of utilising his skills and influence as a travel writer to adopt literary tourism as a marketing technique to continue the representation of his mother forged in the memorials and promote both her writing and the magazine. Charles created a tangible link between Wood and her hometown of Worcester. Building upon the basis that many of Wood's narratives, including *Lady Grace,* were set in the familiar setting of a town emulating the 'cathedral atmosphere, cathedral people, cathedral prejudices' of Worcester, Charles described the town as 'a part of her life and nature, her very being' and established it as a site of literary tourism which is explored in the magazine.[630]

The Literary Tourism of Mrs. Henry Wood

Alongside her serialised fiction, Wood continued to occupy a haunting presence within the *Argosy* and was frequently referred to as a point of reference: 'you may see something of the worn looks that Mrs. Henry Wood so well painted in one of her earlier "Johnny Ludlow" papers'.[631] After incorporating 'delightful illustrations [of] pictures of places connected with Mrs. Wood's life,' Charles Wood established an interest in his carefully constructed biographical history of his mother.[632] Transferring his knowledge as a travel writer, Charles identifies Worcester as Wood's literary tourism destination by commissioning a series of articles coinciding with the republication of the *Memorials* in three-volume form.[633] A brief article in January 1895 by a close friend of Wood's, Joseph McCormick, re-establishes the importance of Worcester to Mrs. Henry Wood and features several illustrations of the town

630 Wood, 'Mrs Henry Wood: In Memorium', *Argosy* (Apr 1887), p. 257.
631 Alexander H. Japp, 'The Harvest of the Hedgerows,' *Argosy* (Dec 1890), p. 527.
632 Wood, 'Mrs Henry Wood: In Memorium', *Argosy* (Apr 1887), p. 259.
633 Anon., 'Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood [Review],' *The Bookman* (Dec 1894), p. 12.

with reference to several of Wood's most famous literary characters.[634] However, in December 1893 and December 1895, SMC, a close friend of Charles Wood, penned a series of articles which utilised literary tourism as a means of undisguised promotion for Wood's texts and Charles' memorials.

Emulating the intention of the memorial essays common to monthly magazines after the loss of a literary figure as 'an expression of genuine emotion following a loss', the texts use the death of Wood to manifest a clear link between Wood and her hometown.[635] Published in December 1893, 'Mrs. Henry Wood and Worcestershire' documents the writer's travels in Worcester and his recollections of favourite Mrs. Henry Wood texts. The settings of many of Wood's novels bear resemblance to cathedral towns similar to her hometown, including her ever popular 'Johnny Ludlow' tales, for which she received 'critical praise for her depiction of her home county of Worcestershire and of boys' nature'.[636] The writer articulates his desire to recreate the 'greatest pleasure' experienced by a friend in a trip to London 'not in the associations of celebrated persons and events in real life, but in the connections of the characters and incidents of her favourite author, Dickens, with the places and scenes she visited'.[637] In 'infusing the physical world with romance,' the literary tourist simultaneously 'seeks to make romance more sensory,' by enriching the reading experience with tangible experiences. Stimulating renewed pleasure in previously consumed novels and using physical experiences to create nostalgia worked as an effective marketing strategy to revived interest

634 Joseph McCormick, 'Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood,' *Argosy* (Jan 1895), pp. 22-29 (p. 28).

635 Patrick, 'How Victorian Periodicals Mourn: Obituaries and Memorial Essays,' p. 198.

636 Janet L. Grose 'Ellen Price Wood (Mrs. Henry Wood) (1814-1887)' in Abigail Burnham Bloom (ed.) *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (London: Aldwych Press, 2000), p. 413.

637 SMC, 'Mrs. Henry Wood and Worcestershire', *Argosy* (Dec 1893), p. 463.

in Wood's texts.[638] The writer attempts to elevate Wood's literary value with favourable comparisons to revered writers such as Dickens and Scott. In bestowing Wood with supernatural powers, describing her as a 'literary "witch"' who 'makes the dry bones live by the mere force of her genius,'[639] the writer describes how Wood elevates the everyday life stories of the Worcester people into bestselling fiction. The writer's praise of Wood's technique of 'truth and fiction being cunning blended together' is encapsulated by Wood's oft-praised use of dialect, which the writer determines to be 'uncouth' yet the 'curious, grating accent peculiar to [Worcestershire]', and evidence that 'Mrs. Henry Wood distinctly knew her work.'[640]

Wood repeatedly found inspiration in the tales of schoolboys of the college in Worcester Cathedral, attended by her brothers and in close proximity to her family home. In establishing a physical connection with the imaginative setting, literary tourism seeks to 'anchor literature in literary biography' which increases the effective powers of Wood's combination of literary tourism and the memorials.[641] The writer links Wood's biography and literary creations by recreating her inspiration for schoolboy works, Johnny Ludlow, *Mrs Halliburton's Troubles* and *The Channings* amongst others in looking out at the schoolboys returning home for dinner: 'When the college boys come clattering through the Close at dinner time, and tear off to their respective homes, I can see the young Channings and Yorkes, the Halliburtons and Sankers amongst them'.[642] The writer's claim that opportunities for

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638 Paul Westover, 'William Godwin, Literary Tourism, and the Work of Necromanticism', *Studies in Romanticism,* Vol. 48, No. 2 (Summer, 2009), pp. 299-319 (p. 304).

639 SMC, 'Mrs. Henry Wood and Worcestershire', p. 464–5.

640 SMC, 'Mrs. Henry Wood and Worcestershire', p. 465.

641 Paul Westover, 'William Godwin, Literary Tourism, and the Work of Necromanticism', *Studies in Romanticism*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Summer, 2009), pp. 299-319 (p. 304).

642 SMC, 'Mrs. Henry Wood and Worcestershire,' p. 463.

recollections of events from the novels reimagined while touring Worcester are almost indefinite due to 'the whole city [being] incorporated with one or other of Mrs. Henry Wood's tales' is supported by the subsequent article by the same writer, SMC, which focusses on one of Wood's most successful novels, *The Shadow of Ashlydyat*.

As with his previous paper, the writer recounts a visit to the setting of the novel, Worcester, and exclaims the accuracy of Wood's descriptions. Combining tourism marketing with novel promotion, SMC not so subtly suggests the genius of Wood's representations and provides a sense of nostalgia for readers who may have read the novel before, during its serialisation in the *New Monthly Magazine* from October 1861 to December 1862. Despite taking some 'slight liberties to suit the exigencies of her story,' the writer describes how Wood's depiction of the inspiration behind Lydiate Ash, the novel's setting renamed Ashlydyat in the text, is so 'faithful to reality … that no one who is acquainted with it can have the least difficulty in recognising [the town]'.[643] Again, the writer recounts 're-reading *The Shadow of Ashlydyat*' and invites the reader to join him in his literary tourism: 'Before leaving for a stroll through the quaint old town of Prior's Ash, we must take a peep at another house'.[644] The writer creates a sense of community, prompting the *Argosy* subscriber with 'as readers of the book well remember' or 'which readers of Mrs. Wood's books have been made familiar'.[645] By creating an inclusive and tangible experience, the writer reignites interest in Wood's previously published texts and simultaneously re-establishes the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona.

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643 SMC, 'The Shadow of Ashlydyat', *Argosy* (Dec 1895) p. 663.
644 SMC, 'The Shadow of Ashlydyat', p. 664.
645 SMC, 'The Shadow of Ashlydyat', p. 666 and p. 667.

While these two texts certainly act as a marketing tool for sales of Wood's ever reprinted novels, they also conceptualise the ghostly presence of Wood's literary persona, identifying Mrs. Henry Wood as a haunting presence both in the pages of the *Argosy* and the streets of Worcester. The texts also attempt to elevate Wood's position in the literary world, directly comparing her to literary greats and defending her work on points of criticism. The potential effect of these texts, in reigniting interest in Wood and Worcester is supported by another article published by the *Argosy* in July 1898. A paper written by Clara Mackenzie Kettle, a regular contributor to the *Argosy*, concludes her paper with direct reference to the article on 'The Shadow of Ashlydyat' mentioned above. In her reminiscence, she recounts spending time in Worcestershire, upon which Wood sent her late sister, Rosa Mackenzie Kettle, another popular writer, a copy of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat*. Clara recounts how she and her sister 're-read with double interest, both on account of the kindness of the donor, and also, from our being in the native county of the Author'.[646] Clara establishes a concerted distance between the donor and Author. The dual interest denotes the dual identity of the woman: Ellen Wood, the kind donor of the books, and 'the Author', Mrs. Henry Wood, the celebrated writer. This duality and distinct separation of the woman and the writer is consistent with Wood's own practices throughout her literary career and with the treatment of her literary afterlife by her son in the *Argosy*. Clara continues to support the claims of SMC recreating his act of literary tourism with a copy of *The Shadow of Ashlydyat* on hand as a viable activity: 'As we read once more the romance of 'The Shadow' we looked from our abode on the hill-top over the vast and beautiful plain through which the Severn flows, and saw the real 'Shadow' of the hills extend itself over the rich and varied landscape'.[647]

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646 Clara Mackenzie Kettle, 'Some Friends of Long Ago', *Argosy* (Jul 1898), p. 59.

647 Clara Mackenzie Kettle, 'Some Friends of Long Ago', p. 60.

As this chapter has demonstrated, Charles Wood employed the *Argosy* as a vessel through which the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' literary persona could be redefined in order to protect and prolong the popularity of Wood's novels after her death. The careful construction of her literary brand, which was re-established and elevated by the memorials, continued in the magazine through commemorative pieces which supplemented the continued publication of her literary material. The consistent marketing and branding of Mrs. Henry Wood as a respectful author placed value in the magazine in which she retained a substantial presence, although its circulation and reputation decreased after the death of Wood. Despite her physical absence, the publishing habits and strategies which had afforded Wood a successful literary career continued beyond her death. While her matronly persona afforded her protection and success during her lifetime, her close association with Victorian values became outdated and old-fashioned after the turn of the century, and Wood's subsequent critical neglect was certainly in part a 'professional consequence of the "myth" cultivated by her family during her own lifetime'.[648] However, for the purpose of this thesis, the prominence of her literary persona after her death, which adorns her final resting place in Highgate Cemetery further highlights the significance of Ellen Wood's negotiation of professional identity, both in terms of first her continued popularity and then her subsequent disappearance from critical attention.[649]

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[648] Andrew Maunder, 'Ellen Wood as a Writer: Rediscovering Collins's Rival', *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*, 3 (2000), pp. 17-31 (p. 18).

[649] The Bentley's sales accounts for Wood's novels in 1896–97 totalled over £1,500 and indicate a sustained colonial interest in Wood's fiction with purchases from places such as Sydney, Adelaide, and Bombay. Future study of the colonial reach and influence of Wood's texts would certainly be valuable to Victorian studies.

Conclusion

The extraordinary volume of primary source material and the complexity of the marketplaces in which Ellen Wood published, in many ways, determined the structure and scope of this study. The irrefutable link between Wood's professional identities and the context of both her personal biography and the literary marketplace lent itself to a chronological structure as the optimal means of capturing the relationship between Wood's negotiation of professional identities and her success in the Victorian literary market. Furthermore, the breadth, complexity, and sheer volume of Wood's publishing history, as 'one of the most prolific writers of the Victorian period,' created a significant challenge in attempting to incorporate all of her literary outputs, or, at least, a sense of them. Each work contributes towards the true complexity of her literary life and one of the challenges lay in identifying and selecting the appropriate primary material to provide an accurate representation of Wood's professional identities. As a result, this thesis incorporates primary materials hitherto neglected by scholars in order to enhance the understanding of Wood's output and their cultural implications yet recognises the significance of texts such as *East Lynne*, which had such a monumental role in her success.

The literary study of Wood's writing life became tethered to tracing the biographical, social, and cultural context in which she operated and a comparative analysis of Wood's publishing strategies and literary techniques became imbued in the research of the literary marketplace. In effect, the thesis uses Wood's literary contributions to articulate the duality of opportunities and limitations for women writers in this period - a duality that echoes Wood's approach to professional identities as a means of successfully negotiating the market.

Much has been made of the duality of Ellen Wood, the writer, and 'Mrs. Henry Wood', the literary figure. Often considered the 'relatively conservative sensation novelist,' Wood's

writing is described as 'precariously perched on the border between sensationalism and domestic realism.' The discrepancy between the overtly feminine persona defined by her husband's name and the scandalous plot lines featured in her 1860s novels has received critical attention. Furthermore, scholars have noted the distinction between the 'hobbyist' writer promoted by her reputation, and consolidated by her son's memorials, and the tenacious bestselling writer and magazine editor who 'did the business consistently better than her rivals.' The self-awareness Wood possessed in developing the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona performing her femininity to protect her reputation from criticism has been well documented. However, this thesis challenges this reading of Wood's most famous literary identity by incorporating the entirety of her literary oeuvre, considering all of her professional identities, and recognising the key role of the periodicals market in her rise to literary stardom.

This thesis examines how Wood exploited the periodicals market to establish herself as a writer, forged her own opportunities towards commercial success, and anticipated the cultural strategies required to maintain and grow a readership. Wood's use of multiple professional identities indicates both her astute understanding of the limitations placed on women writers and her ability to exploit those opportunities that were afforded. While her consciousness of her cultural inequality was by no means uncommon for women writers, this knowledge became a constant presence in her professional conduct. By analysing each professional identity and phase of her career, before, during, and beyond the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' era, the literary market emerges as a key factor in shaping her professional identities, determining the strategies she adopted, and influencing her publishing choices. Thereby, in combination with a biographical and cultural context, the thesis identified the strategic use of professional identity and its pivotal relationship to the publishing opportunities for

Victorian women writers and Wood emerged as an ideal candidate for a case study exploring these research questions.

By extension, the thesis demonstrates the key role that Wood's understanding of professional identities played in her development of the famous, and lucrative, 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand and illustrates how she challenged the boundaries of her identities, both within the content of her writing and the context of her conduct as a literary professional. By the 1860s, Wood had established herself as a literary celebrity despite the constant criticisms of sensation fiction and her perceived lack of aesthetic prestige. Often dismissed as an insignificant popular writer with little literary talent, Wood's ability to achieve such success within the competitive market deems her writing as important and this project foregrounds the importance of her professional identities in that success. Wood constantly altered and adapted the boundaries placed on her by manipulating her professional identities in response to market conditions. As Wood pushed against the boundaries imposed by the marketplace as a woman writer, this thesis has illustrated that she also challenged the self-imposed boundaries her own identities enforced. This adaptation is perhaps best illustrated by the masculine identities she adopted as a means of extending her literary opportunities away from 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. Much of the analysis within this project concludes that Wood's use of professional identities exposes the opportunities and challenges to women writers in the publishing market.

Lastly, a significant aspect of this project has been in re-establishing Wood as a significant Victorian woman writer and opening up the potential for further research within her oeuvre as a project of recovery and preservation. Wood has received significant critical attention since being 'unjustly neglected' for the majority of the twentieth century, yet much of the scholarship has a focus on *East Lynne* or her 1860s sensation fiction. In the past, there

has been a tendency to either emphasis her links to sensation fiction or dismiss her as a popular writer. This study built upon scholarship that recognised the significance of both Wood's strategic authorship and the status of Victorian women writers, particularly in periodicals. My research reveals that Wood developed the ability and strategic acumen to transcend the dominant cultural boundaries by utilising carefully crafted professional identities to exploit the opportunities available to her and, thereby, expose the limitations for female literary professionals.

Ellen Wood created her own cultural space, which undoubtedly impacted on female writers who came after her. Although there has been increasing interest in popular writers, and negotiations of authorship in periodicals and beyond, this project illustrates that there is still much to be said of the role of professional identities for women writers in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace. Furthermore, this project has illustrated the scope and richness of the entirety of Wood's literary output, which proves that Wood's writing deserves attention beyond 'Mrs. Henry Wood,' the success of *East Lynne*, and her sensation fiction.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Note From Editor- The House of Halliwell by MRS. HENRY WOOD, AUTHOR OF "EAST LYNNE" *Argosy* January 1890

Appendix B: Ellen Wood's (Semi-)Anonymous Contributions to Periodicals (1846-1859)

Appendix C: Chronological Guide to the Literary Output of Ellen Wood (1846-1888)

Appendix A: Note From Editor- The House of Halliwell by MRS. HENRY WOOD, AUTHOR OF "EAST LYNNE" ***Argosy*** **January 1890**

"THE HOUSE OF HALLIWELL" was written by Mrs. Henry Wood many years ago- even as far back as the days when she had not yet written "East Lynne." It was at that time prepared for publication in three volumes, but was never offered to any Publishing Firm.

The story somewhat differs in style and construction from the Author's subsequent works, but possibly for that reason may gain an additional interest as showing forth the development of dramatic and constructive force, of the life and movement of each separate set of dramatis personae, as a writer, passing from work (2) to work, gains experience which leads to higher flights of thought and fancy. For, as a great essayist recently remarked, talent exhausts itself, but genius grows and goes on from strength to strength. In the instance of Mrs. Henry Wood it was chiefly her physical powers- the ability to sit at her table, the mere exertion of writing- that declined, and at the last almost deserted her.

Therefore, if Mrs. Henry Wood were still here, it is probable that the Story of "The House of Halliwell" would be widened and elaborated; but the interest of the contrast of this early work with the methods adopted in Mrs. Henry Wood's later works would be lost to the reader.

On the other hand, considering the nature of the story and the somewhat gentle and subdued lines on which it is written, it may be a matter of opinion whether it has not been carried out as successfully as many of the author's later works.

For every page of "The House of Halliwell," from the opening to the closing scenes, bears the unmistakeable impression of the hand of the author of "East Lynne," whose place in the world of Fiction is marked by so distinct a style and individuality that these are at once identified. In the present story, also, the reader is introduced to the characters of Aunt Copp

and her son Sam- characters which the author again introduced and described in her novel of “The Red Court Farm:” not repeating the incidents, but carrying on the lives. Those who have read that story will, we believe, welcome Aunt Copp in the somewhat earlier days of her career; whilst others who have not read it will receive the energetic but humourous lady, and her equally downright and unsophisticated son, as new and entertaining creations.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the two stories- “The House of Halliwell” and “The Red Court Farm”- are distinctly separate and independent, the one of the other.- C.W.W.

Appendix B: Ellen Wood's (Semi-)Anonymous Contributions to Periodicals (1846-1859)

	Publication	Title	No.	Dates	Authorial Identity/ Text-Alluded Signature	Form	Reused?
1	*Union Magazine*	The Dream of Gertrude Lisle	1	Feb 1846	-	Single Short-Story	TRUE
2	*The Keepsake*	The Exile's Wife to her Sleeping Child	1	1949	Ellen Wood	Poem	FALSE
3	*NMM*	**Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic**	3	Feb-Apr 1851	1- Anonymous 2 & 3- Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
4	*NMM*	Maria Ernach's First and Last Pilgrimage	2	May-June 1851	Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
5	*NMM*	Frances Hildyard	2	July; Sept 1851	Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
6	*NMM*	Gina Montani	2	Nov-Dec 1851	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
7	*NMM*	**The Golden Era**/Anna Leicester	2	Feb-Mar 1852	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
8	*NMM*	My Cousin Caroline's Wedding	1	May 1852	-	Single Short-Story	TRUE
9	*NMM*	The Day-dream of George Vansittart: and its Recompense	1	Aug 1852	Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic and The Golden Era	Single Short-Story	FALSE
10	*NMM*	Annie Lee/Annie Livingstone	2	Dec 1852-Jan 1853	Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
11	*NMM*	A Word to England	2	Feb- Mar 1853	-	Serialised Article	FALSE
12	*NMM*	**The Unholy Wish**	2	Apr-May 1853	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
13	*NMM*	Two Phases in the Life of an Only Child	2	Jun-Jul 1853	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
14	*NMM*	The Self-Convicted	1	Aug 1853	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
15	*NMM*	A Tomb in a Foreign Land	1	Sept 1853	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
16	*NMM*	An Event in the Life of Lord Byron	1	Oct 1853	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
17	*NMM*	An Imperial Visit	1	Nov 1853	-	Short-Story	TRUE
18	*NMM*	St. Martin's Eve	1	Nov 1853	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
19	*NMM*	The Lady's Well	1	Dec 1853	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
20	*NMM*	A Record of the Gold-Fever	1	Jan 1854	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
21	*NMM*	Annabel Annesley's First Valentine	1	Feb 1854	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
22	*NMM*	The Surgeon's Daughters	2	March-June 1854	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
23	*NMM*	A Soldier's Career	1	July 1854	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
24	*NMM*	**Thomas Pepper** Letters	8	July 1854, Sept 1864, Dec 1854, Feb 1855, Apr 1855, Jun 1855, Sept 1855, Nov 1855	Ensign Pepper	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE

25	*NMM*	David Dundyke	2	Aug-Sept 1854	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
26	*NMM*	Mildred Arkell	3	Oct-Dec 1854	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
28	*Bentley's*	**War; and the Paris Mesmerists**	1	Jan 1855	-	Short-Story	TRUE
27	*NMM*	The Elopement	8	Jan-Aug 1855	- The Elopement	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
29	*Bentley's*	The Parson's Oath	1	Mar 1855	War; and the Paris Mesmerists	Short-Story	TRUE
30	*NMM*	The Prebendary's Daughter	2	Sept-Oct 1855	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
31	*Bentley's*	House of Halliwell	13	Sept 1855 - Nov 1856	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
32	*NMM*	Millicent's Folly	2	Nov-Dec 1855	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
33	*NMM*	All Souls' Eve	1	Jan 1856	The Unholy Wish	Short-Story	TRUE
34	*NMM*	Adela Chenevix	3	Feb-Apr 1856	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
35	*NMM*	The Mail-Cart Robbery	2	May-June 1856	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
36	*NMM*	**Ashley**	5	July-Nov 1856	The Unholy Wish	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
37	*NMM*	Jane Dixon/Rupert Hall	1	Dec 1856	Ashley	Short-Story	TRUE
39	*Bentley's*	Doing the Dun	1	Jan 1857	-	Short-Story	FALSE
38	*NMM*	Lost and Found/ Five Thousand A Year	3	Jan-Mar 1857	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
40	*Bentley's*	**The Red-Court Farm**	3	Feb-Apr 1857	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
41	*NMM*	Parkwater	6	Apr-Sept 1857	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
42	*Bentley's*	Mr. Castonel/**The Passing Bell**	5	May-Sept 1857	The Red-Court Farm	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
44	*Bentley's*	A Mysterious Visitor	1	Oct 1857	The Passing Bell	Short-Story	TRUE
43	*NMM*	The Engagement of Susan Chase	4	Oct-Jan 1858	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
45	*Bentley's*	**Moat-Grange**	5	Nov 1857- Mar 1858	The Passing Bell Midnight Doings Too Much To Wear	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
46	*NMM*	The Voyage of "Rushing Water"	3	Feb-Apr 1858	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
47	*Bentley's*	Rushing Headlong into Marriage	2	Apr-May 1858	- Rushing Headlong Into Marriage	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
48	*NMM*	The Wager Boats-	5	May-Sept 1858	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
49	*Bentley's*	The Diamond Bracelet-	3	June-Aug 1858	Moat-Grange	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
50	*Bentley's*	The Rock-	5	Sept 1858- Jan 1859	Moat-Grange	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
51	*NMM*	Raby Verner	1	Oct 1858	Ashley	Short-Story	TRUE
52	*NMM*	A Night with the Ghosts	5	Nov 1858-Mar 1859	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
53	*Bentley's*	Charles Strange	4	Feb-May 1859	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE

54	*NMM*	Pommeroy Abbey	6	Apr-Sept 1859	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
55	*Bentley's*	Blanche Level	3	Jun-Aug 1859	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
58	*NMM*	Clara Lake's Dream	3	Oct-Dec 1859	Ashley	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
57	*Bentley's & NMM*	Great and Little Whitton	3	Sept-Oct 1859; Oct 1860	-	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
59	*Bentley's*	French and English Female Dress	1	Nov 1859	-	Single Piece	FALSE

Appendix C: Chronological Guide to the Literary Output of Ellen Wood (1846-1888)

	Title	No.	Dates	Publication	Mode	Reused?
1	The Dream of Gertrude Lisle	1	Feb 1846	Union Magazine	Single Short-Story	FALSE
2	The Exile's Wife to her Sleeping Child	1	1949	The Keepsake for 1850	Poem	FALSE
3	Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic	3	Feb-Apr 1851	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
4	Maria Ernach's First and Last Pilgrimage	2	May-June 1851	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
5	Frances Hildyard	2	July; Sept 1851	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
6	Gina Montani	2	Nov-Dec 1851	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
7	The Golden Era/Anna Leicester	2	Feb-Mar 1852	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
8	My Cousin Caroline's Wedding	1	May 1852	NMM	Single Short-Story	TRUE
9	The Day-dream of George Vansittart: and its Recompense	1	Aug 1852	NMM	Single Short-Story	FALSE
10	Annie Lee/Annie Livingstone	2	Dec 1852-Jan 1853	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
11	A Word to England	2	Feb- Mar 1853	NMM	Serialised Article	FALSE
12	The Unholy Wish	2	Apr-May 1853	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
13	Two Phases in the Life of an Only Child	2	Jun-Jul 1853	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
14	The Self-Convicted	1	Aug 1853	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
15	A Tomb in a Foreign Land	1	Sept 1853	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
16	An Event in the Life of Lord Byron	1	Oct 1853	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
17	An Imperial Visit	1	Nov 1853	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
18	St. Martin's Eve	1	Nov 1853	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
19	The Lady's Well	1	Dec 1853	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
20	A Record of the Gold-Fever	1	Jan 1854	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
21	Annabel Annesley's First Valentine	1	Feb 1854	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
22	The Surgeon's Daughters	2	March-June 1854	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
23	A Soldier's Career	1	July 1854	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
24	Thomas Pepper Letters	8	July 1854, Sept 1864, Dec 1854, Feb 1855, Apr 1855, Jun 1855, Sept 1855, Nov 1855	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
25	David Dundyke	2	Aug-Sept 1854	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
26	Mildred Arkell	3	Oct-Dec 1854	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
27	The Elopement	8	Jan-Aug 1855	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
28	War; and the Paris Mesmerists	1	Jan 1855	Bentley's	Short-Story	TRUE
29	The Parson's Oath	1	Mar 1855	Bentley's	Short-Story	TRUE

30	The Prebendary's Daughter	2	Sept-Oct 1855	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
31	House of Halliwell	13	Sept-Nov 1856	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
32	Millicent's Folly	2	Nov-Dec 1855	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
33	All Souls' Eve	1	Jan 1856	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
34	Adela Chenevix	3	Feb-Apr 1856	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
35	The Mail-Cart Robbery	2	May-June 1856	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
36	Ashley	5	July-Nov 1856	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
37	Jane Dixon/Rupert Hall	1	Dec 1856	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
38	Lost and Found/ Five Thousand A Year	3	Jan-Mar 1857	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
39	Doing the Dun	1	Jan 1857	Bentley's	Short-Story	FALSE
40	The Red-Court Farm	3	Feb-Apr 1857	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
41	Parkwater	6	Apr-Sept 1857	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
42	Mr. Castonel	5	May-Sept 1857	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
43	The Engagement of Susan Chase	4	Oct-Jan 1858	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
44	A Mysterious Visitor	1	Oct 1857	Bentley's	Short-Story	TRUE
45	Moat-Grange	5	Nov 1857- Mar 1858	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
46	The Voyage of "Rushing Water"	3	Feb-Apr 1858	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
47	Rushing Headlong into Marriage	2	Apr-May 1858	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
48	The Wager Boats-	5	May-Sept 1858	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
49	The Diamond Bracelet-	3	June-Aug 1858	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
50	The Rock-	5	Sept 1858- Jan 1859	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
51	Raby Verner	1	Oct 1858	NMM	Short-Story	TRUE
52	A Night with the Ghosts	5	Nov 1858-Mar 1859	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
53	Charles Strange	4	Feb-May 1859	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
54	Pommeroy Abbey	6	Apr-Sept 1859	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
55	Blanche Level	3	Jun-Aug 1859	Bentley's	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
56	The Transformed Village	8	Jun-Jul 1859	The Sunday at Home	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
57	Great and Little Whitton-	3	Sept-Oct 1859; Oct 1860	Bentley's & NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
58	Clara Lake's Dream	3	Oct-Dec 1859	NMM	Serialised Short-Story	TRUE
59	French and English Female Dress	1	Nov 1859	Bentley's	Single Piece	FALSE

60	East Lynne	21	Jan 1860-Sept 1861	NMM	Serialised Novel	FALSE
						FALSE
61	The Elchester College Boys	1	April 1861	The Golden Casket		FALSE
62	A Race for Life	3	Sept 1861	The Leisure Hour	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
63	The Channings		Sept 7 1861-Mar 29 1862	Quiver	Serialised Novel	FALSE
64	The Shadow of Ashlydyat		Oct 1861-Nov 1863	NMM	Serialised Novel	FALSE
65	A Life's Secret		Jan-May 1862	The Leisure Hour	Serialised Novel	FALSE
66	The Brilliant Keeper	1	Feb 1862	St. James's	Short-Story	TRUE
67	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles		Apr-Dec 1862	Quiver	Serialised Novel	FALSE
68	Verner's Pride		Jun 1862- Feb 1863	Once a week	Serialised Novel	FALSE
69	William Allair		Dec 1862-Jan 1863	Quiver	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
70	Squire Trevlyn's Heir		Feb-Sept 1863	Quiver	Serialised Novel	FALSE
71	The Night-Walk Over the Mill Stream	1	Mar 1863	Good Words	Short-Story	TRUE
72	The Lost Bank Note	2	Jul-Aug 1863	The Leisure Hour	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
73	Martyn Ware's Temptation	1	Aug 1863	Good Words	Short-Story	TRUE
			1863			FALSE
74	Oswald Cray		Jan-Dec 1864	Good Words	Serialised Novel	FALSE
75	Lord Oakburn's Daughters		Mar-Oct 1864	Once a Week	Serialised Novel	FALSE
76	A Light and Dark Christmas	1	Dec 16 1865	Berrow's Worcester Journal	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
77	The Chest with the Silver Mountings	1	Dec 1865	Once a Week	Short-Story	FALSE
			1865			FALSE
78	Lady Adelaide's Oath		Apr 1866- Mar 1867	Temple Bar	Serialised Novel	FALSE
79	German Tables d'Hote	1	Sept 1866	Temple Bar	Short-Story	FALSE
			1866			FALSE
			1866			FALSE
80	Lost From the Rescue	1	Mar 1867	Temple Bar	Short-Story	FALSE
81	The Ghost of the Hollow Field		1867	Mixed Sweets from Routledge's Christmas Annual	Short-Story	TRUE
82	Orville Colllege		Jan- Dec 1867	Routledge's Every Boy Magazine	Serialised Novel	TRUE
83	Anne Hereford		Dec 1867-Dec 1868	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
84	This Year at Dieppe	1	Dec 1867	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
85	Johnny Ludlow stories		Jan 1868-	Argosy	Series of Short Stories	FALSE
86	Selling Flowers	1	Jun 1868	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
87	Mr. North's Dream	1	Dec 1869	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
88	Roland Yorke		Jan-Dec 1869	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
89	George Canterbury's Will			Tinsley's	Serialised Novel	FALSE
90	Virginia Cottage	1	May 1869	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE

91	Choice/Work/Love	90	Jun 1869; Jan 1870; Jan 1871	Good Words	Poem	FALSE
92	Lord and Lady Byron	1	Oct 1869	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
93	Feathers and Spangles	1	Dec 1869	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
94	Falling Into Virginia Water	1	Jan 1870	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
95	Bessy Rane		Jan-Dec 1870	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
96	Mrs. Beecher Stowe's "Vindication"	1	Apr 1870	Argosy	Short-Story	FALSE
97	Sonnet	1	May 1870	Good Words	Poem	FALSE
98	A Needed Explanation	1	Aug 1870	Argosy		FALSE
99	Out In The Streets	1	Dec 1870	Argosy		FALSE
100	Dene Hollow		Jan-Dec 1871	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
101	The "Margaret Ann." An Experience	1	Aug 1871	The Sunday Magazine	Short-Story?	FALSE
102	Mary Winter's History	1	Dec 1871	Argosy	Short-Story?	FALSE
103	Within The Maze		Jan-Dec 1872	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
104	Présmer. A French Story	1	Jul-Aug 1872	Argosy	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
105	Scarborough	1	Jul 1872	Argosy	Short-Story?	FALSE
106	Cyrilla Maude	1	Dec 1872	Argosy	Short-Story	TRUE
107	The Master of Greylands		Jan-Dec 1873	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
108	Bessy Wells		Oct 1873-Jan 1875	Sunday Magazine	Serialised Short-Story	FALSE
109	Our Children	3	Jun-Aug 1875	Sunday Magazine	Non-Fiction	TRUE
110	Edina		Jan-Dec 1876	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
111	Katarina Orsini	1	Jan 1877	Argosy	Short-Story	TRUE
112	Court Netherleigh		Jan-Dec 1881	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
113	Lady Grace		Jan-Oct 1887	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE
114	The Story of Charles Strange		Jan-Dec 1888	Argosy	Serialised Novel	FALSE