MALE USE OF A FEMALE PSEUDONYM
IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY
BRITISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research. It contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.

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Abstract

During the nineteenth century, male writers in Britain and the United States of America used female pseudonyms much more frequently than is recognised today. The historically accepted understanding is that nineteenth-century women, not men, used cross-gender pseudonyms, a viewpoint commonly justified on the basis of presumed gender discrimination. However, previous historians and scholars have written very little about the male use of the female pseudonym in men's authorship of literary genres.

Drawing on theories of masculinity and its construction in specific historical contexts, my thesis shows why, between 1800 and 1919, increasing numbers of male writers in Britain and America authored texts under female pseudonyms, categorised by the genres of romantic fiction, juvenile literature, periodical contributions, and poetry. Histories of masculinity offer a context in which to consider how the cultural power of gendered expectations helps make sense of the male use of the female pseudonym. The insight – that male use of the female pseudonym is symptomatic of the limiting strictures of conventionally gendered boundaries in the social, professional and domestic realms – informs my thesis. Furthermore, this understanding enriches my appraisal of the more widely documented female use of the male pseudonym and enables my thorough comparison with male use of the female pseudonym.

My thesis presents the first substantive catalogue and survey collating the particulars of men (forty-nine from Britain and forty-one from America) who used a female pseudonym in the nineteenth century. The thesis organises the motives that underpin the male writers' practice of using a female pseudonym into three broad categories: personal, ideological, and commercial. It teases out these categories into numerous specific motives in order to describe, interpret, and evaluate the complexities of individual cases. Furthermore, it offers a nuanced analysis of the gendered coding of writing practices during the period, and overturns the standard narrative that the use of cross-gender pseudonyms during the nineteenth century was largely the preserve of women.

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Male Use Of A Female Pseudonym
In
Nineteenth-Century British And American Literature

Introduction

> The ideological process of gender – whether manhood or womanhood – works through a complex political technology, composed of a variety of institutions, ideas, and daily practices. Combined, these processes produce a set of truths about who an individual is and what he or she can do, based upon his or her body. Individuals are positioned through that process of gender, whether they choose to be or not … And with that positioning as 'man' or 'woman' inevitably comes a host of other social meanings, expectations, and identities. Individuals have no choice but to act upon these meanings – to accept or reject them, adopt or adapt them – in order to be able to live their lives in human society.[1]

Constructions of masculinity in Britain and America underwent significant transformations during the nineteenth century, when middle-class men were confronted by challenges to traditional ways of understanding their bodies, identities, power, and authority. Historians refer to the common struggle experienced by almost all British and American men in the early-to-mid-Victorian period in proving their manhood to themselves.[2] Peer-group pressure in the public arena obliged men to repress the feminine within, and in the process to set strict boundaries for the self.[3] A shift in sexual politics towards the end of the nineteenth century was reflected in an intensified fear of the feminine and of feminisation, with a subsequent 'crisis' in masculinity. Throughout the nineteenth century, men employed a number of strategies to dissociate their masculine image from any feminine connotations. One of these strategies was the use of a female pseudonym.

In my thesis I examine how nineteenth-century male writers in Britain and America used female pseudonyms much more frequently than is recognised today. I analyse the diversity of general and specific motives for the male use of a female pseudonym, and to make complete sense of the practice, I briefly consider the female

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[1] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7.

[2] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 33.

[3] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2005), 14, 47.

use of a male pseudonym. Appreciating the cultural power of gendered expectations affords an insight into why nineteenth-century male authors chose to write under a female pseudonym.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century until the end of World War I (1800-1919), rising numbers of male writers in Britain and America produced works under a female pseudonym, particularly in the genres of romance fiction, juvenile literature, periodical contributions, and poetry. The motives for this practice can be characterised as falling within three broad categories: personal, ideological, and commercial. The first, personal, was to publish sentimental or emotive works through writing in a so-called 'feminine' genre for a largely female audience. The second, ideological, was to draw attention to social, economic, or political issues of the day. The third, commercial, was largely to meet the growing market demands for romance fiction for women and book series specifically for girls.

These general motives – personal, ideological, and commercial – can be further divided into at least a dozen more specific motives. Men writing under a female pseudonym for personal reasons may have been interested in appealing to a female audience through norms and values coded as feminine (for example, romance fiction and sentimental verse) or in affecting an apparently feminine style of writing to disguise their male identity. They might have attempted to explore new possibilities in their imaginative writing by separating their professional lives from their creative pastime. Some of them may have been looking for a way to enter the literary marketplace with confidence. Some may have been anxious to prevent embarrassment to self, family, or friends. And others may simply have wished to make a greater impact on the reading public through the use of a witty, punning, or amusing name.

Men writing under a female pseudonym for ideological reasons may have undertaken to provide moral and religious instruction, to impart middle-class social values to girls and young children, or to dispense advice and information to female readers. They may have been eager to highlight a social, political, or economic issue, sometimes through satire, in order to bring about genuine social reform. Others may have intended to expose a current example of human weakness or foolishness through humour, hoaxes, or parody. And others may have been anxious to avoid censorship or to subvert religious, political, and social authorities.

Finally, some men using a female pseudonym for commercial purposes may

have been eager to exploit the popularity and success of an emerging genre. Others may have aimed to promote the marketability of a product, or possibly they were seeking a profession that guaranteed financial security.

Methodological Approach and Overview of Data

My thesis is based upon more thorough research of these writers than has been previously attempted, and is therefore able to make statements about the nature of this practice that are more securely evidence-based than the primarily anecdotal approaches of previous studies. My research has involved compiling a substantial database of ninety men (forty-nine from Britain and forty-one from America) who used female pseudonyms (see Appendix C). Several of these men were born before 1800 and were writing into the nineteenth century, whilst others, born towards the end of the nineteenth century, were still writing at the end of World War I. This is not a complete list of male writers using female pseudonyms between 1800 and 1919, but it is the most comprehensive list ever compiled. Throughout my research I found mention of other men using female pseudonyms during this period, but too few biographical details were available to provide sufficient valid data to serve as useful evidence. It will always be the case that there existed numbers of male writers whose concealment behind female pseudonyms was so successful that they will forever escape detection by historians – which only helps to support my thesis. Given the extent of my research, these numbers, whether high or low, do not compromise the soundness of my argument.

In the following chapters I expand on the three motives outlined above to analyse the significance of individual cases. Profiles differ in length depending on the availability of biographical or bibliographical detail or when the biography helps to clarify the use of the female pseudonym. Longer descriptions often shed light on the political, religious, and social conditions of the day, which in many cases influenced the choice of pseudonym.

Because the boundaries between the different motives are quite flexible, the complexities of the practice make it difficult to assign a singular motive to some authors. Nevertheless, based on the genre of a writer's main body of work under a female pseudonym, I have established that, of the ninety men identified in my research, ten British and twelve American men wrote for personal reasons, twenty-six British and ten American men for ideological, and fourteen British and nineteen

American men for commercial reasons.[4] I elaborate on these findings in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Since the late 1990s, the availability of reliable online information has grown exponentially, allowing my easy access to secondary sources and archived primary material. Accordingly I conducted most of my research using the Internet and electronic databases. Of particular use were *Questia Online Library*, *National Dictionary of Biography Online*, *American National Biography Online, Internet Archive*, *Google* and *Amazon* books, *The New York Times* article archives (from 1851), library records, and genealogy sites, as well as hard copies of pseudonym dictionaries and reference books about nineteenth-century literature.

In each example of online material I conducted searches using terms such as 'female pseudonym', 'pseudonym', 'pen name', '*nom de plume*', and variations of these terms. In the dictionaries of biography, I searched for men in the fields of literature, journalism, and publishing, entering life dates between 1780 and 1880, and active writing dates between 1800 and 1919. Using the *Questia Online Library* and publications via *Google* and *Amazon* sites, I trawled through the index and notes of scores of books about nineteenth-century literature in Britain and America for any references to the use of pseudonyms. In the same way I searched the *Internet Archive* and *The New York Times* article archives, which proved to be valuable sites for retrieving primary sources concerning the use of pseudonyms. I also found that with increasing public interest in tracing family histories, online genealogy sites were a helpful resource in verifying authors' details, such as names of parents and marriage partners, occupations, number of siblings, and dates of births and deaths. In hard copies of dictionaries of pseudonyms and other reference books, I searched page by page for male writers with female pseudonyms and sifted through indexes for any mention of pseudonyms, pen names, and anonyms.

Every time I found a reference to a male writer using a female pseudonym I explored other books and Internet sites for further references to that writer to confirm the accuracy of the original finding. Although this was a time-consuming process, it proved to be necessary, as in some cases, older sources had identified the writer through mere speculation. An example of such inaccuracy occurs in the endnotes of

[4] This is a total of ninety-one men. Although more than ten men wrote in different genres, L. Frank Baum is included in chapters 4 and 5 ('Ideological Motives' and 'Commercial Motives'), because of the diversity of the genres in which he wrote and the time that passed between his use of female pseudonyms.

Catherine Judd's essay on 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England' (1995). In her endnotes Judd cites several male writers who used female pseudonyms (examples possibly taken from John Haynes' *Pseudonyms of Authors*, 1882) with two important errors: John Ruskin (1819-1900) writing as Kate Phusin and Thomas Bangs Thorpe (1815-1878) as Ellen Alice.[5] John Ruskin, art critic and supporter of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement, in fact published a series of papers at the age of eighteen under the pseudonym Kata Phusin (Greek for 'According to Nature') to define the way he intended to live and to express the spirit of his work.[6] Thorpe was an American humorist and artist of the antebellum period, best known for his short story *The Big Bear of Arkansas*. He adopted Tom Owen as his main pseudonym after publication of a sketch, *Tom Owen, The Bee-Hunter* (1839). Despite Judd's attribution, I can find no corresponding reference in primary and secondary source materials to his writing under a female pseudonym.[7]

The male use of female pseudonyms was a well-established practice in Britain and America by the nineteenth century, but bio-bibliographical details of British men have proven more readily available than those of their American counterparts. Despite the dominance of British authors in my sample, by the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries more men in America than in Britain were using female pseudonyms. The reason for this was the consistent demand for romance fiction, the growing popularity of schoolgirl stories, the widespread practice of publishers' house-names, and the burgeoning American population. This increased exponentially throughout the nineteenth century, from approximately five million in 1800 to over seventy-six million in 1900, surpassing the British population by mid-century.[8] The

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[5] Catherine A. Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England', *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing & Reading Practices*, John O. Jordan & Robert L. Patten, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 261, n.2.

John Edward Haynes, *Pseudonyms of Authors; Including Anonyms and Initialisms* [1882] (New York: Detroit, Gale Research Co., 1969), 53, 32. Internet Archive. http://archive.org/stream/pseudonymsautho00hayngoog (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[6] William Prideaux Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature: Chapters in the History of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Writings of our Countrymen* (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Limited, 1908), 211. Internet Archive (2008). http://www.archive.org/details/secretsofournati00couruoft (last accessed 19 March 2018). Ruskin used the pseudonym not so much through lack of confidence but because of a maturity in his work which could be hard to justify in a youth of eighteen. He claimed that his essays, 'though deformed by assumption and shallow in contents, are curiously right up to the points they reach, and already distinguished above most of the literature of the time for the skill of language, which the public at once felt for a pleasant gift in me'.

[7] Bangs also used 'Logan' as a pseudonym.

[8] 'Through the Decades: Fast Facts', *United States Census Bureau*. https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/ (last accessed 19 March 2018).

number of authors rose accordingly.

Men often wrote in more than one genre, sometimes using a variety of female pseudonyms. However, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the end of World War I, the four most common genres in which British and American men wrote under a female pseudonym (see Table 1) were:

(i) **Adult fiction** (romance novels, short stories, serials): from my database of ninety authors, thirty-nine men (43.3%) wrote in this genre (one in the years 1800-1839, thirteen in 1840-1879, and twenty-five in 1880-1919).

(ii) **Poetry**: eighteen men (20%) wrote poetry (three in the years 1800-1839, eight in 1840-1879, and seven in 1880-1919).

(iii) **Periodical contributions** (letters, articles, reviews): eighteen men (20%) contributed to periodicals (two in the years 1800-1839, eight in 1840-1879, and eight in 1880-1919).

(iv) **Juvenile literature**: seventeen men (18.9%) wrote juvenile literature (two in the years 1800-1839, three in 1840-1879, and eleven in 1880-1919).

Eight men (8.9%) used female pseudonyms in less common genres, such as song lyrics, pamphlets, pornography, and the creation of puzzles (see Table 2). The frequency of the male use of a female pseudonym increased over the nineteenth and into the early-twentieth century (see Tables 3 and 4). It rose from ten men (11.1% of my database) using one or more female pseudonyms in the period 1800-1839, to thirty-two (35.6%) between 1840 and 1879, and to forty-eight (53.3%) between 1880 and 1919. Of those forty-eight authors, Aleister Crowley and Edward Stratemeyer each used more than fifteen female pseudonyms. In fact, Crowley used so many male, female, and gender-neutral pseudonyms that it would be almost impossible to compile a full list of them.

Of the ninety men with female pseudonyms, sixty-three used only one female pseudonym. Of these, sixteen writers (ten British and six American) appear to have used that pseudonym only once in their writing careers, suggesting a cautious departure from their usual genres or a wary reluctance to acknowledge the work as their own. Nine of these sixteen authors who used their female pseudonym only once, also used male/gender-neutral pseudonyms in a number of genres. Six men in my

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This unparalleled growth of population in the United States can largely be attributed to waves of mass immigration as well as particularly high rates of natural growth.

database had only one known pseudonym, and it was female and used on a single work. Three British authors – Lowndes (1830), Swinburne (1862), and Moore (1891) – and three American – Adams (1880), Hubbard (1891), and Hawthorne (1896) – each used their known pseudonym to write one novel in the genre of romance or sensation fiction aimed at a female audience.[9]

Table 1. Most Common Genres For Male Use Of Female Pseudonym

	Adult Fiction			Poetry			Periodical Contributions			Juvenile Literature			Total
Writing	UK	US		UK	US		UK	US		UK	US		
1800-1839	1	0	1	3	0	3	2	0	2	1	1	2	8
1840-1879	6	6	12	6	2	8	5	3	8	1	2	3	31
1880-1919	13	13	26	5	2	7	4	4	8	5	7	12	53
1800-1919	20	19	39	14	4	18	11	7	18	7	10	17	92

Table 2. Less Common Genres For Male Use Of Female Pseudonym

	Song Lyrics		Pornography		Pamphlets		Puzzles		Total	Grand Total
Writing	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US		
1800-1839	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	10
1840-1879	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	34
1880-1919	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	56
1800-1919	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	2	8	*100

*At least ten male authors used female pseudonyms in more than one genre

[9] Lyn Pykett, *The 'Improper' Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1992), 5-6. Sensation fiction was a literary genre especially popular in Britain in the period 1860-1880. Even when written by male writers, the genre has been regarded as predominantly feminine. Plots involve scandalous events and sexual deviance, inciting alarm and hostility on the part of literary, political, and religious authorities. The genre's name is derived from the contemporary theatre's 'sensation drama' noted for spectacular effects and displays of intense emotion.

Table 3. Male Authors With 1 - 15+ Female Pseudonyms

Male Authors With Female Pseudonym/s				With Only 1 Female Pseudonym			With 2-15 Female Pseudonyms			With 15+ Female Pseudonyms		
Writing	UK	US		UK	US		UK	US		UK	US	
1800-1839	9	1	10	5	1	6	4	0	4	0	0	0
1840-1879	18	14	32	14	12	26	4	2	6	0	0	0
1880-1919	22	26	48	18	13	31	5	11	16	1	1	2
1800-1919	49	41	90	37	26	63	13	13	26	1	1	2

Table 4. Male Authors With Female Pseudonyms Only
& With Female Plus Male/Neuter Pseudonyms

Male Authors With Female Pseudonym/s				With Female Pseudonyms Only			With Female And Male/Neuter		
Writing	UK	US		UK	US		UK	US	
1800-1839	9	1	10	2	0	2	7	1	8
1840-1879	18	14	32	5	5	10	13	10	23
1880-1919	22	26	48	7	9	16	16	15	31
1800-1919	49	41	90	14	14	28	36	26	62

Literature Review

Sociologist Gaye Tuchman commented in 1989 upon the possibility of the prevalence of the male use of the female pseudonym in the nineteenth century. Tuchman pointed out that 'literary historians have usually ignored the use of female pseudonyms by men', even though 'solid data seem to support the assumption that many male writers masqueraded as women in the novel's heyday.'[10] In the three decades since, no author has yet followed up upon Tuchman's suggestion. Although some historians may have commented on the practice, the question has never been adequately addressed. My thesis fills this gap by testing Tuchman's hypothesis. What it uncovers is not simple confirmation of the possibility raised by Tuchman, but in fact a demonstration that the practice was far more widespread than even Tuchman realised. My intention, however, is to examine only the small number of works that have addressed directly the male use of female pseudonyms.

Contemporary commentators and previous historians have written very little

[10] Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 1989), 53.

with reference to the male use of the female pseudonym, because the historically accepted view on the use of pen names is that nineteenth-century women, not men, used cross-gender pseudonyms. This does not mean that the idea was never raised or that no clues existed. As the *Gentleman's Magazine* stated as early as June 1770, it was common practice for men to affect the style and disposition of female authors, and the simple pseudonym of 'By a Lady' was most likely intended to mislead.[11] Oliver Goldsmith suspected that 'men were writing sentimental novels under female pseudonyms' in the eighteenth century, as well as producing books on childcare, midwifery, housekeeping, and cooking.[12] Yet, despite the widespread use of a female pseudonym by male authors as early as the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century, there is a dearth of information about this custom. Many books allude to the practice but authors of that period who wrote about literary life appear to have been unaware of or indifferent to its prevalence.

Nevertheless, at the close of the nineteenth century there was a growing awareness of the practice. *The New York Times* made a fleeting reference to George Moore who wrote a serial story, *Vain Fortune* (1891), for a London paper under the female pseudonym Lady Rhone. It also noted that there was a 'feminine suggestion' about Sidney Daryll, the pseudonym used by Sir Douglas Straight.[13] In 1894 a London article reprinted in the *Times* identified Algernon Swinburne as a rare exception in writing under a female pseudonym: 'Algernon Charles Swinburne, the poet, probably the only man that ever did so, once reversed the ladies' plan of procedure and wrote his erotic rhymes disguised in the petticoats and flounces of Mrs. Horace Manners'.[14] This rarity was simply attributed to the poet's unusual personality and appearance. In *The New England Magazine* (1897), Charles T. Scott commented that, to his knowledge, the only notable instance of a man adopting a female pseudonym was B. P. Shillaber, who signed himself Mrs Partington.[15] A later article in *The New York Times* (1905) asserted that, while it was common for women

[11] Tuchman and Fortin, *Edging Women Out*, 45.

[12] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, expanded ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 17.

[13] 'Personal and Otherwise', *The New York Times* (12 February 1905). Article archive: 1851-1980, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9D01E1DD163EE733A25751C1A9649C946497D6CF (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[14] 'A Chapter on Pseudonyms: History of Some Famous Noms De Guerre', *The New York Times* (4 March 1904). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9803EFD71F31E033A25757C0A9659C94659ED7CF (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[15] Charles T. Scott, 'A Chapter on Nom de Plumes', *New England Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, New ser., v. 5-19; Old ser., v. 11-15 (Boston: New England Magazine Co., 1897), 190. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/newenglandmagaziv17bost (last accessed 15 March 2018).

to adopt male pseudonyms, it was still the reverse for men.[16] Despite their energetic speculation over author identification, readers and reviewers still failed to acknowledge that the male use of a female pseudonym was such an ingrained practice. Even at the time, as it became an issue of interest, no one understood the pervasiveness of this practice, and how it was establishing the pattern of ignorance that continues today.

William Prideaux Courtney, in *Secrets of Our National Literature* (1908), relates how authors 'almost from the origin of printing' have tried to hide their identities from the world and how many a literary student over the ages has eagerly tried to solve the mysteries of pseudonymous and anonymous authorship.[17] Courtney details the history of authorial exposure, discusses the anonymous literature in the British Museum, and provides examples of men and women from all walks of life, people who have hidden behind a mask of anonymity or pseudonymity. They include novelists, poets, theologians, political pamphleteers, miscellaneous authors, and plagiarists.[18] Commenting on the value of the simple signature of 'A Lady', Courtney notes that:

> The list of these 'ladies', known and unknown, in the catalogue now exceeds a total of 800, and sometimes they veil the identity of the other sex. *The Lady's new year's Gift or advice to a daughter,* which passed into a second edition in 1688, and an eighth in 1707, was the composition of the great trimmer in politics, George Savile, Marquess of Halifax. *The Whole Duty of Woman* (1753), which bore on its title-page the words 'by a lady', was a fraud on the public by the notorious William Kendrick, the assailant of Goldsmith and of every other honest man of his generation.[19]

Although he identifies only four nineteenth-century men hiding behind a female pseudonym (in his chapter devoted to male writers of fiction), Courtney's contemporaneous viewpoint on pseudonymity provides an Edwardian explanation for the motives behind the practice.

In a much more recent book, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers* (1995), John Sutherland considers ways in which novelists tried to mask their true

[16] 'Personal and Otherwise', *The New York Times*.
[17] Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature,* 1.
[18] Ibid., 71, 111, 136, 151, 178, 216.
[19] Ibid.*,* 15. Bibliophile Olmar Hamst, Esq. (pseudonym of Ralph Thomas) included in his book, *Aggravating Ladies* (1880), a list of 151 unidentified British works 'by a lady' published up to that stage in the nineteenth century.

identity through the widespread practice of anonymity and pseudonymity.[20] He sees it as a practice that has thwarted the most exhaustive studies to identify most of the workforce of approximately 3,500 fiction writers in Victorian Britain. Sutherland appears to accept that because of 'the social role forced on them', nineteenth-century female authors made greater use (than men did) of the conventions of pseudonymity and anonymity. He argues that women were inclined to choose gender-neutral or masculine pen names in a process of choosing opposite-sex pseudonyms that was 'almost entirely one-way'.[21]

Two influential books of feminist criticism – Elaine Showalter's *A Literature of Their Own* (1977) and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979) – offer strong psychosocial explanations for the woman writer's use of a male pseudonym. Both see nineteenth-century women as products of a society that privileged men's activities and the status of men's sexuality so that in their engagement with these patriarchal structures, women felt consistently anxious and threatened. Nineteenth-century female writers, according to Gilbert and Gubar, were forced to choose the private over the public, typifying the 'sickening anxiety of authorship' that, until recently, confronted every woman writer in America and England.[22] Unless she wrote anonymously or under a pseudonym the woman writer was trapped in a double bind: she could either admit that she was inferior to men or claim that she was as good as them.[23] Gilbert and Gubar suggest that another solution was for a woman to actually present herself as male to the literary world, following the example of George Eliot and George Sand; they did not say that they were as good as men but that they *were* men. A woman disguised in a male pseudonym could freely move between public and private spheres.

Elaine Showalter sees the increasing female use of the male pseudonym in the 1840s as a marker of an historical shift that signalled 'loss of innocence'.[24] She suggests that a male persona was part of the fantasy life of many women writers from childhood and that a masculine name represented all that transcended the oppression

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[20] John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers* (London: Macmillan, 1995), 152.

[21] Ibid., 160.

[22] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, 2nd ed. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), 64.

[23] Ibid., 65.

[24] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, expanded ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 19.

of the feminine ideal.[25] Showalter notes that women journalists, as well as novelists and poets, also resorted to pseudonymity and anonymity in order to promote intellectual freedom, encourage a more favourable reception of their work, and permit independent expression without fear of reprisal.

In her book, *The Nightingale's Burden* (1982), feminist Cheryl Walker echoes Showalter's concerns about British women novelists who 'worked to atone for their own will to write': their American sisterhood was also experiencing 'internal pressures' that made them wary of ambition.[26] It was obvious to women writers in the nineteenth century, Walker maintains, that to enter the literary world was 'not quite feminine'. These women were 'debilitated by their internalised sense of guilt over their desire for power', and many were driven through guilt and shame to assume a pseudonym rather than appear in print under their own name.[27]

According to *The Woman Question – Literary Issues, 1837-1883* (1983), an entire age in literary production, the 'feminine phase', was characterised by the choice of male pseudonyms by British women writers.[28] This choice publicly reflected a desire both to impress the reviewers and to avoid personal attack. Privately, it implied the fantasy of a more exciting identity and the guilt of choosing an occupation 'in direct conflict with woman's status'.[29] A masculine, masculinised, or gender-neutral pseudonym enabled women to venture into the male-dominated literary marketplace without fear of social reproof. *The Woman Question* suggests that the prevalence of the male pseudonym meant that English women novelists were more ambitious but more troubled than their American counterparts. British women were driven by critical bias to exploit the protection of a male pseudonym and loss of that protection caused great distress.[30] British women novelists, according to *The Woman Question,* had high standards and were eager to overcome charges of feminine inferiority and be accepted by the press.[31] American women, on the other

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[25] Ibid., 57.

[26] Ibid., 21.

Cheryl Walker, *The Nightingale's Burden: Women Poets and American Culture before 1900,* 1st ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982), 36.

[27] Ibid., 34.

[28] Elizabeth K. Helsinger, Robin Lauterbach Sheets, and William Veeder, *The Woman Question: Literary Issues, 1837-1883* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 65. This phase supposedly lasted from the 1840s when the male pseudonym first appeared until the death of George Eliot in 1880.

[29] Ibid., 65. A woman's 'proper' sphere was the home where she could provide her family with comfort, order, and personal supervision.

[30] Ibid. This was demonstrated with Charlotte Brontë's identification as Currer Bell.

[31] Ibid.

hand, occasionally resorted to anonymity or neutral names only if they stepped beyond the accepted boundaries of the domestic novel.

In *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (1989), Tuchman reminds us that publishers, authors, and readers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries assumed that women, not men, were writing novels, and that a female pseudonym usually signified a female author. Tuchman considers ways in which men supplanted women as novelists in the nineteenth century, gradually redefining the culture of writing novels as an elitist and so-called 'masculine' practice by taking advantage of an 'empty field'. She explains how increased educational opportunities and changes in the publishing system, particularly centralisation of the publishing industry in London, contributed to the proliferation of male novelists towards the end of the century. Men were paid higher rates than women, and were largely the 'culture brokers' in the literary world. They were the publishers, critics, readers, and reviewers of what had become 'an elite art form'.[32] Through the production of 'high-culture' novels male writers accumulated wealth and prestige while women remained in the familiar territory of the domestic or romantic novel.[33]

Tuchman, with Nina Fortin, analysed the lives of novelists mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* examined the archives of the London publishing house Macmillan and Company and coded the gender of authors who submitted novels to Macmillan. They then cross-referenced some of their names in the *Catalogue to the British Museum*, which contains multiple pseudonyms. In this process Tuchman identified 'a phenomenon that contravenes standard assumptions about the mid-nineteenth century use of pseudonyms', in that 'solid data seem to support the assumption that many male writers masqueraded as women … [and that] men submitting fiction were more likely to assume a female name than women were to use either a male or a neuter name' during 'the novel's heyday' of the 1860s and 1870s.[34] Nineteenth-century men used a female pseudonym to attract female readers by suggesting that they 'saw the world as women did', in the same way that twenty-first-century male authors might adopt a female pseudonym for historical romances

[32] Tuchman and Fortin, *Edging Women Out,* 119.

[33] Ibid., 87. Tuchman claims that women's fiction was denigrated in the later decades of the nineteenth century and not considered suitable for Macmillan; thus women remained authors of popular culture. However, many women who wrote New Woman novels were amply rewarded financially and were highly regarded by critics and readers. These women included such writers as Sarah Grand, Emma Frances Brooke, Mona Caird, Ouida, Marie Corelli, and Mrs Humphry Ward.

[34] Ibid., 53.

and gothic novels.

Tuchman notes correctly that 'little attention has been paid to the male use of a female pseudonym, and although some historians may have raised the question, it has never been adequately addressed'.[35] Given that it is not the focus of her book, she does not expand on the topic or provide examples of men with female pseudonyms. Tuchman's heavy concentration on the records of Macmillan, a firm that did not specialise in fiction, may have skewed the balance of her findings, but she does acknowledge that men may have submitted fiction elsewhere.[36] As late as 1886, fifty-eight per cent of Macmillan's output comprised religion and social science, as well as history (among other topics). Less than half of their output devoted to literature titles was given over to fiction.[37] The records of other major British firms publishing fiction in the mid- and late-nineteenth century (Bentley, Chapman & Hall, Chatto & Windus, John Dicks, Hurst & Blackett, John Maxwell, George Routledge, Tinsley Brothers, and Ward Lock) would have probably yielded further examples of men writing under female pseudonyms. Of course, as my research shows, men were still using female pseudonyms in other genres beside the novel.

Margaret Beetham, in *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (1995), describes how during the 1890s the male editors of *Woman* magazine used female pseudonyms for advice columns, music and book reviews, short chatty articles, etc. Her book traces the development of the woman's magazine throughout the nineteenth century until it evolved as an exclusively feminine space, 'defined by the woman who was at its centre and by its difference from the masculine world of politics and economics'.[38] Beetham reads the Victorian woman's magazine as 'text' – 'a place where meanings are contested and made'; the meanings of 'femininity' were always changing along with the meaning, the shape, and the practices of the woman's magazine.[39] In the chapter '"Forward But Not Too Fast": The Advanced Magazine', Beetham details the history of *Woman* magazine, which was positioned at 'the intersection of gender politics and journalism'. She describes how it identified 'womanhood' with the domestic and the maternal, and how under Arnold Bennett's editorship during the 1890s, the most

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid., 56.
[37] Dennis Walder, ed., *The Nineteenth-Century Novel: Identities* (London: Routledge, 2001), 165.
[38] Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3.
[39] Ibid., 5.

important element in creating a feminised space was the editorial use of female pseudonyms.[40] These pseudonyms disguised a series of male editors whose names or gender were never revealed within the pages of the magazine.

The introductory chapters in Adrian Room's third edition of *Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1998) are packed with information about the tradition of pseudonymity, and on reasons for a name change and how to choose or create a new name. In the section 'Names for a Living', Room dwells in detail on the practice of a female writer adopting a male name, asserting that male writers who permanently adopt a female pseudonym are 'few and far between', not well known, and of little significance.[41] Room explains, rather simplistically, that any 'serious' and 'innovative writing' of the nineteenth century was expected to come from a male writer, especially if it challenged popular social, religious, and moral values.[42] A man might choose to write under a male or gender-neutral pseudonym for many reasons, according to Room: to separate professional life from creative pastime, to submit work to different publications, or to differentiate between two or more aspects of his writing. And, perhaps on rare occasions when writing 'trivially or humorously', a man might use a female pseudonym. Room maintains that a female author in the nineteenth century used a male pseudonym as an effective passport into a male literary marketplace, but a male author, already in a man's world, would assume a female name simply when prompted by aesthetic or practical reasons for any name change.[43] Room basically accepts the standard narrative, which my research invalidates.

Randolph Cox's *Dime Novel Companion* (2000) is a valuable source of information on dime novelists and is of particular relevance to this thesis.[44] It supports my conclusions that towards the end of the nineteenth century many male writers wrote under female pseudonyms that were being used as house names by large writing syndicates. *The Dime Novel Companion* details, or at least mentions, twenty of the authors in my database. It also includes a brief history of the dime novel and over 1,200 entries on major writers, editors, publishers, series characters, and genres of fiction. Because several thousand writers wrote dime novels between 1860

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[40] Ibid., 178. *Woman*'s motto was 'Forward But Not Too Fast', printed either on its title page or cover from its launch in 1890 until March 1899.

[41] Adrian Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms*, 3rd ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998), 28.

[42] Ibid., 26. Room grants that the one exception was William Sharp who wrote as Fiona Macleod.

[43] Ibid., 28.

[44] J. Randolph Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion: A Source Book* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), xiii-xxv.

and 1915, not all are catalogued. Cox selected authors for inclusion if they wrote five or more stories for a single publication, or if their name was the only one signed to stories in a brief series. Authors who were very prolific or contributed significantly to the genre of the dime novel have separate entries. Many dime novelists will never be identified because of the complex practices of syndicates and the adoption of house names.

My brief overview makes clear that, though the suspicion of the practice of male use of female pseudonyms during the nineteenth century has circulated for some time, it has been only a suggestion, never subjected to close and sustained investigation. My thesis builds upon the observations of Tuchman and provides the empirical backing for a broader understanding of the century's print culture.

Theoretical Foundations for Interpreting Male Use of a Female Pseudonym

Until late in the nineteenth century it was considered improper, in fact it was 'virtually unthinkable', for a woman writer to turn out works that were any more authoritative, shocking, or unusual than romantic verse, children's stories, light fiction, or a daily diary.[45] Women were regarded as inferior to men both physically and intellectually, although stronger in sentiment and emotion.[46] If a woman wrote in a genre associated with strength, power, men, or sex, she was verbally castigated – unless her identity was well concealed, often under a male pseudonym. For example, when it became known that Currer Bell, the author of *Jane Eyre* (1847), was really a woman (Charlotte Brontë), the favourable reviews became less positive and admiration turned to disapproval. Jane Eyre was seen to be the 'personification of an unregenerate and undisciplined spirit', and critics assumed a connection between her uncontrolled passion and the current climate of social and political unrest.[47]

Given that the most familiar examples of literary pseudonyms are those adopted by nineteenth-century female writers such as the Brontë sisters and George Eliot, modern readers tend to regard the historical use of a pseudonym as a protective device against hostile readers and threats of arrest or persecution, recognising that without a pseudonym many of these women would never have been published or read at all. Focus has therefore generally been on the female use of a male pseudonym,

[45] Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms*, 3rd ed., 26.
[46] Pat Jalland and John Hooper, eds., *Women from Birth to Death: The Female Life Cycle in Britain 1830-1914*, (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1986), 56.
[47] Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the* Attic, 337.

justified on the basis of presumed gender discrimination and social intimidation.[48] The significant gender-based recuperation of women writers in the 1960s and 1970s pays little heed to the male use of a female pseudonym and presents the male or masculinised pseudonym (used by women writers) as a symbol of female authors' victimisation or discrimination by contemporary hostile critics and readers. However, a detailed analysis of women's choices of pseudonyms and their motives reveals many factors at play (see Chapter 6). Despite their position in a patriarchal society, nineteenth-century women were not necessarily victims burdened by femininity or imprisoned by their gender. Through judicious use of a pseudonym women could establish a new identity and successfully negotiate between public and private.

Since the early 1990s new studies of the social and cultural construction of masculinity have emerged, leading to a fuller understanding of the meaning of gender as power.[49] Whilst men still had control over public domains of government, commerce, and culture, new interpretations of social and ideological relations between public and private have led social historians to acknowledge the interpenetrating spheres of work and home, and the ways in which both men's and women's lives influenced and constrained each other. These new interpretations of masculinity shed light on the nineteenth-century social conditions and attitudes that influenced male writers in their choice of pseudonyms. Despite a scarcity of literary references to nineteenth-century male writers with female pseudonyms, recent studies on masculinity (particularly by sociologist R. W. Connell and historians John Tosh, Michael Kimmel, E. Anthony Rotundo, and Christopher Forth) reveal the conditions that would induce a male writer to hide his identity under a female pseudonym. This shift to exploring the discourse of masculinity creates an important framework in which to understand the male use of the female pseudonym in the nineteenth century.

To understand masculinity historically, according to R. W. Connell, we must study changes in social relations by opening up a unit such as 'the family' into the different relationships it comprises.[50] This is exactly what John Tosh has accomplished in *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (1999), where he reveals how nineteenth-century masculinity was

[48] Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Reading Pseudonyms in Seventeenth-Century English Coterie Literature', *Essays in Literature* 21, no.1 (Spring 1994). *Questia.* https://www.questia.com/read/1G1-16082459/reading-pseudonyms-in-seventeenth-century-english (last accessed 13 March 2018).

[49] Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991), 8.

[50] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 29.

constructed through relationships conditioned by cultural expectations. Tosh affirms that the Victorian home was central to middle-class masculinity and explores the connection between masculinity and 'domesticity' in nineteenth-century Britain. He stresses that domesticity represented more than the domestic sphere: it was a 'state of mind as well as a physical orientation'.[51] *A Man's Place* tracks the changes in husband/wife and father/son relationships throughout the century, and reconstructs ways in which men 'experienced the demands of an exacting domestic code' whilst negotiating its contradictions.[52] Tosh contrasts the lives of men throughout the century. In the early decades, domesticity was seen as an antidote to the complexities of growing urbanisation. Towards the end of the century domesticated masculinity had become undermined by feelings of insecurity, fears of 'feminisation', and the call to escape the restriction of domesticity for the excitement of imperial adventure. In a later book, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2005), Tosh suggests that the dominant code of manliness in the 1890s, which was hostile to emotional expression and intolerant of sexual 'deviation', was a by-product of a raised imperial consciousness and an 'outward symptom of a need to repress the feminine within'.[53]

In *Manhood in America* (2012) Michael Kimmel critiques the changing definitions of masculinity in America, and ways in which the social construct of masculinity determined men's activities. American manhood was defined in terms of other men, not women, and was more about the fear of being dominated rather than the drive for domination. To test and prove one's manhood became a defining experience in a man's life.[54] Kimmel observes that his 'history of the changing ideals of American manhood' concerns gendered expectations, and 'is less about what boys and men actually *did* than about what they were told that they were *supposed* to do, feel and think.'[55] Throughout the nineteenth century, according to Kimmel, American masculinity was seen as being under threat while attempts were being made to strengthen and revitalise it. There was a recurring theme of 'self-control, exclusion, and escape' as men tried to gain a secure sense of identity.[56]

My thesis doesn't seek to contribute to the debate about construction and

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[51] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 4.

[52] Ibid., 1.

[53] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 49.

[54] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1.

[55] Ibid., 7-8.

[56] Ibid., 7.

performance of gendered identities or the shifting dynamic of gender relations *per se*.[57] Rather, it draws on relevant work from the fields of feminism and masculinity studies to explore the male use of the female pseudonym in nineteenth-century literature. Histories of masculinity offer a context in which to consider how gendered expectations help make sense of the male use of the female pseudonym in Britain and America. The socially determined straitjacket of gender identity constrained both men and women to perform in particular ways. The male use of the female pseudonym is symptomatic of the limiting strictures of conventional boundaries of the time.

Overview of Thesis Structure

Chapter 1 analyses key concepts of 'masculinity' specifically to demonstrate the criteria I used to assess and evaluate my research material. Historians and sociologists agree that nineteenth-century middle-class men experienced a very real fear of the feminine and feminisation, an anxiety that intensified towards the end of the century into a perceived 'crisis of masculinity'. This chapter considers the reasons for male fears of 'effeminacy' and ways in which nineteenth-century men countered the feminising effects of their society.

Chapter 2 reviews the general use of the literary pseudonym throughout the nineteenth century in Britain and America. It provides a literary background of the century and discusses the influences of industrialisation and urbanisation on the printing and publishing industries and on the rapidly evolving literary marketplace. Publishers and authors in this period of rapid expansion were aware of the growing market of readers ready to be exploited. As a distinction emerged between popular/low and serious/high fiction, countless opportunities arose for men to gain access to the popular/commercial literary marketplace by using a female pseudonym.

Chapter 3 presents case studies of ten British and twelve American male writers who used female pseudonyms for personal reasons. Some men wrote under a female pseudonym to appeal to a female audience by writing in genres that were recognised as typically feminine in the nineteenth century. Because a female pseudonym could help a male author overcome accepted gender boundaries, many male writers masqueraded as women 'to attract female readers by suggesting that

[57] Indeed, in light of heightened discussion and debate of gender as non-binary, fluid, and evolving, the binary framework by which the investigation in this thesis is largely contained might make for productive reflection and revision in future work.

these pseudonymous authors saw the world as women did'.[58] Some men affected an apparently feminine style of writing in order to disguise their male identity and so prevent any embarrassment to self, family, or friends. Some writers playfully used a witty, cryptic, or comical female pseudonym to make a greater impact on the reading public. And others sought to explore new imaginative possibilities through a female pseudonym by separating their creative pastime from their professional careers.

Chapter 4 provides case studies of twenty-six male writers from Britain and ten from America who used female pseudonyms for ideological reasons. They aimed to provide moral and religious instruction, to highlight social, political, and economic issues, to expose examples of human weakness or foolishness, to dispense advice, or to subvert religious, political, and social authorities. As the usual purchasers of children's books and the readers of bedtime stories, women were more inclined to choose works by female authors, including those written by men under female pseudonyms. In a custom carried over from the previous century, a writer was able to suppress his own male voice whilst developing the character of the female pseudonym. Through the use of an often working-class female voice, the male writer could lobby for social reform by speaking against public ills, such as the mistreatment of women, abuse of children, and poor living and working conditions. A female pseudonym also protected the male author who dared to directly criticise or satirise established authorities or traditions.

Chapter 5 examines case studies of fourteen British writers and nineteen American writers who used a female pseudonym for commercial reasons in the burgeoning writing/publishing industry of the nineteenth century. Men recognised the growing market for stories specifically written for women and girls, and were eager to exploit the popularity and success of the emerging genre in order to settle into a profession that guaranteed financial security. Some men used a female pseudonym to enter literary competitions, a popular source of income for a talented writer. Others simply sought to gain entry to the literary marketplace. And from time to time a female pseudonym was used as a marketing technique to promote a publication.

Chapter 6 considers the more widely recognised female use of male and gender-neutral pseudonyms. The chapter highlights the difficulties faced by women in publishing material during the nineteenth century, by examining the nineteenth-century concept of 'separate spheres', women's limited access to the public arena,

[58] Tuchman and Fortin, *Edging Women Out,* 54.

and expectations for them to write in genres conforming to societal constraints. It also examines the attribution of authorship by reviewers and readers, and their scrutiny for so-called 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics within a work.

We still consider women more likely than men to use cross-gender or gender-neutral pseudonyms. And yet the practice of nineteenth-century men who used female pseudonyms was not just a fleeting or trivial phenomenon. Many were serious, substantive authors, who wrote in numerous genres. It is important to understand why these men adopted this practice of writing under a female pseudonym and why we have found it is so difficult to appreciate that it must have been occurring. It is therefore imperative to overturn the standard narrative and expand on growing new approaches to nineteenth-century masculinities outlined in the following chapter.

Chapter 1: The Construction of Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain and America

Gender plays an important role in all aspects of an individual's life, and through the social processes of gender one is obliged to act upon certain expectations concerning cultural practices and appropriate behaviour. An awareness of the historical, ideological process of gender and of the way this process positions individuals within changing social, political and economic conditions, leads to a deeper understanding of contemporary social expectations. This chapter situates my research within the field of masculinity studies. It highlights the importance of my work in the light of current theories of masculinity studies that stress the centrality of gender in the historical analysis of masculinity. It examines different approaches to the construction of masculinities and ways that historians have viewed masculinity through their analysis of social practices and gendered expectations in nineteenth-century Britain and America. The chapter also engages with the pervasive theme of crisis throughout masculinity studies. Late-nineteenth-century manhood in Britain and America was challenged by cultural, social, and economic factors that influenced men's views of their identities, their bodies, and their access to power, leading to reports of a 'crisis in masculinity'. Understanding notions of hegemonic masculinity in terms of its socially prescribed rigidity as well as its dynamic relation to notions of femininity facilitates the analysis in my thesis. It was such tensions that led numerous men of the nineteenth century to write under a female pseudonym.

Masculinity Studies

A great deal of the research from the 1980s and early 1990s describes the construction of masculinities in specific settings, such as schools and workplaces, as well as in studies of sexualities and in historical accounts of changing ideas of masculinity. This research allows a move beyond the once dominant 'sex role' theory of the 1970s that made 'little attempt to investigate the effects of expectations or norms in social life'.[1] There was no need for any analysis of power in such a theory, since the basic tendency was to view the two sex roles of male and female as inherently different but complementary, defined by expectations attached to

[1] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 24.

biological status; structures of class, race and sexuality were disregarded. By contrast, historians of masculinity now explore the social and cultural meanings of masculinity in specific historical situations, and study changes and tensions in social relations that produce its diverse configurations.[2] Their research methods include interviews and observation of participants, as well as 'large scale surveys by historians burrowing among documents, and by media analysts observing mass culture.'[3] Vast amounts of research documentation show that there is no single masculinity, but multiple masculinities both locally and worldwide – masculinities that 'can and do change'.[4]

The new knowledge of the construction of masculinities is being applied successfully in the fields of education, health, and social work, and is proving useful in such issues as school discipline, bullying, identity formation, boys' learning strategies, relevance of gender to the health and safety of men and boys, prevention of masculine violence, father/child relationships, and gender relations more broadly.[5] R. W. Connell argues that an understanding of the construction of masculinity is also relevant to the understanding of international diplomacy and power relations, as well as the construction of nationalism, national identities, and the culture of imperialism.[6] For example, in late-nineteenth-century Britain, the dominant code of manliness is now seen as a by-product of a 'raised imperial consciousness' and the 'manly qualities' required on the imperial frontier, qualities such as physical toughness, resourcefulness, loyalty, obedience, and detachment from the feminine atmosphere of home.[7]

American historian Toby Ditz contends that recent masculinity studies persist in the marginalisation of women.[8] He argues that works such as Connell's *Masculinities* tend to concentrate on 'the daily social and cultural practices through which men internalise and alter what are … unstable and fractured gender identities', only to promote a more convoluted study of 'manly identities and their

[2] Ibid., 29-30.

[3] Raewyn Connell, 'Masculinity Research and Global Change', *Masculinities and Social Change*, 1, no.1 (21 February 2012), 5. http://dx.medra.org/10.4471/MCS.2012.01 (last accessed 12 March 2018).

[4] Connell, 'Masculinity Research and Global Change'.

[5] Connell, *Masculinities*, xv-xvi.

[6] Ibid., xvi.

[7] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2005), 49. Manly qualities include decency, teamwork, physical strength, courage, military prowess, discipline, and patriotism. 'Manliness' was typically used as a singular term during the nineteenth century to suggest a single standard of manhood that was expressed in certain physical attributes and moral standards and defined differently according to class and religion.

[8] Toby L. Ditz, 'The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History', *Gender & History* 16, no.1 (April 2004), 4.

complexities'.[9] According to Ditz, men's historians who assert that most forms of masculinity are created primarily in relation to other masculinities overlook the ways that masculinity interacts with femininity to bestow on men their power and authority over women.[10] Ditz calls for a history of masculinities that does not exclude women, but rather presents a fully integrative, gendered history, in which men develop concepts of themselves in relation to women as well as to other men.

Early masculinities studies in the United States and Britain often concentrated on nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century all-male institutions, such as public schools, fraternal orders, and workplaces. John Tosh explains that, in upholding the tradition of masculine authority in family, place of work, and all-male institutions, British authors and historical researchers (of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) have tended to overlook the important influence of women on a boy's physical and emotional development.[11] Moreover, historians have long discounted women's agency in the public sphere as well as men's activities in the private, by presenting the public domain as exclusively male and the private as the domestic realm of the female.

Whilst Tosh endorses the concept of 'separate spheres' observed in the nineteenth century, he points out that during this period men acknowledged the claims of both 'domesticity' and 'homosociality'. It was their privilege to operate 'at will in *both* spheres', as their free movement between public and private was essential to the social order.[12] Tosh stresses that the 'social dynamics of masculinity' are at any time determined by the balance *between* home, work, and homosocial activities, elements that should be seen as a 'linked system – characterized by … contradiction and instability'.[13] He believes that the essentialist idea that the elements of masculinity are fixed and stable has caused many men to experience a 'sense of embattled masculinity'.[14] Sociologist Tim Edwards describes how this feeling entails

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[9] Ibid.

R. W. Connell, R. W. and James W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender & Society* 19, no.6 (December 2005), 848. Connell has corrected what is acknowledged as an oversight in his original concept of hegemonic masculinity. He now recognises that 'focusing only on the activities of men occludes the practices of women in the construction of gender among men [and that] women are central in many of the processes constructing masculinities'. He admits that his 'research on hegemonic masculinity now needs to give much closer attention to the practices of women and to the historical interplay of femininities and masculinities'.

[10] Ibid., 3.

[11] Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, (London: Routledge, 1991), 15.

[12] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 70-71.

[13] Ibid., 39.

[14] Ibid., 25.

a personal sense of uncertainty, aimlessness, and loss of power, focusing on 'a perceived shift in men's experiences of their position as men' and what their manhood actually means.[15]

According to Tosh, in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries media hype was responsible for depicting the dominant attitude towards masculinity as 'a sense of alarm, little short of collective panic'.[16] By the 1990s, reports of a 'crisis of masculinity' emerged, marking a 'negative reaction to the loss of identity and power' by men from all walks of life.[17] Tosh questions the use of the term 'crisis of masculinity', as he regards it as not conducive to positive action, but rather argues that it implies a disempowering kind of malaise founded on anxieties similar to those experienced in the late nineteenth century.[18]

While some pro-feminist writers, such as Michael Kimmel and Lynne Segal, describe a constant state of masculine crisis, Tosh contends that the sum of individual anxieties can hardly be called a crisis.[19] He grants that uncertainty about gender identity and 'periods of considerable gender anxiety' are very common among men, but is opposed to academic comment that stresses the 'inherent and continuing *insecurity* of masculinity'.[20] According to Edwards, one of the causes of the confusion over the concept is the 'sheer profusion of uses and applications' of the term 'crisis'.[21] He argues that, from an historical point of view, it is probably more accurate to say that 'masculinity *is* crisis or at least contains crisis tendencies', rather than state that 'masculinity is *in* crisis'.

Ditz believes that 'the emphasis on the unstable and provisional features of (masculine) identity formation has underwritten the … tendency to see the masculine subject as everywhere fragile and endangered … in constant crisis'.[22] Despite the attention paid by literature to the 'privileges of whiteness' in the construction of racial and gender identities and in the marginalisation of 'others', in Ditz's view the

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[15] Tim Edwards, *Cultures of Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 6.

[16] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 19.

[17] The theme of crisis was echoed in bestsellers such as *On Men: Masculinity in Crisis* (2001) by Irish-born psychiatrist Anthony Clare and Susan Faludi's *Stiffed: the Betrayal of the American Man* (1999).

[18] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 24.

[19] Ibid., 21. Kimmel writes that men are 'chronically anxious' and constantly striving to prove their manhood.

Lynne Segal, *Back to the Boys? Temptations of the Good Gender Theorist,* London: Birkbeck ePrints. http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk (accessed 3 June 2012). Feminist Lynne Segal argues that 'masculinity is always in crisis'.

[20] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 20.

[21] Edwards, *Cultures of Masculinity*, 3.

[22] Ditz, 'The New Men's History', 5.

'privileged men in these texts come across as fragile, yearning, and self-divided to the point of pathology'.[23] And yet, he muses, these men constructed huge industrial economies in the nineteenth century and through imperial expansion created strong new frontiers outside America. Ditz believes that some students of men's history expend so much intellectual energy examining the cultural and micro-political aspects of masculinity, that they can easily mistake conflict and tensions inherent in the ever-changing dynamics of gender identities, for crisis.[24]

Whilst historians and sociologists (Ditz, Tosh, Kimmel, Forth, Reeser, Rotundo, Connell, and others) may have differing opinions on a present or past crisis of masculinity, they agree that even in a single temporal and cultural context, ideas of masculinity are far from fixed and stable and cannot be studied as 'a single definition'.[25] Kimmel insists that, because of the many differences between men, two histories of America must be recounted – the changing 'ideal' version of masculinity, or 'hegemonic masculinity', as well as the 'parallel and competing versions that coexist with it'. It is the tension between a single hegemonic masculinity and the 'multiplicity of masculinities' (landowners, labourers, entrepreneurs, and 'others' such as African American men, Native American men, and homosexuals) that defines American men's actual experiences.[26] Kimmel depicts the history of American manhood as a diversity of histories that entail not only technological and military triumphs and heroic 'feats of dazzling brilliance, astonishing strength, or remarkable courage', but also the heavy responsibilities and tedious routines of everyday life – 'energy and excitement … sadness and silences'.[27]

Similarly, Gail Bederman urges historians to look at manhood as 'an ongoing ideological process' in order to establish how people have been 'historical agents of change', adapting and exploiting the inconsistencies in constructions of gender.[28] They may not be able to escape the ideological processes of gender, but they can

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[23] Ibid., 6.

[24] Ibid., 7.

[25] Todd W. Reeser, *Masculinities in Theory: An Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 2-3.

Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities,* 2. It is the 1970s term 'masculinities' that conveys the current view of pluralities in masculinity which are not subject to prescription and ideally express individual choice. The use of 'masculinities' acknowledges differences among men. Originally 'masculinity' was used in the context of a man's legal rights, such as primogeniture.

[26] Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History,* 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.

[27] Ibid., 6.

[28] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10.

change their position in relation to those ideologies.

And so it was in nineteenth-century Britain and America, when masculinities underwent a significant social transformation. As middle-class men confronted challenges to traditional ways of understanding male bodies, identities, and authority late in the nineteenth-century, they employed a range of strategies to reconstruct manhood through new ideologies of 'masculinity': many celebrated 'all things male', others focused on the problem of 'excessive femininity', others concentrated on protecting hegemonic masculinity in the raising of young boys by, for example, employing more male teachers, and still others warned that the culture itself was effeminate, and exhorted men to 'revirilise' society.[29]

A Brief History of Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain and America

This section helps to clarify the gendered context for the male use of the female pseudonym by drawing attention to ways in which men conformed to, and disrupted, societal and cultural expectations of masculinity during the nineteenth century. It demonstrates the power of hegemonic masculinity and its accompanying perceived importance in maintaining separate spheres early in the nineteenth century. Hegemonic masculinity provides a framework for understanding the production and reproduction of gender inequalities. It asserts and reinforces a view of masculinity that aims to preclude attitudes and practices it considers a deviation from the prevailing notion of masculinity or a source of contamination by the feminine. Hence hegemonic masculinity stigmatises deviations such as homosexuality and the feminised man. Throughout the nineteenth century, men who lived according to the prescriptions of hegemonic masculinity felt threatened by the supposed feminisation of the culture, homosexuality, the image of the 'sissy', women's emancipation, and the New Woman. Thus, whether directly or indirectly, they strengthened and revitalised a normative conception of masculinity.[30]

Early in the nineteenth century the separation of public and private spheres in Britain and America excluded women from political and economic activities and assigned them to dependent or subservient roles in the home. Domesticity was the cultural model for the middle-class woman who pursued a career of geniality to

[29] Ibid., 16.

[30] Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 117-118. 'New Woman' (coined by Sarah Grand in 1894) became a popular slogan in the press. The New Woman, intelligent, independent, emancipated, and educated, was a significant cultural icon of the late-nineteenth century and a departure from the stereotypical Victorian woman.

complement the man's career of paid work. The public sphere, then, became the proving ground for manhood as men began to link their sense of self to their position in a volatile marketplace. Their identity was founded largely on activities in the public arena and measured by status, wealth, and mobility.[31] Although industrialisation drew men together physically, tenderness and intimacy between men were tainted by fears of dependency. Men therefore relied on women to meet all emotional needs while other men remained potential economic rivals.[32] The separation of work and home allowed insecure middle-class men to feel like men, both in the homosocial workplace and in the comfortable privacy of home. As the workplace became harder, home was a balm to soothe away the cares of a long day in the marketplace. This image of the white, heterosexual, middle-class male was the hegemonic masculine ideal of the early nineteenth century.

Women and children were seen as the guardians of virtue, whilst men were free to act amorally in the world, bolstering their identity at home and in the workplace.[33] But they were constantly struggling and competitive, and the endless striving became unsettling. The home had apparently become so feminised that such a contrast with the frantic aggression of the public sphere caused men to feel uneasy in their own homes. And their growing involvement in the workplace alienated them from the lives of their children, so that the old unity and interaction between father and son gradually deteriorated.[34]

Towards the mid-nineteenth century women were becoming increasingly responsible for teaching their sons how to be men. Seen as controlling mothers and morally sustaining wives, they set the tone of the schoolroom, the church, and the parlour, and restrained masculine excess 'through temperance, Christian piety, sober responsibility, [and] sexual fidelity'.[35] Men longed for the re-establishment of manhood and the comfort of male camaraderie. Forever fighting for self-control, the self-made man felt that he could compete in the marketplace or he could try to remake himself far from the constraints of domestic life that had become a symbol of Victorian woman. He needed relief from the demands of self-control, and (for the American man) the rugged outdoors of the Western frontier provided a safety valve. Here men created a vast homosocial preserve, with the means to a free life and a

[31] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 13.
[32] Ibid., 41.
[33] Ibid., 39.
[34] Ibid., 43.
[35] Ibid., 44.

return to manly virtues.[36] And if escape to the West and the wilderness was not possible in real life, the self-made man could be liberated from the conventional boundaries of wife and civilisation through fantasy in fiction and popular biographies.[37]

The appeal of homosocial life was more apparent in the United States than in Britain, as millions of middle-class men joined fraternal orders (including labour organisations, military orders, and college fraternities), in which they could 'reinvent themselves as men' through the symbolic rituals of birth and rebirth.[38] They could also enjoy each other's company and friendship in a family environment without the threat of feminisation. To be emotional in the company of women was 'despised as effeminate', but in the presence of other men they could freely express emotions coded as feminine, such as compassion, kindness, and nurturing.[39] Fraternities in collegiate life were becoming increasingly important, as they offered students a type of 'imagined community' that helped ease anxiety brought about by an uncertain occupational future in a market economy. They also provided a way of securing a network of friends who would vow lifelong loyalty, and allowed members to lay claim to 'a version of masculinity' that was 'in keeping with a changing nation'.[40] Fraternity men not only reaped material benefits from business and social connections but they also 'experienced a psychological comfort through the preservation of all-male spaces in an increasingly mixed-gender world'.[41]

As industrialisation and urbanisation increased in nineteenth-century Britain and America, it was thought that the city itself bred feminisation, 'with its conformist scurrying masses and large bureaucratic offices that drained the innate masculine vitality and harnessed it to the service of the corporation'.[42] An editorial in the *Northern Carolina Presbyterian* (1867) commented that the demands of the culture

[36] Ibid., 46. The rush westwards reached its peak with the California Gold Rush of 1849.

[37] Ibid. Kit Carson and Daniel Boone were both active in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Davy Crockett in the 1830s; all three became mythic heroes in the 1840s and in the 1850s, when their biographies were rewritten as narratives of innate, instinctual manhood.

[38] W. S. (William Sumner) Harwood, 'Secret Societies in America', *The North American Review* 164, no.486 (May 1897), 617-624. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25118819 (last accessed 13 March 2018), 623. W. S. Harwood labelled this period 'the Golden Age of Fraternity'.

Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 125. Kimmel notes that Harwood calculated in 1897, that 5.5 million American men out of a total adult male population of nineteen million belonged to secret fraternal organisations, not including the vast number of men in military orders, labour organisations, and college fraternities.

[39] Ibid., 126.

[40] Nicholas L. Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press Year, 2009), 14, 50, 106.

[41] Ibid., 81.

[42] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 89.

made men 'weak, effeminate, decaying and almost ready to expire from sheer exhaustion and decrepitude'. Their manhood was dissipated, and their energy sapped by over-civilisation.[43]

Earlier in the nineteenth century, American President Andrew Jackson (incumbent 1829-1837), who was fiercely opposed to the decadence of Europeanised aristocracy and 'corrupt' institutions, believed that even the financial institution of the Bank was threatening to 'overwhelm the virtue of the republic'.[44] His rage towards weakness, feminising luxury, and sensuous pleasure fuelled his resolve to prove his manhood against threats from women and helpless, dependent 'others'.[45] Martin Van Buren (elected in 1836) was chosen as Jackson's successor to continue the fight against the growth of proletarianism and feminisation, but was defeated in 1840, 'outmasculinised' by the manly rhetoric of his Whig opponent, William Henry Harrison.[46] In 1860 the media ridiculed President James Buchanan (1857-61) for his 'shrill, almost female voice, and wholly beardless cheeks', while Abraham Lincoln (1861-65), with articulate speech and masculine beard, rose from his log-cabin origins to become an icon of masculinity and a 'national myth of probity, economy, and virtue'.[47] As Kimmel shows, then, such rigidly defined attributions of gender serve to highlight the hegemonic, essentialist view of masculinity and femininity, that men were strong and active and women were weak and passive.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, medical experts were discovering new identities and illnesses that threatened men's bodies, such as neurasthenia (or 'brain drain') and sexual deviance. The fast life of modern society was blamed for many of men's psychological problems and mental illnesses.[48] Men flocked to healers for tonics and elixirs, followed specific dietary and physical regimens, and invested in vast numbers of advice manuals and guidebooks. They were urged to gain control of emotional as well as physical forces in order to stem the depletion of their energy reserves. Masturbators were as if debilitated and feminised, and reduced to 'tame, discouraged, subdued, ungallant drones' with flabby, weak muscles.[49] Moreover, a

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[43] Ibid., 90.
E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 251-2.
[44] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 27.
[45] Ibid., 26.
[46] Ibid., 27, 29. Unfortunately Harrison overestimated his manly strengths and refused to wear an overcoat on the cold day of his inauguration (4 March 1841). He died of pneumonia a month later.
[47] Ibid., 29.
[48] Ibid., 98.
[49] Ibid., 95.

'visible gay male subculture' in many large American and British cities during this period appeared to give greater moral urgency to heterosexual men's detachment from the concept of 'sissy'.[50] Effeminacy 'had always been a troublesome accusation', but now its force was 'becoming ruinous'.[51] These 'gender inverts', these men behaving like women, could be, it was believed, the undoing of a man.[52]

Increased fears of feminisation destroyed any form of camaraderie between homosexual and heterosexual men that had been characteristic of life in the 1870s and 1880s. Then the differences between 'normal' and homosexual confirmed rather than threatened the masculinity of heterosexual men.[53] According to historian Anthony Rotundo, the 'creation of the homosexual image produced a deadly new weapon for maintaining the boundaries of manhood'.[54] Now, anxious to be dissociated from suggestions of 'sexual deviance', men could develop strategies to make themselves appear manly. By joining in the 'collective objectification and sexualisation of women', for example, they confirmed their manhood to other men.[55]

Prominent novelists, such as Frank Norris and Henry James, declared that the culture was feminised by the invasion of 'others' into industrial cities, by women entering the workforce at an alarming rate, and by those 'weaker and less virile races and ethnicities' whose manhood was in doubt to begin with.[56] James expressed the current masculine hostility towards feminisation in *The Bostonians* (1885) through his protagonist, Basil Ransom:

> The whole generation is womanised; the masculine tone is passing out of the world; it's a feminine, a nervous, hysterical, chattering, canting age, an age of hollow phrases and false delicacy and exaggerated solicitudes and coddled sensibilities, which, if we don't soon look out, will usher in the reign of mediocrity, of the feeblest and flattest and most pretentious that has ever been.[57]

Other observers at the time held that cultural feminisation was the direct result of the feminisation of boyhood through the predominance of women (mothers, nannies, and

[50] Ibid., 91.
[51] Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 279.
[52] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 74, 90. The 'terrifying' vision of the 'sissy' implied weakness, dependency, and helplessness; a sissy was outwardly feminine in manner and conduct, 'flabby, feeble, mawkish … chicken-hearted, cold and fearful'.
[53] Ibid., 74.
[54] Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 279.
[55] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 93.
[56] Ibid., 89.
[57] Basil Ransom in Henry James, *The Bostonians* [1886] (New York: Buccaneer Books, 1986), 275.

teachers) in boys' lives. 'Vast hordes' of women teachers were criticised for creating a feminised manhood that was seen as a psychic threat – 'emotional, illogical, [and] non-combative against public evils'.[58] An article in *The North American Review* (1895) warned that:

> [S]ociety is threatened with what has been designated a *matriarchate* or a return to that primitive state when the child was supposed to belong to the mother alone … Admirable as this interest may be, wife and child nevertheless suffer from the want of closer sympathy on the father's part in all that relates to the things of the spirit … The decline of paternal authority is widespread, but nowhere has there been so great an abandonment of control as in America.[59]

By the beginning of the twentieth century, changes in gender roles, emergent social expectations, and fears of feminisation convinced men to take a greater interest in domestic affairs and become more involved in their sons' socialisation.[60] Fathers with young boys at school were worried not only about women's domination of the teaching profession, but also about new pseudoscientific theories that claimed that women and men were essentially different species and that educating them together would destroy womanhood and manhood.[61] Girls could lose feminine characteristics, and boys could become effeminate and useless in the competitive marketplace.[62] Reacting to the first wave of feminism, Social Darwinists lent their weight to biological debates over male/female differences, stating that college-educated women, with 'monstrous brains and puny bodies', had lost their feminine virtue along with their ability to bear children.[63]

As discussions continued throughout the 1890s and early 1900s over coeducation and its virility-sapping power, Theodore Roosevelt endorsed separation of the sexes in schools, declaring that 'over-sentimentality, over-softness …

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[58] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 90.

[59] C. P. Selden, 'The Rule of the Mother', *The North American Review* 161, no.468 (November 1895), 638-639. http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=nora;idno=nora0161-5 (last accessed 13 March 2018).

[60] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 115.

[61] Ibid., 118.

[62] Ibid., 119. It was the mission of G. Stanley Hall to restructure education so that boys were 'more manly' and girls more womanly. He believed that children's literature was quite unsuitable for young boys, claiming that it was 'flabby, nerveless, inactive' or 'light and chatty', with 'too many illustrations' or 'goody Sunday school books. … All that rot they teach to children about the little raindrop fairies with their buckets washing down the window panes must go', he said in a speech to Chicago teachers in 1899. 'We need less sentimentality and more spanking'.

[63] Ibid., 71.

washiness and mushiness are the great dangers' of the age and the people.[64] Feminine traits in a boy, according to the thinking of psychologist and educator G. Stanley Hall, were signs of degeneracy and developmental failure, and thus a threat to civilisation.[65] So disturbing was the fear of feminisation of American boys that a British group was sent to the United States in 1904 to observe American education and prevent feminisation in British boys. The group reported that the American boy was 'not being brought up to punch another boy's head; or to stand having his own punched in an healthy and proper manner'.[66]

Sport was considered the most important way to recreate manhood at the turn of the century. It could rescue boys from the depravity of the cities and turn them into men. Team sports and vigorous exercise were character building and made young men healthier while instilling moral virtues. Boxing and baseball were especially popular, countering the perceived effeminacy of a modern, over-civilised society. In Britain and America, boxing was considered a manly art that required craftsman-like skills and dexterity, and celebrated the traditional virtues of the tough working-class man.[67] In America, baseball, like boxing, 'recalled a bygone era of independent farmers and small shopkeepers'.[68] It 'replaced the desiccating immorality of a dissolute life' and, because it was good for body and soul, baseball was regarded as a remedy for many evils, thus widely promoted by the clergy. The game stressed autonomy, aggressive independence, self-sacrifice, and discipline, and functioned as a healthy safety valve for the release of potential aggression.

Middle-class men were finding new ways to celebrate their bodies as 'healthy, muscular, and powerful'.[69] Men's bodies had a different significance than they had had earlier in the nineteenth century – the 'body did not *contain* the man, expressing the man within; now, that body *was* the man'.[70] America's self-made man, who had shaped himself through competition in the material world of the 1840s, was, at century's end, making over his body to demonstrate through his physique that he possessed the interior virtues of manhood. Muscularity provided a way to offset the feminising effects of modern society and the ideal male body now displayed 'bulk

[64] Ibid., 119.
[65] Rotundo , *American Manhood,* 269.
[66] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 90.
[67] Ibid., 102.
[68] Ibid., 104.
[69] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 15.
[70] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 94.

and well-defined muscles', exemplified by heavyweight prize-fighter Jim Jeffries.[71]

With masculine toughness gained in new gymnasiums and athletic arenas, turn-of-the-century identity was based more on appearance and lifestyle than on personality and achievement. Men became increasingly preoccupied with the 'economic and social impact of manly appearance', and 'dressed for success'; even beards and moustaches experienced a cultural revival.[72] Men defined themselves differently as the term 'manhood' was gradually replaced by 'masculinity', 'the attainment of which', according to Kimmel, 'was ever in question – lest the man be undone by a perception of being too feminine'.[73] Middle-class men reasserted their heterosexuality, the 'hallmark of a real man', by conducting campaigns of exclusion to define them against 'all that was soft and womanlike'.[74]

Having developed alternative religious institutions in their fraternal orders and clubs, men decided to reclaim the Church, which had been progressively 'feminised' over the nineteenth century, as another body for 'manly religious expression' and the socialisation of their sons.[75] The religious movement of Muscular Christianity was designed to 'bring manliness in its various manifestations to church and to keep it awake when it got there'. It was introduced into America from England through the novels of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, and 'fused a hardy physical manliness with ideals of Christian service'.[76] To combat the threat of feminisation, numerous boys' organisations, such as the Boys Brigade, the Boone and Crockett Club, Knights of King Arthur, and the Men of Tomorrow, were established, all culminating in the Boy Scouts of America in 1910.[77] Originally created in England by Lord Baden-Powell, the Boy Scouts strove to reconcile day-school boys to the manly ideal that emphasised 'obedient and patriotic masculinism'. Whilst the male backlash

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[71] Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 164. Muscularity also served to bolster the self-esteem of men (such as the first black heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson) whose backgrounds prevented acceptance by 'socially dominant groups'.

Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization,* 15.

[72] Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 91.

[73] Ibid., 89.

[74] Ibid., 74-75.

[75] Ibid., 128-129. Throughout the nineteenth century religion was woman's domain (moral, pious, and sentimental) and U.S. church congregations were increasingly female. Late nineteenth-century iconography was typical of feminised religion: Jesus was depicted as slim and gentle, and many Protestant ministers emulated this image. Muscular Christianity aimed to 'revirilise' the image of Jesus, and thus 'remasculinise' the church, by portraying him as a blend of sacred and muscular.

[76] Ibid., 129.

[77] Ibid., 122. The Boone and Crockett Club was originally founded for adult men in 1888 for the purpose of rifle shooting. The Boy Scouts of America was founded by Ernest Thompson Seton in 1910.

against women's rights intensified, the Boy Scouts aimed to create resilient, reliable workers and, in the words of Baden-Powell, 'to keep up manliness in our race instead of lapsing into a nation of soft, sloppy, cigarette suckers'.[78]

In the late nineteenth century, traditional concepts of masculinity were being undermined and redefined by the New Woman, the homosexual, and the sexologist, so that the middle-class male felt marginalised and disempowered.[79] It was, according to Kimmel, almost as if American culture was plotting to reduce its men to 'a bunch of effeminate wimps barely a generation after the Civil War'.[80] The collective anxiety of American middle-class men was 'in some ways as old as the nation itself … but something more was bothering men in the late nineteenth century'.[81] The so-called 'crisis' of masculinity in Britain and the United States was triggered not only by women's emancipation, homosexuals' 'blurring of gender', or sexologists' pathologising of sexuality, but also by a patriarchy that was now promoting a 'hypermasculinity' to offset the fear of the feminine and feminisation in an effort to prove their power and authority as men.[82]

Conclusion

The construction of masculinity in nineteenth-century Britain and America was centred on the family, where a boy spent his formative years, and where the characters of husband and father were shaped. However, because the family was situated in the traditionally female sphere of the home, a tension gradually developed within British and American middle-class families between domesticity and masculinity. The mainstream community of the time, and historians since, viewed this as a 'crisis' that compelled men to establish safe territories away from the potentially emasculating influence of mothers and wives. There is strong evidence of specific 'crisis tendencies' for large numbers of ordinary men, contingent on such issues as employment, future prospects, peer rivalry, body image, sexual identity, and

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[78] Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* [1908], edited by Elleke Boehmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 301. 'Manliness' could only be taught to boys 'by men, and not by those who are half men, half old women'. (Baden-Powell).
Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 123.

[79] Stephanie E. Libbon, 'Anxious Masculinity in Frank Wedekind's "Spring Awakening"', *Culture, Society and Masculinities* 2, no.2 (Fall 2010). http://www.questia.com/read/1P3-2257717281/anxious-masculinity-in-frank-wedekind-s-spring-awakening (last accessed 13 March 2018).

[80] Kimmel, *Manhood in America,* 98.

[81] Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 251.

[82] Libbon, 'Anxious Masculinity'.
Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 277.

increasing demands for emancipation from women.[83]

Most historians, whilst disputing the term ‘crisis’, agree that late-nineteenth-century notions of masculinity and manhood were called into question by cultural, social, and economic factors that influenced ‘middle-class views of men’s bodies, men’s identities, and men’s access to power’.[84] The brief history above reveals historians’ explorations of men’s feelings of anxiety and insecurity, and their wariness of effeminacy and fear of cultural feminisation, which beset hegemonic masculinity during the nineteenth century. These factors also influenced the ways in which hegemonic masculinity struggled to dissociate the image of white middle-class men from norms and values coded as feminine. As later chapters will show, male authors acted on these codes and expectations by using female pseudonyms in order to protect themselves from the risk of being labelled as feminine or feminised. In other words, through the use of a female pseudonym some men managed to protect their engagement in what would have been perceived as deviant or unnatural behaviour disallowed by hegemonic masculinity in this period. In the following chapter I explore how male and female writers used pseudonyms in the British and American literary marketplace of the nineteenth century.

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[83] Christopher Kent, ‘Masculinity and the Family in the Victorian Period’, *Defining Gender, 1450-1910.* http://0-www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.prospero.murdoch.edu.au/essays/index.asp (accessed 6 November 2009).

Edwards, *Cultures of Masculinity*, 24, 16.

[84] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization,* 11.

Chapter 2: The Pseudonym in the Nineteenth-Century Literary Marketplace

The earliest study of pseudonyms was an important activity for literary historians trying to identify and authenticate authors and texts, and thus establish the canon of the New Testament. During the Renaissance, the main interest in this field, both theological and classical, was to attribute authorship and unmask fraud. By discovering the identity behind the pseudonym, scholars were able to validate an author's credentials and establish literary ownership of a particular work.[1] But over the centuries, while the nature of literary production was undergoing profound changes, the use of pseudonyms was also being transformed. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples of pseudonyms have conditioned us to regard their use throughout history as a protective device against hostile readers and threats of arrest or persecution. And because many of the familiar examples of literary pseudonyms were those adopted by women writers, their use has generally been explained on the basis of gender and the 'politics of social intimidation'.[2]

In this chapter I examine general reasons for a name change, the many ways in which one can create a new name, and motives for use of the literary pseudonym. I identify the complexities of both choice and use of pseudonyms by people from all walks of life by addressing the following questions. Who changes their name? How does one choose or create a new name? What motivates a writer to use a pen name? What is the significance of the pseudonym in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace? Through an exploration of the genres in which pseudonyms were most commonly used during the nineteenth century, this chapter provides the historical context necessary to understand why male writers used female pseudonyms in Britain and America. I examine how the social, cultural, economic, and political conditions gave rise to a thriving publishing industry, and how specific genres enabled the use and proliferation of the literary pseudonym.

[1] Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'Reading Pseudonyms in Seventeenth-Century English Coterie Literature', *Essays in Literature* 21, no.1 (Spring 1994). *Questia.* https://www.questia.com/read/1G1-16082459/reading-pseudonyms-in-seventeenth-century-english (last accessed 13 March 2018).

[2] Ibid.

General Use of the Pseudonym

Our names not only identify us but they *are* us: announcing, advertising, and embodying us.[3] By changing our names we take on a different persona or an additional identity that can separate our public and private lives. People have changed or disguised their names for many reasons – out of necessity, expectation, or simply desire, and, on the whole, voluntarily. Sometimes social or political demands may leave no choice. In the nineteenth century, as much as today, people from a wide range of professions assumed a new name to protect, enhance, or change their identities. These include writers, actors, dancers, performers, composers, members of religious orders, artists, crossword compilers, psychics, and even racehorse owners.[4] Of course a new name that simply replaces an old one should not be confused with a pseudonym, which is literally a 'false name' consciously adopted in addition to one's original or true name. Whatever the motivation for name change, the question arises: How does one choose or create a new name?

Broadly speaking there are two categories of pseudonyms: instant (or 'ready-made') names and invented names. Since a ready-made pseudonym usually resembles or suggests someone's name, the chief sources are people (family members, fictional characters, historical figures, classical names, heroes, or villains) and places, especially as an indication of a particular connection. The most practical starting point is one's own name, nickname, or childhood pet name. One's name can be varied in an almost endless number of ways: by omitting first names or surnames, by using initials, by rearranging letters (anagrams, reversals, contractions), or by translating it into another language.[5]

Some people choose to disguise their real name through many variations of the original, or someone else's name can be adapted. Novelist Sarah Smith (1832-1911), for example, began her literary career as a journalist using the pseudonym Hesba Stretton, derived from the initials of her siblings' names (Hannah, Elizabeth, Sarah, Benjamin, Anna) and the Shropshire village of All Stretton.[6] And Pearl

[3] Adrian Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms and Their Origins, with Stories of Name Changes* (Chicago: St James Press, 1989), 6-7.

[4] Caroline Agnes Graham, duchess of Montrose (1818–1894), was a prominent nineteenth-century society hostess and owner of racehorses. Despite her broad knowledge of thoroughbred racing and breeding, she was obliged to race under the pseudonym of Mr Manton because horseracing was considered an unsuitable pastime for a lady. Similarly, the actress Lillie Langtry (*née* Emilie Charlotte Le Breton, nicknamed 'the Jersey Lily') raced her horses under the name Mr Jersey.

[5] Adrian Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms*. 3rd ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998), 35.

[6] Patricia Demers, 'Smith, Sarah [*pseud.* Hesba Stretton]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. One of the founders of the London Society for the Prevention of

Craigie (1867-1906) formed her pseudonym, John Oliver Hobbes, by combining 'John' for her father and son, 'Oliver' for Oliver Cromwell, and 'Hobbes' for Thomas Hobbes.[7]

A foreign-sounding name can be anglicised by modifying or shortening the name to make it 'easier to read, remember, and pronounce' while still retaining a little of the bearer's native identity.[8] Rarely do people change their names from English into a foreign language, except for writers (and ballet dancers). Elizabeth Sara Sheppard (1830-1862) created her pseudonym, E. Berger, from a French rendering of her surname. An author can assume a foreign-sounding name to describe experiences in his or her home country from a foreigner's perspective. For instance, Robert Southey's pseudonymous *Letters of Espriella* (1808) was written as a collection of letters from a young Spaniard, Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, describing his tour of England.[9]

Works of fiction are a popular source of pseudonyms. Mary Montgomerie Lamb (Lady Currie) (1843-1905) took her pen name, Violet Fane, from a character in Disraeli's *Vivian Grey*. Because her parents objected to her literary ambition, she used the pseudonym when publishing her first volume of love poems, *From Dawn to Noon* (1872), and then as her primary pseudonym throughout her life.[10] Scottish journalist Ian Duncan Colvin (1877-1938), who worked for a time on the staff of the *Cape Times* in South Africa, was famous as Rip van Winkle for his political stories and poems.

Many pseudonyms are chosen as a mark of respect and veneration, or as a tribute to another author. A Welsh poet traditionally adopts the name of an ancient bard or Welsh place name. Robert Ellis (1812-1875), Baptist minister and poet, took his pseudonym from the name of renowned twelfth-century bard Cynddelw. And Jane Williams (1806-1885), a direct descendant of Puritan preacher Henry Williams of

Cruelty to Children, Smith wrote evangelical books about conditions of child poverty under her pseudonym Hesba Stretton. Through her writings she brought about social reform and ensured her own financial security. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36158 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[7] Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1989), 39.

[8] Ibid., 33

[9] Ibid., 8.

[10] Helen Small, 'Currie, Mary Montgomerie, Lady Currie (1843–1905)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32673 (last accessed 29 March 2018). For magazine and newspaper publication, Lady Currie sometimes preferred anonymity or her other pen names: V, Pamela, Kajin, or Vera.

Ysgafell (1624-1684), adopted his place of origin as her pseudonym.[11]

A pseudonym can be chosen arbitrarily, from a list of names, from a name on a shopfront, or by inventing a new name.[12] Leslie Alexander Montgomery (1873-1961), Irish novelist, playwright and bank manager, took his unusual pseudonym, Lynn C. Doyle, from a tin of linseed oil in a hardware store.[13] Occasionally a pseudonym is created quite by accident. For example, novelist Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856-1934) originally intended his pseudonym to be T. Anstey but it was misprinted as 'F. Anstey' while he was a student at Cambridge. He allowed this to remain as his pen name.[14]

Classical or classical-sounding names have been consistent favourites as impressive pseudonyms for male journalists and poets, probably because of their rhetorical force.[15] Astrologer and journalist Robert Cross Smith (1795-1832) used the pseudonym Raphael, while journalist David Owen (1795-1866) wrote as Brutus, poet Edward Caswall (1814-1878) as Scriblerus Redivivus, and William John Courthope (1842-1917) as Novus Homo. Journalists and columnists also often adopt brief descriptive or single-word names, such as Diplomat or Spectator, which can be used by an individual writer or even by a series of contributors to a publication.[16]

Nouns, placenames, or adjectives can be commandeered to form names like Muddy Waters, Shakin' Stevens, Giant Haystacks, Guitar Slim, and Washboard Sam, all resembling real names except for the 'incongruity of the words themselves'.[17] Children's writers often appropriate an adjective or a noun, such as 'big', 'little', 'aunt', 'uncle', and 'mother', to create their pseudonyms. Sarah S. T. Baker (1824-1906) produced children's stories under the pseudonym Aunt Friendly; Lucy Elizabeth Bather (1829-1864) was known to her readers as Aunt Lucy; Lydia Miller (1812-1876) wrote both moral and light-hearted children's stories as Mrs Harriet Myrtle; and educationist Ellenor Fenn (1744-1813) wrote under the fitting

[11] Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1989), 41.

[12] Ibid., 44.

[13] Ian Hill, 'Reviews: Abbey Darling', *The News Letter* (Belfast), 18 May 1999, 12. http://www.questia.com/read/1G1-60197622/reviews-abbey-darling (last accessed 13 March 2018). He eventually dropped the 'C' to simply write as Lynn Doyle

[14] Ibid., 45.

[15] Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1989), 43.

[16] Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1998), 44.

[17] Ibid., 44-46. Muddy Waters is the pseudonym of American blues singer McKinley Morgansfield (1915-1983), 'Shakin' Stevens' is British pop singer Michael Barratt (1948-), 'Giant Haystacks' is British wrestler and actor Martin Austin Ruane (1947-), 'Guitar Slim' is American blues guitarist Eddie Jones (1926-1959), and 'Washboard Sam' is American blues singer Robert Brown (1910-1966).

pseudonyms of Mrs Teachwell and Mrs Lovechild.[18]

It is also possible to commandeer someone else's pseudonym. Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835-1910) was famous as Mark Twain but he allegedly took over the pseudonym (meaning 'two fathoms deep') from fellow Mississippi steamboat pilot, Captain Isaiah Sellers, when he (Sellers) died in 1864. Sellers had been using 'Mark Twain' as his pen name for brief contributions of 'plain, practical information about the river' to the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*.[19] Clemens recalled that as 'a fresh new journalist [he] needed a *nom de guerre*', so he 'confiscated the ancient mariner's discarded one'.[20]

A new name can be based on an existing name or it can be an 'invented' name 'derived from random or meaningful letters, syllables, or words' and not resembling a conventional name at all.[21] Children's writer and missionary Charlotte Maria Tucker (1821-1893) wrote allegorical stories under the initials A.L.O.E. (A Lady of England), while the poet Laetitia Elizabeth Landon (1802-1838) found that her familiar initials L.E.L. ensured continuing success in the literary marketplace. Letters or initials are also seen as a safe form of pseudonym for controversial essays and articles, or for publication of a first book, making identification of the author almost impossible.

Some names may be standard words, artificial combinations of letters or syllables, represented by signs or symbols, or a blend of elements from these groups.[22] A particularly difficult pseudonym to decipher can be created through the device of signs and symbols where the asterisk (*) and the dash (–), both standard symbols for anonymity, assume the role of an individual letter. Novelist Sarah Green (fl.1790-1825) partially concealed her authorship under the pseudonym S. G****,

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[18] Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1989), 49.

[19] Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi,* Biographical ed., (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1899), 351. Internet Archive. http://archive.org/stream/lifeonmississip00twaigoog#page/n2/mode/2up (last accessed 13 March 2018). This account may not be pure fact as it is widely accepted that Clemens simply adopted his pseudonym from the phrase 'mark twain', called out by riverboat crews to let others know that the way ahead was clear.

[20] Ibid., 352-353.

Adrian Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms: 13,000 Assumed Names and Their Origins*. 5th ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 484. Some early works by Samuel Langhorne Clemens were written under the pseudonyms W. Epaminondas Adrastus Perkins, W. Epaminondas Adrastus Blab, Josh, Rambler, and Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass. He wrote *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896) under the pseudonym Sieur Louis de Conte and contributed to *Alta California, Atlantic Monthly, Californian, Century, Forum, Golden Era, Harper's, McClure's Weekly, New York Saturday Press, New York Tribune, North American Review,* and *Youth's Companion* under pseudonyms Quentin Curtius Snodgrass, Josh, and S.L.C.

[21] Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms*, (1998), 32.

[22] Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1989), 47.

while George Daniel (1789-1864), writer and book collector, wrote under the unusual pseudonym of P— P—. His first satirical verse in 1811 was titled: 'R—y—l Stripes, or, a Kick from Yar—th to Wa—s; with the particulars of an expedition to Oat—ds and the Sprained Ancle: a poem, by P— P—, Poet Laureat'.[23] It was based on the rumour that Lord Yarmouth had horsewhipped the Prince Regent at the Duke of York's house, Oatlands, for making overtures towards Yarmouth's mother-in-law.

It is in the literary world that we see the widest use of the pseudonym. It can be used for a single piece of writing or for a particular genre; it can be arbitrarily or meaningfully chosen; it may be permanent or temporary. And there is no limit to the number of pseudonyms that a writer can use.[24] A pseudonym

> may give a writer the necessary distance to speak honestly, but it can just as easily provide a license to lie. Anything is possible. It allows a writer to produce a work of 'serious' literature, or one that is simply a guilty pleasure. It can inspire unprecedented bursts of creativity and prove an antidote to boredom.[25]

Uses and Genres of the Literary Pseudonym

The nineteenth century witnessed a revolution in the literary marketplace that affected writers, readers, and publishers alike. The rapid growth in population, technological innovations, and development of the railway created an urban middle class, and thus a huge reading audience with increased leisure time, surplus income, and aspirations towards a broader education. The publishing industry benefited from the application of steam power, mechanical typecasting and typesetting, stereotyping, the iron press, and new methods of reproducing illustrations.[26] Such technological

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[23] Sidney Lee, 'Daniel, George [*pseud*. P – P –]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7115 (last accessed 29 March 2018). Publication of the poem was suppressed but it was circulated in manuscript.

[24] Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1989), 7. French author Stendhal, for instance, wrote under more than one hundred names, thus granting himself many new identities.

[25] Carmela Ciuraru, *A (Secret) History of Pseudonyms* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2011), xviii.

[26] John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 131-133. The first direct impact of industrialisation on the publishing business was the transformation of the paper industry. Until 1800 paper was made by hand from such substances as rags, straw, moss, and even wasps' nests, but there was a marked decline in the quality of paper towards the end of the eighteenth century as chemical additives were used to compensate for the low quality of the only rags available in sufficient quantities. Over a decade of experiments in the mechanisation of papermaking resulted in a machine driven by waterpower, built by Nicholas-Louis Robert in 1798. London wholesale stationers, Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier, brought the designs to England where in 1807 they built the first commercially viable machine, which changed the whole paper trade. The increasing demand for paper in the 1850s, exacerbated by a rag shortage, induced European and American inventors to find

advances lowered costs and raised the output of reading material. An untapped mass market was ready for exploitation by eager publishers, authors, and artists. This provided large enough sales to justify the initial outlay and enabled the use of the new technologies of production and distribution.

Periodicals

(a) Newspapers

The two main categories of printed material in the nineteenth century were periodicals (newspapers and magazines), the most widely read of all published matter, and books, which constituted the largest class and the oldest of all kinds of publications.[27] Over the nineteenth century, the press in Britain and the United States evolved from a political instrument to a popular and politically independent network of news and entertainment. By the end of the century, mass circulation, the rise of wire services, and a new respect for facts had transformed newspapers into commercial enterprises with a prodigious workforce.[28]

Nineteenth-century British and American men traditionally contributed letters, articles, and verse to newspapers anonymously or under pseudonyms for personal reasons, such as expression of private views and sentiment. During the century growing numbers of women submitted letters and articles to newspapers, often under

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chemical and mechanical methods for making paper from wood. Poplar was the wood of choice, with new mills opening near the source of this fibre, especially in New England. In 1740 the manufacture of paper had constituted up to twenty per cent of the cost of a book but by 1910, with the introduction of wood pulp into the production of paper and of steam power replacing waterpower, it was little more than seven per cent.

With sophisticated steam-driven presses increasing the speed of production, the newspaper industry led the way in transforming the printing room. The speed of composition was of particular concern to the printer of a daily newspaper, with many columns of type to be set to an unalterable deadline. However, the mechanisation of typesetting proved the most difficult of all the technical problems facing the printers, and for virtually the whole of the nineteenth century typesetting was done as it had been since the middle of the fifteenth century. Eventually, in 1884 American engineer Ottmar Mergenthaler developed the first successful mechanical system for typesetting. The Victorian printing industry comprised a small number of large-scale firms with expensive, sophisticated equipment, and 'thousands of small family businesses' still setting and printing small orders by hand at the end of the nineteenth century. Book printers eventually followed the newspaper business as they were forced to invest in expensive machines for larger jobs. Economic power in the book trade was with the publishers in the nineteenth century and printers no longer played the vital role in the industry that they had three centuries earlier. Printers were now responsible for 'jobbing' work, producing most of the ephemeral printed matter demanded by a growing industrial economy – circulars, sales catalogues, posters, and advertising – and now were little more than paid agents for the publishers.

[27] George Unwin, David H. Tucker, Philip Soundy Unwin, 'General Considerations', *History of Publishing*, Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. https://www.britannica.com/topic/publishing#ref28596 (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[28] David H. Tucker, 'Newspaper Publishing, *History of Publishing*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. https://www.britannica.com/topic/publishing/Newspaper-publishing (last accessed 14 March 2018).

male or gender-neutral pseudonyms, in order to be taken seriously and to have work published in an overwhelmingly masculine sphere. Men and women used pseudonyms on letters, articles, and advice columns for ideological reasons, in most cases to draw attention to social, economic, or political issues, and to bring about genuine reform. Men often used a silly or playful female name, clearly a pseudonym, for satirical purposes in letters and newspaper columns. A female persona was more effective in addressing or satirising a subject: by criticising men's stereotypical vices and praising women's virtues, 'she' could 'discredit indecent, scandalous men'.[29] And of course men and women, in increasing numbers, wrote articles, reviews, poems, and advice columns under pseudonyms, for financial gain. They earned a living as hack writers, journalists, reporters, and critics, or supplemented their income from other professions.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, British newspapers were a medium through which contentious and provocative views could be aired by means of articles and letters that were mostly unsigned, or signed with initials or pseudonyms. Articles and letters could be delivered 'by means of a box' to the printer, who was obliged to observe secrecy or face losing his business and having his house 'exposed to the fury of the populace'.[30] An anonymous letter provided readers with the freedom to rage against, or appeal to, individuals such as bishops, politicians, ministers, or monarch, all of whom would have typically been socially inaccessible.[31] Writers of this period commonly used 'anonymity' to refer to practices we would now call 'pseudonymous', suggesting that the invented signature and the absence of signature often worked in similar ways, particularly in early nineteenth-century periodicals.[32]

The American newspaper of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods functioned as a tool of 'rational liberty', allowing people of all classes and parties to communicate with each other and express their views without fear of reprisal, legal or

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[29] Jared C. Calaway, 'Benjamin Franklin's Female and Male Pseudonyms: Sex, Gender, Culture, and Name Suppression from Boston to Philadelphia and Beyond' (2003), *Honors Projects*, Paper 18. http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/history_honproj/18 (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[30] J. W. von Archenholz, *A Picture of England* (Dublin: P. Byrne, 1790), 40, Internet Archive. http://archive.org/stream/pictureofengland00archiala (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[31] Hannah Barker and Simon Burrows, eds. *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 95.

[32] Rachel Sagner Buurma, 'Anonymity, Corporate Authority, and the Archive: The Production of Authorship in Late-Victorian England', *Victorian Studies* (Autumn 2007), 39.

otherwise, in unsigned letters and articles.[33] The common use of pseudonyms (often classical names such as Historicus, Cato, or Lysander) was ‘an aspect of impersonality’, indicating that a message was to have ‘an independent authority’ to detach it from its author and safeguard against the political risks associated with dissent.[34] Classical pseudonyms were widely used in America during the eighteenth century on political essays and pamphlets as rhetorical devices to gain the upper hand in political debates.[35] For example, instrumental in the development of public opinion, the *Federalist Papers* (1787-1788) were written under the common pseudonym Publius by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay.[36] As Federalists and Anti-Federalists ‘debated the philosophical basis for the new nation’, the *Federalist Papers* successfully urged the voters of New York, and other states, to support the proposed constitution.[37]

Humour was an important element in early American newspapers, allowing writers to express their concerns about social and political situations. A series of political lampoons in *The New Hampshire Journal* (1793), pseudonymously satirising the French people and Republican politics, managed to attract more attention than the ‘latest intelligence both foreign and domestick’.[38] Isaac Story and Thomas Green Fessenden wrote humorous essays under the pseudonyms Peter Quince and Simon Spunkey respectively, and other writers signed their feature articles with such names as ‘The Rural Wanderer’, ‘The Meddler’, ‘Peter Pencil’, and ‘The Hermit’. Special features began to crowd out news articles until the paper evolved into a satirical weekly and, because of its popularity, *The New Hampshire Journal* had to employ two extra post-riders for its distribution. Noah Webster, editor of New York City’s first daily newspaper *The American Minerva* (1793), commented that, ‘In no other country on earth, not even in Great Britain, are newspapers so generally circulated

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[33] John Nerone, *Violence against the Press: Policing the Public Sphere in U.S. History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 23.

[34] Ibid., 15.

[35] Eran Shalev, ‘Ancient Masks, American Fathers: Classical Pseudonyms during the American Revolution and Early Republic’, *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no.2 (Summer 2003), 153, 171. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3125034 (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[36] James Melville Lee, *History of American Publishing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), 121. Of the eighty-five essays, the first seventy-six appeared in the *Independent Journal* from 27 October 1787 until 2 April 1788 and were later published in newspapers throughout America.

[37] Barker and Burrows, *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere*, 141-142. In 1798 the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed in order to punish, by fine and imprisonment, anyone who ‘wrote, uttered, printed or published any false, scandalous or malicious comments against the government’. Whilst shielded from libel charges through the use of pseudonyms or anonymity, writers could show allegiance to a particular cause before the acts were repealed in 1802.

[38] Lee, *History of American Publishing,* 133.

among the body of people, as in America'. By the 1830s one in two American, and probably British, households subscribed to a newspaper.[39]

The huge immigrant population of New York City directly influenced the development of a popular and politically independent press and helped to shape the character of modern journalism. Immigrants from 'despotic Russia, authoritarian Germany, lawless Ireland, [and] illiterate Italy' were shaped into citizens of a democratic republic by blending their national, social, and religious differences to discover the 'American way of life'. This required the simple, forthright language of a newspaper that acted as a medium of mass-information and mass-education.[40] Newspapers such as *The New York Herald*, with no religious or political affiliations at all, sought to entertain readers with a daily potpourri of 'sensational news, especially accidents, murders, and love gone wrong', enhanced by 'a plethora of ads' that allowed the low price of a penny.[41] By concentrating on local events and tragedies, cheap newspapers engendered a new community feeling and, through pseudonymous and anonymous advertisements, correspondence, and the 'agony' column, readers were able to communicate with one another whilst preserving the anonymity of authors and readers.[42] In 1851, with the founding of *The New York Times*, sensationalism began to give way to objectivity and quality reporting with impartial, reasoned commentary. This laid the foundation for the new profession of journalism.

British newspapers, meanwhile, were taxed out of the reach of the potentially revolutionary lower classes in order to control the press, limit its circulation to the upper classes, and prevent distribution of anti-government material. Despite the tax (in the form of a stamp duty), sales escalated during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-15) and were further boosted in 1836 by the reduction of stamp duty to one penny, then again in 1855 with the stamp duty's abolition. This repeal of the tax was the 'single most important factor driving the growth of the commercial press' in Britain. As newspapers moved away from the overtly political, new printing technologies (with lower paper and postal costs) at last enabled genuinely affordable newspapers for the

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[39] Barker and Burrows, *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere*, 149, 13.

[40] S. H. Steinberg and John Trevitt, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: British Library, 1996), 161.

[41] Julie Roy Jeffrey, 'Print Culture', *Abraham Lincoln Historical Digitization Project,* Northern Illinois University Libraries. http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/digitalmiddleclassculture.html (accessed 6 November 2009).

[42] Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction after the Invention of the News* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 55-56.

new mass-reading public.[43]

By the late 1880s the movement of the 'New Journalism' from America to Britain transformed the rather stolid format of the Victorian newspaper.[44] It introduced enhancements such as banner headlines, illustrations, crossword puzzles, signed articles, and ready-made advertising displays. In London, twenty-three year old Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) launched a cheap weekly magazine featuring 'short sentences, short paragraphs, and short articles', a style of editing aimed specifically at those who had learnt to read as a result of the 1870 Education Act. The turn of the twentieth century saw the emergence of press barons such as William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer in the United States, and George Newnes, Arthur Pearson, and Alfred Harmsworth in Britain. Using unorthodox methods to increase their readership ('yellow journalism' with sensationalist stories, alarmist headlines, bold colours, and striking illustrations), Hearst's *New York Journal* and Pulitzer's *New York World* engaged in a furious circulation war with each other.[45]

In practically all spheres of nineteenth-century periodical culture in Britain and America, anonymous or pseudonymous journalism was an unspoken rule. Pieces were published unsigned, under a pseudonym, or acknowledged with a by-line referring to another work by the same writer.[46] Early in the century the editor was usually the only named member of staff, with the convention of anonymity functioning 'as a reference to the corporate authority' of the publication. The absence of signature and the use of the pronoun 'we' connoted a unified, collective voice, implying that an individual (the editor) was representing a wider social group or even the public as a whole. During the nineteenth century, this absence of named contributors in most newspapers became the subject of bitter debate between editors, authors, and readers who were concerned over the growing influence of the leading article and the authority of the collective anonymous voice.[47]

Some editors maintained that the use of pseudonyms as a collective voice allowed for independence and sincere expression without fear of reprisal, whereas other journalists argued that 'unsigned commentary at its worst permitted personal

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[43] Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers*, 7. The *Times* cost 5d. in 1855 and 3d. in 1870.

[44] Steinberg and Trevitt, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 162.

[45] W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), 32.

[46] Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, eds., *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism: In Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Academia Press, 2009), 193.

[47] Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers*, 89-90.

vindictiveness to be delivered in seemingly impersonal terms', and that only when authors signed their articles and assumed public responsibility for their views would they be writing honestly and ethically.[48] Writers such as Thomas Hughes, J. Boyd Kinnear, and John Morley, who advocated for signature in the press, claimed that 'personal responsibility was necessary for textual authority, as only autonomous individuals could (or should) be thought of as authors'.[49] Between 1859 and 1877 the convention was almost totally reversed, and the practice of name concealment gave way to the practice of signature as the accepted standard in the British and American press. Only the editorial or leading article, 'the most influential form of newspaper journalism', remained entirely anonymous until late in the nineteenth century.[50]

The power of the editorial and lack of personal responsibility on the part of journalists sustained sporadic debates over the authenticity of contributions to the newspaper. Differences of opinion over the 'abuse of the old-fashioned pseudonym' in the press were aired into the twentieth century through newspaper correspondence. In a letter to *The New York Times* (1 August 1913), Patten Beard questioned the ethics of using pseudonyms, suggesting that every one of them should be registered like a trademark, to legalise the name. 'Personally', said Beard, 'I should prefer to leave work unsigned than to sign it with a false name'.[51] Ironically, Emma Patten Beard (1878-1963) was a well-known author of children's literature who wrote newspaper columns under the pseudonym Patten Beard. The next day's editorial argued against Beard and fully supported the use of the literary pseudonym as a professional convention.[52] It claimed that 'a writer does no harm in following the example of numberless illustrious predecessors and putting his productions over or under any name that he likes better than the one selected for him'.

Other readers reacted angrily to the suggestion of registering pseudonyms. Unaware of Beard's gender, J.W.E. (initials were a common form of pseudonym)

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[48] Mary Ruth Hiller, 'The Identification of Authors: The Great Victorian Enigma', *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, eds. (New York: MLA, 1978), 125.

[49] Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers*, 87.

Buurma, 'Anonymity, Corporate Authority', 20.

[50] Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers*, 87.

[51] Patten Beard, 'Pseudonyms Unethical?; Writer Thinks Every Nom De Plume Should Be Registered', *The New York Times* (1 August 1913). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9806E4DD1730E233A25752C0A96E9C946296D6CF (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[52] The Editor, 'Topics of the Times: Pseudonymity Easily Defensible', *The New York Times* (2 August 1913). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F00711FC3D5913738DDDAB0894D0405B838DF1D3 (last accessed 14 March 2018).

wrote to the editor:

> Just what does Patten Beard mean, anyway, by 'abuse of the old-fashioned pseudonym in the magazines'? Does he not realize that there are people who have something to say, and can say it comprehensively, who for reasons such as occupations or positions, feel justified in 'hiding their light under a bushel'?[53]

Joining in the discussion, William Flemmingway claimed that the use of a pseudonym could indeed be justified by a writer's occupation or position.[54] And W.J.L., also in support of pseudonyms, declared that it was 'an inalienable and imprescriptible right to all who can get away with it'. W.J.L. had, after all, been using pseudonyms 'safely for thirty years' and only once had a problem. That was when he used a female pseudonym and received 'nearly two hundred proposals of marriage from all kinds of men, except the kind [he] wanted to marry'.[55] This apparently trivial comment speaks volumes about the long-established convention of concealing both name and gender on letters to the editor.

(b) Magazines

At every level of nineteenth-century society there was an eager market for newspapers and magazines covering an extensive range of topics. Story and family newspapers, journals for children, religious publications, papers for social reform, political newspapers, intellectual literary magazines, and new magazines for women flowed from American and British printing presses. In the second half of the century, magazines of all kinds were reasonably cheap and widely available, thus offering a source of education and amusement to many readers 'whose grandparents had been on the borderline of illiteracy'.[56] In terms of sales, readership, and profit, magazines and cheap newspapers for the mass market proved even more successful than did books. In the final decades of the nineteenth century the growth in magazine

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[53] J.W.E., 'Use of Pseudonyms: May Be Justified by Writer's Occupation or Position', *The New York Times* (3 September 1913). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F20815FA395B13738DDDAA0894D1405B838DF1D3 (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[54] William Flemmingway, 'Use of Pseudonyms', *The New York Times* (3 September 1913). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F10815FA395B13738DDDAA0894D1405B838DF1D3 (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[55] W.J.L., 'Advantages of a Pseudonym', *The New York Times* (5 September 1913). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F70715FB3D5913738DDDAC0894D1405B838DF1D3 (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[56] Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 163.

production was faster than that of newspapers. In Britain, for example, the number of newspaper titles peaked around the year 1900, and was overtaken two years later by the number of magazine titles.[57]

The proliferation of magazines, journals, and story papers presented countless opportunities for men and women to contribute work anonymously or under a pseudonym. Under a range of authorial signatures writers submitted a mixture of articles, serialised novels, short stories, homilies, sentimental poems, and letters – genres that were traditionally viewed as feminine. Both men and women used pseudonyms to impart advice to the lovelorn or to share recipes and menus. They also wrote pseudonymous letters and articles to expose current examples of social absurdities and pretensions through humour, hoaxes, and parody. Because of the huge amount of literature required, magazines also provided a reliable source of income. Men and women were motivated by the promise of financial security, and in many cases they were able to hone their writing skills under a pseudonym or anonymously, before entering the literary marketplace under their own names.

Most of the early nineteenth-century literary figures in the United States were professional gentlemen who wrote only for amusement. Many young men mixed literature with the practice of law, and those who attempted to produce anything of literary worth often suffered the ridicule of friends and fellow workers.[58] For example, William Wirt (U.S. Attorney General) wrote his essays and biographies under a pseudonym for many years to avoid the derision of his colleagues in the legal profession. Magazine editors and authors were often reluctant to contribute original material to publications, and insisted on anonymity or pseudonymity 'in an effort to preserve their dignity and privacy'.[59] The *Baltimore Literary Magazine* (1807) was edited by 'a gentleman of known literary abilities', *The Aeronaut* (1816) by 'an association of gentlemen', and other magazines by pseudonymous editors such as Robert Rusticoat, Henry Homespun Jr., and 'An American Patriot'.[60]

In this period when lack of funds for payment to contributors caused a dearth of original submissions, several magazine editors wrote almost all the new material

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[57] Graham Law, '22 May 1891: Ouida's Attack on Fiction Syndication', BRANCH: *Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, Dino Franco Fellugo, ed. *Extension of Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*. http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=graham-law-22-may-1891-ouidas-attack-on-fiction-syndication (last accessed 26 March 2018).

[58] Virgius Dabney, *Liberalism in the South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 81.

[59] Heather A. Haveman, *Magazines and the Making of America: Modernization, Community, and Print Culture, 1741-1860* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 97.

[60] Ibid.

themselves, mostly under pseudonyms to disguise the shoestring nature of their publications. In 1819, the innovation of payment for contributions resulted in intense competition for fiction, poems, and essays. As a result, the practice of concealing the identities of magazine editors, publishers, and contributors declined dramatically after the 1830s.[61] Nevertheless, some magazines continued to suppress contributors' names until mid-century. During 1836 Nathaniel Hawthorne, with the assistance of his sister Elizabeth, anonymously supplied and edited nearly all the material in the Boston-based *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*.[62] Henry James remarked in his 1879 biography of Hawthorne that:

> There is something … really touching in the sight of a delicate and superior genius obliged to concern himself with such paltry undertakings. The simple fact was that for a man attempting at that time in America to live by his pen, there were no larger openings; and to live at all Hawthorne had, as the phrase is, to make himself small.[63]

In Britain, early nineteenth-century periodicals were concerned with politics, art and literature. These more serious journals, or 'reviews', originated in Scotland. Shocked by the 'strength of entrenched Toryism', Francis Jeffrey, Henry Brougham, and Sydney Smith instigated a new phase in the history of British periodicals with the launch of *The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal* (October 1802).[64] Under the policy of anonymity the *Review* 'spoke as one having authority' with a voice that was not that of an individual writer but of a group unified by a strong editor (Jeffrey). It aimed to reflect and shape political opinion in the interest of the Whigs. Its authoritative, independent style of political and literary criticism enhanced its reputation so that by 1818 the quarterly *Edinburgh Review* had a circulation of about 14,000.[65] The Tory *Quarterly Review* (1809-1967) offset the Whig-oriented *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929), whilst Blackwood's monthly *Edinburgh Magazine* (1817-1980) eschewed politics in favour of literature. English periodicals soon appeared on the scene with *The London Magazine* (1820-1829), *The Westminster*

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[61] Ibid., 100. *The Christian Spectator* (1819-38) pioneered the practice of paying contributors one dollar per page.

[62] Ibid., 98.

[63] Henry James, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* [1879], Dan McCall, ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 30.

[64] Albert C. Baugh, ed., *A Literary History of England* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), 1176. The function of a review was to survey politics, literature, science, and art, whereas a magazine was a collection of literary and antiquarian knowledge with an assortment of more imaginary prose and verse.

[65] Ibid., 1177. The figure of 14,000 does not accurately represent the public it reached, as copies passed from hand to hand and there was a constant demand for reprints in bound volumes.

Review (1824-1914), *The Spectator* (1828-present), and *The Athenaeum* (1828-1921). These were followed by other important periodicals – *The Saturday Review* (1855-1938), *The Cornhill Magazine* (1860-1975), *The Contemporary Review* (1866-present) and *The Fortnightly Review* (founded in 1865 and incorporated in *The Contemporary Review*).[66]

The use of multiple pseudonyms was routine for authors submitting articles and reviews to different publications. William Makepeace Thackeray used at least forty pseudonyms – John Corks, Michael Angelo Titmarsh, George Savage Fitz-Boodle, Dorothea Julia Ramsbottom, Dolly Duster, to name a few – for poems, sketches, essays, and amusing articles published in periodicals such as *Punch*, *Fraser's Magazine*, and *The Morning Chronicle*. Pseudonyms could also conceal the amount of material produced by a collective or by different authors at different times. Oliver Yorke, fictitious editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, was in fact a collaborative product of editor William Maginn and his team of authors (Thackeray, J. G. Lockhart, Theodore Hooks, Percival Weldon Banks, and D. M. Moir).[67] Between 1824 and 1900 at least seventy-five per cent of articles in British periodicals were anonymous or signed with a pseudonym.[68] Literary historian George Saintsbury noted that this practice resulted in 'so much editorial intermixture and refashioning, that sometimes it would really have been impossible to assign a single and authentic paternity', and although editors' names were 'perfectly well known', they 'seldom or never appeared'.[69]

Anonymity and pseudonymity had characterised periodical writing since the earliest days of the genre, 'guaranteeing independence and freedom from personal bias'.[70] According to Robert Chambers (1802-1871), 'secrecy conferred membership in what was effectively a vast family of unknowns'.[71] As a journalist with extensive practice 'in managing the conventions of invisible authorship', he described his experiences of writing under male, female, and gender-neutral pseudonyms:

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[66] Steinberg and Trevitt, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 162.

[67] Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 193.

[68] Hiller, 'The Identification of Authors', 124.

[69] George Saintsbury, *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature (1780-1895)* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896), 450-451, Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/ahistoryninetee06saingoog (last accessed 24 March 2018).

[70] James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation'* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 19. Chambers was writing in the first issue of *The Kaleidoscope* (1821).

[71] Ibid., 365.

> I have been one year the loquacious Tatler and the next the taciturn Spectator; the Rambler and the Idler… united the opposite extremes of Leviculus & Gravis, Hermeticus & Flirticus, Tom Tranquil & Jack Whirler, all in my own form and character; have had no more regard to the decorums of sex than a hacknied actress, in breeches for the hundredth time; have been every thing, yet nothing; every sex and no sex – and all to serve you, my dear public.[72]

In the mid-nineteenth century most of the established journals, magazines, and reviews began to embrace the new policy of printing contributors' names, so that responsibility and authority were gradually transferred from the publication itself to the individual writer. The writer's signature and 'publicly sanctioned expertise' in a specific area of knowledge guaranteed his or her competence. The newly founded *Macmillan's Magazine* (1859-1907) began to use signatures, and *The Fortnightly Review*, *Contemporary Review*, and *The Nineteenth Century* (1877-1972) followed the example with signed reviews.[73] They now claimed that the value and character of their publications were defined by the policy of the signature.[74]

Saintsbury suggested that it might have been the prominence given to the name and personality of Charles Dickens ('who was not unfriendly to self-advertisement') in *Household Words* (1850-59) that began to reverse the system of anonymity in periodicals.[75] As was the custom with newspaper editors, only the name of Dickens (the journal's 'conductor') appeared in print. Articles by all other contributors were published anonymously or under pseudonyms, except for authors of serialised novels (Elizabeth Gaskell and Wilkie Collins) who were identified in the journal. Although editors had sometimes broken the unspoken rule of anonymity to name entries by celebrated authors, from the 1860s onwards they relied more frequently on the power of celebrity authors to raise the profiles of journals and increase circulation. They were faced with increasing competition from the overwhelming numbers of shilling magazines in which 'writing with names became the rule'.[76]

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[72] Robert Chambers, 'Concluding Address to the Public', *The Kaleidoscope; or, Edinburgh Literary Amusement. A Periodical Miscellany, Chiefly Humorous* (12 January 1822), 12-14. Cited in James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation'* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 366-367.

[73] The title of *The Nineteenth Century* was changed in 1901 to *The Nineteenth Century and After,* and again in 1951 to *The Twentieth Century*.

[74] Kelly Mays, 'The disease of reading and Victorian periodicals', *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing & Reading Practices*, John O. Jordan & Robert L. Patten, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 168.

[75] Saintsbury, *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature*, 451.

[76] Ibid., 452.

New advances in technology increased circulation and raised the quality of cheap magazines, story papers, and the originally crude publications of the 'penny dreadful' that appealed to the British urban working classes in particular. Proprietors employed more creative artists and paid several prolific authors such as James Malcolm Rymer, who contributed thrillers during the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s.[77] He is reputed to have written up to ten stories simultaneously and is credited with over 120 titles, mostly published under pseudonyms or anonymously.[78] While a number of respected authors like Rymer wrote popular literature, low-paid hack writers wrote most of the stories in penny dreadfuls using an assortment of pseudonyms.[79] Development of the penny dreadful was given added impetus by the successful serialisation of popular novels, especially Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* in 1836-1837, and the proliferation of melodramas playing in minor London theatres. Serialisation of novels became ever more popular as prices of new fiction were lowered in order to increase sales.[80]

Publishers in Britain and America exploited the creation of a mass reading audience by making the vast array of new literature available to all classes. Weekly journals, such as *The Penny Magazine* (1832-45), *The Family Herald* (1842-1939), and *The London Journal* (1845-1912), appealed to skilled workers and the lower-middle class by offering personal advice, household hints, and general fiction. From the 1860s the widening middle-class audience enjoyed an abundance of literary journals, such as the *Cornhill*, *Argosy* (1865-1901), and *Belgravia* (1866-1889) in Britain, and *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (1850-present) and *The Atlantic Monthly* (1857-present) in America. These demanded an endless supply of stories, essays, book reviews, poetry, sports articles, and puzzles, with almost unlimited opportunities for pseudonymous contributions by both men and women. Under the pseudonym Christopher Crowfield, for instance, Harriet Beecher Stowe first published *House and Home Papers* (1864), a collection of essays concerned with home economics and the changes wrought on domestic households by the American Civil War. She used her

[77] Albert Johannsen, 'Rymer, James Malcolm', *The House of Beadle & Adams Online – The Authors and Their Novels*. https://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/rymer_james.html (last accessed14 March 2018).

[78] Louis James, 'Rymer, James Malcolm (1803/4-1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53817 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[79] Dennis Denisoff, 'What are Penny Dreadfuls?', *Victorian Pulp!* http://www.ryerson.ca/%7Edenisoff/pulp.htm (accessed 15 March 2011).

[80] Elizabeth James, 'The Novel', *Aspects of the Victorian Book* (2003), www.bl.uk/collections/early/victorian/pu_novel.html (last accessed 16 March 2018).

masculine pseudonym (in *The Atlantic Monthly*) to make her work more acceptable in the sphere of male-dominated periodicals, where even 'parlour talk' was 'filtered through a male voice'.[81]

One of the first magazines for American middle-class women, *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830-98), was designed along the style of English women's magazines and annual gift books, with visual images that reinforced not only the ideal of the 'lady' but also the concept of woman at the centre of middle-class domesticity.[82] Louis Godey was determined to keep his magazine politically neutral and insisted that contributors conform to the magazine's rule by submitting nothing controversial or of questionable taste. In 1850 he dismissed his assistant editor, Grace Greenwood (pseudonym of Sara Jane Clarke Lippincott), for expressing her anti-slavery views in *The National Era*.[83]

Magazines not only broadened the appeal of reading but also created specialised markets for readers and writers.[84] These markets presented new publishing openings for women (and men writing under female pseudonyms), many of whom developed their writing skills through the practice of unsigned magazine articles, reviews, and verse. British novelist Hall Caine (1853-1931) confided that at the age of eighteen he wrote a poem of 'a mystical sort, which was printed … and published under a [presumably female] pseudonym. 'Happily', he assumed, 'no man will ever identify me behind the romantic name wherein I hid'.[85] Poems in particular were in great demand as 'fillers', and even the most prestigious nineteenth-century American periodicals printed five or six poems in each issue.[86]

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[81] Joan D. Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 314. Stowe had also chosen a masculine pseudonym, Franklin, for her first editorial in the 1830s when she spoke out in the midst of the free speech battles.

[82] Jeffrey, 'Print Culture'.

[83] Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1990), 700. In the field of housewifery, Samuel Beeton's *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1852) was the most successful in reaching out to the new mass market.

Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, expanded ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 59. In the second half of the nineteenth century American women 'exploited the feminine stereotype' by employing sentimental, alliterative pseudonyms such as Grace Greenwood, Jennie June, May Mather, Minnie Myrtle, Fanny Forester, Matilda Moss, Fannie Fern, and others.

[84] Jeffrey, 'Print Culture'.

[85] Hall Caine, 'The Shadow of a Crime', *My First Book: The Experiences of Walter Besant* [et al.]*; with an Introduction by Jerome K. Jerome; a new edition, with 185 illustrations,* Jerome Klapka Jerome, ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), 53. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/myfirstbookexpe00jerogoog (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[86] Paula Bennett, 'Not Just Filler and Not Just Sentimental', *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*, Kenneth M. Price and Susan Belasco Smith, eds. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 203.

Some poets resented the fact that readers believed every word 'literally autobiographical' if a poem was published under a signed name; they consequently insisted on anonymity or the use of a pseudonym.[87] As late as 1885 when almost all magazines had discontinued the convention of anonymous contributions, Edward Rowland (1841-1887) pleaded with Thomas Bailey Aldrich, then editor of *The Atlantic*, to allow him to submit his poems under a pseudonym:

> I tell you there is no comfort for a man the minute he begins to write anything that is an *intimité* or that sounds (whether it is or not) like the voice of any personal feeling or experience beyond the humdrum – no comfort but behind a mask. Print me over a *nom de goose quill* … and I will send you some remarkable poems … I like my own name very well, you understand, and have no reason for anything but modest pride in it, and yet – for one reason and another – I don't care to see it in print; and especially under any sort of genuine poetry.[88]

Sill's suggested pseudonym, Andrew Hedbrook, met with Aldrich's approval, and 'under this cloak Sill wrote with increasing ease and freedom'.[89]

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw a sense of transition in late-Victorian masculinity and male sexuality manifest in the New Journalism of the period.[90] With women's expanding role in society, American women's magazines such as *Familyculture* (1896-1897) expressed radical ideas about the place of women in family life, and stressed the importance of absolute equality in a marriage.[91] *Woman* magazine, established in London (1890-1912), was characteristic of a trend that emphasised reporters' personalities and presented readers with competitions, illustrations, advertisements, and short, chatty articles. These intimate design aspects helped to create a 'feminised space' where women could feel comfortable and relaxed.[92] Although women were understood to be the moral centre of home, nation, and empire, *Woman* eschewed moral concerns in favour of household issues or choice

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[87] William Belmont Parker, *Edward Rowland Sill: His Life and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), 246-247.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., 248.

[90] Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 116.

[91] Kristin H. Gerhard, 'International Women's Periodicals: Late 18th Century to the Great Depression', *International Women's Periodicals* (2013). http://iwp.library.cornell.edu/i/iwp/women_intro.html (last accessed 14 March 2018). Gerhard mentions that this is an unusual title. She notes that: '"Familyculture" was likened to horticulture – the science of growing healthy families. Its editors advocated for the formation of strong families through careful choice of marriage partner, purposeful courtship, and education about sexuality.'

[92] Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own,* 187.

of dress and dinner menus. It devoted little space to fiction, particularly romantic stories, so that women's traditional novel reading was represented by 'chats' about books or discussions with authors. *Woman* used a range of editorial names such as Marjorie, Marguerite, Barbara, Sal or Sal Volatile, Hermione, and 'Medica'. These were all pseudonyms that concealed a series of male editors whose identities and gender were never revealed in the magazine's pages. This journalistic use of female pseudonyms was an important factor in the feminisation of magazines.[93]

First names were a radical departure from the more formal social practice of the time. When used as a by-line, a first name introduced a 'note of almost aggressive intimacy' whilst signalling that this was 'the world of journalism'.[94] The personae of the names were not developed into 'real' people, and readers recognised the device as a pleasurable, journalistic game in which they willingly participated. Through *Woman's* invisible structure of gender dynamics, editor Arnold Bennett invested his readers with a stake in the power he exercised as editor and shareholder of the magazine.[95] The development of a 'feminised' press in this period of New Journalism 'offered a threat to the norms of masculine reading' by opening up the possibility that 'feminine' qualities of feeling, attention to appearance, and gossip could be coded as 'human', and therefore available to men. Writers and readers negotiated that process within unequal power relations, as heterosexuality was the norm and men still had more power than women.[96]

In terms of sales, readership, and profit, magazines and cheap newspapers for the mass market proved even more successful than did books. In fact, the very existence of the literary form of the book depended heavily on the periodical for specific genres such as serialised novels, for works by particular authors, and economically for advertising and for stimulating interest in reading itself.[97] As Saintsbury pointed out: 'Very large numbers of the best as well as the worst novels

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[93] Ibid., 188. 126. The idea of 'feminisation' of the press stressed feeling over reason, a personal over an authoritative tone, and private aspects of stories over the public. Since femininity was thought to be located in and defined by appearance, changes in lay-out and the use of illustration and advertisements altered the look of the periodical press. This new femininity of consumption lay within the dominant ideology of the domestic, reinvented in the cheaper magazines of the 1890s.

[94] Ibid., 188.

[95] Ibid., 129, 189.

[96] Ibid., 126. Beetham notes that 'during the period of New Journalism the relationship between gender and sexuality was in crisis'.

[97] Laurel Brake, 'The "Wicked *Westminster*", the *Fortnightly*, and Walter Pater's *Renaissance*', *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing & Reading Practices*, John O. Jordan & Robert L. Patten, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 289.

themselves have originally appeared in periodicals'.[98]

Adult Fiction (Books)

Serialisation created a constant demand for more fiction, which was the most financially rewarding form of writing during the nineteenth century (apart from school textbooks).[99] Much of it was written anonymously or under a pseudonym and often by 'far lesser authors' whose lives depended on their meagre earnings. These 'forgotten writers who hacked away' in the depths of the nineteenth-century publishing world sold many more books than most popular authors such as Trollope and Eliot.[100]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, religious themes made up over twenty per cent of all book titles in Britain. Geography, history, travel, and biography represented seventeen per cent. Fiction and juvenile works made up sixteen per cent, and poetry and drama fewer than eight per cent. By the 1890s the proportion of subjects had changed dramatically.[101] The percentage of religious-themed works was more than halved. Geography, history, travel and biography now represented less than twelve per cent of titles. Poetry and drama constituted just over four per cent. Fiction and juvenile titles had increased to almost thirty-two per cent, so that the annual production of novels in Britain almost exceeded the output of books of all other literary genres combined.[102]

Most English novelists of the early nineteenth century were women with little prestige attached to their work but by the end of the century most critically acclaimed novelists were men. Tuchman sees the year 1840 as of particular significance. Literary historians often claim that the decade marked not only the emergence of the Victorian novel but also the beginning of its associated production and distribution system.[103] After 1840 employment conditions for novelists improved and, with changes in contracts, copyright protection, publishing, and remuneration, writing was

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[98] Saintsbury, *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature,* 166.

[99] Eliot, 'Some Trends in British Book Production', 1800-1919', *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing & Reading Practices*. John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten, eds., 1st paperback ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 38.

[100] K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 388.

[101] Eliot, 'Some Trends in British Book Production', 36-37. These figures are in terms of the number of titles. The production of Bibles, New Testaments, prayer books, and psalm books probably far outstripped most secular titles in terms of print runs early in the century.

[102] Peter Morton, *"The Busiest Man in England": Grant Allen and the Writing Trade, 1875-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 112.

[103] Tuchman and Fortin, *Edging Women Out*, 7.

seen as potentially profitable. London's publishing industry fostered men's success as novelists by increasing literary opportunities and providing more lucrative contracts for men than for women. By the 1870s men were using the term 'high culture' to distinguish novels that were admired (and mostly written) by men from those deemed more 'run-of-the-mill'.[104]

In the late 1840s, concurrent with the opening of the first of W. H. Smith's famous railway bookstalls, a new genre of cheap books called 'yellowbacks' (less commonly known as 'mustard-plaster' novels) was issued. Priced at one shilling per volume, yellowbacks were sold by Smith's to the growing hordes of British railway commuters. Several Victorian publishers produced these new cheap books, but it was George Routledge's *Railway Library* series (1848-1899) that dominated the genre with novels originally printed in three volumes ('three-deckers'). Although some publishers, including Routledge, experimented with nonfiction in yellowbacks, the most popular of these cheap books proved to be romance and sensation novels.[105] Most were reprints of popular fiction books written by well-known British and American novelists, but hack writers were frequently the authors of yellowbacks under an assortment of pseudonyms.

Between 1830 and 1880 the public demand for fiction, the rising dominance of the novel, and the growth of the circulating library created opportunities for financial gain for male authors, and fostered the writing careers of women – some with serious literary ambitions and others content to produce popular romantic fiction.[106] Under a male or masculinised pseudonym, women such as the Brontë sisters and George Eliot were able to write powerfully and passionately about issues traditionally considered masculine, thus overcoming the gendered limitations placed on the female authorial voice. Their books were psychologically penetrating and dwelt on 'some of the most difficult problems of life … the destinies, the possibilities, and the religious position' of their characters.[107] A great number of the

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[104] Tuchman and Fortin, *Edging Women Out*, 9, 3.

[105] Philip V. Allingham, ed., 'The Victorian Sensation Novel, 1860-1880 — "preaching to the nerves instead of the judgment"', *The Victorian Web: literature, history, & culture in the age of Victoria.* http://www.victorianweb.org/genre/sensation.html (last accessed 15 March 2018). Features of the sensation novel include such aspects as bigamy, romantic triangles, mistaken identity, heroines placed in physical danger, drugs, potions, poisons, disguises, aristocratic villains, and details of heightened suspense.

[106] Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Street* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 167.

[107] Joanne Wilkes, *Women Reviewing Women in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Critical Reception of Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot* (Farnham, Sy: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 1.

nineteenth century's major social, political, and economic problems stemmed from the processes of rapid industrialisation, immigration, and urbanisation. Middle-class women like Elizabeth Gaskell first addressed these issues in works of fiction, often anonymously or under a pseudonym. Male novelists too (such as Frederick Robinson) used male and female pseudonyms on social-problem novels, specifically to draw attention to such concerns as government misuse of authority, corruption, and suffering of the poor.

Some authors found it a very rewarding experience to submit early works under a pseudonym or anonymously, whether their book was accepted or not. Novelist and journal editor James Payn enjoyed the security afforded by anonymity after experiencing difficulty in finding a publisher for his first novel, *The Family Scapegrace* (1861). Publishers rejected his book partly because it was in one volume, a form unpopular with the libraries, and partly because he was an unknown novelist. It was eventually serialised under his own name in *Chambers's Journal*. 'For many years afterwards', he said, 'I published my books anonymously (i.e., "by the author" of so and so), and many a humorous interview I had with various denizens of Paternoster Row, to whom I (very strongly) recommended them by proxy'.[108]

Despite the security provided by anonymity there were also drawbacks for young writers. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle reflected on the disadvantages he had personally encountered through lack of recognition as a young, anonymous author:

> During ten years of hard work, I averaged less than fifty pounds a year from my pen. I won my way into the best journals, *Cornhill*, *Temple Bar*, and so on; but what is the use of that when the contributions to those journals must be anonymous? It is a system which tells very hardly against young authors … After ten years of such work, I was as unknown as if I had never dipped a pen into an inkbottle. Sometimes, of course, the anonymous system may screen you from blame as well as rob you of praise.[109]

Nevertheless, anonymity was regarded as a safe course of action in a new literary venture, where many first-time novelists waited to see if a work sold well enough before it was safe to print their names on the front page of the next edition. Sir Walter Scott published his first historical novel *Waverley* (1814) anonymously, after twenty years as a successful poet. He insisted that his name was not to appear on the title

[108] James Payn, 'The Scapegrace', *My First Book: The Experiences of Walter Besant* [et al.]*; with an Introduction by Jerome K. Jerome; a new edition, with 185 illustrations,* Jerome Klapka Jerome, ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), 23. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/myfirstbookexpe00jerogoog (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[109] A. Conan Doyle, 'Juvenilia', *My First Book*, 104.

page or be connected with any of the fifteen novels he had produced in his first twelve years of writing fiction. In the preface to the novel's third edition (October 1814), Scott suggested reasons for writing anonymously (and some of these might also apply to the use of a female pseudonym):

> He may be a writer new to publication, and unwilling to avow a character to which he is accustomed; or he may be a hackneyed author who is ashamed of too frequent appearance … He may be a man of a grave profession, to whom the reputation of being a novel-writer of any kind might appear pedantic. He may be too young to assume the character of an author, or so old as to make it advisable to lay it aside.[110]

As a critic reviewing the latest novel (i.e., his *own* novel) by 'the Author of *Waverley*' (1817), Scott commented again on the author's anonymous status:

> [W]e cannot pretend to guess without knowing more of his personal reasons for preserving so strict an incognito than has hitherto reached us. We can, however, conceive many reasons for a writer observing this sort of mystery; not to mention that it has certainly had its effect in keeping up the interest which his works have excited.[111]

Scott's novels appeared under the pseudonym 'the Author of *Waverley'* until 1827 when he felt that his reputation as a novelist was secure enough for him to write under his own name.

Other writers such as Alfred Lord Tennyson, Robert Browning, James Fenimore Cooper, Thomas Hardy, and Conan Doyle all chose to publish their early works anonymously. Dickens started his writing career in the same way. He had adopted his pseudonym, Boz, for short pieces in *The Evening Chronicle* and *Monthly Magazine* (1834) and later for *The Pickwick Papers*, which was serialised from 1836 to 1837.[112] Dickens's principal illustrator, Hablot Knight Browne (1815-1882), also used pseudonyms on his drawings, as did many other artists. Browne first signed his work in 1836 with the pseudonym N.E.M.O. (Latin for 'Nobody'), but changed it to Phiz (short for 'physiognomy') because he drew the faces (or 'phizzes') of the characters that Boz described in words. Phiz as the artist's pseudonym complemented

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[110] David Glenn Kropf, *Authorship as Alchemy: Subversive Writing in Pushkin, Scott, Hoffmann* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1994), 131.

[111] Ibid., 106.

[112] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens,* Vol. 1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), 64. Internet Archive. http://archive.org/stream/lifeofcharlesdic01forsuoft (last accessed 15 March 2018).

Robert L. Patten, *Charles Dickens and 'Boz': The Birth of the Industrial-Age Author* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 44-45.

Boz as the author's pseudonym.[113]

As production and marketing of literature responded to the dramatic expansion of the reading market throughout the nineteenth century, the novel was responsible for an astounding variety of literature – from the society novels of the 1830s, and industrial, historical, and domestic novels, tales of adventure, and detective stories of the 1860s, to the sensation novels, New Woman stories, and science fiction of the 1890s.[114] The preeminent position of fiction caused educators and librarians to complain loudly about the threat posed to the 'more serious' forms of reading and writing.[115]

Publishers benefited from the mass readership commanded by the novel by allowing changing tastes and market forces to determine the various forms in which it was issued: single-volume, multi-volume, three-volume, serialised in parts, or serialised in magazines.[116] During the eighteenth century, circulating libraries essential to the commercial success of the Victorian novel had been established throughout Britain and America. In the nineteenth century, huge subscription circulating libraries such as Charles Mudie's and W. H. Smith's drove the British market for 'three-deckers' (three volumes) and pressured publishers to maintain the format.[117] The 'inflationary pressure' of the three-volume format sustained the high price of English fiction for seventy years. This encouraged readers to borrow books rather than buy them: only the wealthiest readers could afford to pay for three volumes, usually costing 31s 6d (or 10s 6d each), whereas libraries were able to rent them out on a per-volume basis. In America, circulating libraries did not dominate the distribution of books as they did in Britain, since most people in the United States were able to purchase books at lower prices than those in British bookstores.

Libraries (particularly in Britain) controlled a considerable share of the new-novel market and judiciously censored the religious and moral content of their stock. They pressured writers to react to market forces and to carefully choose their subjects for women readers, who formed a high proportion of library patrons.[118] Charles

[113] Brake and Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, 83.

[114] James, 'The Novel'.

[115] Eliot, 'Some Trends in British Book Production', 38.

[116] Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 150.

[117] Ibid., 154. By 1875 Mudie had 125 branches throughout Britain, and regularly ordered new books in quantities as great as 2,500 copies. Publishers continued to publish three-decker novels as long as Mudie wanted them. He could charge his customers three times as much for three-volume novels as for novels in a single volume. He didn't advertise one-volume novels as prominently as the others, especially since he was taking over half of the print run of a middle-range novel.

[118] Tuchman and Fortin, *Edging Women Out*, 29.

Mudie was at one stage the largest purchaser of novels in the world. He did, however, buy genres other than fiction, including poetry, history, biography, religious and moral tracts, scientific works, travel, and adventure. He bought books that suited his taste – that of a 'religious fundamentalist and a patriarchal Victorian'.[119] Mudie's power was so immense that he was able to influence not only the 'size of editions, the format, the price, the date of issue, even the binding', but also the plot and 'the handling of delicate matters'.[120] Influential female authors such as Ouida (pseudonym of Marie de la Ramée, 1830-1908) and Marie Corelli (pseudonym of Mary Mackay, 1855-1924) found favour with Charles Mudie and his lending library enterprise by writing under pseudonyms and keeping within the narrow confines of Victorian middle-class respectability.[121]

In 1894 circulating libraries announced that they would pay no more than four shillings for a volume of fiction. This signalled not only the end of the three-decker, whose format had been sustained for so long by the circulating libraries, but also the end of Mudie's stranglehold on the market.[122] Rather than turn to more serious reading material as educationists expected, the public continued to demand popular fiction written by women.[123] With the serious novel largely defined as a male enterprise, women's writing was largely, though not exclusively, relegated to the realm of popular culture. This included decadent fiction and New Woman novels that undermined social expectations concerning the representation of sexual desire hitherto coded as wholly masculine.[124] Publishers, such as John Lane (creator of the infamous *Yellow Book*, 1894-1897), were eager for material to meet the explosive demand for sensationalism in fiction.[125] Although he found it hard to believe that a woman could write such sexually explicit literature, Lane still published *Keynotes*

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, 385.

[121] Steinberg and Trevitt, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 165.

[122] James, 'The Novel'. MP William Ewart's Free Libraries Act of 1850 enabled vestries (the forerunners of borough councils) to establish free public libraries in England. This was the first legislative step in creating a national institution providing free access to information and literature and was indicative of current moral, social, and educational concerns. Initially free libraries evolved slowly, then more rapidly from the 1870s until by the close of the century hundreds of public lending libraries were established throughout Britain.

[123] Eliot, 'The Business of Victorian Publishing', 59. The public demanded popular fiction, particularly works by Ouida, Mary Braddon, and Mrs Henry Wood (1814-1887). The popularity of these authors was revealed in a survey of over eighty public library catalogues issued between 1883 and 1912.

[124] Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 20.

[125] Mary Beth McGrath, 'The Yellow Book', *The Victorian* Web. http://www.victorianweb.org/decadence/yellowbook.html (last accessed 15 March 2018).

(1893), a volume of 'decadent' short stories by Mary Chavelita Dunne who wrote as George Egerton.[126] Dunne's first editor, T. P. Gill, had never even suspected that Egerton's work was *not* that of a man.[127]

Women in the United States also resorted to anonymity or the use of a pseudonym if they stepped beyond the accepted boundaries of the domestic novel. Louisa May Alcott produced wholesome, moralistic children's books that were popular and lucrative, but she also wrote thirty or so sensation novels under the pseudonym A. M. Barnard. Protected by pseudonymity, she wrote of women who were economically independent and who courageously asserted their power to challenge the authority of the dominant male.[128] Only in her signed fiction did her heroines act within the bounds of social propriety.

Concurrent with the growth of sensation fiction from the 1860s, story papers and dime novels flourished, particularly in America. Distributed in huge quantities at newsstands and dry goods stores, dime novels were accessible to readers of all classes, offering an abundance of popular fiction (especially adventure and romance) in a regular series at a fixed, low price.[129] The term 'dime novel' originally referred to a series of paper-covered books that were published in the United States as *Beadle's Dime Novels* (1860-1874). Each issue initially sold for ten cents (a dime) and contained a short novel with a melodramatic and sensational plot. But by the end of the American Civil War, the brand-name 'dime novel' referred to any form of cheap,

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[126] Viv Gardner, 'Out of the Attic … :Women and Writing at the *Fin de Siècle*', *An Introduction to Women's Writing: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, Marion Shaw, ed. (Hemel Hemstead, Herts: Prentice Hall, 1998), 183.

Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature,* 35.

[127] Jane Eldridge Miller, *Rebel Women: Feminism, Modernism and the Edwardian Novel* (London: Virago, 1994), 29. Dunne created her pseudonym from her mother's maiden name, Isabel George, and her husband's first name, Egerton (Tertius Clairmonte).

[128] Paul P. Reuben, 'Chapter 5: Late Nineteenth Century – Louisa May Alcott, *PAL: Perspectives in American Literature – a Research and Reference Guide*. http:/www.csustan.edu/english/reuben/pal/chap5/lalcott.html (accessed 17 August 2004). Louisa May Alcott also wrote adult thrillers, novellas, and poems, many of them anonymously or under one of her pseudonyms – A. M. Barnard, Flora Fairfield, Aunt Weedy, Oranthy Bluggage, Cousin Tribulation, and Minerva Moody.

[129] J. Randolph Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion: A Source Book* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), xiii-xix. Other publishers began to issue their own versions of the Beadle dime novel, but only five publishers (Beadle and Adams, George P. Munro, Norman Munro, Frank Tousey, and Street & Smith) out of dozens produced them in any significant numbers or for any length of time. Street & Smith, despite a cautious, late entry into the dime novel field, managed to outlast the others by acquiring their publishing rights and integrating them into their own production of dime novels.

The sensation novel, also sensation fiction, was a literary genre of fiction that achieved peak popularity in Britain in the 1860s and 1870s. Whereas romance and realism had traditionally been contradictory modes of literature, they were brought together in sensation fiction.

sensational fiction in paper covers, no matter what the price or format.[130]

The first dime novel published was a reprint of the story 'Malaeska: the Indian Wife of the White Hunter', originally written by Mrs Ann S. Stephens as a serial for the *Ladies' Companion* (February, March, April 1839).[131] Beadle publishers had no intention of creating sensation fiction when they paid $250 (to Stephens) for the right to reproduce the story in book form. Like all early dime novels it was highly moral, the expression 'Great God' being the strongest language found in the story, and that occurred only once.[132] It was followed three weeks later by a sea story called 'The Privateer's Cruise, and the Bride of Pomfret Hall', written by an unknown writer under the hero's name, Harry Cavendish. This was the first pseudonym used in the history of the dime novel.[133]

As members of a syndicate, dime novelists used 'house names' that were often specifically assigned to stories with similar themes. Many of these names were female pseudonyms, such as Ida Reade Allen, Bertha M. Clay, Julia Edwards, and Geraldine Fleming (further addressed in Chapter 5). In an age when 'a fictitious name was part of the equipment of half the authors', the source of a dime novel was often uncertain because multiple writers used a single pseudonym for many titles in a series, and a single author employed different pseudonyms for different series or titles.[134]

Literary piracy was rife in the nineteenth century. London's first penny dreadful, the *Family Herald* (1843), comprised stories that were almost all reproduced from American sources.[135] And when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) was

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[130] Ibid., xiii, xiv. A new title was issued by Beadle and Adams, who established the genre, 'every two weeks or so' for fourteen years. The Beadles could produce books for a dime (ten cents), sometimes even five cents, because they were made of the newly available, cheap wood-pulp paper (the original 'pulp fiction') with flimsy paper covers. The increasing demand for paper in the 1850s, as well as a rag shortage, induced European and American inventors to find chemical and mechanical methods for making paper from wood. Poplar was the wood of choice, with new mills opening near the source of this fibre, especially in New England.

[131] Edmund Lester Pearson, *Dime Novels: Or, Following an Old Trail in Popular Literature,* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929), 6. Mrs Ann Sophia Winterbotham Stephens (1810-1886) was one of the most prolific literary women of her day. *Malaeska* (1860) was probably her most famous book, selling about 300,000 copies. Her *High Life in New York* (1843), written under the male pseudonym Jonathan Slick, is in the rich, verbal tradition of 'Down East' humour.

[132] Albert Johannsen, 'Chapter VI: The Year 1860', *The House of Beadle & Adams and its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanished Literature*. http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/chap6.html (last accessed 15 March 2018).

[133] Pearson, *Dime Novels*, 21. Harry Cavendish was one of the pseudonyms used by Charles J. Peterson (1819-1887).

[134] Ibid., 21-22.

[135] Lori Merish, 'Story Papers', *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 6: US Popular Print Culture 1860-1920,* edited by Christine Bold (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 47.

published in the United States, it became an instant success in Britain where 1,500,000 copies speedily appeared, some editions selling for sixpence. In America, competition to secure the proofs of any important new British work was so fierce that publishers who had been waiting at the dockside were able to produce a new edition within hours.[136] In the 1870s and 1880s, before the introduction of international copyright standards, British publishers reprinted sensational and romantic dime novels imported from America, often under pseudonyms, and profited by not having to pay royalties to their authors, even if they were identified.[137]

Although pseudonymity was usually intended to deflect public scrutiny, it also invited attention by critics and reviewers who enjoyed unmasking an author or speculating about their gender.[138] Towards the close of the nineteenth century, debates over signed authorship became more concerned with the individual author than with the influence of anonyms and pseudonyms on the 'production of literary authority'.[139] Articles concentrated on the discovery of the real person behind the pseudonym or missing name, and author identification became a kind of guessing game in which assumed names were riddles to be solved.[140]

Following the American Civil War, there was a time of tremendous domestic expansion and a time of intense curiosity about the foreign scene. This was reflected in the stories of the 'No Name Series' (thirty-seven volumes altogether), issued

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[136] Ibid.

[137] Steinberg and Trevitt, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 169. Copyright was a particularly complicated process in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first British copyright law was enacted in 1709, but with payment arrangements a source of tension within the British book trade, authors' agitation led to a new Copyright Act in 1814 and another in 1842. The Copyright Act of 1842 at last recognised the specific rights of authors and assured protection on works that were first published in Britain by extending copyright to twenty-eight then forty-two years. It stipulated that copyright should cease seven years after an author's death or forty-two years from the publication of a book. In 1886 the Berne Convention established copyright rules worldwide to promote the development of international standards; but the United States continued to view the work of a foreign author (i.e., not a U.S. citizen or long-term resident) as unprotected common property.

Philip V. Allingham, 'Nineteenth-Century British and American Copyright Law', *Victorian Web* (2001). http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/dickens/pva/pva74.html (last accessed 19 March 2018). With the passage of the International Copyright Law of 1891, America finally agreed to halt the sanction of literary piracy and to offer protection to authors from other countries. From 1891, to obtain American copyright a book had to be manufactured in the United States. Before 1891 books could be typeset in Britain and then either plates or already printed sheets shipped to the States. Under British law no copyright notice was required of a publisher, but without appropriate copyright notice, sheets prepared for the British market could end up in the States. Another concern was the importation of American magazines and newspapers carrying British-authored serial fiction.

Lori Merish, 'Story Papers', 47.

[138] Hiller, 'The Identification of Authors', 126.

[139] Buurma, 'Anonymity, Corporate Authority', 22.

[140] Susan Rosenbaum, 'A Thing Unknown, Without a Name: Anna Laetitia Barbauld', in *Studies in Romanticism*, volume 40, issue 3, (2001), 384.

between 1876 and 1887 by Boston publishers Roberts Brothers.[141] The series was the brainchild of Thomas Niles, Jr., who planned to couple anonymity with the idea of books in a series. To keep everyone guessing, authors were encouraged to employ copyists in order to conceal their handwriting. The concept appealed to British and American authors, professional and amateur, male and female, and attracted such famous women writers as Helen Hunt Jackson, Louisa May Alcott, and Emily Dickinson.[142] Novels and poems covered a wide range of topics – the recent Civil War and the Union cause, the vicissitudes of Wall Street, current American scandals, romances of Continental life, and feminism. With its sometimes impossible task of uncovering writers' identities, the 'No Name Series' spawned a new parlour guessing game, delighted critics and the reading public, and provided amusement for established authors and opportunity for 'unknowns'.[143]

London publisher Thomas Fisher Unwin, responding to the dramatic changes in the literary marketplace, also focused his strategy on series publication. His greatest success was *The Pseudonym Library* (1890-1896), with an aim similar to that of the 'No Name Series'. The one condition for inclusion was the use of a pseudonym by the author, not with any practical motives but simply to produce the 'pseudonym effect'.[144] This was an air of mystification in which a 'combination of mystery, desire, and authorial representation' grew in the public awareness. The actual adoption of a pseudonym became part of the text, as readers, critics, reviewers and bibliographers speculated on the author's gender and identity. *The Pseudonym Library* concentrated on the individual author, and embraced the concept of corporate literary authority by grouping and defining novels under a series name. It promoted the New Journalistic 'culture of celebrity' wherein disclosure of an author's name or personality was the impetus behind commercial demand.[145] This reflected the tension engendered through debates that continued during the 1890s over widespread anonymity and signature in periodical publications.[146]

The practice of investigating an author's identity was by no means new. As mentioned above, the study of pseudonyms during the Renaissance was an important

[141] Madeleine B. Stern and Daniel Shealy, 'The No Name Series', *Studies in the American Renaissance* (1991), 375. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/30227614 (last accessed 14 April 2018).
[142] Ibid., 389. This was Emily Dickinson's first poem to appear in a book. Her friend Helen Hunt Jackson instigated its inclusion.
[143] Ibid., 381-383.
[144] Troy Bassett. 'T. Fisher Unwin's Pseudonym Library: Literary Marketing and Authorial Identity', *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920* 47, no.2 (Spring 2004), 149.
[145] Buurma, 'Anonymity, Corporate Authority', 30.
[146] Ibid., 35.

activity for literary historians concerned with the authentication of authors and texts, both theological and classical.[147] By discovering the identity behind the pseudonym, scholars were able to unmask fraud, validate an author's credentials and establish literary ownership of a particular work, thus determining the veracity of the text. Similarly, dictionaries of pseudonyms and anonyms described variations of the practice and exposed and catalogued the 'true identities' of authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[148] *The Handbook of Fictitious Names* (1868) published by Olmar Hamst, Esq. (anagram of Ralph Thomas) was followed by *Pseudonyms of Authors, Including Anonyms and Initialisms* (1882) by John Edward Haynes, and the many-volumed *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* by Samuel Halkett and John Laing (1882). The latter were able to trace the names of English writers over two millennia and reveal their identities.[149]

In 1897 Charles T. Scott wrote in the *New England Magazine* that there were very few authors who had not at some time written pseudonymously. He believed that the practice, which began 'with a purpose of protection', still persisted at the close of the nineteenth century because of:

> [L]ack of confidence as to the book's merits of success, a desire to baffle the curious, a dread of public criticism, the advice of publishers, 'pseudonym libraries', the gratification of a whim to hear impartial criticism … and an unwillingness on the part of some sensitive souls to have their real names appear in juvenile or other publications distasteful to them but whose money they need and have no compunctions in receiving.[150]

Juvenile Literature

Historically, before the nineteenth century, juvenile literature was considered less important than adult literature. Because publishers recognised women's competence in raising and teaching children, the genre was considered amenable to female authors and illustrators. Nevertheless, fathers were occasionally motivated to write nursery tales for their own young children under a female pseudonym, primarily to delight and amuse their offspring. Authors carefully chose their pen names to

[147] Ezell, 'Reading Pseudonyms'.

[148] Rosenbaum, 'A Thing Unknown, Without a Name', 383-384.

[149] John Edward Haynes, *Pseudonyms of Authors; Including Anonyms and Initialisms* [1882] (New York: Gale Research Co., 1969), iiv-iv. According to French bibliographer Joseph Marie Quérard (1797-1865), the first general collection of pseudonymous and anonymous authors was made in Germany about 1684, soon followed by the work of Adrian Baillet at Paris in 1690.

[150] Charles T. Scott, 'A Chapter on Nom de Plumes', *New England Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, New ser., v. 5-19; Old ser., v. 11-15 (Boston: New England Magazine Co., 1897), 185. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/newenglandmagaziv17bost (last accessed 15 March 2018).

appeal not only to children but also to adults who purchased the books to read the stories at bedtime. A single word, usually gender-neutral or feminine (such as Pansy, Brenda, and Darling), was a popular form of pseudonym for children's stories during the nineteenth century, whilst titles such as Mrs Harriet Myrtle and Aunt Lucy imparted a homely sense of security and familiarity. From time to time a pseudonym was masculinised with two initials and a surname in order to conceal the author's gender, especially on works for young boys who, already steeped in the prevailing convention of gender, may have been reluctant to read books written by a woman.

By the mid-eighteenth century there were numerous 'professional' children's authors in Britain, most of them female. They imitated such popular juvenile stories as *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1743) and *Little Goody Two-Shoes* (1765), published by John Newbery (1713-1767). Typical of these writers were the prolific Dorothy Kilner (1755-1836) and her sister-in-law Mary Ann Kilner (1753-1831).[151] As was the custom for women of the era, Dorothy initially published anonymously and later used the pseudonym M.P. (for Maryland Point, her home in Stratford, Essex) – expanded to Mary Pelham 'when pressed by her publisher to name herself'.[152] Mary Ann Kilner also wrote anonymously, then published under the pseudonym S.S. (for Spital Square, her one-time home). Although written to the formula of the unimaginative moral tale, these authors' books were popular and influential well into the nineteenth century.

The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature describes the history of children's literature as 'a series of pendulum-swings between two poles, Reason and Imagination', or, in the preferred terms of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century children's publishers, 'Instruction' and 'Amusement'.[153] British religious groups were among the earliest and most important suppliers of books written specifically to guide and educate children. Moral and cautionary tales as well as evangelical and temperance stories were intended to impart a strong religious message deemed suitable for the working classes. However, once publishers became aware of the commercial potential of children's literature early in the nineteenth century, there was a keen reaction against harsh moral instruction. From about 1805 a series of 'jocular'

[151] Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 221. Newbery's books were widely pirated and imitated in the United States.

[152] Ibid., 292.

[153] Ibid., 221.

and elegant, illustrated Regency books for children initiated a spate of imitations.[154] During the 1820s and 1830s an increasing volume of juvenile literature was written to entertain and provide enjoyment through fantasy and fairy tales. Even the works of Scott and Dickens commanded a vast child audience although they were not written specifically for juveniles. But this so-called 'dawn of levity' was short-lived, when the strong Evangelical movement instigated a resurgence of factual and moral tales.

In the United States the amount of religious literature had expanded by mid-nineteenth century from just a few magazines early in the century to almost 200 religious periodicals, and millions of pamphlets, hymnals, tracts, and bibles.[155] The American Sunday School Union (ASSU) was influential in establishing standards for children's literature. Books and periodicals were written anonymously and required endorsement by a committee of three members from different denominations before they could be distributed.[156] Sunday school libraries stocked the ASSU's publications, providing the earliest free children's circulating library. From 1830 these publications, which were produced for working-class people and children learning to read in Sunday schools, included large numbers of stories of the kind popularised in England by Hannah More's *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795-1798).[157]

Meanwhile, one particular author, Samuel Griswold Goodrich, proved so popular that he was besieged by excited children when he was on tour in the 1840s. He was the first notable American author to gain international recognition for children's stories, which he wrote under the pseudonym Peter Parley. The 'Parley' books were so well received that by 1832 many titles had been pirated and imitated in Britain.[158] But they did not always meet with the approval of other authors. Sir Henry Cole (the first director of the Victoria and Albert Museum) objected to the way that the Parley stories, dealing with such topics as history, geography, and science, took the place of fairy tales. Under the pseudonym Felix Summerly, Sir Henry produced

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[154] Ibid., 220.

[155] Jeffrey, 'Print Culture'.

[156] Pamela Harer, *Looking Glass for the Mind: 350 Years of Books for Children*, University of Washington Libraries. http://content.lib.washington.edu/childrensweb/exhibit.html (accessed 3 May 2013).

[157] Carpenter and Prichard, *The Oxford Companion*, 20, 361. Hannah More (1745-1833) herself wrote about half of the 114 tracts in the series; she considered the tracts far more educational and less 'seditious' than the widely read chapbooks of the time. Chapbooks were cheap booklets of from eight to thirty-two pages, commonly sold by itinerant pedlars who journeyed through the rural districts of England and New England with sewing notions, small household items, and broadsides. The paperbound chapbooks provided communities with the latest tales, gossip, and news. Gradually they became larger but continued to be bound in flimsy paper and illustrated with crude woodcuts; they sold for a penny each or less.

[158] Ibid., 407

the attractive *Home Treasury* series (1843-1845) in which he reprinted 'Bible Events' and many of the old fairy stories destined 'to cultivate the Affections, Fancy, Imagination, and Taste of Children'.[159] Lewis Carroll 'completed the reinstatement of the imagination … to its proper place' with *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865).[160] Throughout his lifetime Charles Lutwidge Dodgson hid behind his pseudonym of Lewis Carroll, never publicly acknowledging himself as author of the Alice books and objecting whenever they were catalogued under 'Dodgson'. And any letters that arrived at his home addressed to Lewis Carroll were sent back unopened.[161]

In Britain, literary annuals were published from 1822 until 1856, and during the 1830s and 1840s they largely replaced advice books as beautiful, respectable gifts for young ladies. Typically, the literary annual (or 'gift book') included original pieces of prose and poetry, some written by well-known writers, such as Mary Shelley, Felicia Hemans, Letitia Elizabeth Landon (under her pseudonym L.E.L.), and others by, and for, upper-class amateurs. Mainly women authors (and male writers using female pseudonyms) wrote gift books for a female market, providing women with a well-paid and socially acceptable position.[162] With a strong demand by middle-class consumers for books that were aesthetically appealing, publishers began to take advantage of the seasonal trade, producing decoratively bound, lavishly illustrated Christmas and New Year annuals.[163]

One of the most important and longest running annuals was *The Keepsake* (1828-1857), offering works by the leading authors of the day. Although contributions to its first volume were anonymous, the importance of names was soon recognised and the *Keepsake* of 1829 showcased some of Britain's most famous authors and engravers.[164] American publishers imitated the British format, although similarities in content were few. Distinctly American art, printing, binding, and literature appeared in gift books that provided a regular site for essays, verse, and

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[159] Ibid., 258. Sir Henry Cole described his series of books as 'anti-Peter Parleyism'.
[160] Ibid., 102.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1990), 24.
[163] Margaret Nichols, ed., 'Women in the Literary Marketplace 1800-1900', *Division of Rare & Manuscript Collections* (2002), http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/womenLit/ (last accessed 15 March 2018).
[164] Lindsey Eckert, 'The Keepsake', *Nineteenth-Century British Literary Annuals: An Online Exhibition of Materials from the University of Toronto* (2012). http://bookhistory.ischool.utoronto.ca/annuals/theKeepsake.html (last accessed 15 March 2018).

short stories by prominent writers and pseudonymous contributors. They served as the ideal training ground for American novelists.[165] However, the popularity of gift books waned after the American Civil War when readers began to favour realism over sentimentalism prompting a shift from short stories to novels.[166] Furthermore, the extravagant use of gold stamping and bright colours was discouraged in the 1860s, and along with changing literary tastes the drab colours and lack of decoration made the literary album obsolete.

From the mid-nineteenth century, there was a growing segmentation in the juvenile market by gender. While girls enjoyed family stories and sentimental tales, boys revelled in the fashion for 'bad-boy' books. They also enjoyed tales of adventure and public-school fiction inspired by the ideal of the British gentleman.[167] The first book to have a major impact in this genre was *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), written by Thomas Hughes (1822-1896) as a 'moral tract' for his own son; it was originally published under the pseudonym 'An Old Boy'.[168] By the 1880s, juvenile fiction with action-packed tales of adventure and irreverent school stories were widely read by children in America and Britain. Possibly the most prolific and influential writer in this genre was Charles Hamilton, famous for his Billy Bunter stories written under his pseudonym Frank Richards. Possibly because he had not attended public school himself, Hamilton was able to 'create the ultimate mythic public school, untrammelled by personal experience' but greatly influenced by the mass of public school fiction he had read when younger. As a boy, Hamilton had read *Tom Browns' Schooldays*, *Stalky & Co.,* and some 'jolly good stuff' by Talbot Baines Reed. [169] In response to an increasing demand for school stories for girls, he wrote a series of tales about Bessie Bunter from a female point of view using the pseudonym Hilda Richards (supposedly the sister of Frank). These first appeared in the story paper *School Friend* in 1919.

Late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth, adventure and animal stories, fantasy tales, and travelogue storybooks for children of all ages (even the very

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[165] 'Tokens of Affection: Art, Literature, and Politics in Nineteenth Century American Gift Books', *Publishers' Bindings Online, 1815-1930: The Art of Books*, The University of Alabama (2005). http://bindings.lib.ua.edu/gallery/giftbooks.htm (last accessed 15 March 2018).

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ferris Greenslet, *American Men of Letters: Thomas Bailey Aldrich* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 23.

[168] Benjamin Watson, *English Schoolboy Stories: An Annotated Bibliography of Hardcover Fiction* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1992), 88-89.

[169] Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 275.

young) appeared in large numbers in Britain and the United States. James Kaler, long after his days as a dime novelist, wrote animal tales for little children under the female pseudonym Amy Prentice, and publisher and poet John Howard Jewett created the 'Bunny Stories' (originally for his daughter) under the female pseudonym Hannah Warner. Children in America, entertained by works of popular sensational literature, found that, from the early 1880s, the main theme in dime novels changed from stories of pioneer and frontier life to detective mysteries and gangster tales. But relentless competition forced the abandonment of previously high standards, and the content of dime novels eventually became so shocking that middle-class parents banned their children from reading them.[170] Nevertheless, the largely adolescent working-class audience managed to furtively consume the thrilling contents of the cheap fiction that their parents considered pernicious. Towards the close of the nineteenth century the dime novel was gradually replaced by syndicated series of books and pulp magazines, and eventually by comics.[171]

The foremost publisher of children's books in the late-nineteenth century was Edward Stratemeyer. He recognised a lucrative, untapped market for the series form of children's books that were pleasurable rather than morally instructive, and able to be produced in a proficient assembly-line fashion.[172] In 1905 he founded a Syndicate that was responsible for most of the juvenile series books of the twentieth century. Stratemeyer wrote the first book in each series, then provided male and female ghostwriters with an outline for the other books.[173] They used approximately one hundred pseudonyms, male and female, some for just one story or series, others for several. The Stratemeyer Syndicate created the feeling that these pseudonyms were the names of real people. Children would write to the author of their favourite stories through the publisher who would forward them to the Syndicate. In turn a member of the Syndicate would reply to these letters using different pseudonyms again, giving the impression of a secretary or assistant to these 'celebrity' authors.[174] Having exploited the market to its fullest potential, the Syndicate was producing eighty per

[170] Ibid., 152.

[171] Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion*, 239. In 1900, Street & Smith launched the only dime novel series specifically for girls, *My Queen: A Weekly Journal for Young Women*, with the first thirty issues written by Lurana Sheldon under her pseudonym Grace Shirley. Her other pseudonyms included Richard Hackstaff and Stanley Norris.

[172] James D. Keeline, 'Stratemeyer Syndicate', *Keeline.com: Your Key to Our World* (February 2009). http://stratemeyer.org/ (last accessed 15 March 2018).

[173] Deidre Johnson, *Stratemeyer Pseudonyms and Series Books: An Annotated Checklist of Stratemeyer and Stratemeyer Syndicate Publications* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 295-296.

[174] Keeline, 'Stratemeyer Syndicate'.

cent of all juvenile literature in America at the time of Stratemeyer's death in 1930.[175]

Conclusion

The nineteenth century witnessed dramatic changes in the literary marketplace. Until 1840 there was rapid technological progress along with commercial confusion and literary insecurity in the burgeoning field of mass-market publishing. However, the market stabilised from 1840 until 1880 as writers and publishers provided enough material to satisfy their ever-expanding market. Towards the end of the century, improved educational opportunities, increased literacy rates, and faster printing processes promoted a significant expansion of the mass reading audience, exciting writers by the commercial prospects before them.

The use of pseudonyms conformed to the gendered and cultural assumptions dominant in the period and reflected the ambivalence in the literary world concerning publication and loss of privacy. It highlighted the precarious relationships between writers (particularly women), the reading public and literary critics.[176] Works that were known or suspected to be by a woman were repeatedly greeted with 'an exasperating condescension', and some women suffered intense distress if reviewers, critics, or readers disclosed their names and gender.[177] In speculating about 'masked authors' of unspecified gender, reviewers 'opened the way for particularly wounding insults' and intrusive personal publicity that affected both men and women.[178]

Throughout this chapter I have referred to many of the uses of a pseudonym in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace. A pseudonym could reflect and shape political opinion, preserve dignity and privacy, guarantee independence and freedom from personal bias, and allow imaginative and creative expression. Use of a single pseudonym could suggest a unified, collective voice with multiple authors writing under one name. Conversely, a few authors writing under multiple pseudonyms could give the impression of a large team of contributors. It is apparent that one of the most significant benefits in using a pseudonym was protection: from political authorities,

[175] Maxine N. Lurie and Marc Mappen, eds., *Encyclopedia of New Jersey* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 211.
Peter Hulme, *Cuba's Wild East: A Literary Geography of Oriente* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 219. By the time of his death, Stratemeyer had operated under some 83 pseudonyms, personally written around 275 novels, and outlined a further 690 or so, which other writers had fleshed out. In the process he had become a very rich man.

[176] Dorothy Mermin, *Godiva's Ride: Women of Letters in England, 1830-1880* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 50.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Ibid.

legal reprisal, a critical marketplace, derision of colleagues, embarrassment in expressing personal feeling, shame of writing content, and disapproval by family members. Some writers, both male and female, found that the secure protection afforded by a cross-gender pseudonym was essential for a successful writing career. The following three chapters expound upon the personal, ideological, and commercial reasons for male use of the female pseudonym in nineteenth-century Britain and America.

Chapter 3: Personal Motives

In the preceding chapters I have discussed the gendered and historical contexts of the literary marketplace in nineteenth-century Britain and America to help us understand why men wrote under a female pseudonym. In this and the following two chapters I present case studies of ninety male writers who used female pseudonyms during the nineteenth century. The case study approach is the most effective method of presenting the large amount of information gathered in my research, as well as to expose the prevalence of this significant custom. In this chapter I provide examples of ten British and twelve American male writers who used a female pseudonym for reasons that were personal to them.

Some men wrote under a female pseudonym to appeal to a female audience by writing in the genres of romantic fiction, sentimental verse, and song lyrics, which were accepted as characteristically feminine modes of reading and writing throughout the nineteenth century. To be recognised as an author of such works could ruin a professional reputation, so men often used a female pseudonym to separate their creative pastime of writing from their professional careers. Many writers were reluctant to acknowledge novice pieces because they lacked confidence in the substance and structure of the work. Consequently they resorted to testing the waters using a female pseudonym while trying to gain entry into the literary marketplace. Some nineteenth-century writers were ashamed of the writing content or were afraid that readers might recognise themselves in the story. Other writers, wary of using a family name, concealed their true identity for fear of compromising family or friends, or of discrediting themselves. In some cases there may have been some stigma attached to the family name, so that the motivation was more to escape from a name than to find a new one. Some writers, anxious to distance themselves from scandal caused by previously offensive writing, found that the use of a female pseudonym removed them even further from their real name. Occasionally male writers employed a female pseudonym just for fun, playfully using a witty, cryptic, or amusing name to make a greater impact on the reading public.

(1) Writing in a Feminine Genre or Style

(a) Novels

A female pseudonym enabled emotional release through imaginative and sentimental fiction. Two American writers (Henry Brooks Adams and Elbert Green Hubbard) were prolific in many different genres but towards the end of the nineteenth century, each used a female pseudonym, only once, on a romantic novel.

Henry Brooks Adams (1838-1918). Writing fiction provided historian and essayist Henry Adams with light-hearted relief from social and political pressure. His first novel, *Democracy* (1880), was published anonymously as 'a thinly veiled account of political corruption and intrigue in the nation's capital'.[1] In his second novel, *Esther* (1884), Adams concealed himself behind the female pseudonym Frances Snow Compton.[2] *Esther*, a romance of New York society, tells the story of a liberated woman's love for an Episcopalian minister. It focuses on the conflict between science and religion, a topic troubling many well-educated men and women of the day.[3] Only a circle of intimate friends knew that Adams was the author until after his death in 1918; he had instructed his publisher not to promote the novel, as he wanted to see if people would read it. This understanding with the publisher was Adams's 'experiment' in which he offered *Esther* as merely another novel in the American Novel Series.[4] It was greeted by 'critical and commercial silence', triggering a lack of confidence in a responsive readership for the rest of his life.[5]

In writing a sentimental novel under a female pseudonym, Adams was effectively posing as a female novelist. Not only did he encroach on female territory but he also made this encroachment an explicit theme in the novel, which foregrounds the politics of marriage.[6] Protagonist Esther Dudley contemplates suicide after breaking her engagement to young clergyman Reverend Hazard because of her lack of religious faith. Many people have likened the character of Esther Dudley to Adams's wife Marian who, also lacking in faith, committed suicide in 1885.[7] That was during a period of deep depression after the death of her father. Perhaps a female

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[1] David R. Contosta, 'Adams, Henry', *American National Biography Online* (2000). http://www.anb.org/articles/14/14-00009 (last accessed 16 March 2018).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Duco van Oostrum, *Male Authors, Female Subjects: The Woman Within/Beyond the Borders of Henry Adams, Henry James, and Others* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 163.

[4] Ibid., 159.

[5] William Merrill Decker, *The Literary Vocation of Henry Adams* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 206.

[6] Van Oostrum, *Male Authors, Female Subjects*, 163.

[7] Jacob Clavner Levenson, *The Mind and Art of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), 204.

pseudonym made the protagonist's decisions seem all the more convincing to the readers of the time. Or perhaps Adams thought that if he were identified as the author of a romance, especially one of such a biographical nature, it might detract from his epic works of history. Following his wife's suicide Adams withdrew the slow-selling novel from the market.[8]

Elbert Green Hubbard (1856-1915). Elbert Hubbard was a prolific writer of letters and newspaper articles but it was not until the age of thirty-five that he wrote his first novel, *The Man: A Story of Today* (1891). It was published under the female pseudonym Aspasia Hobbs. In 1889, bored with his marriage and his business, he befriended high school teacher Alice Moore who offered him the intellectual stimulation that his wife could not. Alice inspired him to begin writing at the age of thirty-three, and it was reputedly in secret collaboration with her that Hubbard wrote the novel.[9]

Hubbard's pseudonym appears to have been inspired by Aspasia of Ancient Athens, whose romantic attachment to Pericles has motivated certain novelists and poets over the years, particularly the Romanticists of the nineteenth century and historical novelists of the twentieth.[10] Hubbard described how womanhood in Ancient Greece was held in very low esteem and how the public could not accept the possibility of a shared, loving relationship:

> [A] woman's opinion was not worth considering. Hence the caricaturists of the day made sly sport of the love of Pericles and Aspasia. These two were intellectual equals, comrades … The popular mind could not possibly comprehend how a great man could defer to a woman in important matters, and she be at once his wife, counselor (sic), comrade, friend.[11]

Following Aspasia's example, Alice became Hubbard's colleague, his lover, mother of his love child and after the very public scandal of his divorce, his second wife. Although the novel was not a great success it marked both the beginning of Hubbard's writing career and the beginning of the most meaningful relationship of his life. This relationship formed the basis of the book's plot.

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[8] Decker, *The Literary Vocation of Henry Adams*, 206.

[9] Kathleen Verduin, ed., *Studies in Medievalism VI: Medievalism in North America* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 72.

[10] Many books have been written based on the love affair of Pericles and Aspasia: for example, *Philothea: A Grecian Romance* (1835) by Lydia Maria Child, *Pericles and Aspasia* (1836) by Walter Savage Landor, and *Glory and the Lightning* (1974) by Taylor Caldwell.

[11] Elbert Hubbard, *Little Journeys to the Homes of the Great, Vol. VII: Eminent Orators*, Memorial ed. (New York: William Wise & Co., 1916), 32. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/23761/23761.txt (last accessed 16 March 2018).

Immersed in the traditions of the Transcendentalist movement and later inspired by British writer and craftsman William Morris, Hubbard established an Arts and Crafts commune and the Roycroft Printing Shop at East Aurora.[12] Roycroft books primarily served the purpose of advertising the name of Elbert Hubbard, who authored a disproportionate number of Roycroft publications, as well as introductions and commentaries for many others. Starting in 1894 he wrote a series of 182 biographies under the series title of *Little Journeys to Homes of the Great*. With Alice by his side, he edited and published several periodicals including *The Philistine: A Periodical of Protest* (1895-1915), a highly successful and influential monthly magazine. Hubbard's apparent non-conformist ideology and eccentric lifestyle attracted a storm of media criticism, yet it endeared him to many of his readers. Well known throughout the nation as a philosopher and writer, he was also a popular, outspoken figure on the lecture circuit, speaking on matters of reform and free enterprise. Travelling abroad to interview Kaiser Wilhelm II, he and his wife Alice died together on 7 May 1915 in the sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German submarine.

(b) Poetry

Poems usually appeared in newspapers and magazines as fillers, and sometimes a collection of verse by one or more poets was published in book form. Most male poets of the nineteenth century began their careers anonymously or under a pseudonym, and often wrote to amuse themselves and their friends, with no concern for remuneration.[13] According to British biographer William Prideaux Courtney, poets concealed their identity and crept 'into the world with blushing countenance and beating heart', dreading 'the censure of the reviewers'.[14] They were aware of their own shortcomings and conscious of the personal nature of their work that sprang from their innermost feelings. This section comprises examples of two American poets (Henry Beck Hirst and Abram Ryan) and two British (John Barlas and George Chetwynd Griffith) who wrote under a female pseudonym.

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[12] Verduin, *Studies in Medievalism* VI, 75. 'Roycroft' means 'King's house'.

[13] Dorothy Mermin, *Godiva's Ride: Women of Letters in England, 1830-1880* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 48-49. Male poets tested the waters without disclosing their identities, following a tradition that went back to Renaissance poets' eagerness to define themselves as gentlemanly amateurs.

[14] William Prideaux Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature: Chapters in the History of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Writings of our Countrymen* (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Limited, 1908), 111. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/secretsofournati00couruoft (last accessed 19 March 2018).

Henry Hirst (1817-1874). Well-known Philadelphia poet and lawyer Henry Hirst contributed some of his poignant, romantic poems to *The Ladies' Companion* (1834-1844), under the pseudonym Mrs Anna Maria Hirst (or Anna M. Hirst). Published in New York, *The Ladies' Companion* was one of the leading women's magazines in the United States. Its publisher, William W. Snowden, paid his contributors handsomely in order to attract the foremost popular writers of the day (including Poe and Longfellow). Snowden even listed two of his female contributors (Emma C. Embury and Lydia H. Sigourney) as editors to 'give the magazine prestige and respectability', although he allowed no editorial input from them.[15] To emphasise women's traditional roles, the *Companion's* spiritually uplifting, sentimental, and romantic prose and poetry, such as Hirst's, depicted women as wholly devoted to family and home.[16]

Hirst's friends, a group of young literary men, often ridiculed him for his excessive vanity and literary pretensions.[17] John S. Du Solle, one of his friends and editor of *The Spirit of the Times*, rather mockingly commented on several poems he noticed by Anna Maria Hirst in *The Ladies' Companion*: 'They strike us as being the property of Henry B. Hirst. What is the alias wanted for? Is he ashamed of them?'[18] Many nineteenth-century poets in America felt a real sense of shame because of the intensely personal nature of their writings. Lawyer and poet Philip Pendleton Cooke, who received no encouragement for his poetic ventures, commented:

> What do you think of a good friend of mine, a most valuable and worthy and hard-riding one, saying gravely to me a short time ago, 'I wouldn't waste time on a damned thing like poetry; you might make yourself, with all your sense and judgment, a useful man in settling neighborhood disputes and difficulties.'[19]

Hirst regularly met with his friends, including Edgar Allan Poe, at the home of Thomas Cottrell Clarke, where they would drink absinthe 'at a ruinous rate'; this

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[15] Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, eds., *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 167.

[16] Ibid., 168. Hirst also regularly contributed to *The Southern Literary Messenger*, *The Broadway Journal*, *Graham's Magazine*, and *Godey's Lady's Book*.

[17] Dwight Rembert Thomas, '"Chapter 07: [Part II: July-Dec] 1843," Poe in Philadelphia, 1838-1844: A Documentary Record' (1978), 582-659. *The Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore.* http://www.eapoe.org/papers/misc1921/pipdt00c.htm (last accessed 19 March 2018). John S. Du Solle made this observation in *The Spirit of the Times* (29 August 1843).

[18] Ibid.

[19] Jay B. Hubbell, *The South in American Literature, 1607-1900* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1973), 504.

habit put an end to Hirst's promising career as lawyer and poet.[20] All of his works were published before 1850, as his 'genius was clouded in his last years, and … his memory was marred by his misfortunes and dissipations'.[21] Hirst became an object of pity, roaming the streets wearing strange outfits and imagining himself to be in turn various presidents, emperors, kings, and queens. Finally he was committed to the insane department of the Blockley Almshouse where he died at the age of sixty.[22]

Abram Ryan (1838-1886). The sentimental war poetry of Abram Ryan was inspired by the death of a younger brother in action during the American Civil War. It was typical of a great deal of literature produced during the War, and not only expressed personal loss but also reflected the idealistic, patriotic mood of the nation. (Later post-war literature, such as Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage* (1895), presented realistic, powerful depictions of warfare and its psychological effects.) Having joined the Confederate Army as a chaplain in 1862 Ryan soon became known as the 'Poet-Priest of the Confederacy'. He wrote his best and most famous poem, 'The Conquered Banner', in less than half an hour soon after General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Grant. It was first published in James McMaster's *Freeman's Journal of New York* on 24 June 1865 under the female pseudonym Moïna (an old Celtic name).

Ryan could be regarded as an example of the ways in which Catholic religious leaders 'participated in larger discourses of sentimentalism' and his choice of pseudonym could be explained by the 'feminine tropes of sentimental mourning'.[23] Possibly Ryan was influenced by Percy Bysshe Shelley, who wrote treasonous verse under the female pseudonym Margaret Nicholson. With equally subversive sentiments, Ryan might have identified with the 'portrayal of Moïna at the end of her life, as a wraith wandering the seashore in perpetual mourning'.[24] 'The Conquered Banner', first of twelve patriotic poems, was a memorial to the South's failed war efforts. It captured the Southern spirit of sentimentalism and sacrifice with its

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[20] Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1906), 302. Internet Archive (2007). http://www.archive.org/details/literaryhistoryo00oberuoft (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[21] Ibid., 300.

[22] Ibid., 304.

[23] Donald Robert Beagle and Bryan Albin Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause: A Life of Father Ryan* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2008), 104-105. Abram Ryan was the son of Irish immigrants. 'Moïna' was the name given to a character in 'Carthon' (1773), an Ossianic poem translated from the Gaelic by James Macpherson. Moïna is depicted as 'soft in temper and person'. It is not clear how Ryan became acquainted with Macpherson's poems, but it was possible that his mother introduced them to him.

[24] Ibid., 106.

'powerful expression of both personal and patriotic loss'.[25] A second poem by Moïna, 'Erin's Flag', was dedicated to the 'Fenians of Nashville'. It appeared in the *Nashville Daily Gazette* and, under the same pseudonym, was followed within months by 'The Sword of Robert E. Lee'. Ryan's poems were widely read in the days following the surrender at Appomattox (1865) and some were set to music. The Poet-Priest often charmed crowds with recitals of these poems and never failed 'to make the ladies cry'.[26]

In 1868 Ryan assumed his editorial duties at the *Banner of the South*, his anti-Reconstruction literary magazine based in Augusta. Still using his female pseudonym, he began to write lyric poems. These differed from his patriotic poems in that they reflected his personal gloomy outlook on life. His continued use of the female pseudonym led to confusion because of a Louisiana poet, Mrs Anna Peyre Dinnies, who used the same pen name.[27] Ryan signed one rather bleak poem with 'Moïna', then another equally pessimistic verse with 'Rev. Abram Ryan', and the same poem (republished) with 'Rev. A. J. Ryan (Moïna)'. He wanted people to know that *he*, Rev. Abram Ryan not someone else, was the 'real' Moïna. Being publicly known as the editor of the *Banner of the South*, as the author of 'The Conquered Banner', and as Moïna, obviated further need for his female pseudonym.[28]

George Chetwynd Griffith(-Jones) (1857-1906). After a sporadic education, British explorer and writer George Griffith embarked on a series of adventures at the early age of sixteen, travelling several times around the world on merchant ships. On his return to England, while employed as a teacher in Brighton, Griffith contributed poems to *The Secular Review* under the female pseudonym Lara. He published two collections of verse, *Poems, General, Secular, and Satirical* (1883) and *The Dying Faith* (1884), under the same pen name.

There are several references to the further convoluted use of Griffith's pseudonym Lara, on essays, letters, and pamphlets. These involved a court case against Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., who was the first declared Atheist to win a general election in Britain. From 1884 until 1887 Griffith, an Agnostic, ran the Secularist

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[25] David O'Connell, *Furl That Banner: The Life of Abram J. Ryan, Poet-Priest of the South* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2006), 61.

[26] Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, 2.

[27] William Cushing, *Initials and Pseudonyms: A Dictionary of Literary Disguises*, 2nd Series (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1888), 102. According to Cushing: '"Mrs. Anna Peyre (Shackelford) Dinnies" wrote about the floral year, 1846, consisting of one hundred compositions, arranged in twelve groups to illustrate that number of bouquets gathered in the different months'. She was a 'Southland' poet who took the pseudonym Moïna at an early age.

[28] O'Connell, *Furl That Banner,* 78.

Whitminster School (1884-1887) along with W. Stewart Ross ('Saladin') and Charles R. Mackay, under the patronage of Glegg Bullock.[29] When Bradlaugh falsely accused the men of dishonesty, they were prompted to reply with the libellous book *Life of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.* (1888). This outlined the 'vile principles' associated with Bradlaugh's name and exposed him as hypocritical and financially corrupt.[30] Among the many criticisms levelled at Bradlaugh was a 'scurrilous' article written by Griffith under the pseudonym Lara.[31] Even before the piece had gone to print, Bradlaugh had served a writ for alleged libel. The eventual trial resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff, George Chetwynd Griffith-Jones (Lara), who was awarded £30 damages. The report of the court case in *The Times* of 29 November 1889 concentrated on a letter signed 'Lara' in *The Secular Review* (21 April 1888).[32]

One could speculate that Griffith wished to dissociate himself from his female pseudonym after the unpleasant experiences with Bradlaugh, as there are no apparent references to it after the 1889 court case. By 1888 he was married, living in London, and suffering financial difficulties after involvement with an unsuccessful newspaper. Eventually employed as a clerk for Arthur Pearson, he contributed short stories and critical reviews under his own name, and sometimes under the pseudonym Levin Carnac, to *Pearson's Magazine* and the newly established *Pearson's Weekly*. In 1893 he proposed the synopsis of *The Angel of the Revolution*, and with Pearson's serialisation of the story, Griffith rose 'from anonymous clerk to acclaimed author'. After publication in book form, *Angel* became the first best-selling scientific romance.[33] Griffith also wrote travel narratives and, encouraged by Pearson, again circumnavigated the globe in the record time of sixty-five days. The account of his adventures, *How I Broke the Record Round the World*, was published in fourteen instalments in *Pearson's Weekly* from June 1894. Although he was an amazingly prolific science fiction writer about future wars, space travel, and world catastrophes, Griffith's later works were eclipsed by the success of *The War of the Worlds* (1898) by H. G. Wells.

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[29] Edward Royle, *Radicals, Secularists and Republicans: Popular Freethought in Britain, 1866-1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 325.

[30] Ibid., 112.

[31] Charles R. Mackay, *Life of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.* (London: D. J. Gunn & Co., 1888), 460. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/stream/lifeofcharlesbra00mack#page/n7/mode/2up (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[32] 'Jones v. Stewart and Co., and Others', *The Times* (London), 29 November 1889, 3. https://www.newspapers.com/image/32608009/ 3 (accessed 12 November 2015).

[33] 'George Chetwynd Griffith (1857-1906)', *Victorian Secrets.* http://www.victoriansecrets.co.uk/authors/george-chetwynd-griffith-1857-1906/ (last accessed 19 March 2018).

John Evelyn Barlas (1860-1914). British poet John Barlas (1860-1914) penned tender, lyrical verse and love poems in memory of his young daughter Evelyn. Educated at Merchant Taylor's School and New College, Oxford, Barlas married Rangoon-born Eveline Honoria Nelson Davies (1861–1934), a great-grandniece of Admiral Lord Nelson. Their first child, Evelyn Adelaide Isabella, was born in May 1882, the year that Barlas entered the Middle Temple to become a barrister. After only four terms he abandoned the idea of a legal career for a more peaceful life in Ireland as professor of languages, an occupation that rekindled an old passion for writing lyrical verse. Tragically, in June 1885 three-year-old Evelyn died.[34]

A revolutionary socialist in politics, Barlas was also a member of the Decadent movement in literature and heavily influenced by Algernon Swinburne. Eight books of his verse were published between 1884 and 1893, including *The Bloody Heart* (1885), *Phantasmagoria: Dream-Fugues* (1887), and *Love Sonnets* (1889). Of his eight known volumes of verses and dramas, seven appeared under the pseudonym Evelyn Douglas, and one anonymously. The principal themes of Barlas's poems were love and universal brotherhood, with his strong socio-political and anarchist beliefs noticeably absent from his works.[35] Although Evelyn was a male and female name in the nineteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that Barlas wrote his emotional poems in memory of his daughter Evelyn. The purpose of the pseudonym was not deception or protection. Rather, it was essential to the poems' purposes that they were perceived as feminine and deeply personal, springing from entirely interior emotional motives/needs. Barlas was in a continual state of fragile mental health and emotional turmoil. On the morning of New Year's Eve 1891 he walked to Westminster Bridge, fired three shots from a revolver towards the Speaker's House, and was subsequently arrested for contempt for parliamentary democracy.[36] In 1894, he was admitted to Gartnavel Royal Asylum in Glasgow where he remained until his death in 1914.

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[34] On the death of his first child, Evelyn Adelaide Isabella, Barlas wrote the poignant poem 'A Child's Death'.

[35] Gutala Krishnamurti, 'Barlas, John Evelyn (1860–1914)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-62130?backToResults=true&docPos=46 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[36] Ibid. His close friend Oscar Wilde provided bail a fortnight later.

(c) Song Lyrics

Throughout the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, a growing number of American middle- and upper-class families owned pianos, which were usually purchased to instruct young girls in music, as part of their transformation into refined, cultured young ladies.[37] The 'high-class' ballad of the mid-nineteenth century was considered to be 'an affair of women': it was of high moral content and associated with emotive language and expression. The themes of the lyrics were intended to improve the minds and morals of young women, while the music was considered similar to the technically superior genre of European classical music. This helped to raise the song's 'celebration of romantic love' to a 'higher' moral level.[38] The parlour song thus appeared to give hegemonic support to the concept of enduring love and the notion of woman as supportive, loving homemaker.[39] Women were encouraged to write in this particular genre of music more than any other, and to perform in song in the domestic sphere.[40]

Septimus Winner (1827-1902). Because music in the nineteenth century was more intimately associated with the feminine sphere than the masculine, some men wrote song lyrics under a female pseudonym. Renowned American composer Septimus Winner wrote both high-class and popular ballads under the pseudonym Alice Hawthorne (his mother's maiden name). Probably the only example of a male composer who consistently used a female pseudonym, Winner published songs as Alice Hawthorne for over thirty years, songs that became known as 'the Hawthorne Ballads'.[41] His most famous of these songs was 'Listen to the Mockingbird' (1855), with twenty million copies sold over the next hundred years. Under the same pseudonym he published children's books and poetry, and edited a monthly magazine.

In the first seven years of Winner's song-writing career, Hawthorne publications outnumbered Winner by more than six to one. Biographer Michael Remson surmises that out of jealousy for Alice's fame, Winner reverted to his real

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[37] Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin: Songs from the Melting Pot The Formative Years, 1907-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 141.

[38] Ibid., 146.

[39] Ibid., 145.

[40] Ibid., 151. Women were almost entirely excluded from music in the public sphere, except for working-class women who performed in music halls from the latter half of the nineteenth century. Primarily amateur singers and pianists performed popular and high-class ballads in the home. Professional musicians sang both forms, particularly the popular ballads, in public. Popular ballads were similar to vernacular music and were taken up more extensively throughout all social classes.

[41] Michael Remson, 'Introduction', *Septimus Winner: Two Lives in Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003).

name during the Civil War, after which he steadily produced songs under his own name as well as Alice's (and several new male pseudonyms, such as Apsley Street, Mark Mason, Paul Stenton, and Percy Guyer).[42] While it is certain that Winner achieved the success that eluded so many 'real' women, whether publishing under male or female pseudonyms, it is not clear why he chose to use a female pseudonym in the first place.[43] There are several likely motives, both personal and commercial: to function as a tribute to Winner's mother; to deliberately appeal to a female audience; to produce sentimental and nostalgic song lyrics that were more 'appropriate' for women; or out of sound business sense, to produce sentimental ballads that were more financially successful when created by a 'female' composer.

(2) Separating Writing from Professional Career

A pseudonym provides a space in which 'obstacles fall away, and one's reserve dissipates', allowing a writer to produce a work of serious literature or one that is just pure enjoyment.[44] Numerous nineteenth-century male writers departed from their ostensibly more serious publications to experiment in the light-hearted genre of romantic fiction. By assuming another identity under a female pseudonym they differentiated between various aspects of their work, as seen below in the examples of three British men (John Skelton, William Sharp, and Edward Heron-Allen) and two Americans (Drs Henry Hartshorne and David Keller).

Dr Henry Hartshorne (1823-1897). Preeminent American physician Dr Henry Hartshorne studied medicine (more in accord with his father's wishes than his own) and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1845.[45] Although he had a distinguished career as physician, surgeon, and lecturer, his obituary notice stated that:

> [Hartshorne's] literary, poetic and artistic tendencies were such … as to direct him rather into other fields than those of the general practitioner; he saw enough of these to broaden and ripen his judgment and make valuable his many writings without wasting his force on the mere routine of his profession.[46]

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Carmela Ciuraru, *Nom de Plume: A (Secret) History of Pseudonyms* (New York: Harper Collins, 2011), xviii–xix.

[45] J. Cheston Morris, 'Henry Hartshorne', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 39, no.164 (Oct. – Dec., 1900), ii. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/983785 (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[46] Ibid., iii

Hartshorne was an active member of many scientific, medical, religious, and literary societies. He contributed to medical, public health, religious, philosophical, and scientific journals, wrote and edited medical books, and edited the *Friends' Review*, a religious (Quakers) magazine.

He also wrote various literary works, including essays and three volumes of poetry. Under the female pseudonym Corinne L'Estrange he published the romantic novel *Woman's Witchcraft; or, The Curse of Coquetry: A Dramatic Romance* (1854).[47] The story, in play format, is set in early-eighteenth-century Spain and deals with unrequited love, betrayal, and revenge; it is written very much in Shakespearean style and language. Appearing early in Hartshorne's medical career, *Woman's Witchcraft* is completely different from his usual serious works. It is far better suited to a female pseudonym than his own name, suggesting that the work was an experiment in the genre of dramatic romance.

Sir John Skelton (1831-1897). John Skelton used a female pseudonym to separate his career as a writer from his professional career as an up-and-coming British lawyer.[48] He adopted the pseudonym Shirley as a gesture of appreciation for Charlotte Brontë's heroine of the same name in the novel *Shirley* (1849), and for the book's 'unflinching honesty'.[49] The story's protagonists, Mr and Mrs Keeldar, had chosen Shirley as the name for their long-awaited son, but when a baby girl was born they decided to use the name regardless:

> Shirley Keeldar (she had no christian name but Shirley: her parents, who had wished to have a son, finding that, after eight years of marriage, Providence had granted them only a daughter, bestowed on her the same masculine family cognomen they would have bestowed on a boy, if with a boy they had been blessed …).[50]

Before the novel's publication, 'Shirley' was an uncommon but distinctly male name, but Brontë's literary influence firmly established it as a female name – quirky, male/female, and memorable. The pseudonym failed to conceal Skelton's identity, but served as an established trademark on his many articles in *Fraser's Magazine* and later *Blackwood's*, which covered topical criticism of a range of contemporary

[47] 'Corinne' was becoming popular as a girls' name from the title of the book, *Corinne, or Italy* (1807), by Madame de Staël, and combined perfectly with the French-sounding 'L'Estrange' to form the pseudonym, Corinne L'Estrange.

[48] Adrian Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms,* 3rd ed., (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998), 437.

[49] Harold Bloom, ed., *The Brontës*, revised ed. (New York: Infobase, 2009), 34. Brontë had previously written to Skelton to thank him for his positive critique of the novel *Jane Eyre*.

[50] Charlotte Brontë, *Shirley: A Tale*, Vol. 3 (London: Smith, Elder, 1849), 198.

literature and the arts. His other well-known works, all under his female pseudonym, include *Nugae Criticae: Occasional Papers Written at the Seaside* (1862), *Campaigner at Home* (1863), *The Essays of Shirley* (1882), and *The Table Talk of Shirley* (1895). His more serious work, a tract on *Benjamin Disraeli, the past and the future* (1868), was issued as by 'a democratic Tory'.

William Sharp (1855-1905). Poet, novelist, and literary journalist William Sharp is arguably the best-known nineteenth-century male author with a female pseudonym (Fiona McLeod), and is therefore afforded a more detailed mention here than other writers. He was born in 1855 in the Central Lowlands of Scotland, the eldest of three sons and five daughters. His father was a successful textile manufacturer, while his mother was the daughter of the Swedish Vice Consul in Glasgow. Every summer the family rented a house in the Inner Hebrides; consequently Sharp quickly grew to share his father's love of the Western Highlands and the local inhabitants. This foreshadowed 'his passionate, almost painful, love of nature, [and] the gypsy instinct that drew him to what he called "the Green Life"'.[51] In the summer of 1863 his aunt and uncle brought their children from London to spend part of the holidays with their Scottish cousins. Sharp formed a particularly strong bond with his cousin Elizabeth, an intelligent girl who shared many of his interests. Their friendship led to a long engagement and eventually, in 1884, to marriage.

By the late 1880s Sharp was well established as a poet, editor, and literary journalist, and he and his wife were a prominent couple on London's literary and intellectual scene. In 1890 they spent the winter in Germany and Italy where they met Edith Wingate Rinder on holiday with her aunt, novelist Mona Caird, who was a close childhood friend of Elizabeth. Sharp was inspired by the pleasure he felt in the company of Edith Rinder, and by the beauty of the Roman countryside. Privately, under his own name, he wrote and printed *Sospiri di Roma*, a slim book of free verse of exceptional quality. In Stuttgart he adopted a female persona to co-write the romantic epistolary novel *A Fellowe and His Wife* (1892) with Blanche Willis

[51] Hildegarde Hawthorne, 'William Sharp, Fiona Macleod: A Fascinating Book by His Wife about a Man of Dual Personality and Gifts', *The New York Times* (4 December 1910), Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=FA0810FC3D5C16738DDDAD0894DA415B808DF1D3 (last accessed 19 March 2018).

Elizabeth Sharp, *William Sharp (Fiona Macleod): A Memoir* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1910), 9. Sharp 'needed from time to time to get away alone, from other people, so as again and again to get into touch with "the Green Life", as he called it, for spiritual refreshment. … [It] eventually was one of the factors which in his literary work led to the adoption of the pseudonym'.

Howard (published under both their names). The novel comprises an exchange of letters between the Countess Ilse Von Jaromar (written by Sharp) and her husband Count Odo Von Jaromar (written by Blanche Willis Howard).

Under the pseudonym W. H. Brooks, Sharp edited and composed the first and only issue of *The Pagan Review* (1892). The editorial announced an article on 'The New Paganism' from the pen of H. P. Siwäarmill (anagrammatic and clearly invented), but it never appeared. Sharp, however, wrote all the pieces in the magazine under different pseudonyms: W. S. Fanshawe, George Gascoign, William Dreeme, Lionel Wingrave, James Marazion, Charles Verlayne, and William Windover. The appearance of *The Pagan Review*, which argued against discrimination between male and female in favour of 'a frank recognition of copartnery' and 'new comradeship', marked the transition moment when Fiona Macleod began to affect William Sharp's thinking.[52]

From 1893 on, Fiona Macleod influenced his imaginative life until 'finally she controlled and radically changed him into her own likeness'.[53] Stories that Sharp told his wife Elizabeth revealed how 'the distinctive characteristics of his markedly dual nature existed and swayed him' from his earliest childhood.[54] The long hours by mountain and sea, and the devotion of his Highland nurse Barbara, strengthened his love of nature and his awareness of the history and mysticism of the Celtic Twilight.[55] It was Barbara who sowed the seeds of dreams and visions in his mind, later related in poems and stories under the Fiona Macleod pseudonym.[56] The first published book by Fiona Macleod was *Pharias, a Romance of the Western Isles* (1894), 'full of romance and dream and the glamour of the mysterious'.[57] Sharp dedicated it to his inspiration, E.W.R. (Edith Wingate Rinder).

Intent on keeping his feminine identity a secret, Sharp created an elaborate series of deceptions and even contributed a fictional entry to *Who's Who*. He enlisted

[52] Sharp, *William Sharp,* 200-203.

[53] John Kelman, D.D. 'Celtic Revivals of Paganism', *Among Famous Books*, 2nd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), 115. http://www.archive.org/stream/amongfamousbook00kelmgoog (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[54] Sharp, *William Sharp,* 5.

[55] David Perkins, *A History of Modern Poetry: From the 1890s to the High Modernist Mode* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976) 23-24. The 'Celtic Twilight' movement was not clearly defined but made 'a hazy border between the more traditional poetry of the nineteenth century and the aesthetic-impressionist-symbolist work of the 1880s and 1890s'. It attracted a number of poets, such as William Sharp, William Butler Yeats, Lionel Johnson, and some less-known Irish poets. The Celtic quality was 'a particular landscape and atmosphere, a vaporous and watery, gray, drearily beautiful natural world, whether in Ireland, Wales, or Highland Scotland'.

[56] Sharp, *William Sharp,* 5.

[57] Ibid., 224.

his sister Mary, who lived in Edinburgh with their mother, to copy Fiona Macleod letters in her distinctive feminine hand, and he and his 'cousin' Fiona even exchanged birthday cards. Shielding work under the graphic mask of an unfamiliar handwriting was 'a common device among writers who wished to speak as unknowns from a realm defined as private and domestic'.[58] Only a few close friends were aware of Sharp's double personality, though some were quite suspicious. Having read *A Fellowe and His Wife*, Grant Allen wrote to his friend (Sharp) in July 1894 voicing his doubts about the identity of Fiona Macleod:

> I was not quite satisfied you were not taking us in, especially as your book with Blanche Willis Howard had shown how womanly a tone you could adopt when it suited you; and I shan't feel absolutely at rest on the subject till I have seen the 'beautiful lassie' in person. If she turns out to be W. S. in disguise, I shall owe you a bad one for it (sic).[59]

Sharp wrote to a trusted friend, Mrs Catherine Janvier, begging her not to reveal his secret, as then Fiona would die. 'I could write out of my heart in a way I could not do as William Sharp,' he confided, 'and indeed I could not do so if I were the woman Fiona Macleod is supposed to be, unless veiled in scrupulous anonymity'.[60] On his choice of pseudonym, Sharp wrote (to Mrs Janvier) that the 'name was born naturally': he had long associations with the name Macleod, but as for Fiona, it was 'very rare'. Sharp said that 'most Highlanders would tell you it was extinct – even as the diminutive of Fion[n]aghal (Flora). But it is not. It is an old Celtic name (meaning "a fair maid") still occasionally to be found. I know a little girl', he continued, 'the daughter of a Highland clergyman, who is called Fiona'.[61]

For a decade he lived a double literary life: as Fiona Macleod he produced romantic, mystical poems and stories, and as William Sharp he wrote novels and continued his work as editor and reviewer. According to Sharp's wife, his writing as Fiona Macleod was as 'a result of an inner impulsion' to give expression to himself, whether 'the impulse grew out of pain or out of pleasure'. But he wrote as William

[58] James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation'* (Chicago: The University Press of Chicago, 2003), 369. Similarly, Robert Chambers employed his wife Anne to transcribe all of his letters and manuscripts for his controversial book, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1848). Chambers was aware that, if his handwriting had been recognised, his views on evolution would create a sensation and scandal that could ruin or severely impact his publishing venture with his brother.

[59] Sharp, *William Sharp*, 231-232.

[60] Ibid., 227.

[61] Ibid., 226-227. As a child Sharp discussed Celtic myths with an old fisherman called Seumas Macleod on the Isle of Eigg, the probable source of the surname.

Sharp because he 'cared to, because the necessities of life demanded it'.[62] He corresponded with such distinguished literary men as George Meredith, Robert L. Stevenson, Oscar Wilde, and Dante G. Rossetti, sometimes as Fiona Macleod, and sometimes as William Sharp, all the while struggling to maintain both the Macleod and Sharp identities. As Sharp he wrote to associates, such as W. B. Yeats and George W. Russell, on mystical and occult experiments, while corresponding with them on poetical, literary, and Celtic matters as Fiona Macleod, without any of them realising that Sharp and Macleod were one and the same person.[63]

Sharp also had a political agenda. Using his female pseudonym he aimed to develop a renewed Scottish Celticism by evoking a Celtic landscape and an atmosphere of something as ancient and profound as the old Gaelic legends themselves. Through his attention to the supernatural folklore of Scottish country people, Sharp challenged the ethnic dominance of English industrialism and the cultural forces (Calvinism, utilitarianism, and rationality) that had oppressed his native Scotland.[64] During 1897-1898 the strain on his mental and physical resources caused a near total breakdown. Clearly he wanted the world to know his secret after his death: in 1905 a letter to his friends revealed his identity as Fiona Macleod. The news came as a distinct shock to readers and the literary world in general. 'We did not know him', wrote the Reverend John Kelman (1912), 'until we discovered that he was Fiona, in that second life of his in the borderland where flesh and spirit meet'.[65]

Edward Heron-Allen (1861-1943). Edward Heron-Allen was a British lawyer whose talents and interests covered a vast range of subjects in the arts and sciences, including music, marine biology, meteorology, psychical research, palmistry, and linguistics. In 1886, while on a three-year lecture tour of the United States, Heron-Allen made a serious attempt to write fiction and produced his first science-fiction-genre stories under a range of male (sometimes anagrammatic) pseudonyms, such as Ronald Redhew Neal, Darrell O'Dennahew, and Andrew T. Sibbald. He especially liked to use the pseudonym Christopher Blayre.[66]

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[62] Ibid., 301

[63] 'William Sharp "Fiona Macleod" Archive', *Institute of English Studies*. https://www.ies.sas.ac.uk/research-projects-archives/william-sharp-fiona-macleod-archive (last accessed 28 March 2018).

[64] Jason Marc Harris, *Folklore and the Fantastic in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), 165.

[65] Kelman, 'Celtic Revivals of Paganism', 98.

[66] Brian W. Harvey, 'Allen, Edward Heron- (1861–1943)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-

In 1888 he wrote the epistolary novel, *The Romance of a Quiet Watering Place*, under his only female pseudonym Nora Helen Warddel.[67] *The North American Review* commented on the feminine topic and style of writing and did not question the gender of the author:

> Nora Helen Warddel, in *The Romance of a Quiet Watering Place*, writes in a pretty, off-hand style concerning the doings of a little coterie of friends and other people in a summer vacation at the sea-side. There is a touch of grotesqueness, too, in the portraiture of some of the characters, and a decided partiality to foreign noblemen, who seem to be very conveniently at hand when heroic love making is required. The book is sufficiently entertaining for a lazy afternoon … .[68]

Heron-Allen returned to the family firm of solicitors in 1889 and retired from the law on his fiftieth birthday in 1911, after the death of his father. He then devoted himself to his other interests. He studied and wrote on such diverse topics as Buddhist philosophy, archaeology, appreciation and culture of asparagus, foraminifera, the Persian language, and violin making. He also served in the Great War, first with the Sussex Volunteers and later in Intelligence.[69]

David H(enry) Keller, M.D. (1880-1966). Psychiatrist David Keller wrote magazine stories under a female pseudonym while in Medical School at the University of Pennsylvania. He created several stories for the periodical *White Owl* under the pseudonym Henry Cecil and using the female variation, Cecilia Henry, he penned the story 'The Great American Pie House' (April 1902).[70] Some years later (in the 1930s) Keller, a practising psychiatrist, was also an established science fiction writer. Influenced by his experiences in World War I, many of his works evolved into disturbing psychological horror stories, often written under the female pseudonym

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e-53069 (last accessed 29 March 2018). Heron-Allen lectured in the United States on cheirosophy (palmistry).

[67] The complete title of the novel is *The Romance of a Quiet Watering Place* (*Being the Unpremeditated Confessions of a Not Altogether Frivolous Girl. Extracted from the private correspondence of Miss Evelyn L. Dwyer*).

[68] Allen Thorndike Rice, ed. *The North American Review,* vol. 147 (Boston: O. Everett, 1888), 238-239. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/northamreview147miscrich (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[69] Edward James, 'Edward Heron-Allen', *Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers in the Great War.* https://fantastic-writers-and-the-great-war.com/the-writers/edward-heron-allen/ (last accessed 19 March 2018). While working in Intelligence, Heron-Allen played 'a significant part in the production of propaganda, facilitated by his linguistic abilities'.

[70] Brian Stableford, 'Gernsback's Pessimist: David H. Keller', *Outside the Human Aquarium: Masters of Science Fiction.* 2nd ed. (San Bernadino, CA: Borgo Press, 1995), 109. Cecil was a family surname that Keller often attached to his fictional characters. He served as a military psychiatrist in both World Wars and retired from writing short stories in 1952.

Amy Worth.[71] (He also used the male pseudonyms Monk Smith, Matthew Smith, Jacob Hubler, and Jacobus Hubelaire.) It was unusual for a male writer to use a female pseudonym in this genre, as the most likely audience for science fiction and weird story pulps (intended to shock, arouse, or excite) primarily consisted of working-class males. Perhaps the female pseudonym added to the fantasy and shock value of the story.

(3) Experimenting/Feeling Their Way

I(srael) Zangwill (1864-1926). Many young male writers, such as British author I. Zangwill, abandoned one genre for another and tentatively experimented with various pseudonyms in order to achieve literary popularity. Son of Russian Jewish immigrants, Zangwill grew up in the East End of London and was educated at the Jews' Free School in Bell Lane, Spitalfields, where he was later articled as a teacher. Under the pseudonym J. Freeman Bell he collaborated with a colleague, Louis Cowen, on the political satire *The Premier and the Painte*r (1888). Unfortunately the novel's failure with the general public helped neither of its authors in their literary careers.[72] In 1888 Zangwill resigned from teaching to work as a journalist and subeditor for the newly founded *Jewish Standard*. For several years he contributed short stories and poems under his initials I.Z. and, in a regular column, using the pseudonym Marshallik (Yiddish for 'jester') he commented on 'any subject that took his fancy'.[73]

Zangwill confessed that the failure of *The Premier and the Painte*r was followed by 'years of literary apathy'.[74] He admitted that all he did in that time was to publish a few 'serious' poems and a long philosophical essay on religion. He also wrote a couple of stories under the female pseudonym 'The Baroness Von S.' and co-wrote a few short plays. As The Baroness Von S. he wrote some of his earliest

[71] Ibid., 113. Some of these tales were published in *10 Story Book,* an under-counter magazine.

[72] Edna Nahshon, ed., *From the Ghetto to the Melting Pot: Israel Zangwill's Jewish Plays: Three Playscripts by Israel Zangwill* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2006), 13. J. Freeman Bell was an abbreviation of 'Jew's Free School, Bell Lane'. It could also be interpreted 'as a declaration of independence from the tyranny of the school administration, servility, and intellectual drudgery'. Zangwill also used this pseudonym to disguise his authorship on the specifically Christian article, 'The Abolition of Christmas' (1895), in *The Idler*.

[73] Ibid., 14.

[74] Israel Zangwill, 'The Premier and the Paper' *My First Book: The Experiences of Walter Besant* [et al.]*; with an Introduction by Jerome K. Jerome; a new edition, with 185 illustrations.* Jerome Klapka Jerome, ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), 168. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/myfirstbookexpe00jerogoog (last accessed 19 March 2018).

sketches including three short stories: 'Under Sentence of Marriage' (1888), 'Satan Mekatrig' (Satan the Accuser) (1889), and 'Diary of a Meshumad' (Diary of an Apostate) (1890). These were published in Asher Myer's *Jewish Calendar, Manual, and Diary* and reprinted in the collections *Ghetto Tragedies* (1893 and 1899).[75]

Once his apathy had worn off, Zangwill published *The Bachelors' Club* (1891), the first book under his own name. But it was his profound knowledge and understanding of life in the ghettoes, evident in his short stories (first written as by The Baroness Von S.), that attracted the attention of the Jewish Publication Society of America, who commissioned him to write a novel on modern Jewish life. Zangwill became a literary celebrity with the publication of *Children of the Ghetto, Being Pictures of a Peculiar People* (1892), and was hailed as the foremost Anglo-Jewish author of his generation.[76]

(4) Preventing Embarrassment or Scandal

Some male writers used female pseudonyms in order to dissociate themselves from works considered offensive or to distance themselves from a well-known family name, as exemplified by one American (William Harben) and three British authors (George Moore, Algernon Swinburne, and Oliver Hueffer).

George Augustus Moore (1852-1933). Early novels written by George Moore, such as *A Modern Lover* (1883) and *A Mummer's Wife* (1885), scandalised the bourgeois reading audience with their portrayals of sexual passion and lower-class squalor. They had been banned from public circulating libraries which Moore had criticised as prudish and harshly censorial.[77] When he accepted a commission from the conservative *Lady's Pictorial* to write the novel *Vain Fortune* (1891), the magazine's editor stipulated that it should contain 'nothing offensive'.[78] The novel, co-authored with Ella Hepworth Dixon, was 'surreptitiously' published in serial form under the 'elegant' female pseudonym 'Lady Rhone', so that readers did not suspect that the infamous George Moore was the author. He carefully avoided the 'hostile marketplace' until 1894 when, under his own name, he published his next novel titled *Esther Waters*. Although very favourably reviewed and ensuring financial security, it

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[75] Ibid., 176-177.

[76] Nahshon, *From the Ghetto to the Melting Pot,* 2.

[77] David Bradshaw and Rachel Potter, eds., *Prudes on the Prowl: Fiction and Obscenity in England, 1850 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 30.

[78] Ibid., 15, 40. The Obscene Publications Act of 1857 empowered magistrates to search premises suspected of holding obscene material. It specifically aimed to prosecute the infamous booksellers of Holywell Street, whose books were corrupting the newly literate London populace.

was listed as 'objectionable' and banned within the month from W. H. Smith's circulating libraries. Moore, with a number of other prominent novelists (Thomas Hardy, H. G. Wells, and D. H. Lawrence), sought to test the boundaries of morality, arguing that novels had the power to 'liberate individuals from social and sexual repression'.[79] However, the National Vigilance Association (NVA) declared that sexuality was not 'the proper subject of fiction'. The NVA feared that new readerships created by the 1870 Education Act were at risk of moral corruption. Influential physician Lionel Beale claimed that:

> There never was a time when greater efforts were made to poison the minds of the young. Pamphlets, books and periodicals of every kind are the media for the diffusion of evil thought, and of them there is every degree of baseness, from the almost harmless skit or gentle satire to catch the neophyte, to the vile, coarse, abominable and wicked suggestions to suit those whose minds have long been hopelessly depraved.[80]

Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909). British poet and literary reviewer Algernon Swinburne finished his only completed novel, *A Year's Letters* (1862), when he was twenty-five. It did not find a publisher until 1877 because of the furore over Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* (1866) that contained decadent representations of flogging and adulterous love. Still, Swinburne agreed that *A Year's Letters* could appear serially in Thomas Purnell's review in *The Tatler* to return a kindness to Purnell – through him Swinburne had been introduced to his hero, the Italian nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini.[81] *The Tatler*'s editor, Robert Francillon, was delighted to have secured the manuscript, and expected that the author's name would be enough to ensure the success of his new periodical – an indication of the growing power of the name. But at that time Swinburne was unwilling to put his own name to it 'as it was more or less about his own family'. He insisted that if the story were to be printed at all it would be under the pseudonym of 'Mrs. Horace Mann'.[82] He later consented to modify the name to 'Mrs. Horace Manners' when it was pointed out that a Mrs Horace Mann, widow of a famous American educationist, actually existed.[83] *A*

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[79] Ibid., 46, 1.

[80] Lionel Beale, *On Morality and the Moral Question: Chiefly from the Medical Side* (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1887), 84. Cited in Bradshaw and Potter, *Prudes on the Prowl*, 32.

[81] Samuel C. Chew, *Swinburne*, (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1929), 38.

[82] Philip Henderson, *Swinburne: The Portrait of a Poet* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1974), 59.

Julian Hawthorne and Edith Garrigues Hawthorne, *The Memoirs of Julian Hawthorne* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 226.

[83] Ibid.

Year's Letters attracted little attention at the time, although the editor was convinced that his periodical would have sold in far greater numbers if the public had been aware that Swinburne was the featured novelist.

Years later, in 1902, William L. Alden announced that someone had unearthed a very old copy of *The Tatler* and found Swinburne's novel 'buried in its pages':

> It is entitled 'A Year's Letters' and purports to have been written by Mrs. Horace Manners … Why a man who was once able, as this story shows, to write good English should have totally abandoned the practice and should have substituted for it literary hysterics is a mystery … If, however, it is true, as has been suggested, that Mr. Swinburne has retained no copyright in the story, there will doubtless be found some publisher who will eagerly publish it.[84]

Flattered by the favourable attention (and probably unaware that Thomas Bird Mosher, a bibliophile from Portland, Maine, had already pirated the novel in 1901), Swinburne reissued the novel in 1905 under his own name. He made some slight changes to the new edition, suppressing several passages that were too autobiographical. He dedicated it to his friend and benefactor, Theodore Watts-Dunton, with the new title *Love's Cross-Currents: A Year's Letters* (suggested by Watts-Dunton).[85]

William Nathaniel Harben (1858-1919). As with most pseudonymous works of the period, there was considerable media speculation about the author's identity when two melodramatic potboilers, *The Fruit of Desire* (1910) and *Nobody's* (1911), appeared under the female pseudonym Virginia Demarest.[86] They were the work of novelist William Harben who began his professional writing career at the age of thirty. He produced thirty books and numerous short stories over a wide range of genres: detective fiction, social gospel, romance, literary realism, and science fiction. He was best known for his portrayals of Georgia hillbillies and his close observations of their ethics, dialect, and mannerisms. During his 'experimental years' of the 1890s, Harben produced a religious novel, *Almost Persuaded*, which was so well received by

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[84] William. L. Alden, 'London Letter', *The New York Times* (30 August 1902), Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9A0CE5D7153DE633A2575BC0A9629C94689ED7CF (last accessed 27 March 2018).

[85] In 1872 Swinburne had formed a significant friendship with poet and solicitor Theodore Watts (later Theodore Watts-Dunton), a member of the Rossetti circle. In 1879, when Swinburne was suffering from alcoholic dysentery, deafness, and lack of money, Watts's offer of accommodation and domestic routine probably saved his life. For nearly thirty years, until Swinburne's death in 1909, they shared a semi-detached home at 'The Pines', Putney, with Watts's extended family.

[86] David A. Davis, 'Will N. Harben', *Southern Writers: A New Bibliographical Dictionary,* Joseph M. Flora and Amber Vogel, eds. (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 2006), 180.

the public that Queen Victoria requested an autographed copy. His novels, however, were marred by the sentimental romanticism that was demanded by the readers of his day, 'consequently diminishing his position in the world of letters'.[87] Harben tried to conceal his identity by writing *The Fruit of Desire* and *Nobody's* under the female pseudonym, Virginia Demarest, to avoid having his reputation as a novelist further tainted by association with potboilers. Publishers Harper & Bros announced that *The Fruit of Desire* was 'written by a successful author with a wide reputation in a particular field' and, because this novel was 'of a totally different kind, the author has taken an assumed name that the book may be received wholly on its merits'.[88]

Oliver Madox Hueffer (1876-1931). Novelist, playwright, and war correspondent Oliver Hueffer achieved literary fame as the younger brother of novelist, poet, critic, and editor Ford Madox Ford (1873-1939). Oliver (born Oliver Franz Hueffer) and his brother Ford (born Ford Hermann Hueffer) both valued the connection with the name of their grandfather, Pre-Raphaelite painter Ford Madox Brown. Oliver Hueffer pursued an erratic career as stockbroker, painter, and valise manufacturer, before settling on a life of writing as novelist, journalist, and war correspondent in Mexico. He published four books of non-fiction, one volume of short stories, and twelve novels, five of which were published under the female pseudonym Jane Wardle. In this way he was able to distance himself from his eminent family name of authors. After publication of Hueffer's second novel under the same female pseudonym, *The New York Times* (22 February 1908) expressed suspicions about the author's gender and pessimism about the book's success:

> Miss Jane Wardle, whose novel of last year, 'The Artistic Temperament' [1907], gained a wider attention than it could otherwise have hoped to do as a first book because many readers and reviewers were positive from the way she wrote that Miss Wardle was really a man, has lately published another book called 'The Lord of Latimer Street' [1907]. This second book, though clean, has been pronounced by the ladies who subscribe to circulating libraries and whose verdict is the determining factor in the success of novels in England, to be 'queer', and so, presumably, it will not have the financial success of her earlier story.[89]

[87] Hugh Ruppersburg and John C. Inscoe, eds., *The New Georgia Encyclopedia Companion to Georgia Literature* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 198.

[88] 'New York Literary Notes', *The New York Times*, 23 July 1910. Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=950CE7DB1E39E333A25750C2A9619C946196D6CF (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[89] Galbraith, 'Drift of London Literary Gossip', *The New York Times* (22 February 1908), Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9B03E4DC1639E333A25751C2A9649C946997D6CF (last accessed 27 March 2018).

(5) Adopting Memorable Witty Names

Some authors may have wished to make a greater impact on the reading public through the use of a witty, punning, or amusing name, confident that readers were more likely to remember whimsicality and humour in pseudonym creations. As Joyce Carol Oates says: ‘When not for such interior motives, or for political reasons, or for reasons of scandal, or as the brimming-over of sheer energy … pseudonymous works are often playful; experimental; “entertainments”.’[90] Men who used female pseudonyms for humorous reasons were one British author (David McKee Wright) and four American (John Kendrick Bangs, John Q. Boyer, Harry C. Vansant, and William Forrest Oakley).

John Kendrick Bangs (1862-1922). New-York born John Kendrick Bangs, satirist, editor, essayist and lecturer, first gained literary exposure in the early 1880s by writing under a variety of absurd pseudonyms (such as Antical Manhattaner, Horace Dodd Gastit, Shakespeare Jones, and Periwinkle Podmore). At the time, he was editor of the *Acta Columbiana*, Columbia University’s literary magazine. During his writing career Bangs contributed to such publications as *Life,* several *Harper’s* periodicals, and *Puck* (one of the leading American humour magazines of the day), as well as a number of daily newspapers. He quickly became an important figure on the late-nineteenth-century literary scene, and worked with some of the current leading humorists and novelists, including Rudyard Kipling, Jack London, and Emile Zola. Some of the more notable works that Bangs created were his supernatural fictions set in the afterlife, prompting the term ‘Bangsian fantasy’.[91] He published over two hundred works of topical essays, fiction, humorous tableaux, children’s works, and light verse, but much of his writing is lost because of his many pseudonyms.

In 1899, under the female pseudonym Anne Warrington Witherup, Bangs wrote the amusing and informative book, *Peeps at People: Being Certain Papers from the Writings of Anne Warrington Witherup*. He also wrote short, playful verse such as *My Chaperon*, under the same female pseudonym.[92] In *Peeps at People* (written in the first person) Miss Witherup is on a mission ‘from headquarters’ to

[90] Joyce Carol Oates, ‘Pseudonymous Selves’, *Celestial Timepiece* (2003). http://jco.usfca.edu/rosamond.html (last accessed 26 March 2018).

[91] John Clute, ‘Bangs, John Kendrick’, *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction* (updated 7 June 2017). http://www.sf-encyclopedia.com/entry/bangs_john_kendrick (last accessed 6 February 2018).

[92] J. Berg Esenwein, *Writing for the Magazines* (Springfield, MA: The Home Correspondence School, 1916), 129-30. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/stream/writingformagazi00esenrich#page/n5/mode/2up (last accessed 23 March 2018). *My Chaperon* is an example of *vers de société*, described as ‘short, light, sentimental or playful verse of no profound poetic quality, and breathing an air of polite knowledge of the world’.

interview a series of foreign celebrities in their homes, including Zola, Hall Caine, and Sir Henry Irving. Miss Witherup has been detailed to keep the American public informed about the lives and political, literary, and social views of these 'men who have made themselves factors in art, science, letters, and history'.[93] The playful female pseudonym lends credibility to the first person female narrative and serves to enhance the charm and memorability of the publication.

David McKee Wright (1869-1928). Poet and journalist David Wright left his native Ireland for New Zealand at the age of eighteen after diagnosis of a lung disorder. He spent several years as a rabbiter and rouseabout before serving as a Congregational minister. In the early 1890s while working as a shepherd in Puketoi, he contributed short stories to the *Christchurch Press* and over fifty poems to the *Otago Witness* under the pseudonym Cleggs. In 1896 he used the pen name Rimu on his prize-winning story, 'Mates; A Tale of the Gold Coast', which he entered in the *Otago Witness* story competition. Wright's short stories and verse on political, moral, and rural themes were inspired by the New Zealand landscape. He romanticised the bush, the campfire, and the tussock country. He also wrote of people he met and their occupations, and thus endeared himself to the New Zealand public.[94] In 1906 Wright began to contribute short stories and articles to the Sydney *Bulletin*, using the pseudonym Maori Mac. The following year as a Parliamentary reporter for the *New Zealand Mail* he used his pen name Cleggs on a column, 'The House of Talk'. At the same time he was freelancing for the *Wellington Dominion.* By the end of 1907, Wright was facing marriage breakdown and bankruptcy, despite his prolific literary output. His assets were seized and sold to pay his debts.

In 1910 Wright moved to Australia where he married the writer Margaret Fane (pseudonym of Beatrice Osborn) in 1912; from 1918 he lived with Zora Cross. He became a successful journalist and literary critic, first as a freelance writer for *Fairplay*, *The Sun*, and *The Sydney Mail*, and eventually as editor of *The Bulletin*'s 'Red Page' – a widely read page of views and gossip. In New Zealand he was best known for his contribution to the rural ballad tradition but in Australia, as he reminisced on his youth in Ireland, his style changed to more traditional forms with

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[93] Anne Warrington Witherup, *Peeps at People: Being Certain Papers from the Writings of Anne Warrington Witherup* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 3. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/stream/peepsatpeoplebe00banggoog#page/n8/mode/2up (last accessed 24 March 2018).

[94] Paul Hunt, 'David McKee Wright, 1869-1928'. *Kōtare* 7, no.3 (2008), 60. https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/kotare/article/view/704/515 (last accessed 25 March 2018).

classical and Irish themes. He regarded this as his 'serious' work, often publishing it under his own name.[95]

Wright's facetious, satirical, and political verse was viewed as his 'light' work and was usually signed with one of his many pseudonyms, which included the female names Pearl Smith, Alice Nevertire, Aunt Angeult, Vanity Porridge, Ivy Twister, Grace Glory, Margaret Cathpole, and most frequently, Mary McCommonwealth. The latter was one of his four main pseudonyms and reflected nostalgia for his Irish homeland and allegiance to New Zealand and Australia. His other well-known pseudonyms were Pat O'Maori, Curse O'Moses, and George Street.[96] Wright also wrote his journalistic verse as Gillette, Benjamin Kidd, McCallum, Justin Thyme, Anthesis, Aaron McHebron, N. S. Wales, Jackson-Heads, G. Almighty, Tot Abstinence, S. Toney-Broke, William I of Geelong, and Buss King.[97] From 1906 until his death in 1928 Wright used all of the above pseudonyms as well as his own name or initials on almost fifteen hundred contributions, mainly of verse, to *The Bulletin*. Sometimes three or four of his articles appeared under different pseudonyms in the same issue. Or they appeared in politically conservative columns in *The Bulletin* under one pseudonym (male, female, or gender-neutral) and, at the same time, in radical columns in *The Worker* under another.

It is tempting to include Wright in the group of authors who used female pseudonyms for financial reasons. Much of his work was driven by a need to earn a living mainly because of his bankruptcy in 1907, his overwhelming generosity to those in need, and the fact that he raised three separate families, one in New Zealand and two in Australia. Accounts of his life and works describe him as a gifted, loveable, and generous man, naturally charming and well respected.[98] Judging from descriptions of his character and the playful, satirical nature of his pseudonyms, Wright probably derived immense satisfaction from using his large selection of pen names on his 'light' work. No doubt he was aware that readers would remember the whimsicality and humour of his pseudonym creations.

John Q. Boyer (1869-1942). Especially popular in the nineteenth-century was the literary brainteaser genre involving the ancient tradition of creating or solving

[95] Ibid., 63.

[96] Ibid., 63. 'Pat O'Maori' and 'Mary McCommonwealth' were first used in the second half of 1910, and 'Curse O'Moses' and 'George Street' in 1911.

[97] Ibid., 62-63.

[98] Michael Sharkey, *Apollo in George Street: The Life of David McKee Wright* (Sydney: Puncher & Wattman, 2012), 363-364.

riddles and word puzzles. Weekly puzzle pages, originally intended as educational activities, appeared in children's books and periodicals such as Frank Leslie's *Boys and Girls' Weekly* (1866-1884) and James Elverson's *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* (1880-1907). In the form of enigmas, quizzes, rebuses, acrostics, hidden words, and word squares (the basic form of the crossword), puzzles developed into a serious adult pastime. Puzzlers' Leagues and puzzle periodicals generated numerous books, pamphlets, and magazine articles, with instructions on creating puzzles and hints on solving them. They were commonly published under whimsical pseudonyms (such as E. C. Lectic, Tidal Wave, Lucrezius Borgers, and U. Reka).[99] *A Key to Puzzledom; or, Complete Handbook of the Enigmatic Art* (1906) contains an essay by John Boyer written under the female pseudonym Primrose. The book was dedicated to Harry C. Vansant (dates unverified) who began to write puzzles for the *Boys and Girls' Weekly* in 1871 under the sentimental female pseudonym Maud Lynn.[100]

In 1883 Vansant, Boyer, and a small group of other word puzzlers founded the Eastern Puzzlers' League, which was renamed the National Puzzlers' League (NPL) in 1920. It is the oldest continuously existing puzzlers' organisation in the world and, as it did in the nineteenth century, holds an annual convention in a major North American city each July. Upon joining the NPL, members generally choose a cryptic pseudonym or 'nom' to facilitate communication with fellow members and to 'break down barriers of occupation or social class':

> The tradition of adopting noms in puzzle clubs is a very old one, predating even the League itself. Practically, noms serve as the best of all possible nicknames, for each of us can choose our own and even change it to another at any time. Symbolically, noms allow all puzzlers to meet as equals, free of the titles and social distinctions that the outside world may demand. An eighteen-year-old student can address a fifty-year-old neurosurgeon without wondering if it's 'First Name' or 'Dr. Last Name'. Our noms are the only introduction needed to NPL members all over the world.[101]

William Forrest Oakley (1837-1864). Wordplay also formed the basis for puzzles and contests in periodicals such as *Robert Merry's Museum* (1841-1872), a monthly magazine founded by Samuel Griswold Goodrich. The chat column,

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[99] James Elverson, ed., 'Solvers', *Golden Days for Boys and Girls* VIII, no.25 (21 May 1887). Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/goldendaysforboy27287gut (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[100] 'A Grave Book About Verbal Puzzles', *The New York Times*, 22 September 1906. Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9902E4D91231E733A25751C2A96F9C946797D6CF (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[101] Hudu, Brillig, Treesong, and Sibyl, 'Noms', *The National Puzzlers' League*. http://puzzlers.org/guide/index.php?id=&expand=members#noms (last accessed 20 March 2018).

'Merry's Monthly Chat with His Friends', began as a couple of pages in which the editor addressed his readers. It developed its own sense of community as it evolved into a column with 20,000 'cousins' contributing letters, gossip, and puzzles, and holding discussions in an imaginary parlour.[102] Participants in the Chat were encouraged to adopt pseudonyms to 'take the chance to express creativity and joy in wordplay'. Because they remained anonymous, the Merry cousins were able to change identity and gender at will. They created personae through their use of pen names as well as through details that they revealed about themselves. At the age of nineteen, William Oakley wrote his first letter under the pseudonym Bess, and soon became one of the most popular subscribers to the Chat. He maintained his identity as Bess for five years, but in 1860 fellow subscribers suspected that there was 'an imposter under those crinolines'. An unrepentant Will '*un*crossdressed in the virtual parlour', declaring:

> Now, look at me carefully; d'ye see? that's a mask, this is false hair, this is cotton. This dress, you see, covers a coat; this circular expansive arrangement only impedes the free action of my nether limbs, encased in cassimere continuations. To sum up, I have been an imposter, a gay deceiver, a cheat, a great big '*humbug*' … I am Bess that *was*, and now *am* Will … I only did it for fun, and haven't we *had* some good fun, and shan't we have yet?[103]

Will continued to submit letters under a new pseudonym, Wilforley, created from a blend of his full name. Following his death from heart disease at the age of twenty-six, there was a genuine outpouring of grief from the Chat community for the popular young man who had pretended to be a girl for five years by using a female pseudonym.[104]

Conclusion

Many nineteenth-century male writers in Britain and America felt compelled to use female pseudonyms for reasons that were very personal to them. The twenty-two examples above demonstrate that, in an era when men were trying to distance themselves from all associations with the feminine, a female pseudonym could shield

[102] Pat Pflieger, 'An "Online Community" of the Nineteenth Century', *Nineteenth-Century American Children & What They Read* (2001). http://www.merrycoz.org/papers/online/online.xhtml#eight (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[103] Ibid.

[104] Pat Pflieger, 'Death and the Readers of *Robert Merry's Museum*', *Nineteenth-Century American Children & What They Read* (2001). http://www.merrycoz.org/papers/DEATH.xhtml (last accessed 20 March 2018).

a man from any embarrassment or shame when he produced sentimental or romantic works. It could free a writer from the constraints of serious works to experience the pleasures of creativity, and it could help those writers lacking in experience or confidence to gain access to the literary marketplace. A female pseudonym could remove a writer from a well-known family name or from previous works that may have been offensive, and it could create opportunities for male writers to invent amusing, entertaining, or memorable female names to delight their reading public. Such practices both highlight the influence of gender-role stereotyping and challenge the belief that a certain mode of emotional expression in the nineteenth century belonged exclusively to women.

Chapter 4: Ideological Motives

In accordance with the period's gender ideology and cultural assumptions, writers of the nineteenth century sought to provide moral and religious instruction, and to impart middle-class social values to the working classes, particularly women and children. Many of these writers were men using female pseudonyms. Some of them argued under a female pseudonym for genuine social reform by highlighting social, political and economic problems. Others, under a female pseudonym, used humour, hoaxes, or parody to expose current examples of human weakness or foolishness. Some men attempted to subvert religious, political, and social authorities by expressing opinions regarded as slanderous or illegal, and used female pseudonyms in order to avoid censorship or scandal. Even sentimental song lyrics were sometimes written under a female pseudonym to be used as wartime propaganda. In this chapter I demonstrate how ideological motives provided the incentive for twenty-six British and ten American writers to use a female pseudonym.

(1) Avoidance of Censorship or Subversion of Established Authorities

Early nineteenth-century Britain experienced social, economic, and political unrest as industrialisation and urbanisation of the country created a need for change. The public increasingly agitated for improved social welfare and housing, education, labour and political rights, and abolition of the slave trade; discontent, suffering, and opposition to the government's policies spawned demonstrations and riots. Prosecutions of the press were 'endemic', and newspapers were subject to legal proceedings for printing material deemed 'seditious, blasphemous, or obscene'.[1] In the 1840s, Irish nationalist editors were imprisoned or transported for seditious speeches or articles. Later, in the 1880s, newspaper proprietors and shopkeepers were imprisoned for reporting meetings of the National League or for selling Irish political newspapers.[2] For these reasons, numerous male authors tended to take refuge behind a pseudonym, whether male, female, or gender neutral. In this section of the chapter I provide examples of four British writers (Frederick Nolan, John Keats, George Cannon, and Aleister Crowley), and six poets of the Young Ireland Movement (John

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[1] Joanne Shattock, *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 150-151. In 1813 Leigh and John Hunt, editor and printer of the *Examiner*, were convicted for publishing a scandalous, defamatory libel on the Prince Regent.

[2] Ibid., 153.

Fraser, John Murray, John Coen, James McKowen, John O'Hagan, and John O'Donnell) – all writers who hoped to avoid prosecution by writing (a) pamphlets, (b) potentially libellous verse, (c) militant verse, (d) pornography, and (e) works containing offensive content, under a female pseudonym.

(a) Pamphlets

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, pamphlets and tracts were a significant form of print culture, usually published by individuals, factions, and groups working for change. Pamphlets played an important role in the great political, religious, and social debates of the time and served as a primary mass medium until the abolition of newspaper stamp duty in 1855 and the introduction of cheap, mass-circulation newspapers. Pamphlets were frequently written under pseudonyms or anonymously and circulated by hand, with politicians or theologians often engaging in 'a war of pamphlets'.[3]

Frederick Nolan (1784-1864). Irish theologian and linguist Frederick Nolan graduated in 1803 from Oxford University as a gentleman commoner of Exeter College, with the intention of studying in the Bodleian and other libraries.[4] An outspoken and reactionary conservative, Nolan was opposed to any reform in the university's teaching practices and condemned new textbooks. He was ordained in 1806 and served as curate in several London boroughs until he was appointed vicar of St Mary's, Prittlewell, Essex, in 1822 – a post he retained for forty-two years. During this time he had the honour of being chosen to deliver the Boyle lectures (1814), the Bampton lectures (1833), and the Warbutonian lectures (1833-1836).[5] His extreme,

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[3] William Prideaux Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature: Chapters in the History of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Writings of our Countrymen* (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Limited, 1908), 166. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/secretsofournati00couruoft (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[4] Gordon Goodwin, 'Nolan, Frederick (1784–1864)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20239 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[5] The Boyle lectures were named after Robert Boyle, son of Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, and a prominent natural philosopher of the 17th century. Originally eight each year, they were to serve as a public forum to consider the relationship between Christianity and the new natural philosophy (science) emerging in European society. The first Boyle Lecture was given in 1692 by Richard Bentley.

The Bampton Lectures at Oxford University were founded by a bequest of John Bampton, and have taken place since 1780. In the 19th century they were a series of annual lectures, concentrating on Christian theological topics and attracted great interest and controversy. They were traditionally published in book form.

The Warburton Lectures (until the end of the 19th century often called the Warburtonian Lectures) are a series of theology lectures held in Lincoln's Inn, London. They were established in

reactionary views appealed to both evangelicals and high-churchmen, but his rather outdated knowledge failed to influence current thinking. A prolific writer on evangelical beliefs, he was strongly opposed to the authority of science, compromise with dissenters, and the Pro-Catholic Oxford Movement.[6] In the 1830s and 1840s he produced some of his tracts under the female pseudonym Sarah Search.[7] Although the scholarly name 'Search' was a 'favourite disguise for literary persons' in the nineteenth century, there is no apparent reason why Nolan chose a female pseudonym; possibly it was just the appeal of alliteration.

(b) Potentially Libellous Verse

John Keats (1795-1821). Late in 1819, John Keats who was best known for his Romantic odes and sonnets, began to compose a satirical fairy poem in Spenserian stanzas; it remained unfinished at his death.[8] Encouraged by his close friend, Charles Armitage Brown, Keats intended to publish it under a female pseudonym. He titled it *The Cap and Bells* or, as he preferred, *The Jealousies, A Faery Tale*, 'by Lucy Vaughan Lloyd of China Walk, Lambeth'. The poem, a satire on the worlds of politics and literature, fully occupied Keats's mornings with Brown acting as amanuensis. On one occasion he copied 'as many as twelve stanzas before dinner'.[9] Keats, however, was unable to continue writing at such a pace because of his worsening tuberculosis and increased doses of laudanum. His illness forced him to withdraw from a planned walking trip to Scotland with Brown, who settled some debts for Keats, lent him money, and parted from him at Gravesend for the last time.[10]

During 1820 Keats wrote no poetry, but corresponded regularly with Brown, writing in June 1820 that he should soon resume work on 'Lucy Vaughan Lloyd'.[11]

1768 with money given by William Warburton, and were intended to bring young divines to the notice of London audiences. The set topic was the proof of Christianity through prophecies.

[6] Goodwin, 'Nolan, Frederick (1784–1864)'.

[7] Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature*, 196. Abraham Tucker and William Henry Ashurst wrote as Edward Search, Sir William Cusack Smith as Warner Christian Search, Frederick Nolan as Sarah Search, and John Black as Sappho Search; several writers, including Archbishop Whateley and Thomas Binney, used the pseudonym John Search.

[8] Spenserian stanza is a fixed verse form invented by Edmund Spenser for his epic *The Faerie Queen*. Each stanza contains nine lines in total, with the rhyme scheme of 'ababbcbcc'. After Spenser's death in 1599, his verse form fell into disuse but was revived in the nineteenth century by several prominent poets, such as Keats.

[9] Charles Armitage Brown, *Life of John Keats*, Dorothy Hyde Bodurtha & Willard Bissell Pope, eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 35.

[10] Ibid., 62.

[11] Ibid., 68.

Then in August, in his last mention of the poem, Keats commented on the way that ladies took offence at him. 'On thinking that matter over', he mused:

> I am certain that I have said nothing in a spirit to displease any woman I would care to please: but still there is a tendency to class women in my books with roses and sweetmeats, – they never see themselves as dominant. If ever I come to publish 'Lucy Vaughan Lloyd', there will be some delicate picking for squeamish stomachs.[12]

In September 1820, with his close friend Joseph Severn, Keats sailed for Italy where he died in February of the following year.

There is much conjecture over Keats's proposed pseudonym. Biographer Robert Gittings describes it as 'an unexpected name' for the poet to use, and claims that its adoption suggests that *The Cap and Bells* was somehow directed against the Lake Poets – based on the evidence that Lucy, whether a real person or not, was the subject of several of Wordsworth's poems, and the poet Charles Lloyd was a neighbour of Wordsworth.[13]

Feminist literary critic Margaret Homans offers a very different, gendered explanation for Keats's use of a female pseudonym, believing that the 'dainty' name and address, 'Lucy Vaughan Lloyd of China Walk, Lambeth', were intended to conjure up a literary bluestocking and identify her as a member of the coterie of 'sublime petticoats', who annoyed Keats with their 'sentimentalism and their failure to buy his poems'.[14] According to Homans, *The Cap and Bells*, in its 'grotesquely comic form', was Keats's last attempt to capture a female audience:

> Keats preempts a woman's voice, and shapes a woman reader, to show what he could perhaps never get Fanny [Brawne] herself to say, that women are Beauty and belong, as the objects of men's gaze, under male proprietorship. And that reading the poetry of Keats can bring about this transformation.[15]

Homans suggests that Keats's reference to 'delicate pickings for squeamish stomachs' (in his letter to Brown) implies that he 'will avenge his unpopularity on the supposed sources of it: recalcitrant lady readers, women who object to

[12] Ibid., 71.
[13] Robert Gittings, *John Keats* (1968), cited in Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms* (1998), 236-237.
[14] Margaret Homans, 'Keats Reading Women, Women Reading Keats', *Romanticism: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies, Volume III: Romanticism and the Margins,* Michael O'Neill and Mark Sandy, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 87.
[15] Ibid.

objectification'. She claims that Keats appropriated a female voice in order to 'change a woman reader into a sexual object' and to reassert his own masculine authority.[16]

I feel that the most likely reason for Keats's use of a female pseudonym was not specifically one of gender at all, but rather to afford another layer of protective distance between text and author. On the surface, *The Cap and Bells* appears to be an amusing fairy tale in verse. But written as a satire on contemporary literature and politics, the poem contains allusions to court scandals as well as some of the contemporary writers familiar to Keats. For example, Esquire Biancopy was identified as the politician Samuel Whitbread, and Eban as essayist William Hazlitt, whose attacks on literary figures of his day are echoed in Eban's outburst against the coachman.[17] And court scandals, with the current quarrels between the Prince Regent and his wife Caroline, are interwoven with imaginative aspects of the poem's story.[18]

Some years earlier, Leigh Hunt and his brother John (both friends of Keats) had been fined and jailed for two years (January 1813-January 1815) for libel against the Prince Regent. Keats was no doubt mindful that several people might identify themselves in his work, which could incriminate him or give rise to social outrage and embarrassment. This provided the most likely motive for the use of an unrecognisable female pseudonym.

(c) Militant Verse – The Irish Poets

In the mid-nineteenth century, Ireland saw new expressions of nationalism inspired by the 1843 agitation for repeal of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland. This coincided with the Great Famine of the late 1840s. Supporters of the Young Ireland movement voiced their political views in *The Nation* (founded 1842) through patriotic poems rich in imagery and intense feeling. The poets' sentimental

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Sandra Anstey, ed., *Keats: Selected Poems and Letters* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1995), 266.

[18] Michael William Rossetti, *Life of John Keats* (London: Walter Scott, 1887), 114. William Michael Rossetti was far from impressed with *The Cap and Bells* and described it as 'destitute of distinct plan, though some sort of satirical allusion to the marital and extra-marital exploits of George IV is traceable in it; meagre and purposeless in invention; a poor farrago of pumped-up straggling jocosity'.

Sir Sidney Colvin, 'Return to Wentworth Place' Chapter VIII, *Biography of John Keats*, 1887. http://john-keats.com/ (last accessed 20 March 2018). In 1819 the quarrels between the Prince Regent, son of George III, and his wife Caroline (Caroline of Brunswick, 1768-1821) were coming to a head. They were formally separated in 1796 after the birth of their only child, Princess Charlotte. Impulsive and given to extravagance and excess, the Prince Regent was reported to have secretly married one of his mistresses. After a messy and unsuccessful divorce trial, Caroline fared much the better in popular opinion than did her husband. However, he tried to prevent her from attending his coronation on 19 July 1821 and refused to recognise her as Queen. Caroline fell ill that day and died on 7 August, stating that she suspected poison.

ballads echoed political, militant, and religious passion, to indoctrinate readers with a consciousness of ‘a common history and a common destiny’, and infuse fellow Irishmen with national pride, faith in the cause of Repeal, and hatred of English rule.[19] The British Crown was eager to suppress unconventional political, religious, or militant expression in ‘seditious’ journals such as *The Nation*, which was reputed to be the voice of Irish radicalism. Hence contributors from all walks of life regularly published their sentimental, patriotic verse and militant ballads under many different pseudonyms.

John Fraser (or Frazer, 1804-1852). Poet and Irish nationalist John Fraser was a cabinet-maker by trade who suffered chronic ill health. He was passionate about the spirit of the Irish people in their quest for self-government – a passion that was echoed in his poetry. Many of his poems were published in radical journals during the 1840s under a number of pseudonyms, including the female name Maria, which he used when writing for *The Nation* in 1847.[20] His poems were ‘remarkable for their beautiful imagery, intense feeling, rush, and poetic sensibility’.[21]

John Fisher Murray (1811-1865). Another supporter of Young Ireland, John Murray, gained some reputation as a poet and contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*. He wrote one novel, *The Viceroy* (1841), which on the one hand satirised the Protestant Ascendancy, and on the other made fun of Irish Catholics. A regular contributor to *The Nation*, Murray divided his time between journalism and the writing of several London guidebooks. In retirement, he contributed poems to *The Nation* under the pseudonym Maire (Irish Gaelic for ‘Mary’).[22]

John Coen (fl.1842). John Coen, a farmer's son, entered Trinity College Dublin in 1830 as a Protestant student, winning prizes in Science and the Classics. After graduating in 1840 he went on to become principal of Abbey Hall, a classical school in Omagh. He was a poet of the early editions of *The Nation*, and generally known by his pseudonyms Patricius and The Author of ‘The Deserted College’. On

[19] David J. O'Donoghue, *The Poets of Ireland: A Biographical Dictionary with Bibliographical Particulars*, in Three Parts (London: Published by the Author, 1892), 113. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/poetsirelandabi00dongoog (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[20] William Cushing, *A Dictionary of Literary Disguises*, 2nd Series (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1888), 95.

[21] Martin MacDermott, ed., *The New Spirit of The Nation; or, Ballads and Songs by the Writers of "The Nation"* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), 188. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/newspiritofnatio00macdrich (last accessed 24 March 2018).

[22] O'Donoghue, *The Poets of Ireland,* 175. Another Irish poet, Andrew Carolan (?-1883), contributed to Irish publications under the pseudonyms ‘Kate of Killahoe’ and ‘A Lass from Lough Erne’ from 1838.

one known occasion he signed himself as Bridget.[23]

James McKowen (1814-1889). James McKowen was one of the uneducated working-class writers celebrated in the north of Ireland during the nineteenth century. These artisans, who were very often employed in the linen-weaving industry, published their poems in newspapers and in books paid for by subscription. McKowen was a bleachworks finisher by trade with only an elementary education, but about 1840 he started publishing lively poems in *The Northern Whig* and other Ulster papers, usually under the pseudonym Kitty Connor.[24] He also wrote a little for *The Nation* under the pseudonym Curlew. McKowen's poems, in particular 'The Old Irish Cow' and 'The Ould Irish Jig', remained popular in Ireland for over a hundred years. Henry McD. Fletcher, manager of a Belfast mill and former schoolteacher, displayed the respect felt for McKowen by dedicating a sentimental poem to him called 'Invitation to Kitty'.

Judge John O'Hagan (1822-1890). John O'Hagan, one of the leading members of the Young Ireland Party, contributed patriotic, sentimental verse to *The Nation* under his own name and several pseudonyms, including Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia, Sliabh Cuilinn, and Slievegullion.[25] A large proportion of his work was reprinted in collections of *The Spirit of the Nation* (1843) and *The New Spirit of the Nation* (1845). Some poems were fiercely patriotic, others tenderly sentimental.

John Francis O'Donnell (1837-1874). Poet and journalist John O'Donnell first published poems in the *Kilkenny Journal* at the age of fourteen and went on to become a prolific professional writer for numerous journals and magazines. His work was divided between English and Irish audiences and expressed the sense of alienation felt by many of his countrymen living in England.[26] In 1862 O'Donnell joined the staff of *The Nation*, and in the same year was editor of *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*, to which he contributed much of his verse. Although he usually wrote under the pseudonyms Caviare, J.F.O'D., or Monkton West, some of his verse was signed with the female pseudonym Emily French.

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[23] O'Donoghue, *The Poets of Ireland,* 40.

[24] Ralph Varian, ed., *The Harp of Erin: A Book of Ballad-Poetry and of Native Song* (Dublin: M'Glashan & Gill, 1869), 67. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/harperinabookba00unkngoog (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[25] O'Donoghue, *The Poets of Ireland,* 188.

Oliver Goldsmith, *Essays and Poems* (London: Vernor, Hood, & Sharpe, 1807), 164, 173. http://books.google.com/books?id=TBsoAAAAYAAJ&printsec=titlepage (last accessed 23 March 2018). The most likely source of this combination of names is Oliver Goldsmith's Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs in *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766).

[26] O'Donoghue, *The Poets of Ireland,* 185.

(d) Pornography

George Cannon (1789-1854). George Cannon was a qualified solicitor with a dissenting minister's licence, although he practised in neither area. Instead he channelled his 'devious energies and talents into the world of letters', aiming to subvert established religious and political authorities.[27] Throughout a long literary career, Cannon never published under his given name, but hid behind an assortment of pseudonyms (both male and female), aliases, and literary agents. His most frequently used pseudonym was Reverend Erasmus Perkins.[28] As a young man he supported the 'corrosively sceptical tract', *Ecce homo*, which scoffed at Christ's morality and promoted atheistic materialism. He wrote three letters to William Cobbett's *Political Register* under the pseudonyms Gulielmus, Churchman, and A Lover of Truth, all purporting to be scholars defending religious tolerance. The real purpose of the letters, however, was to exacerbate religious doubts and ridicule the Christian religion and the Established Church. Cannon relished subterfuge and conspiracy, yet was committed to religious freedom, making it difficult for authorities to prosecute. Moving in underground circles, his acquaintances included fugitive pressmen, insurrectionary plotters, and blasphemous freethinkers. Cannon gave legal advice to ultra-radicals accused of treason, preached and debated at blasphemous chapels, ghosted legal defences, and wrote or edited seditious popular periodicals and tracts, usually under the names of humbler radical pressmen who were prepared to accept liability.[29]

By 1820, many radical publishers had flooded the marketplace with pro-Caroline satire.[30] After Caroline's trial, when popular unrest abated and there was less

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[27] Iain McCalman, 'Cannon, George (1789-1854)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-57133 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[28] Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 75. McCalman speculates that this pseudonym gives some clues to Cannon's character: '"Erasmus" represented his aspirations to be a scholar-humanist, social satirist and religious reformer. "Perkins" had indigenous associations; it was intended to remind readers of the legacy of William Perkins, the great puritan theologue, don, preacher and social critic'. Erasmus Perkins purported to be a scholarly dissenting minister concerned with religious acceptance. According to McCalman, the pseudonym could point to Dissent in Cannon's background, and could also reflect his fantasies and social ambitions. The source of his ambition has not been disclosed but, McCalman muses, perhaps George's father was Thomas Cannon, a Methodist minister in a small independent chapel in Grub Street. When Thomas left the ministry he opened a 'classical academy' in Kentish Town, a possible explanation for George's educational achievements.

[29] McCalman, 'Cannon, George'.

[30] The trial of Queen Caroline followed the bogus adultery charge levelled by King George IV, when his estranged wife had refused an offer of £50,000 to renounce her title and live abroad. Cartoons, caricatures, and pamphlets were touted around the streets for months. The British public was

demand for radical material, many of these publishers turned from political writings to the developing publishing branch of pornography. A 'shadowy philosopher-publisher' figure, Cannon moved imperceptibly from politics to pornography and by the late 1820s he was regarded by police as a 'fully professional trader in obscene publications'.[31] He specialised in flagellation literature offering 'private titillation' to the fast-growing market of middle- and lower-class male readers.[32] Cannon used the names of well-known prostitutes, Mary Wilson and Theresa Berkeley, as pseudonyms for pornographic writings such as *Exhibitions of Female Flagellants* (1827), *The Whore's Catechism* (1830), and *The Voluptuous Night* (1830). The inference of a sexually aggressive woman describing her own devious exploits was particularly erotic for the male reader and a perfect motive for the use of a female pseudonym. Despite a twelve months' prison sentence in 1831, Cannon continued to deal in French libertine writings, anti-religious obscenity, and dangerous but lucrative works closely associated with Enlightenment freethinking. Over the next two decades he edited, translated, and published obscene literature under various pseudonyms, such as Philosemus and Abdul Mustapha. After he died in 1854, during another spell in prison, Cannon's wife Mary continued the commercially rewarding pornography business until her own death ten years later.[33]

(e) Offensive Content

Aleister Crowley (born Edward Alexander Crowley, 1875-1947). At an early age Aleister Crowley identified with the enemies of God and spent his life rebelling against the Christian fundamentalist teachings of his Plymouth Brethren parents. Reacting to his parents' religious view that sex was sinful, he preached and practised the 'gospel of complete sexual freedom'.[34] Having left Cambridge without a degree,

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sympathetic towards her, and her advocate Lord Brougham defended her so forcefully that the adultery charge against her was dropped in 1820.

[31] McCalman, 'Cannon, George'.

[32] G. R. Searle, *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 221.

[33] McCalman, 'Cannon, George'.

[34] Aleister Crowley, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography*, John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, eds. (London: Penguin (Non-Classics), 1989), 140-141. Why Crowley changed his name: 'For many years I had loathed being called Alick, partly because of the unpleasant sound and sight of the word, partly because it was the name by which my mother called me. Edward did not seem to suit me and the diminutives Ted or Ned were even less appropriate. Alexander was too long and Sandy suggested tow hair and freckles. I had read in some book or other that the most favourable name for becoming famous was one consisting of a dactyl followed by a spondee, as at the end of a hexameter: like "Jeremy Taylor". Aleister Crowley fulfilled these conditions and Aleister is the Gaelic form of Alexander. To adopt it would satisfy my romantic ideals. The atrocious spelling A-

Crowley embarked on a program of self-education. A bi-sexual, hedonistic, drug-taker, he was also a gifted chess player, artist, astrologer, social critic, mountaineer, and magician, and travelled widely in his quest for absolute power and supreme knowledge through the Occult. Crowley was constantly impersonating others and assuming false identities, often of a royal or ancient mystical nature. He claimed that his many titles were bestowed on him by Hindu or European aristocracy.[35] He is remembered today for his magical writings, especially *The Book of the Law*, a long three-part poem and the central sacred text of the religion of Thelema.[36]

Crowley shocked his readers by celebrating obscenity and Satanism through outrageous, subversive, sexual, and serious articles, poems, pornography, technical works, pamphlets, and broadsheets. He used at least 150 pseudonyms – male, female, and gender neutral (often magical mottoes, initials, symbols, or numbers) – all chosen with great deliberation. 'With one thing and another to worry me', wrote Crowley, 'I was a nervous wreck all this March and April of 1908. I was wasting my time in constructing anagrams on my name to publish this book under'.[37] He devised the near perfect anagram, Alice Wesley Torr, yet went on to publish the book, *The World's Tragedy* (1910), under his own name.

Most of Crowley's female pen names were used on articles and poems in periodicals. For instance, he wrote as Hilda Norfolk, Ethel Ramsay, and Madame Bock Brune in *The Equinox,* a London serial publication that he founded in 1909. He was also the contributing editor of the little-known New York periodical called *The International* – a liberal magazine of international politics, literature, philosophy and drama. He published articles under the pen names Jeanne La Goulue and Enid Parson, the latter on a naïve war poem as written by a twelve-year old girl, in *The International* of October 1917.[38] Crowley also assumed the names of many living

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L-E-I-S-T-E-R was suggested as the correct form by Cousin Gregor, who ought to have known better. In any case, A-L-A-I-S-D-A-I-R makes a very bad dactyl. For these reasons I saddled myself with my present nom-de-guerre --- I can't say that I feel sure that I facilitated the process of becoming famous. I should doubtless have done so, whatever name I had chosen'.

[35] 'Aleister Crowley: The Beast', *Occult Philosophers.* http://psychicinvestigator.com/Occult/Crowley.htm (last accessed 23 March 2018). Crowley shared his titles or pseudonyms with his current mistresses by conferring the female equivalent of the name on them.

[36] Henrik Bogdan and Martin P. Starr, eds., *Aleister Crowley and Western Esotericism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8.

[37] Aleister Crowley, 'The World's Tragedy' (1910), *The Hermetic Library*. http://hermetic.com/crowley/worlds-tragedy/alice-wesley-torr-or-aleister-crowley.html (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[38] Enid Parsons (aged 12) [Aleister Crowley], 'War Poetry', *The International* (October 1917), 319. Internet Archive.

people, such as Jeanne La Goulue (real name Louise Weber), who was a famous Moulin Rouge dancer credited with creating the French Can Can. Some of his other female pseudonyms were Alice L. Foote, Christabel Wharton, Elaine Carr, Alys Cusack, Laura Graham, Lavinia King, Doris Leslie (Baby), Maria Lavroff, Katharine S. Prichard, Mary Smith, The Authoress, and Mrs Bloomer Greymare.

Crowley displayed little respect for women in general throughout his works. At a time when women were vigorously campaigning for equal legal and political rights, and entering the public arena in great numbers, he embraced the concept that women were secondary social beings 'in terms of intellect and sensibility' – a concept implicitly embodied in Victorian sexology.[39] Despite his apparent contempt for women, Crowley wrote some of the material in *The Equinox* under female pseudonyms. He intended that the periodical would not only promote public awareness of a new magical order, but also feature as an authentic literary journal. He therefore wrote some of his short stories, poems, and plays under female pseudonyms to balance the content of his journal with a variety of literary genres and authors.

(2) Highlighting a Social, Political, or Economic Issue

Writers throughout the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century followed the literary convention of using pseudonyms to satirise or criticise the government, authority figures, and religious institutions. The satirical mode allowed writers to produce more radical works under a pseudonym than in signed pieces and to be less cautious in expressing their ideas publicly. In an era when it was considered inappropriate for a woman to write publicly, she could do so under a male pseudonym, which was usually quite a credible name. A man, however, often wrote under a female pseudonym for satirical purposes, with a name that was obviously a pseudonym, such as John Bang's 'Anne Warrington Witherup'.

Humour, by means of the voice of a fictitious woman, was an effective means of channelling displeasure and frustrations about social and political concerns through

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https://archive.org/stream/The_International__Oct_1917#page/n0/mode/2up (last accessed 20 March 2018). The following is the entry under the name of Enid Parsons:

'WAR POETRY. (The Editor insists on having some patriotic war poetry. The following specimen is as good, at least, as any I have yet seen. – A.C.)

Millions of our Sammies, each with khaki and gun,/Are going to teach democracy to the Hun./It is America, I do surely think,/That will put the Hohenzollerns on the blink./They are going to France, the country of Lafayette,/And they'll kan the kruel Kaiser, you bet./The Germans all run away when they see them come,/For they mean to put the enemy on the bum. ENID PARSONS (Aged 12)'.

[39] Lawrence Sutin, *Do What Thou Wilt: A Life of Aleister Crowley* (London: St Martin's Griffin, 2000), 28.

newspaper articles, letters and columns. This section contains examples of eight British men (John Black, Theodore Hook, Percy Bysshe Shelley, William Maginn, William Makepeace Thackeray, Edward Begbie, J. Stafford Ransome, and M. H. Temple) and three American writers (Abraham Lincoln, William Shillaber, and L. Frank Baum) who, under a female pseudonym, used satire, parody, and humour to draw public attention to social, political, and religious ills and prejudices.

Rev. John Black (1753-1813). John Black, the perpetual curate of Butley, contributed poetry to *Monthly Magazine* (1812-1813), with some of his works published under the female pseudonym Sappho Search. Black was a notorious critic of Hannah More and, as Sappho Search, he delighted in criticising More, in collusion with the pseudonymous Peter Pindar Esq. (Dr John Wolcot) and the Reverend Archibald MacSarcasm (her 'most ferocious adversary', William Shaw).[40] In his *Poetical Review of Miss Hannah More's Strictures on Female Education; in a Series of Anapestic Epistles* (1800) Sappho Search ridiculed More's image, her writing, and her Evangelical piety. More's *Strictures* urged the upper classes to reform their moral conduct in order to bring about social reform, and advocated an education system for women more suited to their future roles. Having entered the exclusively male public sphere of the early nineteenth century, More also dared to speak out against the 'masculine topics of religion and order'.[41] Black's satirical writing met with very positive reviews, one critic noting that Sappho Search, 'the present author, whether male or female, is sprightly, observing, and animated'.[42] Another reviewer, also uncertain of the writer's gender, commented that 'it matters not whether this poetical reviewer does or does not possess *a pair of breeches*: he or she has something better; judgment and pleasantry'.[43]

Theodore Edward Hook (1788-1841). As a young boy, Theodore Hook was composing music and songs for his father. He became very proficient at improvising hundreds of lines of humorous lyrics, especially about the characteristics of every guest at a party. With his first play published before he reached the age of seventeen,

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[40] Patricia Demers, *The World of Hannah More* (Lexington KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 19.

[41] Ibid., 18, 82.

[42] *The European Magazine, and London Review*, 37 (Cornhill: Philological Society of London, 1800), 383. http://books.google.com.au/books?id=BSwoAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:LCCNca07000815&Ir=#PPT409,M1 (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[43] Ralph Griffiths, *The Monthly Review; or Literary Journal*, 32 (London: A Strahan, 1800), 315. http://books.google.com/books?id=gokCAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA315&lpg=PA315&dq=A+Poetical+Review+of+Miss+Hannah+More (last accessed 20 March 2018).

he went on to write dramas and novels, which all demonstrated a lively wit and broad knowledge of the world. Several of his works appeared under the male pseudonyms Richard Jones and Alfred Allendale.[44] Although he wrote two or three farces a year, Hook was not earning enough to maintain his extravagant lifestyle, and debts began to accumulate. He mingled with members of Regency high society, including the likes of Coleridge and Sheridan, and in 1812 his friend the Prince Regent appointed him accountant-general and treasurer to Mauritius. There he found a jovial, debauched society, which he entered enthusiastically and soon became the colony's favourite wit.[45] Meanwhile, dishonest subordinates carried out his official duties, and in 1817 an examination into the state of the treasury revealed a discrepancy of £12,000 for which Hook had no explanation. All his property was seized and, although he was found guilty only of negligence, he was recalled to England and charged with embezzlement of public funds.[46]

During the summer of 1820, Hook, who was a Tory 'to the heart's core', began a campaign against Queen Caroline (wife of George IV). Under the pseudonym Dr. Vicesimus Blenkinsop, he published an octavo entitled *Tentamen; or an Essay towards the History of Whittington and his Cat,* followed by several similar pamphlets, all directed against Alderman Wood (Whittington), the Queen (his cat), and her other supporters.[47] At the close of that year Hook became the anonymous editor of the London newspaper *John Bull*, founded in aid of the Tory party. Its specific aim was to launch sharp, humorous attacks on Queen Caroline and on the strong female support for her cause, in order to overthrow 'the Brandenburgh House party', as the Queen's sympathisers were called.[48] In its efforts to reinstate masculinity at the centre of politics, *John Bull* was seen as 'the most formidable antagonist that had as yet entered the lists against the Queen'.[49]

Over the next ten years the amusing and immensely popular *Ramsbottom Papers* were published in *John Bull*. Mrs Ramsbottom was a precursor of 'all the Mrs. Malaprops, Mrs. Partingtons, and Mrs. Browns of a later generation'.[50] Whilst crossing the Channel to France on a 'batto', Mrs Ramsbottom observed that:

[44] Theodore Hook, *The Choice Humorous Works, Ludicrous Adventures, Bon Mots, Puns and Hoaxes of Theodore Hook* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1841), 15.
[45] Ibid., 18-19.
[46] Ibid,. 21.
[47] Ibid., 23-24.
[48] Queen Caroline's home was originally known as Brandenburg House, but it was changed to Brandenburgh House in 1792 when the Margrave of Brandenburgh took over as its owner.
[49] Hook, *The Choice Humorous Works,* 26.
[50] Ibid.

> [A] fat gentleman who was in the ship, had fallen into a fit of perplexity by over-reaching himself – he lay prostituted upon the floor … I noticed two little children, who came out of the boat, with hardly any clothes on them, speaking French like anything – a proof of the superior education given to the poor in France, to that which they get in England from Dr. Bell of Lancaster.[51]

As time went on, Mrs Ramsbottom's ramblings expressed increasing interest in the political and religious state of affairs in Britain. In her last letter to 'Mr. Bull', she declared that she was changing her political allegiance:

> Dear B., [N]ow I do write, you will find me somewhat haltered in my principles. I have been one over by my sun-in-law to the great caws of Reform. He talks of not stopping till we have got the Ballad and General Sufferance – as to the first, I am all for the song; but with regard to the General, I cannot say I ever heard of him before.[52]

In 1839, under the female pseudonym Rachael Stubbs, Hook wrote to the fictitious Richard Turner. Where Mrs Ramsbottom's letters were littered with malapropisms, Rachael Stubbs's letters were a display of appalling spelling. In this message she pleaded with Richard to keep his word and return to her:

> Deer Richud, – I receved yewer kind leather on Fryday, wich fond me in good helth, but not spirts, – for sins yew went a whay i have encresed my sise hand teers. Yew was kindest off the kind, and i cud have wukked has kitching-mad frum marwn to nite if yew had note gon; but sins yew want away iviry think sims to go rong.[53]

Whilst providing lively, often hilarious, entertainment to his reading public, the female pseudonyms enabled Hook to comment on social, political and religious matters through the voices of unwitting female personae.

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1827). In the nineteenth century it was not unusual for male students to write anti-establishment satire under a female pseudonym. British poet Percy Bysshe Shelley briefly used the pseudonym Margaret Nicholson in his student days, for the 'seemingly burlesque but covertly anti-establishment' collection of poems, *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson; being poems found amongst the papers of that noted female who attempted the life of the king in 1786* (published by Munday in 1810). Shelley enthusiastically boasted about the poems to his friend Edward Graham, saying that nothing was 'talked about

[51] Hook, 'England and France', *The Choice Humorous Works*, 55.
[52] Hook, 'Mrs Ramsbottom Declares Herself a Convert', *The Choice Humorous Works*, 123.
[53] Hook, 'Rachael Stubbs's Letter to Richard Turner', *The Choice Humorous Works*, 336.

at Oxford but Peg Nicholson'.[54] The 'editor', John Fitzvictor (another of Shelley's pseudonyms), who was presented as Margaret Nicholson's nephew, claimed to have more verses from the 'manic genius' in case readers called for a further publication of her works.[55] Nicholson, a washerwoman who had attempted to stab George III, was still an inmate of Bedlam when *Posthumous Fragments* was composed, and outlived Shelley by six years.

Shelley intentionally made the poems ridiculous through harnessing his two major passions, sex and political oppression, in this early example of his ability to deploy humour for serious ends.[56] Having been ill with a fever for two weeks, Shelley dashed off several poems that included 'attacks on war and the monarchy, a piece of sexual ribaldry, an Irish ballad replete with spectral horseman and banshee, and laments on his lost love, Harriet [Grove]'.[57] Shelley employed themes that a woman of the eighteenth or nineteenth century would be most unlikely to use and purposely arranged the poems for 'maximum shock value'.[58] Described as 'part sexual raving, part critique of the government', *Fragments* was bound to attract attention in Oxford, as was Shelley's decision to donate proceeds from its sale to the cause of radical journalist Peter Finnerty, imprisoned for his printed criticism of Lord Castlereagh's 'brutal management of Ireland'.[59] Perhaps Shelley used a female pseudonym to avoid trouble with the authorities, and in doing so he drew attention to the British oppression of Ireland.

William Maginn (1794-1842). Anonymous or pseudonymous correspondence in the print media has always provided a valuable avenue for social comment. A female pseudonym could help a male author overcome imposed gender boundaries by

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[54] James Brieri, *Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Biography: Youth's Unextinguished Fire, 1792-1816* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 125.

[55] Ibid., 126. Victor was the pseudonym Shelley used for *Original Poetry*; Fitzvictor was supposedly Victor's bastard son. John was the name of Shelley's brother, also that of his grandfather Bysshe's illegitimate son by a woman with a name similar to Nicholson, Nicholls.

[56] Michael O'Neill, 'Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792–1822)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25312 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[57] Brieri, *Percy Bysshe Shelley,* 125.

[58] Ibid., 126-127. Anticipating his father's angry reaction, Shelley wrote to his friend Graham that it was imperative that Peg remained 'a profound secret'. Shelley declared that the lines about sucking, from the poem 'Fragment', would make the greatest impression:

Soft, my dearest angel, stay,/Oh! you suck my soul away;/Suck on, suck on, I glow, I glow!/Tides of maddening passion roll,/And streams of rapture drown my soul./Now give me one more billing kiss,/Let your lips now repeat the bliss,/Endless kisses steal my breath,/No life can equal such a death.

[59] Timothy Morton, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Shelley* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 21.

strengthening the character of the female persona. A male writer could thus expose danger and fraudulent behaviour to female readers in a familiar, conversational, yet convincing, manner. British journalist and poet William Maginn is largely remembered for his provocative essays, reviews, and parodies, which he contributed to *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* for more than twenty years, usually under pseudonyms or anonymously. His earliest works were published in a local (Cork) satirical paper, *The Freeholder*, until about 1818 when he began sending contributions to London and Edinburgh using 'a remarkable variety of pseudonyms'.[60] One particular very long letter by Maginn was titled 'Death in the Pot', written as from an elderly gentlewoman, Mrs Susanna Trollope, to Mr Christopher North (pseudonym of John Wilson) in *Blackwood's Magazine*, March 1820. It was a response to *Blackwood's* review (February 1820) of a book written by Frederick Accum, Professor of Chemistry at the Surrey Institution. Accum had published a *Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons*, which presented an alarming account of the adulteration of common household articles and foodstuffs, a significant matter for moral and social concern.[61]

The letter written by Maginn under the pseudonym Susanna Trollope describes a breakfast visit from a local distinguished chemist, known by the name of 'Death in the Pot'. He briefly examined all of Mrs Trollope's drinks and foods and declared that they were contaminated with poisonous substances. Brewer, wine-merchant, confectioner, grocer, and butcher, were all conspiring against her. Mrs Trollope, who had previously been in good health, felt increasingly ill with each discovery of poison. The situation was aggravated by the repeated observation, 'Mrs. Trollope, you are poisoned!' She retired to her bed, vowing to eat and drink no more,

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[60] D. E. Latané, Jr., 'Maginn, William (1794-1842)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-17784 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[61] Dr Shelton Mackenzie, ed., 'Death in the Pot', *Odoherty Papers by the late William Maginn, LL.D.* (New York: Redfield, 1855), 41. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/odohertypapers00mackgoog (last accessed 20 March 2018). The review of Accum's book was titled 'There is Death in the Pot: 2 Kings – chap. vi., verse 11'.

Judith L. Fisher, 'Tea and Food Adulteration, 1834-75', *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, ed., Dino Franco Felluga, extension of *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*. http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=judith-l-fisher-tea-and-food-adulteration-1834-75 (last accessed 20 March 2018). Although Accum is believed to have created awareness of food adulteration, selling 1000 volumes of the first edition of his book within a month, his work was discredited because he was detected in the act of cutting out pages from valuable books in the British Museum, to save the trouble of transcribing them. Accum was indicted in 1821 by the Managers of the Royal Institution for mutilating books, and only escaped trial in a criminal court by returning to his native Germany where he died.

but to die in peace. 'I am waxing weaker and weaker – so farewell! Bewildering indeed has been the destiny of … Susanna Trollope', she concluded. A postscript to the letter read: 'I have opened my mistress's letter to add, that she died this evening about a quarter past eight, in excruciating torments', signed by the maid, 'Sally Rogers', another of Maginn's female pseudonyms.[62] His humorous letter served to unsettle women, alerting them to the literature of fraudsters and the dangers of contaminated foodstuffs.

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863). William Makepeace Thackeray was born in Calcutta, the only child of a British civil servant of the East India Company. When his father died, five-year-old Thackeray was sent home to England for his education, first at Charterhouse where he suffered canings and other abuse, then at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1821 his mother, who had remained in India, returned to England with her second husband. Thackeray's unusual childhood, abuse and bullying at the Charterhouse School, careful observation of society, and an uncanny insight into the complexities of women, all provided him with a wealth of material for humorous and satirical pieces. He experienced the malice of his mother-in-law, 'a cruel virago', the loving support of his own mother, and the kindness of his cousin, Mary Graham Carmichael. This created in Thackeray a deep understanding of women's capacities for cruelty, devotion, generosity, and demands.[63]

In the 1830s and 1840s it was customary for a 'gentlemanly' writer to insulate himself under a pen name from 'the notoriety of professional writing', just as women writers were shielded by a pseudonym from sexist criticism by the literary establishment.[64] Through the use of pseudonyms Thackeray developed an astonishing array of male and female narrative voices to make a character's point. While an undergraduate at Cambridge, he contributed several letters to the newly established (and short-lived) weekly periodical, *The Snob* (1829), as Dorothea Julia Ramsbottom – the same pseudonym used by Theodore Edward Hook in 'The Ramsbottom Letters'. Thackeray carefully copied Hook's style, with the same profusion of misspellings and malapropisms: 'Dear Sir, – I was surprised to see my name in Mr. Bull's paper [*John Bull*] for I give you my word I have not written a syllabub to him

[62] Mackenzie, 'Death in the Pot', 60.

[63] Peter L. Shillingsburg, 'Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811-1863)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27155 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[64] Lisa Jadwin, 'The Seductiveness of Female Duplicity in Vanity Fair', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* 32, no.4, (Autumn 1992), 669.

since I came to reside here, that I might enjoy the satiety of the literary and learned world'.[65] It was most unusual for two authors to use the same pseudonym at the same time.

From the end of 1840 until *Vanity Fair* (1847-1848), Thackeray wrote three books and about 500 magazine pieces, all under (often absurd) pseudonyms, such as Boldomero Espartero, Charles Yellowplush, Esq., Growley Byles, and George Fitz-boodle. He also contributed poems, sketches, and humorous articles to *Punch*, *Fraser's Magazine*, and *The Morning Chronicle*, using at least forty pseudonyms including the female names The Honorable Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs, Lady Nimrod, A Lady of Fashion, Dolly Duster, and Miss Tickletoby. Departing from current literary conventions, Thackeray sometimes created immoral female characters that succeeded in their evil ways and triumphed over good.[66] He satirised snobbery, the institution of marriage, and military prowess, and was particularly critical of the upper classes. He exposed their pretentious behaviour through the use of pseudonyms. For instance, under the female pseudonym Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs (used on several occasions) he protested against the way that auctioneers falsely advertised houses that were situated in 'common neighbourhoods' as being in 'aristocratic districts'.[67]

Thackeray was well known to editors and his fellow writers but not to the general public, despite his intellectual genius. It was largely because of his many pseudonyms and use of anonymity that his stories attracted little attention from his readers.[68] Despairing that the merits of his work had not been recognised, Thackeray wrote: 'Poor fellows of the pen and pencil! We must live. The public likes light literature, and we write it. Here am I writing magazine jokes and follies, and why? Because the public likes such, and will purchase no other'.[69] The appearance of *Vanity Fair* (1847), the first work to bear his own name (apart from 'such unimportant trifles' as *Captain Rook and Mr. Pigeon*, *The Fashionable Authoress*, and *Going to see a man hanged*), drew a clear line in Thackeray's literary career,

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[65] William Makepeace Thackeray, *Burlesques, from Cornhill to Grand Cairo, Including Juvenilia* [1829 –] (Cosimo Classics: New York, 2005), 394.

[66] In *Vanity Fair* Thackeray created the fascinating but immoral character, Becky Sharp.

[67] M. H. Spielman, *The Hitherto Unidentified Contributions of W.M. Thackeray to "Punch"; with a Complete and Authoritative Bibliography from 1843 to 1848* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1900), 163.

[68] Lewis Melville, *William Makepeace Thackeray: A Biography Including Hitherto Uncollected Letters & Speeches & a Bibliography of 1300 Items* (London: John Lane, 1910), 187. Internet Archive, September 2006. http://www.archive.org/stream/williammakepeace01melv (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[69] Ibid., 191.

between witty, but unrecognised, writer for magazines, and successful novelist.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). In the United States, vernacular humour was especially common in letters and stories, mimicking the speech patterns of the lower classes and common folk.[70] Male writers and journalists often employed female pseudonyms in memoirs and travelogues, articles and letters. They presented figures of 'coarse-or ridiculous-looking' women in order to parody female attempts to challenge social stereotypes, and so draw attention to social wrongs, or make personal observations on current affairs.[71] Even future president Abraham Lincoln used a female pseudonym on an amusing but provocative letter. In 1842 he signed his name 'Rebecca' on the second of a series of letters in the *Sangamo Journal,* satirising James Shields, auditor of the state of Illinois. A taxpaying widow, 'Rebecca' from the 'Lost Township' was purportedly the author of the letters. She was outraged by unjust measures initiated by the state auditor and his mismanagement of the banks and currency.[72]

The first and third 'Rebecca' letters were after the style of Josh Billings, but the second, which Lincoln admitted writing, specifically made Shields the butt of ridicule, biting satire, and insulting language.[73] In fun, Mary Todd (later married to Lincoln) and her friend, Julia Jayne, continued the correspondence with a fourth letter containing a marriage proposal to Shields. This letter was also signed 'Rebecca' and was followed by a light-hearted poem, signed 'Cathleen', to celebrate Shields's acceptance of the proposal.

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[70] Jane Turner Censer, 'Mary Bayard Clarke's Plain-Folk Humor: Writing Women into the Literature and Politics of Reconstruction', *The Journal of Southern History* 76, no.2 (May 2010), 241+. http://www.questia.com/read/1G1-226821399/mary-bayard-clarke-s-plain-folk-humor-writing-women (last accessed 28 March 2018).

[71] Nina Silber and Catherine Clinton, eds., *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 173.

[72] Paul R. Petersen and David W. Jackson, *Lost Souls of the Lost Township* (Kansas City, MO: The Orderly Rat Pack, 2011), 13-14. 'The Lost Township' was Township 48, Range 32, a large area of Jackson County, Missouri. Various stories explain why this area was not surveyed with the rest of the countryside – it was considered worthless because of hard, infertile soil and dense wilderness, the surveyor was drunk and lost his hat and notes, his compass would not work because of great magnetic force, a wild sow destroyed his notes, a goat prevented the survey, etc. Whatever the reason, the land was overlooked when the other townships were offered for sale, so people squatted there until it was surveyed and the land sold in 1843.

Shields, a Democrat, bore the brunt of the people's discontent when he refused to honour the paper currency of the state bank after its failure in February 1842, although the order was authorised by the governor and treasurer of Illinois. It led to an economic crisis in the state.

[73] Henry Ketcham, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Perkins Book Company, 1901), 91. Josh Billings was the pseudonym of American humorist and lecturer Henry Wheeler Shaw (1818-1885). He wrote informally with common-sense wisdom, often using eccentric phonetic spelling.

Roy Basler, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing, 1946), 155.

Shields was so incensed by the letters and the public's gleeful reaction to them that he demanded the name of the author from the editor. To protect Mary Todd, Lincoln assumed full responsibility for all of the letters and was subsequently challenged by Shields to a duel. Lincoln exercised his right as the challenged party and named cavalry broadswords 'of the largest size' as his weapons of choice. The duel was aborted after last-minute negotiations requiring Lincoln to formally apologise and state publicly that he wrote the letters for political effect. Lincoln continued to contribute to the *Journal* but allegedly refrained from the use of pseudonymous or anonymous letters to ridicule another person. All of his future public statements and recorded writings were free of insulting remarks.[74]

Benjamin Penhallow Shillaber (1814-1890). When journalist Benjamin Shillaber moved to Boston from his hometown of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, his childhood memories formed the core of his writings. He first caught the public's imagination in 1847 with a short satirical piece in the *Boston Post* about the scatter-brained Mrs Ruth Partington and her heroic struggle to keep back the rising tides of the Atlantic Ocean with a mop. She was a 'country bumpkin in the city', whose provincial dialect was interlaced with amusing malapropisms.[75] Shillaber wrote the piece while his superior was away and followed up with other articles; according to 'Mrs P.', the writer's fame just 'gained a memento that could not be checked'.[76] Admiring her first daguerreotype, Mrs P. noted that: 'All the cemetery of the features, and cap-strings, and specs, is brought out as nateral as if from a painter's palate'.[77] Once, when a shopkeeper asked how she liked the bustle of Boston, Mrs Partington replied that they were so awkward to wear 'when they get slipped on one side'. 'I mean', broke in the shopkeeper, 'the bustle and confusion of the streets'. 'O', said Mrs. P., 'that is quite *another thing!*' and immediately left the store.[78]

With the foundation of *The Carpet Bag* (1851–53), the first humour magazine

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[74] Robert S. Harper, *Lincoln and the Press* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), 6.

[75] J. Dennis Robinson, 'Inside the Comic Carpet Bag: History of American Humor', *Seacoast History* (2005). http://www.seacoastnh.com/inside-the-comic-carpet-bag/ (last accessed 22 March 2018).

[76] 'Mrs. Partington Dead: Benjamin Shillaber Passes Away at his Home in Chelsea', *The New York Times* (26 November 1890). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9801E6DE1E3BE533A25755C2A9679D94619ED7CF (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[77] Benjamin Penhallow Shillaber, ed., *Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington, and Others of the Family* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1858), 250. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/lifeandsayingsm02shilgoog (last accessed 20 March 2018).

[78] Ibid., 326.

in the United States, Shillaber contributed to the new school of American humour.[79] In 1854 he wrote *Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington*, and listed himself as editor – the first of five books featuring Mrs P., who was also a character in some of his poems. The humour employed by Mrs Partington, female counterpart to male comic figures such as Jack Downing and Sam Slick, reflected Shillaber's early New Hampshire country innocence, which he retained throughout his life in the big city.[80] Shillaber maintained that comedy was simply intended to make people laugh – it was created 'to uplift, not put down'.[81]

L(yman) Frank Baum (1856-1919). From 25 January 1890 to 8 February 1891, some years before his career as a children's author, L. Frank Baum wrote a satirical weekly column titled 'Our Landlady', for his South Dakota newspaper *The Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer*. The landlady of the title was an uneducated widow and busybody, Sairy Ann Bilkins, who ran a fictitious boarding house in Aberdeen. Throughout forty-eight instalments she commented on dozens of political and social problems facing the new state of South Dakota, and with three of her boarders she discussed personalities and issues that were important to Aberdeen life. This type of column allowed an author to present socially subversive characters through satirical writings, in order to expose all kinds of foolishness and even bring about genuine reform.

Baum used Mrs Bilkins as a foil for his own views and opinions, particularly those on the prohibition law and the struggle for women's suffrage, which he strongly favoured. Through his female persona, he commented on other topics that interested him, such as flying machines, horseless carriages, and electric blankets. In 1847 Benjamin Shillaber had created a similar character with his Mrs Partington, whose humour usually depended on her malapropisms. And, famously, back in 1722 a middle-aged widow, Mrs Silence Dogood, wrote a series of letters in *The New England Courant* commenting satirically on different aspects of life in colonial

[79] Robinson, 'Inside the Comic Carpet Bag'. *The Carpet Bag* made literary history in 1852 with a short piece signed with the initials S.L.C. It was the earliest known publication by a young Samuel Longhorn Clemens (Mark Twain).

[80] Daniel S. Burt, ed., *The Chronology of American Literature: America's Literary Achievements from the Colonial Era to Modern Times* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2004), 200. Other popular U.S. humorists were Seba Smith (1792–1868) and Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865). Smith's *Letters of Major Jack Downing* appeared in 1830; he then began to contribute a series of political articles in the New England dialect to the papers of Portland, Maine. These illustrated the peculiarities of New England speech and manners. In 1835 Haliburton began the series of short sketches from which emerged one of the most famous of the early Yankee characters, Sam Slick the Clockmaker.

[81] Robinson, 'Inside the Comic Carpet Bag'.

America. This was the first of a number of pseudonyms invented by Benjamin Franklin. According to Franklin, the journalistic mask of a pseudonym was a comic device tailored to conditions and occasion. It functioned to separate the real author from his, often serious, message, thus making it easier for the reader to accept advice without direct confrontation with the author.[82]

Edward Harold Begbie (1871-1929), J. Stafford Ransome (1860-1931), and M. H. Temple (fl. 1902). At the close of the nineteenth century, Lewis Carroll's Alice stories were a perfect target for parody, reflecting British frustration and anger at the government's inability to resolve the Boer War conflict. Under the female pseudonym Caroline Lewis, British authors Edward Begbie, J. Stafford Ransome, and M. H. Temple conspired to create two political parodies based on Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*. Their books were entitled *Clara in Blunderland* (1902) and *Lost in Blunderland: The further adventures of Clara* (1903). These novels dealt amusingly with Britain's political leadership at the time of the Boer War, and characters from the 'Alice' books were based on several prominent politicians: Arthur Balfour, Leader of the House of Commons is Clara (Alice's counterpart), Lord Salisbury is the Duchess, Joseph Chamberlain is the Red Queen, Henry Campbell-Bannerman is Crumpty-Bumpty, Sir William Harcourt is the Walrus, Lord Rosebery is the Dalmeny Cat, and Winston Churchill is the Caterpillar.[83]

(3) Instruction and Entertainment – Juvenile Literature

Early in the nineteenth century, religious groups were among the first suppliers of books written specifically to guide and educate children, through moral and cautionary tales. The skilfully crafted narratives allowed characters, and vicariously the readers, to learn from their own mistakes and experiments, rather than through strict adult supervision. In the 1820s and 1830s, an increasing amount of juvenile literature was specifically intended to entertain and provide enjoyment through fantasy and fairy tales. But the strong Evangelical movement instigated a resurgence of factual and moral tales. From the mid-nineteenth century, adventure

[82] James A. Sappenfield, *A Sweet Instruction: Franklin's Journalism as a Literary Apprenticeship* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 33.

[83] Michael Everson, *Clara in Blunderland: A political parody based on Lewis Carroll's Wonderland,* by Caroline Lewis (1902). https://www.evertype.com/books/clara.html (last accessed 21 March 2018). Also inspired by Lewis Carroll's *Alice,* New York-born author John Kendrick Bangs, together with Charles Raymond Macauley, wrote *Rollo in Emblemland* (1902) and *Alice in Blunderland, An Iridescent Dream* (1906).

and animal stories, fantasy tales, travelogue storybooks, and dime novels, for children of all ages, appeared in large numbers in Britain and the United States.

This section gives examples of two British (George Mogridge and Richard Hengist Horne) and four American men (James Fenimore Cooper, Frank Stanislaus Finn, John Howard Jewett, and James Otis Kaler) who wrote children's literature under a female pseudonym.

George Mogridge (1787-1854). Britain's Evangelical revival early in the nineteenth century generated a profusion of religious tales for children, many published and distributed by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge or the Religious Tract Society (RTS). George Mogridge, best known as Old Humphrey, was a prolific writer, producing numerous tracts, stories, and children's books for the RTS, under male and female pseudonyms that he varied to suit his purpose. As a young man, Mogridge submitted articles to the provincial journals of Birmingham under the pseudonym Jeremy Jaunt, urging health reforms, structural improvements in the town, and the abolition of slavery.[84]

At the age of twenty-four, he went into partnership in the japanning trade with his elder brother.[85] However, by 1826, bankrupt and with his brother retired, Mogridge tentatively began a career as a writer under the pseudonym X.Y.Z. His works comprised religious tracts, ballads, and didactic books for children, all suited to the tastes and needs of the working classes, and 'free from all that would injure the mind or debase the affections'.[86] The first of his many tracts, 'History of Thomas Brown; or, the Sabbath-breaker reclaimed' (c.1814), was written, under the pseudonym O.O.O., to counteract the influence of 'objectionable and irreligious' publications circulating amongst the lower classes.[87] In 1829 he anonymously wrote a play, *The Juvenile Culprits*, to instruct children on the consequences of cruelty to animals.

Mogridge produced over 200 publications under more than twenty pseudonyms as well as his own name. He introduced several elderly female personae

[84] Mogridge's first appearance in print was a poem in a local newspaper commemorating the erection of Nelson's statue after the Battle of Trafalgar (1805).

[85] A japanner produces articles (furniture, screens, etc.) in a Japanese style, decorated with an enamel-like varnish containing asphalt that imparts a black gloss to metal objects to imitate lacquer on wood.

[86] E. S. P. Haynes, 'A Memoir of "Old Humphrey"', *Personalia* (London: Selwyn & Blount, 1918), 70.

[87] Charles Williams, *George Mogridge: His Life, Character, and Writings* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856), 174. Internet Archive. http://archive.org/stream/georgemogridgeh00willgoog (last accessed 21 March 2018). Mogridge wrote early journal articles as Jeremy Jaunt.

into his repertoire of children's authors, with names that exude authority, wisdom, and trust – Aunt Newbury, Grandmamma Gilbert, and Aunt Upton. Personae with such intimate pseudonyms provided a means of endearing themselves to children. Mogridge believed that many youngsters preferred their grandmothers to their grandfathers and that stories were more convincing and authoritative from an older rather than a younger narrator because of the privilege of old age and accumulated wisdom and experiences.[88]

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851). James Fenimore Cooper, on reading a newly imported novel to his wife, declared that he could write a better book himself.[89] As an avid reader and admirer of Jane Austen, he began his literary career with a 'novel of morals and manners', *Precaution, or Prevention is Better than Cure* (1820). Although it was the perfect opportunity for Cooper to use a female pseudonym, he chose to publish anonymously in the manner of lady novelists concealing their sex. Its readers therefore assumed that the author was an English lady and expressed great surprise when publisher A. T. Goodrich eventually revealed the writer's true identity.[90] *Precaution*'s favourable reception inspired Cooper to write further works under his own name, launching his career as a highly productive author.[91]

In 1821, afflicted with writer's block whilst creating his first best-selling novel, *The Spy,* Cooper commenced a series of five cautionary stories for adolescent girls, emulating Amelia Opie's popular moral tales. The book, originally advertised as 'American Tales, by a Lady', comprised the stories 'Imagination', 'Heart', 'Matter', 'Manner', and 'Matter and Manner'. However, Cooper's interest in the tales waned as he devoted himself to completing *The Spy* (1821).[92] Publisher Charles Wiley, in financial strife, was anxious to publish the promised series of stories. As 'a gesture of friendship' Cooper gave Wiley the two completed tales, 'Imagination' and 'Heart', on the condition that the author's identity be concealed.[93] When the book was finally published in 1823 as *Tales for Fifteen: Or Imagination and Heart*, the title

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[88] Eriko Ogihara-Schuck, 'From Cane to Chair', *Alive and Kicking at All Ages: Cultural Constructions of Health and Life Course Identity*, Ulla Kriebernegg, Roberta Maierhofer, and Barbara Ratzenböck, eds. (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript-Verlag, 2014), 304.

[89] Mary E. Phillips, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York: John Lane Company, 1913), 77.

[90] Ibid.

[91] James Fenimore Cooper was best known for his five 'Leatherstocking' novels: *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841).

[92] James Franklin Beard, 'Introduction', *Tales for Fifteen (1823) by James Fenimore Cooper* (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1959), iv.

[93] Ibid., vi.

page attributed the two completed tales to 'Jane Morgan'. The change in title and the female pseudonym reflected the target audience of impressionable teenage girls. Under the pseudonym Jane Morgan, Cooper wrote in the preface:

> When the author of these little tales commenced them, it was her intention to form a short series of such stories as, it was hoped, might not be entirely without moral advantage … They are intended for the perusal of young women, at that tender age when … their minds are least prepared by reason and experience to contend with their passions.[94]

Richard Hengist Horne (1803-1884). By the mid-nineteenth century, children's literature was gradually evolving from strict religious instruction, such as that of the RTS, to enjoyable, entertaining stories. Richard Horne was best known as a novelist, poet, dramatist and journalist. But in 1846, as relief from his more serious works, he published several entertaining, imaginative children's stories, some under the female pseudonym Mrs. Fairstar. These were titled *Memoirs of a London Doll*, *Written by Herself* (1846) and *The Doll and Her Friends: or Memoirs of the Lady Seraphina.* The former is a mock autobiography from the perspectives of the doll, Maria Poppet, the different children who owned her, and the children's parents. It provides a detailed commentary on various aspects of London life according to the social status and interests of the doll's 'little mammas'. In 1841 Horne had participated in a government inquiry into the employment of children in mines and factories, and written a lengthy report on the heartbreaking findings. He thus intended his stories to benefit not only his friends' educated children, but also those less fortunate boys and girls whose conditions he well understood.[95]

Frank Stanislaus Finn (c.1830-c.1898). Dime novelist Frank Finn began an acting career in 1857 but, after several years on stage, loss of hearing forced him to retire and take up writing. He wrote dialogues for *Our Boys and Girls* as early as 1868, many short sketches and scripts for Beadle in the 1870s, and one serial published in the *Saturday Journal* in 1871. He was possibly best known for his boys' stories about circus life in the 1860s and 1870s.[96] As an active 'puzzler', during the 1870s he simultaneously edited the puzzle departments of four different periodicals

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[94] Jane Morgan, *Tales for Fifteen: or Imagination and Heart* (New York: C. Wiley, 1823), iiv.

[95] Lynn M. Zott, ed., 'Richard Hengist Horne – Introduction', *Nineteenth-Century Literary Criticism* 127, Gale Cengage (2003), eNotes.com. https://www.enotes.com/topics/richard-hengist-horne (last accessed 13 July 2018).

[96] Albert Johannsen, 'Finn, Frank S.', *The House of Beadle & Adams Online – The Authors and Their Novels*. http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/finn_frank.html (accessed 13 March 2018).

for juveniles – one in Maine, two in Massachusetts, and one in Philadelphia. However, between 1870 and 1882, frequent inspirational articles (or 'sermonettes') for a young female audience appeared under the pseudonym Eve Lawless on the editorial pages of the *Saturday Journal*.[97]

Two notes in the *Saturday Journal* suggested that the name was a pseudonym: in No. 61 (13 May 1871) the 'Correspondents' Column' reported that 'Eve Lawless is – Eve Lawless', indicating that the editors wished to conceal the author's true name. And in No. 549 (18 September 1880) the same column stated that 'Eve Lawless is not the person you indicate', also implying a pseudonym. Editors and correspondents deduced, by matching addresses and dates, that they were one and the same person. Lawless's address was Greenwood, Maine, and in the summer of 1879 it was Nashua, New Hampshire. Both places were also homes of Frank S. Finn, suggesting that the female pseudonym Eve Lawless belonged to him. The last mention of Finn's name was in 1898 when he was in Boston.[98] Although it is not clear why Finn chose to write under a female pseudonym, it is likely that he wished to create a new and unrecognisable identity to write in a feminine genre and provide moral inspiration to young women.

(John) Howard Jewett (1843-1925). Towards the end of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth, fantasy tales and animal stories for children grew increasingly popular in Britain and the United States. Many authors, such as American publisher and poet Howard Jewett, wrote entertaining stories for their own young children. Jewett originally created the 'Bunny Stories' for his daughter, Sheila, under the female pseudonym Hannah Warner. They were first serialised in 1889-1890 in *St Nicholas: Scribner's Illustrated Magazine For Girls and Boys*, then published in 1900 as a Christmas book, *More Bunny Stories: For Young People*. It was advertised in *Brooklyn Life* (24 November 1900) with the promise that: 'There are many evening hours of story-telling which delightfully recall the atmosphere of the days when grandmothers were in fashion'. Jewett's female pseudonym was meant to appeal not only to young children but also to mothers and grandmothers who would buy the book and read it to children at bedtime.[99]

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[97] Albert Johannsen, 'Eve Lawless', *The House of Beadle & Adams Online – The Authors and Their Novels*. http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/lawless_eve.html (last accessed 13 March 2018). Greenwood, Maine, was given as the address for Eve Lawless in a letter in *The Young New Yorker*, No. 10, 27 January 1879, 4.

[98] Ibid.

[99] 'Xmas Books For Children', *Brooklyn Life* (New York, 24 November 1900), ii.

James Otis Kaler (1848-1912). The works of journalist and author James Kaler typified the spirit of the late-nineteenth century, combining in them national pride, moralism, and individualism, qualities learnt from his own early experiences. Kaler left home at the age of thirteen to become a reporter and when he was only sixteen he was providing news coverage of Civil War battles and events. Years later, in 1896, he anonymously published *The Story of American Heroism,* a collection of letters that he received from Congressional Medal of Honour Winners. However, he is best known for his first children's book, *Toby Tyler; or, Ten Weeks with a Circus* (1880), which was written under his most famous pseudonym, James Otis, and serialised in *Harper's Young People*. Following its success, Kaler went on to write over 175 juvenile novels, many based on American history, as well as serials for Street & Smith, Norman L. Munro, and Munsey. Kaler's boys did not generally acquire wealth and fame as Horatio Alger's heroes did, but recognised the value of a simple life of honesty and hard work.

Possibly in partnership with his wife Amy, Kaler at the age of fifty-eight authored ten stories for very young readers, including *Gray Goose's Story* and *Mouser Cats' Story*. They were published as 'Aunt Amy's Animal Stories' (1906) under the female pseudonym Amy Prentice. Some time earlier Kaler had written dime novels using the female pseudonyms Ella Montez Washburn and Adah M. Howard to supplement his income; he also wrote under the male pseudonyms Walter Morris, Lt. James K. Orton, and Harry Prentice. Early in the twentieth century, men usually wrote children's stories under female pseudonyms for commercial reasons but Kaler, who didn't marry until 1898, was financially secure (in his position as superintendent of schools) and most likely wrote his animal tales under a female pseudonym to entertain his own two young sons, Otis and Stephen. Kaler published his animal stories under the more appropriate female pseudonym simply to impart pleasure and amusement to very young children.

(4) Effecting Genuine Social Reform

Many of nineteenth-century Britain's major social problems stemmed from the creation of an urban working class, and were first addressed in works of fiction by middle-class women. Elizabeth Gaskell was undoubtedly the most famous of these women writers. Her first novel (published anonymously) was *Mary Barton: A Tale of*

http://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/83204609 (accessed 28 March 2018).

Manchester Life (1848). It enabled middle-class readers to see the domestic virtues of the poor and to feel the suffering of people from whom they were in reality insulated by class and economic status. Across the Atlantic, slavery was the major socio-political concern, and abolitionism had been fuelled into a powerful political movement by evangelical fervour. Disturbed by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and like many novels concerned with social issues in Britain, it was an instant success. Not only did it stir up sympathy but it also contributed to the abolition of slavery.[100] In a similar manner, male authors wrote under a female pseudonym to expose social scandals and injustices of particular concern to women, exemplified in this section by two British men (Frederick Robinson and Matthew Higgins) who endeavoured to bring about genuine social reform.

Frederick William Robinson (1830-1901). In the 1860s, under the female pseudonym 'A Prison Matron', Frederick Robinson wrote a series of three novels that highlighted the low salaries and exploitation of prison matrons. The first of the series was *Female Life in Prison, by a Prison Matron* (1862), followed by *Memoirs of Jane Cameron, Female Convict* (1863), and *Prison Characters Drawn from Life* (1866), all written under the female pseudonym of 'A Prison Matron'. According to Dr Anne Schwan: 'In celebrating the Matron's professional knowledge, skill, and experience, Robinson's writing echoed prior feminist demands to increase employment for women with (at least some) education, which has also been endorsed by newspapers such as the *Times*'.[101]

The novels were based on actual prison records and were so realistic that they were considered authentic documentaries of British social history; they actually inspired prison reform.[102] William Courtney notes that Robinson's 'highest triumph in imposing upon the unwary is the fact that Halkett and Laing were misled into assigning these works to the expert in prison life, Mary Carpenter'.[103] Carpenter herself consulted the Prison Matron's narratives for examples to support her own

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[100] David S. Reynolds, *Mightier Than the Sword: Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Battle for America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2011), xii.

[101] Anne Schwan, *Convict Voices: Women, Class, and Writing about Prison in Nineteenth-Century England* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2014), 58.

[102] G. Le G. Norgate, 'Robinson, Frederick William (1830-1901)', rev. Sayoni Basu, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35791 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[103] Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature,* 105. Halkett and Laing were nineteenth-century librarians responsible for the *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*.

arguments and, assuming that they were authentic accounts, she frequently referred to them in *Our Convicts* (1864).[104] In Carpenter's words, 'The Prison Matron revealed secrets of the prison-house of which none but a resident in that abode of horrors could have been possessed'.[105]

The use of a female pseudonym was part of Robinson's 'narrative and marketing strategies': presenting a Prison Matron as the alleged author strengthened the impression of authenticity and captured the attention of primarily middle- and upper-class readers, who were not only concerned with social issues but also anticipated entertaining accounts (of possible same-sex romance) in the context of an all-female prison.[106] Robinson's Prison Matron followed the emerging literary trend (in the late 1850s and 1860s) of the female detective in fiction, where women assumed the role of commentator and investigator rather than victim or offender. Robinson gave voice to incarcerated women through the subjective use of a female pseudonym, and was able to profit from their narratives through the sale of his books.

Matthew James Higgins (1810-1868). Journalist Matthew Higgins, an imposing man at 6'8" (203cm), was a prominent social figure and member of many metropolitan societies and clubs, and was particularly active on the famine relief committee in Ireland. Higgins wrote frequently for *The Times*, the *Edinburgh Review*, *Cornhill Magazine,* and other leading periodicals under a range of pseudonyms, especially Jacob Omnium. He took this pseudonym from his first published article, *Jacob Omnium, the Merchant Prince*, a satire on commercial dishonesty, printed in the *New Monthly Magazine* (1845).[107] Higgins wrote to *The Times* under various pseudonyms, such as Civilian, Paterfamilias, Mother of Six, and A Thirsty Soul.[108] These pseudonyms were seen more as 'flags rather than disguises', marking an article for specific attention to expose all kinds of poor administration and social cruelty. His letters always commanded attention and exposed many abuses, as diverse as the treatment of sufferers after the Irish famine and the difficulties of the sugar-producing colonies.

After a disagreement 'about military matters' in 1863, his connection with

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[104] Schwan, *Convict Voices,* 43.

[105] Mary Carpenter, *Our Convicts*, (London: Longman, 1864), 6.

[106] Schwan, *Convict Voices*, 43.

[107] Adrian Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms: 13,000 Assumed Names and Their Origins*, 5th ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 360.

[108] H. C. G. Matthew, 'Higgins, Matthew James (1810-1868), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13234/version/0?mediaType=Article (last accessed 29 March 2018).

The Times was over but his contributions continued to appear in the *Cornhill Magazine* (edited by his friend Thackeray) as well as the *Pall Mall Gazette*.[109] He particularly enjoyed contributing to the 'Occasional Notes' and 'Correspondence' columns in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Sometimes he wrote a letter under the pseudonym 'A Mother of Six', and answered it as 'A Father of Four'. According to Lady Ritchie (Thackeray's daughter): 'Army reform, school reform, social reform, all interested him, and it is curious to note with what just instinct he seemed to seize upon the problems of the hour and to suggest the possible remedies'.[110] Using the pseudonym Civilian he attacked the Horse Guards and the War Office, and under the pseudonyms Paterfamilias and West Londoner he forced inquiry into the management and condition of the public school system. He also used a number of female pseudonyms – A Belgravian Mother, Materfamilias, A Widow, A Housekeeper, and Rose du Barri – to underline social scandals and injustices of particular concern to women.

(5) Exposing Absurdity

Satire 'keeps the public conscience alert, it exposes absurdity for what it is and makes those inclined to adopt foolish or tasteless fashions aware that they are ridiculous'.[111] Late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century authors often wrote in a satirical mode, using a female pseudonym to highlight current examples of human weakness, foolishness, or insincerity. This section provides examples of three British writers (Charles Wallwyn Radcliffe Cooke, Desmond Francis Talbot Coke, and Thomas Stearns Eliot) and one American (Arthur Davison Ficke) who wrote satire, parody, humour, and hoaxes under a female pseudonym. Their intention was to hold current vices or affectations up to ridicule, and trigger social or political change by criticising the authorities.

Charles Wallwyn Radcliffe Cooke (1841-1911). Politician Charles Cooke established a reputation at Cambridge University as a parodist, writing satire that exposed social absurdities from a female point of view. Under the pseudonym

[109] J. W. Robertson Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette: of its first editor Frederick Greenwood and of its founder George Murray Smith* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 150. Higgins became a close friend of William Makepeace Thackeray after they enquired about each other's pseudonyms. Thackeray, also a tall man, told the story that he and Higgins went to a fair to see the giant, but the man at the door refused to take their money, remarking that they 'never charged the profession'.

[110] Lady (Anne Thackeray) Ritchie, *Blacksmith Papers* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1908), 207. Internet Archive. http://www.archive.org/details/blackstickpapers00ritc (last accessed 24 March 2018).

[111] George P. Landow, 'Satire', *The Victorian Web.* http://www.victorianweb.org/genre/satire.html (last accessed 21 March 2018).

Angelina Gushington he published a collection of entertaining essays called *Thoughts on Men and Things: A Series of Essays* (1867) and contributed sketches such as 'L'Exposition Universelle' and 'Hints Concerning the Boat Race' to the *Light Blue, a Cambridge University Magazine* (May 1868). In the preface to *Thoughts on Men and Things*, he (she) engages in playful banter around the choice of pseudonym and defends the honour of the family name of Gushington:

> There is nothing comic about my name. On the contrary, when one reflects that one might have been born a Smith, a Dobbs, or a Muggins, one feels quite thankful that one has been blessed with so euphonious a name as Gushington. And as for Angelina, can anything be sweeter?[112]

Press reviews were favourable.[113] *Bell's Weekly Messenger* (22 June 1867) observed that: 'They are clever satires upon the present state of society, full of wit and humour, and rich in the drollery of exposure of the many absurdities which rule the "Court, Camp, and Grove"'.[114] The *Observer* listed these absurdities as: 'croquet, woman's work, Christmas-tide, dancing, bishops doing penance, and other topics which possess a general interest, and upon which a lively and entertaining writer may construct a superstructure of pleasant, light, and gossiping literature'. *The Examiner* (15 June 1867) commented on the disguise afforded by the female pseudonym, with the use of the word 'his' suggesting that the author's identity was no secret:

> This lady is young, and partly affects simplicity. The conveying of shrewd sense, under the dainty mask of a young lady's affectation of being a little goose is a pleasant notion … Sometimes the young lady's style is rich with small femininities in strong caricature, now and then the writer, for half a page or so, almost forgets the assumed character, but, on the whole, not more than is good for the continuous reading of his book.[115]

Early in the twentieth century the canonical school story split into two main categories, one for children and one for adults. By far the largest group of readers

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[112] Angelina Gushington, *Thoughts on Men and Things: A Series of Essays*, (London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1867), vi-vii. http://www.archive.org/stream/thoughtsonmenan02gushgoog (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[113] The First Middlesex Artillery Volunteers, eds., 'Thoughts on Men and Things', *The Handspike: An Occasional Magazine* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1867). http://books.google.com/books?id=zjEFAAAAQAAJ&dq=the+handspike,+occasional+magazine&printsec=frontcover&source (last accessed 20 March 2018). All of these press reviews of *Thoughts on Men and Things* were published in the advertising section of *The Handspike.*

[114] 'Love rules the court, the camp, the grove, and men below, and the saints above, for love is heaven, and heaven is love' is a quote from the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel', by Sir Walter Scott, and used here as a reference to social activities of the elite.

[115] The First Middlesex Artillery Volunteers, eds., *The Handspike*.

comprised 'boys who had not and would never go to public school'.[116] For them the concept was an exciting substitute for the harsh reality of their own schools. With a naivety that was typical of children's fiction of the era, schoolboy stories depicted an idyllic environment where boys were free of parental restrictions, and virtue always triumphed. The adult stories, however, were 'more critical of school, more cynical, sardonic, subversive – also, in a sense, returning to the didactic as they criticised schooling'.[117] In this context British male writers often adopted a female pseudonym to question common assumptions about life in public schools by highlighting their absurdity.

Desmond Francis Talbot Coke (1879-1931). British novelist Desmond Coke, who wrote under his own name and also as Belinda Blinders, is remembered especially for his schoolboy stories. His best-known work was *The Bending of a Twig* (1906) based on memories of his schooldays at Shrewsbury School. Highly aware of the 'process of conditioned expectation' created by public-school fiction, Coke aimed 'to level destructive satire at the conventional school story, and on its ruins to erect a structure rather nearer to real life'.[118] Writing as a female author about boys' schools in Britain, Coke satirised the social construct of the schoolboy and female assumptions about public-school life.[119] Under his female pseudonym Belinda Blinders, Coke created an amusing parody of the book *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783) by Thomas Day.[120] He entitled it *Sandford of Merton: A Story of Oxford Life* (1903). He then continued the theme in *Sandford of the Smart Set* (1904), *Sandford of Merton and the Smart Set* (1909), *The Chaps of Harton; A Tale of Frolic,*

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[116] Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 18.

[117] Beverly Lyon Clark, *Regendering the School Story: Sassy Sissies and Tattling Tomboys* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 229.

[118] Desmond F. T. Coke, 'By Way of Explanation', *The Bending of a Twig*, 5th ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1907), i.

[119] Mortimer R. Proctor, *The English University Novel* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 7. Most authors of university novels had experienced a university education but very few of the major nineteenth-century novelists 'possessed the intimate knowledge of university life which must lie behind a university novel'. Scott and Stevenson studied at Edinburgh, Thackeray at Cambridge, and Charles Reade and Charles Dodgson went to Oxford. Of these five leading authors only two, Thackeray and Reade, introduced a university theme into their novels, suggesting that most novelists were not familiar enough with university life to write about it convincingly.

[120] Patrick Scott, 'Children's Literature, Chiefly from the Nineteenth Century' (1999), *Department of Rare Books and Special Collections,* University of South Carolina, http://www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/kidlit/kidlit/kidlit.html (last accessed 21 March 2018). *The History of Sandford and Merton* by the Oxford-educated lawyer Thomas Day (1748-1789) was one of the most influential and frequently reprinted early children's books. It tells the story of two boys, the rich Tommy Merton and the virtuous farmer's son Harry Sandford, to show how moral behaviour is rewarded and how children may be made virtuous by the wise reasoning of an adult mentor (in this case their tutor, the Rev. Mr Barlow).

Sport and Mystery at Public School (1913), and *The Nouveau Poor* (1921).

For the sake of parody, Coke functioned as a 'female impersonator' who was exposed as a man cross-dressing to write as a female author about a boys' school, whilst listing himself as editor on the title pages.[121] He purposely littered his books with misinformation – Belinda Blinders, a militant suffragist, misconstrued schoolboy language and norms to demonstrate how an outsider's comments on Oxford activities tended to be inaccurate and thus undermine the narrator's credibility. It is clear, from the insider humour, that Coke's book was written for an Oxford audience, who would appreciate the irony in Blinders' misinformation, such as 'college staircases having carpets, male students drinking cocoa, and bulldogs (university policemen) being so-called because they run fast'.[122] The narrator constantly warns about the moral dangers of Oxford life and, with frequent malapropisms, she not only parodies schools, school stories, and the construct of the schoolboy but, along with Coke's chosen pseudonym, 'Blinders', she also satirises the assumptions and ignorance of 'the presumed authoress'. The parody, therefore, is 'not so much by a woman as by a parody of one'.[123] As Proctor points out, the general formula of Oxford novels served some authors well but 'played tricks' on others, especially women (like Belinda Blinders) who drew on it for their descriptions of undergraduate life.[124]

T(homas) S(tearns) Eliot (1888-1965). T. S. Eliot used a female pseudonym for much the same reason as Coke did – to parody women who used effusive, over-exclamatory language. But in this case the women were admiring the beauty of wartime poetry whilst seemingly unaware of the atrocities of World War I. American-born Eliot was educated at Harvard, the Sorbonne, and Oxford, and moved to England permanently in 1914. From 1917 to 1919, while assistant editor of the London literary magazine *The Egoist*, he continued in full-time employment at Lloyds Bank, gave evening lectures, and wrote extensively for various journals and magazines. In 1917 he published his first book, *Prufrock and Other Observations,* printed by *The Egoist* and financed by Ezra and Dorothy Pound. Throughout his life, Eliot created 'different, temporary versions of himself': he suppressed his own strong authorial voice, by experimenting with costumes, accents, nicknames, pseudonyms,

[121] Clark, *Regendering the School Story*, 230.
[122] John Dougill, *Oxford in English Literature: the Making, and Undoing, of the 'English Athens'* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 123.
[123] Clark, *Regendering the School Story,* 232.
[124] Proctor, *The English University Novel*, 2.

and different handwriting styles.[125] When representing himself in print he used variations of his own name such as T. S. Eliot, T. Stearns Eliot, T.S.E., as well as T. S. Apteryx. Eliot resorted to an assortment of pseudonyms, including Possum, Crites, Gus Krunzsch, and Metoikos ('resident alien').[126]

In his position at *The Egoist* he was playing an increasingly influential role as poet and critic. His essays and 'iconoclastic' reviews were aimed at transforming the Victorian and Georgian ideals of artistic correctness that were permeating the literary world. His provocative, whimsical articles, as well as humorous letters, appeared under female pseudonyms such as Muriel A. Schwartz.[127] His column of fake readers' letters included one from Helen B. Trundlett of Batton, Kent, who was a Rupert Brooke fan. 'She' (Eliot) wrote:

> Brooke's early poems exhibit a youthful exuberance of passion, and an occasional coarseness of utterance, which offended finer tastes; but these were but dross which, as his last sonnets show, was purged away (if I may be permitted this word) in the fire of the Great Ordeal which is proving the well-spring of a Renaissance of English poetry.[128]

Although Eliot made several insulting references to Brooke in *The Egoist*, he was nevertheless mindful of the horrors of trench warfare, applauding British poets who faced the dreadful, sordid reality of war, and ridiculing those who failed to treat it seriously.[129] In this letter he was mocking Miss Trundlett's 'evasion of reality that shows itself in an inattention to language and an inattention to reality' without her even realising that she is speaking senseless nonsense. Eliot's stance against women's involvement in the literary world and his concerns about the influence of feminism are well documented, and further underlined by his use of a female pseudonym.[130]

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[125] Giovanni Cianci and Jason Harding, eds., *T. S. Eliot and the Concept of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 4.

[126] Richard Badenhausen, *T. S. Eliot and the Art of Collaboration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29.

[127] Craig Raine, *T. S. Eliot* New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 41.

[128] George Simmers, 'T. S. Eliot's Letter to "The Nation": A paper given at the American Modernism conference at Brookes University', September 2006, *Great War Fiction.* http://greatwarfiction.wordpress.com/tseliots-letter-to-the-nation/ (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[129] Ibid. Eliot's attitude to the horrors of trench warfare is evident in his letter to *The Nation* (23 June 1917).

[130] Leila Bellour, 'Misogyny, Masculinity, and Homoeroticism in T.S. Eliot's Critical Theories', *Yeats Eliot Review* 30, no.1-2 (Spring-Summer 2013). 'Eliot spells out his misogynous view of women and his disapproval of their penetration into the literary sphere … Eliot warns against the baleful influence of feminism. He aspires to obviate the peril of femininity and to make literature monopolized by men entirely'.

Harold Bloom, 'Introduction', *T.S. Eliot's The Waste Land*, updated ed. (New York: Chelsea House, 2006), 174. 'Eliot's homosocial literary relations were shadowed by a sometimes disguised

Arthur Davison Ficke (1883-1945). As mentioned above, pseudonyms sometimes assumed a playful nature to satirise sentimentality, insincerity, and affectation. In 1916, two American poets Arthur Ficke and Witter Bynner (1881-1961), who had been friends since their Harvard days, concocted a hoax to satirise pretentious new poetry movements such as Imagism and Vorticism.[131] They invented not only what they called 'the Spectrism movement', but also the poets who practised it. Whilst Bynner wrote in regular metre and rhyme under the male pseudonym Emanuel Morgan, Ficke wrote free verse under the female pseudonym Anne Knish and enunciated the basic principles of Spectrism in the introduction of their joint volume *Spectra: A Book of Poetic Experiments* (1916):

> In the first place, it speaks, to the mind, of that process of diffraction … It indicates our feeling that the theme of a poem is to be regarded as a prism … In its second sense, the term Spectric relates to the reflex vibrations of physical sight, and suggests the luminous appearance which is seen after exposure of the eye to intense light … In its third sense, Spectric connotes the overtones, adumbrations, or spectres which for the poet haunt all objects both of the seen and unseen world, those shadowy projections, sometimes grotesque, which, hovering around the real, give to the real its full ideal significance and its poetic worth.[132]

To make the movement more impressive to 'mere Americans', Bynner and Ficke decided on names that were 'of a foreign tinge'. Bynner's choice, Emanuel Morgan, was influenced by the suggestion of 'I hear Emmanuel Singing' and a sound that reflected the German word *Morgen*, creating an impression of 'morning song'. Ficke remembered seeing a recipe in a newspaper column for Jewish pastries called knishes, and settled on the name Anne Knish (a red-headed Hungarian beauty).[133] Their work appeared so authentic, with a male and a female poet contributing to the book, that the public and critics accepted Spectrism as a genuine movement. Realising that two poets did not make a movement, Ficke and Bynner approached an acquaintance, Marjorie Allen Seiffert (pseudonym Elijah Hay) about joining them.

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misogyny … In a letter of 1915, Eliot comments disparagingly on how women have taken over literature; in a letter of 1917, he refers to a literary gathering marred by the presence of too many women, and suggests that the men meet separately'.

[131] Glenn Hughes, *Imagism & The Imagists: A Study in Modern Poetry* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1972), 3, 34, 88. Imagism was an Anglo-American poetic movement of the early twentieth century, favouring precision of imagery and clear, sharp language, while rejecting the sentiment and discursiveness typical of much Romantic and Victorian verse. Vorticism was a short-lived British art movement of the same era; it was closely related to Futurism but diverged in the way it tried to capture movement in an image. Ezra Pound gave the name Vorticism to the movement in 1913.

[132] William Jay Smith, *The Spectra Hoax,* 2nd ed. (Ashland, OR: Story Line Press, 2000), 18.

[133] Smith, *The Spectra Hoax,* 30-31.

Mrs Seiffert had earlier experience in publishing hoax poems in *The New Yorker* under the pseudonym Angela Cypher, and proved to be an enthusiastic co-conspirator.[134] The trio continued to submit Spectric poems to several fashionable literary magazines such as *Poetry*, *The Little Review*, and *Others*, and were taken seriously by many of their contemporaries including William Carlos Williams.

Not everyone took the movement quite as seriously. In 1917 a group of students at the University of Wisconsin published a spoof of the Spectrists, with a manifesto written by Manual Organ and Nanne Pish outlining the artistic aims of the 'Ultra Violet School of Poetry'.[135] By 1918 gossip was circulating in society about the true identity of the Spectrists. Morgan, Knish, and Hay had entered into correspondence with many, but no one had actually met them. On 26 April 1918, during a public lecture a member of the audience challenged Bynner with the question: 'Is it not true, Mr Bynner, that you are Emanuel Morgan and that Arthur Davison Ficke is Anne Knish?' Bynner simply answered, 'Yes', and went on to relate for the first time the truth about *Spectra*.[136] Although they had been joking when they composed the verse, Bynner admitted that poems he wrote 'under the Morgan mask' were freer and more imaginative than his usual work, and Ficke believed that he too wrote some of his best poetry under the playful freedom afforded by his female pseudonym – 'the gleeful outpourings of their unrestrained, boyish selves'.[137]

(6) Imparting Useful Information – Advice Columns

With the emergence of New Journalism in the late-nineteenth century, magazine and newspaper columns articulated fresh ideas about the place of women in family life and their expanding role in society. Although the home was still considered the primary sphere of female activity, women's magazines stressed the more consumer-oriented role of women in the home and in the workforce.[138] Advertisements and essays combined traditional information on motherhood, relationships, and domesticity with new interests in women's fashion and activities beyond the home. The introduction of intimate design aspects, such as competitions and short, chatty articles, helped to create a 'feminised space' where women could

[134] Melissa Katsoulis, *Telling Tales: A History of Literary Hoaxes* (London: Constable, 2009), 288.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Smith, *The Spectra Hoax,* 29.
[137] Ibid., 58-59.
[138] Tiffany K. Wayne, *Women's Roles in Nineteenth-century America* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 184.

feel comfortable and relaxed. Below are examples of two men, one American (Edward Bok) and one British (Arnold Bennett), who imparted useful and sometimes intimate information to women readers under the guise of a female pseudonym.

Edward William Bok (1863-1930). As editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal,* Edward Bok recognised the commercial significance of an intimate connection between editorial staff and female readers, a connection he reinforced through the use of a female pseudonym. Bok grew up in a poor immigrant family in Brooklyn, New York, where he was working as an office boy for the Western Union Telegraph Company at the age of thirteen. He continued his education at night school and in 1886 founded the Bok Syndicate Press. His creation of a full page of reading material for women, as a regular newspaper feature, led to his editorship of *The Ladies' Home Journal* in Philadelphia in 1889, much to the amazement of his mother and the amusement of his friends.[139] Bok admitted that he had no intimate knowledge of women, nor did he have the slightest desire to know them better. He had no sister or other female confidantes apart from his mother, and the poverty of his boyhood days had not facilitated mingling with the opposite sex.[140] Nevertheless, Bok developed magazine sections to advise and inform women on a wide diversity of subjects, including women's suffrage, wildlife conservation, and public health, as well as cooking, cleaning, and needlework. During his time as editor, he transformed the *Journal* into a 'helping' magazine.

In 1890, Bok used the pseudonym Ruth Ashmore to establish a column for girls, addressing such intimate topics as courtship, marriage, and young motherhood:

> He had divined the fact that in thousands of cases the American mother was not the confidante of her daughter, and reasoned if an inviting human personality could be created on the printed page that would supply this lamentable lack of American family life, girls would flock to such a figure … He tried several writers, but in each case the particular touch that he sought for was lacking. It seemed so simple to him, and yet he could not translate it to others.[141]

Bok drafted an instalment of the kind of magazine section he had in mind – 'Side Talks with Girls', by Ruth Ashmead. It accidentally became attached to another manuscript intended for the composing room. When the superintendent of the

[139] Edward Bok, *The Americanization of Edward Bok: The Autobiography of a Dutch Boy Fifty Years After* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 167-168.
[140] Ibid., 168.
[141] Ibid., 169.

composing room expressed interest in Miss Ashmead's article, Bok changed the name on it to Ruth Ashmore and submitted the article for publication. As Bok was overwhelmed and deeply embarrassed by the feminine nature of the responses from readers, who naturally assumed that they were addressing a woman, he passed the responsibility of the Ruth Ashmore persona to a female member of staff. Mrs Isabel A. Mallon became Ruth Ashmore and conducted the department for the next sixteen years until her death, receiving 158,000 letters in that time.[142]

(Enoch) Arnold Bennett (1867-1931). Arnold Bennett, British novelist, playwright, essayist, critic, and journalist, was a prolific and highly successful author in a variety of genres. Despite a good academic record he left school at the age of sixteen to work with his solicitor father, and spent his time on rent collecting and other menial duties by day while studying, unsuccessfully, for matriculation by night. At the same time he submitted light journalistic articles on everyday topics to the *Staffordshire Sentinel.* In 1889 Bennett moved to London to take up a clerical position with solicitors Le Brasseur and Oakley. He began to write more seriously and had his first success with a story, 'A Letter Home', published in 1895 in *The Yellow Book.* Having given up legal work to concentrate on writing as a career, Bennett became assistant editor on the one-penny weekly journal, *Woman* (1890-1912), in 1894, and editor-in-chief two years later.[143]

Described as 'cheerful but conservative', *Woman* gained a reputation as an 'advanced' magazine aimed specifically at upper-middle-class women whilst repeatedly articulating 'domesticity as the natural expression of the female self'.[144] Its chatty tone, stress on personalities, illustrations, and dependence on advertising were among intimate, domestic devices that created 'a feminised space'.[145] But the most important factor in the feminisation of the magazine was the use of female editorial pseudonyms: a series of male editors, whose identity and gender were never revealed in the pages of *Woman*, shared in 'a kind of journalistic cross-dressing' by using a range of editorial names such as Marjorie, Marguerite, Barbara, Sal or Sal Volatile, Hermione, and 'Medica'. First names were a radical departure from the more formal social practice of the time. Bennett, representing himself as 'the only truly advanced woman on the staff', reviewed books and wrote general articles, fiction, advice

[142] Ibid., 171.
[143] *Woman* was founded and first edited by Fitzroy Gardiner in 1890.
[144] Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 129, 180.
[145] Ibid., 187.

columns, and short, informal items under female pseudonyms. He reviewed books under the name of 'Barbara', contributed to 'Town Talk' as 'Marjorie', and wrote short stories as 'Sal Volatile'.[146]

As part explanation for his use of female pseudonyms, Bennett wrote in his *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide* (1898):

> It is unlikely that men will ever seriously compete with women in the business of supplying the stuff which women as a sex are supposed to read. My own belief is that men could deal very capably with these subjects, or most of them, if they chose to assume the task; but there happens to be a superstition that such matters are beyond a man's scope; men accept the superstition and leave them alone. Hence the distinctive 'woman's sphere' in journalism.[147]

The unusual policy of *Woman* contradicted Bennett's claim that men, out of superstition, leave women's 'stuff' alone.[148] *Woman* published essays on all of the subjects in the 'woman's sphere' (fashion, cookery, domestic economy, furniture, grooming, and weddings), written by men using female pseudonyms. These essays might lead us to 'wonder whether the poor quality of some of these contributions was the work of women or a successful attempt of men to ape – or introduce – a "woman's style"'.[149] According to Bennett, even the more educated female readers did not seem interested in the more serious columns: 'My articles on new books were of so advanced a kind that they might … have ruined the paper – had they been read. Similarly with criticisms of drama … but they were not read'.[150] As Bennett consciously worked towards a feminisation of *Woman*, perhaps a lower standard of writing made women feel more comfortable in the belief that the contributors to the magazine were ordinary women like themselves. This no doubt increased *Woman*'s appeal to the average housewife, and in turn widened its readership.

It is most probable that the majority of *Woman*'s readers had not come across Bennett's *Guide* unless they were aspiring journalists. In it he pointed out that, taking

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146 Ibid., 126, 188, 189. Bennett also contributed seven 'Strange Stories of the Occult' as 'Sarah Volatile'.

147 E. A. Bennett, *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide* (London and New York: John Lane, 1898), 88.

148 Clotilde De Stasio, 'Arnold Bennett and Late-Victorian "Woman"', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 28, no.1 (Spring, 1995), 45. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20082820 (last accessed 21 March 2018). This is possibly the reason why Bennett introduced a column in July 1899 titled 'Household Notes By a Man' and signed by Ursa Major. Here he tackled some typical household topics from the viewpoint of a 'methodical bachelor'.

149 Marysa Demoor, *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in the* Athenaeum*, from Millicent Garrett Fawcett to Katherine Mansfield, 1870-1920* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 21.

150 Arnold Bennett, *The Savour of Life: Essays in Gusto* (London: Cassell & Co., 1928), 146-147.

all the subjects that interested women, it would be possible to show 'that women have failed in the treatment of [these subjects] to reach even a moderate standard of competence'.[151] Bennett was convinced that, because of poor training, the majority of women were unable to spell, punctuate, or use correct grammar. They failed to recognise that journalism was a business, and paid little attention to detail. His primary aim in writing the *Guide* was to discourage amateurism and foster in women a more proficient, disciplined approach to the serious, male-dominated profession of journalism.

(7) Deepening National Pride – Song Lyrics as Wartime Propaganda

Robert 'Bobo' King (born Robert Keiser, 1862-1932). In the 1910s, the sentimental ballads and waltzes of the late 1800s returned to the popular song market, with their recurring themes of nostalgia, sadness, and maternal anxiety. Even lullabies became part of the character of popular culture during the wartime years. Tin Pan Alley lyricist, 'Bobo' King began taking piano lessons at the age of six and as a young boy worked in Ditson's New York music store. Tin Pan Alley publisher Leo Feist soon hired him and by 1903 King had written his first hit pop song. He went on to compose, under female pseudonyms such as Mrs Ravenhall and Kathleen A. Roberts, in the feminine genre of nostalgic parlour songs of the late-nineteenth century. He also wrote under several male pseudonyms including Ed Haley, R. A. Wilson, Robert Keiser, and Vivian Grey. In fact, King's repertoire of popular songs and ballads was so extensive (under male and female pseudonyms as well as under his own name or anonymously), that it is difficult to estimate his overall output.[152]

King used the female pseudonym Mary Earl to compose dreamy lullabies and sentimental or inspirational songs (*My Sweetheart is Somewhere in France* (1917), *Beautiful Ohio* (1918), *Dreamy Alabama* (1919)) that were popular during the First World War. The music business focused intensely on mass production to meet the increased demand for war songs. By influencing social and political attitudes, a great deal of World War I music, such as King's *Lafayette, We Hear You Calling* and *When the Boys Come Home*, served as an effective propaganda tool. Citizens were encouraged to spend their evenings singing songs that inspired hope and optimism, incited contempt for the enemy, and stirred up feelings of patriotism.

[151] Bennett, *Journalism for Women*, 95.

[152] The Parlor Songs Academy, 'Mary Earl (1862-1932)', *The Composers of Early American Popular Music History,* http://www.parlorsongs.ac (last accessed 26 March 2018).

Conclusion

From the thirty-six cases above, it is obvious that the dominant cultural, social, and gender ideologies of the nineteenth century presented many and varied opportunities for men to write under a female pseudonym. In an era when power and privilege were largely reserved for men in the public domain, and while important educational, professional, legal, and social changes took place over the century, male writers believed that, using a female pseudonym, they could impart middle-class social values to the working classes, especially women and children. They could effect genuine reform by drawing attention to social, political, and economic issues, expose instances of human weakness or foolishness, subvert religious, political, and social authorities, and instil national pride in a country's citizens. Men were thus able to subtly, yet powerfully, make ideological interventions into socio-cultural, religious, and political practices through the use of a female pseudonym.

Chapter 5: Commercial Motives

During the nineteenth century, British and American male writers were eager to exploit the success and popularity of emerging genres, such as sensation fiction and schoolgirl stories, and so guarantee a regular income. Men from all walks of life wrote under a female pseudonym to supplement their income from other sources and be assured of financial security. Some men earned extra money by using a female pseudonym to enter (and win) story competitions run by magazines and newspapers. Magazine editors could attract readers through the romantic mood or thought-provoking articles of a specific publication by using a female pseudonym as a marketing tool. Towards the end of the century, a female pseudonym in the form of a ready-made or house name was particularly convenient for prolific hack writers or dime novelists who wrote for publishing syndicates, such as Stratemeyer's. In this chapter I look at examples of fourteen British and nineteen American writers who used a female pseudonym for commercial reasons in order to benefit financially from the burgeoning writing/publishing industry of the nineteenth century.[1]

(1) Exploiting Popularity and Success of an Emerging Genre

(a) Sensation Fiction

While the novel emerged as the prototypical genre of the age, men began to realise that they could earn fame and fortune through writing fiction.[2] Money lay in writing for the masses, and the expansion of the literary marketplace meant more opportunities for everyone. Men probably wrote most of the novels not included in the circulating libraries and also most of the literature for the working classes (serialised novels, sensation fiction, thrillers, gothic shockers, and penny dreadfuls).[3] A great deal of sensation fiction was identified merely as 'By the author of'. This was probably because publishers invariably plagiarised, reprinted, and published the works of well-known authors, adapted stage productions for the page, or translated newspaper headlines into fiction. Many male authors used female pseudonyms to take advantage of the continued demand for cheap romance novels, which were traditionally written and read by women. Below are examples of one American

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[1] Frank Baum is included in this as well as the previous chapter because he wrote in two very different genres – satirical newspaper columns and children's literature – and many years apart.

[2] Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 1989), 7.

[3] Ibid., 50.

(Edward Zane Carroll Judson) and four British men (James Malcolm Rymer, Percy Bolingbroke St John, William Clark Russell, and Charles Garvice) who wrote sensation fiction under a female pseudonym.

Edward Zane Carroll Judson (1821-1886). As early as the 1840s, author and adventurer Edward Judson, best known as Ned Buntline, was exploiting a lower-class reading public engrossed in 'shilling shockers' and 'melodramatic adventure trash'.[4] By the 1860s his literary output was so prodigious that he was said to be earning $20,000 a year. His lucrative sensational stories of swashbuckling heroes and violence reflected Judson's varied and colourful real-life adventures: as a boy of ten he ran away to sea and served in the U.S. Navy for several years, becoming midshipman by the age of fifteen; at twenty-three he was tried for murder, lynched by a mob, and cut down in time to be revived; and during the Civil War he enlisted as a rifleman and rose to the rank of sergeant before dishonourable discharge for drunkenness.[5] There are so many conflicting stories about Ned Buntline that, with the blending of fantasy and reality, the facts of his life are unclear.[6] His contemporaries variously described him as:

> [S]ailor and U.S. Navy officer; soldier; magazine editor; writer of several hundred 'shilling shockers', dime novels, and other 'continuous' stories; temperance lecturer (and drunkard); superpatriot to those of Know Nothing (Buntline) persuasion, jingoist bigot to others; expert marksman and angler; bigamist; 'discoverer' of Buffalo Bill; playwright; proselytiser; generic showman; and occasionally outright con artist.[7]

Judson produced over four hundred novels, and wrote profusely for different story papers under his own name and numerous pen names, such as Charlie Bowline, Clew Garnet, and Mad Jack. Other pseudonyms alluded to his Christian name, Edward – Jack Brace Edward, Edward Minturn, Henry Edwards, and Jiles Edward. In one of the most successful story papers, *Street and Smith's New York Weekly,* his signatures included the female pseudonym Julia Manners (in the 1870s) for romance fiction.[8]

[4] J. Donald Crowley, 'Judson, Edward Zane Carroll', *American National Biography Online* (2000). http://www.anb.org/articles/16/16-00886.html (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[5] Albert Johannsen, 'Edward Zane Carroll Judson', *The House of Beadle & Adams Online – The Authors and Their Novels*. http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/judson_edward.html (accessed 16 March 2007).

[6] J. Randolph Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion: A Source Book* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 148.

[7] Crowley, 'Judson, Edward Zane Carroll'.

[8] Johannsen, 'Edward Zane Carroll Judson'. The story paper's full title was: *Street and Smith's New York Weekly: a Journal of Useful Knowledge, Romance, Amusement, &c.*

James Malcolm Rymer (1814-1884). From the 1840s to the 1860s, James Rymer wrote thrillers for English publisher and bookseller Edward Lloyd, exploiting the current taste of the urban working classes for melodramatic fiction.[9] He anonymously created two of the most enduring icons of Victorian popular culture: the vampire Sir Francis Varney in *Varney the Vampyre* (1847), which caused a sensation when Lloyd serialised it in penny issues; and the infamous Sweeney Todd who made his first appearance in *The String of Pearls* (1847). Rymer's identity as a writer of sensation fiction was hidden under a confusing array of titles and pseudonyms, both male and female. His female pseudonyms included Bertha T. Bishop, Bertha Thorne Bishop, and Marianne Blimber. Publishers assigned several of these names to his stories, which often appeared under different titles by apparently different authors. For example, in 1856 Bertha T. Bishop was given as the author of 'The Broker's Ward' in *Frank Starr's Fifteen Cent Illustrated Novels*, yet the same story had previously been published in the *New York Mercury* as by Septimus R. Urban with the title 'Blanche; or, The Lost Diamond'.[10] Rymer is credited with over 120 titles and writing up to ten stories simultaneously, most of which were published anonymously or under pseudonyms.[11]

Percy Bolingbroke St John (1821-1889). London-born Percy Bolingbroke St John followed a literary career as author, journal editor, and newspaper correspondent. In his youth he accompanied his father on journeys through Spain and America, an experience that inspired numerous articles and books. These included romance stories, dime novels, and adventure tales for boys, written under various pseudonyms such as Captain Flack, Henry L. Boone, Paul Periwinkle, J. T. Brougham, Harry Cavendish, and Warren St John.

In 1846 St John was editor of *The Mirror of Literature*, and in 1861 editor of *The London Herald*. Many of his sensation fiction and romance stories were published in such papers as *The London Journal*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, *The London Journal*, and *The London Reader*.

[9] Albert Johannsen, 'James Malcolm Rymer', *The House of Beadle & Adams Online – The Authors and Their Novels*. http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/rymer_james.html (last accessed 21 March 2018). Rymer's novels appeared in England under his own name as well as anagrams such as Malcolm J. Errym and Malcolm J. Merry. Each of these three names is referred to as his real name in various publications – Arthur E. Waite gives his name as Errym, Frank Jay gives it as Merry, and the British Museum Catalogue and M. Summers (*A Gothic Bibliography*) call him Rymer.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Louis James, 'Rymer, James Malcolm (1803/4-1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-53817 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

His most famous sensation fiction was the penny dreadful, *The Blue Dwarf: A Novel* (1861), followed by *The Blue Dwarf: A Tale of Love, Mystery and Crime* (1874-1875). Both were written under the female pseudonym, Lady Esther Hope. Using the same pseudonym he wrote the romance 'Come Weal Come Woe: A Tale of the Affections', which was serialised in *The Halfpenny Journal* published by Ward & Lock (1861-1865). It has been suggested lately that William Stephens Haywood (1835-1870) may have been the real author of this story.[12] The recent conjecture simply highlights the difficulty in accurately identifying authors of sensation fiction.

William Clark Russell (1844-1911). William Clark Russell, best known for nautical novels based on his own experiences, began his literary career at the age of twenty-two, after eight years in the British merchant navy. Most of his early works in the 1870s consisted of sensation fiction. Fearing that he might not be accepted as a sensation novelist, yet motivated by the desire for popular success, he adopted a female pseudonym. In several of his books he made a 'conscious effort to articulate female experience' by using a female narrator.[13] Russell recalled that:

> When the scribbling mania possessed me it was long before I could summon courage to write about the sea and sailors. I asked myself, Who is interested in the Merchant Service? What public shall I find to listen to me? Those who read novels want stories about love and elopements, abductions, and the several violations of the sanctities of domestic life. The great mass of readers – those who support the circulating libraries – are ladies.[14]

Russell's writing ambitions were constrained by 'expectations of genre and perceptions of audience demand'.[15] Almost all of his early novels were published in sets of two or three volumes at the libraries' price of 10s.6d. per volume. Since they were not republished in cheap editions, few readers bought copies of these early works. His audience outside the library reader was therefore almost non-existent.

Russell's fiction included the *Memoirs of Mrs. Lætitia Boothby, written by Herself* and 'edited by Clark Russell'. This was followed by five sensation novels written under the ambiguously gendered pseudonym, Sydney Mostyn; the only two Mostyn titles in which Russell did not use a female narrator (*The Surgeon's Secret*

[12] Jess Nevins, 'Fantastic Victorian: B[lue Dwarf]', *Fantastic, Mysterious, and Adventurous Victoriana*. http://www.reocities.com/jessnevins/vicb.html (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[13] Andrew Nash, *William Clark Russell and the Victorian Nautical Novel: Gender, Genre and the Marketplace* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 39.

[14] W. Clark Russell, 'The Wreck of the "Grosvenor"', *My First Book: The Experiences of Walter Besant* [et al.]*; with an Introduction by Jerome K. Jerome; a new edition, with 185 illustrations,* Jerome Klapka Jerome, ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), 31.

[15] Nash, *William Clark Russell*, 3, 6.

and *The Little Loo*) were universally assumed written by a man.[16] He also published two novels, *The Mystery of Ashleigh Manor* (1874) and *A Dark Secret* (1875), under the female pseudonym Eliza Rhyl Davies.

Unfortunately, his sensation fiction was aimed at a waning market for the genre – an indication of changing popular tastes across the literary marketplace, which Russell had misjudged.[17] After receiving scathing reviews for his sensation fiction, which had consumed ten long years of his literary career, he went on to commercial success and literary acclaim with a constant stream of nautical romances that drew on his experiences in the merchant navy.

Charles Garvice (1850-1920). Journalist and novelist Charles Garvice published his first novel, *Maurice Durant,* in 1875. It was successful in serial form but not as a book, and for twenty years after its appearance he wrote only stories for fiction magazines in Britain and America. When Mudie lost control of publishing practices in the 1890s, and the format for new novels was the single volume costing six shillings (rather than the three-decker for a guinea and a half), Garvice relaunched his literary career. The price of his books was soon reduced to three shillings and sixpence, then again to sixpence for his best-selling paperbacks.

Reputedly the best selling British author of the early-twentieth century, Garvice produced over fifty romance novels between 1900 and 1920. He directly targeted the newly literate feminine masses with his formulaic, predictable melodramas published as sixpenny paper-covered novels, and became known as the 'four-in-hand novelist', a common term for Victorian writers with four serial stories appearing simultaneously in magazines.[18] When women began sending their 'Garvices' to soldiers in the trenches during the Great War, critic Thomas Moult reported on the immense pleasure that the books brought to the soldiers. However, he added (underlining his own masculinity) that: 'It requires the extraordinarily attenuated state of things … for the average healthy male to even think of turning to [Garvice], let alone reading him and asking for more'.[19] Nevertheless, this new category of reader devoured the Garvices enthusiastically.

Garvice wrote over 150 love and adventure novels under his own name and at

[16] Ibid., 40.

[17] Ibid., 6.

[18] Phillip Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 688.

[19] Laura Sewell Matter, 'Pursuing the Great Bad Novelist', *The Georgia Review* 61, no.3 (Fall 2007), 454. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41402867 (last accessed 21 March 2018).

least twenty-five under the female pseudonym Caroline Hart.[20] The latter appeared in the *Hart Series*, published by Arthur Westbrook from 1909 into the late 1920s. They were sold in vast numbers in shops and railroad bookstalls for twenty cents each (or six for a dollar) in America, where they proved as popular as they were in Britain.[21] The series of 187 issues was devoted exclusively to love stories reprinted from story papers and other paper-covered novel series, including works by several well-known dime-novel romance writers.[22] Although women wrote the majority of stories in the *Hart Series*, Charles Garvice was an interesting exception, writing under a female pseudonym.

(b) Series Stories for Girls

By the 1860s, the genre of children's fiction was firmly established in Britain and America, with a wide range of mass-circulation magazines and books for children published by the end of the century. The readership of sensation fiction and penny dreadfuls had become mainly juvenile as the genre was transformed from historic, gothic, and domestic romances into exciting tales of adventure, and later into dynamic school stories.[23] From the mid-nineteenth century, there was a growing segmentation in the juvenile market by gender. While boys enjoyed tales of adventure and public-school fiction, girls liked family and animal stories, sentimental tales, and story-paper series of schoolgirl escapades.

Despite the fact that most of the successful schoolgirl novelists were women, 'practically all the well-known writers for girls' papers were men'.[24] One explanation for this phenomenon is that girls' papers grew out of boys' papers, making it easier for editors to simply ask the already capable authors to write for girls. Furthermore, men could not accept that 'the psychology of women' would allow them to describe

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion,* 114, 131. Typical titles of Caroline Hart novels are: *Lil, the Dancing Girl* (1909), *Nameless Bess, or, The Triumph of Innocence* (1909), *The Madness of Love: A Thrilling and Fascinating Story of the Tragedy and Romance of a Beautiful Girl's Love* (1909), and *A Working Girl's Honor, Redeemed by Love* (1910).

[22] Ibid., 131. Romance authors included Charlotte M. Brame, Mrs. E. Burke Collins, Caroline Hart, Mary J. Holmes, Laura Jean Libbey, Mrs Alex. McVeigh Miller, Mrs E.D.E.N. Southworth, and other popular writers.

[23] Helen Smith, 'The Penny Dreadful', *Aspects of the Victorian Book (2003).* www.bl.uk/collections/early/victorian/pu_penny.html (last accessed 21 March 2018). Edward Lloyd is credited with coining the term 'penny blood' as his sensational publications invariably contained gory scenes.

[24] Steve Holland, 'The Men Behind Girls' Fiction' (2001), *Collecting Books and Magazines*. http://www.collectingbooksandmagazines.com/men.html (last accessed 21 March 2018).

'romps and japes' in the same way that men could.[25] Another reason was the implication of 'jobs for the boys': most writers of the period allegedly lived in a semi-inebriated state with very little money, so that a cosy relationship with the editor helped the writer to pick up commissions and get his cheque in plenty of time for Friday night drinks (when the editor was 'well looked after').[26] This section of the chapter presents examples of four British men (George Herbert Ely, Charles James L'Estrange, (Charles) Henry St John Cooper, and Charles Hamilton) and two American (L(yman) Frank Baum and Samuel E. Lowe) who wrote stories for girls under a female pseudonym.

L(yman) Frank Baum (1856-1919). Early in the twentieth century L. Frank Baum was widely recognised for his prolific output of children's stories. He was particularly well known for *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) and a variety of 'Oz' stories, which formed a large part of his body of work. From 1905, in financial difficulty and aware of the potential profit in quickly written teenage novels, Baum began to write children's fiction for money. On the proceeds of the first of these potboilers, he and his wife Maud toured North Africa and Europe.[27]

Baum wrote adventure tales for boys using male pseudonyms, such as Floyd Akers and Capt. Hugh Fitzgerald. For teenage girls and very young children he wrote stories under female pseudonyms. *Annabel, a Novel for Young Folks* (1906) was published under the pseudonym Suzanne Metcalf, and the 'Twinkle Tale' series (1906-11) and *Policeman Bluejay* (1907) under the pseudonym Laura Bancroft. As Edith Van Dyne, his most famous pen name, Baum wrote twenty-four girls' stories including the 'Aunt Jane's Nieces' series (1906-1915), which were almost as popular as the Oz books. One publisher was so determined to meet Edith Van Dyne with a business proposition, that Baum's publishing company, Reilly & Britton, sent a female employee to meet him and play the role of the 'author'. Frank Baum and his wife Maud attended the meeting under assumed names, and observed 'Edith' very graciously turn the publisher down.[28]

Henry St John Cooper (1869-1926). Very few personal details are available for Henry Cooper, even though he was widely regarded as one of the greatest writers

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 50. Baum also wrote adventure romance novels for adults as Schuyler Staunton.

[28] Eric Gjovaag, 'List of Frequently Asked Questions', *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* Website (updated 2008). http://thewizardofoz.info/faq06.html#9 (last accessed 21 March 2018).

of girls' stories in the early-twentieth century.[29] Cooper was a prolific writer of stories for boys under the pseudonym Henry St John. As Mabel St John he wrote romance novels and girls' stories. These were published in Amalgamated Press story papers, particularly *The Girls' Friend Library* which was launched in 1906 as a 'sibling' to the popular *Boys' Friend Library*. Pollie Green, Cooper's protagonist in tales such as 'Pollie Green at Cambridge' (1909), was hugely popular in the Edwardian era. Cooper often placed his heroine in a difficult position that resulted from one of her adventures (such as being falsely accused of flirting with a boy from a neighbourhood school). But the situation was only partially resolved, creating another set of difficult circumstances from which Pollie had to disentangle herself. Curiosity and suspense naturally tempted the reader to buy the next issue.[30]

Charles Harold St John Hamilton (1876-1961). Charles Hamilton, who was best known for his Billy Bunter stories (under the pseudonym Frank Richards), began writing for British story papers to earn pocket money during his school days. He continued to write in many genres, especially school, adventure, and detective stories for a wide range of boys' weeklies, using a different pseudonym for each set of characters he created. A pseudonym helped him write as a different person from a different angle. To portray the world from a woman's point of view, Hamilton used his only female pseudonym, Hilda Richards (supposedly Frank's sister), and created the adventures of Bessie Bunter of Cliff House School. The series was launched in *The Magnet* in 1919 with the long story 'The Arrival of Bessie Bunter'. In the same year, Hamilton contributed the first six stories of Bessie Bunter to *The School Friend*, a weekly story paper for girls. Bessie Bunter, or Elizabeth Gertrude Bunter, was the female counterpart of her brother Billy and shared many of his character traits, such as greed, conceit, gluttony, and dishonesty – the antithesis of all the moral attributes supported by the stories. At first Bessie was not received favourably by readers, but over the years she evolved from just a fat and stupid schoolgirl into a 'lovable duffer'.[31]

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[29] Holland, 'The Men Behind Girls' Fiction'. Stories by 'Mabel St John' were also published in *Poppy's Library* (1908), *Penny Pictorial* (1908), and *Woman's World* (1916).

The pseudonyms 'Henry St John' and 'Mabel St John' were adopted by John Creasey (1908-1973), English crime and science fiction writer, as two of his many pseudonyms.

[30] Lise Shapiro Sanders, *Consuming Fantasies: Labor, Leisure, and the London Shopgirl, 1880-1920* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2006), 161.

[31] Victor E. Neuburg, *The Popular Press Companion to Popular Literature* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1983), 33. Horace Phillips who was employed to follow in Hamilton's footsteps was asked to 'soften' the character, and Reginald Kirkham, a much

Another very successful series 'wholly created and written by men' was the Morcove series in which Horace Phillips (1881-1972), under the pseudonym Marjorie Stanton, followed the careers of 'Betty Barton & Co.' for almost sixteen years.[32] He also wrote schoolgirl stories under the name Joy Phillips. Publication of *The School Friend* in 1919 firmly established male writers as the foremost contributors to girls' story papers. Amalgamated Press reacted to the success of *The School Friend* and its companion paper, *Schoolgirls' Own,* by publishing *The Schoolgirls' Own Annual*, a book for girls similar to the boys' *Holiday Annual*. It was a collection of school and adventure stories written especially for girls, mostly by male staff members using female pseudonyms.[33]

Numerous male authors, especially ex-servicemen, adopted a female pseudonym in later life to write stories for girls. For example, Ernest McKeag (1896-1976) left the Royal Navy in 1919 for a career in journalism, but began writing for the juvenile market under a range of pseudonyms. Following the time-honoured tradition at Amalgamated Press, he went on to submit hundreds of stories to girls' papers such as *Schoolgirls' Weekly*, *School Friend*, and *Schoolgirls' Own* for forty years, using the female pseudonym Eileen McKeay.[34]

Samuel E. Lowe (1890-1952). As stories for girls grew more popular in the early-twentieth century, German-born Samuel Lowe contributed to the 'Campfire' and 'Mary Lee' series under the female pseudonym Helen Hart. In the first book of

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more humorous author, also wrote some of the stories. After a while, readers of *The School Friend* quite happily accepted Bessie.

[32] Holland, 'The Men Behind Girls' Fiction'. The practice continued well into the twentieth century. Analysis of one particular annual, *Girls' Crystal 1944*, shows that men wrote most of its contents. The known authors were: John W. Wheway (writing as Hazel Armitage, Anne Gilmore, and Audrey Nicholls), G. Cecil Gravely (as Daphne Grayson) and his wife Doris Gravely (as Doris Graham), C. Eaton Fearn (as Gail Western and Sylvia Macrae), John E. McKibbin (as Elise Probyn), Ronald Fleming (as Renee Frazer and Peter Langley – a rare use of a male pseudonym in girls' fiction) and Reginald S. Kirkham (as Hilary Marlowe).[32]

Dennis L. Bird, *The Schoolgirls' Own Library Books* (1992). http://www.friardale.co.uk/SGOL/SGOL%20Dennis%20Bird.pdf (last accessed 21 March 2018). Many of the men had multiple female pseudonyms. John W. Wheway also wrote as Gladys Cotterill, Heather Granger, and Diana Martin. Later male contributors to girls' annuals and magazines included R. G. Thomas (as Jane Preston and Judy Thomas), Eric L. Rosman (as Elizabeth Chester, Evelyn Day, Ida Melbourne, Stella Stirling, and more), John W. Bobin (as Adelie Ascott and Gertrude Nelson), and many others.

[33] 'The Schoolgirls' Own Annual', *Friardale Website* (2009). http://www.friardale.co.uk/Schoolgirls'%20Own%20Annual/Schoolgirls'%20Own%20Annual.htm (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[34] Stephen J. Gertz, *Dope Menace: The Sensational World of Drug Paperbacks 1900-1975* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2008), 18. As well as writing juvenile literature, McKeag was a successful writer of risqué romances under the pseudonym Roland Vane in the 1920s.

Examples of British men who adopted a female pseudonym after the First World War were: Captain Charles Gilson (Barbara Gilson); (William) Roland Daniel (Sonia Anderson); Osborne Henry Mavor (Mary Henderson); and Robert (von Ranke) Graves (Barbara Rich).

the ‘Mary Lee’ series, a thirteen-year-old orphan is sent to stay with the needy Quinn family as a mother's helper. When the good-natured Mary Lee rescues a boy in a wheelchair from drowning she attracts the attention of some wealthy families interested in her wellbeing. With America’s entry into the First World War, *Mary Lee, the Red Cross Girl* (1917) changed the focus of the series into ‘a very interesting reflection of home life during the war’.[35]

George Herbert Ely (1866-1958) and Charles James L'Estrange (1867-1947). Despite the many changes wrought on society by the First World War, gendered codes still dictated that men should write boys’ books, and women write girls’. Two staff members at Oxford University Press, George Ely and Charles L'Estrange, specialised in writing adventure stories for boys (collaborating as Herbert Strang). For many years they also produced books specifically intended for girls, under the female pseudonym Mrs Herbert Strang.[36]

(2) Supplementing Income

Many young men in the nineteenth century submitted work under a female pseudonym to tide them over financially until they could establish a steady writing career. Under a female pseudonym they could earn a reasonable amount of money by writing articles, serials, short stories, reviews, advice columns, and poems, especially for women’s or family magazines and journals. Below are examples of two British men (Grant Allen and C. J. Cutcliffe Hyne) and three American (Horatio Alger, Jr., Samuel McClure, and Henry Louis Mencken) whose initial prospects as writers were poor, because of insufficient earnings to live comfortably. Writing under a female pseudonym helped to supplement the meagre income they received in their positions as journalists, reporters, teachers, or scientists, and provided enough money to lay the foundation for a successful writing career.

Horatio Alger, Jr. (1832-99). Following his graduation from Harvard in 1852, Horatio Alger worked for some years as a teacher and journalist, contributing pseudonymous articles to New England journals. He was determined to write for a

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[35] *The Camp Fire Girls Series/The Mary Lee Series*. http://c.web.umkc.edu/crossonm/campfiregirlswhitman.htm (last accessed 21 March 2018).

As in Britain, many U.S. male authors began to write under a female pseudonym following the First World War: David Keller wrote as Amy Worth; Arthur LeRoy Kaser as Nina Stafner, Rose Campion, Katherine Connelsby, Lucille Longman, Doris N. Malcolm, Catherine Marshall, and Jane Wheeler; Walter Karig as Julia K. Duncan and Carolyn Keene; and Johnston McCulley as Monica Morton and Rowena Raley.

[36] Carpenter and Prichard, *The Oxford Companion to Children’s Literature*, 500.

living, but major magazines and newspapers rejected many of his works. In an attempt to earn enough money to support himself during the 1860s (although he was a graduate of Harvard Divinity School and a Unitarian minister), Alger adopted several male and female pseudonyms to publish 'those writings he considered second-rate' in monthly publications, such as *Gleason's Literary Companion, Harper's Magazine*, and *Boston Women's Journal*.[37] His female pseudonyms were used on short romantic stories aimed at women readers. Several of these were published in *Gleason's Literary Companion* under the female pseudonym Caroline F. Preston. They included such titles as 'Patience Pottleberry's Ghost' (1865) and 'A Little Mistake, and What Came of It' (1865).

Alger continued to submit short stories, poems, and ballads to various story papers, often under pseudonyms, while writing books for boys. In 1868, having completed his eighth (and immediately successful) novel, *Ragged Dick; or, Street Life in New York*, under his own name, Alger was propelled 'from obscurity to literary prominence' to become the most widely read author of juvenile fiction in the late-nineteenth century.[38] He was credited with inventing the 'strive and succeed' spirit through his popular rags to riches stories. His heroes were young street urchins who struggled courageously against adversity to achieve great wealth and acclaim, inspiring boys to work hard towards the American Dream.

Whilst he was best known for his juvenile fiction, Alger's vast literary output included adult novels and poetry, yet there appears to be no record of pseudonymous works once his writing career was established. Because his sister destroyed all of his letters, diaries, and private papers when he died (on Alger's instructions to conceal his homosexuality), biographers have repeatedly misrepresented his life. It was not until 1985 that a fully documented biography was published (by Gary Scharnhorst), but many of the misconceptions about Alger's life are perpetuated through inaccurate research based on the original biography by Herbert R. Mayes, who admitted that he merely filled the vacuum with 'fabricated data'.[39]

Charles Grant Blairfindie Allen (1848-1899). Canadian-born writer Grant Allen spent most of his adult life in England, where he was well known for his

[37] Rob Kasper, 'Horatio Alger, Jr.', *The Horatio Alger Society* (2011). http://www.horatioalgersociety.net/131_algerbykasper.html (last accessed 21 March 2018).
[38] Ibid.
[39] Gary Scharnhorst, 'Alger Horatio, Jr.' *American National Biography Online* (2000). http://0-www.anb.org.prospero.murdoch.edu.au:80/articles/16/16-00028.html (accessed 30 March 2007).

scientific writings and contributions to the theory of evolution. Realising that the earnings from his scientific papers would not provide the wherewithal for a comfortable existence, he sought an outlet for more diverse genres. He discovered a magazine for the genteel middle-class female reader, *The Belgravia*, to which he contributed a variety of articles for a decade from April 1878. Not only did he use a pseudonym (usually J. Arbuthnot Wilson) but he also adopted a semi-fictional voice in his writing that served to separate his identity as a serious, scientific essayist from the persona of a lighter storyteller and journalist.[40]

By chance he started writing fiction and found that short stories could be even more profitable than miscellaneous articles. Happy with the reception of his short stories, Allen decided to attempt a full-length novel, *Philistia* (1884). As 'one of the very first overtly socialistic fictions', it was intended to be a very pessimistic work with all of the honourable characters destroyed by their own high ideals.[41] Possibly because of the story's socialist theme, the *Belgravia* and *Cornhill* magazines (Allen's usual short story publishers) both refused to print it in serial form. However, Andrew Chatto agreed to publish it in his company's *Gentleman's Magazine* and also as a three-decker, on the condition that it had a new happy ending with 'a morally improving lesson'.[42] Having agreed to the publisher's demands, Allen felt that this new, serious work demanded a different pseudonym from his usual one, J. Arbuthnot Wilson, which he considered only 'good enough for hack articles and fiction'.[43] His preferred choice was the female pseudonym, Gertrude Beresford O'Sullivan, but Chatto convinced him to replace it with the shorter and more suitable male name, Cecil Power.

Allen had developed an uncanny knack of analysing and satisfying the reading market. He declared that the 'education of an English novelist consists entirely in learning to subordinate all his own ideas and tastes and opinions to the wishes and beliefs of the inexorable British matron'.[44] It was, he said, the short story that started him on the 'downward path' into fiction, so he continued to churn out

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[40] Peter Morton, *'The Busiest Man in England': Grant Allen and the Writing Trade, 1875-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 48. J. Arbuthnot Wilson was a private joke as it formed the acronym of 'jaw', slang for 'gossipy talk'. Allen's *Cornhill* pieces were unsigned or over initials, though the name of the author was common knowledge.

[41] Ibid., 82-83.

[42] Ibid., 83.

[43] Ibid., 84.

[44] Jerome Klapka Jerome, ed., *My First Book: The Experiences of Walter Besant* [et al.]*; with an Introduction by Jerome K. Jerome; a new edition, with 185 illustrations*. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), 51.

short stories for *Belgravia*, *Longman's*, *The English Illustrated Magazine, Black & White, The Graphic,* and others, followed by at least six collections of his best stories.[45] After 1895 Allen wrote six novels. The first of these, written under his own name, was his most lasting achievement – the scandalously successful novel *The Woman Who Did* (1895).

Two of Allen's later novels, *The Type-Writer Girl* (1897) and *Rosalba: The Story of Her Development* (1899), appeared under the female pseudonym Olive Pratt Rayner. *The Type-Writer Girl*, as a typical New Woman novel, deals with the subject of a university-educated woman faced with the reality of earning a living. The novel's dedication is 'to Theodore Rayner and Oliver Wendell Pratt, A Wife's Homage, A Sister's Love', presenting the author (Olive Pratt Rayner) as a 'conventional Victorian wife and sister'.[46] Use of a female pseudonym indicates Allen's desire not only to separate scientific and fictional worlds, but also, through his literary cross-dressing, to more effectively impersonate the first-person narrator, the unconventional Juliet Appleton. The act of literary transvestism is not limited to Allen's use of a female pseudonym or the romantic nature of the story, but extends 'to the very choice of writing instruments' – Allen was one of the first professional authors to type his own manuscripts.[47]

The identity of the author of the two New Woman novels was not revealed until after Allen's death in 1899. 'Even the professional critics were deceived by the pseudonym', reported a *New York Times* article.[48] The only information supplied to the publishers was that the author of *Rosalba* (his last completed novel) was a 'prominent person who did not care to have his name affixed to the book'.[49] 'And so it seems', the article continued, 'that the writer who hid his identity behind the pseudonym of "Olive Pratt Rayner" is no other than the man who has won distinct fame in several branches of literature'. Ironically, some critics still attribute *The*

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[45] Morton, *'The Busiest Man in England',* 112.

[46] Clarissa Joy Suranyi, ed., 'Introduction', *The Type-Writer Girl,* by Grant Allen (writing as Olive Pratt Rayner), first published: London: Pearson, 1897, (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press, 2004), 10.

[47] Christopher Keep, 'Literary Secretaries/Secretarial Culture' (review), *Victorian Studies*, Bloomington: 49.1 (Autumn 2006).

Elizabeth A. Sharp, *William Sharp (Fiona Macleod): A Memoir* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1910), 232. Allen wrote in a letter to William Sharp (12 July 1894): 'As for the type-writing, I am reduced to that altogether, through writer's cramp, which makes my right hand useless even for this machine, which I am compelled to work with my left hand only'.

[48] 'Grant Allen's Best Story', *The New York Times* (25 November 1899). Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9C06E7D8173DE433A25756C2A9679D94689ED7CF (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[49] Ibid.

Type-Writer Girl to Olive Pratt Rayner, rather than to Grant Allen, and consider it 'emblematic of women's experience'.[50]

Samuel (S. S.) McClure (1857-1949). The advent of women's magazines early in the nineteenth century had brought a focus on cookery to the popular press. Towards the end of the century, as well as offering basic recipes and practical information about food preparation, publications instructed millions of immigrants on cooking American meals, and introduced American housewives to foreign and ethnic foods and recipes. When newspapers and magazines began to include cooking recipes, advice columns, and domestic hints, it was often the male writer who created these feminised spaces for women. One such man who seized the opportunity to write a series of cookery articles under a female pseudonym was Samuel McClure.

Born in County Antrim, Ireland, McClure emigrated to America as a boy of nine, with his three younger brothers and widowed mother. He grew up in near poverty, working on his stepfather's farm with no chance of gaining an education. At the age of fourteen he was sent to live away from home to attend a new high school in Valparaiso. On the first day at school when the teacher asked each pupil to give his name, McClure realised that all the other boys had a middle name. Racking his brains, he gave his own name as Samuel Sherman McClure, having greatly admired General Sherman, the Civil War hero. He later changed the middle name to 'Sidney' and was known as S. S. for the rest of his life.[51]

When his stepfather died in 1873, McClure was called back to work the farm with his brothers. In 1874, at the age of seventeen, he set out to study at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, where he co-founded a student newspaper. After graduation he was editor of the *Wheelman* in 1882, then worked with the De Vinne Press in New York and later the renowned *Century Magazine*. However, he had an obsession: he visualised a newspaper syndicate service that could circulate stories and articles (bought from aspiring writers) to numerous publications at a small fee, rather than to one publication for a large fee. In November 1884 the syndicate was launched – the first newspaper syndicate to serialise books. The early months proved extremely difficult for McClure. Twenty-seven years old, with a wife and baby, he had no business friends or connections in New York, and no financial resources at all.[52]

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[50] Suranyi, 'Introduction', *The Type-Writer Girl*, 11.

[51] S. S. McClure, *My Autobiography* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1914), 48. Internet Archive (2008). http://www.archive.org/details/myautobiography00mcclrich (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[52] Ibid., 170.

With newspapers beginning to publish cookery articles at the time, McClure wrote a series of them for his syndicate under the pseudonym Patience Winthrop, hoping that readers would believe he was a New England housewife:[53]

> The newspapers were just beginning to publish cookery articles at that time; it was a new thing; and mine were very successful. It came about in this way. When we were married, Mrs. McClure, having always been a student and teacher, did not know how to cook. After the syndicate got a little start and we began to have time to take such things into account, I went to the kitchen of the Astor House and learned how the best cooking in New York was done. I learned how to do a few things as well as they could be done, and learned a few basic principles—for instance, that meats should be cooked slowly, by a moderate heat, that eggs cooked for eight minutes in water below boiling heat (at 170° F.) are much better than eggs cooked for two minutes in boiling water.[54]

He went on to launch *McClure's Magazine* in 1893. It was widely circulated until 1911, publishing influential articles by respected journalists and authors such as Robert Louis Stevenson, Jack London, Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, George Meredith, and Mark Twain.[55]

C(harles) J(ohn) Cutcliffe Wright Hyne (1865-1944). Popular novelist C. J. Cutcliffe Hyne was typical of writers who used a female pseudonym for more than one reason – commercial and personal. Having graduated from Cambridge in 1887, he moved to London where he was a hack writer for four years, writing potboilers, boys' books, articles, and 'anything that looked like finding a market'.[56] His prospects improved when he was commissioned to write a six-part melodramatic serial, *How I Married My Six Daughters,* under the pseudonym Darling Mother. This earned him a guinea for each fifteen hundred-word instalment.

Having satisfied his editor with the success of the melodrama, Cutcliffe Hyne

[53] Rev. D. F. Lamson, *History of the Town of Manchester, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1645-1895* (Manchester, Mass.: The Town, 1895), 17, n. Internet Archive (2008). http://www.archive.org/details/historyoftownofm00lams (last accessed 21 March 2018). Probable source of his 'New England' pseudonym: The Winthrop family had a prominent place in the history of New England. In 1630 the flagship Arbella arrived in Massachusetts (named for Lady Arbella Johnson, not 'Arabella' as often printed), with settlers who were mostly Puritan or Congregational Puritans and led by John Winthrop. A great political and religious figure, he established the centre of government at Boston. 'Patience' was one of the virtue names coined by the Puritans in the 17th century. Virtue names were the perfect way for the Puritans to express themselves, as they wanted not only to break away from typical English saints' names but also to proudly pass on their beliefs.

[54] McClure, *My Autobiography*, 179-180.

[55] Ibid., 246. *McClure's Magazine* also offered exciting opportunities to new writers by serialising novels-in-progress, a chapter at a time. The January 1903 issue of *McClure's* is still regarded as the epitome of investigative journalism, or 'muck-raking'.

[56] Gary Hoppenstand, 'Afterword', *The Lost Continent: The Story of Atlantis*, C. J. Cutcliffe Hyne, 1899 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 246.

was promoted to the Aunt Ermyntrude pseudonym as advice columnist for the lovelorn. In this role he dispensed advice to lovelorn women through a column endorsing products like ‘Pink Dairymaid Vanishing Cream’. Aware of his readers’ expectations and the image he projected to his unwitting audience, Cutcliffe Hyne commented in his autobiography that if ‘Aunt Ermyntrude’s readers could have seen the tobacco-soaked gentleman, who in his shirt-sleeves made blasphemous comment on their artless effusions, they would have jumped’.[57]

After unsuccessful attempts to write serious novels, Cutcliffe Hyne continued to churn out adventure fiction for boys. He survived four years in a ‘literary thieves’ kitchen’ where plagiarism was commonplace, before deciding to travel to the ‘farthest reaches of the world’ in search of subject matter for what he called ‘decent fiction’.[58] In 1895 Cutcliffe Hyne submitted a story called ‘The Great Sea Swindle’ to the magazine *Answers*. This proved to be the turning point in his career: when he developed the minor character, shipmaster Captain Kettle, he was guaranteed commercial success. As well as the Kettle stories, Cutcliffe Hyne's fiction written under his own name, included romance, rousing sea adventures, historical fiction, and boys' books.[59] He also produced thirteen novels between 1898 and 1908 under the pseudonym Weatherby Chesney, and two as Nicholson West.

Henry Louis Mencken (1880-1956). Known in later life as the sage of Baltimore, Henry Mencken was determined to become a writer at the age of nine after reading Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn*. He reluctantly worked for several years in his father’s cigar factory after leaving school, but when his father died (in 1898) he was free to take advantage of a correspondence course and to pursue a career in journalism. He worked first as a reporter for *The Baltimore Morning Herald* and in 1906 he joined the staff of *The Baltimore Sun*.

In 1908 Mencken became literary critic for *The Smart Set: A Magazine of Cleverness*. He wrote his book review column every month, from the magazine’s inception in 1908 until 1923, when it was sold to Alfred A Knopf. From 1914 until 1923 he also co-edited *The Smart Set* with George Jean Nathan. In the early years, with very little substance to work with, they were forced to produce many of the short

[57] Ibid., 246.

[58] Ibid., 244-247. Cutcliffe Hyne was a physically robust, active young man, measuring six feet three inches at the age of fifteen. He signed on as a winch-man and barber on a North Sea whaler, and as a doctor on a tramp steamer sailing across the Atlantic from New Orleans. He mined in Mexico, hunted for treasure on Salvage Island, and travelled up the Congo River.

[59] The Kettle short stories were serialised in *Pearson’s Magazine* (1896) and Captain Kettle became a fixture in American and British books and periodicals over the next forty years.

stories, poems, and articles themselves – sometimes half the magazine – using various male and female pseudonyms.[60] For the issue of November 1914, for example, Mencken wrote: two poems, 'The Old Trails' and 'Song', under the female pseudonyms Harriet Morgan and Janet Jefferson respectively; short stream-of-consciousness impressions of leading American cities, called 'Post-Impressions of Cities', under the pseudonym Amelia Hatteras; and a brief squib, 'Veneration', about George Henry Lewes and George Eliot under the pseudonym Marie de Verdi. Mencken also published many works under his own name and male pseudonyms, such as Owen Hatteras, John H. Brownell, William Drayham, William Fink, and Robert W. Woodruff.

Mencken and Nathan had complete artistic control over *The Smart Set*, and in an effort to economise, they reduced the staff to themselves and secretary Sara Golde. They reprinted previous issues of the magazine under the title *Clever Stories*, and anonymously published 'inferior' manuscripts in a new pulp magazine, *The Parisienne* (1915). In 1916 they sold *The Parisienne*, and repeated the process with *Saucy Stories* and pseudonymous fillers. And in 1920 they followed the same pattern with *The Black Mask*, which was made up of thrillers.[61] Whilst the co-editors of *The Smart Set* were infamous for their satire and controversial material, the magazine provided a valuable forum for new literary talent such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, who launched his career when Mencken and Nathan accepted his story 'Babes in the Wood'.[62] H. L. Mencken, as a controversial, satirical journalist, went on to become one of the most successful and influential American literary critics of the 1920s.

(3) Entering Literary Competitions

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, magazines and newspapers in Britain and America sponsored story competitions, offering the incentive of cash prizes and publication of the winning tales. Many of the stories were included in annual Christmas periodicals, whilst others were for weekly release throughout the year. This section gives examples of two writers (American Julian Hawthorne and British D. H. Lawrence) who, in very different circumstances, entered story competitions under a female pseudonym.

[60] Marion Elizabeth Rodgers, *Mencken: The American Iconoclast* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 147.

[61] Ibid., 149.

[62] Ibid., 147-148. At the time, Fitzgerald was making a living by creating streetcar ads by day whilst writing stories at night and papering the walls of his room with rejection slips.

Julian Hawthorne (1846-1934). Grossly in debt after a failed farming venture in Jamaica, Julian Hawthorne entered a story competition run by *The New York Herald*. As the son of pre-eminent novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne, he was constantly aware of his father's influence and 'often exploited and sometimes dishonoured his distinguished surname'.[63] Hawthorne wrote the romance mystery novel, *A Fool of Nature* (1896), in eighteen days, using the female pseudonym Judith Hollinshed. His entry won first prize of $10,000. However, according to biographer Gary Scharnhorst, circumstantial evidence indicates that the contest was rigged, and reviews suggested that *A Fool of Nature* was of doubtful quality. *The New York Times* described the novel as a 'highly spiced and utterly indigestible, romantic pot-pourri' with 'voluminous' padding.[64]

For the next decade Julian Hawthorne devoted himself almost exclusively to William Randolph Hearst's yellow press as a political hack writer. In 1908 he temporarily abandoned his writing career and began peddling stock in worthless Canadian silver mines, incorporated in his own name. He and two colleagues were convicted of mail fraud. After serving a gaol term, Hawthorne became a powerful advocate for prison reform. Scharnhorst recently disclosed why Hawthorne was constantly short of money: he was responsible for supporting two families, one of them with his wife and seven children, the other with a long-time mistress who bore him two daughters.[65] Over a lengthy, influential career of 'haphazard' writing in a wide variety of genres, Julian Hawthorne published, under his own name, several million words and more than 3,000 items, 'out-publishing his father by a ratio of twenty to one'.[66] In all this work there appears to be no record of his using a pseudonym, except for the female name Judith Holinshed (and even then he retained his own initials).

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[63] Gary Scharnhorst, *Julian Hawthorne: The Life of a Prodigal Son* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), xii.

[64] Ibid., 141-143.

[65] Ibid., 163. Unable to give his mistress's daughter the Hawthorne name, he christened her with the name of a shrub in the hawthorn genus: Mayflower. On 23 July, 1908, Julian Hawthorne acknowledged paternity of his last two daughters in his will:

> This is to certify that the two girls, Mayflower and Joan, daughters of Minna Desborough, are also my own daughters, born to Minna Desborough and me during our life together in New York City. Had I lived, and had I been free to marry, I should have married her, and given her and our beloved children my name. But my wife, Mrs Hawthorne (who knows the above facts) and I decided not to apply for a divorce, out of regard for the seven children, now living, who were born to Mrs Hawthorne and me during our married life of thirty-eight years. … I ask the forgiveness and charity of these two women, whose lives I have injured, and of my daughters Mayflower and Joan, and of my other children.

[66] Ibid., x. Julian Hawthorne wrote in a wide-ranging variety of genres.

D(avid) H(erbert) Lawrence (1885-1930). The first published work of D. H. Lawrence was a short story in a competition, entered under the name of Jessie Chambers. Whilst still in his teens and convalescing from pneumonia, Lawrence regularly walked from his home in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire, to visit the Chambers family at Haggs Farm in nearby Underwood. He formed a strong friendship with Jessie Chambers who shared his love of books, and her admiration and encouragement proved to be crucial factors in his early writing.[67] When a student at University College Nottingham, Lawrence was an aspiring, but as yet unpublished author. At the end of 1907 he decided to enter the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* annual Christmas story competition, which offered a prize of £3 cash and publication of the winning story. The three categories were: the best story of the most enjoyable Christmas, the most amusing adventure, and the best Legend of Some Historic Building.[68] The rules specified that no competitor would be awarded more than one prize and stipulated that pseudonyms must be used on competition entries to enable fair criticism of the losing entries.[69]

Lawrence decided to increase his chances of winning by entering three stories. He asked his friends Louie (Louisa) Burrows (later his fiancée) and Jessie Chambers to enter two of his stories, copied in their handwriting and under their chosen pseudonyms.[70] Lawrence expected that his 'Legend' story, *Ruby-Glass*, would win, which in accordance with the rules he entered under a pseudonym, Herbert Richards.[71] Jessie submitted *A Prelude to a Happy Christmas* (written by Lawrence) under the pseudonym Rosalind, but it is not known what pseudonym Louie Burrows chose. Jessie's entry unexpectedly won first prize and the judges noted that 'a simple theme was handled with a freshness and simplicity altogether charming'.[72] When her

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[67] Later, in *Sons and Lovers* (1913)*,* Jessie was fictionalised as Miriam Leivers and Haggs Farm was immortalised as Willey Farm.

[68] John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years 1885-1912: The Cambridge Biography of D. H. Lawrence*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 189.

[69] Peter Millington, 'An Enjoyable Christmas: A Prelude', *Traditional Drama Forum* 8 (September 2003*)*. http://www.folkplay.info/Forum/TD_Forum_8_Prelude_Notes.htm (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[70] Ibid.

[71] N. H. Reeve, ed., 'Introduction', *The Vicar's Garden and Other Stories*, by D. H. Lawrence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xxii, n. 19. Lawrence was reputedly christened David Herbert Richards Lawrence in 1885, although the 'Richards' does not appear on his birth certificate. This seems to be the only occasion on which he himself acknowledged his third Christian name. One of Lawrence's aunts had lost her lover in early life and wanted Bert to have the same names as the lover. At the baptism she added the name 'Richards' as she handed the baby to the minister. Lawrence did not like the name David, and was nearly always Bert to his family and close friends, but consciously chose to be known as D.H.L. or D. H. Lawrence.

[72] Millington, 'An Enjoyable Christmas'.

winning entry was published in the newspaper, it appeared under Jessie's full name and address, rather than her chosen pseudonym of Rosalind. Even so, it was Lawrence's first published work. The secret was disclosed to the Chambers family and the prize cheque of £3, made out to Jessie, was duly cashed by her father and handed over to Lawrence.

Lawrence later modified and published the two stories that were losers in the competition.[73] He changed the name of 'Ruby-Glass', which was given an honorable mention, to 'A Fragment of Stained Glass' and published it in his collection *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories* (1914), along with Louie Burrows' entry, *The White Stocking.*[74] Lawrence was reluctant to admit that his first published work was a story in a local newspaper, submitted under a pseudonym (a female one at that), and even in 1924 as an established author, he expressed relief that the story had disappeared without trace. In actual fact, the winning entry, *A Prelude*, was only missing until *Manchester Guardian* journalist P. Beaumont Wadsworth investigated the files of the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* during World War II. He republished the story as a small book in a limited edition of 160 copies, along with a report of his investigations (1949).[75]

(4) Promoting a Publication

This section includes examples of two British men (Frederick Burbidge and George Stephens) whose articles under female pseudonyms enhanced the popularity of two very different nineteenth-century magazines, *The Garden* and *The Germ*.

Frederick William Burbidge (1847-1905). A chosen pseudonym often reflects a writer's occupation, such as that of horticulturalist Frederick Burbidge ('Veronica').[76] As a student at Chiswick (1868) he showed skill as a draughtsman and later that year,

[73] Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years,* 190.

[74] D. H. Lawrence, *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*. John Worthen, ed. (London: Penguin, 1995), 251. The version of *The White Stocking* written for the competition was based on an incident when Lawrence's mother was young: a young woman attending a ball at the Castle in Nottingham pulled a white stocking from her pocket instead of a handkerchief.

[75] Millington, 'An Enjoyable Christmas'. Jessie Chambers recounted the episode in her memoirs of Lawrence (1935).

[76] Burbidge was first employed as a gardener at Kew Gardens. A few more examples of pseudonyms related to occupation: James Bateman (1812-1897), horticulturist and botanist, published articles on orchids in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* under the pseudonym Serapias (a genus of terrestrial orchids); Alfred Henry Forrester (1804-1872), illustrator and writer, used the pseudonym Alfred Crowquill (literally the quill taken from a crow for writing and drawing); John Keast Lord (1818-1872), naturalist and traveller, wrote under the pseudonym of the Wanderer; Henry (Harry) Furniss (1854-1925), caricaturist and illustrator, used the pseudonym Lika Joko in *Punch*; John Leighton (1822-1912), artist and book cover designer, wrote and illustrated a number of works under the pseudonym of Luke Limner.

whilst working in the Royal Gardens, Kew, he was often busy sketching plants in the herbarium. While on the editorial staff of *The Garden* (1870-1877) he made regular contributions under the female pseudonym Veronica (also the name of a flowering shrub). According to his obituary in March 1906, many readers of *The Garden* remembered

> the interesting and instructive articles written by him, sometimes over his own name, sometimes over that of 'Veronica', or some other pseudonym, but no matter over what name the article appeared the charming, free and polished style, and the quality of the matter betrayed the real author.[77]

There is no clear reason for Burbidge's choice of pseudonym but, considering the nature of his work, it is likely that he chose the name of an attractive flower and inadvertently acquired a female pseudonym. His articles provided the young Burbidge with a valuable source of income. They were widely read by gardening enthusiasts because of their poetic style, scholarly content, and recognisable pseudonym. In 1877-1878 Burbidge undertook an arduous expedition to Borneo, collecting orchids and other exotic plants. On his return he was made curator of the Botanic Gardens at Trinity College, Dublin, then appointed 'Keeper of the College Park' in 1894.[78] He was also one of the first recipients of the Victoria Medal of Honour, awarded to him in 1897 by the Royal Horticultural Society.

George Frederic Stephens (1827-1907). A female pseudonym could also act as an effective marketing tool by enhancing the romanticism and mysticism of a publication. George Stephens dabbled briefly in painting between 1848 and 1850, but was more successful in his position of forty years as art historian and leading art critic for *The Athenaeum*. As a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB), he used the female pseudonym Laura Savage on an essay entitled 'Modern Giants', published in *The Germ* of May 1850. His other essays were under the name John Seward.[79]

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[77] F. W. M., 'Obituary: Frederick William Burbidge, M.A., F.L.S., M.R.I.A.' *The Irish Naturalist* 15, no.3 (March 1906), 71. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25522862 (accessed 7 July 2015).

[78] G. S. Boulger, 'Burbidge, Frederick William Thomas (1847-1905)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32173 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[79] *The Germ*, 'The 1901 Facsimile Reprint', *The Rossetti Archive* (updated 2006). http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/ap4.g415.1901.3.rad.html (last accessed 21 March 2018). *The Germ* was a monthly journal established by the Pre-Raphaelites in 1850 for creative ideas on poetry and art. Originally called *The Germ: Thoughts towards Nature in Poetry, Literature, and Art*, for the last two issues its title was changed to *Art and Poetry: Being Thoughts towards Nature Conducted principally by Artists.* There were only four issues altogether (January, February, March, and May).

The inclusion of Stephens's female pseudonym on the list of contributors to the fourth issue of *The Germ*, along with Christina Rossetti's pseudonym, Ellen Alleyn, in the first three numbers, served to complicate the gendering of the magazine as a whole and destabilise its implied masculinity.[80] The 'mixed-gender list' of contributors on the title page was out of place in a mid-Victorian literary journal, and seemed to some reviewers a 'violation of conventional gender codes'.[81] At a time when the 'Woman Question' was a major topic of debate (the 1850s), participation of women in the otherwise masculine literary project reflected instabilities in 'the Victorian sex-gender system'.[82] The female pseudonyms effectively functioned as a marketing technique, as a strategy for adding romanticism and mystery to the journal, and as a means of suppressing the individual identities of contributors.

(5) Churning Out Hack Work

The area near St Paul's Cathedral in London was the centre of the English book trade from the fifteenth century until the blitz of 1940. Between St Paul's and Finsbury lay the slum area of Cripplegate, a maze of old houses and narrow streets. Grub Street was the best known of these, populated by the less prosperous members of the writing profession – the hacks, copyists, translators, indexers, ghostwriters, and 'potential geniuses'.[83] With a growing demand for fiction, the itinerant population of low-grade hack writers increasingly produced cheap romances and potboilers anonymously or under a pseudonym.

John Lowndes (c.1800-c.1860). Typical of the many destitute writers who resorted to mass-producing cheap fiction for a living was failed British bookseller John Lowndes. When working as a hack writer for publisher William Emans, Lowndes used the pseudonym Amelia Fitzalan to publish a £20 novel.[84] During the 1840s he was involved with Hannah Maria Jones (c.1796-1854), a married woman who was known as the 'Queen of cheap fiction'.[85] They used each other to facilitate

[80] Alexis Easley, 'Gender and the Politics of Literary Fame: Christina Rossetti and "The Germ"'. *Critical Survey* 13, no.2 (2001), 71, 75. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41557105 (last accessed 21 March 2018).
[81] Ibid., 72.
[82] Ibid., 61.
[83] K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 377. These 'penny-a-liners' were sustained only by the sheer volume of publications eager to use freelance writers.
[84] John Sutherland, *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction* (London: Harlow, 1988), 340.
[85] Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 177.

their applications to the Royal Literary Fund (RLF), and indulged in the common practice for writers to lie or exaggerate their circumstances when applying to the Fund for financial support. Lowndes tried to claim money for them as a married couple, pleading that: 'For the last 15 years myself and my poor Creature have been employed in writing works of Entertainment with a Moral Tendency, that Lady formerly writing under the name of Hannah Maria Jones'.[86]

Well aware of the plight of Lowndes and Jones, Octavian Blewitt, secretary of the RLF, ascertained that Lowndes had been living for several years with 'Mrs Hannah Maria Jones, Case No 553', who had been calling herself 'Mrs Lowndes' although they never married. According to Blewitt, 'they may have been working and writing together for the lowest class of Publishers', and were well known to the Royal Literary Society as 'Begging Letter Writers'.[87]

The serials that Lowndes had submitted with his application to the society included a work called 'England and Wales Delineated by Thomas Dugdale', which Lowndes claimed as his own. His blatant attempts at deception and plagiarism were exposed when a letter from the publisher, John Tallis, distinctly identified a Mr Thomas Jones as the author of the piece. 'The only works to which the name of John Lowndes are attached are not a shade better', said Blewitt, 'if indeed they are as respectable as those of Mr Pierce Egan who was not considered a proper object for relief'.[88] Presumably Lowndes and Jones remained together until the end of her life, as he was the last person to apply for money on her behalf before she died in 1854. Their works have faded into oblivion with the many unknown authors whose literary efforts augmented the 'ceaseless tide of fiction' that flowed around the mid 1800s.[89]

(6) Writing Dime Novels under House Names

From 1860 to 1900, weekly story papers, such as *Gleason's Literary Companion,* were intended for the whole family and appealed to a diversified readership. They featured a variety of serialised stories, humour, poetry, fashion, sports, and current events, with text and illustrations integrated throughout. When the serials were published as paper-covered dime novels, different pseudonyms from the

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[86] Fiona Alexander, 'Biography of Hannah Maria Jones', *Corvey 'Adopt an Author'* (Issue 4: 2001) http://extra.shu.ac.uk/corvey/corinne/Corinne%20authors/1%20Jones/biography.html (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Bridget MacCarthy, *The Female Pen: Women Writers and Novelists, 1621-1818* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994), 284.

original ones were used. As members of a syndicate, male writers such as Edward Zane Carroll Judson, William Wallace Cook, John R. Coryell, Thomas W. Hanshew, and Edward Stratemeyer had recourse to the use of house names, both male and female. A series written by multiple authors under one house name became the norm, and because of the production-line techniques both authors and reading public regarded publishing houses as 'fiction factories'.[90] Edmund Lester Pearson claims that there were never more tricks played with pen names than in the 'golden age' of the dime novel (1860-1915):

> [S]eldom have there been times when one writer was so apt to use three or four names, or when half a dozen would share a single *alias*. This was not literary coyness: there was usually a sound business reason. Some of the most famous characters and authors were trade names for a syndicate.[91]

When the pen name Bertha M. Clay passed into the control of Street & Smith, a dozen or so male writers (including William J. Benners, Frederick Dacre, Frederic Dey, Charles Garvice, Thomas C. Harbaugh, Hanshew, Cook, and Coryell) were able to write enough Bertha M. Clay novels to meet the popular demand for romantic fiction. Dime novelists came from all walks of life, in particular the professions of doctors, lawyers, teachers and journalists, and turned to writing dime novels as a career or to supplement their regular incomes. The variety of professions becomes obvious when glancing at a list of typical dime novelists with female pseudonyms: Thomas Harbaugh (poet), Harry Enton (doctor), Thomas Hanshew (actor), Frederic Dey (lawyer), Maro O. Rolfe (journalist), James Kaler (journalist), and Albert W. Aiken (playwright). Of the several thousand men (and women) who penned dime novels between 1860 and 1915, a great number will never be identified, as publishers moved authors from one house name to another.

In this section of the chapter are examples of twelve American men (Harbaugh, Hanshew, Benners, Aiken, Rolfe, Coryell, Cook, Dey, Edward Stratemeyer, Weldon Cobb, Enton, and W. Bert Foster) who used female pseudonyms and house names on serials and dime novels, in order to make a comfortable living or to supplement their regular incomes.

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[90] J. Randolph Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion: A Source Book* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), xvii. William Wallace Cook coined this term in his 1912 autobiography, *The Fiction Factory*.

[91] Edmund Lester Pearson, *Dime Novels: Or, Following an Old Trail in Popular Literature,* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929), 104.

Thomas C. Harbaugh (1849-1924). Thomas Harbaugh began his writing career in 1867 at the age of eighteen.[92] He produced at least thirty-seven volumes of fiction, poetry, children's books, and local history, as well as innumerable dime novels both under his own name and a variety of pseudonyms. These included Captain Howard Holmes, Howard Lincoln, Charles Howard, Major S. S. Scott, and the female house name, Bertha M. Clay. Unfortunately, despite many years of literary activity, when dime novels were on the wane he could not adapt to the change of style demanded in stories. As his output diminished he gradually used up his savings. Described by Edmund Lester Pearson as a 'distinguished, amiable and rather pathetic figure', he sold his few possessions in 1923 to enter the Casstown poorhouse where he died the next year.[93] On his death, some newspaper headlines referred to him as the 'Dime Novel King'.

Thomas W. Hanshew (1857-1914). Born in Brooklyn, Thomas Hanshew began a career on the stage at the age of sixteen, playing juvenile roles in Ellen Terry's company and advancing to more important roles with Clara Morris and Adelaide Neilson. At about the age of twenty, Hanshew was 'manufacturing' fiction for Norman L. Munro and Street & Smith, who assigned the pseudonym Geraldine Fleming to his love stories. Some of Hanshew's serials, originally published under the pseudonym Florence May Carroll, were, unbeknown to him, reprinted under the Bertha M. Clay house name.

By reversing the initials in the name of British author Charlotte M. Brame (without her permission), Street & Smith had created the well-known and profitable pseudonym Bertha M. Clay. It is commonly accepted that a dozen or so male hack writers kept the pseudonym alive as a publisher's house name, after Mrs Brame's death in 1884.[94] According to the publishers of *The New York Family Story Paper*, Hanshew helped to edit the authentic Brame stories by rewriting the introductory paragraphs of the opening chapters so that the stories' action began immediately. And, despite conjecture, he probably wrote some of the later stories. American publishers who were eager to continue the Bertha M. Clay series, purportedly asked Hanshew for his help in writing numerous stories, all of which appeared under the

[92] Ibid., 124.
[93] Pearson, *Dime Novels,* 124-125.
[94] Graham Law, 'Introduction', *Charlotte M. Brame (1836-1884): Towards A Primary Bibliography,* Version 1.1 (May 2012), 14. Graham Law suggests that 'most of the English-style romances associated with the Clay brand were in fact woven on fiction looms in the family homes of a lot of hard-working women'.

Clay house name. It is likely that his own pseudonym, Charlotte May Kingsley, led readers to believe that he was Charlotte M. Brame, the original Bertha M. Clay.[95]

Hanshew was considered the most prolific writer of sensation fiction who ever lived, with an output greater than that of Frederic Dey of 'Nick Carter' fame.[96] He would churn out three or four stories so that they appeared simultaneously under various signatures. After a quarrel with his publisher, Hanshew vowed that Munro would never print another of his stories. He sent no more stories under his own name to Munro's *Family Story Paper,* but numerous stories under his pseudonym Charlotte May Kingsley, every word of which was copied out by his wife. Munro published them, never suspecting the author's true identity.[97]

Hanshew moved to England with his wife in the late 1880s to begin a second career as novelist and short story writer. Best known for his detective stories about Hamilton Cleek of Scotland Yard, he continued to produce four novels a year and three short stories a month, as well as contributions to magazines, and numerous one-act plays. Hanshew sold his Cleek stories to pulp magazines and hardcover publishers. These included the material in *The Man of Forty Faces* (1910), *Cleek of Scotland Yard* (1914), and *Cleek's Greatest Riddles* (1916). It became common practice early in the twentieth century for pulp mystery authors to release a series of loosely connected stories, then gather them together to publish in book form with each story a different chapter. In this way the writer's work earned incomes from the magazines as well as the book publishers.

William J. Benners Jr. (1863-1940). Following a brief, disappointing period as an actor, William Benners began to write romantic serials for story papers under the pseudonym Eric Braddon, only to prove unsuccessful once more. As a dime novel enthusiast from a very early age, Benners attempted the formidable task of creating a directory of dime novel authors.[98] But when he considered the vast numbers of writers who used pseudonyms and house names, he abandoned the project.

Instead, he decided to use his compendious knowledge of dime novels and

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[95] 'Was Bertha M. Clay Really Thomas W. Hanshew?' *The New York Times* (7 July 1914) Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9507EED7173AE633A25754C0A9609C946596D6CF (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[96] Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion,* 82.

[97] 'Literary Letter from London', *The Press* (3 October 1914), Canterbury, New Zealand, 7. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19141003.2.32?end_date=03-10-1914&phrase=0&query=literary+letter&start_date=03-10-1914 (last accessed 19 March 2018).

[98] Graham Law, Gregory Dozdz, and Debby McNally, 'Charlotte M. Brame (1836-1884): Towards a Primary Bibliography', *Victorian Fiction Research Guide* 36 (May 2012), 11. http://www.victoriansecrets.co.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/36-Charlotte-May-Brame.pdf (last accessed 14 April 2018).

romance fiction as an enterprising literary agent, buying and selling stories and publishing rights, and supplying pulp-fiction publishers with English-style romances. In this role he acted as self-proclaimed American agent for British author Charlotte Brame less than a decade after her death.[99] With no relevant copyright agreement yet in place, he 'shamelessly pirated' her works and received large sums of money for retitled stories. He also penned stories in the Bertha M. Clay series as well as writing 'authentic' novels under the same pseudonym, offering them to potential buyers as original works authored by Brame. The Clay bibliography was already so complex that the writers of many works under this name will never be identified, and Benners' 'dubious commercial activities' only served to further muddy the waters of the Bertha M. Clay mystery.[100]

Albert W. Aiken (1846-1894). Albert Aiken began a career as an actor, often starring in plays that he had written himself. In the early 1870s, probably during a slow period in his acting career, Aiken turned to writing dime novels. Whilst continuing his stage career, he eventually became one of the Beadle group's most prolific and versatile authors. At times he averaged a book a week, writing under a variety of pseudonyms. Described as a dependable 'queer-looking man, with a strangely elongated head', Aiken wrote with the regularity of a pendulum.[101] Beadle published many of Aiken's dime novels, written under his own name and a number of pseudonyms, including the female names Frances Helen Davenport, A Celebrated Actress, and Adelaide Davenport.

Aiken's novels also appeared under different titles and in different journals popular with women as well as men.[102] For example, 'An Ambitious Girl' by Adelaide Davenport was published in the *Saturday Journal/Star Journal*, and the same story appeared as 'The Wanted Woman' by Albert Aiken in *Beadle's Weekly/Banner Weekly*. It was also published under the pseudonym Frances Helen Davenport in *Waverley Library*, and as by A Celebrated Actress in *Fireside Library*. Other titles by Aiken included 'Beautiful Demon', 'More Bitter Than Death', and 'She Would be an Actress', all published in several editions and with various title

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[99] Ibid.

[100] Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion,* 58.
Graham Law, 'Out of Her Hands: On the Charlotte M. Brame Manuscripts in the O'Neill Collection (MSS 0141)', *Waseda Global Forum* No. 8, (2011), 120.

[101] Pearson, *Dime Novels,* 123.

[102] Albert Johannsen, 'Aiken, Albert W.', *The House of Beadle & Adams Online – The Authors and Their Novels*. https://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/aiken_albert.html (last accessed 14 March 2018).

changes. The stories appeared in periodicals such as the *Waverley Library*, the *Saturday Journal/Star Journal*, and the *Fireside Library*. The latter, in particular, contained mostly love stories. With this wider readership Aiken was guaranteed a steady income to support his wife and six children.

Maro Orlando Rolfe (1852-1925). Journalist, historian, and novelist Maro Rolfe began writing as a teenager, and from the early 1870s he contributed short sketches, poetry, and tales to a number of newspapers and magazines. One of his many pseudonyms was Mrs Anna A. Robie, which he used for his serials, thrillers, and dime novels.[103] The dearth of references to this pseudonym again highlights the complexity of the system of dime novels and house names, and the difficulty in accurately attributing authorship.[104]

John R. Coryell (1848–1924). Prolific dime novelist John Coryell wrote juvenile fiction and hundreds of romance novels for women, under a variety of house names such as Bertha M. Clay, Julia Edwards, Lillian R. Drayton, and Geraldine Fleming. Because Coryell was best known as the creator of the popular Nick Carter detective stories, Street & Smith concealed the fact that he wrote popular romances, fearing that it would harm their credibility with male readers.[105] His other pseudonyms included Tyman Currio, Harry Dubois Milman, Milton Quarterly, Barbara Howard, Lucy May Russe, and Margaret Grant.

As Margaret Grant, Coryell produced more serious works of particular interest to women, and frequently contributed satirical essays on conventional morality to *Mother Earth* magazine (1906-1917). Some of Coryell's essays were 'clearly intended *pour épater les bourgeois*' ('to shock the middle classes') through propagation of his anarchist views.[106] *Mother Earth* called for readers to oppose American entry into World War I and to disobey government laws on conscription and registration for the draft.

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[103] Albert Johannsen, 'Rolfe, Maro O.', *The House of Beadle & Adams Online – The Authors and Their Novels.* http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/rolfe_maro.html (last accessed 14 March 2018).

[104] Those pseudonyms definitely identified as Maro Rolfe's, listed by his son Albert W. Rolfe, are: M. O' Rolfe, the Irish novelist; Oram Eflor; Col. Oram Eflor; Col. Oram R. Me Henry; The Old Detective; The Young Detective; A Civil War Captain; Sergeant Rolfe; and The Novelist Detective, M. O. Rolfe. Charles Tubbs's *Bibliography of Tioga County* (1904) gives Mrs Anna A. Robie, and claims that it is possible that he also used A. W. Rolker. Mrs Anna A. Robie is also listed as one of Rolfe's pseudonyms in *The Dime Novel Companion* (2000).

[105] 'Geraldine Fleming', *The American Women's Dime Novel Project: Dime Novels for Women, 1870-1920*, 2005. http://chnm.gmu.edu/dimenovels/the-authors/geraldine-fleming (last accessed 21 March 2018).

[106] Peter Glassgold, *Anarchy!: An Anthology of Emma Goldman's 'Mother Earth'* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2012), 99. *Épater le bourgeois* (or *épater la bourgeoisie*) became a rallying cry for the French Decadent poets of the late 19th century including Baudelaire and Rimbaud.

William Wallace Cook (1867-1933). In 1889, after a variety of jobs (stenographer, railroad company ticket agent, paymaster for firm of contractors, and reporter for *Chicago Morning News*), William Cook began his professional writing career by contributing to popular magazines and papers. Because of his heavy family responsibilities, Cook's wife encouraged him to write fiction books. By 1893, his earnings from writing (or typing in Cook's case) far exceeded his past office salaries.[107] He continued churning out fiction and creating serials for Alfred B. Tozer's *Chicago Ledger*, then went on to write long series of story paper serials and nickel weekly novelettes for Street & Smith, using the female house names Bertha M. Clay and Julia Edwards. Cook also used a diversity of male pseudonyms, on his prolific output of adventure and science fiction stories, such as Burt L. Standish, Nicholas Carter and Ralph Boston. Looking back on his long and profitable career as a dime novelist, Cook described a writer as:

> [N]either better nor worse than any other man who happens to be in trade. He is a manufacturer. After gathering his raw product, he puts it through the mill of his imagination … refines it with a sufficient amount of commonsense and runs it into bars – of bullion.[108]

Frederic Merrill Van Rensselaer Dey (1861-1922). One of the later dime novelists of the nineteenth century, Frederic Dey started out as a lawyer, but turned to writing for amusement while convalescing from a serious illness. He wrote his first long story for Beadle & Adams in 1881, and a decade later was employed by Street & Smith to continue a series of Nick Carter stories started by John Coryell. Widely recognised as one of the better writers in the field of dime novels, Dey reputedly produced over one thousand Nick Carter stories, churning out an average of 25,000 words a week for seventeen years.[109] When the Nick Carter Library was issued as a weekly, Dey was sometimes unable to meet deadlines through intense work pressure, so he hired substitute writers, including E. C. Derby and Charles W. Hooke. From time to time he dropped out of the series with alcohol problems.[110]

As well as writing miscellaneous stories and articles under his own name, Dey used numerous pseudonyms for novels and contributions to a wide range of series

[107] William Wallace Cook, *The Fiction Factory* (Ridgewood, NJ: The Editor Company, 1912), 90. In his twenty-two years of producing fiction, Cook purchased at least twenty-five typewriters, 'each the last word in typewriter construction at the time it was bought'.
[108] Ibid., 26.
[109] Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion,* 82.
[110] Ibid.

and libraries. He wrote under the house name Bertha M. Clay and also used the female pseudonyms Rosa Beckman and Rose Beckman, plus many other variants of his own name.[111] In 1922, as the dime novel era came to an end, Dey realised that his literary career was failing, and with no market for his work he shot himself dead in his New York hotel room. Dey's extremely vivid imagination, which was responsible for an outpouring of thrilling fiction, had motivated him to pose as a millionaire in real life, although he was penniless. Shortly before his suicide, Dey had introduced himself as a wealthy fruit grower and even offered the hotel clerk a position in his fictional Californian fruit business.[112]

Edward Stratemeyer (1862-1930). Edward Stratemeyer began his writing career in 1886, working in his brother's tobacco shop in Elizabeth, New Jersey. His confidence was boosted when the weekly *Golden Days* accepted his serial, *Victor Horton's Idea*, in December 1889, for the fee of $75. From 1890 to 1895 he wrote further serials for *Golden Days* under his own name and the pseudonym Ralph Hamilton. In 1893 he was offered the editorship of Street & Smith's *Good News* where his contributions expanded the magazine's circulation to over 200,000. In 1895 he edited *Young Sports of America* and the next year he was editing *Bright Days.* All the while he experimented with different pseudonyms, writing dime novels as Ralph Bonehill or Allen Chapman and women's serials under the Street & Smith house name Julia Edwards. This pseudonym was especially popular during the last decade of the century when Stratemeyer, Coryell, Cook, and others, all wrote as Julia Edwards for *Street & Smith's New York Weekly.* From September 1891 until December 1894 every issue of the *Weekly* carried an instalment of at least one 'Julia Edwards' serial, and from December 1894 until April 1898 every issue (except about ten) included 'Julia Edwards' romances.[113]

The house pseudonym Edna Winfield was also used for women's romances that were published in paperback libraries and weekly story papers, including the *New York Weekly*.[114] Because the *Weekly* was a family story paper relying heavily on romances, one of Stratemeyer's stories, 'Estella, the little Cuban rebel; or, A war

[111] Everett F. Bleiler, *Science-Fiction, The Early Years* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990), 195.

[112] Pearson, *Dime Novels,* 213.

[113] Deidre Johnson, *Stratemeyer Pseudonyms and Series Books: An Annotated Checklist of Stratemeyer and Stratemeyer Syndicate Publications* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 109-110. The first story under the pseudonym Julia Edwards was serialised in 1877 and the last in 1907. Paperback libraries were reprinting the stories as early as 1890 and as late as 1932.

[114] Ibid., xvii.

correspondent's sweetheart', was serialised in 1896 as by Edna Winfield. The story, speedily produced before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, describes the love affair between a newspaperman and a Cuban girl educated in the United States.[115] About the same time, several more of Stratemeyer's stories appeared under this pseudonym in the *Chicago Ledger* and in Street & Smith's *Eagle Library* (1898). Six of these tales published in Mershon's paperback *Holly Library* in 1899 were later reprinted as the 'Edna Winfield' series.[116]

In 1905, Stratemeyer, who was ever mindful of market trends, founded the highly successful Stratemeyer Literary Syndicate. It produced largely juvenile series, using plot outlines, specific titles, characters, and pseudonyms that Stratemeyer created. These were expanded into book-length stories mainly for boys, all published under pseudonyms. This allowed Stratemeyer to issue more books in a given year than most traditional publishers would allow. Because of the constant demand for romance fiction and the growing popularity of schoolgirls' stories in the early-twentieth century, the syndicate more frequently used female pseudonyms, such as Laura Lee Hope and Margaret Penrose, to appeal to the female market.

Weldon J. Cobb (1849-1922). With the decline of the dime novel in the late 1890s, many authors who had been employed as dime novelists turned to writing for book series, pulp fiction, and the movies.[117] One such author was dime novelist, journalist, editor, and real estate dealer Weldon Cobb whose stories appeared as early as 1866 in publications of Beadle & Adams, Norman L. Munro, and Street & Smith. Following market trends, Cobb joined the Stratemeyer Syndicate as a ghostwriter in 1905, writing early titles in a number of series. His first assignment, under the pseudonym Allen Chapman, was a volume in the 'Ralph of the Railroad' series (1906). He had written many successful stories on this topic in his dime novel and story-paper days, so continued the theme in more than thirty books for the Stratemeyer Syndicate, often in the style of Horatio Alger's success stories. Cobb supplemented his income by targeting women readers with romantic serials and short stories written under the female pseudonym Genevieve Ulmar.

[115] Peter Hulme, *Cuba's Wild East: A Literary Geography of Oriente* (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 220. When war broke out in 1898, Stratemeyer was already producing books that provided reading material retelling heroic events from just a few weeks earlier.

[116] Johnson, *Stratemeyer Pseudonyms,* 280.

[117] The decline of the dime novel in the 1890s had multiple causes: the Panic of 1893 with a number of publishers going out of business; an end to pirating of foreign fiction through enforcement of the International Copyright Agreement of 1891, so that cheap pulp books and series books became more profitable; increasing costs of distribution with changes in postal rates; slowing demand with the introduction of cheap Sunday newspapers; and, the proliferation of cheaper slick and pulp magazines.

Dr Harry Enton (1854-1927). Harry Enton, who planned a career in writing and journalism, had his first novel serialised in the *Family Story Paper* in 1874. But his vocation as an author was interrupted in the 1880s to study medicine. After graduating in 1885, he practised as a physician until his death, and during those years he travelled extensively and wrote numerous dime novels. Although best known for the creation of the character of Frank Reade, Enton stopped writing the 'Frank Reade' stories when his publisher, Frank Tousey, substituted the house name 'Noname' for Enton's name as author. Enton continued to write for George Munro's *Fireside Companion* and Norman L. Munro's *Golden Hours* using the pseudonym Wenona Gilman.[118] He also wrote short stories as Val Versatile for Norman L. Munro's *New Sensation* and for contributions to *The Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland).

W(alter) Bert(ram) Foster (1869-1929).[119] Bert Foster was another prolific dime novelist that moved to the field of pulp fiction. He wrote extensively for Frank Munsey's adult adventure magazine, *Argosy*, using seven different pseudonyms for fear that his own name would appear too often.[120] Foster also created detective and western stories for children, and wrote juvenile series books in publications such as Street & Smith's *Rough Rider Weekly: The Best Wild West Stories Published* (1904-1907) and *New Buffalo Bill Weekly* (1912-1919). Reputedly, Foster 'could write in almost any vein, and was a painstaking, careful craftsman'.[121] As a contract writer for the Stratemeyer Syndicate, he was able to adapt his style so cleverly that he wrote girls' books as Alice B. Emerson and Grace Brooks Hill, and adult novels in the 'Cape Cod' series as James A. Cooper. He used the pseudonym Alice B. Emerson for volumes 1-19 (1913-23) in the clothbound 'Ruth Fielding' series (of thirty books), and his other female pseudonyms, Ruth Belmore Endicott, Grace Brooks Hill, and Amy Bell Marlowe, for his pulp magazine stories or juvenile series books.

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[118] Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion*, 97. Titles by Wenona Gilman include: 'My Own Sweetheart, or, Love's Triumph', 'Her Two Suitors, or, Won at Last', 'No Time for Penitence, or, With Home or Friends', and 'Evelyn, the Actress, or, Love Behind the Scenes'.

[119] M. Catherine Downs, *Becoming Modern: Willa Cather's Journalism* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1999), 147-148. Ironically, American novelist and journalist Willa Cather (1873-1947), who wrote under many different pseudonyms, appropriated the name 'W. Bert Foster' at least once. Apart from W. Bert Foster, Willa Cather used the following pseudonyms: W.S.C., John Esten, Mildred Beardslee, Emily Vantall, Charles Douglass, Elizabeth Seymour, Mary K. Hawley, George Overing, and John Charles Esten. Each appears only once or twice on poetry, short stories, and newspaper stories (1896-1900).

[120] Larry E. Sullivan and Lydia C. Schurman, eds., *Pioneers, Passionate Ladies, and Private Eyes: Dime Novels, Series Books, and Paperbacks* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1996), 80.

[121] Ibid.

Conclusion

Many nineteenth-century male writers in Britain and America adopted a female pseudonym to take advantage of the ready market for popular fiction, and benefit commercially in the prosperous writing/publishing marketplace. The thirty-three individual cases above demonstrate that, with the emergence of new literary genres popular with women and girl readers, a female pseudonym could guarantee a regular income and financial security, or supplement earnings from other sources.

In the mid-nineteenth century, a man's female pseudonym effectively functioned as a marketing technique when included amongst male names on the title-page list of contributors to a magazine. A mixed-gender list, seen by some as a 'violation of conventional gender codes', was a strategy to generate an air of mystery that led to increased sales of the journal.[122] When newspapers and magazines began to include story competitions, advice columns, and domestic hints, it was often the male writer under a female pseudonym who created feminised spaces for women in an otherwise masculine literary undertaking. With the growing popularity of cheap fiction aimed at women and girls, dime novelists and pulp-fiction writers churned out material at an amazing rate. They could increase their earnings by submitting a female-oriented story to multiple publications under different titles by apparently different authors. A female pseudonym protected male writers from the risk of being labelled as 'feminised', and screened their engagement in what might have been perceived as 'unnatural' activities disallowed by hegemonic masculinity in this period.

In the following chapter I consider in depth the female use of a male pseudonym throughout the nineteenth century, and compare the many complex reasons for women to use a male pseudonym with men's reasons for writing under a female pseudonym.

[122] Easley, 'Gender and the Politics of Literary Fame', 71.

Chapter 6: Female Use of the Male Pseudonym

In order to make complete sense of the male use of the female pseudonym in the nineteenth century, we need to consider the female use of the male pseudonym at that time. This chapter examines the concept of 'separate spheres' and women's access to the public arena, speculation over an author's gender identity, and some of the motives for female authors in Britain and America to employ a male or masculinised pseudonym. Throughout the chapter I refer to secondary sources such as works by Elaine Showalter and Catherine Judd. Their views on women's use of a male pseudonym have particular complementary merit and enrich our understanding of the male use of a female pseudonym through their observations of nineteenth-century gendered expectations. As Showalter points out, the male pseudonym was the 'height and trademark of feminine role-playing', as well as a way to receive serious treatment from critics and gain protection from the 'righteous indignation' of the writer's own relatives.[1] Judd contends that under a male pseudonym, by separating the private feminine self from the public masculinised image of the writer, Victorian women writers could confidently exercise a certain moral and social authority within the ideological context of separate spheres.[2] Whatever their motivations, the use of a pseudonym was as complex for women as it was for men in the nineteenth century.

Separate Spheres

There was a distinct dichotomy in nineteenth-century Britain and America between the public and private activities of men and women.[3] A man had the freedom to move between public and private spheres but a woman's 'proper' sphere was the home, where she could provide her family with comfort, order, and personal supervision. The nineteenth-century concept of 'separate spheres' grew in response to the economic shift of the 1830s and 1840s with the ensuing separation between work and family. Consequently there were physical and economic changes as a new public world developed on the basis of men with property. Jobs were being redefined as 'skilled' or 'managerial', and therefore 'masculine'. And while a whole range of

[1] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, expanded ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 57-58.

[2] Catherine A. Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England', *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing & Reading Practices*, John O. Jordan & Robert L. Patten, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 252.

[3] Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortin, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 6.

activities opened up for men, women were increasingly marginalised. Men could fulfil social expectations by pursuing their ambitions in the public sphere, but women who wanted to work were expected to transcend their female identity and labour for others.[4] Without the necessary expertise and qualifications, they were excluded from many businesses and the growing economic sphere of financial institutions. They were also denied access to new political and cultural associations where they were merely expected to continue playing support roles such as fundraising.[5]

In the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville toured extensively in America to investigate disparities between democratic America and aristocratic Europe. He was surprised at the rigour and degree to which women and men were now seen to occupy separate spheres.[6]

> In no country has such constant care been taken as in America to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace one with the other, but in two pathways that are always different. American women never manage the outward concerns of the family, or conduct a business, or take a part in political life.[7]

Whilst primary sources, such as Tocqueville's notes, documented this gendered division as apparently natural, it is now accepted that social and cultural attitudes constructed ideas of 'proper' womanhood and manhood that empowered and/or inhibited women and men. Women wielded considerable power and influence within the domestic sphere and, as the nineteenth century progressed, they used the ideology of separate spheres to justify their public reform efforts in the political, public, social, and cultural arenas.

Yet, very few women were economically independent. Working-class women could find employment as domestic servants, while a reasonably well-educated woman might be offered a position as a governess, schoolteacher, or paid companion. Generally though, opportunities for upper-and-middle-class women to work were very limited. The economic sphere was supported and restricted by religious understandings, and theologians warned of the dangers of engaging in masculine

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[4] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, 21.

[5] Catherine Hall, 'Gender Divisions and Class Formation in the Birmingham Middle Class, 1780-1850', *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory*, (Manchester: New York University Press, 2003), 270.

[6] Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History,* 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 38.

[7] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* translated by Henry Reeve, vol. 2. 4th ed. (Cambridge: Sever and Francis, 1864), 259.

pursuits in the marketplace.[8] Pamphlets, books, and sermons instructed women on how to behave. A woman's sphere was wholly domestic, man was her 'guardian', and only in marriage could she fulfil her 'divinely ordained mission'.[9] This image established the criterion for Victorian femininity in Britain and the United States.[10]

Many Victorians felt that religion, at the centre of nineteenth-century discourse, enhanced the status of women by sanctioning feminine qualities that had no place in the world of business or classical pursuits. Religion lent its impressive authority to the cult of separate spheres – on the one hand this restricted women's access to the world, but on the other it imparted a limited moral authority, particularly useful to writers.[11] Religion gave women a justification for writing and an authority to resist male power and political economy. Women writers were able to offer solutions to intolerable social problems by adapting them to domestic situations familiar to female readers.[12] Women were eager to redefine their writing as 'womanly service: selfless in intent, self-effacing in execution, enhancing rather than replacing womanly responsibility, and if possible attributable to the impetus of a man'.[13] A recommendation from their doctor, encouragement from their husband, a worthy or edifying cause, or a situation which required them to earn money, could be the necessary trigger to assuage their guilt about writing and to release their creative energies.[14] Religious, evangelical, and moral reform discourse served the functional purpose of 'doing cultural work'.[15]

Victorian male writers and critics saw a conflict of interests in the combination of marriage, motherhood, and career, motivating then to discourage women from letting literary pursuits interfere with domestic responsibilities. Women writers, however, took their household duties very seriously, and until late in the

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[8] Joyce W. Warren, 'Fracturing Gender: Woman's Economic Independence', *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader*, Karen L. Kilcup, ed. (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 148.

[9] Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976), 37.

[10] Warren, 'Fracturing Gender', 148. Domesticity was the cultural model for white middle-class women, as well as North-American middle-class black women, who were eager to distance themselves from the degrading image of slavery.

[11] Dorothy Mermin, *Godiva's Ride: Women of Letters in England, 1830-1880* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 108.

[12] Ibid., 111.

[13] Ibid., 18.

[14] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 55. In many instances women started to write as a way of resolving a financial crisis in the family usually caused by the death, illness, or departure of a husband or father.

[15] Dale M. Bauer and Philip Gould, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Nineteenth-Century American Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 3.

century, sincerely tried to assimilate and balance the responsibilities of their personal and professional lives.[16] They increasingly found new openings for their practice and exerted a strong influence on the literary world by contributing to the periodical press, journals, and magazines. They also worked as reviewers and publishers' readers.[17] Successful publication assured financial independence and the satisfaction of having their work recognised. Furthermore it brought women into contact with the outside world and a wider circle of friends. These women shared a literary tradition that was unfamiliar to men and, fully aware of their prescribed gender roles, they looked to each other for example, support, and approval, rather than to their male counterparts in the public sphere.[18]

Female Resistance to Male Condescension

Some Victorian reviewers believed that the literary form of the novel was best suited to the relatively low status of women's education and to the kind of training women acquired through their life experiences. They saw the novel primarily as a narrative concerned with the minutiae of everyday life. Because of this, according to Showalter, domestic fiction denoted 'feebleness, ignorance, prudery, refinement, propriety, and sentimentality', and women novelists were regarded as 'vain, publicity-seeking, and self-assertive'.[19] The nineteenth-century medical world claimed that women's brains were smaller and less efficient than men's, their emotions unrestrained, and their reproductive systems incompatible with mental exertion.[20] Women's writing was therefore treated as a separate category and often devalued as such by reviewers.

Humiliated by male condescension, typical women novelists of the mid-nineteenth century faced a dilemma. They were eager to avoid special treatment and to genuinely succeed as writers, and at the same time were worried that they might

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[16] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 61, 70. Despite the perceived conflict of interests, critics extended special treatment to mothers who emerged as authors – mothers were regarded as 'normal' women, untainted by the sexual stigma of the unmarried and the childless.

[17] Lyn Pykett, 'A Woman's Business: Women and Writing, 1830-80', *An Introduction to Women's Writing: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, M. Shaw, ed. (Hemel Hemstead, Herts: Prentice Hall, 1998), 151.

[18] Mermin, *Godiva's Ride,* xix.

[19] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 20.

[20] Pykett, 'A Woman's Business', 168.

The kind of pseudonym that women chose for more intellectual writing, such as historical or scientific works and journal articles, was more likely to be a gender-neutral Christian name and a surname. This form of pseudonym, such as Antares Skorpios, Thuos Mathos, and Burns Redivivus, signals the serious nature of the writing and a degree of intelligence greater than that normally attributed to nineteenth-century women.

seem unwomanly. But while it is true that women writers were not taken seriously, there were marked exceptions: such women as Elizabeth Gaskell and Harriet Martineau responded to suggestions of inferiority by enthusiastically affirming their domestic bliss, and presenting their writing as an extension of their womanly role and as an activity that enriched their femininity.[21] By denouncing their self-assertiveness and by urging self-sacrifice and submission, they worked to compensate for their desire to write.[22] However, by drawing attention to their powerful feminine drive for self-expression and their creative passion for writing, this strategy tended to diminish the professional and intellectual aspects of their work. Critics were even more patronising than before and continued to trivialise the works produced by women: their writing was dismissed for its ignorance and scorned for its display of knowledge, derided for feminine weakness and criticised for unwomanly force.[23]

This pattern of obedience and resistance in women's writing was reflected in the moral crises faced by their heroines.[24] Jane Eyre (*Jane Eyre*, 1847), for example, alternated between submission and rebellion, between passivity and self-assertion, and between restraint and freedom. In order to achieve self-fulfilment and happiness, she had to learn to subordinate her passions to reason, adapt her desire for experience to her dependent position, and control her imagination.[25] In the nineteenth-century climate of evangelical revival, imaginative literature was considered suspect, and women writers were confronted by haunting childhood guilt about fantasies and imaginings. In fact, the idea that daydreams were isolating, antisocial, and amoral pervades Victorian literary culture. Novels and popular poetry were deplored for corrupting young readers, breeding dissatisfaction and restlessness, and stifling the desire for productive activities. Readers and critics alike complained about women's apparent loss of femininity and sexual innocence both in writing for the public and in reading inappropriate texts.[26]

Wary of discrimination and wishing to be treated seriously by critics, women could conceal their identity (often with the pretext of a male persona) by publishing under a pseudonym or anonymously. Showalter notes that women journalists, as well as novelists and poets, resorted to pseudonymity and anonymity in order to promote

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[21] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 85.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Mermin, *Godiva's Ride*, xvii.
[24] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 21.
[25] Lilia Melani, *Charlotte Brontë: Jane Eyre*, Brooklyn College Web Site, 2004. http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/cs6/bronte.html (last accessed 27 March 2018).
[26] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 56.

intellectual freedom, to encourage a more favourable reception of their work, and to permit independent expression without fear of reprisal. Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) and Elizabeth Rigby (1809-1893) even used a 'mannish way of talking' to disguise their contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review* respectively.[27]

Showalter sees the increasing use of the male pseudonym in the 1840s as a marker of an historical shift that signalled 'loss of innocence'.[28] She suggests that a male persona was part of the fantasy life of many women writers from childhood, a masculine name representing all that transcended the oppression of the feminine ideal. Male role-playing provided a more effective outlet for a female author's 'deviant' qualities than her heroines did. Charlotte Brontë, in particular, had several male aliases in the Angrian chronicles, including Charles Thunder, Charles Townsend, and Captain Tree.[29] Her Angrian visions, 'erotic, amoral, escapist, overcharged, and unsuitable for publication', echo throughout all of Brontë's novels as well as her later fragmentary writing.[30] In 1837 Brontë wrote to Poet Laureate Robert Southey for advice on her poems. He cautioned that:

> The daydreams in which you habitually indulge are likely to induce a distempered state of mind; and, in proportion as all the ordinary uses of the world seem to you flat and unprofitable, you will be unfitted for them without becoming fitted for anything else. Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life, and it ought not to be.[31]

Discouraged and confused by his letter, Brontë replied:

> You do not forbid me to write; you do not say that what I write is destitute of merit. You only warn me against the folly of neglecting real duties, for the sake of imaginative pleasure . . . I have endeavoured not only attentively to observe all the duties a woman ought to fulfil, but to feel deeply interested in them. I don't always succeed, for sometimes when I'm teaching or sewing I would rather be reading or writing; but I try to deny myself.[32]

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[27] Ibid., 59.

[28] Ibid., 19.

[29] Ibid. The gloom of Charlotte's Brontë's home on a bleak Yorkshire hillside was deepened by her mother's early death, and before she was ten years old she had spent many months at a school (model for the notorious 'Lowood' in *Jane Eyre*) where she was miserable, and where her two older sisters contracted the illness from which they died. Charlotte and her younger siblings, Emily, Anne, and Branwell, withdrew into the imaginary world of Angria with their toy soldiers. Charlotte, eventually the dominant creative force behind the Angrian play, developed complex, interconnected plots that were strongly influenced by histories and legends, and the literature of Byron, Scott, and contemporary writers, as well as recent political events.

[30] Mermin, *Godiva's Ride,* 10.

[31] Muriel Spark, *The Brontë Letters* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 65.

[32] Ibid., 66.

As her own experience expanded to replace her imaginary world, Brontë forced herself (at the age of twenty-three) to withdraw from the world of Angria in order to write more sober fiction.[33] Like Jane Austen before her, Brontë set her stories in the real world to draw attention to the social, economic, and financial restraints imposed on women.[34] Elizabeth Bennet (heroine of Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, 1813) and Jane Eyre shared an eagerness to assert themselves in 'unfeminine' fashion against unreasonable, immoral, and oppressive constraints. Brontë found a rich source of material for her novels in the experiences of governesses and teachers, and saw education as the key to the independence enjoyed by Jane Eyre. Writing fiction provided a way to earn a living, while the use of the gender-neutral pseudonym, Currer Bell, offered a chance to explore her creative potential and achieve a measure of satisfaction. The use of the first-person narrative voice emphasised the heroine's social and emotional hopes and dreams, her struggles, and her frustrations.[35] The heroine's orphaned status underlined the emotional and economic vulnerability of women and at the same time represented female characters liberated from constraints of social convention.[36]

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[33] Mermin, *Godiva's Ride,* 14. This reflected the shift in literary taste and marketability from poetry to prose fiction in the 1830s and 1840s. Charlotte Brontë began to move in wider literary circles, meeting such writers as Elizabeth Gaskell and William Makepeace Thackeray, to whom she dedicated *Jane Eyre*. After the tragic deaths of her brother and sisters, she married her father's curate, Arthur Bell Nicholls in 1854, but died the following year, possibly from pneumonia, while expecting her first child.

[34] Ruth Sherry, *Studying Women's Writing: An Introduction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), 57.

Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority', 252. Jane Austen's 'A Lady' was the pseudonym used most frequently in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by women writers.

[35] Pykett, 'A Woman's Business', 163. In her 1849 novel *Shirley*, Brontë returned to the third-person narrative style of the Angrian tales in order to distance herself from the heroine, whose eagerness to experience unsolicited love produced accusations of coarseness.

[36] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, 58. Brontë inspired other women writers to use a male pseudonym. Some examples of nineteenth-century British women writers, before and after Brontë, with their male or masculinised pseudonyms are: Catherine Gore (1799-1871) – Albany Poyntz; Caroline Clive (known as Mrs Archer Clive, 1801-1873) – Paul Ferrol, George Ferrol; Rosina Lytton (1802-1882) – George Gordon Scott; Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) – Cotton Mather Mills; Ellen Wood (known as Mrs Henry Wood, 1814-1887) – Johnny Ludlow; Elizabeth Carne (1817-1873) – John Altrayd Wittitterly; Eliza Notley (1820-1912) – Francis Derrick; Jane Francesca Wilde (1821-1896) – John Fanshawe Ellis; Felicia Skene (1821-1899) – Erskine Moir, Francis Scougal; Harriet Parr (1828-1900) – Holme Lee; Charlotte Riddell (1832-1906) – F. G. Trafford; Anne Puddicombe (1836-1915) – Allen Raine; Mary Molesworth (1839-1921) – Ennis Graham; Isabella Harwood (1840-1888) – Ross Neil; Mary E. Hawker (1848-1908) – Lanoe Falconer; Katharine Bradley (1848-1914) jointly with Edith Cooper (1862-1913) – Michael Field; Mathilde Blind (1851-1896) – Claude Lake; Mary Kingsley (1852-1931) – Lucas Malet; Henrietta Stannard (1856-1911) – John Strange Winter; Violet Paget (1856-1935) – Vernon Lee; Mary Chevalita Dunne (1859-1949) – George Egerton; Charlotte O'Conor Eccles (1860-1911) – Hal Godfrey; Violet Martin (1862-1915) – Martin Ross; Adela Nicholson (1865-1904) – Lawrence Hope; Pearl Craigie (1867-1906) – John Oliver Hobbes; Margaret Barber (1869-1901) – Michael Fairless.

British/American Male Pseudonyms

The authors of *The Woman Question* (1983) suggest that the prevalence of the male pseudonym in Britain meant that British women novelists were more ambitious but more troubled than their American counterparts.[37] Perhaps they were driven by critical bias to employ a male pseudonym, and loss of that protection caused great distress. High standards in Britain may have also prompted an eagerness to overcome charges of feminine inferiority and to be accepted by the press.[38] Rather than choose a male pseudonym, American women were more inclined to resort to anonymity or neutral names if they stepped beyond the accepted boundaries of the domestic novel.[39] Rebecca Harding Davis, for example, decided to remain anonymous when describing the hopeless, degrading conditions faced by immigrant industrial workers in West Virginian iron mills (*Life in the Iron-Mills,* 1861).[40] Likewise, Louisa May Alcott refused to put her own name to her lurid potboilers and instead chose to use the neutral A. M. Barnard.[41]

Alcott embraced the concept of a masculinised pseudonym for works that defied gendered expectations. Only in her signed fiction did her heroines act within

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[37] Elizabeth K. Helsinger, Robin Lauterbach Sheets, and William Veeder, *The Woman Question: Society and Literature in Britain and America, 1837-1883, Volume 3: Literary Issues* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 65.

Maggie Barbara Gale and Vivien Gardner, eds., *Auto/biography and Identity: Women, Theatre and Performance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 80, n. 15. Two centuries earlier, French women writers were adopting male pseudonyms; Madeleine de Scudéri (1607-1671), better known as 'the French Sappho', wrote, under her brother's name, several controversial novels with characters based on contemporary distinguished people. Nineteenth-century French women also concealed their identities under a male pseudonym for simplicity at least. 'Baronne' Amandine Aurore Lucie Dupin Dudevant (1804-1876) wrote as George Sand (as well as Jules Sand and Dr Pifföel). Comptesse d'Agoult, Marie Catherine Sophie de Flavigny (1806-1876) used the pseudonym Daniel Stern, while the revolutionary writer Louise Michel (1830-1905) found that her chances of having work published were far greater if she signed it 'Louis Michel'.

[38] Helsinger, et al., *The Woman Question,* 65. This was demonstrated with Charlotte Brontë's identification as Currer Bell and the revelation that George Eliot was a woman.

[39] Ibid.

Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 19.

[40] Janice Milner Lasseter and Sharon M. Harris, eds., *Rebecca Harding Davis: Writing Cultural Autobiography* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2001), 6. Davis published fourteen stories anonymously for the *Atlantic* between 1862 and 1867. In 1866, the year her second son was born, she published for the first time under her own name, 'Mrs. R. H. Davis'.

[41] Gregory Eiselein and Anne K. Phillips, eds., *The Louisa May Alcott Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 34. While Louisa May Alcott produced children's books that were popular and lucrative, she also wrote adult thrillers, novellas, poems, and gothic 'potboilers', many published anonymously or under one of her pseudonyms – A. M. Barnard, Flora Fairfield, Aunt Weedy, Oranthy Bluggage, and Minerva Moody.

the bounds of social conformity.[42] She usually implied, in her fiction for young women, that work simply meant being involved in something constructive and fruitful rather than providing financial independence. But in her unconventional and pseudonymous novels for adults she articulated her belief in autonomy for women.[43] In an unequal society Alcott felt that marriage was enslaving and destructive for a woman who would not only lose her freedom, happiness, and self-respect, but would also sacrifice her chance of ever attaining economic independence and true contentment.[44] Protected by pseudonymity, Alcott wrote of women who were economically independent and who courageously asserted their power to challenge the authority of the dominant male.

Whilst male pseudonyms were popular in England during the nineteenth century, relatively few women writers in the United States used them, choosing to enter 'the public sphere as self-identified Americans and daughters of liberty'.[45] Showalter describes how awareness of social expectations and pressures was evidenced in American women's choice of publication signatures, which usually masked their identities but not their gender.[46] They typically employed pseudonyms that allowed the adoption of a different female identity and the protection of anonymity – female pseudonyms such as Diana Butler (real name, Henrietta Tindal), Florence Dawson (Julia Wedgwood), and Susan Morley (Sarah Spedding). Mid-nineteenth-century American women often used pastoral names – Fanny Fern, Grace Greenwood, Fanny Forrester – creating a fashion for alliterative floral pseudonyms.[47]

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[42] Ibid., 158.

[43] Warren, 'Fracturing Gender', 156. Primarily remembered for her children's classics such as *Little Women*, Louisa May Alcott (1832-1888) was born the second of four girls in Germantown, Pennsylvania. (A brother died as an infant). Her father Bronson was a noted Transcendentalist and experimental educator, but despite his intellectual achievements and social standing, he was not a good provider for his family. Feeling increasingly responsible for their financial needs, Alcott and her elder sister took in mending and laundry, and helped educate young children. She was an active suffragette and a nurse in the Civil War where she contracted typhoid fever. She recovered from the illness but gradually succumbed to the effects of mercury poisoning from her medication, and died two days after her father in March 1888.

[44] Ibid., 157.

[45] Elaine Showalter, *A Jury of Her Peers: Celebrating American Women Writers from Anne Bradstreet to Annie Proulx* (New York: Vintage, 2010), xvi.

[46] Showalter, *A Jury of Her Peers,* 17.

[47] Ibid., Anne Bradstreet published as 'a Gentlewoman' in the seventeenth century, while eighteenth-century women writers were more likely to use classical pseudonyms, such as: Theodisia, Portia, Marcia, Sylvia, Philenia, and Constantia. Early in the nineteenth century, women writers were inclined to publish anonymously or use pseudonyms and signatures such as 'A Lady of Massachusetts'. Lydia Maria Child, for example, published her first book as 'By an American'. By mid-nineteenth century the fashion was for alliterative, flowery, 'hyperfeminine' pseudonyms – Delia Daisy, Fanny Foxglove, Harriet Honeysuckle, Lily Laburnum, Paulena Poppy, Minnie Mignonette, Julia Jonquil, Seraphina Sunflower, etc. Alliterative names were also popular with nineteenth-century

Elizabeth Stoddard (1823-1902) addressed concerns over her own literary style in the first column she wrote for the *Daily Alta California* (7 October 1854): she wondered whether to present herself as 'a genuine original' or to adopt the style of her 'botanical' contemporaries, such as 'the pugilism of Fanny Fern, the pathetics of Minnie Myrtle, or the abandon of Cassie Cauliflower'.[48] She published her articles instead under the initials of her maiden name E.D.B. (Elizabeth Drew Barstow).[49]

Some American women chose to write under a male pseudonym in order to embark on a career in publishing or to avoid public censure for their involvement in a so-called male profession. For example, dime novelist Ann Sophia Stephens (1810-1886) ventured into the genre of American humour to satirise fashionable New York society under the pseudonym Jonathan Slick, Esq. (in *High Life in New York*, 1843).[50] Mary Virginia Hawes Terhune (1830-1922), best known by her pseudonym Marion Harland, published a series of articles in two weekly religious papers at the age of fifteen. Purporting to be letters from an old man, they appeared under the pseudonym Robert Remer.[51] Mary Noailles Murfree (1850–1922) began to publish articles in *Lippincott's* in 1874 under the pseudonym R. Emmet Dembry. In 1878 she began her long career as Charles Egbert Craddock, earning fame for her Southern regionalist writing. Her identity remained unknown for six years, even to her publishers, as no one suspected that a woman could write mountain tales in such a strikingly masculine style.[52]

Twentieth-century critics have recognised dime novelist Metta Victoria Fuller Victor (1831-1885) as the author of the first detective novel, *The Dead Letter* (1864), which was published under the pseudonym Seeley Regester.[53] Victor also produced humorous works as Mrs Mark Peabody and as Walter T. Gray. Matilda A. Bailey (b.1870) used the pseudonym Sam Waggle to write comic articles that were attributed

female journalists in the U.S.: Sarah Payton Parson (1811-1872) – Fanny Fern; Jane Cunningham Croly (1829-1901) – Jennie June; Elizabeth Wilkinson Wade (1837-1910) – Bessie Bramble; and Elizabeth Meriwether Gilmer (1861-1951) – Dorothy Dix.

48 Susan Belasco, 'Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard, the "Daily Alta California", and the Tradition of American Humor', *American Periodicals* 10 (2000), 18. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20770874?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents (last accessed 16 March 2018).

49 Ibid. Stoddard later commented that 'Five new Minnie Myrtles have appeared since the date of my last, and three young Fanny Ferns, all warranted as good as the originals.'

50 Denise D. Knight and Emmanuel S. Nelson, eds., *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 388.

51 Karen Manners Smith, 'Mary Virginia Terhune (Marion Harland): Writer, Minister's Wife, and Domestic Expert', *American Presbyterians* 72, no.2 (Summer 1994), 111-122. JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/stable/23333368 (last accessed 22 March 2018).

52 Emily Satterwhite, *Dear Appalachia: Readers, Identity, and Popular Fiction since 1878* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 27-53.

53 Knight and Nelson, *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers*, 437.

to 'a masculine pen'.[54] She was a regular contributor to the *New Orleans Times* using the pseudonym Forlorn Hope for her series of sketches entitled 'Heart Histories'. Mary Bayard Clarke (1854-1886) seldom signed her own name to her works, and usually wrote poetry and prose as 'Tenella', but published considerably under the male pseudonym Stuart Leigh. With this name on letters and newspaper articles she opposed the Reconstruction policies in the South during the 1860s, thus becoming 'an effective spokesperson for the Conservatives'.[55]

Most nineteenth-century American women who used a male pseudonym appear to have been well-educated, passionate campaigners for women's rights. Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820), an early advocate for sexual equality, wrote under a selection of pseudonyms, including Constantia, the Reaper, Honora Martesia, and most famously as her male persona of Mr Vigilius, or the 'Gleaner'. This masculine pseudonym allowed her readers to consider her ideas seriously, rather than dismiss them as 'merely' from a female pen. It was only when she had established her reputation as an author that Murray revealed her identity as a woman.[56] Elizabeth Oakes Smith (1806–1893), popular novelist and contributor to literary magazines, was also an advocate for women's rights. Under the pseudonym Ernest Helfenstein, she wrote poetry that explored 'the gendered terrain of nineteenth-century poetic possibilities and limitations', comparing the enduring literary reputation of the male poet, such as Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849), with the virtual obscurity facing the female poet.[57] In the preface to her adult Christmas fable, *The Salamander* (1848), Oakes Smith acknowledged the 'death' of her male pseudonym with the subtitle 'Found amongst the papers of the late Ernest Helfenstein. Edited by Elizabeth Oakes Smith'. Although she 'killed off' Ernest Helfenstein, she continued to publish poems

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[54] Mary T. Tardy [The Author of 'Southland Writers'], *The Living Female Writers of the South* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1872), 157.

Some women who wrote under gender-neutral or masculinised pseudonyms were: Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (1815-1852) – H. Trusta; Helen Hunt Jackson (1830-1885) – H.H. and Saxe Holm; Katherine Sherwood Bonner McDowell (1849-1883) – Sherwood Bonner; and Alice French (1850-1934) – Octave Thanet.

[55] Terrell Armistead Crow and Mary Moulton Barden, eds., *Live Your Own Life: The Family Papers of Mary Bayard Clarke, 1854-1886,* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), xiv.

[56] Bruce Burgett, *Sentimental Bodies: Sex, Gender, and Citizenship in the Early Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 125.

[57] Eliza Richards, *Gender and the Poetics of Reception in Poe's Circle* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 155, 165. Richards points out that 'Helfenstein' ('helping stone') 'advertises the pseudonym's function as an aid to understanding masculine structures of poetic expression … By writing as a man, Oakes Smith demonstrated the interdependence of gendered conventions rather than enforcing separate spheres of poetic discourse'.

under his name in *The United States Magazine* into the late 1850s.[58]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, writers such as novelist Dorothy Canfield Fisher (1879-1958) and anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons (1875-1941) used male pseudonyms on their radical feminist works. Canfield Fisher was an educational reformer and social activist, attacking intolerance of every kind. She contributed short stories and articles to magazines under her own name as well as the male pseudonym Stanley Cranshaw. Parsons wrote a feminist textbook, *The Family* (1906), promoting equal opportunities for women. It generated some notoriety for its lengthy discussion of trial marriage, capturing the attention of her husband's political opponents. Parsons refused 'to submit to social mores and meaningless entertainments', so to protect her congressman husband from further political embarrassment she published her next two books under the pseudonym John Main.[59]

Female Empowerment

Women's attempts to conceal identity, especially in Britain, reflected the ambivalence in the literary world about publication and loss of privacy, and the precarious relationship between women writers, the reading public and literary critics.[60] Women writers had to choose a publisher carefully, especially if the content of the work was thought too indelicate for the established publishing houses. W. H. Smith rejected Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) partly because the heroine, Lyndall, was not married to the father of her child. Notwithstanding, the book was an immediate bestseller and undoubtedly a popular addition to W. H. Smith's sales stock of yellowbacks when eventually published by Chapman and Hall. They accepted *African Farm* for publication on condition that it appeared under the pseudonym Ralph Iron, because of the prevailing bias against women writers.[61] Schreiner found that her male pseudonym enabled her to defy social convention and to guardedly present her radical feminist ideas to the public. The book proved extremely controversial with its progressive views about marriage and religion, challenging conventional ideas of gender and sexuality. Schreiner concealed her

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Knight and Nelson, *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers,* 283. Elsie Clews Parsons used the pseudonym John Main for *Religious Chastity* (1913) and *The Old Fashioned Woman* (1913).

[60] Mermin, *Godiva's Ride*, 50.

[61] 'Olive Schreiner', Encyclopedia of World Biography, *Encyclopedia.com.* http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/olive-schreiner (last accessed 26 March 2018).

identity as the book's author until its second edition in 1891.

In her essay, ‘Male pseudonyms and female authority in Victorian England’, Catherine Judd contends that the use of a male pseudonym actually empowered the nineteenth-century female writer through separation of the public and private self. She challenges the accepted notion (about the use of male pseudonyms by women writers) that the use of a male pseudonym highlights female repression in a patriarchal society, forcing women to hide their true identities. According to Judd, this pervasive notion tends to distort our understanding of the position of the female writer in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace. Judd identifies a ‘cluster of mythic images’ surrounding the Victorian woman writer: the male pseudonym was a necessary disguise owing to the gender bias of the literary marketplace; the domestic novelist hid her name to protect the family honour and to shield herself from family disapproval; and, the male pseudonym was ‘a mark of the androgyny of the female domestic novelist’ as well as a symptom of the woman’s need to feel somehow masculinised in order to ‘pick up the phallic pen’.[62]

Although, as Judd points out, the use of a pseudonym was neither obligatory nor deemed necessary in the publishing world, and mid-nineteenth century women were free to choose, the intense emphasis by historians on the use of a male pseudonym is not displaced. Not wishing to trivialise the very real discrimination and prejudices that women encountered (socially, legally, educationally, vocationally, politically, financially, sexually, etc.), Judd draws attention to the increasing authority of and respect for the female voice during the nineteenth century. The male pseudonym was indeed a mask, not to hide ‘disreputable femininity’ but to conceal the feminine self that Judd describes as ‘domestic, heroic, creative, sacred, and martyred’. Thus, through the separation of the private feminine self from the public masculinised image of the writer, Victorian women writers could confidently exercise a certain moral and social authority in the public arena.[63]

Judd suggests that female authors, such as Charlotte Brontë and Mary Anne Evans (George Eliot), adopted male (or masculinised) pseudonyms for reasons other than fear of gender bias from their readers and censure from their critics, or from difficulties in finding a publisher. Brontë and her sisters, ‘averse to personal

[62] Judd, ‘Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority’, 251. Another explanation for the need of a male pseudonym stems from twentieth-century readings about androgyny and masculinisation of women.

[63] Ibid., 251-252.

publicity', veiled their names under those of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell:[64]

> [T]he ambiguous choice being dictated by a sort of conscientious scruple at assuming Christian names positively masculine, while we did not like to declare ourselves women, because … we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice; we had noticed how critics sometimes use for their chastisement the weapon of personality, and for their reward, a flattery, which is not true praise.[65]

Eliot, also wary of false flattery, found that it was necessary to ignore reviews of her own fiction, so as to avoid the discouragement caused by 'ill-judged praise, no less than ill-judged blame'.[66] Eliot begged journalists to refrain from favouring women's writing so that women were forced to aim for, and be judged by, the same high literary standards expected of their male counterparts.[67]

As professional writers with some knowledge of the literary marketplace, Brontë and Eliot consciously chose to become 'public women' and to renounce any claim to anonymity. Eliot had already established a professional identity as a journalist, critic, and translator before embarking on a career as a novelist. In her private life she seldom referred to herself as 'George Eliot'. Early letters to John Blackwood were signed with her pseudonym but once her identity was revealed, she signed all professional correspondence as 'M. E. Lewes'.[68] She and Charlotte Brontë were probably representative of a large number of women who chose masculinised pseudonyms in order to distance themselves from the masses of women writing in the domestic genre, rather than from concern about being silenced as women in a male-dominated marketplace.[69] They not only wanted honest approval of their work but

[64] According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, it is widely accepted that Charlotte Brontë derived the first name of her pseudonym from their neighbour, Frances Mary Richardson Currer, a well-known scholar and book collector. The origin of the surname, Bell, is more obscure; it could have come from the middle name of a recently-arrived assistant clergyman, Arthur Bell Nicholls, from a contraction of brother Branwell's name, or from the prominent educationalist, Dr Andrew Bell.

[65] Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855), *Charlotte Brontë's Notes On Pseudonyms Used By Herself and Her Sisters, Emily and Anne Brontë* (Champaign, Ill.: Project Gutenberg, 199-?, netLibrary e-book), 1.

[66] Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority', 254.

[67] George Eliot, 'Silly Novels by Lady Novelists'. *The Westminster Review*, no.xx (London: John Chapman, October 1856), 460. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/silly-novels-by-lady-novelists-essay-by-george-eliot (last accessed 24 March 2018).

[68] Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority', 257.

Carmela Ciuraru, *Nom de Plume: A (Secret) History of Pseudonyms* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2011), 46. Mary Anne Evans eventually dropped the 'e' from 'Anne' and later changed her name to Marian, but at the end of her life she reverted to 'Mary Ann'. In biographies her name is spelt with confusing variation.

[69] Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority', 253.

they were also anxious about being judged by a 'class standard'.

It was useless, however, to expect a pseudonym to protect their identity from curious readers and critics. Even though Eliot and Brontë never published their novels under their own names, their identities were well known soon after their books first appeared. When it became known that Currer Bell was really a woman, several prominent critics who had admired the novel *Jane Eyre* expressed their disapproval over the level of romantic emotion, sexual passion, and animal coarseness.[70] Jane Eyre was seen to be the personification of a dangerous, unregenerate, and undisciplined spirit, and critics assumed a connection between her uncontrolled passion and political unrest. On the eve of great social and political conflict, the novel provided an unsettling glimpse, both threatening and exhilarating, into the world of feminine desire. According to Judd, the female voice was suddenly granted a new kind of power.[71]

The professional identities of women like Brontë and Eliot were inextricably linked with their masculinised pseudonyms. Judd claims that this reinforced the split between public and private, professional and domestic, and actually enhanced woman's domestic authority.[72] In her *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Elizabeth Gaskell presented Brontë's life as divided into two parallel streams. These were 'life as Currer Bell, the author' and 'life as Charlotte Brontë, the woman'.[73] Judd argues that this division gave the impression of Brontë the artist closeted within a 'feminine, domestic, and hidden space', suggestive of secret, Romantic creativity. The portrayal of her public self as 'masculine and a known fiction' also emphasised the divide between a 'false and authentic' self.[74] Thus the masculine, public self was created within the feminised, private space and then presented to the public for consumption. Female use of a male (or masculinised) pseudonym implied that the private, as the

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E. C. Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1857), 104. Elizabeth Gaskell wrote: 'Miss Brontë, as we have seen, had been as anxious as ever to preserve her incognito in *Shirley*. She even fancied that there were fewer traces of a female pen in it than in *Jane Eyre*; and thus, when the earliest reviews were published, and asserted that the mysterious writer must be a woman, she was much disappointed. She especially disliked the lowering of the standard by which to judge a work of fiction, if it proceeded from a feminine pen; and praise mingled with pseudo-gallant allusions to her sex, mortified her far more than actual blame'.

[70] Ruth Sherry, *Studying Women's Writing: An Introduction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), 58. Having completed her studies in Brussels, Charlotte Brontë published *Poems*, a book of verse by all three sisters, under the pseudonyms of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell.

[71] Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority', 258.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Alan Shelston, ed. (New York: Penguin, 1975), 334.

[74] Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority', 258.

'realm of origination', had priority over the public and the masculine. Judd sees the public self – commercial, transient, and tainted – as the masculine mask that shields the feminine self from the corruption of the literary marketplace.[75]

According to Showalter, an entire age in literary production (the 'feminine phase') was characterised by the choice of male pseudonyms by British women writers.[76] Publicly, this choice reflected a desire both to impress the reviewers and to avoid personal attack. Privately, it implied both the fantasy of a more exciting identity and the guilt of choosing an occupation 'in direct conflict with woman's status'.[77] A masculine, masculinised, or gender-neutral pseudonym enabled women to venture into the male-dominated literary marketplace without fear of social reproof. By the 1860s so many British women were using male pseudonyms that the *Dublin University Magazine* was calling for novelists to throw off their 'garments borrowed from the sterner sex' and become as 'womanly' as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Felicia Hemans.[78] 'It is a poor compliment to male critics', maintained the *Dublin University Magazine*,

> to suppose that the putting of a man's name in the first page of a new novel will therefore blind them to the real authorship of that novel … striving to copy the man's free carriage, deep tones, and hard reasonings, she can only succeed in behaving like a better sort of monkey.[79]

A male pseudonym was often used for an author's early works and as her skill and confidence grew, or as circumstances dictated, she would use another pen name or revert to her real name. May Sinclair's career conformed to this pattern. She originally aspired to life as a poet and philosopher, publishing her first book *Nakiketas and other Poems* (1886) under the pseudonym Julian Sinclair. Jilted in love, poor, and trapped with family responsibilities, she turned to writing fiction as May Sinclair and published her first novel, *Audrey Craven*, in 1897. Her first major success, *The Divine Fire* (1904), ironically a critique of the bookselling industry, established her reputation as a novelist in America as well as in Britain. Psychological complexity, frankness, and sexual explicitness became characteristic of

[75] Ibid., 261.

[76] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 57-60. This phase supposedly lasted from the 1840s when the male pseudonym first appeared until the death of George Eliot in 1880.

[77] Helsinger, et al, *The Woman Question,* 65.

[78] Ibid., 64.

[79] Ibid. From 'Recent Popular Novels', *Dublin University Magazine*, 57 (1861), 191-93.

her fiction, which proved to be a far more financially rewarding genre than poetry.[80]

Sometimes a male pseudonym was used only once in a writer's career, but to great effect. Caroline Norton (1808-1877), for example, wrote incessantly after a disastrous marriage, publishing poetry and novels in her own name and sometimes anonymously. When her husband refused her access to her children she decided to take action to change the law and lobbied friends and political contacts. She wrote three influential political pamphlets that advocated changes in custody law. The third of these, *A Plain Letter to the Lord Chancellor on the Infant Custody Bill* (15 December, 1838), appeared under the pseudonym Pearce Stevenson. In 1839 parliament passed the Infant Custody Bill, allowing mothers to appeal for custody of children under seven and access to children under sixteen. The act was seen as the first piece of legislation to undermine the patriarchal structures of English law and, although Norton was not a feminist seeking women's rights, she managed to 'redress a grievous wrong' through the influence of a male pseudonym.[81]

Women often used multiple pseudonyms, a practice that grew steadily throughout the century and enabled women to identify with a different genre, a different style, or a different publishing house.[82] Some women used different names when submitting work to particular publishers or contributing to an assortment of magazines. Mrs Henry Wood (1814-1887), for example, first used a male persona for 'Stray Letters from the East'. It appeared in the *New Monthly Magazine* between July and December 1854 under the name Ensign Thomas Pepper. Later, as editor and proprietor of *The Argosy*, she wrote up to half the contents of each edition. Among her unsigned contributions was a series of over one hundred stories narrated by Johnny Ludlow, which appeared from 1868 until her death. These stories were often

[80] Max Saunders, 'Sinclair, Mary Amelia St Clair (1863–1946)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-37966 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[81] K. D. Reynolds, 'Norton, Caroline Elizabeth Sarah (other married name Caroline Elizabeth Sarah Stirling Maxwell, Lady Stirling Maxwell) (1808–1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20339 (last accessed 29 March 2018). The three influential pamphlets were: *Observations on the Natural Claim of a Mother to the Custody of her Children as affected by the Common Law Right of the Father* (1837), *The Separation of Mother & Child by the Law of Custody of Infants, Considered* (1838), and *A Plain Letter to the Lord Chancellor on the Infant Custody Bill* (1839), the third under a male pseudonym.

[82] Adrian Room, *A Dictionary of Pseudonyms and Their Origins, with Stories of Name Changes* (Chicago: St James Press, 1989), 22.

praised as superior to the work of sensationalists such as Wood herself.[83] By using pseudonyms for different aspects and genres of her work she created male personae to differentiate between the public and private self.

Throughout the nineteenth century, women increasingly used masculinised pseudonyms (especially initials and surname) in the genres of poetry, fiction, and journal or newspaper articles. Mary Chapman (1838-1884) started writing her first novel at the age of fifteen. It was published in 1860 under the pseudonym Francis Meredith. Her next novel appeared in 1862 under the pseudonym J. Calder Ayrton, the name she used for all save her last novel in 1879. This appeared under the masculinised form of her name, M. F. Chapman – a practice in common with many other female writers of the period.[84] This form of pseudonym was popular amongst New Woman writers, as it implied the strength of independent and intelligent thought without specifically identifying the gender of the writer. Nineteenth-century female authors used this form of pseudonym 'deliberately and consciously', expecting readers to assume that a male author was behind the abbreviated Christian name. Full initials (such as E.D.E.N.) could usually be counted as female pseudonyms, and abbreviated first names (M. F. Chapman) as male.[85]

One of the most prolific writers of novels for older girls and women, Elizabeth ('Lillie') Thomasina Smith (née Meade, 1854-1914) chose to be known by her pseudonym L. T. Meade not only as an author but also in every aspect of her public life. She produced 280 books with more than thirty different publishers, and

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[83] Sally Mitchell, 'Wood, Ellen [Mrs Henry Wood] (1814–1887)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29868 (last accessed 29 March 2018). In 1879 it was finally revealed that Wood had written the Johnny Ludlow stories.

[84] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 59. Women writers of the late 1800s expressed their romantic fancies in pen names such as 'Sarah Grand' and 'The Duchess'; they often used male or female pseudonyms, middle names, or initials, such as: Storm Jameson; Radclyffe Hall; G. B. Stern; I. Compton-Burnett; V. Sackville-West.

Radclyffe Hall (1880-1943) [Marguerite] believed that she was a man trapped in a woman's body; she liked to be called John, assumed her father's name as a pseudonym, and appeared conspicuously masculine with 'cropped hair, monocles, bow-ties, smoking jackets, and pipes'. The issue of Hall's identity was far more complex than hiding behind a pseudonym. Instead, the pseudonym *was* her identity, her way of being a man. And nobody questioned that Ethel Richardson (1870-1946) was a male writer when she adopted the pseudonym Henry Handel Richardson for her first novel, *Maurice Guest* (1908). She became widely known as H.H.R. or even Henry.

[85] Susanne Kord, *Little Detours: The Letters and Plays of Luise Gottsched* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), 135. Other women who used initials and surname included: Elizabeth Sheppard (E. Berger), Charlotte Riddell (R. V. Sparling, F. G. Trafford), Elizabeth Elmy (E. Ellis), Emma Brooke (E. Fairfax Byrrne), Edith Jay (E. Livingston Prescott), Mona Caird (G. Noel Hatton), Gertrude Campbell (G. E. Brunefille), Mabel Robinson (W. S. Gregg), Mary Dowie (M. Nugent), Anna Buchan (O. Douglas), Emily Haigh (D. Triformis, S. Robert West, J. Wilson, G. Whiz), Edith Maud Winstanley (E. M. Hull), and Marie Stopes (G. N. Mortlake).

short stories and essays in a wide variety of periodicals.[86] Her early ambition to write disgusted her father, an Irish Protestant clergyman – no lady in his family had ever worked for money.[87] When her father remarried, Elizabeth moved to London and ensconced herself in the Reading Room of the British Museum to prepare for her writing career. Married with three children, she proved herself a typical New Woman writer, capably balancing her domestic duties with an active career as editor and professional writer. The use of her maiden name in her pseudonym suggests a defiant attitude towards her father and a public acknowledgment of her strength and confidence as a writer under the family name.

Author Attribution

Publishers encouraged writers to use anonymity or pseudonymity in targeting a specific audience, or experimenting with new genres or plots without risking the reputation of an established author. Pearl Craigie (1867-1906) used a pseudonym mainly because her publisher, T. Fisher Unwin, was keen to include her book in his new *Pseudonym Library*. With the love story, *Some Emotions and a Moral* (1891), she 'burst upon the literary scene as John Oliver Hobbes'.[88] Henrietta Stannard (1856-1911), at the age of fourteen, began a ten-year period writing short stories for magazines under the pseudonym of Violet Whyte. However, once she started writing novels her publisher suggested that given their subject matter 'they would stand a better chance' as the work of a man, hence her male pseudonym John Strange Winter.[89] Her reputation as a novelist on military life was firmly established through her bestseller, *Bootles' Baby: a Story of the Scarlet Lancers* (1885), which sold two million copies. Even after disclosing her identity, Stannard retained the pseudonym for the rest of her professional career.[90]

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[86] Sally Mitchell, 'Meade, Elizabeth Thomasina (1844–1914)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-52740 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[87] Ibid.

[88] Mildred Davis Harding, 'Craigie, Pearl (1867–1906)', *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32612 (last accessed 29 March 2018). Pearl Craigie, daughter of a New York merchant, was born in Boston, but the family settled in London soon after she was born. She was married for a brief time to an Englishman, Reginald Walpole Craigie, with whom she had a son.

[89] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 59.

[90] Owen R. Ashton, 'Stannard, Henrietta Eliza Vaughan (1856–1911)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.

Many women were pleased to be misidentified as a man and enjoyed the status of a male author.[91] Reviewers assumed that novelist Edith Jay (1847-1901) was a man. She published mostly fiction books with military settings under the pen name E. Livingston Prescott as a tribute to two of her forebears with army connections.[92] And Violet Martin (1862-1915), who was 'delicately feminine in appearance', took particular pleasure in meeting people who had thought, from her pseudonym Martin Ross, that she was a man. Her nickname among her group of independent women friends was Mr Ross.[93]

American author Alice Brown (1857-1948) wrote her first novel, *My Love and I* (1886), under the pseudonym Martin Redfield, because her publishers 'thought it would have a better chance of success with a man's name on the title-page'.[94] The story, told in the first person with Martin Redfield as a character, created a sensation. Different male writers, including Arnold Bennett and Jeffery Farnol, were suggested as the author. One review exclaimed that: 'Considering the strength of the book, there is likely to be considerable discussion as to the identity of the author. One thing is certain – no woman could have written *My Love and I*'.[95] The male pseudonym gave Brown an opportunity to play a joke on her close friend, poet Louise Imogen Guiney, who was in England at the time of publication. Brown sent Miss Guiney a copy of *My Love and I* with 'an inscription indicating that the author was a young man'.[96] Completely fooled, Miss Guiney asked all her acquaintances in Boston to find out who Martin Redfield was. When the deception was revealed she wrote that she was misled because it was obviously 'a practised hand … and full of artistry – the work of

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http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36251 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[91] 'Mr., or Miss, or Mrs.' *The New York Times*, 12 December 1903. Article archive: 1851-1980. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F10615F73B5D16738DDDAB0994DA415B838CF1D3 (last accessed 22 March 2018). From an article in *The New York Times*: 'Presumably when a woman writer disguises both her identity and her sex by using either a masculine pseudonym or one that may denote either gender, she is flattered when reviewers call her "Mr." She must desire her writing to be taken for a man's work. We have known a thoroughly competent reviewer to call Miss Violet Paget "Mr. Vernon Lee" or "Mr. Lee" a dozen times in the course of a review of moderate length. The author of "Pigs in Clover," who signs her word Frank Danby [Julia Frankau], and writes with masculine vigor, is frequently taken for a man'.

[92] Ashton, 'Stannard, Henrietta Eliza Vaughan'.

[93] John H. Schwarz, 'Jay, Edith Katherine Spicer (1847–1901)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-55965 (last accessed 28 March 2018).

[94] Stanley J. Kunitz, Howard Haycraft, and Wilbur C. Hadden, eds., *Authors Today and Yesterday: A Companion Volume to Living Authors* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1933), 99.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

a man who has written much poetry'.[97]

Anna Buchan (1877-1948) wrote under an assumed name because her brother John had already established the family's literary reputation. Her first novel, *Olivia in India: the Adventures of a Chota Miss Sahib* (1913), contained letters home from the heroine Olivia Douglas – the origin of her pseudonym O. Douglas. Her mother actually admitted that she preferred Anna's novels to John's, and to Anna's further delight, a Canadian enthusiast identified her work as by 'John Buchan, the brother of O. Douglas'.[98] Eliza Cook (1812-1889), a self-educated, working-class poet, had written many of her best poems by the time she was fifteen. From about 1836 her poetry was published in several magazines signed only with her initials E. C. Many people thought that the poems were written by a man and compared them to those of Robert Burns, a high compliment indeed. Dorothy Boulger (1847-1923), a prolific and versatile writer of fiction in different genres, wrote under the name Theo Gift, causing some reviewers to believe that she too was a male writer. Adela Nicolson (née Cory, 1865-1904) wrote as Laurence Hope, and her first volume of poetry, *The Garden of Kama and other Love Lyrics from India* (1901), was also reviewed as the work of a man and accepted as a book of translations from traditional Indian songs. Their oriental settings and passionate intensity attracted so much attention that the book was reissued every year for the next fourteen years.[99]

Researching the reception history of Victorian women novelists, Ellen Miller Casey read about 11,000 anonymous fiction reviews that were published in the leading weekly critical journal, *The Athenaeum*, from 1860 until 1900.[100] Casey confirms that one of the most striking features of nineteenth-century reviews is the energetic speculation about the author's gender, so much so that the reader paid more attention to identifying the author than to the story itself. Critics and readers alike accepted the double standard of masculine and feminine stereotypes and used it

[97] Ibid.

[98] Louis Stott, 'Buchan, Anna Masterton (1877–1948)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-61010 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

[99] F. L. Bickley, 'Nicolson, Adela Florence (1865–1904)', rev. Sayoni Basu, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35237 (last accessed 29 March 2018). After her husband died during a medical operation, Adela, prone to depression since childhood, committed suicide by poison at the age of 39. Her son Malcolm published her *Selected Poems* posthumously in 1922. Adela's sister was the novelist Anna Sophie Cory who wrote under the pseudonym Victoria Cross.

[100] Ellen Miller Casey, 'Edging Women Out?: Reviews of Women Novelists in the *Athenaeum*, 1860-1900', *Victorian Studies*, 39.2 (1996), 151.

automatically in their game of literary detection. Reviewers would break down anonymous and pseudonymous works into masculine and feminine elements to determine the author's sex. This attention to gender was necessary because of the reviewers' 'uncertainty over identity generated by pseudonyms, anonyms, and author-identifications'.[101] The *Athenaeum* data from reviews between 1860 and 1900 indicate that men and women were equally likely to hide their gender, men more commonly under initials, and women under a male or gender-neutral pseudonym. However, women were 'more likely to assume a gender disguise' than men: Casey's sample contained forty-nine novels by thirty-six different women using male pseudonyms, but only three novels written by men under female pseudonyms.[102]

According to Showalter, female writers were reputed to possess 'sentiment, refinement, tact, observation, domestic expertise, high moral tone, and knowledge of female character', but were believed to lack 'originality, intellectual training, abstract intelligence, humour, self-control, and knowledge of male character'.[103] Male writers, on the other hand, traditionally demonstrated knowledge of science, the classics, and foreign languages. Their work displayed 'power, breadth, distinctness, clarity, learning, abstract intelligence, shrewdness, experience, humour, knowledge of everyone's character, and open-mindedness'.[104] Casey found that feminine humour was thought to be entirely lacking or quietly witty, whilst masculine humour was robust and able to provoke laughter. Feminine style demonstrated 'complicated phraseology' and 'peculiar jargon'. And both sexes usually wrote from the point of view of the central character.[105] Reviewers expected women novelists to create either a 'Mr Perfect' who was handsome and well built, or a licentious, but irresistible, libertine. Male authors, on the other hand, would portray female characters as tomboys or gentle nonentities.[106]

As the 'gender-based double standard' diminished throughout the nineteenth century, reviewers could no longer determine an author's gender from a novel.[107] The use of pseudonyms and anonyms generated confusion and, although reviewers usually managed to identify the author and assign the correct gender, sometimes they

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[101] Ibid., 155.

[102] Ibid., 162. By men: *A Dark Secret* by Eliza Rhyl-Davies (William Clark Russell), *Esther* by Frances Snow Compton (Henry Adams), and *Mountain Lovers* by Fiona Macleod (William Sharp).

[103] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own,* 90.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Casey, 'Edging Women Out', 157.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

were 'spectacularly wrong'. Sheila Kaye-Smith (1887-1956) published her first full-length novel, *The Tramping Methodist* (1908)*,* at the age of twenty-one. Noted for its strength and forcefulness, it was the first in a series of novels portraying past and present life in Sussex. Kaye-Smith wrote from a masculine point of view, raising suspicions about the author's gender. One critic commented that 'Sheila Kaye-Smith' was probably a pseudonym because of the novel's 'virility, the cognisance of oath and beer, of rotating crop, sweating horses, account book, vote and snicker-snee'.[108]

Like Lost Sheep (1885) by Arnold Gray was attributed to a female author because of obvious 'familiarity with the minutiae of feminine toilette, the relentless exposure of sundry feminine foibles, and the use of certain essentially feminine epithets in speaking of good-looking men'.[109] The reviewer apologised to Gray three years later but advised him against using detailed descriptions of fabrics and clothes with highly emotive adverbs and adjectives, which were 'eminently calculated to mislead the conscientious critic as well as the indolent reviewer'. Another reviewer insisted that Rhoda Broughton's *Cometh up as a Flower: an Autobiography* (1867) was not written by 'a young woman, but a man, who, in the present story, shows himself destitute of refinement of thought or feeling, and ignorant of all that women either are or ought to be'.[110]

Occasionally, confusion in gender identity was the outcome of a name common to both men and women, such as Jocelyn, Evelyn, and even Cecil.[111] It was uncertain whether Evelyn, in particular, was intended as a male or female pen name, exemplified in the case of three women who adopted 'Evelyn' in their pseudonyms.[112] Edith Thompson (1848-1929), historian and lexicographer, actively involved herself in professional history networks, but sought anonymity for her published work. Her 'obsessive secrecy' and use of pseudonyms, such as Evelyn Todd, makes it difficult to determine the full extent of her literary output.[113] Evelyn Everett-Green (1856-1932), who was baptised Eveline, later adopted the spelling 'Evelyn', and wrote fiction under the pseudonyms Evelyn Ward, Evelyn Dare, and

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[108] Kunitz, *Living Authors,* 206.

[109] Casey, 'Edging Women Out', 155.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Edith Hull (1880-1947) named her daughter and only child 'Cecil' because she and her husband had wanted a boy.

[112] None of the three women married and two lived openly with another woman.

[113] Hilary Clare, 'Green, Evelyn Ward Everett- (1856–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-58974 (last accessed 29 March 2018).

Cecil Adair. From 1883 she lived with her friend Catherine Mainwaring Sladen. Poet Ursula Bethell (1874-1945) published most of her work under the pseudonym Evelyn Hayes; she settled in New Zealand with her companion, Effie Pollen.[114] This use of a male/female name implies an intentional blurring of the gender boundaries.[115]

Conclusion

On the surface the foremost reason for nineteenth-century women to write under a male pseudonym was to publish more easily in a man's world. A male pseudonym provided the anonymity necessary for a woman's work to be assessed on its literary merit rather than on the basis of gender difference. Under a male pseudonym a woman could avoid public criticism for participating in a 'male' profession and could write publicly in order for her voice to be heard. It gave a woman the chance to adopt a male persona and speak with greater authority in a society where women's political and social views were commonly disparaged.

Yet the view that women writers used the cross-gender pseudonym exclusively as a protective shield against corruption in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace or the prejudices of a patriarchal society is somewhat limited. Many of the reasons for the female use of a male pseudonym were similar to the personal motives that persuaded male writers to use a female pseudonym, even if the stakes were higher. Women writers may have been seeking entry into the literary marketplace. They may have been keen to write but were lacking in confidence, ashamed of the content or structure of their writing, or concerned that readers might recognise themselves in the work. They may have wished to conceal their identity or dissociate themselves from a family name for fear of compromising family or friends

[114] Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English: Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1990), 90.

[115] Robert E. Matheson, *Varieties and Synonymes of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland: for the Guidance of Registration Officers and the Public in Searching the Indexes of Births, Deaths, and Marriages* (Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1901), 26. Internet Archive. https://archive.org/stream/varietiessynony00math#page/n3/mode/2up (last accessed 22 March 2018). Some of the Christian names (in 1901) commonly used for males or females were Florence, Marion, Sydney or Sidney, Evelyn, Cecil, Shirley, Jocelyn, Pearl, and Giles. As explained by Robert Matheson, 'Sometimes ordinary Christian names distinctively belonging to one sex are given to the other. Thus a child named "Winifred" was recently registered in Cork as a male. On inquiry it was ascertained that the name and sex were both correctly entered. … "Jane" has also been notified as applied to a male, and "Augustus" to a female. … "Nicholas" has been reported from two districts as applied to females, and "Valentine" from another district. In Belfast a female child was lately registered from the Maternity Hospital as "Irene", but the name was subsequently corrected by the father, on a statutory declaration before a magistrate, to "Robert". In reply to a query on the subject, the Registrar stated the name given to the female child being a male name (Robert), he called the attention of the father to the fact at the time, and the father replied it was his wish to have the child called "Robert"'.

or of discrediting themselves. They may have wished to separate their private lives from their public or professional careers. And they may have longed for imaginative freedom by creating a gender-neutral or androgynous persona unrestricted by gendered expectations.

Nineteenth-century women in Britain and America were just as likely as men to use a cross-gender pseudonym for ideological reasons. Early in the nineteenth century women who wrote didactic fiction with strong moral guidelines on how girls were meant to behave, commonly wrote under a female name. However, under a male pseudonym, female writers such as the Brontë sisters were free from societal restraints to show that women could be as passionate, strong-willed, and rebellious as the heroines in their novels. Towards the end of the century when women were challenging gender roles and fighting for female rights and independence, female authors using male pseudonyms were able to convince girls that society owed them far more than they were led to believe. Under a cross-gender pseudonym men and women alike were able to impart middle-class social values through moral and religious instruction, or to expose current examples of human weakness or foolishness. Male and female writers were also able to bring about genuine reform by highlighting social, political, and economic problems. The work of female writers was certainly not as devious or offensive as that of their male peers, but was still capable of subverting religious, political, and social authorities.

Whilst more serious female authors chose to use a male or gender-neutral pseudonym to dissociate themselves from inferior genres such as potboilers and romance fiction, male writers would use a female pseudonym to write in those particular genres in order to appeal to a female audience and take advantage of the growing demand for cheap fiction. Men were more likely than women to write for commercial reasons, although both male and female writers, especially single or widowed women, welcomed the promise of financial independence or the security of a regular income afforded by a cross-gender pseudonym.

In fact, according to Showalter, female writers could 'use a masculine name to represent everything in their personalities that transcended the cramping feminine ideal'.[116] Although literary historians have traditionally concentrated on understanding the female use of the male pseudonym, the socially determined restrictions of gender identity constrained both women *and* men to perform in

[116] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, 58.

particular ways. Despite its liberating effects, male use of the female pseudonym is symptomatic of the limiting strictures of conventional boundaries and the ‘cramping’ *masculine* ideal.

Conclusion

The research for my thesis was prompted by three related questions. First, how widespread was the practice of nineteenth-century male writers using female pseudonyms? Second, why did this practice occur so commonly and in such a wide selection of genres? And third, why have historians and literary scholars found it difficult to appreciate that it ever happened? My research has uncovered many examples that, on close analysis, have yielded a deeper understanding of motives for the male use of the female pseudonym in nineteenth-century literature.

In answer to the first two questions, my thesis demonstrates that male use of the female pseudonym was a relatively common practice in the nineteenth century, with multiple examples occurring across many genres and publications. Men used female pseudonyms for genres considered 'feminine', such as romance novels, gossip columns, household advice, sentimental verse, and children's literature. They also wrote under female pseudonyms in such genres as periodical articles, letters to newspapers, religious pamphlets, satirical works, and pornography.

The case studies I present in this thesis have been broadly organised into the three main categories of personal, ideological, and commercial. Notwithstanding such categorisation, and as my examples have shown, the motives for men writing under a female pseudonym were diverse, and often determined by specific social, financial or political situations, and the interests or needs of the individual. Some case studies, therefore, contain very detailed descriptions of the writer's life and his works. Others are brief, depending on the significance of the writer, the complexity of the pseudonym and its use, and the availability of biographical and bibliographical details. Nevertheless, my research proves that the phenomenon of men writing under a female pseudonym did occur, that it was patchy and varied in nature, and that the number of examples falls within the realms of dozens (although there were many men using female pseudonyms who will never be identified). Importantly, my collection of data shows conclusively that all previous presumptions about the nature of pseudonymous writing in the nineteenth century, and the gendered assumptions on which they are based, are incomplete at best.

The third question that arises and invites further research is the reason why this practice has been ignored. Why has it been overlooked for so long, and indeed so deliberately dismissed as untenable? While examples of nineteenth-century women

using male pseudonyms are well studied and theorised, research of men who adopted a cross-gender pseudonym has until now been neglected. There was a general acknowledgment in nineteenth-century literary circles that men were using female pseudonyms to capitalise on the commercial popularity of books written by women, but men's use of female pseudonyms spread far wider than the genre of fiction. Certainly the practice of men using female pseudonyms was not entirely obvious, even if some examples were hiding in plain sight. But we must look beyond this. Even though there was concealment, it is surprising that it was not until Tuchman's study in 1989 that any actual investigation of the practice took place, and even that was a by-product of her study's main purpose.

Possibly some male writers were troubled by the constant speculation over the identity of an author when a new work of high quality appeared under a pseudonym, prompting them to take greater precautions in concealing their identities. Some writers went to extreme lengths to avoid recognition, occasionally employing a wife or sister to copy a script in their more delicate, 'feminine' handwriting. As a result it was not until the twentieth century that the names of many of these pseudonymous writers were revealed.

Nineteenth-century men and women, and probably some twentieth- and twenty-first-century critics, have had a blind spot concerning questions of gender, seeing it as relevant only to women's, and not men's, identity. A relational approach to, and understanding of, gender in the nineteenth-century historical context helps redress the balance. Gender-based theories of the 1960s and 1970s were importantly concerned with identifying and recuperating the significance of women writers in literary history. They tended to present rather simplistic, mono-causal arguments for the use of pseudonyms in the nineteenth century. They also implied that the use of the pseudonym was exclusively a protective shield for women from hostility in a patriarchal society or against the corruption of the literary marketplace.

Because their writing was valued differently, and typically less favourably than men's, women were often compelled to submit work for publication under an assumed name. This afforded the anonymity necessary for the work to be assessed on its literary merit rather than on the basis of gender difference. The male pseudonym was indeed a necessary disguise because of the gender bias of the literary marketplace, but the domestic novelist also hid her name to protect the family honour, to shield herself from family disapproval, or to dissociate herself from a

family name. Male role-playing often provided an effective outlet for the author's suppressed idiosyncrasies, as the use of a male pseudonym promoted intellectual freedom and inspired imaginative and liberating play. Many women writers were actually pleased if their gender was wrongly identified as male. As Showalter points out, a masculine name represented all that transcended the oppression of the feminine ideal.[1]

By contrast, and as far as men were concerned, the shame of writing in a feminine genre, especially under a female pseudonym, was very real for some men. Recent interpretations of masculinity reveal how nineteenth-century middle-class men experienced a genuine fear of the feminine and feminisation and vehemently protested that women were intruding into a man's world. In an era when they were trying to distance themselves from all things feminine, men carefully and successfully used female pseudonyms to conceal their identities.[2] Their pride and reputation were at stake if the reading public or literary colleagues were to recognise that they were writing as a woman. Hence, the practice of the male use of a female pseudonym has probably never appeared substantial enough for further investigation.

Finally, this leads us to consider the continuation of this practice today, since it is likely that twenty-first-century men now use female pseudonyms as frequently as male writers did in the nineteenth century, often with similar motives. With recent technology it has become much easier to identify a male author hiding behind a female name. Consequently, recent cases of male playwrights submitting new plays under female pseudonyms have come to light. In 2015 every one of the top ten male playwrights who entered for the Bruntwood Prize, Britain's biggest national competition for new and original plays, used a female or gender-neutral pseudonym.[3] Jennifer Richards, in her article 'The "Diversity Card": Why Are Men Using Female Pseudonyms?' (2018), suggests that men 'feel more comfortable' in writing 'from what they think is a female perspective', prompting the judges to 'look at the writing not the writer'.[4] One of the 2015 Bruntwood Prize winners, James Fitz, entered his play *Parliament Square* as by Penelope Pitstop. 'It's very rare to be able to strip your

[1] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, expanded ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 57.

[2] An exception here was the more open use of a female pseudonym in a satirical or humorous mode that allowed writers to be less cautious in expressing their ideas publicly through a female persona.

[3] Jennifer Richards, 'The "Diversity Card": Why Are Men Using Female Pseudonyms?' *London Playwright's Blog* (5 March 2018). http://www.londonplaywrightsblog.com/?p=10046 (accessed 19 April 2018).

[4] Ibid.

play of you,' Fitz said. 'Being able to choose your pseudonym and mask yourself was great'.[5]

Women readers in the twenty-first century reputedly represent up to eighty per cent of the fiction market, eagerly digesting crime novels and psychological thrillers that are usually associated with male authors and male readers.[6] This recent explosion of 'female-oriented' crime fiction has enabled an increasing number of male writers to publish thrillers under gender-neutral or female pseudonyms, written from a woman's point of view. In 2009, British crime writer Martyn Waites responded to his editor's search for a 'high-concept female thriller writer', by adopting the female pseudonym Tania Carver. Waites's 'mainstream commercial thrillers' aimed at a female audience soon became more successful than any of his previous books. Sophie Gilbert, in her article, 'Why Men Prefer to Be Women to Sell Thrillers' (2016), states that the 'case of a male author using a female pseudonym to write fiction was relatively unheard of when Tania Carver emerged', despite the fact that towards the end of the twentieth century dozens of British and American male writers produced romance and suspense novels under female pseudonyms.[7] The success of Waites's book has inspired a spate of commercially driven imitators and raised the question of the propriety of men breaking into the now-established female genre of crime fiction under a female or gender-neutral pseudonym.[8]

The above examples imply that many of the incentives for contemporary men to hide their identities under a female pseudonym are similar to those for male writers in the nineteenth century, not only in hard-copy print but also now in online articles and comment pages. Personal motives still inspire men to write under a female pseudonym: a male author might feel more comfortable using a female pseudonym to write from a female perspective; his work is perhaps more likely to be judged for the writing and not the writer; and a writer can more readily detach his work from his

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[5] Sophie Gilbert, 'Why Men Prefer to Be Women to Sell Thrillers', *The Atlantic* (3 August 2017). https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/08/men-are-pretending-to-be-women-to-write-books/535671/(accessed 19 April 2018).

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

Otis Chandler, 'Male Authors Who Wrote Romances Using A Female's Pseudonym/Pen Name', *Goodreads* (2007). https://www.goodreads.com/list/show/104973.Male_Authors_Who_Wrote_Romances_Using_A_Female_s_Pseudonym_Pen_Name (accessed 20 April 2018). John Michael 'Mike' Butterworth (1924-1986) wrote gothic romance novels in the 1970s and 1980s under the pseudonyms Carola Salisbury and Sarah Kemp; Peter O'Donnell (1920-2010) wrote historical romance and suspense novels in the 1970s and 1980s as Madeleine Brent; Hugh C. Rae (1935-2014) wrote romance novels in the 1990s and early 2000s as Jessica Stirling and Caroline Crosby.

[8] Gilbert, 'Why Men Prefer To Be Women'.

own personality under the mask of a female pen name in order to present it as written by a female persona. Commercial gain also remains a strong motive, as fiction for a female audience is profitable when written as if by a woman. What is most apparent from these examples, however, is the significantly more open discussion by writers and critics in the twenty-first century about both men's and women's use of pseudonyms. Perhaps this reflects that there is less anxiety about, and a greater receptiveness towards, flexibly gendered identities.

Finally, it is important to overturn the standard narrative of female use of the male pseudonym, and expand on the research already undertaken in relation to nineteenth-century masculinities. We need to explore the social and cultural meanings of masculinity in specific historical situations. And we need to study changes and tensions in social relations in order to understand how (and how easily, or under what specific constraints) men and women are able to change their positions in relation to the 'ideological processes of gender'.[9] This thesis has concentrated on the binary framework of gender that shaped publishing and writing practices in the United States and British nineteenth-century contexts. In light of recently heightened discussion and debate of gender as non-binary and dynamic, it lays the foundation for more productive reflection and revision in future work.

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[9] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10.

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Appendix A:
‘Various Modes of Disguise Used by Pseudonymous Writers’[1]

Adulterism. Name altered or adulterated, as Veyrat (Xavier Vérat) d’Alembert (J. Le Rond-Dalembert).
Allonym (allonymous). False proper name. Work published to deceive under the name of some author or person of reputation, but not by him; as Peter Parley (an annual), a work with which S. G. Goodrich, who invented and used that name, had nothing to do.
Alphabetism. As A.B.C.D. (Francis Atterbury, 1710).
Anagram. Letters of name or names arbitrarily inverted, with or without meaning, e.g. Olphar Hamst (Ralph Thomas).
Anonym. Book without an author’s name.
Apoconym. Name deprived of one or more letters.
Apocryphal. Book of which the authorship is uncertain.
Aristonym. Title of nobility converted into or used as a proper name.
Ascetonym. Name of a saint used as a proper name.
Asterism. One or more asterisks or stars used as names, as **** ****** (James Pycroft).
Boustrophedon. The real name written backwards, as Dralloc (Collard).
Cryptonym. Hidden subterfuge. Applied to an author who conceals his name in some part of his volume.
Demonym. Popular or ordinary qualification or description taken as a proper name, as Chronicles of London Bridge by an antiquary (Richard Thomson).
Enigmatic-pseudonym. As les frères Gébéodé (Gustave Bruney and Octave Delepierre).
Geonym. Name of country, town, or village, as an Englishman, a Londoner.
Hagionym. Same as Ascetonym.
Hieronym. Sacred name used as a proper name.
Initialism. Initials of the author. T.B. (Brewer), S.E.B. (Brydges).
Ironym. Ironical name, as Orpheus C. Kerr (office seeker), disguise of R. H. Newell.
Pharmaconym. Name of a substance or material taken for a proper name, as Silverpen (Eliza Meteyard).
Phraseonym. A phrase used instead of a proper name, as a Member of the Established Church (Sir John Bayley, Bart.).
Phrenonym. Moral quality taken for a proper name, as Edward Search (Abraham Tucker).
Prenonym. (Christian) Name taking the place of the family name, as Anthony Hope for Anthony Hope Hawkins.
Pseudandry. Woman using a man’s name, as George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans).
Pseudo-initialism. False initials, as Z. (Hannah More) or Major A***** (C. B. Coles).
Pseudojyn. Man signing a woman’s name, as Clara Gazul (Prosper Merimée), Sarah Search (Frederick Nolan).
Pseudo-titlonym. False title, as a Lincolnshire grazier (T. H. Home).
Scenonym. Theatrical name.
Stigmonym. Dots instead of name.
Syncopism. Name deprived of several letters.
Telonism. Terminal letters of a name, as N.S. (John Anstis).
Titlonym. Quality or title, as a graduate of Oxford (John Ruskin).
Translationism. Translation of the real name, as G. Forrest (Rev. J. G. Wood).

[1] William Prideaux Courtney, *The Secrets of our National Literature: Chapters in the History of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Writings of our Countrymen* (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Limited, 1908), 32-33.

Appendix B:

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Appendix C: Database

Details of Nineteenth-Century Male Writers who used Female Pseudonyms in Britain and the United States of America
(In Order of Birth)

Key Events in Britain	Key Events in America
1789-1809	
1789 French Revolution 1790 Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* 1799 Religious Tract Society founded 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte comes to power 1800 Wordsworth's *Preface* Parliamentary union of Great Britain and Ireland 1802 *Edinburgh Review* founded 1803 Insurrection in Ireland 1804 Napoleon declares himself emperor 1805 Battle of Trafalgar 1806 *Monthly Repository* founded 1808 Peninsula War starts 1809 *Quarterly Review* founded	1789 George Washington becomes President 1790 Capital moved to Philadelphia 1791 Bill of Rights goes into effect 1792 U.S. Mint established in Philadelphia 1793 Eli Whitney invents cotton gin 1794 Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania 1795 North Carolina establishes first state university 1796 Washington's farewell address 1797 John Adams becomes President (-1801) 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts passed 1800 Federal government moves from Philadelphia to Washington, D.C. 1801 Thomas Jefferson becomes President (-1809) Tripoli declares war on United States Robert Fulton creates first submarine 1808 Slave importation outlawed in U.S. 1809 James Madison becomes President (-1817)

Author	Female Pseudonym/s	Other Known Pseudonyms	Biographical Summary
Black, John (1753-1813) British (Scottish) Minister of Religion	Sappho Search Rev. John Black used this pseudonym in his notorious criticism of Hannah More: *A Poetical Review of Miss Hannah More's Strictures on Female Education; in a Series of Anapestic Epistles* (1800). Poetry: literary criticism (1800)		13 September 1753 baptised in village of Guthrie, Angus, Scotland. Father James Black; mother Barbara Keird. Fourth child (but eldest son) of nine in family. No formal education. Private tuition in Edinburgh. Lived in Brechin then Montrose. 1776 Moved to London. 1776 Married May Logie (1747-?); nine children from marriage. 1776 Private academy to study for clergy. 1777 First church St Nicholas, Yarmouth in Norfolk. 1778 Eldest son, (Captain) John Black, born in Yarmouth. 1779 Moved to Woodbridge, Suffolk.

			1783 Ordained Priest. Excellent classical scholar and poet of some note, highly respected and amiable. Published sermons and poems. 1795 Son John joined ship the *Walpole*. 1789-1813 Perpetual Curate at Butley. 1798 Published narrative of mutiny on board *Lady Shore*, from details in letter from son, one of surviving officers. 1800-1806 Chaplain at Woodbridge House of Correction and Headmaster of Woodbridge Free School. Chaplain at the military camp at Bromeswell (Napoleonic Wars). 1802 Son's ship the *Fly* lost at sea. 1807 Perpetual Curate of Ramsholt. 30 August 1813 died in Woodbridge, aged fifty-nine.
Nolan, Frederick (1784-1864) British (Irish) Theologian	Sarah Search Nolan used this pseudonym for pamphlets containing his outspoken and reactionary views against the Oxford Movement, etc. Pamphlets: theology (1820s-1830s)	A Reformer; N. A. Vigors, jun., Esq; Norman Aylward Vigors	Born 9 February 1784 at Old Rathmines Castle, co. Dublin. Third son of Edward and Florinda Nolan. 1796 Entered Trinity College, Dublin; did not graduate. 1803 Matriculated at Oxford as a gentleman commoner of Exeter College to study at libraries. 1805 Passed exam for degree of BCL – taken in 1828 with DCL. 1806 Ordained. (1808 A Rev. Frederick Nolan, amateur flautist, adopted a new kind of open key to refine flute playing.?) Curacies at Woodford, Hackney, and St Benet Fink, London. 1822 Vicarage of Prittlewell, Essex. 1814 Delivered Boyle lectures, 1833 Bampton lectures, and 1833-6 Warburtonian lectures. First clergyman chosen to deliver above lecture series in immediate succession. Extreme theological conservative. Opposed Oxford Movement. Published lectures and reactionary pamphlets. 1832 Elected fellow of Royal Society. Set up press at Prittlewell. 16 September 1864 died at Geraldstown House, co. Navan, aged eighty. Survived by wife, Angelina; no children.

Mogridge, George (1787-1854) British Children's writer and religious author	Aunt Newbury; Aunt Upton; Grandmamma Gilbert Mogridge used these pseudonyms for stories and collections of verse for children. Juvenile Literature: children's stories, religious tracts, verse (1820s-1830s)	Amos Armfield; Ephraim Holding; Godfrey Gilbert; Grandfather Gregory; Jeremy Jaunt; Old Alan Gray; Old Anthony; Old Father Thames; Old Humphrey; O.O.O; Peter Parley; The Encourager; The Traveller; Uncle Adam; Uncle Newbury; X.Y.Z.	Born 17 February1787 in Ashted, suburb of Birmingham. Son of Matthias Mogridge, successful canal agent (mother's name unknown). Attended village school. From age five to fourteen boarded at Boarscote Boys' School. Apprenticed to japanner at fourteen. Read Spenser, Chaucer, and Ossian in spare time. Wrote verse for local newspaper. Contributed to Ackerman's *Poetical Magazine*. For three years produced manuscript serial, 'The Local Miscellany', collection of secular and sacred poetry and prose, for friends. At twenty-four in partnership with brother in japanning trade. Published articles in *The Birmingham and Lichfield Chronicle* under pseudonym Jeremy Jaunt. 1812 Married Elizabeth Bloomer; two sons, one daughter from marriage. 1820? Houlston tract *Thomas Brown*, sentimental anonymous ballad. 1822 Wife died. 1825 Married Mary Ridsdale; one son from marriage. 1826 Bankrupt. Wife (Mary) returned to Ashted with children. Wandered alone. July 1827 took lodgings in London – never financially secure. Joined by wife and two younger children. Launched writing career as X.Y.Z with tracts for Religious Tract Society. Wrote for Tract Society's magazine *The Weekly Visitor* as Old Humphrey (best-known pseudonym); for Sunday school teachers and working men as Ephraim Holding; for ragged schools as Old Father Thames. Wrote over 200 works for range of publishers. Used over twenty pseudonyms. Died in Hastings, Sussex, 2 November 1854, aged sixty-seven.
Hook, Theodore Edward (1788-1841) British Novelist and humorist	Mrs Ramsbottom; Miss Lavinia Ramsbottom; Dorothea Julia Ramsbottom; Rachael Stubbs As editor of *John Bull* Hook wrote farcical letters to the magazine under the name Mrs Ramsbottom.	Alfred Allendale; Humphrey Ramsbottom; Richard Jones T.E.H; Vicesimus Blinkinsop, LL.D.	Born 22 September 1788 in London (same year as Lord Byron, later contemporary at Harrow). Son of James Hook, musical composer, and his first wife (neé Madden). Younger of two sons. James eighteen years older than Theodore. First son, James, Dean of Worcester. Educated at 'academy' in Vauxhall districts, then aged ten at seminary for young gentlemen in Soho Square. Did not apply himself to schoolwork, played truant.

	Occasionally he wrote as Mrs Ram.'s daughter, Lavinia. He wrote one letter as Rachael Stubbs. *John Bull* carried out an assault on female support for the cause of Queen Caroline. Periodical contributions: farcical letters (1822-1831)		Musical environment. Extremely talented. Wrote songs for father. 1802 Mother died; father remarried soon after. Sent to Harrow but returned home on mother's death. 1805 Wrote comic opera 'The Soldier's Return', performed at Drury Lane. Continued to writer operas, melodramas, and farces. 1809 Performed infamous 'Berners Street Hoax'. Mingled with high society – Prince Regent, Coleridge, Sheridan, etc. 1812 Appointed accountant-general and treasurer to Mauritius. October 1813 arrived in Mauritius; found festive dissipated society and joined in enthusiastically. Duties performed by dishonest subordinates. 8 March 1818 charged with embezzlement of public funds; returned to England. January 1819 arrived in Portsmouth. Father had died during absence. Years of examination by Audit Board. Guilty of grossest carelessness. End of 1819 friendless, moneyless, and disgraced. Wrote for theatres and periodicals. Started magazine *The Arcadian*. 1820 Opened campaign against Queen Caroline under pseudonym Dr. Vicesimus Blinkinsop. Towards end of 1820, editor of *The Arcadian* (only two issues), then the *John Bull*. *The Ramsbottom Papers* were published in the *John Bull* for over ten years. 1823 Audit Board's investigation complete. Hook debtor to the crown for £12,000. Property seized and sold. Hook handed over to sheriff's officer, Mr Hemp. 1823-1825 Imprisoned. Received adequate income from his pen. Devoted days to editorship duties and composition of 'Sayings and Doings'. Lived for many years with Mary Anne Doughty; at least six children from union. 1824 Published first series of 'Sayings and Doings'. Frequented coffee room of *The Athenaeum*. After 1833 utilised farce more than in his earlier works. 1836 Editor of the *New Monthly Magazine.* Died at home at Fulham 24 August 1841, aged fifty-three. Effects seized by crown.
Cooper, James Fenimore (1789-1851) American Novelist	Jane Morgan Cooper wrote the didactic *Tales for Fifteen: or, Imagination and Heart* (1823) under this pseudonym to help his publisher Charles Wiley who was financially troubled. In 1822 'Jane	A Travelling Bachelor; A.B.C; An American; Cornelius Littlepage; The American	Born 15 September 1789 in Burlington, New Jersey. Son of William Cooper, federal judge, land agent and developer, and Elizabeth Fenimore Cooper. Twelfth of thirteen children. 1790 Family moved to Cooperstown, New York, founded by his father. Boarding school in Albany. 1803-1805 Attended Yale College. Expelled for misconduct.

	Morgan' wrote in the preface: 'When the author of these little tales commenced them, it was her intention to form a short series of such stories as, it was hoped, might not be entirely without moral advantage … They are intended for the perusal of young women, at that tender age when the feelings of their nature begin to act on them most insidiously, and when their minds are least prepared by reason and experience to contend with their passions'. Some years later, he bought a copy for his eldest daughter Susan from a newsstand in New York. Juvenile Literature: didactic tales for young ladies (1823)	Scott	1806 Commission in Navy. 1809 Father died, leaving bequest of $50,000 and land. Resigned commission. 1811 Married; seven children from marriage. Financial and personal disasters prompted literary career. 1820 Wrote *Precaution*, a novel of morals and manners as challenge – first published anonymously. Began series of moral tales, two appeared in *Tales for Fifteen* (1823) under pseudonym Jane Morgan. 1822 To New York City. Founded club – Bread and Cheese Lunch. 1826 Added 'Fenimore' (mother's maiden name). Seven-year stay in Europe. 1833 Returned to America to controversial legal actions – supported republican principles. Highly productive author; best known for five 'Leatherstocking' novels: *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), *The Deerslayer* (1841). 1837 Depression curtailed large income from international sales. 14 September 1851 died in Cooperstown, one day before sixty-second birthday
Cannon, George (1789-1854) British Freethinker and publisher	Mary Wilson; Theresa Berkeley Cannon used the names of well-known prostitutes as pseudonyms for his pornographic writings such as *Exhibitions of Female Flagellants* (1827), *The Whore's Catechism* (1830), and *The Voluptuous Night* (1830). Pornography (1827-1830): flagellation literature	A Deist, Pentonville; A Lover of Truth; Abdul Mustapha; Churchman; Gulielmus; Philosemus; Reverend Erasmus Perkins	1789 Born in London. Parents and early education unknown. Well-versed in philosophy, French, theology, and literature. Between 1812 and 1815 solicitor at 1 Staple Inn. 1815 Dissenting minister's licence. Never practised in law or as minister of religion. Edited and published key texts of Enlightenment free thought, romantic poetry, and libertinist pornography. Published nothing under his real name. 1812 Founding signatory of Union for Parliamentary Reform. Correspondent in debate of Freethinking Christians. 1813 Moved to politically extreme circle of radical literati. 1814-1815 Wrote series of articles as Reverend Erasmus Perkins to undermine Christianity. 1815 Edited freethinking periodical *Theological Inquirer, or, Polemical Magazine*. Associated with Daniel Isaac Eaton and Thomas Spence.

			Gave legal advice to ultra-radicals accused of treason. Preached and debated at blasphemous chapels. Ghosted legal defences. Wrote or edited seditious popular periodicals and tracts. 1815 Published Shelley's 'Refutation of deism' and revolutionary poem *Queen Mab* in *Theological Inquirer*. 1821 Issued cheap duodecimo of *Queen Mab* under false publisher's imprint. Early 1820s began publishing erotica. Specialised in expensive flagellation literature. 1831 Sentenced to twelve months' in Totshill Fields prison for obscene libel. Published English editions of more than twenty French libertinist writers. 1841 Census – living with wife Mary and two daughters in 2 Great Mays Buildings, St Martins Lane, London. December 1853 police raid of premises. Imprisoned in Middlesex House of Correction, Clerkenwell. 7 June 1854 died in prison. Wife Mary (died c.1864) continued pornography business for ten years.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792-1827) British Poet	Margaret Nicholson Shelley used this pseudonym in his student days for an anti-establishment collection of poems, *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* (1810). Thomas Jefferson Hogg claims that he helped Shelley to compose the poems published by Munday in 1810; this is an early example of Shelley's ability to deploy humour for serious ends. Poetry: anti-establishment student satire (1810)	A Gentleman of the University of Oxford; Glirastes; Jeremiah Stukeley: John Fitzvictor; The Hermit of Marlow; Victor	Born 4 August 1792 in Horsham, Sussex. Eldest of seven children. Son of Timothy, country squire later baronet (Sir Timothy Shelley, 1815) and his wife Elizabeth. At age six to daily school run by curate. 1802-1804 Attended Sion House Academy, then Eton. Acquainted with 'fagging' system. While at Eton, wrote Gothic romance *Zastrozzi* (1810). 1810 With sister Elizabeth published *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire.* 1810 University College, Oxford. 1811 Expelled with Thomas Hogg for refusing to disavow authorship of pamphlet *The Necessity of Atheism*. Estranged from father. Eloped to Scotland with Harriet Westbrook (aged sixteen), married 1811; two children from marriage. Invited Hogg into household – led to marriage breakdown. Visited London bookshop of atheist journalist William Godwin. Influenced by Wordsworth. Various political reform activities.

			1813 Poem *Queen Mab*. 1814 Eloped with Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin (William's daughter), also aged 16, with her stepsister Jane Clairmont, to Switzerland. Spent time with Byron. 30 November 1814 second child born to Harriet. 22 February 1815 daughter born prematurely to Mary (lived few days). 1815 Settled near London with Mary. 1815 Inheritance from grandfather. 1816 Wife Harriet (advanced in pregnancy) drowned herself in Serpentine River, Hyde Park. January 1816 son William born (d.1819) to Mary. 30 December 1816 married Mary. Lost custody of Harriet's children to her family. 1816 Mary's half-sister, Fanny, committed suicide. 1816 To Geneva with Mary and Jane (renamed Claire and Lord Byron's mistress). June 1816 famous ghost story-telling competition, led to *Frankenstein*. 1819 Son Percy born. Wrote plays, poems. Sailing trips in schooner 'Don Juan'. 8 July 1822 Shelley drowned in storm, aged twenty-nine. Body washed ashore near Viareggio. Poems edited posthumously by Mary.
Maginn, William (1794-1842) British (Irish) Poet and journalist	Susanna Trollope; Sally Rogers Maginn wrote a humorous letter 'from an elderly gentlewoman', Susanna Trollope, addressed to Christopher North; titled 'Death in the Pot', it was published in *Blackwood's Magazine* March 1820. The letter had a postscript by Sally Rogers, saying that her mistress had died that evening in 'excruciating torments'.	An Irish Gentleman lately deceased; Augustinus; Blaize Fitztravesty, Esq; Bob Buller; Bombardinio; Bryan O'Toole, Esq., of Gray's Inn; Eubulus; Giles Middleswitch;	Born Cork, 10 July 1794. Eldest son of six children of schoolmaster John Maginn and Anne Eccles. Steeped in the Classics. Entered Trinity College at age of ten. 1811 Graduated Trinity College, Dublin. (BA 1811, LL.D 1819). 1813 Father died. Succeeded him in school, but later resigned school to brother John. 1819 Began contributions to *Literary Gazette*, *Quarterly Review*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, writing as R.T. Scott and Morgan O'Doherty. Parodist and writer of humorous Latin verse. Moved in protestant and Catholic middle classes, and with the lower classes. Frequently 'embalmed' folk poetry in classical languages. 1820 Visited Edinburgh; met *Blackwood's* circle. Best-known story 'Bob Burke's Duel with Ensign Brady'. 1823 Moved to London; immediately engaged by Theodore Hook as editor of *John*

	Periodical Contributions: humorous letters (1820)	Jasper Sussex; John Howley, Esq; M. O'D; Mordecai Mullion; Morgan Odoherty; Morty Macnamara Mulligan; Mummius; Olinthus Petre, D.D; Palœmon; Pandemis Polyglott, LL.D; Philips Potts, Esq; Phillip Forager; R.D.R; R.T.S; Ralph Tuckett Scott; Rev. E. Hincks, F.T.C.D; Richard Dowden; T.C; The Dromedary; Thomas Jennings, Soda Water Manufacturer; Timothy Tickler; Titus; Wm. Holt	*Bull.* January 1824 married Ellen Ryder Bullen; three children from marriage. Skilful writer of short fiction and tales; keen Tory supporter. 1826 One year as Paris Correspondent for *The Representative.* 1827 Published romance *Whitehall, or The Days of George IV,* anonymously. Employed by John Murray on short-lived *Representative.* Close friendship and working relationship with Letitia Landon (L.E.L.) Briefly joint-editor of *The Standard*. Intemperate habits, flawed journalistic morality. 1830 With Hugh Fraser established *Fraser's Magazine*; 'Homeric Ballads' appeared in it. 1836 Fraser brutally beaten by Grantley Berkeley, Berkeley's brother, and a hired prize-fighter, after cruel review, written by Maginn while drunk; review was of Berkeley's romance novel *Berkeley Castle*. Above incident led to duel with guns between Maginn and Berkeley. 1837 Wrote prologue for Dickens's *Bentley's Miscellany*; contributed series of 'Shakespeare Papers'. Persistently insolvent. Debtors' prison; released through Insolvent Debtor's Act, with advanced TB. 20 August 1842, died at Walton-on-Thames aged forty-eight. Survived by wife, two daughters and one son. 1848-1850 Portrayed by his friend Thackeray as Captain Shandon in *Pendennis*.
Keats, John (1795-1821) British Poet	Lucy Vaughan Lloyd Late in 1819 Keats began composing a satirical 'faery' poem in the Spenser stanza, to be titled either *The Cap and Bells* or *The Jealousies*. It	Caviare	Born 29 (31 in baptismal record) October 1795 in London. Son of Thomas Keats, inn manager, and his wife Frances Jennings. Eldest of five – four boys, one girl. 1803 Clarke's School in Enfield. 16 April 1804 father killed in fall from horse. 27 June 1804 mother married William Rawlings.

	satirises the scandals involving the Regent and his estranged spouse. It was to be published under this pseudonym, but Keats only completed eighty-eight stanzas before he died. Poetry: new genre – comic fairy poem (1819)		Grandfather died – substantial estate. Mother challenged will and failed; parted from Rawlings. Children lived with maternal grandmother in Edmonton – bitter family rift. 1809 New commitment to studies. March 1810 mother died of TB. At fourteen apprenticed to surgeon and apothecary. 1814 Grandmother died. Money held in trust, unknown to Keats, by guardian Richard Abbey. October 1815 entered Guy's Hospital as student. 1815 Explored sonnet form of poems. 1816 Poems published in *The Examiner*. 25 July 1816 passed exams to become licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries – eligible to practise as apothecary, physician, and surgeon. Powerful literary friends. 1816 Decided to give up medicine. Continued to write poetry. March 1817 moved with brothers to Hamstead. Not entirely comfortable with women. 1817 Met Charles Armitage Brown – became close friend. 1818 Completed epic poem *Endymion: A Poetic Romance*. 1818 Walking tour with Brown to Lake District, Ireland, and Scotland. Trip cut short – Keats ill with TB. December 1818 brother Tom died of TB. Invited to live with Brown. 1819 Personal and financial worries – prolific year of writing. 1819 Fell in love; engaged to Frances 'Fanny' Brawne. Increasingly ill. 18 September 1820 sailed to Rome with friend Joseph Severn. Stayed in rooms on Piazza Navona near Spanish Steps. 23 February 1821 died in Rome, aged twenty-five.
Lowndes, John (c.1800-c.1860) British Bookseller, author, and librarian	Amelia Fitzalan When working as a hack writer, Lowndes used this pseudonym to publish a £20 novel. Adult Fiction: novel (1830s)		Very few biographical details available. In 1840s involved with Hannah Maria Jones (1796?–1854) married woman, 'Queen of cheap fiction'. Hack writer for William Emans (publisher). Destitute. Suffered mental breakdown. Rejected (with Jones) for assistance from Royal Literary Fund.

			Octavian Blewitt, Secretary to the RLF, wrote: 'I have ascertained that John Lowndes has been living for several years with Mrs Hannah Maria Jones, Case No 553, who through calling herself latterly "Mrs. Lowndes", was never married to him, as she herself has admitted to me. They may have been working and writing together for the lowest class of Publishers, and have become well known to the Royal Literary Society as Begging Letter Writers'. (Letter no 7, RLF file 984). (Cross, 1987, 177)
Horne, Richard Hengist (born Richard Henry Horne, 1803-1884) British Novelist, poet, dramatist, journalist, and children's author	Mrs Fairstar *Memoirs of a London Doll*, *Written by Herself* (1846) and *The Doll and Her Friends: or Memoirs of the Lady Seraphina* (1846), both edited by Mrs Fairstar, were the work of Richard Henry Horne. *Memoirs* is a mock autobiography from the perspectives of: the doll Maria Poppet, the different children who owned her, and the children's parents. Juvenile Literature: didactic stories for children (1846)	An Absentee of Seventeen Years; A Recluse; Bart; Ben Uzair Salem; Ephraim Watts; K.C.B.; Mr Loader; Orion (for travel writings); Phil. D., of Gottingen; Professor Grabstein; Sir Julius Cutwater; Sir Lucius O'Trigger; The Blue Mountain Exile	Born (near midnight) 31 December 1802/1 January 1803 at Edmonton, Middlesex. Eldest of three sons of James Horne, quartermaster in 61st Regiment, and Maria Partridge. Brought up in home of rich paternal grandmother, Sarah Tice. Joined parents for a time in Guernsey. 1810 Father died prematurely. Family settled in Edmonton. Attended Dr John Clarke's School in Enfield – John Keats earlier pupil at school. 1819 Entered Sandhurst Military College, left at end of 1820 (was asked to leave). Exaggerated capacity for violence and suffering. 1825 As midshipman in the *Libertad*, left to fight for Mexican independence. Taken prisoner, joined Mexican navy, served in war against Spain. 1827 Returned to England after two adventurous years in America. 1828 Submitted long poems to *The Athenaeum*. 1833 Anonymously published first book, *Exposition of the False Medium and Barriers Excluding Men of Genius from the Public*. Published three poetic dramas and many magazine articles. 1836-1837 Became journalist. Edited *The Monthly Repository*. 1841 Served on Royal Commission on child employment in mines and factories. Wrote scathing reports exposing horrid conditions. 1843 Published best known work, three-book epic *Orion*, for a farthing a copy – ran to six editions in a year; publisher bankrupt. Correspondent for *Daily News* during Irish famine. 1844 Published volume of critical essays, *A New Spirit of the Age*, assisted by Elizabeth Barrett. 1846 *Memoirs of a London Doll* and *The Doll and Her Friends* under pseudonym Mrs Fairstar as editor; *The Good-Natured Bear: A Story for Children of all Ages,* published anonymously. 1847 Married Catherine Clare St George Foggo; no children from marriage. 1850 Sub-editor of Dickens's *Household Words*.

			1852 Impoverished. To Australian goldfields with William Howitt. 1853-1854 Goldfields official. 1854 Wife requested formal separation. 1855 Severed English ties. 1856 Ran for Legislative Assembly. Well known for swimming prowess. 1857 Son born to Jessie Taylor, died at seven months. 1860 Again unemployed. Lectured at Mechanics' Institute. 1862-1863 Assisted by Royal Literary Fund. 1863 Goldfields official. 1864-1869 Playwright. 1867 Celebrated arrival of Duke of Edinburgh with cantata *Galatea Secunda*; signed himself as Richard Hengist Horne. 1869 Dissatisfied with Victorian Government, returned to England to become literary doyen. 1874 Granted Civil List pension, supported by friends Robert Browning, Tennyson, Carlyle, etc. Nearly blind. Died 13 March 1884, in Margate, Kent, aged eighty-one.
Coen, John (fl.1842) British (Irish) Poet	Bridget Coen used the pseudonym Bridget, on satirical poem 'English Schools And Irish Pupils; From Mrs. O'Rorke, Formerly Miss Biddy Fudge, To Her Sister Debby, In England', written from female point of view. Poetry: national verse (1840s)	Author of 'Deserted College'; Patricius	Few biographical details available. Poet of the early *Nation*; represented in first edition of *The Spirit of the Nation.* Generally called 'Author of "Deserted College"'; sometimes signed himself Patricius. 'Deserted College' (1842) was a prose sketch. Young protestant student at Trinity College, Dublin. 1840 Graduated B.A. 1842 Popular lyric, 'Awake and lie dreaming no more', published in *The Nation* (22 October) and included in *The Spirit of the Nation.* 1843 On one occasion used the pseudonym Bridget.
Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865) American	Rebecca Lincoln used this pseudonym on a series of letters in *The Sangamo Journal* satirising James Shields,	Citizen of Sangamon; Conservative; Johnny Blubberhead;	Born 12 February 1809 in log cabin on Nolin Creek, Kentucky. Second child of Thomas Lincoln, farmer, and Nancy Hanks. One sister, Sarah. 1811 Lincoln family moves to farm on Knob Creek. 1812 Brother Thomas dies in infancy.

Lawyer, congressman, President, and writer	then Auditor of the State. Mary Todd (later married to Lincoln) and her friend, Julia Jayne, continued the correspondence with a poem and a marriage proposal to Shields from 'Aunt Rebecca'. He was so incensed that he demanded the name of the author and subsequently challenged Lincoln to a duel. Periodical Contributions: satirical letter (1842)	Old Settler; Our Correspondent; Sampson's Ghost; Sangamon Solon	1815-1816 Briefly attends school. December 1816 family moves across Ohio River to settle in backwoods of Indiana. 1818 Mother dies of milk sickness. 1819 Father marries widow, becomes stepfather to her three children. 1820-1824 Farm work and brief periods of school. Read the Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress,* and *Aesop's Fables.* 1826 Sister marries, dies 1828 in childhood. 1830 Family moves to Illinois, near Decatur. 1831 Works for self as boat builder, carpenter, blacksmith, river pilot, logger, etc. 1831 Election clerk at New Salem. 1832 Captain and private (re-enlisted) in Black Hawk War. 1834 Elected to State legislature as Whig. 1835 Postmaster, New Salem. 1836 Passed bar exam. 1837 To Springfield. 1838-1840 Re-elected to State legislature. 1840 Partner in law with S.T. Logan. 1842 Married Mary Todd; four sons – Edward died in infancy; William died aged twelve in Washington; Thomas 'Tad' died at Springfield, aged twenty; Robert minister to Great Britain and secretary of war to President Garfield. 1847-1849 Term in Congress. 1849 Defeated by Shields for U.S. senator. 1851 Father dies, aged seventy-three. 1856 Chief of Republican Party. 1860 Nominated for presidency. Seven states of Lower South secede to form Confederacy. March 1861 inaugurated sixteenth President. 1861 Start of Civil War. Four more states secede from Union. January 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. November 1863 Gettysburg Address. 1864 Re-elected President. March 1865 inaugurated for second term. Prolific writer of speeches, letters, essays. April 1865 General Lee surrendered at Appomattox, Virginia – end of Civil War. 1865 13th Amendment to Constitution abolishes slavery. 14 April 1865, aged fifty-six, shot dead in Ford's Theatre, Washington, by John Wilkes Booth, actor and Confederate supporter.

Fraser (Frazer), John (1804-1852) British (Irish) Poet, Irish nationalist, and cabinet-maker	Maria Poems were published under this, and other pseudonyms, in Irish radical journals in the 1840s. Poetry: national verse (1840s)	F; Ff; J. de Jean (de Jean was original family name); J. Robertson; J; Y; Z	Born 1804 (?) in Birr, King's county. Little known about early life or parentage. Protestant. Cabinet-maker by trade. Suffered chronic ill health. Irish famine (late 1840s) inspired starkest images. Agitation for repeal of the union in July 1843 inspired writing. Dedicated *Poems to the People* (1845) to 'The Irish People'. Wrote for *The Nation*, *The Freeman's Journal*, *The Weekly Register*, *The Irish Felon,* and other militant papers. Married and became Catholic. Edited *The Trade Advocate* in Dublin. 1849 Cholera epidemic claimed lives of son, aged twelve, and daughter, sixteen – wrote touching poems in their memory. 1851 Collected *Poems* published – selected and arranged by friends as some publishers were antagonised by his politics; dedicated *Poems* to Mrs Smith of Dublin. Known as the 'Birr Poet'. Died in Dublin March 1852, aged forty-eight.

1810-1819	
1810 Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* Regency Period begins: Prince of Wales acts for George III 1811 Luddite riots 1812 Napoleon retreats from Moscow War between Britain and U.S. (-1815) 1813 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* Southey made Poet Laureate 1814 Stephenson's steam locomotive Scott's *Waverley* Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine* founded Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* 1815 Corn Law passed Battle of Waterloo: end of Napoleonic Wars Agitation for parliamentary reform 1816 Austen, *Emma* 1817 *Blackwood's Magazine* and *Literary Gazette* founded Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*	1811 Steamboats on Mississippi William H. Harrison defeats Indians at Battle of Tippecanoe *The Juvenile Magazine* Great Comet Devastating earthquakes 1812 War breaks out between U.S. and Great Britain (-1815) British capture Detroit *Juvenile Port-Folio and Literary Miscellany* 1813 Oliver Perry defeats British fleet on Lake Erie *Youth's Repository of Christian Knowledge* 1814 British burn Capitol and White House British fleet repulsed at Fort McHenry Francis Scott Key writes 'Star Spangled Banner' Treaty of Ghent ends War of 1812 1815 United States wins Battle of New Orleans Congress authorises peacetime army *North American Review*

1818 Austen, *Northanger Abbey* Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* Scott, *Rob Roy* 1819 Peterloo Massacre Queen Victoria born Scott, *Ivanhoe*			1816 Second Bank of the United States chartered Regular transatlantic shipping inaugurated Florida purchased by U.S. Indiana becomes a state 1817 James Monroe becomes President (-1825) Construction of Erie canal begun (-1825) Mississippi becomes a state 1818 National Road reaches Wheeling, Virginia Illinois becomes a state 1819 *USS Savannah* makes first partial steam crossing of Atlantic Alabama becomes a state Financial panic and depression (-1823)
Author	**Female Pseudonym/s**	**Other Known Pseudonyms**	**Biographical Summary**
Higgins, Matthew James (1810-1868) British (Irish) Journalist	A Belgravian Mother; A Mother of Six; A Widow; Rose du Barri; Materfamilias; A Housekeeper Higgins wrote for periodicals, such as *The Times*, *Cornhill Magazine*, and *Pall Mall Gazette*, under a variety of pseudonyms. Pamphlets: economic difficulties Periodical Contributions: letters to the press for social reform (1840s-1860s)	A Country Grocer; A Thirsty Soul; A Veteran; A Victim; Belgravian; Civilian; Common Sense; Equestris; J. O; Jacob Omnium; John Barleycorn; Paterfamilias; Providus; Sanson; West Londoner	Born 4 December 1810 in Benown Castle, co. Meath. Youngest child and only son of Matthew Higgins and Janette Baillie. Still only a baby when father died. Reared by mother. Educated at private school near Bath and at Eton College. May 1828 matriculated from New College, Oxford; never graduated. Travelled in Spain and Italy; three sisters married Italians. In 1838-1839 and 1846-1847 travelled to inherited estate in West Indies. Wrote four pamphlets about the difficulties of sugar-producing colonies. 1845 First publication – satire, 'Jacob Omnium, the Merchant Prince' – in *New Monthly Magazine.* Close friend of Thackeray. Imposing figure, 6'8". 1847 Assisted famine relief committee in Ireland; criticised Irish and English landowners in long letter under best-known pseudonym Jacob Omnium. Lashed out against social wrongs through series of pseudonymous letters. Wrote for Peelite paper, *The Morning Chronicle*, until 1854. Wrote frequently for *The Times, Edinburgh Review*, *Cornhill Magazine,* and other important periodicals. Used variety of pseudonyms, esp. for *Times*. Well off, wrote because he liked to write. 1850 Married Emily Blanche Tichborne; four children from marriage, one died in infancy.

			1863 Quarrelled with *Times* subsequently wrote for *Pall Mall Gazette*. Developed genre of chatty titbits. Important figure in 1850s and 1860s literary society. Member of many clubs. Died in Berkshire 14 August 1868, aged fifty-seven. Survived by wife and three children.
Murray, John Fisher (1811-1865) British (Irish) Poet and humorist	Maire (Irish form of Mary) After retiring from journalism, Murray contributed poems to *The Nation* under this pseudonym; some were reprinted in Edward Hayes's *Ballads of Ireland* (1855). Poetry: national verse (1840s-1850s)	JFM; The Irish Oyster Eater	Born 11 February 1811 in Belfast. Eldest son of Sir James Murray, a doctor, and Mary Sharrock. Educated at Belfast Academical Institution. Member of Belfast Historical Society. Studied medicine at Trinity College, Dublin. 1830 Graduated with BA; 1832 MA. Father secured his appointment as surgeon to a regiment of the Guards. Became a barrister. Appointed one of the first Inspectors of National Schools; dismissed for publishing pamphlet *Repeal No Remedy.* Light sketches of London life to *Blackwood's Magazine*: worked closely with William Maginn. Used pseudonym 'The Irish Oyster Eater'. From 1834 published articles, papers, and pamphlets; many reprinted in volumes *The Environs of London* and *The World of London* in 1842 and 1848. Started contributing to Conservative, Unionist periodicals. One of radical Young Irelanders in 1840s. 1841 Novel *The Viceroy* in *Blackwood's Magazine* – later published in three volumes. Regular contributor to *The Nation* (founded 1842). Divided time between journalism and production of guidebooks of London. After retirement contributed poems to *The Nation* under pseudonyms JFM and Maire. Died October 20, 1865, aged fifty-four. Survived by wife Hannah.
Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811-1863) British (Indian born)	Dorothea Julia Ramsbottom; The Honorable Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs; Miss Tickletoby; Lady Nimrod; A Lady of Fashion; Dolly Duster;	A Gentleman in Search of a Man-servant; Arthur Pendennis; Boldomero Espartero; Charles	Born 18 July 1811 in Calcutta. Only child of Richmond Thackeray, secretary to board of revenue in East India Company, and Anne Becher. Both parents Anglo-Indian descent. 1815 Death of father. Mother stayed in India to marry childhood sweetheart, believed dead. 1817 Sent to England for education in public schools including Charterhouse (1822-

Journalist and novelist	Theresa MacWhorter Thackeray used at least forty pseudonyms, especially for poems, sketches, and humorous contributions to *Punch*, *Fraser's Magazine*, and the *Morning Chronicle*. Miss Tickletoby was the female counterpart of Thackeray's tyrannical schoolmasters. Periodical Contributions: humorous magazine articles (1840s)	Yellowplush, Esq; Dr. Solomon Pacifico; Fitzroy Clarence; Folkstone Canterbury; Frederick Haltamont de Montmorency; George Fitz-Boodle; Goliah Muff; Growley Byles; Harry Rollicker; Hibernis Hibernior; Ikey Solomons, Esq., Junior; Jeames de la Pluche; John Corks; Lancelot Wagstaff; Leonitus Androcles Hugglestone; M. A. Titmarsh; M. Gobemouche; Major Goliah Gahagan; Michael Angelo Titmarsh; Monsieur Gobemouche; Mr Brown; Mr Snob;	1828). Nose flattened in fight with Venables. Suffered canings and abuses – remembered in writings; Charterhouse figures as 'Greyfriars'. Poor eyesight. Grew tall – 6'3". 1829 Trinity College, Cambridge – left without degree after two years. Lost poetry competition to Alfred Tennyson while at Cambridge. Contributed, at Cambridge, to *The Snob* and *The Gownsman*; began to develop talents in parody and humour. Read widely – histories, novels, poem; contributed poems and parodies to newspapers. Travelled on Continent; spent winter in Weimar. 1831-1832 Studied law in London. From 1832 friend of William Maginn, who reputedly took him to a 'common brothel'. Editor and proprietor of short-lived *National Standard*; Paris correspondent. 1833 Loss of inheritance through failure of Indian bank, and gambling. 1834-1835 Studied art in Paris; disillusioned and depressed. 1836 Paris correspondent of stepfather's journal of radical politics, *The Constitutional and Public Ledger.* 1836 Married Isabella Shawe in Paris; three daughters from marriage, second died in infancy. Mother-in-law disagreeable 'virago'. 1837 Returned to London. Wrote for *Fraser's Magazine*, *The Morning Chronicle*, and *Punch*. 1937 Collapse of *The Constitution.* Free-lance journalist for about ten years, anonymously and pseudonymously. Hack writing and frequent travel. 1840 Wife increasingly depressed and suicidal – institutionalised. Turned attention to wife and family; self-recrimination. Writing for his life, driven by want and ambition. 1845 Wife into care of Mrs Bakewell, in Camberwell, for rest of her life. From end of 1840 until *Vanity Fair* (1847-48) wrote about 500 magazine pieces and three books, all under pseudonyms. Writing for his life, struggling hack worker.

		Mr Spec; Mulligan of Kilballymulligan; Peter Perseus; Pleaceman X; Punch's Commissioner; Thaddeus Molony; The Fat Contributor; The Mulligan; Théophile Wagstaff	Developed important new kind of fiction – the 'novel without a hero'. *Vanity Fair* (1847-48) first work to bear author's real name. Raised daughters with help of mother and stepfather; deep insight into complexities of women. 1846-1847 *The Book of Snobs*. 1848-1851 Friendship with Jane Brookfield, wife of Rev. William Brookfield. From 1847-1851 averaged fifty-nine magazine publications a year, plus two major serials. 1849-1850 *Pendennis*, concurrent with *David Copperfield*. 1852 Contracted to publisher George Smith. 1852 Only one publication, 3-volume novel, *The History of Henry Esmond* – fame as historical novelist. 1852-1853 First lecture tour of America. 1855 Christmas book, *The Rose and The Ring*. 1855-1856 Second American tour. 1857 Unsuccessful in bid for Oxford seat in parliament; lost by only sixty-five votes. 1857-1859 *The Virginians*. Literary quarrels; best known – 'Garrick Club affair'. 1860-1862 Editor of *Cornhill Magazine;* set first issue sales record. Ill with recurrent kidney infections. Recouped losses through writing; secure future for daughters in Kensington. Died 24 December 1863, aged fifty-two. About 2,000 mourners at funeral, including Dickens.
Rymer, James Malcolm (1814-1884) British Novelist and journal editor	Bertha T. Bishop; Bertha Thorne Bishop; Marianne Blimber From the early 1860s Rymer's works appeared more in the American genre of dime novels. He concealed his career as a writer of sensation fiction under an extensive array of pseudonyms and titles. He wrote thrillers under the above (and male) pseudonyms, possibly assigned by publishers.	Captain Merry, USN; J. D. Conroy; M. J. Errym; Malcolm J. Errym; Malcolm J. Merry; Nelson Percival; Septimus R. Urban	Born Holborn, London, 1 February 1814. Second son of five sons and one daughter of Malcolm Rymer, engraver and print-seller, and Louisa Dixon, milliner. 1839 Married Caroline Huttly; one son from marriage. Interested in mechanics: 1840 granted patent for improved furniture castor. 1841 Listed as civil engineer. Also engraver. Became prolific writer of working-class fiction for publisher Edward Lloyd. Novels appeared under own name, and anagrams Malcolm J. Errym and Malcom J. Merry. Illustrated some of own fiction. 1841 *Adeline, or, The Grave of the Forsaken* – vivid domestic story. 1842 Edited short-lived *Queen's Magazine*.

	His works were published by Beadle & Adams in *American Tales*, *Beadle's Dime Library*, *Cheap Editions of Popular Authors*, *Frank Starr's Fifteen Cent Illustrated Novels*, and by Frederick A. Brady in *Brady's People's Novelettes*. Adult Fiction: sensation fiction (1840s-1860s)		1843 *Ada the Betrayed, or The Murder at the Old Smithy* lead serial in *Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany*. Great range of genres in successive works. 1845 Edited *Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany*. 1847 Worked to recover from bankruptcy. 1847 Created sensation with serialised *Varney the Vampyre, or, The Feast of Blood.* 1847 *The String of Pearls*, in which Sweeney Todd made his literary debut. 1850s Became one of publisher John Dicks's major authors. 1853 (approx.) Wife died. 1854 With son, Francis Chadwick, ran Rymer & Co., lithographers. 1859 Married Sarah Rebecca Carpenter; one son (d.1865). 1858-1864 Retained on staff of *Reynold's Miscellany*. Romances of diverse character, from haunted houses to cannibalism at sea. 1860s After probable visit to U.S., works more in dime novel genre. Works published by Beadle & Adams. Extensive variation of pseudonyms and titles concealed career of sensation writer. 1866 Contributed to *London Miscellany.* Also wrote short stories and essays. 11 August 1884 died in London, aged seventy.
McKowen, James (1814-1889) British (Irish) Poet and bleachworks finisher	Kitty Connor About 1840 McKowen started publishing poems in *The Northern Whig* and other Ulster papers, usually under this pseudonym. One poem 'The Old Irish Cow' was well known throughout Ulster, and his most famous piece, 'The Ould Irish Jig', was popular in Ireland for over a hundred years. Poetry: national verse (1840s-)	Curlew	Born 11 February 1814 at Lambeg, near Lisburn, co. Antrim. (Little known about parents). Elementary education at local school. Clever and popular. Worked in Barbours, thread manufacturers, then for Richardson, Sons, & Owden bleach works in Belfast until retirement. About 1840 began to write lively poems for newspapers. Contributed to *The Northern Whig* and other Ulster papers under pseudonym Kitty Connor. Became household favourite. Also wrote a little for *The Nation* under the pseudonym Curlew. Wrote in Ulster Scots dialect. Poems, never published in book form, appeared in anthologies of Irish verse. 22 April 1889 died in Lisburn, aged seventy-five. Survived by widow Rebecca.

Shillaber, Benjamin Penhallow (1814-1890) American Humorist, journalist and poet	Mrs Ruth Partington; Mrs Partington Shillaber achieved some literary fame through humorous works written under the pseudonym Mrs Ruth Partington. In 1847, he instantly caught the public's fancy with a squib in the *Boston Post* about the scatter-brained Mrs Partington, and her heroic struggle to keep back the rising tides of the Atlantic Ocean with a mop. He wrote it while his superior was away; it was followed by others and, according to Mrs P., the writer's fame 'gained a memento that could not be checked'. (*The New York Times*, 26 November 1890) Periodical Contributions: humorous articles (1847-)		Born July 12, 1814, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Learnt to read at very early age. Graduated from Austen Pasture School, aged fifteen. 1830 Began work in printing office: apprenticeships on various New Hampshire newspapers as 'printer's devil'. I832 Moved to Boston. 1833 Book compositor for Tuttle and Weeks. 1837 To British Guiana in search of fortune. 1838 Married Ann Tappan de Rochemont in Demerara, British Guiana; three sons, five daughters. One son, four daughters lived to maturity. 1838 Joined *Boston Post*. 1840 Editor with *The Boston Daily Post* and *Boston Saturday Evening Gazette*. 1847 Created Mrs Partington, American version of Mrs Malaprop. 1850 Editor of *The Pathfinder and Railway Guide.* 1851 With Charles G. Halpine started humorous periodical *The Carpet Bag*; continued humorous antics of Mrs Partington. Returned to *Post* until 1856. Published and encouraged Mark Twain's comic writing. Book of poetry *Rhymes With Reason and Without.* 1854 *Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington*. 1856 Assumed charge of *Saturday Evening Gazette*. 1857 *Knitting Work.* 1866 Retired to home, worked steadily on books and sketches. 1873 *Partingtonian Patchwork*. 1875 *Lines in Pleasant Places.* 1879 *Ike and His Friends,* first of Ike Partington Juvenile Series. Ike was Mrs P.'s mischievous grandson. Published five books featuring Mrs Partington. 1881 *Cruises With Captain Bob.* 1882 *The Dubblerunner Club.* 1884 Collection of verses, *Wide Swath.* Cared for by daughter Caroline after wife's death. November 25, 1890, died in Chelsea, Massachusetts, aged seventy-six.
Hirst, Henry Beck (1817-1874) American Lawyer, journalist, and poet	Anna Maria Hirst; Anna M. Hirst Hirst contributed poems to several magazines, signed with his own name or as Anna Maria Hirst (also Anna M. Hirst). Poems under the		Born Philadelphia 23 August 1817. Son of Thomas Hirst, prominent merchant, and Emma (Beck) Hirst. Began law studies at age of eighteen. Legal apprentice to half-brother, William L. Hirst. Mercantile pursuits interrupted studies; approx. 1838 in business as florist and seed merchant with Henry A. Dreer. 1840 Opened own 'horticultural warehouse'; began to publish poetry.

	pseudonym included ‘The Passage of the Birds’, ‘Mary. – A Memory’, and ‘The Owl’ in *The Ladies’ Companion* (1843); ‘Night’, ‘The Forsaken’, and sonnets ‘The Desolated’, The Poet’s Grave’, and ‘Endurance’ in *The Southern Literary Messenger* (1844); and, ‘The Poet’ in *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review* (1844). Poetry: sentimental poems (1840s)		1843 Admitted to bar, graduated with highest honours. Small in stature; flowing red hair. Close friend of Edgar Allan Poe. 1843 Published erroneous biographical notice of Poe in *Saturday Museum*, with material provided by Poe. Always claimed to be author of Poe’s poem, ‘The Raven’. Active interest in natural history. Ran store of exotic birds; wrote *The Book of Cage Birds* (1843). Regular contributor of poems to magazines such as *The Ladies’ Companion*, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, *The Broadway Journal*, and *Graham’s Magazine*. 1840s On staff of two Philadelphia newspapers. 1845 First volume of poems *The Coming of the Mammoth, The Funeral of Time, and Other Poems*. 1848 *Endymion, a Tale of Greece*. 1849 *The Penance of Roland, a Romance of the Peiné Forte et Dure, and Other Poems*; contained a Proëm dedicated to his ‘wife’. 7 October 1849 Poe died. All work published before 1850. Addiction to absinthe destroyed mind. Object of pity towards end of life. Placed in insane department of Blockley Almshouse. Died 30 March 1874, aged fifty-six.
1820-1829			
1820 Economic depression Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* Death of George III Accession of George IV 1821 Death of John Keats Mechanics Institutes in Glasgow and London Decade of urban industrial growth begins in Britain Death of Queen Caroline 1822 Famine in Ireland Shelley drowns in Italy 1823 Charles Macintosh develops new raincoat fabric *Forget-Me-Not* (annual) founded 1824 National Gallery opened Death of Byron			1820 First immigration of blacks back to Africa begins Missouri Compromise 1821 Missouri becomes a state First college for women, Troy Female Seminary, founded by Emma Willard *The Children’s Friend* – first lithographed book published in America *Saturday Evening Post* 1823 Monroe Doctrine pronounced James Fenimore Cooper, ‘Leatherstocking’ series Mexico becomes a republic 1824 Lafayette tours 1825 Erie Canal completed John Stevens builds first steam locomotive in America John Quincy Adams becomes President (-1829) 1826 James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Westminster Review and Friendship's Offering (annual) founded
1825 Stockton-Darlington railway opened
Trade Unions legalised
Establishment of Ladies Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves
Repeal of Corn Laws
Macaulay, Essay on Milton
1827 University College London founded
Constable's Miscellany and The Library of Useful Knowledge begin era of 'cheap libraries'
1828 Duke of Wellington Prime Minister
The Keepsake (annual), The Athenaeum, The Spectator founded
Protestant non-conformists allowed to hold office
Thomas Carlyle, Signs of the Times
1828-32 Leather bindings replaced by board bindings</td><td>Graham's Magazine
1827 Samuel Goodrich, Tales of Peter Parley about America
1828 American Dictionary of the English Language, published by Noah Webster
1829 First steam locomotive in U.S. – 'Tom Thumb'
Andrew Jackson becomes President (-1837)
William Clarke, The Boy's Own Book
Gift annual, The Pearl; or, Affection's Gift (-1849)
W.A. Burt invents typographer</td></tr>
<tr><th>Author</th><th>Female Pseudonym/s</th><th>Other Known Pseudonyms</th><th>Biographical Summary</th></tr>
<tr><td>Judson, Edward Zane Carroll (1821-1886)

American

Writer and adventurer</td><td>Julia Manners (also name of Dickens character)

For The New York Weekly, Judson wrote under several signatures, including Julia Manners

Adult Fiction: sensation novels (1870s)</td><td>Captain Hal Decker;
Edward Minturn;
Jack Ford;
Jules Edwards;
Ned Buntline</td><td>20 March 1821 born Harpersfield, New York.
Son of Levi Judson, schoolmaster then attorney, and Elizabeth Judson (Goodrich).
1826 Family move to Bethany, Pennsylvania.
1834 Family move to Philadelphia; ran away to sea as cabin boy after quarrel with father. Spent about five years around Caribbean and South America.
1838 Published sketch anonymously in The Knickerbocker; later revised and published under pseudonym Ned Buntline.
1838 Acting midshipman in U.S. Navy.
1839 Warranted midshipman; antedated to February 1838.
1840 (approx.) In Cuba married Seberina (?) who died one year later in childbirth.
1842 Resigned commission.
1840s Aware of emerging reading public; generated prodigious output over next two decades; often wrote about imaginary battlefields in trashy fiction. Two failed attempts to establish literary journals.
1844 Resurrected first journal as Ned Buntline's Own. Serialised narrative of sea adventures in Knickerbocker. Staged publicity stunts; fabricated stories of adventures.
1845 Rewarded for capture of two men wanted for murder.
1846 Shot and killed Robert Porterfield in duel, after affair with Porterfield's wife; narrowly escaped lynching.
1846 Active against British immigration.</td></tr>
</table>

			1848 *Ned Buntline's Own* issued as weekly nationalistic paper. 1848 *Mysteries and Miseries of New York: A Real Life Story* – exposé of New York crime by Ned Buntline. 1848 Married Annie Abigail Bennett; one child from marriage. 1849 Led mob to NY Astor Place Opera House to protest English actor William Macready's performance of *Macbeth*; jailed for one year (twenty-three people killed). 1849 Divorced because of infidelity and drunkenness. 1852 Led mob in St Louis for nativist movement; jailed but jumped bail. Rearrested twenty years later. 1853 Campaigned for his 'Know Nothing Party'. 1853 Married Lovanche Swart; also married actress Josie Juda. Charged with bigamy and jailed. On release gave temperance lectures. Shot and wounded black man (thinking him to be Greek); acquitted. 1850s Cabin life in Adirondacks. 1857 Married teenaged Eva Gardiner who died in childbirth 1860. 1860 Married Kate Myers; three daughters and one son from (unhappy) marriage. 1862 Enlisted in Union army. Promoted to sergeant, superb marksman. Imprisoned for desertion. 1864 Honourable discharge. 1869 Met William F. Cody; created Buffalo Bill in dime novels and play. 1871 Married Anna Fuller; one son and one daughter from marriage. 1884 Accused of bigamy by Lovanche. Retired to 'Eagle's Nest', luxury home at Stamford, New York. Wrote over 400 novels in career, verse and tracts on politics and temperance, prose and poetry for newspapers and magazines. 16 July 1886 died at Stamford, aged sixty-five.
St John, Percy Bolingbroke (1821-1889) British Journalist, editor, and writer of short stories and penny dreadfuls	Lady Esther Hope Under this pseudonym Percy B. St John wrote 'Come Weal Come Woe: A Tale of the Affections' serialised in *The Halfpenny Journal* (1861-5) published by Ward & Lock. *The Blue Dwarf: A Novel* (1861) and *The Blue Dwarf: A Tale of Love, Mystery and Crime* (1874-5) are also attributed to	Captain Flack; Captain McKeen; Harry Cavendish; Henry L. Boone; J. L. Freeman; J. T. Brougham; Paul Periwinkle; Warren St John	Born in Plymouth 4 March 1821. Eldest of four sons of James Augustus St John and his wife, Eliza Caroline Agar (née Hansard). Accompanied father, writer, and traveller, esp. on journeys through Spain and US. Began to write tales when a boy. In America wrote large number of articles and books under number of pseudonyms. Translated Indian tales into English. 1838 *The Young Naturalist's Book of Birds*. 1841 Edited *Mirror of Literature.* 1841 Married mother's younger sister, Mary Anne Agar Hansard (a prohibited degree

	Lady Esther Hope. There is recent doubt over the attribution of this pseudonym to St. John. Adult Fiction: sensation fiction (1860s-1870s)		of marriage); one son from marriage. 1845 *The Trapper's Bride, and Indian Tales.* Some of his stories in periodicals read by R. L. Stevenson as child. 1846 *Christmas Tale.* 1847-1873 Paris correspondent to *North British Daily Mail* and *Lloyd's Weekly News*. 1852 Married Frances Deane in Paris; son and daughter from marriage; first wife still alive (d.1895). 1861-1863 Edited *London Herald.* Numerous miscellaneous contributions to *Chambers's Journal* and other magazines. Wrote works of fiction. 1860s Wrote number of tales of American Southwest. Lost money in publishing venture. Received several payments from Royal Literary Fund. Died 15 March 1889 in lodging house in London, aged sixty-eight.
O'Hagan, John (1822-1890) British (Irish) Judge and poet	Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia O'Hagan wrote poems for *The Nation* under this pseudonym. Poetry: national verse (1840s-)	J. O'H; O; Slíab Cuillinn; Slievegullion	Born at Newry co. Down, 19 March 1822. Second son of John Arthur O'Hagan, and his wife of whom little is known. Educated at Belfast Seminary, then (1837) Trinity College, Dublin. 1842 Graduated. Advocate of Catholic university education. 1842 Called to Irish bar; joined Munster Circuit. 1847 Contributed article to *Dublin Review*, reprinted by Catholic Truth Society of Ireland as 'Trinity College No Place for Catholics'. Active member of Young Ireland party. Contributed prose and verse to *The Nation.* With John E. Pigot, Duffy, Davis and Dillon, formed 'the inner council of five', meeting weekly to discuss literature and nationality. Poems 'Dear Land' and 'Ourselves Alone', etc. among most effective features of *The Nation.* Wrote poems under pseudonyms. 1861 Appointed a Commissioner of National Education. 1865 Became Q. C. 1865 Married cousin Frances, daughter of the first Lord O'Hagan, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. 1878 Admitted to bench of King's Inns. First judicial head of Irish Land Commission. 1881 Third sergeant.

			1881 Appointed Justice of the High Court. 1883 Wrote English translation of *La Chanson de Roland*. Died 10 November 1890, aged sixty-eight. Survived by wife.
Hartshorne, Henry (1823-1897) American Physician, lecturer, and author	Corinne L'Estrange Hartshorne used this pseudonym on a dramatic romance, *Woman's Witchcraft; or, The Curse of Coquetry* (1854). Adult Fiction: dramatic romance novel (1854)	H.H.M. Wrote *Summer Songs* (1865) under this pseudonym.	Born 16 March 1823 in Philadelphia. Third son of physician Joseph Hartshorne and Anna Bonsall, daughter of prominent Quaker and real estate lawyer. 1839 Graduated from Haverford School (later Haverford College). 1845 Graduated in medicine from University of Pennsylvania (encouraged by father). 1846-1848 Resident physician at Pennsylvania Hospital. 1848 Ascertained safety of internal use of chloroform. From 1853 professor, attending physician, clinical lecturer at various medical institutions and hospitals, several simultaneously. Teacher rather than practitioner. 1849 Married Mary E. Brown (feeble physical health); two daughters from marriage. 1849 and 1854 Assisted in cholera epidemics. 1849-1864 Attending physician to Magdalen Asylum. 1853-1854 Professor of Institutes at Philadelphia College of Medicine. 1854 Wrote play *Woman's Witchcraft; or, The Curse of Coquetry* under female pseudonym. 1856 Prize Essayist at American Medical Association. 1857-1858 Lectured at Franklin Institute. 1857 and 1858 Delegate to Quarantine and Sanitary Conventions. 1858 Health breakdown; travelled for year with wife to Europe and Egypt. 1859 Professor of Practice of Medicine in the Medical Department of Pennsylvania College. 1860 Received degree of A.M. from University of Pennsylvania. 1861 War of Rebellion cut off supply of Southern students; withdrew with other faculty members. 1860-1862 Attending physician to Protestant Episcopal Hospital. 1863-1868 Taught physiology and hygiene at College of Dental Surgery, Pennsylvania. Treated soldiers in Civil War and at Gettysburg. 1865 *Summer Songs* under the pseudonym H.H.M. 1865 Lecturer on hygiene. 1866 Professor of Physiology and Hygiene at Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery.

			1866 Published book on cholera. 1867-1876 Professor of Diseases of Children, later of Physiology and Hygiene and of Diseases of Children at Women's Medical College. Advocated women's right to take equal role in medicine. 1868-1876 Consulting physician to Women's Hospital. 1868 Professor of Organic Science and Philosophy at Haverford College. 1869-1876 Professor of hygiene, physiology, and children's diseases at Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania. 1873-1876 and 1881-1893 editor of the *Friends' Review*. 1876 Resigned all Philadelphia appointments to become President of Howland School, Union Springs N.Y. for higher education of women; school closed in 1878 – insufficient endowment funds. 1878 Returned to Germantown, Philadelphia, opened family school for girls. Contributed to medical, public health, scientific, philosophical, and religious journals. Wrote and edited medical books; edited the *Friends' Review*. Wrote varied literary works, including one dramatic romance (under female pseudonym) and three volumes of poetry. Active member of medical, scientific, religious, and literary societies. 1884 Received degree of LL.D from University of Pennsylvania. 1886 *A Bundle of Sonnets and Other Poems*. 1886 Wife died. 1887 Reappointed to chair of Philosophy at Haverford, resigned soon after. From 1891 active in work of Women's Christian Temperance Union Campaigned to prohibit opium trade in Formosa Taiwan. 1893 To Japan with youngest daughter, and in 1895 to work in Quaker missions. 10 February 1897 died in Tokyo, aged sixty-three.
Winner, Septimus (1827-1902) American Composer and publisher	Alice Hawthorne Winner's ballads written under this pseudonym, which was his mother's name, became known as 'the Hawthorne Ballads'. Male writers sometimes took female pseudonyms to write nineteenth-century ballads, a genre performed by women in the home and in public. It was also one	Apsley Street; Mark Mason; Paul Stenton; Percy Guyer (from wife's maiden name)	Born Philadelphia 11 May 1827. Seventh child (hence the name Septimus) of Joseph E. Winner, instrument maker specialising in violins, and wife Mary Ann Hawthorne (relative of Nathaniel Hawthorne). Had formal instruction on violin. Played for five years in Music Fund Orchestra. Self-taught on guitar, piano, and organ. Leader of Philadelphia band. Opened music store in Philadelphia. Published own music, wrote song texts, and engraved own songs. Music editor for *Peterson's Ladies National Magazine*. Wrote more than 200 instruction books for over twenty instruments, more than 1500

	of the few genres in which female composers were encouraged to work. Winner was especially popular as Alice Hawthorne for his ballads such as: 'Bid Me Good-Bye, or the Soldier's Farewell'; 'What is Home Without a Mother' (1850, pub. 1854)); 'Just As Of Old'; 'Listen to the Mocking Bird' (1855); 'Look With Thy Fond Eyes Upon Me'; 'A Nation Mourns Her Martyr'd Son' (on the death of Abraham Lincoln); 'Parting Whispers'; and, 'Yes, I Would the War Were Over'. Song Lyrics: sentimental ballads (1850s-)		easy arrangements for various instruments, and nearly 2000 arrangements for violin and piano; composed over a hundred songs. Contributed articles on music to *Graham's Magazine* (ed. Edgar Allan Poe). 1847 Married Hannah Jane Guyer; two children from marriage. Published lyrics and music of some of most popular songs of nineteenth century, under own name and pseudonyms. 1850 First song 'How Sweet Are the Roses' under the name of Alice Hawthorne, published by Lee and Walker. 1862 Short time in prison for treason because of 'anti-Union' song protesting dismissal of General McClellan by President Lincoln – 'Give Us Back Our Old Commander: Little Mac, the People's Pride'. Sold 80,000 copies in a few days. 1864 'Oh Where Has My Little Dog Gone?' 1868 'Whispering Hope'. 1881 'God Save Our President' (as James A. Garfield lay dying of assassin's bullet). Wrote many songs before, during, and after Civil War. Used own name during War. One of first composers to arrange traditional black American melodies. Died Philadelphia 22 November 1902, aged seventy-five. 1903 Posthumous book of verse, *Cogitations of a Crank at Three Score Years and Ten*.
Stephens, George Frederic (1827-1907) British Poet and art historian	Laura Savage Stephens contributed the article *Modern Giants* to the Pre-Raphaelite magazine *The Germ,* May 1850. Periodical Contributions: magazine article (1850)	John Seward	Born 10 October 1827. Son of Septimus Stephens, official at Tower of London, and (possibly) Ann Cooke. 1837 Lamed by childhood accident. Educated at home with private tutor, and at University College School, London. January 1844 Royal Academy Schools to study art. 1848 joined Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood; in demand as model. Not successful as painter, destroyed all but six works in late 1850s. 1866 Married Rebecca Clara Dalton; one son from marriage. Art historian; leading art critic for *The Athenaeum* until 1901. Contributed over 100 articles to British and international magazines. Produced publications, catalogues, and historical surveys. Championed paintings of Millais, Hunt, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti during 1860s, and 1870s. 1870-1883 Ninety part series on private collecting in *The Athenaeum.* 1882 Rossetti died; freed from Rossetti's manipulation. 1890s Harshly critical of Brotherhood's art. 9 March 1907 died at desk in his London home, aged seventy-nine. Survived by wife and son.

1830-1839	
1830 Death of George IV Accession of William IV Manchester and Liverpool railway opened *Fraser's Magazine* founded July Revolution in France Earl Grey Prime Minister 1831 Riot in Bristol Cholera epidemic in Britain 1832 First mass-circulation weekly magazines published in Britain First Penny magazine, *The Penny Story-Teller* *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* founded Great Reform Bill; vote to middle classes 1833 Abolition of slavery in colonies Oxford Movement begins (-1841) First effective Factory Act *Heath's Book of Beauty* (annual) founded 1834 Christian Johnstone edits *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (-1846) Lord Melbourne Prime Minister Charles Babbage creates 'analytical machine' First colony established in South Australia Tolpuddle Martyrs exiled to South Australia 1836 Dickens, *Pickwick Papers* begins great vogue of fiction in shilling parts 1837 Death of William IV Accession of Queen Victoria Dickens, *Oliver Twist* *Bentley's Miscellany* founded 1838 Chartist petitions published Chartist Movement begins (1838-1849) London-Birmingham railway opened 1839 Infants Custody Act - custody of children under seven to separated wives Chartist riots 1839-49 Literacy rate – males 65%; females 51% French men co-invent Daguerreotype	1830 Joseph Smith founds Mormon church, *Book of Mormon* Baltimore and Ohio Railroad begins operation 1831 Abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, started by William Lloyd Garrison Nat Turner leads slave uprising in Virginia 1832 South Carolina threatens withdrawal from the Union Congress passes compromise tariff act South Carolina remains in Union Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* – lampooned in U.S. 1833 First coeducational college, Oberlin College, founded *The Knickerbocker* 1834 Mill women strike, Lowell, Massachusetts *The Country Gentleman* 1835 Seminole war begins (-1842) Texas declares right to secede from Mexico Oberlin College refuses to bar students because of race Fire destroys much of New York City's business district Samuel Clemens born 1836 Battle of the Alamo Battle of San Jacinto; Texas wins independence First white women cross Oregon Trail 1837 Financial panic Border tensions begin between the U.S. and Canada (-1839) Martin Van Buren becomes President (-1841) 1838 Cherokee forcibly removed to Oklahoma in *Trail of Tear* Underground railroad established 1839 Aroostook War Financial depression (-1843) Charles Goodyear invents rubber vulcanisation

Author	Female Pseudonym/s	Other Known Pseudonyms	Biographical Summary
Finn, Frank Stanislaus (c.1830-c.1898) (exact dates unavailable) American Actor and writer	Eve Lawless Finn used this pseudonym for short articles in weekly story papers. Juvenile Literature: story paper articles, or 'sermonettes', for young people (1870s-)		Born about 1830 in Boston. Son of Henry James Finn (1785-1840), actor-theatre manager and proprietor of straw-hat factory, and Elizabeth Powell. One of twelve children. 1840 Father died in fire on the steamboat Lexington in Long Island Sound. 1857 Appeared as actor with Boston Theatre Company. 1863-1864 Acted in Barnum's Museum Company, New York. Retired from stage because of deafness. From 1868 wrote dialogues, short sketches, and articles. 1870s Conducted puzzle columns for juveniles. Editor of puzzle departments of four different periodicals at one time. 1881-1883 Owner-editor of *The Home Companion: A Monthly for Young People*. 1898 Last record of his name, in Boston.
Robinson, F(rederick) W(illiam) (1830-1901) British Journalist and novelist	A Prison Matron The first of Robinson's series of prison stories was *Female Life in Prison, by a Prison Matron* (1862). The prison novels were based on actual records and were so realistic that they were considered documentaries of social history. Halkett and Laing assigned the works to the expert in prison life, Mary Carpenter, much to Robinson's delight. The books actually inspired prison reform. Adult Fiction: semi-fictional prison novels (1860s)		Born 23 December 1830 in Spitalfields, London. Second son of William Robinson, London baker and property owner, and wife Mary (née St John). Educated at Dr Pinches's School at Clarendon House, Kennington, Surrey. Classmate of Henry Irving. Worked as father's secretary. Drama critic of *Daily News* for five years. Moved from journalism to writing novels. First novel started before age eighteen, *The House of Elmore* (1855); followed by some fifty more three-volume novels. 1860 Secured fame with *Grandmother's Money, by the author of One and Twenty*. Wrote series of semi-religious novels anonymously. Equally successful with prison novels, *Female Life in Prison, by a Prison Matron* (1862), *Memoirs of Jane Cameron, Female Convict* (1863), and *Prison Characters Drawn from Life* (1866). Also pioneered novels of low life in London slums. 1884 Bought out *Home Chimes*, weekly penny magazine. 1886-1893 *Home Chimes* published as fourpenny monthly. Contributed to *Family Herald*, *Cassell's Magazine*, and other periodicals. Wrote dramatic criticisms for *Daily News, The Observer,* and other papers. Committee member of Vagabonds Club.

			Associated with leading men of Victorian letters, such as Swinburne, Watts-Dunton, and Rossetti. Excelled at chess. 1890 Wrote at least four novels. Last complete novel was *The Wrong That Was Done* (1892). Stopped writing fiction with demise of three-decker in 1894. Volume of short stories *All They Went Through* (1898). 6 December 1901 died in Brixton, aged seventy. Survived by wife (née Stephens), six sons and five daughters.
Skelton, Sir John (1831-1897) British (Scottish) Reviewer, essayist, and administrator	Shirley Skelton published his collection of essays, *Nugae Criticae: Occasional Papers Written at the Seaside* (1862), and *Campaigner at Home* (1863) under the pseudonym of Shirley, from Charlotte Brontë's novel of that name (1849). He also contributed his graceful, literary, picturesque essays and reviews to *Fraser's Magazine* under this pseudonym. He had previously received a letter from Charlotte Brontë for his favourable critical review of *Jane Eyre*. Before the publication of the novel, Shirley was an uncommon, but distinctly male, name. Periodical Contributions: erudite, sometimes playful, essays and reviews (1860s)	A Democratic Tory; S	Born 18 July 1831 in Edinburgh. Only son of James Skelton, writer to the signet and sheriff-substitute at Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, and wife Margaret (née Kinnear). Educated at St Andrews and Edinburgh University. 1854 Member of the Faculty of Advocates. Retired from bar because of poor health. Wrote essays and reviews for *Fraser's Magazine*, under pseudonym Shirley. 1862 First independent publication – collection of essays, *Nugae Criticae.* Well-known literary works: *The Essays of Shirley* (1882) and *The Table Talk of Shirley* (1895) – second series 1896. 1867 Married Anne Adair Lawrie; one of their children was politician Noel Skelton. 1867 Administered Public Health Act. Wrote official works on public health. 1868 Wrote tract on *Benjamin Disraeli, the past and the future*, signed by 'a democratic Tory'. 1868-1892 Secretary of Scottish Board of Supervision, appointed by Disraeli. 1869 Started lifelong connection with *Blackwood's Magazine*. 1876 Wrote first of historical works defending Mary Stuart. 1878 Honorary degree of LL.D from Edinburgh University. 1887 Created C.B; 1897 K.C.B. 1892 Chairman of Board of Supervision. 1894 Vice-President of new Scottish Local Government Board. March 1897 retired. Died 19 July 1897 at his Edinburgh home, aged sixty-six. Survived by wife and several children.

Alger, Horatio, Jr. (1832-1899) American Novelist, journalist, poet, and minister of religion	Caroline F. Preston; Olive Augusta Cheney As Caroline F. Preston Alger wrote short stories for *Gleason's Literary Companion* during 1860s, tales such as 'Patience Pottleberry's Ghost' (1865) and 'A Little Mistake, and What Came of It' (1865). Stories under the female pseudonym, Olive Augusta Cheney, appeared in *Gleason's Monthly* and *Boston Women's Journal*. Adult Fiction: short stories (1865-)	Arthur Hamilton; Arthur Lee Putnam; Carl Cantab; Charles F. Preston; Harry Hampton; Julian Starr; Lee Putnam; William Rounesville Alger	Born 13 January 1832 in Chelsea (now Revere), Massachusetts. Son of Rev. Horatio Alger, Unitarian minister and farmer, and Olive Augusta (née Fenno) Alger. Oldest of five children. Poor health – near-sighted and frail. Educated at home, then Gates Academy. 1848 Entered Harvard, aged sixteen; nickname 'Toodles'; paid for tuition as 'President's Freshman', running errands. Financial assistance from father's cousin. 1849 Essay 'Chivalry' published in *Boston National Pictorial Review.* Excelled at Harvard; prizes for essays. 1852 Graduated. Teacher and journalist. 1853 Harvard Divinity School; withdrew to take position of assistant editor for *Boston Daily Advertiser.* 1857 Re-entered Divinity School, paid for tuition by writing magazine pieces. 1860 Graduated then travelled through Europe. 1863 Failed union army physical – poor health and slight stature (only 5'2" as adult). 1864 Ordained Unitarian minister, Brewster Massachusetts. 1864 First book for boys published, *Frank's Campaign.* 1865- Wrote short stories for periodicals, especially *Gleason's Literary Companion*, under male and female pseudonyms including Caroline F. Preston and Olive Augusta Cheney. 1866 Forced to resign from ministry after accusations of sexually molesting boys. April 1866 to New York for serious literary career as journalist. Befriended street boys aged 12 to 16. 1867 Submitted to *Students and Schoolmates* most successful book: *Ragged Dick: or, Street Life in New York with the Boot-Blacks*, beginning of *Ragged Dick* series. Wrote 'Sunday School fiction', lurid sensation stories, and yellowback novels. Alger wrote over five hundred novels and short stories, almost one hundred poems, and about thirty articles. Credited (perhaps erroneously) with inventing 'strive and succeed' spirit, inspiring boys to work hard towards the American Dream. Only two juvenile novels had female protagonists – *Helen Ford* (1866) and *Tattered Tom* (1871). Worked with Edward Stratemeyer, editor at *Munsey Magazine*. Joined Harvard Club of New York.

			Tutored children of prominent Jewish families. 1873, 1877, 1890 Toured Europe and Pacific coast. Unsuccessfully switched to non-fiction genre. 1875 Published non-juvenile work, *Grand'ther Baldwin's Thanksgiving*, a slim volume of poetry and ballads all previously published in various periodicals. 1881 Biography of late President James Garfield, for children. Never married. Concealed homosexuality. 1880-1890 Adopted three orphan boys. 1896 Left New York to live with sister, Augusta; joined Woman's Suffrage League, Natick, Mass. 1898 Unwell. Stratemeyer to complete unfinished novel *Out for Business* (1900). Died 18 July 1899, in Natick, aged sixty-seven. 1899 Sister destroyed personal papers, initiating several exaggerated and inaccurate biographies. 1900-1910 Many more Alger books sold than during his lifetime.
Oakley, William Forrest (1837-1864) American Author	Bess Oakley used this pseudonym on letters to the Chat in *Woodworth's Youth's Cabinet* for five years from 1856. Periodical Contributions: letter writing (1856-1861)	Wilforley	Born 3 August 1837, New Jersey. Eldest of four boys and four girls of Robert Strong (banker) and Mary Ellen Forrest. 1856 At age nineteen wrote first letter as Bess to *Robert Merry's Museum.* Blurred full name into Wilforley when Bess was forcibly retired. Continued to write as Wilforley. 1860 Worked for father's bank note company. 1861 Revealed identity of Bess. 1861 Wrote three-part article. 1862 Father died; took break from writing to adjust to being head of household. 1863 Number drawn in draft for Civil War on September 1. Exempt due to myopia. Died of heart disease on 11 July 1864 Brooklyn, New York, aged twenty-six.
Swinburne, Algernon Charles (1837-1909) British Poet and literary reviewer	Mrs Horace Manners Swinburne's one finished novel *A Year's Letters* was written in 1862 when he was twenty-five. It did not find a publisher, however, until 1877 because of the furore over his *Poems and Ballads* and its representations of adulterous love and flogging. The novel was serialised in *The Tatler*		Born 5 April 1837 in Grosvenor Place, London. Son of Captain Charles Henry Swinburne (later Admiral) and Lady Jane Henrietta. Eldest child – four sisters, one brother survived. Spent most of boyhood on Isle of Wight. Trained by mother and paternal grandfather in French and Italian. Excelled in French and Greek. Detailed knowledge of scriptures. 1848 Stayed at Brooke Rectory (on I. of W.) to prepare for Eton. 1849 To Lake District with family, met Wordsworth. 1849-1853 Attended Eton; bullied and suffered 'birching' – sexually excited by

	under the pseudonym Mrs Horace Manners, attracting little attention at the time. Originally Swinburne wanted to use the name Mrs Horace Mann, but a woman of that name already existed. Thomas Bird Mosher, a bibliophile from Portland, Maine, pirated it in 1901; flattered, Swinburne reissued it in 1905 under his own name, dedicating the new edition to Theodore Watts-Dunton (rather than to Mrs Manners' husband) and giving it the new title *Love's Cross-Currents* (suggested by Watts-Dunton). Adult Fiction: sensation novel (1862)		flogging. 1854 Parents refused his enlisting for Crimean War. 1856-1859 Attended Balliol College, Oxford. Influenced by Benjamin Jowett, famous classicist. Rejected Christianity. Left Oxford without degree. Likened to Shelley. Very keen swimmer; wrote many poems about the ocean. 1857 Met Pre-Raphaelite poets; lifelong friendship with Rossettis. Early 1860s unhappy love affair. 1865 Verse drama *Atalanta in Calydon* – literary success. 1866 *Poems and Ballads* – shocking decadent and sexual scenes: masochism, flagellation, and paganism. 1867 Met idol, Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini. 1867-1868 Affair with American entertainer Adah Isaacs Menken. Never married, yet wrote beautiful poems about babies. 1871 *Songs Before Sunrise*. 1872 Met Theodore Watts, (later Watts-Dunton), solicitor with literary ambitions. 1877 Father died. 1878 *Poems and Ballads*, second series. 1879 Mental and physical breakdown through alcoholism. Restored to health by Watts. Lived with Watts-Dunton's family at 'The Pines', Putney for last thirty years of life. Very productive with recovery of health – twenty-three volumes after 1879. 1892 On Tennyson's death, passed over as poet laureate in favour of Alfred Austin. 1896 Mother died. 1905 Novel *Love's Cross-Currents* published. 10 April 1909 died at 'The Pines', aged seventy-three.
O'Donnell, John Francis (1837-1874) British (Irish) Journalist and poet	Emily French In 1862 O'Donnell was on the staff of *The Nation,* and in the same year was editor of *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine.* He wrote a good deal of work for it, some of it signed C. and some Emily French (*The Poets of Ireland: A Biographical Dictionary,* 185).	Caviare; C; J.F.O'D; Monkton West; P. Monks (once, in *Irish People*)	1837 Born in Limerick City. Only child of John O'Donnell, shopkeeper or painter, and Mary Fitzgerald. Educated by Christian Brothers. Adept in languages and writing. Published first poems in *Kilkenny Journal* at age fourteen. Aged seventeen joined *The Munster News* as reporter for two years. Began to write verse for *The Nation*; contributed poems and prose until his death. Sub-editor on *Tipperary Examiner,* published in Clonmel. From 1851 contributed verse to *Kilkenny Journal*. 1861 To London to work for weekly Roman Catholic and Irish nationalist paper *Universal News*.

	Poetry: national verse (1860s)		Contributed verse to *Chambers's Journal*, Charles Dickens's *All the Year Round*, and many other journals and magazines 1862 To Dublin to join *The Nation*; also edited *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*; wrote good deal of verse for it, some of it signed C. and Emily French. 1863-1865 Wrote nationalist poetry for *Irish People*. 1864 (approx.) Married to Jane; four children from marriage (three survived). 1864 Returned to London to edit *Universal News.* 1865 *The Emerald Wreath*, collection of prose and verse, published as Christmas annual. 1865-1868 Sub-editor of *The Tablet* (London). Also wrote for *The Irishman* and *The Shamrock* magazine. Propagandist for Fenians. 1871 Volume of verse *Memories of the Irish Franciscans.* Wrote several serial novels. Published three collections of prose and poetry. Used pseudonyms Caviare and Monkton West. September 1873 obtained appointment in London office of agent-general of New Zealand, through Lord O'Hagan (father of poet John O'Hagan). Died 7 May 1874 in London, aged thirty-seven. 1891 'Poems' published posthumously by Southwark Irish Literary Club to raise money to erect monument.
Ryan, Abram Joseph (1838-1886) American Poet and priest	Moïna Ryan's best and most famous poem, *The Conquered Banner*, was first published using this pseudonym in *The Freeman's Journal of New York* on 19 May 1866. Moïna is an old Celtic name. Ryan wrote the poem in less than half an hour, soon after Lee's surrender (1865). His poems were widely read in the days following the surrender at Appomattox. His work was mistakenly attributed to Mrs Anna Peyre Dinnies who used the same pen name.		Born Matthew Abraham Ryan on 5 February 1838 in Hagerstown, Maryland. Fourth child of Irish immigrants, Matthew Ryan and Mary Coughlin. Migrated west to St Louis. Educated in at Christian Brothers' School, St Louis, and Niagara University in New York State. 1856 Ordained Roman Catholic priest in Vincentian order. Ethel, his beloved, became nun. 1861 Inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. Allegedly incensed at having same name. Changed name to Abram. Taught theology. September 1862 joined Confederate Army as chaplain. 1863 Administered to prison inmates, New Orleans, during smallpox epidemic. First poetry inspired by death of a younger brother in action. Became known as the 'Poet-Priest of the Confederacy'. After war moved from parish to parish throughout South. In Augusta edited literary magazine, *The Banner of the South*.

	Poetry: sentimental war poems (1860s)		1866-1867 Most productive years for writing patriotic poetry, published in *Nashville Daily Gazette.* 1868 Began to publish lyric poems; continued to use pseudonym; revealed identity after confusion with female poet with same pseudonym. 1870 Pastor of St Mary's church in Mobile, Alabama. 1872 To Europe; audience with Pope Pius IX. Seriously ill in Milan. 1878 During epidemic of yellow fever touched by generosity of North. 1882 Published book of devotions *A Crown for Our Queen.* 1883 Lecturing tour of North. Died 22 April 1886 in Franciscan monastery at Louisville, Kentucky, aged forty-eight; buried in Mobile. Most popular of Southern poets.
Adams, Henry Brooks (1838-1918) American Historian, journalist, and essayist	Frances Snow Compton For light-hearted relief from dealing with the 'present forces and faces of society', Adams wrote two novels. The first, *Democracy* (1880), was published anonymously; it was a thinly veiled account of political corruption and intrigue in the nation's capital. He concealed himself behind a feminine pseudonym in the second, *Esther* (1884), which grapples with the conflict between science and religion, a conflict troubling many well-educated men and women. Protagonist, Esther Dudley, is forced by lack of faith to break her engagement to a young clergyman, and is nearly driven to suicide. Adult Fiction: romance novel (1884)		Born February 16, 1838, in Boston. Son of Charles Francis Adams, diplomat, legislator, and writer, and his wife Abigail Brooks. Privileged childhood. Great-grandson of President John Adams. 1858 Graduated from Harvard. Two years in Europe. As newspaper correspondent interviewed Garibaldi. Father appointed minister to Great Britain by newly elected President Lincoln. Private secretary to father. Presented to Queen Victoria. Wide literary social world. 1868 returned to U.S. Freelance journalist; contributed articles to *The North American Review*, *The Nation*, and various British periodicals. Bitterly attacked President Ulysses S. Grant and corrupt administration. 1870 Teaching position at Harvard. 1872 Married Marian 'Clover' Hooper. No children. Active in reform politics. 1877 To Washington to concentrate on researching and writing history of the U.S. during the 19th C.

			1880 Published first novel *Democracy* anonymously. 1881 Met Elizabeth Cameron, wife of senator. 1884 Second novel *Esther* under female pseudonym. 1885 Wife committed suicide. Travelled extensively. Intimate relationship with Mrs Cameron, who rejected him. Corresponded with Mrs Cameron for rest of life. Wide social circle of senators, diplomats, writers, and judges. 1889-1891 Nine-volume work *The History of the United States During the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison*. Best known for *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904) and *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918). 1912 Serious stroke. March 27, 1918, died at home in Washington, aged eighty.

1840-1849	
1840 Beginning of decade of social and economic turbulence in Britain Rise in ‘condition of England’ novels Opium War New Zealand becomes British Colony, Treaty of Waitangi Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* Anti-Slavery Convention in London Penny post established Marriage of Victoria and Albert Birth of Victoria’s first child, Victoria, *Princess Royal* 1841 Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop* Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister *Punch* begins publication Birth of Prince Albert Edward, heir-apparent, *Prince of Wales* 1842 Lord Ashley’s Act: restriction of women and children in mines *Illustrated London News* started Young England Movement Mudie’s Circulating Library established Massacre of Elphinstone’s Army by Afghans 1843 Wordsworth Poet Laureate Carlyle, *Past and Present*	1840 Washington Temperance Society formed Increase in weekly newspapers and cheap part-issue fiction 1841 First wagon train reaches California Edgar Allan Poe, *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* William Henry Harrison U.S. President; died in office John Tyler President (-1845) 1842 Seminole war ends Indians removed to Oklahoma Webster-Ashburton Treaty establishes border between Canada and Minnesota and Maine First use of anaesthetic 1844 Samuel Morse sends first telegraph message *The Columbian Lady’s and Gentleman’s Magazine* *Littell’s Living Age* Poe, *The Purloined Letter* 1845 Texas annexed and admitted to Union *National Police Gazette* James K. Polk President (-1849) 1846 War begins between U.S. and Mexico (-1848) California declares itself a republic United States and Great Britain sign Oregon Treaty

Macmillan and Company founded in Cambridge
Birth of Princess Alice
1844 Factory Act
First telegraph line, between Paddington and Slough
Birth of Prince Alfred
1845 Irish potato famine (-1850)
Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*
1846 Repeal of Corn Laws
Lord Russell Prime Minister
George Eliot's translation of Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu*
Charlotte Brontë, *The Professor*
Neptune discovered by Johann Galle, Germany
Ireland's potato famine spurs emigration to U.S.
Birth of Princess Helena
1847 *Howitt's Journal* founded
First use of chloroform as anaesthetic
Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*
Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*
Anne Brontë, *Agnes Grey*
1848 Anne Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*
Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood
Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton*
Queen's College for Women founded in London
Dickens, *Dombey and Son*
Revolution throughout Europe
Chartist crisis
Cholera epidemic
Public Health Act
Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*
Birth of Princess Louise
1849 *Household Words* and *Eliza Cook's Journal* founded
Bedford College for Women founded
Charlotte Brontë, *Shirley*
Dickens, *David Copperfield*

Mormons under Brigham Young settle in Utah
Elias Howe invents sewing machine
Iowa admitted as state
Bear Flag War
Gilbert Abbott first American to be operated on under anaesthetic (ether)
American Whig Review
Debow's Review
Town and Country
1847 First adhesive postage stamp issued
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow publishes *Evangeline*
Mormons found Salt Lake City
1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ending Mexican War; cedes California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico to United States
Women's Rights Convention, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, held at Seneca Falls, New York
Gold discovered in California
Spiritualism sweeps the U.S.
Wisconsin admitted as a state
John Russell Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms*
1849 Zachary Taylor becomes President (-1850)
Minnesota established as a territory
Cholera epidemic sweeps South
Great Chinese Museum opens in NYC
Astor Place riots in NYC

Author	Female Pseudonym/s	Other Known Pseudonyms	Biographical Summary
Cooke, Charles Wallwyn Radcliffe, J.P. (1841-1911) British Politician and promoter of cider making	Angelina Gushington Cooke had a reputation as a parodist at Cambridge. He published a collection of entertaining essays called *Thoughts on Men and Things: A Series of Essays* (1867) and contributed sketches such as 'L'Exposition Universelle, and 'Hints Concerning the Boat Race' to *The Light Blue, a Cambridge University Magazine* (May 1868), as Angelina Gushington. Adult Fiction: student parodies, humorous essays (1867-1868)		Born 16 January 1841 in Much Marcle, Herefordshire. Son and only surviving child of Robert Duffield Cooke, landowner and farmer, and Mary Anne Cooke (née Wallwyn). Educated privately. 1860 Matriculated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge. 1864-1865 Prizes for English essays at Cambridge University. 1869 Admitted at Lincoln's Inn. 1872 Called to the bar, Oxford circuit. 1876 Married Frances Parnther Broome (d.1891); one son and three daughters from marriage. 1882 Father died. Inherited family property; retired from legal practice. Farmed and pursued political interests. 1885-1892 Held seat for Newington West, in south London. 1890 Recorded impressions as new MP in *Four Years in Parliament with Hard Labour*. 1892 Wife died. 1893 Married Katherine Coles; one son from marriage. 1893 Elected to parliament. Held Conservative seat in Hereford city. 1885-1892 Conservative M.P. for Newington (West). 1897 Anti-suffrage speech. Promoted fruit culture and consumption of cider. 1898 Wrote *Book about Cider and Perry*. Wrote books and essays on mankind and parliament. By 1909 could no longer afford manor house – let to tenants. Moved family to Great Malvern, Worcestershire. Died 26 May 1911 at Great Malvern, aged seventy.
Jewett, John Howard (known as Howard) (1843-1925) American Publisher, poet,	Hannah Warner Jewett wrote verse and children's stories, including his 'Bunny Stories' series, under this pseudonym. The stories were originally created for his daughter Sheila.		Born 19 January 1843 in Hadley, Mass. Son of Edwin Jewett and Elizabeth (Jones) Jewett. Known as Howard Jewett. 1861 Graduated from Hopkins Academy, Hadley. Served in Civil War 1861-1864. 1 October 1867 married to Sarah Hart Phelps; one daughter from marriage (1882-1923). 1867-1873 Editor and business manager of the *Holyoke Transcript*, Mass.

and writer of children's stories	Juvenile Literature: stories for very young children (1889-)		1873-1896 Business manager of *Transcript*. 1896-1899 Publisher of *Worcester Gazette* in Worcester Mass. 1901-1902 Editor *The Profession* magazine, N.Y. City. 1904-1906 Editor *The Craftsman* magazine, N.Y. City Wrote Civil War poems on subject of brotherhood. 1889 Collection of poems *Fugitive Verses*: 'gathered as a keep-sake for Sheila Mackenzie Jewett'. 1889-1890 Bunny Stories first serialised in *St Nicholas: Scribner's Illustrated Magazine For Girls and Boys*, New York; originally created for daughter. 1900 Christmas Book, *More Bunny Stories*. 1905 *Con the Wizard* in 'Christmas Stocking' series. 1911 Becoming quite deaf. Died 18 September 1925, aged eighty-two.
Russell, William Clark (1844-1911) British Novelist, poet and journalist	Mrs Lætitia Boothby; Eliza Rhyl Davies; Sydney Mostyn For thirty years Russell produced a constant stream of novels, such as *Memoirs of Mrs. Lætitia Boothby, written by Herself* (1872), and sensation romances *The Mystery of Ashleigh Manor: A Romance* (1874) and *A Dark Secret* (1875) under the pseudonym Eliza Rhyl Davies. He also wrote four sensation novels under the androgynous pseudonym Sydney Mostyn. Adult Fiction: sensation fiction (1870s)	A Seafarer; The Prose Homer of the Great Ocean; Phillip Sheldon	Born 24 February 1844 in Carlton House Hotel, Broadway, New York. One of four sons of English composer Henry Russell and his first wife, Isabella Lloyd. Mother related to William Wordsworth. Educated in private schools at Winchester and Boulogne. 1858 Joined British merchant navy. Eight years on board ship. 1866 Began literary career. Wrote tragedy in verse, produced in Haymarket Theatre, London, 1866. Failure. 1868 editor of *The Leader.* 1868 married Alexandrina Henry: one son, three daughters from marriage. 1871 wrote for *Kent County News.* Began to write nautical adventures. Tragedies and comedies of the sea – main theme. Produced fifty-seven novels under own name and pseudonyms. Early novels in genre of sensation fiction under female pseudonyms. 1872 *The Memoirs of Mrs. Lætitia Boothby, Written by Herself.* Edited (written) by Clark Russell. 1872 *Perplexity*, *The Surgeon's Secret*, and *Kitty's Rival* (1873) under female pseudonym Sydney Mostyn. 1874 *The Mystery of Ashleigh Manor: A Romance* (1874) and *A Dark Secret* (1875) both as by Eliza Rhyl Davies. Wrote biographies, journal articles, and poetry.

			1878 *The Little Loo* under female pseudonym Sydney Mostyn. 1880 Joined staff of *Newcastle Chronicle*. Editor of *Mayfair* for brief period. 1882 Post on *Daily Telegraph*, regular contributor for seven years as 'A Seafarer'. Campaigned vigorously for reform in Mercantile Marine. Championed cause of merchant seamen; instrumental in new acts being passed to prevent unseaworthy vessels putting to sea. 1907 Volume of poetry. Retired to Ramsgate, Deal, and finally Bath. Crippled by rheumatoid arthritis. Died 8 November 1911, aged sixty-seven.
Hawthorne, Julian (1846-1934) American Author, editor, journalist, and engineer	Judith Hollinshed After a failed farming venture in Jamaica, Hawthorne was grossly in debt; he heard of a contest and reputedly wrote the mystery novel *A Fool of Nature* (1896) in eighteen days, under the pseudonym Judith Hollinshed. It won first prize of $10,000 from *The New York Herald* whose competition of stories was instituted in 1895. Adult Fiction: romance novel entered in competition (1896)		Born 22 June 1846 in Boston, only son and middle child of Nathaniel Hawthorne, America's preeminent novelist, and Sophia Peabody Hawthorne. 1853-1860 Lived in Liverpool, then Italy – father consul. Educated by parents and tutors. 1860 Family returned to New England; went to Transcendental coeducational academy. 1863 Matriculated at Harvard, attended irregularly until 1866. 1864 Emotionally and financially shaken by father's death. Studied civil engineering in Cambridge (U.S.) and in Dresden (1869-1870). 1870 To New York, married May Albertina 'Minnie' Amelung; nine children from marriage, two died in infancy. 1870-1872 Engineer in New York City Dock Department under General McClellan. 1870 First short story *Love & Counter Love; or, Masquerading*, published by *Harper's Weekly*. 1871 Mother died. 1872-1881 Public quarrel with brother-in-law. From 1872 ten years abroad. 1873 First novel *Bressant* followed by more novels with similar themes of incest and sensuality: *Idolatry* (1874); *Garth* (1874); *Archibald Maimaison* (1879); *Sebastian Strome* (1880). Published more than twenty-five novels, including five detective novels, and over fifty short stories. Freely used father's notes for ideas. Never received critical acclaim for own works. 1882 Settled on a Long Island farm. Wrote to support family.

			1883 Edited father's unfinished *Dr Grimshawe's Secret.* 1884 Biography of father *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife.* 1893 Moved to Jamaica. 1896 Won prize for novel under pseudonym, Judith Hollinshed. Living in father's world 'a blessing and a lifelong burden'. Edited popular anthologies. Took up journalism. Political hack for William Randolph Hearst's yellow press. 1897 Began affair with Minna Desborough; two daughters from relationship. Disgraced family name by writing prospectuses and personal appeals for fraudulent mining shares. 1913 Prison sentence for defrauding the public and misuse of the United States Postal Service. 1914 Nonfiction *The Subterranean Brotherhood* attacking judicial system. 1915 To California, leaving wife Minnie in east. 1925 Wife died. 1925 Married lover Edith Garrigues. Died 21 July 1934 in San Francisco, aged eighty-eight.
Aiken, Albert W. (1846-1894) American Playwright, actor, and dime novelist	A Celebrated Actress; Adelaide Davenport; Frances; Frances Helen Davenport Aiken used these pseudonyms on dime novels published by Beadle. Adult Fiction: dime novels (1880s)	Agile Penne; Captain Frank P. Armstrong; Colonel Delle Sara; Lieut. Alfred B. Thorne; Major Lewis W. Carson; Redmond Blake	Few biographical details available. 1846 Born in Boston (parents' names unknown). From family of actors. Cousin of George L. Fox, famous clown. Produced and acted in own plays. During Civil War reputedly commissioned captain in First Arkansas Regiment. 1872-1873 Lived with brother, George L. Aiken (1830-1876), dime novelist, playwright, and actor. 1873 Married Mary Crawford; six children from marriage. Stories published as magazine serials and, mostly, dime novels. 1881 Temporary retirement from acting. Wrote for Beadle, for some time averaged a book a week. Brother, George L. Aiken, also wrote for Beadle & Adams. 1885 Back on stage. Ran theatre in Brooklyn. 19 August 1894 died in Keyport, New Jersey, aged about forty-eight.

Burbidge, Frederick William Thomas (1847-1905) British Horticultural writer and explorer	Veronica (and possibly other pseudonyms according to his obituary March 1906) Burbidge wrote under this pseudonym in the 1870s when he was on the staff of *The Garden.* Periodical Contributions: gardening articles in magazine (1870s)		Born 21 March 1847 at Wymeswold, Leicestershire. Son of Thomas Burbidge, farmer and orchardist, and Mary Spencer. Educated at home and in village schools. 1868 Student at gardens of Royal Horticultural Society, Chiswick, and gained premier prizes and certificates in exams. 1868 From Chiswick to Royal Gardens, Kew. Skilled draughtsman; partly employed drawing plants. 1870-1877 Worked for William Robinson's paper *The Garden* under pseudonym Veronica. Also wrote for *The Floral Magazine*. Published horticultural works; drew many of the plates himself. 1874 Gained high honours in exams of Society of Arts. 1875 First important work *Domestic Floriculture*. 1876 Married Jane Wade; no children from marriage. 1877-1878 To Borneo as collector for nursery firm James Veitch & Sons; brought back many valuable specimens, especially orchids and pitcher plants. Also visited Jahore, Brunei, and the Sulu Islands. 1879 Curator of botanical gardens of Trinity College, Dublin. 1880 Chronicle of journey published as *The Gardens of the Sun, or, A Naturalist's Journal on the Mountains and in the Forests and swamps of Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago.* 1894 Keeper of gardens, as well as curator. 1897 One of first recipients of Royal Horticultural Society's Victoria medal. Noted for horticultural writings and draughtsmanship. 24 December 1905 died, aged fifty-eight.
Allen, (Charles) Grant Blairfindie (1848-1899) British (Canadian born) Scientific writer and novelist	Olive Pratt Rayner Allen used his pseudonym Olive Pratt Rayner for the novels *The Type-Writer Girl* (1897) and *Rosalba* (1899); *The Type-Writer Girl* deals with the subject of a university-educated woman faced with the reality of earning a living. The full title of the latter is *Rosalba: The Story of Her Development: With*	Cecil Power; J. Arbuthnot Wilson; Martin Leach Warborough 'J. Arbuthnot Wilson' was a private joke – it formed the acronym 'jaw', a	Born 24 February 1848, at Alwington, Kingston, Ontario. Son of Rev. Joseph Antisell Allen, Church of Ireland (protestant) clergyman, and Catharine Ann Grant, daughter of fifth Baron of Longueuil. Third child and second (but only surviving) son of seven children. No formal schooling when young – tutored by father. Thousand Islands region, including Wolfe Island, until early teens. 1861 Family to New Haven, Connecticut, for one year; Yale College. Family to France; became completely bilingual. Studied in Dieppe, then King Edward's School in Birmingham. 1867 Merton College, Oxford. 1868 Married Caroline Anne Bootheway who became semi-invalid.

	Other Episodes of the European Movement, More Especially as They Affected the Monti Berici near Vicenza. The identity of the author of these two New Woman novels was not revealed until after Allen's death. Adult Fiction: New Woman novels (1897, 1899)	slang term for gossipy talk. Gertrude Beresford O'Sullivan was Allen's first choice for a pseudonym on a new three-decker *Philistia*, but his publisher, Andrew Chatto, managed to talk him out of it; they agreed on the shorter Cecil Power. His pseudonyms were all very temporary.	Studies suffered; lost scholarship because of marriage. 1871 Graduated with BA. Three years as schoolmaster – one term at Brighton College, then private tutor in Cheltenham and Reading. 1872 Wife died of TB. 1873 Married Ellen (Nellie) Jerrard; one son from marriage. 1873 Appointed Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy at Queen's College, Spanish Town, Jamaica, for education of natives. 1876 College closed. Returned to England. Studied philosophy and physical science. Began writing for living – contributed to various magazines and newspapers. 1878 First short story published in *The Belgravia*. From 1878 wrote short stories and novels as J. Arbuthnot Wilson and Cecil Power. 1884 First novel, three-decker *Philistia* as Cecil Power – preferred pseudonym was Gertrude Beresford O'Sullivan; first serialised in *The Gentleman's Magazine.* Most lasting achievement *The Woman Who Did* (1895) – scandalous success. 1897 *Tom, Unlimited: A Story for Children*, under pseudonym Martin Leach Warborough. Wrote *The Type-Writer Girl* (1897) and *Rosalba* (1899) under pseudonym Olive Pratt Rayner. Contributed to reviews, magazines, and newspapers. Wrote scientific articles, poems, detective fiction, and guidebooks. Fresh interest in art. 1881 Settled in Dorking, Surrey. Wintered in Southern Europe. 1892 Built villa in Haslemere, Surrey, to endure English winters. 25 October 1899 died at home, aged fifty-one. Survived by second wife and son.
Kaler, James Otis (1848-1912) American Journalist and writer of books for boys	Adah M. Howard; Ella Montez Washburn; Amy Prentice Kaler used the first two of these pseudonyms on dime novels. Probably in partnership with his wife, Amy, he authored twelve	Harry Prentice; James Otis (most famous); Lieut. James K. Orton; Walter Morris	Born in Frankfort (now Winterport), Maine 19 March 1848. Second of three (surviving) children of Otis Kaler and Maria Thompson, daughter of civil engineer. Father owned summer hotel in Scarborough. Educated at public schools. Reporter on *Boston Journal* as teenager. Worked for various newspapers in New York. 1864 Sent by paper to cover Civil War; aged sixteen.

	stories for very young children, published by A. L. Burt in 1906 under the pseudonym Amy Prentice. They include *The Gray Goose's Story* and *Mouser Cats' Story*. Adult Fiction: dime novels (1880s) Juvenile Literature: stories for very young children (1906)		Wrote sermons syndicated by Philadelphia publisher. Publicity man for circus. October 20 1867 married Frances E. Palmer in Bangor; relocated to Portland area. 1870 Editorial position on *Frank Leslie's Boys' and Girls' Weekly.* Best known for *Toby Tyler; or, Ten Weeks with a Circus* (1880) written under pseudonym James Otis; made into film by Walt Disney. 1880s Wrote serials and dime novels for Street & Smith, Norman L. Munro, and Munsey. Strong interest in sea; nautical themes throughout thirty-year literary career. Produced over 175 juvenile novels, many based on American history; wrote for fourteen to sixteen year old boys. Contributed to periodicals such as St *Nicholas.* 1892 Father died. Marriage to Frances over. 1 March 1898 married Amy Luella Scammon, stenographer and bookkeeper for Otis; two sons from marriage. 1898 First Superintendent of Schools in South Portland, Maine. 1906 Stories for very young children under female pseudonym. Averaged eight books a year for last three years of life. Died in Portland11 December 1912, aged sixty-four. Typified late 19th century spirit combining individualism, moralism, didacticism, and national pride.
Harbaugh, Thomas Chalmers (1849-1924) American Poet, newspaper political writer, historian, and novelist	Bertha M. Clay Charlotte M. Brame's pseudonym for romantic novels was too profitable to die with her in 1884, and was kept alive by a number of male hack writers, including Harbaugh. Adult Fiction: romance novels (1870s)	An Old Salt; Captain Hamilton Holmes; Captain Howard Holmes; Captain J.L. Kennedy; Charles Howard; Colonel T.B. Bostwick; F. S. Winston; George B. Lee; Harry Winton; Isaac Hawkes;	Born 13 January 1849 in Middletown, Maryland. Son of Morgan Mason Harbough, house painter, and Caroline Routzahn. 1851 Moved with family to Piqua, later to Casstown, Miami County, Ohio. Educated in common schools. As a boy worked for father. Assistant postmaster during Civil War. 1867 Began writing career with two short western stories for Street & Smith's *Literary Album*. 1873 First work for Beadle, short article. 1876 Serial 'Nick o' the Night' for *Saturday Journal*, reprinted in *Half-Dime Library*. 1876 Performance of his play, *The Housier Schoolmaster*. 1878 'The Hidden Lodge' for *Half-Dime*. Wrote poems, short stories, local history, and countless dime novels. Wrote for *Youth's Companion, Golden Days, Ohio Farmer, Chicago Ledger, New*

		Jack Judson; Jackson Knox; Major A.F. Grant; Major G.W. Alcalaw; Major Walt Wilmot; Major Walter Brisbane; Nick Carter; Tarcomed ('Democrat' reversed) – on political column	*York Clipper, Metropolitan Magazines, The Ladies' World,* and *Girls of Today.* Also wrote for *The Nickel Library* and *The War Library.* Visited every battlefield of Civil War for data for novels. Wrote many hundreds of books. 1913 Estate valued at $20,000 to $30,000. Unable to adapt to change of style demanded in stories. Unmarried; lived with brother Samuel, Casstown Village Recorder, taxidermist, and paperhanger. 1922 Brother died. Alone after brother's death and afflicted with partial paralysis. Return to Maryland community arranged by two boyhood friends. 9 July 1923 sold possessions at auction 7 September 1923 returned to Casstown and entered Miami County Home. 27 October 1924 died in Casstown, Ohio, aged seventy-five. First from Miami County to be in *Who's Who in America*.
Cobb, Weldon J(ames) (1849-1922) American Dime novelist, journalist, writer of boys' stories, editor, and real estate dealer	Genevieve Ulmar Under this pseudonym, Cobb wrote such serials as *Her Wedding Night* and *The Stolen Bridegroom* published in *The Chicago Ledger* (1910), and *The Looters* published in *The Evening Independent* (1917). Adult Fiction: romance serials (1910-)	Allen Chapman; Archie Van; Dwight Weldon; Engineer James Fisk; Ensign Clarke Fitch; Frank V. Webster; John L. Douglas; Roy Rockwood; Robert Steel; Stanley Norris Some of above are syndicate house names.	Born 3 July 1849 Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, son of James W. Cobb (mother's name unknown). Family built trains used by Illinois central railroad. Lived in Chicago. Married to Saidee E. Cobb (1851-1928). 1871 Most of family property holdings lost in Great Chicago Fire. Journalist and reporter on variety of papers. 1873 manager of Western Literary Bureau. 1875-1878 real estate dealer. 1880 reporter on *Chicago Telegraph*. 1881 city editor of *Chicago Morning Herald*. Submitted serials to many publications. Wrote seventy-three novelettes for *Nick Carter Weekly*. From 1891 wrote serials for Norman L. Munro's *Golden Hours*. 1896 resigned from *Kansas City World* – advertising manager of *The Joplin* (Missouri) *Herald*. About 1905 joined Stratemeyer Syndicate. 1906 Wrote *Ralph of the Railroad*, as first ghostwriter for Stratemeyer. 1910 Published serials in *Chicago Ledger*. 1912 Suggested a 'wireless boys' series to Stratemeyer. 1912 Wrote *The Boys of the Wireless* as Frank V. Webster. 1 July 1922 died Brookline, Illinois, aged seventy-two. Survived by wife Saidee E. Cobb and two children.

1850-1859	
1850 Tennyson, *In Memoriam* Restoration of Roman Catholic hierarchy in England Tennyson Poet Laureate Dickens begins publishing *Household Words* Birth of Prince Arthur 1851 Great Exhibition in London *The Monthly Packet* founded and edited by Charlotte Yonge (-1890) Removal of window tax Victorian gold rush 1852 Dickens, *Bleak House* 1853 Aggravated Assaults upon Women and Children punishable by up to six months' prison Queen Victoria uses chloroform at birth of eighth child, Prince Leopold 1854 George Eliot's translation of Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity* British Medical Society founded Dissenters admitted to Oxford degrees Dickens, *Hard Time* Gaskell, *North and South* Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House* Crimean War (-1856) Earl of Cardigan leads Charge of Light Brigade at Balaclava Construction of London Underground begins 1855 Dickens, *Little Dorrit* Death of Charlotte Brontë Abolition of newspaper tax Lord Palmerston Prime Minister *Saturday Review* founded *Daily Telegraph* first mass-circulation daily paper 1856 *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* founded Dissenters admitted to Cambridge degrees Crimean War ends 1857 Indian Mutiny Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh* Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*	1850 California admitted as free state Fugitive Slave Bill passed Cholera epidemic sweeps Midwest House sparrows released in New York City – spread continent-wide Jenny Lind gives first performance in the U.S. *Harper's Magazine* Millard Fillmore President (-1853) 1851 Cast-iron frame building constructed Mob rescues fugitive slave, Boston, Massachusetts Erie Railroad opens Isaac Merritt Singer granted patent for practical sewing machine 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Double comet visible Xenophobic 'Young America' movement gains strength 1853 Commodore Matthew Perry negotiates treaty to open Japan to trade Gadsden Purchase settles boundary with Mexico Yellow fever epidemic rages in Louisiana and Mississippi (-1855) Railroad from New York to Chicago Baltimore & Ohio Railroad completed Boston Public Library opens Unsuccessful expedition to find Arctic explorer John Franklin (-1855) Franklin Pierce President (-1857) Eliza Leslie, *The Behaviour Book* *Putman's Monthly* 1854 Republican party formed Henry David Thoreau publishes *Walden* Trade treaty between Japan & U.S. Railroad reaches Mississippi River Free-Soil Party promotes settlement of Kansas 1855 Walt Whitman publishes *Leaves of Grass* First railroad crosses Mississippi River 1856 Violence in Kansas by pro-and anti-slavery factions Copyright law passed by Congress 1857 Company formed by Cyrus W. Field begins to lay Transatlantic cable James Edward Allen Gibbs perfects the first practical sewing machine

Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary* Divorce Act and new Divorce Court Passing of Obscene Publications Act Sentence of criminal transportation abolished; some long-term convicts sent to Australia Birth of Princess Beatrice 1858 'Big Ben' installed Permanent British rule of India proclaimed by Victoria Abolition of British East India Company *English Woman's Journal* begun (-1864) Register of qualified physicians established Lionel de Rothschild first Jew in Parliament Lord Palmerston force to resign as Prime Minister 1859 George Eliot, *Adam Bede* *All the Year Round* and *Macmillan's Magazine* established Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* Darwin, *The Origin of Species* Langham Place Circle and Society for Promoting the Employment of Women founded Prince Wilhelm of Prussia (later William II, German Emperor) born – Victoria and Albert's first grandchild	*Dred Scott* decision James Buchanan inaugurated as President (-1861) Financial panic *Atlantic Monthly* 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates 1859 First commercial oil well drilled John Brown leads raid on Harpers Ferry John Brown hanged for treason Oregon admitted as state

Author	**Female Pseudonym/s**	**Other Known Pseudonyms**	**Biographical Summary**
Garvice, Charles (1850-1920) British Journalist and writer of romance and adventure novels	Caroline Hart Garvice published at least twenty-five novels under this pseudonym. These appeared in the *Hart Series*, which was primarily made up of love stories reprinted from story papers and other paper-covered novel series. One of his early Caroline Hart novels is *Nameless Bess; or, The Triumph of Innocence* (1909). Adult Fiction: romance (c.1900-)	Charles Gibson	Born 24 August 1850 in London. Son of Andrew John Garvice, bricklayer, and Mira Winter. Started professional life as journalist. 1872 Married Elizabeth Jones; two sons, six daughters from marriage. Dedicated first publication *Eve: and Other Verses* (1873) to his wife. 1875 First published novel *Maurice Durant*. 1896 Son Chudleigh (aged twenty-one) joined Royal Dublin Fusiliers. DSO in South African War. *Maurice Durant* successful in serial form, but not as book. For next twenty-three years wrote serialised stories for periodicals or fiction magazines in Britain and America. Stories bound and sold by George Munro as novels. Bought dairy farm in north Devon.

			President of Farmers' and Landowners' Association. Began public speaking. President of Institute of Lecturers. Late 1890s relaunched literary career – Mudie's and Smith's stranglehold over circulating libraries broken – new format for novels in single volume for six shillings, no longer guinea and a half three-decker. 1900 wrote four novels. Embraced mass reading public – wrote more than one hundred and fifty love and adventure novels in sixpenny paper-covered format, not 6s. hard-backed. Dictated work to typist. Novels appeared in *All Star Series*, Stein's *Heart Series*, *Laurel Library*, Ogilvie's *Railroad Series*, Street & Smith's *New Eagle Series*, *Westbury Library,* and *Hart Series.* Also wrote two plays. By 1911 readership of six million. One nonfiction book, *A Farm in Creamland. A Book of the Devon Countryside* (1912). Member of several clubs. Produced over 150 novels in career. 21 February 1920 cerebral haemorrhage; coma until death. Died 1 March 1920 in Richmond, aged sixty-nine.
Coryell, John Russell (1851-1924) (accent on last syllable) American Journalist, writer of detective, romance, and juvenile fiction, educator, and anarchist	Bertha M. Clay; Lillian R. Drayton; Geraldine Edwards; Julia Edwards; Barbara Grant; Margaret Grant; Barbara Howard; Lucy May Russell; Geraldine Fleming Coryell wrote hundreds of romance novels (especially for women) and juvenile fiction as Bertha M. Clay and under other house names. For his publisher Macfadden, Coryell wrote on more serious topics such as *A*	H. Mitchell Watchet; Harry Dubois Milman; Milton Quarterly; Nicholas Carter; Nick Carter; Tyman Currio	Born 15 December 1851 in New York. Son of Miers Coryell, marine architect, and Lucy Agnes Coryell. Educated in public schools in New York and City College. Abandoned law studies. Aged seventeen travelled to China where father was building ships. 1872 Mother died in Shanghai, China. Held posts with U.S. Consular service in Canton, Shanghai, and Japan. 1875 to California. Shipbroker, then newspaper reporter. 1878 Returned to New York. Married Abby Lydia Hedge; four sons from marriage. Supported family writing children's stories. Cousin of Street & Smith's President Ormond G. Smith. 1880s Created Nick Carter; wrote three novels for Street & Smith's *New York Weekly* – reprinted in various series and libraries. Wrote serials for George Munro's *Fireside Companion*.

	Child of Life: A Startling Story of the Struggle of a Girl Born Out of Wedlock Against the Sins and Perversions of Today (1904). This moving work was written under the name of Margaret Grant; he also made frequent contributions to *Mother Earth* magazine (1906-1917) under this pseudonym. Adult Fiction: romance novels (1880s) Juvenile Literature: serial stories (1880s-)		Had up to six serials running at a time, under various pseudonyms. Frequent contributor to *Physical Culture* magazine. Embraced socialism and anarchism. 1902 Father died. Member of The Sunrise Club, New York discussion club (1890-1931), with wife Abby. 1904 More serious works as Margaret Grant. 1906-1917 Contributed to *Mother Earth* as Margaret Grant. 1907 Arrested at a *Mother Earth* meeting. 1907 Contributed to *Lucifer, the Light-bearer.* 1907-1908 Publisher and editor of journal *The Wide Way.* 1908 Lectured to Liberty Congregation at Lyric Hall. 1911 One of first teachers at anarchist Ferrer Modern School, New York. Very briefly head of school; turned over to wife, Abby Hedge Coryell, who ran it for several months. 1920 Joined Bernarr Macfadden's editorial staff. Died 15 July 1924 in Maine, aged seventy-two. Survived by widow (d.1951).
Rolfe, Maro O(rlando) (1852-1925) American Journalist, historian, novelist and writer of detective stories	Mrs Anna A. Robie Rolfe used this name as one of his dime novel pseudonyms. Adult Fiction: dime novels (1870s-1880s)	A Civil War Captain; A. W. Rolker; Colonel Oram Eflor; Colonel Oram R. McHenry; M. O'Rolfe, The Irish Novelist; Oram Eflor; Sergeant Rolfe; The Detective Novelist, M.O. Rolfe; The Novelist Detective; The Old Detective;	Born 28 January 1852 in Monterey, New York. Son of Furman Rolfe, lumber trader and builder, and Angelina Amelia Reed. One younger sister. Aged about two, moved with parents to Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania. Attended grammar and high schools in Lawrenceville. Began writing at age fifteen. 1867 Produced amateur newspaper. In 1870s wrote short sketches, poetry, and tales for Beadle & Adams' *Saturday Journal*. 1872-1873 Four tales in *Frank Starr's American Novels*. 1875 Married Alice Estelle Potter; two sons from marriage. Contributed to *New York Weekly*, *The Toledo Blade*, *Yankee Blade*, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Albany Telegram*, *Hartford Courant*, *Pomeroy's Democrat*, and other papers. Also wrote thrillers for *The Nickel Library*, *War Library*, *Old Cap Collier Library*, and *Golden Library*. 1877 Published first of county histories, *Old Tioga and Ninety Years of its Existence*. 1885 To Kansas City, Missouri.

		The Young Detective	Original member of Western Authors' and Artists' Club, founded 1888. 1888 Published a *History of Kansas City*. 1890 To Chicago. Continued to write serials and worked as freelance writer. To California. 1900 Injured during Galveston tornado. Returned to Los Angeles after long illness, lived many years at San Gabriele. From Methodist to Christian Scientist. Died 15 April 1925 in Los Angeles, aged seventy-three.
Moore, George Augustus (1852-1933) British (Irish) Novelist, poet, playwright, and art critic	Lady Rhone Moore published his novel *Vain Fortune* (1891) in serial form under this pseudonym. He accepted a commission to write the serial story, under the editorial stipulation that it should contain nothing 'offensive' for such a conservative publication as *The Lady's Pictorial*. The 'chaste' readers did not suspect that the infamous George Moore was the author. Henry & Co later published it in book form under Moore's own name, with illustrations by Maurice Greiffenhagen. Moore denied that *Vain Fortune* was a potboiler, declaring that he was writing to 'please myself' (Elwin 1939, 83). Adult Fiction: romance novel (1891)		24 February 1852 born in Moore Hall near Lough Carra, co. Mayo. Eldest of four sons of George Henry Moore, horse breeder and Independent MP for Mayo in British House of Commons, and Mary Blake Moore. Dropped Augustus from name; it was also name of second of three brothers. Privately tutored. 1861 To London with parents and champion horse, Croagh Patrick. Boarded at St Mary's College, Oscott, near Birmingham. 1864 All year at home with lung infection. 1865 Returned to St Mary's College with brother Maurice. Refused to study; read poems and novels. 1867 Expelled for idleness. 1868 Father again elected MP for Mayo after being unseated in 1857. 1869 Family moved to London. Attended School of Art; refused military career. 1870 Father died; inherited bulk of estate. 1873 To Paris to study art. Met prominent artists and writers. Influenced strongly by Émile Zola. 1877 Self-published collection of lyric poems *The Flowers of Passion*. 1880 Forced to return to Ireland to pay debts on family estate. Moved to London as professional writer. 1881 Published *Pagan Poems*. Began series of novels in realist style. 1883 First novel *A Modern Lover* in three volumes. Banned by libraries – amorous exploits of hero. Next two novels also banned by Mudie's and W.H. Smith. Moore's publisher Henry Vizetelly issued French realist novels, esp. Zola's *La Terre*; charged with 'obscene libel'.

			In two pamphlets declared war on circulating libraries. Success as art critic as well as novelist. 1888 Autobiographical novel *Confessions of a Young Man*. 1890s High point of career as journalist. 1891 *Vain Fortune* serialised under female pseudonym. Founder of Independent Theatre in London; wrote several plays, some with Mrs Craigie (John Oliver Hobbes). 1894 End of brief romance with Mrs Craigie. 1894 *Esther Waters* most successful novel. Novels constitute birth of English realist novel. 1894 Met Maud Alice Burke (to be Lady Maud Cunard in 1895) – life-long romantic friendship ensued. 1895 Death of mother. 1899 Enlisted by William Butler Yeats to launch Irish Literary Theatre. 1901 Disgusted with British atrocities in Boer War; left England for Dublin. Wrote series of novels and short stories for translation into Irish – delayed because of anti-clerical sentiment. 1903 Declared himself protestant after disagreement with brother Maurice. Remained in Dublin until 1911. Returned to London. Frequent trips to France. 1911-1914 Fictionalised autobiography in three volumes, *Hail and Farewell.* 1913 Research trip to Jerusalem. 1923 Moore Hall burnt by anti-treaty forces towards end of Irish Civil War. Estranged from brother Maurice. 1930 Last novel *Aphrodite in Aulis* published. 21 January 1933 died in Belgravia, London, aged eighty. Ashes buried on Castle Island in Lough Carra.
Enton, Dr. Harry (born Harold Cohen, 1854-1927) American Physician and dime novelist	Wenona Gilman; Val Versatile Wenona Gilman was the pseudonym used by Harry Enton for George Munro's *Fireside Companion* and Norman L. Munro's *Golden Hours*. Titles by Wenona Gilman include: 'My Own Sweetheart, or, Love's	Frank Forrest; Harry Haines; Harry Harrison; Henry Harrison; Hanines; Ironclad; Major Mickey Free; Police Captain	Born 1854 in Brooklyn, New York (parents' names unknown). 1874 First novel serialised for *Family Story Paper*; written while still at school. 1875-1885 Journalist. 1876 Wrote first three or four stories for Frank Tousey; created character of Frank Reade. Gave Yiddish names to Indians killed by Reade. Replaced by writer called 'Noname'. Married to Phoebe; one son and two daughters from marriage. Studied medicine – wrote dime novels while in medical school.

	Triumph', 'Her Two Suitors, or, Won at Last', 'No Time for Penitence, or, With Home or Friends', and 'Evelyn, the Actress, or, Love Behind the Scenes'. Enton also wrote short stories as Val Versatile for Norman L. Munro's *New Sensation*, which primarily consisted of adventure and romance stories about the pleasures of New York City. Adult Fiction: romance (1870s)	Howard	1883 First novel for Beadle appeared under pseudonym Major Mickey Free. 1885 Graduated from Long Island college Hospital. Practised medicine until his death. Contributed adventure serials to *Boys of New York*. Also wrote for Norman Munro's *New Sensation*. Wrote dime novels, detective stories for boys, sensation tales, adventure serials, and short stories often under female pseudonyms. Travelled extensively. 28 March 1927 died in Brooklyn, aged seventy-one.
Sharp, William (1855-1905) British (Scottish) Novelist, poet, and literary journalist	Fiona Macleod Sharp wrote to a trusted friend, Mrs Catherine Janvier, that he could write out of his heart as Fiona Macleod. He begged her not to reveal his secret, as then Fiona would die. The romance novel *Pharias* (1894) was the first work published under the pseudonym and was dedicated to his inspiration, E.W.R. (Edith Wingate Rinder). On the choice of pseudonym, Sharp wrote (to Mrs Janvier) that the 'name was born naturally' – he had associations with the name Macleod (as a child he discussed Celtic myths with an old fisherman on the Isle of Eigg, called Seamus Macleod), but as for Fiona, it was 'very rare. Most Highlanders would tell you it was extinct – even as the diminutive of Fionaghal (Flora). But it is not. It is	Charles Verlayne; George Gascoign; H.P. Siwäarmill; James Marazion; Lionel Wingrave; W. H. Brooks; W. S. Fanshawe; William Dreeme; William Windover In mid-August 1892 Sharp issued the only edition of the *Pagan Review* under a variety of pseudonyms; he edited the periodical as W. H. Brooks, and furnished all the pieces under seven other	12 September 1855 born in Paisley, Scotland. Son of David Galbraith Sharp, textile manufacturer, and his wife Katherine, daughter of Swedish vice-consul at Glasgow William Brooks. Mother's family of Swedish descent. Eldest in family of three sons and five daughters. Shared father's love of West Highlands. Educated at Blair Lodge Academy, Polmont, and from 1867 Glasgow Academy. 1871 Glasgow University. Gifted at languages. 1872 Typhoid fever. 1874 Three months travelling with Gypsies. Apprenticed to lawyer's office. 1876 Death of father hastened breakdown in health. To Australia to recuperate. 1878-1881 Work for Melbourne Bank in London. Introduced to Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his literary and artistic set. Temporary post at Fine Art Society's gallery in Bond St 1882 Published three books. Saved from financial difficulties by £40 from *Harper's Magazine* and gift of £200 from friend. 1883 London art critic of *Glasgow Herald*. Decade of rewarding literary hack work; wrote many potboilers. 1885 Employed by Eric Robertson of the Great writers series to work on biographies. Contributor to Ernest Rhys's Camelot Classics, art critic for *Art Journal* and *The*

	an old Celtic name (meaning “a fair maid”) still occasionally to be found. I know a little girl’, Sharp continued, ‘the daughter of a Highland clergyman, who is called Fiona’. Writing to Grant Allen as Fiona Macleod, he explained that his name was ‘really Fiona (i.e. Fionnaghal – of which it is the diminutive: as Maggie, Nellie, or Dair are diminutives of Margaret, Helen, or Alisdair’ (E. Sharp 1910, 221-241). Adult fiction: romance novels, mystical short stories (1894-) Poetry: poems of the ‘Celtic Twilight’ (1894-)	pseudonyms. Another article from the pen of H. P. Siwäarmill (anagram) was promised in the editorial, but it didn’t appear. Sharp decided that the one issue of *The Pagan Review*, served its purpose, and he ceremoniously buried a copy in the garden at Phenice Croft. Sharp loved the mystery of pseudonyms; he also believed that any serious creative work under his own name would be met with unfavourably, because of his reputation and the enemies he had made as editor and reviewer.	*Herald*, and editor in Canterbury Poets series. 1884 Married cousin Elizabeth Amelia Sharp (also a writer) after nine-year relationship; no children. 1886 ‘Psychic experience’ whilst bedridden. 1889 Withdrew application for chair in literature at University College, London. 1890-1891 Trip through Europe. In Italy joined by Mrs Edith Wingate Rinder – catalyst for Fiona Macleod phase of career. 1891 Privately printed book of poetry in free verse *Sospiri di Roma*. 1892 Adopted female persona to jointly author novel, *A Fellowe and His Wife,* with Blanche Willis Howard in Stuttgart. 1892 Moved to Fenice Croft in Rudgwick, Sussex; used cottage for only two years. Travelled widely. 1892 Under variety of pseudonyms wrote and edited *The Pagan Review*. 1893 Onwards, imagination taken over by persona of Fiona MacLeod. 1894 First Macleod novel *Pharias*, dedicated to Edith Rinder. 1894 To Edinburgh. Collapsed after delivering first of series of lectures. With Patrick Geddes headed evergreen circle – concerned with Celtic revival. 1895 Two Macleod novels. Wrote or edited nearly forty books in own name and more than ten as Fiona MacLeod. Enlisted maiden sister (Mary Beatrice Sharp) to provide Macleod handwriting – copied and mailed letters. Maintained secret identity through elaborate series of deceptions – wrote entry for *Who’s Who*. 1898 Total nervous collapse. Frequent visits to Mediterranean for health. 1899 Unsigned article in *Daily Chronicle* suggesting that Macleod and Sharp were one and the same. Wrote disclaimer. 12 December 1905 died at Castello di Maniace, Alcantara in Sicily, aged fifty. Buried in the estate’s protestant cemetery, large Celtic cross on grave. Survived by wife; letter left for friends disclosed identity. 1910 Wife published biographical memoir.

Baum, L(yman) Frank (1856-1919) American Actor, newspaper editor, travelling salesman, author	Edith Van Dyne; Laura Bancroft; Mrs Sairy Ann Bilkins; Suzanne Metcalf From 25 January 1890 to 8 February 1891 Baum wrote, for *The Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer*, a satirical weekly column called ‘Our Landlady’ by a fictional character, Sairy Ann Bilkins. He is, however, best known for his children’s stories. He wrote stories for young children – the ‘Twinkle Tale’ series (1906-1911) and *Policeman Bluejay* (1907) – under the pseudonym Laura Bancroft. As Suzanne Metcalf he published *Annabel, a Novel for Young Folks* (1906) and as Edith Van Dyne he wrote twenty-four girls’ stories, including the very popular ‘Aunt Jane’s Nieces’ series (1906-1915). Edith Van Dyne was his most famous pseudonym. Periodical Contributions: satirical weekly column (1890-1891) Juvenile Literature: fiction for young children (1906-1915)	Capt. Hugh Fitzgerald; Floyd Akers; John Estes Cook; John Estes Cooke; Louis F. Baum (sometimes used this name as an actor); Schuyler Stanton As Floyd Akers, Baum wrote six books for boys; Schuyler Staunton was used on adult fiction *The Fate of a Crown* (1905) and *Daughters of Destiny* (1906).	15 May 1856 born in Chittenango, New York. Son of Benjamin Ward Baum, cooper and sawyer, later rich oil magnate, and Cynthia Stanton. Seventh of nine children (three girls and six boys); only five survived into adulthood. Named Lyman after father’s brother, disliked name. Educated at home; suffered from weak heart. 1868-1870 Peekskill Military Academy – miserable. Given printing press by father. Published family newspaper, *The Rose Lawn Home Journal*, and periodicals on stamp collecting and breeding fancy chickens. 1878 Appeared in stage play, *The Banker’s Daughter*, as Louis F. Baum. 1880 Father built him a theatre. 1881 Studied theatre and joined company. 1881-1882 Managed opera house in Richburg, New York. 1882 Submitted three plays for copyright and toured with own melodrama, *The Maid of Arran.* 1882 Married Maud Gage; four sons from marriage. 1883 Gave up theatre to work in family business. 1886 First book published, on the Hamburg chicken. 1888 After father’s death moved family to Aberdeen, South Dakota. Opened Baum’s Bazaar, closed after two years. Edited *The Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer,* folded 189; economic hardship in Aberdeen. 1890-1891 wrote weekly column, ‘Our Landlady’ for *The Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer* as Mrs Bilkins. To Chicago as newspaper editor, travelling salesman, and buyer for department store. 1897 Founded and edited trade magazine *The Show Window*. 1897 Published *Mother Goose in Prose*, illustrated by Maxwell Parrish. Secretary of National Association of Window Trimmers. 1899 *Father Goose: His Book,* illustrated by W.W. Denslow – bestseller. 1900 Again with Denslow, first edition of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* – landmark in American literature. Full-time writer – more than eighty children’s titles, stage plays, songbooks, novels, and assorted specialty publications. 1903 *Wizard* adapted for musical theatre – record run on Broadway, 293 performances. Became insolvent; continued *Oz* series.

			Two adult novels *The Fate of a Crown* (1905) and *Daughters of Destiny* (1906). From1905 until end of his life, wrote potboiler fiction for money: adventure stories for boys as Floyd Akers, stories for young children as Laura Bancroft, and girls' stories as Edith Van Dyne. 1906 Tour of Europe and North Africa on proceeds of potboiler novels. 1908 Launched expensive multi-media project *Fairylogue and Radio Plays*; left him in debt. 1908 Published anonymously *The Last Egyptian: a Romance of the Nile*. 1911 Bankrupt. Moved to Hollywood for better climate. Produced one *Oz* book a year for next fourteen years. Formed Oz Film Manufacturing Company – failed in 1915. 1918 Bedridden after gall bladder operation. Died 6 May 1919 in Hollywood, aged (almost) sixty-three.
Hubbard, Elbert Green (1856-1915) American Author and publisher	Aspasia Hobbs Hubbard wrote his (unsuccessful) first book *The Man: A Story of Today* (1891) under this pseudonym. Published by J. S. Olgivie as part of the Sunnydale Series, it expounds the basic goodness of women, but not wives; it thus signals the division in his mind between wife Bertha, and literary friend and lover, Alice Moore. The relationship with Alice was the basis for the novel's plot and the inspiration for his writing career. Adult Fiction: New Woman novel (1891)		Born 19 June 1856 in Bloomington, Illinois. Son of Dr Silas Hubbard, rural doctor, and Juliana Frances Read. Third of six children (second son); four sisters, brother Charles died aged nine. Named after two Baptist ministers, Revs. Elbert Clark and H. K. Green. Baptist childhood in rural Hudson, Illinois. Helped father in doctoring. 1859 Brother Charles died. Left school in sixteenth year. Door-to-door salesman of Larkin soap products. Stylish dresser. Within three years had own sales teams. Studied Midwest populist philosophy. 1875 To Buffalo, New York; reorganised company. 1881 Married Bertha C. Crawford; three boys and one girl from marriage. 1884 Family moved from Buffalo to East Aurora. Involved in local book circles. 1890 Started writing seriously, first book under female pseudonym; published 1891. 1892 Sold share in company, enrolled in Harvard as special student. Failed as student, became involved in publishing movement. At age thirty-seven dropped middle name. Started to write series of *The Little Journeys* (120 in all). Alice Moore, suffragist and literary circle acquaintance, pregnant by Hubbard. Trip to England and Ireland.

			Wrote journal of English trip – one *Little Journey* booklet per month. Wrote introductory essays for books. 1894 Daughter born to Alice Moore. 1895 Bought Roycroft Printing Shop and literary magazine *The Philistine.* Change in personality and end of devotion to fashion. Edited and published *The Philistine* and *The Fra*. Rapid increase in circulation with essay *A Message to Garcia*. 1896-1912 Roycroft enterprise largest exponent of American arts and crafts movement. One of biggest and most mechanised printing shops on East Coast. Popular lecturer; homespun philosophy evolved from a loose William Morris-inspired socialism. Ardent defender of free enterprise. Antagonised authors by editing and criticising their works. 1901 Exposure of love child. 1903 Divorce from Bertha. 1904 Married Alice. 1915 Roycroft enterprise floundering. Planned European trip. Died 7 May 1915 (with Alice Moore Hubbard on *Lusitania*, sunk by German submarine off coast of Ireland), aged fifty-eight.
Griffith-Jones, George Chetwynd (1857-1906) British Explorer, novelist, poet, and science fiction- writer	Lara Griffith used this pseudonym on contributions to *The Secular Review* and collection of poems (*Poems*) in 1883, and second collection *The Dying Faith* (1884). He also used this pseudonym in court proceedings against him for libel. Periodical Contributions: essays, poems (1880s) Poetry: sentimental verse (1883-1884)	Levin Carnac; Stanton March; Stanton Morich	Born 20 August 1857 in Plymouth. Son of George Alfred Jones, clergyman, and Jeanette Henry Capinster. 1861 Family moved to Manchester. Sporadic education from father. 1872 Private school in Southport after father's death, for fifteen months. Period of adventure: to Australia by ship, various jobs, travelled world three times. 1877 Returned to England and job at Worthing College. Began writing while teaching at Brighton. 1883-1884 Poems under pseudonym Lara. 1884-1887 Ran Whitminster School with Stewart Ross and Charles Mackay – Whitminster Secular School near Stonehouse, Gloucester. Falsely accused by Charles Bradlaugh of dishonesty. 1887 Moved to Bolton, married Elizabeth Brierly. 1888 Article included in libellous book *Life of Charles Bradlaugh, M. P.* 1888 Living in London; involved with struggling newspaper; left in poverty. 1889 Plaintiff in court case against Bradlaugh; awarded £30 damages. Worked for Cyril Arthur Pearson as clerk, later contributing articles to newly-

			established *Pearson's Weekly*. 1893-1894 *The Angel of the Revolution*, a scientific romance, serialised in *Pearson's Weekly*, established reputation as acclaimed author. Travel projects for Pearson: circumnavigation of globe, other travels, and accounts. After 1897 H. G. Wells replaced Griffith as science fiction writer for Pearson. Prolific writer of almost forty adventure, science fiction novels (often about airships). 1899 Moved to Littlehampton indulging love of sailing; appeared in *Who's Who*. Left for Australia again. 1904 Deterioration in health, moved to Isle of Man. Died 4 June 1906, aged forty-eight. Son Allan Arnold Griffith (1893-1963) helped develop theoretical concept of jet engine (1926).
McClure, S(amuel) S(idney) (1857-1949) American (Irish born) Editor and publisher	Patience Winthrop McClure wrote a series of cooking articles for his syndicate under this pseudonym, hoping to be taken for a New England housewife. Periodical Contributions: cookery articles in magazine (1885)		Born February 1857 at grandfather's house in County Antrim, Ireland. Son of Thomas McClure, skilled carpenter and farmer, and Elizabeth (née Gaston). Christened Samuel McClure, eldest of five boys (one died in infancy). Began education, aged four, in National School – very keen learner. 1864 Brother Robert, aged eighteen months, died of diphtheria. November 1864 father killed in industrial accident. January 1865 baby born, named Robert after deceased brother. June 1866 mother and four boys sailed to America. 1867 Mother remarried; bore four more children (three died in infancy). Worked on stepfather's farm. Attended school in Valparaiso, Indiana. Added middle name Sherman, then changed it to Sidney; always known as S. S. Did variety of odd jobs. 1873 Stepfather died of typhoid. 1874 To Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. 1882 Graduated from Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. September 1883 married Harriet (Hattie) Hurd, daughter of professor of Latin, after seven years' engagement; four children from marriage. From college to job in cycle firm and editor of newly launched cycle magazine. 1884 Founded literary syndicate. 1885 Learned to cook in Astor House kitchen; wrote cookery articles as Patience Winthrop. 1887 Hired former Knox College boy, John Phillips, to manage home office. Travelled widely.

			1889 Bought first twelve Sherlock Holmes stories for £12 each. 1893-1929 *McClure's Magazine* flourished in New York – later famous for publishing work of 'muck-rakers'. 1897 Joined with Doubleday to establish publishing firm of Doubleday & McClure Company. 1911 Relinquished control of *McClure's*. Edited magazine intermittently until 1926.1929 Merged with *New Smart Set*. May 1929 wife died. 21 March 1949 died in New York, aged ninety-one.
Hanshew, Thomas W. (1857-1914) American Actor turned writer	Charlotte Monica Braeme; Florence May Carroll; Bertha M. Clay; Geraldine Fleming; Adah M. Howard; Charlotte Mary Kingsley; Charlotte May Kingsley; Charlotte May Stanley; Florence May Carroll; Ida Reade Allen Some of Hanshew's serials published under the pseudonym Florence May Carroll were reprinted under the name Bertha M. Clay without his knowledge. Street & Smith assigned pseudonym Geraldine Fleming to his love stories. Hanshew was the original Charlotte May Kingsley, and sent stories to Munro's *Family Story Paper* with this signature. He had quarrelled with Munro, who published the stories without realising the author's identity. Adult Fiction: sensation fiction (1870s-)	A Detective; Allyn Draper; Archibald Thane; Author of *Young Putman*; Ex-Chief of Police Mansing; Gen. James A. Gordon; Gus Williams; Harrigan & Hart; Howard Austin; James C. Merritt; N.S. Woods; Old Cap. Darrell; Police Captain Williams; T.W.H.	1857 Born in Brooklyn, New York (parents' names unknown). At sixteen, became actor; played juvenile parts in Ellen Terry's company. Later had important roles with Clara Morris and Adelaide Neilson. About age twenty 'manufactured' fiction for Street & Smith and Norman L. Munro. Married Mary E. Burnett; (at least) two daughters. About 1885 to England. For regular publishers wrote four novels a year and three short stories a month (sometimes in collaboration with his wife). Primarily wrote mystery, detective, romance, and adventure serials for story papers. Appeared in production of own play *The 49ers* (1879). Best known for stories of Hamilton Cleek, the man of forty faces. Cleek was the first modern good thief character. Travelled widely in Europe with wife and children. Delighted in his famous rose garden. First mystery novel *The World's Finger* (1899) reprinted by Ogilvie in *Eureka Detective Stories*. Died 3 March 1914 in London, aged fifty-seven. Wife continued 'Cleek' series.

Harben, Will N(athaniel) (1858-1919) American Merchant turned novelist	Virginia Demarest Harben used this pseudonym for two melodramatic potboilers, *The Fruit of Desire* (1910) and *Nobody's* (1911). Adult Fiction: potboilers (1910-1911)		Born 5 July 1858 in Dalton, Georgia. Son of Nathaniel Parks Harben and Myra Richardson. Fourth of six children – three sisters, two brothers. Grew up in Dalton, worked in family mercantile business. 1888 Moved to New York. Began literary career. 1889 First successful novel, *White Marie.* 1890s Experimental years. 1896 Married South Carolina socialite, Maybelle Chandler; three children from marriage. Published thirty books in wide range of genres: local colour, detective fiction, social gospel, romance, science fiction, and literary realism. Modelled detective novels on *Sherlock Holmes*. 1900 Published *Northern Georgia Sketches*, collection of ten local-colour stories. Published at least one novel a year and many short stories. Works featured Georgian mountain people. Created memorable characters in *Abner Daniel* (1902), *Pole Baker* (1905), and *Ann Boyd* (1906). Sentimentality overshadowed controversial themes. Wrote two melodramatic potboilers under female pseudonym. Died 7 August 1919 in New York City, buried in Dalton, aged sixty-one.
1860-1869			
1860 *Cornhill Magazine* founded Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss* First sensation fiction Lenoir invents first practical internal combustion engine Emily Faithfull starts *The Victoria Press* Nightingale Training School for Nurses established 1861 Prince Consort dies; Victoria in mourning Daily weather forecasts begin in England Eliot, *Silas Marner* Mrs Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* First horse-drawn trams in London Italy united under King Victor Emmanuel Louis Pasteur proposes germ theory of disease 1862 Eliot, *Romola* 1863 Opening of first under-ground railway in London			1860 Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife* Abraham Lincoln elected President Pony express between Sacramento, California, and St Joseph, Missouri, begins South Carolina secedes from Union First dime novels appeared 1861 Abraham Lincoln President (-1865) Seven southern states set up Confederate States of America American Civil War (-1865) Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers First Battle of Bull Run First transcontinental telegraph in operation *Trent* Affair strains relations with Britain Great Comet Virginia secedes from Union Blockade of southern ports ordered

Macmillan and Company move to London Prince of Wales marries Princess Alexandra of Denmark 1864 Contagious Diseases Acts Formation of International Working Men's Movement 1865 Cholera epidemic kills over 14,000 in Britain Lister develops antiseptic surgery Barbara Bodichon forms Women's Suffrage Committee 1866 Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* Gaskell, *Wives and Daughters* Eliot, *Felix Holt the Radical* Hyde Park riots for extended voting rights *Aunt Judy's Magazine* and *English-Woman's Review* founded M.E. Braddon editor of *Belgravia* (-1876) Transatlantic telegraph cable in operation 1867 Women's Suffrage petition presented Mrs Henry Wood buys and edits *The Argosy* Second Reform Bill passed; vote given to every male adult householder in the towns Revival of Irish National Movement Karl Marx, *Das Kapital* Louis Pasteur proposes germ theory of disease British North America becomes Dominion of Canada 1868 Gladstone Prime Minister Abolition of compulsory church rates 1869 Oxford and Cambridge local examinations made available to women First women's college at Hitchin, Cambridge Suez Canal opened Imprisonment for debt abolished	Jefferson Davis becomes President of Confederacy 1862 Homestead Act passed by Congress Morrill Act passed by Congress, to establish state land-grant colleges New Orleans falls to North Battle of Shiloh Battle of Antietam 1863 Emancipation Proclamation Battle of Gettysburg Lincoln gives Gettysburg Address Draft riots in New York City West Virginia admitted to Union 1864 Sherman takes Atlanta Indian massacre at Sand Creek, Colorado Territory Nevada admitted as state 1865 Robert E. Lee surrenders to Ulysses S. Grant, ending Civil War Abraham Lincoln assassinated 13th Amendment abolishes slavery Andrew Johnson President (-1869) Free delivery of mail in cities of more than 50,000 people Munro's publishing house established 1866 Ku Klux Klan formed John Todd, *Women's Rights* Several cities ravaged by cholera epidemic 14th Amendment gives blacks citizenship and protection of civil rights 1867 Dickens give first reading in his second U.S. tour Nebraska admitted as state Horatio Alger, *Ragged Dick* Russia sells Alaska to America for $7 million 1868 Andrew Johnson impeached, but Senate fails to convict Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women* Trial of Jefferson Davis begins *Lippincott's Magazine* 1869 Attempt to corner gold market causes 'Black Friday' in New York First transcontinental railroad completed Women suffrage law passed in Wyoming Territory First college football game played

Author	Female Pseudonym/s	Other Known Pseudonyms	Biographical Summary
			Charges against Jefferson Davis dropped Ulysses S. Grant becomes President (-1877) *Appleton's Journal* Branch of Macmillan and Company founded in America
Barlas, John Evelyn (1860-1914) British Poet	Evelyn Douglas Of Barlas's eight known volumes of verses and dramas, seven appeared under this pseudonym, and one anonymously. Most remarkable is the absence of his strong socialist and anarchist beliefs from his works. Love and universal brotherhood are his chief themes. Poetry: emotional, lyrical verse (1880s)		Born 13 July 1860 in Rangoon Burma. Third and only surviving son. Father merchant in East Indies. Direct descendant of fifteenth century heroine, Kate Douglas (known as Barlas). 1861 Father died. Returned with mother to Glasgow. 1874 Living in London. Educated briefly at St John's Wood School, and then at the Merchant Taylors' School. 1876 Holiday in Yarmouth, new passion for writing verse. 1878 Mother died. New College, Oxford. Converted to socialism. 25 June 1881 married Eveline Honoria Nelson Davies while undergraduate. May 1882 first child Evelyn Adelaide Isabella born. 1882 Entered Middle Temple as barrister. 1884 to Ireland as professor of languages. June 1885 daughter Evelyn died. To Chelmsford, Essex, as assistant classical master at local grammar school. Continued to write poetry. November 1885 son born. To Crieff, Perthshire, then Englefield Green, Surrey. Toured country preaching socialism. Previously, erroneously, believed to attend demonstration in Trafalgar Square on 'bloody Sunday' (1886) and suffer permanent damage from blow to head. 1887 *Holy of Holies: Confessions of an Anarchist* published anonymously; other books of verse and drama under pseudonym. Abandoned wife and child to live with prostitutes. 1892 Fired shots at Speaker's residence in Westminster; £100 bail from Oscar Wilde. Sept. 1892-March 1893 in James Murray's Royal Asylum, Perth. 1894 Sent to Gartnavel Royal Asylum, Glasgow, until death. Wrote dramas, lyrics, and novels, in asylum. 15 August 1914 died of valvular disease of the heart, aged fifty-four. Survived by wife (d.1934) and son (d.1952).

Ransome, J(ames) Stafford (1860-1931) British Journalist-engineer, illustrator, and author	Caroline Lewis With Edward Begbie and M. H. Temple, Ransome used this pseudonym on two parodies based on Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*, entitled *Clara in Blunderland* (1902) and *Lost in Blunderland: The further adventures of Clara* (1903). He was illustrator and partial author. These novels deal with Britain's political leadership at the time of the Boer War and consequent British frustration and anger. Adult Fiction: parody (1902, 1903)		Born London in 1860. Third son of Allen Ransome and Jane Browning; seven brothers, three sisters. Descended from family of Ipswich Quakers and engineers. London-based business specialised in export of woodworking machinery. Older brother entered family business to become manager. Graduated from Rugby Public School. Trained as engineer in a French company. 1886 Married Helena Grace Moseley; two sons, one daughter from marriage. 1893-1898 In charge of company's overseas business. From late 1880s journalist, pamphleteer, and correspondent specialising in engineering matters, for newspapers and journals including *Engineer*, *Globe*, *Daily Express*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, and *Morning Post*. 1899 *Japan in Transition*. 1902 and 1903 With authors Harold Begbie and M. H. Temple, illustrated and partly wrote *Clara in Blunderland* and *Lost in Blunderland*. 1905 Founded *African Engineering* journal; contributed lengthy articles dealing with agriculture, ports and railways in South African colonies and Rhodesia. 1910 Launched *Eastern Engineering* journal covering Middle East and Far East. 1912 Resigned from journal to become secretary and daily leader of British Engineers Association. 1916 Resigned from Engineers Association to enter family business, relocated from London to Newark-upon-Trent. Died 26 August 1931, aged seventy.
Temple, M. H. (fl.1902) British Author	Caroline Lewis Temple used this pseudonym with Ransome and Begbie on two parodies based on Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass.* Adult Fiction: parody (1902, 1903)		No details available. 1902-1903 With Harold Begbie and J. Stafford Ransome, wrote *Clara in Blunderland* and *Lost in Blunderland*.
Dey, Frederic Merrill Van Rensselaer (1861-1922) (pronounced Dye)	Bertha M. Clay; Rosa Beckman; Rose Beckman Dey used many pseudonyms, including the above, for contributions	A Celebrated Author; Aaron Ainsworth Burr; Burt L. Standish; Chickering Carter;	Born 10 February 1861 in Watkins Glen, NY. Son of David Peter Dey, steamboat inspector, and Emma Brewster (Sayre) Dey. Youngest of six children. Educated at Havana Academy New York and Columbia University Law School. Junior law partner of William J. Gaynor (later New York mayor, famous for being photographed while being shot in head).

American Lawyer turned dime novelist	to a wide variety of series and libraries. Adult Fiction: dime novels and fiction series (1880s)	Dirck Van Doren; Frederic Ormond; Frederick M. Dey; Major Robert Maitland; Marion Gilmore; Mariposa Weir; Marmaduke Dey; Nicholas Carter; Nick Carter; Ross Beeckman; Varick Vanardy	Took up story writing for amusement while convalescing from illness. 1881 First long story for Beadle and Adams. Wrote dime novels for Street & Smith and Beadle & Adams. 1885 Married Annie Shepard; three children from marriage (one died aged four). 1898 Married Mrs Hattie (Hamblin) Cahoon, who wrote as Haryot Holt Dey. Principal author of Nick Carter stories for Street & Smith 1891-95 and 1904-13. Wrote over one thousand Nick Carter stories. Hired substitute writers when unable to meet deadlines. Troubled by alcohol. Literary career failed. Penniless. Liked to pose as millionaire. 25/26 April 1922 suicided (shooting) in New York City hotel room, aged sixty-one.
Heron-Allen, Edward (1861-1943) British Lawyer and scholar	Nora Helen Warddel While on tour of America, Heron-Allen used this anagram as a pseudonym for his 1888 novel *The Romance of a Quiet Watering Place (Being the Unpremeditated Confessions of a Not Altogether Frivolous Girl)*. Adult Fiction: romance novel (1888)	Christopher Blayre; Andrew T. Sibbald; Ronald Redhew Neal; Darrell O'Dennahew Christopher Blayre is his best-known pseudonym, used for a series of sometimes risqué, almost science fiction genre tales written in the 1920s – in particular *The Cheetah-Girl* (1923) of which only 20 copies were published.	17 December 1861 born Edward Heron Allen in London. Fourth child of George Allen, head of firm of Allen & Son, Solicitors, Soho, London, and Catherine Herring or Heron. Hyphenated name was own creation. From 1876 educated at Harrow School. Developed interest in classics, music (violin playing), and science. 1879 Entered articles at father's firm. Attached to violin-maker. Made two violins. 1884 Admission as solicitor. 1884 Wrote *Violin-Making as it Was and Is.* Developed interest in palmistry, and hand and finger formation. 1885 *Manual of Cheirosophy*. 1886 *The Science of the Hand*. Contributed articles to Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and to *Dictionary of National Biography*. 1886 Extended U.S. lecture tour on cheirosophy. While in U.S. published short novels and stories – early science fiction – under various pseudonyms. 1888 Novel under female pseudonym. Returned to London after three years. 1891 Married Marianna Lehmann (d.1902). 1898 Studied Persian. Literal translation of the 'Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam'. 1903 Married Edith Emily Pepler; two daughters from marriage. 1911 Father died.

			Retired from practice on 50th birthday; moved to Selsey Bill, Sussex. Built library for his collection of 12,000 books. Studied foraminifera (marine micro-organisms) of local coast. 1919 Elected fellow of Royal Society. Served in First World War in intelligence. 1930 Younger daughter killed in car accident, forecast and recorded years earlier after observing her hands. Died 28 March 1943 at Large Acres, aged eighty-one. Survived by elder daughter and, for only two months, his widow.
Vansant, Harry C. (dates unavailable) American Puzzler	Maud Lynn Vansant used this pseudonym in 'Puzzledom'. Puzzles (1871-)		Limited information from 1880 census. Born 1862 (?) Pennsylvania. Mother Keziah Vansant (widowed). Two younger sisters. Occupation bookkeeper. 1871 Began to write puzzles for Frank Leslie's *Boys and Girls' Weekly*. 1876 First convention of puzzlers, Philadelphia. 1880s Worked at *Sunday News*, Baltimore. 1883 First meeting of the Eastern Puzzlers' League, conventions twice a year. 28 November 1889 elected official editor at league's meeting in Marshall Hall, New York. Editor of numerous puzzle departments as Maud Lynn. Under auspices of Eastern Puzzlers' League, *A Key to Puzzledom: or, Complete Handbook of the Enigmatic Art* (1906) dedicated to memory of Vansant, suggesting that he died sometime before 1906, probably in his 40s.
Bangs, John Kendrick (1862-1922) American Editor, satirist, essayist, and lecturer	Anne Warrington Witherup Bangs used this pseudonym on the book *Peeps at People: Being Certain Papers from the Writings of Anne Warrington Witherup* (1899) and short, sentimental, or playful verse. Adult Fiction: satire, humour (1899-) Poetry: short playful verse (1899-)	Some of his many pseudonyms include: Antical Manhattaner; Arthur Spencer Morley; Horace Dodd Gastit; J.K.B; Periwinkle Podmore;	Born 27 May 1862 in Yonkers, New York. Father Francis Nehemiah Bangs, prominent New York attorney. Mother Frances Amelia Bull. Educated in private schools. 1880-1883 Attended Columbia University. Editor of literary magazine, *Acta Columbiana* (oldest college magazine in United States). Degree in political science; studied law with father for less than year. 1884-1888 Regular contributor to *Life*. Articles and poems lampooned pretentious NY high society in 'By the Way' column. Wrote about afterlife in 'Bangsian fantasy' style. 1886 Married first cousin, Agnes Lawson Hyde; three sons from marriage.

		Shakespeare Jones; T. Carlyle Smith; Wilberforce Jenkins	1887 Went abroad, published first book. 1888 Columnist for *New York Sun*; after 18 months humour department of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.* Wrote for *Harper's Bazaar, Harper's Young People, Harper's Weekly* and other papers. 1891 Began series of highly popular short fiction such as *The Water Ghost of Harrowby Hall* (1892); temporarily shifted to children's works. 1899 Editor of Harper-owned *Literature*, and first editor of *Munsey's Magazine* for short time. 1890s Active in New York politics. 1894 Failed bid for mayor of Yonkers. Late 1890s, early 1900s series of most sophisticated works beginning with *The Houseboat on the Styx* (1896). Plays performed at local social clubs and on Broadway. 1899 *Peeps at People* under female pseudonym. 1901 Spoke up in favour of American presence in Cuba; forced to leave *Harper's.* 1903 Wife Agnes died. 27 April 1904 married Mary Blakeney Gray. 1904 Editor of *Puck.* 1907 Moved family to Ogunquit, Maine; focused on poetry. Lecturer for last fifteen years of life. Wrote under dozens of pseudonyms in final years. 1909-1910 More than 1000 works accepted by dozens of periodicals around the country. 21 January 1922 died from intestinal cancer, Atlantic City, New Jersey, aged fifty-nine.
King, Robert A(dolph) ('Bobo') (1862-1932) American Composer	Mary Earl; Mrs Ravenhall; Kathleen A. Roberts 'Bobo' King wrote so many songs under pseudonyms, many of them female, and others anonymously, that it is difficult to estimate his over-all output. As Mary Earl he composed the music and lyrics of 'Dreamy	Ed Haley; R. A. Wilson; Robert Keiser; Vivian Grey	20 September 1862 born Robert Keiser in New York City. Son of Adolph King, violinist and cellist, and Jeannette Pinous King. Few biographical details available. At age six, piano lessons. Attended New York public schools. As boy of sixteen worked in Charles Ditson's music store. Remained with music publishing firm, Charles Ditson & Company, for over nineteen years. 1897-1907 Staff composer for Leo Feist Publications, Tin Pan Alley publisher. Wrote songs under own name, anonymously, and under pseudonyms (often female). 1903 First hit song 'Anona' under the name Vivian Grey.

	Alabama' and the music of 'Beautiful Ohio', adopted by the state of Ohio as their official song in 1969. As Kathleen A. Roberts he composed such tunes as 'Lilacs' and 'Apple Blossoms'. Song Lyrics: popular songs and ballads (1897-)		During First World War wrote inspirational war songs. Composed over 900 works, mostly popular songs and ballads. 1918 Engaged by Shapiro, Bernstein & Co. to write four songs a month. Produced two impressive hits under the pseudonym Mary Earl, music of 'Beautiful Ohio' (1918), and words and music of 'Dreamy Alabama' (1919). 'Beautiful Ohio' sold over five million copies. Composed concert and salon music. At time of death, oldest member of American Society of Composer, Authors, and Publishers. 13 April 1932 died in New York City, aged sixty-nine.
Stratemeyer, Edward L. (1862-1930) American Writer, creator of popular juvenile series, editor, and book syndicate operator	Julia Edwards; Edna Winfield; Laura Lee Hope; Hollis Barton; Annie Row Carr; Alice B. Emerson; Ruth Belmore Endicott; Alice Dale Hardy; Mabel C. Hawley; Grace Brooks Hill; Helen Beecher Long; Amy Bell Marlowe; Gertrude W. Morrison; Margaret Penrose; Helen Louise Thorndyke; Janet D. Wheeler Julia Edwards was a Street & Smith house name used for serials aimed at women. Many were reprinted in paperback libraries. The first Julia Edwards story ran in *The New York Weekly* in 1877, the last in 1907. Edna Winfield was used as a pseudonym for women's romances in weekly story papers and paperback	First pseudonym: Ned St Meyer. Other early pseudonyms: Ed Ward and Robert Rollic used for short stories in amateur story papers. Albert Lee Ford; Allen Chapman; Captain Ravell Pinkerton; Captain Ralph Bonehill; Ed Strayer; Frank; Franklin Calkins; Hal Harkaway; Harrison Adams; Harvey Hicks; James R. Cooper; Jim Bowie; Jim Daly; Louis Charles; Manager Henry	Born 4 October 1862 in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Father, Henry Julius Stratemeyer, emigrated from Germany in 1837, married Anna Siegel Stratemeyer, widowed sister-in-law (c.1855). Family from long line of scholars, churchmen, and musicians. Youngest son. Educated at public schools in Elizabeth, then private tutoring. Began writing career while in school. Published amateur story papers, *Our Friend* with friend McNierny, and *The Young American*. As a boy enjoyed works by Horatio Alger, Jr. and Oliver Optic (William T. Adams); later asked to 'complete' books under these authors' names. 1879 Graduated from high school. 1887 and 1888 Wrote librettos for two operettas composed by brother Louis. 1888 Sold first story. 1890 To Newark, bought stationery store. 1891 Father died. 1891 Married Magdalene Baker Van Camp; two daughters from marriage. Edited story papers. Prolific output of juvenile fiction. Sold store. 1896 Started own publication, *Bright Days*. 1896 Story under pseudonym Edna Winfield published in *The New York Weekly*, others printed in *The Chicago Ledger*. 1897 Economic depression. 1898 One tale published in Street & Smith's *Eagle Library* as by Edna Winfield. 1898 Spanish-American War. First major writing success with *Under Dewey at Manila*.

	libraries. The other pseudonyms were used on children's series produced by the Stratemeyer Syndicate. Stratemeyer wrote the first book in the series and provided hired writers with outlines for the other books. Adult Fiction: love stories (1896-) Juvenile Literature: children's book series (1905-)	Abbott; Nat Woods; Robert W. Hamilton; Roy Rockwood; Spencer Davenport; Theodore Edison; Victor W. Appleton	1899 (until 1926) Highly successful Rover Boys Series for Young Americans under pseudonym Arthur M. Winfield. 1899 Six stories published in Mershon's paperback *Holly Library*, later reprinted as 'The Edna Winfield Series'. 1905 Founded Stratemeyer Literary Syndicate in New York City. Supplied characters, plots, and authors' pen names to team of writers. Produced more than 800 books under some sixty pseudonyms. Wrote at least 150 full-length, hardbound novels. Died 10 May 1930 in Newark, New Jersey, aged sixty-seven. Daughters continued management of syndicate
Bok, Edward William (1863-1930) American (Dutch born) Editor, essayist, and author	Ruth Ashmore Bok used this pseudonym in 1890 to establish a column for young women in his magazine *The Ladies' Home Journal.* Searching for the right touch, Bok wrote an instalment of the kind of department he had in mind as 'Side Talks with Girls' by Ruth Ashmead. Bok changed the name on the article to Ruth Ashmore and published it. Overwhelmed by the feminine nature of the responses to the column, Bok persuaded his friend, Mrs Isabel A. Mallon, to become Ruth Ashmore; she conducted the department for the next sixteen years, until her death. Periodical Contributions: journal column for women (1890)		Born Eduard Willem Gerard Cesar Hidde Bok October 1863 in Den Helder, Netherlands. Younger of two sons of Willem J.H. Bok, diplomat in Dutch government, and Sieke Geertruida Bok (née van Herwerden). Grandfather chief justice of Supreme Court. Father made bad investment decisions. 1870 To United States after family financial losses. Educated in Brooklyn public schools; earned money with enterprising odd jobs. 1873 First position in Frost's Bakery. 1876 Office boy with Western Union Telegraph Company, at age thirteen. Continued education at night school. 1881 Father died. 1882 Began work for Henry Holt and Co. as stenographer. 1884 Employed by Charles Scribner's Sons, as stenographer. 1884-1887 Editor of *The Brooklyn Magazine*. 1886 Founded Bok Syndicate Press. 1887 Advertising manager of *Scribner's Magazine*. 1889 Editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal* in Philadelphia to amazement of mother and amusement of friends – became first magazine in world with one million subscribers. 1896 Married publisher's daughter, Mary Louise Curtis; two sons from marriage. Conducted editorial crusades for social reform. Champion of social causes and noted philanthropist. Established many awards and civic enterprises. 1911 Founded, with others, The Child Federation of Philadelphia. 1919 Retired from *The Ladies' Home Journal* after thirty years of service.

			Wrote twelve books including prize-winning autobiography *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (1920 – fiftieth anniversary of arriving in America). Many of works autobiographical. 9 January 1930 died Lake Wales, Florida, aged sixty-six
Benners, William J. (1863-1940) American Writer, publisher, and historian of dime novels	Bertha M. Clay Benners, as a literary agent and buyer and seller of stories, shamelessly pirated Charlotte Brame's stories and acted as a self-proclaimed American agent for Brame. Adult Fiction: dime novels (1890s-)	Eric Braddon	Born Philadelphia 27 September 1863. Son of William, Sr. (lumber business) and Frances Ann; two brothers, one sister. Avid reader of dime novels (from age eight) and romance novels later in life. Wrote first poem at age ten. Fan and collector of pulp fiction; extensive knowledge of dime novelists. Around mid-twenties had disappointing period as actor, under pseudonym Eric Braddon. At twenty-five began writing serials for George Munro's *New York Fireside Companion* and later for the *Chicago Ledger.* 1891-1893 Engaged to Laura Jean Libby; never married. At about thirty, began vast letter correspondence with popular writers of the day. Began enterprise as literary agent. Buyer and seller of stories and publishing rights. 1902 Purchased entire output of Frank Leslie Company; sold it two months later to William H. Gannett for $950. Profited greatly from selling and writing (Charlotte M. Brame's) Bertha M. Clay romance stories – paid from $15 for short story up to $300 for serial; self-proclaimed American agent of Brame, shamelessly pirated works. Dubious commercial activities muddied waters of Clay mystery. Produced hundreds of stories under Clay pseudonym. Nieces destroyed most of his letters after his death, concerned over sexual content. Nursed in final years by editor Ralph F. Cummings. Died in Philadelphia 4 April 1940, aged seventy-six.
Zangwill, I(srael) (1864-1926) British Journalist, novelist, poet, playwright, and advocate of Jewish causes	The Baroness Von S. Zangwill used this pseudonym as a young pupil-teacher on a couple of short stories: 'Satan Mekatrig: A Romance of the London Ghetto' (1889) and 'Diary of a Meshumad' (1890) were both published in Asher Myer's *Jewish Calendar, Manual, and Diary* and reprinted in *Ghetto*	J. Freeman Bell; Marshallik ('Jester' in Yiddish) Zangwill first used J. Freeman Bell on novel *The Premier and the Painter*. He also	Born 21 January 1864 in London into family of Jewish immigrants. Second of five children of Moses Zangwill, itinerant pedlar, glazier, and rabbinical student from Czarist Russia, and his wife Ellen Hannah Marks, Polish Jewish immigrant. Mother dominant and independent. Educated at school in Bristol, then Jews' Free School, Bell Lane, Spitalfields – articled there as teacher until 1888. Wrote anonymous story about Jews with fellow pupil-teacher, known as Y. Evening classes at London University. 1884 Graduated with honours in French, English, and mental and moral science.

	Tragedies. Adult Fiction: short stories (1889-1890)	used it to disguise his authorship on the specifically Christian article, 'The Abolition of Christmas' (1895) in *The Idler*.	1888 Novel *The Premier and the Painte*r, with fellow pupil-teacher Louis Cowen, under pseudonym J. Freeman Bell. 1888 Journalist on *Jewish Standard*; regular column under pseudonym Marshallik. Wrote a couple of pseudonymous stories signed 'The Baroness Von S.' 1891 *The Bachelors' Club* first book under own name. 1892 First of series of Jewish books, *Children of the Ghetto.* In 1890s father left family to live and pray in Jerusalem. 1895 Met Jewish writer Edith Ayrton. Married in 1903; three children from marriage. 1908 Most famous play *The Melting Pot* produced in Washington DC. Deeply involved in Zionist cause; travelled widely to speak on its behalf. Helped persecuted Jews to escape eastern Europe. Disillusioned with British solution for Palestine. Died 1 August 1926 in nursing home, Midhurst, Sussex, aged sixty-two.
Cutcliffe Wright Hyne, Charles John Known as C. J. Cutcliffe Hyne (1865-1944) British Novelist	Darling Mother; Aunt Ermyntrude After graduation in 1887, Hyne became a hack writer for four years. He was commissioned to write a six-part serial melodrama *How I Married My Six Daughters* under pseudonym Darling Mother. He went on to write an advice column in a women's magazine as Aunt Ermyntrude. Periodical Contributions: advice column for lovelorn (1890s) Adult Fiction: melodrama serial (1890s)	Nicholson West; Weatherby Chesney	Born 11 May 1865 in Bibury, Gloucestershire. Elder son of Rev. Charles Wright Noble Hyne, then curate of Bibury, and Frances (née Wootton); one sister. Educated Bradford grammar school and Clare College, Cambridge. Travelled extensively and adventurously. 1887 Graduated, moved to London for four years of hack writing. 1890s Commissioned to write six-part melodrama serial *How I Married My Six Daughters* under pseudonym Darling Mother. Promoted to write magazine column for lovelorn as Aunt Ermyntrude. 1895 Magazine story *The Great Sea Swindle* turning point in career. Wrote Captain Kettle series; offered 50 guineas apiece for six Kettle stories by *Pearson's Magazine.* Wrote fiction and boys' books under own name. Between 1892 and 1942 wrote forty-six novels. 1897 Married Mary Elizabeth (Elsie) Haggas; one son, one daughter from marriage. 1898-1908 Wrote thirteen novels as Weatherby Chesney, and two as Nicholson West. Son killed in World War I. 10 March 1944 died in Craven, near Skipton, Yorkshire, aged seventy-eight.
Ely, George Herbert (1866-1958) British	Mrs Herbert Strang Ely shared this pseudonym with C. James L'Estrange to write tales for girls from about 1911, including *The Red Book for Girls* (1911) and *The*	Herbert Strang (shared with C. James L'Estrange)	Very few personal details available. Born in London 1866. 1877 One of original pupils at Westminster City School. Worked as reader in the Learned Press in Oxford, and in charge of educational books in Glasgow firm, probably Blackie. Staff member of Oxford University Press, in collaboration with Charles James

Editor, author of children's books and translator	*Girl Crusoes: A Tale of the South Seas* (1912). Juvenile Literature: stories for girls (1911-)		L'Estrange from about 1883. Published fiction, textbooks, & non-fiction for children. 31 August 1892 daughter Dorothy born. Translated books from French, including *The Women of the Renaissance: Study of Feminism* (1900) by R. de Maulde la Clavière. 1938 The 'Heavenly Twins' (Ely and L'Estrange). Retired with catalogue of over 1,000 titles. Five of annuals published between 1914 and 1931 now valuable collector's items. Died in Reading, Berkshire, 7 September 1958, aged ninety-two.
Bennett, (Enoch) Arnold (1867-1931) British Novelist, playwright, essayist, critic, and journalist	Barbara; Gwendolen; Hermione; Marguerite: Marjorie; Medica; Sal Volatile; Sal; Sarah Volatile Bennett wrote seven 'Strange Stories of the Occult' as Sarah Volatile for the magazine *Woman,* which he edited during the 1890s. He also employed other pseudonyms to write advice columns or short chatty articles. *Woman* used a range of editorial pseudonyms beginning with Marjorie and Marguerite, to which were added Barbara, Sal, Sal Volatile, Hermione, and 'Medica'. The journalistic use of first names was an informal departure from contemporary social practice. The female pseudonyms concealed a series of male editors whose identity and gender were never revealed in the pages of the magazine.	Ursa Major; Jacob Tonson (also name of English publisher, 1656-1736) Bennett wrote pieces about books under this pseudonym, published at regular intervals between 1908 and 1911 in A. R. Orage's *New Age*.	27 May 1867 born in Hanley, Staffordshire. Eldest of nine children, three died in infancy. Father pawnbroker, then qualified as solicitor (1876). 1877 Burslem Endowed School. 1882 Middle school in Newcastle-under-Lyme. 1883 Began work in father's office. Studied at night school. Contributed light journalistic articles to *Staffordshire Sentinel*. 1889 To London, clerical post with solicitors Le Brasseur and Oakley. 1894 Assistant editor on *Woman* magazine. 1985 Story 'A Letter Home' published in *Yellow Book*. 1896 Editor of *Woman*. 1898 First novel *A Man From the North*. 1899 Introduced column 'Household Notes By a Man', signed 'Ursa Major'. 1900 Resigned from *Woman*, moved to Bedfordshire with parents and sister. Wrote potboilers. Best work contained in novels of five towns, including *Anna of the Five Towns* (1901), 1908 *The Old Wives Tale* (1908), and the *Clayhanger* trilogy. Deluge of novels, short stories, plays, and critical pieces. 1902 To France; J.B. Pinker literary agent. 1907 Married Marie Marguerite Soulié; no children from marriage. Most influential literary critic in London before First World War. Major exponent of realistic fiction. 1911 Visited America – financial success. 1912 From France to England. Bought yacht and country house in Essex. Public servant during war. In charge of propaganda in France. Continued to write prolifically. 1921 Legal separation from wife.

	Periodical Contributions: advice columns and short chatty articles (1890s)		Lived in London with Dorothy Muriel Cheston, English actress; daughter born 1926. December 1930 holiday in France with Dorothy. Drank local tap water in Paris – typhoid fever. 27 March 1931 died in Regent's Park flat, aged sixty-three.
Cook, William Wallace (1867-1933) American Editor and author	Bertha M. Clay; Julia Edwards; Stella Edwards Cook used these pseudonyms on sentimental fiction for young women. Julia Edwards was a Street & Smith owned name. Adult Fiction: popular fiction (1889-)	Author of *Buffalo Bill*; Burt L. Standish; Capt. Luther Barr; Donald Grayson; Edward (Ned) Taylor; Edward Banks; Hugh P. Rodman; John R. Conway; Milton Edwards; Nicholas Carter; Old Salt; One of the Boys; Ralph Boston; Robert Lee Tyler; Stanley Norris; Stanley R. Matthews; W. B. Lawson	Born 11 April 1867 in Marshall, Michigan. Only child of Charles Ruggles Cook, immigration agent for railroads, and Jane Elizabeth (Bull) Cook. Known as Wally to family and friends. 1870 Family moved to Ottawa, Kansas, for eleven years. At age of twelve, wrote and performed plays for friends; at fifteen award of merit from Frank Leslie's *Boys and Girls Weekly* for composition. 1882 Family to Chicago. Two years at Bryant and Stratton Business College. Variety of jobs – stenographer, railroad company ticket agent, paymaster for firm of contractors, reporter for *Chicago Morning News.* 1889 Father died; heavy family responsibilities. 1889 Began career as professional writer. Contributed to many popular magazines and papers. 1891 Married Anna Gertrude Slater Cook; (children?) 1893 Began to write fiction books encouraged by wife; using first of his twenty-five typewriters. 1893 Earnings from writing exceeded office salary. Wrote serials for Alfred B. Tozer's *Chicago Ledger*, then long series of story paper serials and nickel weekly novelettes for Street & Smith. 1894 To New York to meet publishers and establish himself as productive writer. Increased production with typewriter. Next few years hard times and ill health. 1895 Diagnosed with TB; moved to ranch near Phoenix, Arizona; wrote Westerns. Lost $10 000 on failed mining venture; to New York, returned to Chicago. 1888 To New York, assignment to write stories for the *Klondike Kit Library*; confined to bed, but gradually recovered. 1900 Serial sold to McClure syndicate. 1900 Purchased an old house in Marshall, Michigan; participated in many city and state affairs. 1903 First science fiction novel *A Round Trip to the Year 2000; or, A Flight Through Time* in *The Argosy* July-November; book form in 1908.

			1908 Largest production of career. From 1910 began to use real name as well as pseudonyms. 1912 Wrote account of career in *The Fiction Factory*, as by John Milton Edwards. 1912 Wife died. Continued to write for Street & Smith and Munsey publications. 1912-1914 Wrote seventy-three Frank Merriwell, Jr. and eighteen Owen Clancy stories for *New Tip Top Weekly.* Work appears under own name in *New Fiction Library* and *Adventure Library*. 1927 Married Mary A. Ackley. 1928 Invented basic information manual for writers called *Plotto.* 1931 Member of Marshall City Electric Light and Water Commission. Died 20 July 1933 (after six-year illness) in Marshall, Michigan, aged sixty-six.
L'Estrange, C(harles) James (1867-1947) British Journalist and author	Mrs Herbert Strang L'Estrange shared this pseudonym with George Herbert Ely to write tales for girls from about 1911, including *The Red Book for Girls* (1911) and *The Girl Crusoes: A Tale of the South Seas* (1912). Juvenile Literature: stories for girls (1911-)	Herbert Strang (shared with George Herbert Ely)	Very few personal details available. Born in London 1867. Worked as journalist in India. Met and collaborated with George Herbert Ely (1866-1958) in Glasgow. Collaborated with to Ely to publish boys' adventure stories from about 1883. 1907-1939 Worked with Ely as Co-Editors in Juvenile Department of Oxford University Press (OUP); known as the 'Heavenly Twins'. Published books through OUP under pseudonym Herbert Strang with Ely; produced a list of a thousand titles including *Oxford Readers.* Wrote stories of futuristic transportation devices, also Future-War stories – broad general debt to Jules Verne. With Ely, as Mrs Herbert Strang wrote tales for girls, including *The Girl Crusoes: A Tale of the South Seas* (1912) and *The Rose Fairy Book* (1912). Mrs Strang's Annuals published by Froude, Hodder & Stoughton from 1919-1926 in joint venture with OUP. Died in Tiverton, Devon, 8 January 1947, aged seventy-nine.
Cooper, Henry St John (1869-1926) British Novelist, children's writer	Mabel St John Cooper used this pseudonym on romance novels and on girls' stories published in Amalgamated Press story papers, particularly *The Girl's Friend Library*. Juvenile Literature: schoolgirl stories	Clifford Hosken (in *Boys' Herald* and *Marvel*); Gordon Holme (in *Boys' Friend Weekly*); Henry St John (in *Boys' Friend*, *Boys' Realm*,	Born 3 November 1869, Paddington, Greater London. Son of Charles William Frederick Cooper and Frances 'Fanny' Marcella Russell. 1895 Married Laura Ethel Thwaites. Wrote dozens of romance novels and boys' stories. For Amalgamated Press, wrote girls' stories in *The Girls' Friend.* Creation, Pollie Green, hugely popular in Edwardian era. Wrote romantic stories for *Poppy's Library* (1908), *Penny Pictorial* (1908), and *Woman's World* (1916). Died 9 September 1926, Sunbury-on-Thames, UK, aged fifty-six.

	Adult Fiction: romance novels (1908-)	*Pluck*, *Marvel* and *Union Jack*); Lieut. Paul Lefevre (in *Gem* and *Marvel*)	Name used by John Creasey (1908-1973), English crime and science-fiction writer, as one of his many pseudonyms.
Wright, David McKee (1869-1928) British (Irish) Poet and journalist	Mary McCommonwealth; Pearl Smith; Alice Nevertire; Aunt Angeult; Vanity Porridge; Margaret Cathpole; Ivy Twister; Grace Glory These were some of many pseudonyms used by David McKee Wright for his facetious and satirical poems published in *The Bulletin* (Sydney) between 1906 and 1927. During these years he published about 1500 poems in *The Bulletin*. Mary McCommonwealth was the main female pseudonym used by Wright. Poetry: facetious and satirical poems (1906-1927)	George Street; Maori Mac; Pat O'Maori; The above were the main male pseudonyms used by Wright. Aaron McHebron; Anthesis; Benjamin Kidd; Buss King; Cleggs; Curse O'Moses; G. Almighty; Gillette; Glen; Historicus; Justin Thyme; McCallum; N. S. Wales; P. Jackson-Heads; Rimu; S. Toney-Broke; Tot. Abstinence; W; William I of Geelong	Born 6 August 1869 at Ballynaskeagh, co. Down. Son of William Wright, Congregational missionary, and Annie McKee. Born while parents home on furlough; older brother and sister, two younger brothers. With grandmother until age seven. Educated at Glascar School, Ballynaskeagh, then at Pope's School, London, and engineering section of the Crystal Palace School. 1877 Mother died. 1880 Father remarried. Ten years in London. At age seventeen, diagnosed with spot on lung. 1887 To New Zealand for station life. From 1890 contributed verses and stories to *Otago Witness* and from 1892 to *Christchurch Press.* Won numerous major prizes for writing. 1896 First collection of poems not well received. 1897 University of Otago in Dunedin. Studied for Congregational ministry. University prize for poem *Queen Victoria,* 1837:1897. Published several books of verse, more favourably received. Active in temperance work and morality campaigns. Composed and printed hymns for congregation. 1899 Married Elizabeth Couper; one son from marriage (1900). Financial troubles. 1901 Resigned pastorate in Newtown parish; took up Nelson pastorate. 1906 Began contributing to *The Bulletin* as Maori Mac. 1906-1927 Published about 1500 contributions, mainly poems. 1907 Bankruptcy and marriage breakdown. Gave up clergy for journalism. 1910 To Sydney. Free-lance journalist for *The Bulletin*, *The Sun*, and other papers. After 1913 wrote on Irish themes. 1914 Editor of *Fairplay*, sporting magazine. 1914 Full-time journalist of *The Bulletin.*

			1916 Literary editor of Red Page of *The Bulletin*. Continued to write political leaders for *The Bulletin* until 1926. Much of writing appeared under pseudonyms or anonymously, particularly when he worked for conservative *Bulletin*. Encouraged lyrical verse and fiction. 1913-1918 Lived with Beatrice Florence Osborn (pseud. Margaret Fane); four sons from relationship. Editorial consultant for Angus and Robertson; controversy over editing Henry Lawson's poems. 1918 Most important volume *An Irish Heart*. From 1918 lived with poet and actress Zora Cross in Glenbrook, NSW; two daughters from relationship. 1926 Contributed political journalism to Sydney *Worker.* Died 2 February 1928 in Glenbrook, aged fifty-eight.
Foster, W(alter) Bert(ram) (1869-1929) American Novelist	Alice B. Emerson; Ruth Belmore Endicott; Grace Brooks Hill; Amy Bell Marlowe; Margaret Penrose; Gertrude Morrison; May Hollis Barton Foster used Alice B. Emerson for volumes 1-19 (of 30) (1913-1923) in the clothbound Ruth Fielding series written for the Stratemeyer Syndicate. Other pseudonyms were used for his pulp magazine stories or juvenile series books. Some credit him with the Barton Books for Girls collection (1926-1932) written under the house name May Hollis Barton. Juvenile Literature: fiction (c.1913-) Adult Fiction: pulp magazine stories (1913-)	Allen Chapman; Author of 'Buffalo Bill'; Chester K. Steele; Edward C. Taylor; James A. Cooper; Jared L. Fuller (for railroad stories); John Boyd Clark; John R. Conway; Private Detective; Louis Arundel; Nicholas Carter; W. B. Lawson	Born 3 November 1869, Providence, Rhode Island. Few biographical details available. First work published at age seventeen. Prolific writer of dime novels, series books, and pulp fiction. Specialised in westerns about Homer of the Lazy D Ranch. Wrote detective and western stories for Street & Smith. Contributed 136 Buffalo Bill stories, thirty Nick Carter stories, and twenty-six Diamond Dick stories to their weeklies. Also wrote humorous western fiction about Homer Stillson and Poke Fellows for *Ace High Western.* Used female pseudonym Alice B. Emerson on early volumes of (clothbound) Ruth Fielding series, for Stratemeyer Syndicate. 1913-1934 Ruth Fielding series published by Cupples & Leon. 1914 Wrote *The Girls of Central High on the Stage, Or The Play That Took The Prize* under pseudonym Gertrude Morrison. Adult fiction includes *From Six to Six* (1927). Died 26 April 1929, aged fifty-nine.

Boyer, John Q(uincy) (1869-1942) American Puzzler	Primrose This was Boyer's pseudonym in 'Puzzledom'. Puzzles (1880s-)		1869 Born Baltimore, Maryland, U.S. Parents' names unavailable. Member (later president) of Eastern Puzzlers' League. 1880s Living in Baltimore. Married Helen Nellie Grate (1872-1962); two sons from marriage. January 1903 article 'Some American Anagrams' published in monthly literature magazine, *The Era*. Renowned as expert on cryptograms. Wrote essay ' The Antiquity and Dignity of Puzzles', included in *A Key to Puzzledom* (1906). 1920 Organisation name changed to National Puzzlers' League. Member of National Puzzlers' League and American Cryptogram Association. 1925 *Real Puzzles: a Handbook of the Enigmatic Art.* 1928 Wife second vice president of the national Puzzlers' League in Baltimore. Died 27 December 1942 in Baltimore, aged 73.
1870-1879			
1870 First Married Women's Property Act – allows wives control over their earnings Lectures for women begin in Cambridge *Women's Suffrage Journal* begun Franco-Prussian War Education Act; school attendance compulsory for young children 1871 Trade Unions legalised Women eligible for election to Local School Boards Darwin, *Descent of Man* 1872 Secret ballot adopted in British national elections 1873 Beginning of agricultural depression Girton College opens 1874 Disraeli Prime Minister Over 5,000 new schools founded since Education Act of 1870 1875 Artisan's Dwelling Act: first public housing legislation in Britain Residential and teaching hall for women opens in Newnman Britain purchases Egypt's shares in Suez Canal; African nation forced to raise money to pay debts 1876 Women gain right to register as physicians in Britain Victoria proclaimed Empress of India			1870 Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia readmitted to the Union 15th Amendment adopted Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Little Pussy Willow* *Scribner's Magazine* 1871 Great fire destroys much of Chicago Civil Service Commission established Alcott, *Little Men* Big buffalo kill –nearly four million – for industrial machinery belts Finias T. Barnum's *Greatest Show on Earth* in Brooklyn, N.Y. 1872 Amnesty Act restores civil rights in South Congress makes Yellowstone first national park Boston fire; Horace B. Fuller's publishing offices destroyed Sarah Woolsey (pseud. Susan Coolidge), *What Katy Did* *Popular Science* 1873 Bank panic and beginning of depression 1874 Introduction of barbed wire to fence in cattle on Great Plains Gold discovered on Indian lands in Dakota Territory Women's Temperance Christian Union founded 1875 First Kentucky Derby Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health* – basic text of Christian Science

1877 Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings founded *The Nineteenth Century* started Princess Alice becomes Grand Duchess of Hesse, husband succeeds as Louis IV, Grand Duke of Hesse 1878 Matrimonial Causes Act provides for maintenance and separation allowances for abused wives Women admitted to degrees at University of London Electric lights installed on some London streets Princess Alice dies Treaty of Berlin Cyprus becomes Crown Colony Princess Louise's husband Governor General of Canada 1879 London's first telephone exchange opened Anglo-French control over Egypt Victoria and Albert's first great-grandchild born, Princess Feodora of Saxe-Meiningen			15,000 gold seekers enter region of the Black Hills, ignoring Indian rights 1876 General George A. Custer killed by Indians at Battle of Little Big Horn National Baseball League established Mark Twain, *Tom Sawyer* Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 1877 Molly Maguires (radical labour group) broken up Troops used to end railroad strike Thomas Edison perfects electric light bulb Rutherford B. Hayes 19th U.S. President (-1881) 1878 First commercial telephone exchange opened Thomas Edison awarded patent for phonograph First bicycle called 'wheels' manufactured in US 1879 First five-and-dime store opened by F. W. Woolworth Thomas Edison founds Edison Electric Light Co.
Author	**Female Pseudonym/s**	**Other Known Pseudonyms**	**Biographical Summary**
Begbie, Edward Harold (1871-1929) British Author, journalist, Salvationist, political and social reformer	Caroline Lewis Begbie used this pseudonym with Ransome and Temple on two parodies based on Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass.* Adult Fiction: parody (1902, 1903)	A Gentleman with a Duster	Born 24 June 1871 at Fornham St Martin, Suffolk. Fifth son in family of seven sons and four daughters to Rev. Mars Hamilton Begbie and Anna Eliza Begbie (née Swiney). Attended Merchant Taylor's School with four brothers as day boys. Worked as tea merchant. 1893 Married Alice Gertrude Seale; three daughters from marriage. One died early. Took up farming in Devon. Began professional writing career in London at *Daily Chronicle.* 1898 Assistant on 'By the way' column with *The Globe.* 1899 Published first book, *The Political Struwwelpeter*; contained satirical commentary on Westminster politics. Edited short-lived weekly magazine *V.C.* 1899 Inspired by South African War to write ballads to honour VC recipients. 1902 and 1903 Together with Ransome and Temple wrote two parodies of *Alice* books, dealing with British frustration about the Boer War. On staff of *Daily Mail* and *Daily Chronicle*. Interviewed many influential men. Wrote biographical sketches for *Pall Mall Magazine*, published as 'Master Workers' (1905). Became close friend of William Booth. Disturbed by urban poverty, wrote increasingly on social questions. Unsettling to

			Edwardian audience – *A London Girl* (1905), *Broken Earthenware* (1909). Tours of India and Ireland – *Other Sheep* (1912), *The Lady Next Door* (1914). Promoted peace before outbreak of war in 1914, but soon became enthusiastic champion of the conflict. Visited America. Wrote war verse, set to music. 1915 *On the Side of the Angels: a Reply to Arthur Machen*, accusing Machen of denying existence of God. 1916 *Life Without Servants* (Anon.) went through several editions. *The Vindication of Great Britain: a Study in Diplomacy and Strategy* saw threats to civilisation. 1919 *Mr Sterling Sticks It Out* – disturbing account of treatment of conscientious objectors. Became prolific author for Mills and Boon. Wrote social and political comment under pseudonym 'A Gentleman with a Duster'. 1920 *Life of William Booth*; 1923 *Life Changers.* Became member of Oxford Group. Took up cause of Marie Stopes. 1927 Investigation of convict prisons: *Punishment and Personality.* Wrote over 100 books, contributed numerous articles to magazines and journals and Bible stories for Arthur Mee's *Children's Encyclope.* Salvation Army book *Broken Earthenware* (1909) sold over 300,000 copies by 1929 – adopted by Oxford Group and Alcoholic Anonymous and sold many more copies. Died 8 October 1929 at his home in Ringwood, Hampshire, aged 58.
Crowley, Aleister (1875-1947) Born Edward Alexander Crowley (Pronounced Croley) British Author and occultist	In various periodicals: Alice L. Foote; Alice Wesley Torr; Alys Cusack; Christabel Wharton; Doris (Baby) Leslie; Elaine Carr; Katharine S. Prichard; Laura Graham; Lavinia King; Maria Lavroff; Mary Smith; Mrs Bloomer Greymare	(Edward) Aleister Crowley; 33'; 9'=2' A.'.A.'. Beast; 90'; A Gentile; A Gentleman of the University of Cambridge; A London Physician; A Mental Traveller; A Mourner Clad In Green;	Born Edward Alexander Crowley 12 October 1875 in Leamington Spa, Warwickshire. Elder child of devout Plymouth Brethren parents, Edward Crowley and Emily Bertha Bishop. Referred to himself as The Beast 666. Dubbed by magazine *John Bull* as 'The Wickedest Man in the World'. Heir to small brewing fortune. Played chess from age six. 1887 Father died of tongue cancer. 1887 On death of father went to live with maternal uncle, a bully. 1895 Entered Trinity College, Cambridge; left before finishing degree. Talented mountaineer. 1897 Dedicated self to esoteric studies. From 1898 issued deluxe volumes of his poetry. Showed homosexual tendencies. 1898 *White Stains*, collection of pornographic verse.

<table>
<tr>
<td rowspan="2"></td>
<td rowspan="2">In The Equinox:
Hilda Norfolk;
Ethel Ramsay;
Madame Bock Brune

In The International:
Jeanne La Goulue;
Enid Parsons (aged 12)

The Equinox began in London in 1909; it was a book-length periodical, published irregularly, in which Crowley and associates exhaustively updated traditional magical and occult practices.
The International was a little-known New York periodical; it was a liberal magazine of international politics, literature, philosophy and drama. Its contributing editor was Crowley.
He used dozens of pseudonyms, including the above, for magazine and newspaper articles and verse.
Crowley hated being called Alick by his mother, so changed his name to Aleister.

Periodical Contributions: articles in wide variety of styles and topics
Poetry: as varied as articles
Pornography: offensive articles (c.1900-)</td>
<td rowspan="2">A New York Specialist;
A. Jr. Quiller;
A. L;
A.C. Hobbs;
A.E. C;
Abhavananda;
Adam Dias;
Alastor (in Greek);
Alastor le Demon du Solitude;
Alexander Tabasco;
Algernon Robert
Ananda Viffa;
Ananda Vijja;
Ariel;
Barbay de Roche(c)h(o)uart;
C.M. of the Vigilantes;
Cain;
Caligula;
Candlestick;
Cantab;
Cerebellum;
Charles Brinburning;
Comte de Fenix;
Cor Scorpionis;
Count Vladimir Svaroff;
Cro-Cro;
Cyril Custance;
D. Carr;</td>
<td colspan="4">Became prolific author in many genres.
1898 Initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.
1899 Bought Boleskine House at Loch Ness for occult rituals.
1900 To Mexico.
1902 Began practice of yoga in Ceylon.
1903 Married; two daughters from marriage.
1905 Resumed wanderings.
Two other daughters and one son (at least) by three different mothers.
1907 Founded Order of the Silver Star (A∴A∴).
1909 Divorced; renewed occult activities.
Performed rituals in Sahara Desert with poet Victor Neuberg.
1913 Initiated into Ordo Templi Orientis; advanced to head of OTO in Great Britain and Ireland.
Lived in U.S. during World War I.
Practised sexual rituals with many partners.
1920-1923 Lived in Sicily.
1929 Took second wife, Maria Ferrari de Miramar – mentally ill.
1935 Went bankrupt.
Addicted to alcohol and heroin.
1945 Retired to Hastings boarding house.
Died 1 December 1947, aged seventy-one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgos;
Gerard Aumont;
H. C;
H. Sapiens;
H.D. Carr;
H.K. T;
Hamlet;
Hodgson Y. Knott;
Hsüan Ko;
I. I;K.S. I;
Imperator Jacobus;
Iona and all...
Baphomet;</td>
<td>Leo;
Logos Aionos (in Greek)
Thelema;
Lord Boleskine;
M. Tupper;
J. Turner;
M. W;
M.D. English;
M.S. Tarr;
Macgregor of Boleskine and Abertarff;
Mahatma Guru
Sri Paramahansa</td>
<td>O.T.O. Ireland;
Ouija Board Shakespear;
P.H.B.S. Newlands;
P.R.A.S;
Panurge;
Percurabo;
Percy Flage,
Percy W;
Perdurabo;
Prater Perdurabo;
Prob Pudor;
Probationer;
Professor;
Professor</td>
<td>St. E. of M. and S. A;
Sumatra Wrapper;
Super Sinistram;
The 666;
The Author of Rosa Mundi;
The Author of the V Sign;
The Brothers Lazarus;
The Late Major Lutiy;
The Master Therion;</td>
</tr>
</table>

		David Thomas; DCLXVI; Diogenes; Dost Achiba Khan; E. Le Roulx; E.A. C; Edward Kelly; Eric Tait; Felix; Fra H.I. Edinburgh; Francis Bendick; Frater Perdurabo; G.H; George Archibald Bishop;	J. C; J. McC; James Grahame; John Roberts; John St. John; John; Jonathon; Junior Masefield; K.H.A. K; Khaled Khan; Ko Yuen; Kwaw Li Ya; LCLXVI; Lemuel S. Innocent; Leo Vincey; Leo Viridis;	Shivaji; Major Lutiy; Mark Wells; Marshal de Cambronne; Martial Nay; Miles; Mohammed; Morpheus; Natu Minimus Hutchinson; Nick Lamb; O Dhammaloyou; O. H; Oliver Haddo; O. M; O.M. Frater;	Theophilus, Ph.D, etc, etc; Professor Throld... Thorwaldssen; Prometheus; Rev C. Verey; Robinson C. Crowley; S. Holmes; S.C. Hiller; S.J. Mills; S.O.S; Saint Edward Aleister; Sir Maurice E. Kulm; Sir Meduim Coeli; Six Six Six (666);	The Priest of the Princes Ankh-af-na-Khonsu; The Prophet of the New Aeon Six Six Six (666); The Reverend P.D. Carey; Therion; Thomas Wentworth; To Mega (in Greek) DCLXVI Therion; V; Victor; Von Schartzkopf; William; X'... Crowley
Hueffer, Oliver Madox (born Oliver Franz Hueffer, 1876-1931) British Novelist, playwright and war correspondent	Jane Wardle Hueffer wrote five novels under this pseudonym, including *Hunt The Slipper* (1905) and *The Artistic Temperament* (1907). One of his most successful is *The Lord of Latimer Street* (1907). Adult Fiction: romance novels (c.1900-)		9 January 1876 born in Merton, Surrey. Son of Francis Hüffer, German émigré (1869), musicologist and author, and Catherine Madox Brown. Father music critic of *The Times* for a decade. Second of three children. Grandson of Pre-Raphaelite painter, Ford Madox Brown. Later incorporated Madox into name, publishing mainly as Oliver Madox Hueffer. Educated at advanced boarding school in Folkstone, run by German émigrés. 1888-1892 Attended University College School, London. 1889 Father died; went with older brother (later known as Ford Madox Ford) to live with Madox Brown. 1893 To Rome. Considered and tried various careers; lived adventurous life. 1897 Married violinist Zoe Pyne, in Kippington, Kent; lived in Chelsea. Began to write plays, later novels, nonfiction, and short stories. 1903 Journalist for *Manchester Guardian*. 1906 Wrote for *Tribune*. Paris correspondent for *The Times.* 1910 Covered Mexican revolution for *Daily Express*. Arrested by Mexican secret police.			

			Lost Pyne (wife’s) family fortunes. 1915 Lived with novelist and journalist, Muriel Harris. 1915 Commission in 10th battalion of East Surrey regiment; injured in battle of Somme, invalided home. 1918 Transferred to 3rd battalion of Suffolk regiment; returned to France. 1919 Out of army. 1920s Lived in France with Harris. 21 June 1931 died in Midhurst, Sussex, aged fifty-five.
Hamilton, Charles Harold St John (1876-1961) British Writer of juvenile fiction	Hilda Richards This pseudonym was used in 1919 for the adventures of *Bessie Bunter of Cliff House School*, launched in *The Magnet*. Hamilton also contributed the first six stories of Bessie Bunter to *The School Friend* in the same year. Juvenile Literature: stories for girls (1919)	Cecil Herbert; Clifford Clive; Clifford Owen; Eric Stanhope; Frank Drake; Frank Richards; Freeman Fox; Gillingham Jones; Gordon Conway; Hamilton Greening; Harry Clifton; Harry Dorian; Martin Clifford; Nigel Wallace; Owen Conquest; Prosper Howard; Raleigh Robbins; Ralph Redway; Ridley Redway; Robert Jennings; Robert Rogers; Robert Stanley; Sir Alan Cobham; T. Harcourt Lewelyn; Talbot Wynyard; William Cardew	Born in London 8 August 1876. Son of John Hamilton, journalist and bookseller, and Mary Ann Hannah Trinder. Sixth in family of five brothers and three sisters. Father, heavy drinker, died from tuberculosis when Charles was seven. Family moved house frequently. Attended various church and private day schools in west London area. At seventeen first cheque for adventure story. Wrote prolifically, for boys’ papers, especially *The Gem* and *The Magnet*, for more than thirty years. Used over twenty pseudonyms. Invented more than thirty fictional schools. Wrote as Frank Richards for stories of Harry Wharton, Billy Bunter, and Greyfriars. Wrote as Martin Clifford for St Jim’s, Owen Conquest for Rookwood, and Ralph Redway for The Rio Kid. Travelled widely until First World War. 1914 Settled in Kent. Paper shortages of Second World War ended *The Gem* in 1939 and *The Magnet* in 1940. Gambled freely in casinos. Wrote hard cover Billy Bunter books, as well as TV scripts. 1952 Wrote autobiography as Frank Richards. Became reclusive. Never married. Died Christmas Eve 1961, at his home in Kingsgate-on-Sea, Kent, aged eighty-five.

Coke, Desmond Francis Talbot (1879-1931) British Novelist and collector	Belinda Blinders Under this pseudonym Coke wrote an amusing parody of the book *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783) by Thomas Day. He entitled it *Sandford of Merton: A Story of Oxford Life* (1903). Belinda Blinders was also used on four other books such as *The Comedy of Age* (1906), and *The Chaps of Harton; A Tale of Frolic, Sport and Mystery at Public School* (1913). Coke wrote as a man cross-dressing to write about a boys' school, listing himself as editor on the title pages. He purposely littered his books with misinformation. Belinda misconstrues schoolboy language and norms to demonstrate how feminine comments on Oxford activities tended to be inaccurate. Juvenile Literature: public school stories (1903-1921)		Born 5 July 1879. Son of John Talbot Coke, army major general, and Charlotte Talbot Coke (née Fitzgerald), founder of *Hearth and Home* magazine. Youngest son of three sons and four daughters. Educated at Shrewsbury School and University College, Oxford. Wrote schoolboy fiction. Art connoisseur and collector, especially of eighteenth-century silhouettes. Saw collecting as alternative to matrimony: wrote *Confessions of an Incurable Collector*. Lived in London flat. Novels often concerned young men estranged from fathers. From 1903 until 1921 produced five books 'by Belinda Blinders'. 1917 Invalided out of active war service. Convalesced for two years at Clayesmore School, Dorset; served as housemaster to senior boys. Best-known work *The Bending of a Twig* (1906), a parody of traditional school story. Died 27 April 1931 unmarried, aged fifty-one.
1880-1889			
1880 Ned Kelly hanged in Melbourne Borneo and Brunei become protectorates First Boer War (-1898) Kruger President of Transvaal Education compulsory up to age ten 1881 Mahdi war in Sudan (-1898) 1882 Second Married Women's Property Act – extends wives' control over own property British troops take Suez Canal, vital trade route and passage to India 1883 First electric tram in operation Princess Louise and husband Lord Lorne return from Canada 1884 Third Reform Bill; vote given to poor farmers and labourers in countryside:			1880 First electric street light in New York Gold discovered in Alaska Tenth census: U.S. population 50,156,000 1881 President James A. Garfield 20th U.S. President; assassinated Chester A. Arthur 21st U.S. President (-1885) *Liberty* magazine American Red Cross established Second transcontinental railroad completed 1882 First hydro electric station in U.S. John D. Rockefeller and associates create monopoly within oil industry 1883 Brooklyn Bridge opened 'Buffalo Bill' Cody organises first Wild West Show

‘one man, one vote’ for males over twenty-five Nationalist Socialist League founded Society of Authors founded Fabian Society founded in London to promote Socialism Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, dies 1885 Act to make further provision for the Protection of Women and Girls in Britain Age of Consent for girls raised to sixteen Radio waves discovered Football League formed Gordon killed in Khartoum 1886 Provision for Maintenance and separation allowances for deserted wives Gladstone’s Irish Home Rule Bill defeated Chamberlain forms Liberal Unionists Daimler produces first motor car Safety bicycles go on sale 1887 ‘Bloody Sunday’: socialist demonstration Trafalgar Square Victoria’s Golden Jubilee 1888 Strike of match girls at Bryant and May match factory Jack the Ripper murders five women in London Formation of County Councils Formation of Women Writers’ Club Victoria’s eldest daughter becomes German Empress – husband succeeds as Frederick III, German Emperor; dies within months 1889 First woman elected to London County Council Women’s Trade Union League Eiffel Tower built in Paris 10,000 dockers strike in London			Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* 1884 Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* Otto Mergenthaler patents mechanical typesetter – revolutionises mass newspaper circulation 1885 Grover Cleveland 22nd President of U.S. (-1889 and 1893-97) First skyscraper completed 1886 Haymarket riot in Chicago Statue of Liberty dedicated American Federation of Labor formed *Cosmopolitan Forum* John Russell Coryell, *The Old Detective’s Pupil* began Nick Carter series Mergenthaler’s machine first used by *New York Tribune* Apache Chief Geronimo captured by Federal troops 1887 George Eastman patents first successful roll film for cameras Free delivery of mail to communities of at least 10,000 people 1888 Great blizzard paralyses East Coast *Collier’s National Geographic* John Boyd Dunlop patents pneumatic tyre First electric car demonstrated in Boston 1889 Johnstown, Pennsylvania, flood Benjamin Harrison 23rd U.S. President (-1893)
Author	**Female Pseudonym/s**	**Other Known Pseudonyms**	**Biographical Summary**
Mencken, Henry Louis (1880-1956) American	Amelia Hatteras; Duchess de Boileau; Harriet Morgan; Janet Jefferson; Marie de Verdi	Atwood C. Bellamy; Charles Angoff; James P. Ratcliffe; F. C. Henderson; Francis Clegg	Born Baltimore 12 September 1880. Elder son of August, cigar factory owner, and Anna Margaret Mencken; father of German ancestry. Voracious reader as child; also interested in chemistry and photography. Given printing press at age of seven. Mid-1880s began primary education at Friedrich Knapp’s School.

Journalist, cultural critic, and satirist	Mencken used these pseudonyms in *The Smart Set: A Magazine of Cleverness*. He wrote the poems 'The Old Trails' and 'Song' as by Harriet Morgan and Janet Jefferson respectively; short stream-of-consciousness impressions of leading American cities 'Post-Impressions of Cities' as by Amelia Hatteras; and a brief squib, 'Veneration', about George Henry Lewes and George Eliot as by Marie de Verdi – all published in *The Smart Set* (November 1914). Periodical Contributions: poetry, short articles (1914-)	Thompson; George Weems Peregoy; Herbert Winslow Archer; Irving S. Watson; J. D. Gilray; James Drayham; James Wharton; John H. Brownell; John R. Fink; John Hamilton; Lew Tennant; Owen Hatteras; Pierre d' Aubigny; R. B. McLoughlin; Raoul della Torre; Robert W. Woodruff; The Ringmaster; The Sage of Baltimore; W. H. Trimball; W.L.D. Bell; William Drayham; William Sandford; William Fink	At fifteen, graduated as valedictorian from Baltimore Polytechnic, maths, technical and science oriented school. Worked in father's cigar factory for three years. Early 1898 correspondence course in writing. Late 1898 father died – free to pursue career in journalism. 1899 Hired as part-timer with *Morning Herald* newspaper, then full-time reporter for six years. 1908 Literary critic for *The Smart Set*; did not miss one monthly book review column from its inception in 1908 until he left the magazine in December 1923. 1910 Ghostwriter for physician on articles and books on baby care. Spoke out against religious beliefs, government officials, movie industry, and 'ignorant' middle classes. 1910 Helped found *Baltimore Evening Sun*; wrote column 'The Free Lance'. 1914-1923 Co-edited *The Smart Set* with George Jean Nathan until it was sold to Alfred A. Knopf; wrote many of the short stories themselves, sometimes half the magazine, under pseudonyms. 1919 First edition of *The American Language*, one of top 100 influential books in U.S. linguistics and grammatical usage. 1924 Founded and edited (for ten years) *The American Mercury* with George Jean Nathan. Befriended leading literary figures. 1930 Married Sara Haardt, author and German American professor of English at Goucher College, Baltimore; eighteen years his junior. 1933 Resigned as editor. 1935 Wife, suffered from tuberculosis, died of meningitis. Did not support the New Deal during Great Depression. Wrote humorous, nostalgic, and scathing essays. Wrote for *The Baltimore Sun*, *The Evening Sun*, and *The Sunday Sun* until 1948. Unable to write and read following massive stroke. Died 29 January 1956, in Baltimore, aged 75.
Keller, David H(enry), M.D. (1880-1966) American	Cecilia Henry; Amy Worth Keller wrote his early works (1895-1902) under several pseudonyms. As Cecilia Henry he wrote 'The Great	Henry Cecil; Jacob Hubler; Jacobus Hubelaire; Monk Smith; Matthew Smith	Born 23 December 1880 in Philadelphia. Second child of James Edwin Miller Keller and Laura A. Keller (Whitesell). As small child spoke private language, only understood by sister (eighteen months older). 1885 Sister died, aged seven. Lost all ability to communicate verbally. Sent home from school on first day, as

<table>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatrist and writer of science fiction, fantasy, and horror for pulp magazines</td>
<td>American Pie House' (1902), published in The White Owl. In the 1920s and 1930s he wrote short stories as Amy Worth.

Adult Fiction: short story for college magazine (1902)</td>
<td></td>
<td>language deficient. Home schooled for three years by mother; wider vocab than fellow students on resuming school.
Entered Central High School in Philadelphia at age fourteen.
Started writing science fiction at school.
1903 Graduated from School of Medicine at University of Pennsylvania.
Ten years as 'horse-and-buggy' doctor.
1906 Married Ella Garis Phillips; two daughters from marriage.
Widowed and remarried; one daughter from marriage.
1915 Junior Physician at Anna State Hospital in Illinois; concentrated on psychiatry.
Served as neuropsychiatrist in U.S. Army Medical Corps in both World Wars.
Assistant Superintendent of Louisiana State Mental Hospital at Pineville until 1928.
1928 Assistant Superintendent of Western State Hospital, Bolivar, Tennessee.
Discharged because of corrupt politicians.
Long-time compulsive unpublished writer.
1928 Met with Hugo Gernsback, publisher of Amazing Stories, in New York City.
Commissioned to write medical articles.
1929 Associate Science Editor for Gernsback's Science Wonder Stories; wrote prolifically. Gernsback's publishing company forced into bankruptcy.
New position at Jacksonville State Hospital – remained only eight hours in job.
Interviewed by Pennshurst State School for mental defectives – too old at forty-eight.
Decided on full-time writing.
1929 First novel The Human Termites.
Introduced term 'science-fiction' to world with focus on interiority and emotion, rather than technology and gadgetry.
Private psychiatric practice set up to supplement income, but not financially viable.
Received payment for pulp on publication, rather than on acceptance.
1929 Accepted as Assistant Superintendent of Pennshurst State School for mental defectives, despite age.
Continued writing. Many stories were anti-feminist and racist, and expressed abiding cultural pessimism. Published over seven hundred scientific articles, many about sex.
1933-38 Edited journal Sexology.
1942 Fourth novel The Metal Doom, best of his pulp serials.
Rank of Colonel in World War II.
1941-1945 Active duty as teacher in Army Chaplain's School; organised school for illiterates and foreign language speaking soldiers.
Died 13 July 1966, aged eighty-five.</td>
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Ficke, Arthur Davison (1883-1945) American Poet, playwright, and lawyer	Anne Knish In 1916 Ficke began a hoax with Witter Bynner, as revenge on new movements (Imagism, Vorticism). They invented Spectrism and two poets to practise it – Bynner wrote as Emanuel Morgan and Ficke as Anne Knish. He wrote in free verse, and in the pseudo-scientific preface to their joint volume *Spectra: A Book of Poetic Experiments* (1916), he enunciated the principles of Spectrism. Elijah Hay (pseudonym of Marjorie Allen Seiffert) joined them; there were rumours of rivalry between Morgan and Hay over the 'beautiful' Anne Knish. The hoax ended in 1918 when Bynner admitted the truth. Poetry: poetic hoax (1916)		Born 10 November 1883 in Davenport, Iowa. Son of Charles August Ficke, lawyer and art dealer, and Frances Davison. Travelled extensively as child. A.B. degree from Harvard. Law degree from University of Iowa. 1907 Married Evelyn Bethune Blunt; one son from marriage. 1908 Legal practice with father. Early volumes of romantic poems included: *From the Isles* (1907), *The Happy Princess* (1907), *The Earth Passion* (1908), *The Breaking of Bonds* (1910), *Sonnets of a Portrait Painter* (1914), *The Man on the Hilltop* (1915), and *An April Elegy* (1917). Poems often clumsy and trite. Practised law for ten years. Expert on Japanese art. Produced eight volumes of poetry and two works on Japanese prints. 1916 Began hoax with Witter Bynner: as revenge on new movements (Imagism, Vorticism) invented Spectrism and two poets – Anne Knish and Emanuel Morgan; wrote satirical hoax *Spectra*. 1918 Hoax ended when Bynner admitted truth. 1918 While serving as army officer, had brief affair with Edna St Vincent Millay before going abroad. Corresponded with her all his life. 1922 Divorced. 1923 Married Gladys Brown, artist. Literature full time. Decline in health – TB and cancer. Died (took own life) 30 November 1945 in Hudson, New York, aged sixty-two.
Lawrence, David Herbert (1885-1930) British Writer of novels, stories, travel books, poems, plays and essays	Jessie Chambers In 1907 Lawrence entered three stories in *The Nottingham Guardian* Christmas competition. Written under this pseudonym, 'The Prelude' won. Jessie Chambers was the name of his 'intellectual companion' who encouraged him and saw all his early writing.	Herbert Richards; Lawrence H. Davidson	Born 11 September 1885 in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire. Fourth of five children of Arthur John Lawrence, barely literate coal miner, and Lydia (née Beardsall), former pupil teacher then manual worker in lace factory. Father heavy drinker, mother well educated; children divided in loyalty. Educated Nottingham High School, with scholarship. Befriended Jessie Chambers, who tutored him. 1901 Clerk in surgical appliance factory then four years as pupil-teacher. 1901 Brother William died. 1907 Entered three short stories in *Nottinghamshire Guardian* annual Christmas story competition stipulating the use of pseudonyms; entered one story as Herbert Richards; asked friends Jessie Chambers and Louisa Burrows to enter other stories for

	Adult Fiction: short story in competition (1907)		him; story submitted by Jessie Chambers won first prize – *A Prelude to a Happy Christmas.* Matriculated from Nottingham University aged twenty-two. 1908 Teaching post in Croydon. 1909 Poems published by Ford Madox Hueffer (later Ford) in *The English Review*. 1910 Mother died. 1911 First novel *The White Peacock.* 1911 Fell seriously ill with double pneumonia. 1912 Met Frieda von Richthofen, wife of Ernest Weekly and mother of three. Eloped to Bavaria. 1913 Novel *Sons and Lovers*. 1914 Married Frieda. 1915 *The Rainbow*. Unable to obtain passports during First World War. 1917 Accused of spying, expelled from Cornwall. Not permitted to emigrate until 1919, wandered. 1921 Travel to Ceylon, Australia, America, Mexico. 1924 Father died. To Europe, back to America in 1924, then Europe again. 1928 Best-known work *Lady Chatterley's Lover* published privately in Florence. 1929 Exhibition of paintings in London; too ill to attend. 2 March 1930 died of TB in Vence, France, aged forty-four.
Eliot, T. S. (Thomas Stearns) (1888-1965) British (American born) Poet, playwright, critic, essayist and editor	Muriel A. Schwartz; Helen B. Trundlett T. S. Eliot wrote humorous letters under these and male pseudonyms to *The Egoist*. From 1917-19 Eliot was assistant editor of *The Egoist*. Periodical Contributions: magazine articles, humorous letters (1917-1919)	Charles Augustus Conybeare; Gus Krutzch; J.A.D. Spence; Reverend Charles James Grimble	Born 26 September 1888 in St Louis, Missouri. Youngest of six surviving children of Henry Ware Eliot, president of Hydraulic-Press Brick Company, and Charlotte Champe Stearns, a teacher. Family from Puritans who settled Massachusetts. Attended Smith Academy in St Louis until sixteen. 1904 Visited St Louis World's Fair; wrote short stories about primitive life for Smith Academy *Record*. 1905 Milton Academy. 1906 Harvard. Served on *The Harvard Advocate* – published parts of 'Prufrock'. 1910-1916 Postgraduate studies at Sorbonne, Harvard, Marburg, and Oxford. Met Ezra Pound – lifelong influence. 1915 Married Vivien Haigh-Wood. Taught in boys' school. Wrote reviews and poetry. 1917 Began work at Lloyd's Bank. Assistant editor for *The Egoist*.

			1921 Emotional breakdown. 1922 Completed *The Waste Land* while in Switzerland for treatment. Founding editor of *The Criterion* in London. 1927 Became British subject. Lectured at major U.S. universities. 1930s Devoted much time to writing verse dramas. 1938 Wife to mental hospital. During World War II wrote more poetic works. 1947 Wife Vivien died. 1957 Married Esmé Valerie Fletcher, thirty-seven years younger. Kept secret. 1948 Nobel Prize for Literature and Order of Merit. 4 January 1965 died in London, aged seventy-six.

1890-1900	
1890 Parnell resigns 1891 Elementary education free in state schools Parnell dies, aged forty five Victoria and Albert's last grandchild born, Prince Maurice of Battenburg 1892 Gladstone forms Fourth Cabinet Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* stories for *Strand* magazine Prince of Wales' eldest son, Prince Albert Victor, dies of influenza; place taken by brother Prince George of Wales (later Duke of York, eventually George V) 1893 Independent Labour Party formed The Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, succeeds as Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha when uncle dies 1894 Alfred, Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha dies, succeeded by nephew Prince Charles Edward, Duke of Albany End of three-volume 'library' novel 1895 X-rays discovered Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure,* burned publicly by Vicar of Wakefield Oscar Wilde, *The Importance of Being Earnest* Summary Jurisdiction Act extends separation and maintenance allowances for 'persistent cruelty' of husband First Promenade Concert in London 1896 Famine in India (-1899)	1890 Indians massacred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota – Chief Sitting Bull killed Sherman Anti-Trust Act passed *Literary Digest* Macmillan and Company of New York founded 1891 *The Nick Carter Weekly* begins 900,000 acres of Indian land in Oklahoma opened for general settlement 1892 Homestead steel strike *Vogue* Beginning of Doyle's popularity in U.S. Major British influence – Poe's techniques adapted to magazine serialisation Ellis Island primary receiving station for immigrants Grover Cleveland 24th U.S. President 1893 Financial panic leads to depression World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago *McClure's Magazine* W.L. Judson invents zipper 1894 First showing of Edison's motion picture machine Jacob Coxey leads march of unemployed on Washington 1895 Song 'America the Beautiful' introduced Marconi invents wireless telegraph Sears Robuck opens mail-order business 1896 William Jennings Bryan delivers *Cross of Gold* speech

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Daily Mail started
1897 Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee
Bram Stoker, Dracula
1898 H.G. Wells, The War of the Worlds
Thomas Hardy, Wessex Poems
1899 War with Boers in South Africa (-1902); attempts made to improve nation’s health
School attendance compulsory up to age twelve
First motor bus in service</td><td>Plessy v. Ferguson permits ‘separate but equal’ doctrine in race relations
New York Times Magazine
Frank Munsey’s Argosy starts pulp industry
Ford’s first American car for sale to public
1897 Success and Survey magazines established
‘Klondike Stampede’ in Alaska
Completion of modern subway system in Boston
William McKinley President (-1901)
1898 Battleship ‘Maine’ sunk in Havana Harbour
Spain declares war on America
US annexes Hawaii
Spain cedes Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam and permits Cuban independence, ending Spanish-American War
Henry James, The Turn of the Screw
1899 United States declares Open Door Policy in China
Everybody’s Magazine
Dewey, The School and Society
Scott Joplin’s ‘Maple Leaf Rag’ starts ragtime vogue</td></tr>
<tr><th>Author</th><th>Female Pseudonym/s</th><th>Other Known Pseudonyms</th><th>Biographical Summary</th></tr>
<tr><td>Lowe, Samuel E(dward)
(1890-1952)

American
(German born)

Publisher and children’s writer</td><td>Helen Hart

As Helen Hart, Lowe wrote books in Camp Fire Girls’ series and the Mary Lee series. These included The Camp Fire Girls at Pine-Tree Camp (1914), The Camp Fire Girls at Top o' The World (1916), The Camp Fire Girls at Lookout Pass (1917), Camp Fire Girls Duty Calls (1919), The Camp Fire Girls Success (1919), The Camp Fire Girls In High School (c.1920), and The Camp Fire Girls At Work, (1920) – this book was dedicated ‘to All Girls who have helped in the service of their country,’ a reference to WW I service</td><td>Howard B. Famous</td><td>1890 Born in Posen, Germany (parents’ names unknown).
To U.S. with family as child, helped by Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement House.
Wrote books for girls as Helen Hart, and many other juvenile titles under own name.
1917 Animal stories, such as Bushy-Tail and Hazel Squirrel (Bedtime Stories) under pseudonym Howard B. Famous.
1918 Initiated sale of children’s books to retail chain stores after error in order: a foreman confused ‘dozens’ for ‘gross’ quantities.
After WWI worked for Western Printing.
Western negotiated long term-contracts for market of low-priced books.
Became President of Whitman Publishing Co. based in Racine, Wisconsin.
Married to Viola (née Jacobson).
1933 Created the ‘Big Little Book’.
1934 Contract with Walt Disney Studios for rights to produce books featuring Disney characters.
1940 Left Whitman to open own company in Kenosha, Wisconsin.</td></tr>
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	by Camp Fire Girls – *Camp Fire Girls Red Cross Work* (1920), and *The Camp Fire Girls On Hurricane Island* (1921). Juvenile Literature: adventure stories for girls (1914-1921)		Became one of first book-packagers in publishing industry. Married Edith Kovar Lowe; at least five sons from two marriages. For forty years Samuel Lowe Company produced books, colouring books, cut-out books, paper doll kits, and school books. 1952 Died, aged sixty-two. Widow took over presidency of Samuel Lowe Company.

1900-1919 The following two decades are included to show possible influences on men who were still writing in the early twentieth century

1900 Boxer rebellion in China threatens foreigners Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* Einstein's *General Theory of Relativity* Deaths of Nietzsche, Wilde, and Ruskin *Daily Express* started Estimated 30% of population on edge of starvation 1901 Death of Victoria; succession of Edward VII Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* First wireless communication between UK and U.S. First Nobel prizes awarded 1902 End of Boer War Arnold Bennett, *Anna of the Five Towns* Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* Education Act (Balfour Act) provided funding for secondary schools out of local rates Alliance with Japan mainly against Russia 1903 *Daily Mirror* started Plague in India Women's Social and Political Union founded by Emmeline Pankhurst 1904 Joseph Conrad, *Nostromo* Trans-Siberian Railway completed 1905 St Petersburg 'Bloody Sunday' Einstein, *Special Theory of Relativity* Freud, *Theory of Sexuality* 1906 Women's Suffrage movement active Death of Ibsen First Liberal government in UK; large number of social reforms Workers compensated for injuries at work Formation of Labour Party	1900 U.S. population 76,300,000 *The Smart Set* and *World's Work* magazines established U.S. marines help Britain capture Peking Dwight Davis establishes tennis' Davis Cup Baum's *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* Associated Press founded 1901 President McKinley assassinated Theodore Roosevelt President (-1909) *Travel-Holiday* Andrew Carnegie donates $5,200,000 to set up New York Public Library system Wireless telegraphy heralds birth of radio 1902 *Popular Mechanics* Henry James, *The Wings of the Dove* Chinese Exclusion Act Republic of Cuba established: end of American occupation 1903 Wright brothers' first powered flight Henry James, *The Ambassadors* First silent movie, *The Great Train Robbery* Henry Ford founds Ford Motor Company Thomas Edison releases regular music recordings Treaty to build Panama Canal 588 die in fire in Iroquois Theatre, Chicago 1904 New York subway opens Henry James, *The Golden Bowl* Ground broken on Panama Canal First Olympics in U.S. Theodore Roosevelt elected President by largest margin in U.S. history 1,055 die in fire on steamship *General Slocum* in New York 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth signed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, ending Russo-

1907 Belgium seizes Congo Austria seizes Bosnia and Herzegovina Picasso introduces Cubism Rudyard Kipling awarded Nobel Prize Medical tests for school pupils and free treatment 1908 Elgar's First Symphony E. M. Forster, *Room with a View* First Old Age Pensions: five shillings for those over seventy Earthquake in Italy kills 150,000 1909 Death of George Meredith Bleriot flies across English Channel	Japanese War First Rotary Club formed in Chicago Yellow fever outbreak in New Orleans Player-piano introduced *Variety* official trade paper of live theatre industry 1906 San Francisco destroyed by earthquake and fire Kellogg's starts selling Cornflakes Roosevelt awarded Nobel Peace Prize 1907 First electric washing machine, Chicago Typhoid Mary captured for first time 'Divided back' postcard United Press (later United press International) founded in New York Coal mine explosions kill 601 workers in West Virginia and Pennsylvania 20th depression since 1790 Oklahoma 46th state 1908 Model-T Ford introduced SOS accepted as universal distress signal 1909 First cheap cars produced – Model-T Coal mine explosions kill 259 in Illinois 100th anniversary of Lincoln's birth Japan's Prince Ito assassinated NAACP founded Plastic is invented Robert Peary first to reach North Pole William H. Taft President (-1913) First animated cartoon, *Gertie the Dinosaur*
1910 Deaths of Tolstoy, Edward VII, and Florence Nightingale Arnold Bennet, *Clayhanger* E.M. Forster, *Howard's End* 1911 Rutherford discovers structure of atom Chinese Revolution MPs paid for first time under Parliament Act National Insurance Act: insurance for workers in times of illness 1912 China becomes republic Sinking of the *Titanic* Railway, mining, and coal strikes	1910 Boy Scouts established in U.S. Christian organisations seek censorship of films containing kissing Interstate Commerce Commission assumes regulation of telegraph and telephone communications 1911 Incan City of Machu Picchu discovered Standard Oil Company broken up by Supreme Court Devastating fire in Triangle Shirtwaist factory 22,000 U.S. troops protect Americans on Mexican border Death of Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) 1912 First successful parachute jump from airplanes

Daily Herald started	New Mexico 47th state; Arizona 48th
1913 *New Statesman* started	Sinking of *Titanic,* 1,500 perish
D.H. Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*	Girl Scouts of the USA
Suffragette Emily Davison killed by King George V's horse	1913 First crossword puzzle published
1914 Archduke Ferdinand assassinated	Henry Ford creates assembly line
Outbreak of First World War	LA Owens Valley aqueduct opened
James Joyce, *Dubliners*	Personal income tax introduced in U.S.
1915 First air attacks on London	Woodrow Wilson 28th U.S. President (-1921)
Germans use poison gas in war	50th anniversary of Battle of Gettysburg
Einstein, *General Theory of Relativity*	Douglas Fairbanks makes film debut in two-reeler
Ford Madox Ford, *The Good Soldier*	1914 Panama Canal opened
Gallipoli campaign	Charlie Chaplin's first appearance as 'Little Tramp'
Second Battle of Ypres	US forces occupy Vera Cruz, Mexico
1916 First Battle of the Somme	Americans begin paying income tax
Easter Rising in Dublin	1915 D.W. Griffith, *The Birth of a Nation*
James Joyce, *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*	Human voice transmitted between Arlington, Virginia, and Paris
1917 October Revolution in Russia	*Lusitania* sunk by German U-boat
T.S. Eliot, *Prufrock*	26,500 women march for suffrage in New York City
Mata Hari executed as spy	1916 First self-service grocery store opens
British intelligence uncover German plan to form alliance with Mexico against	South Carolina raises minimum age for coal miners from twelve to fourteen
U.S.	1917 U.S. enters World War I
1918 Second Battle of the Somme	First Pulitzer Prizes awarded
German offensive collapses	Puerto Rico becomes U.S. territory
End of World War I	Jeanette Rankin first woman in U.S. House
Votes for women over thirty	Woman's suffrage becomes law in New York state
Millions killed by influenza pandemic	All men aged twenty-one to thirty to register for military draft
1919 Treaty of Versailles	1918 U.S. adopts daylight saving
First flight across Atlantic – Alcock and Brown	End of World War I, at 11a.m. on 11 November
IRA formed in Ireland to fight British rule	Coal shortage closes Broadway theatres from February to April
British troops massacre 379 peaceful demonstrators in Punjab: large scale riots	Popular music influenced by war
Afghanistan gains independence from Britain	1919 National Prohibition Act
	Lincoln-Douglas debates
	May West debuts on Broadway stage in musical *Sometime*
	American Legion founded in Paris
	President Wilson suffers stroke
	U.S. Post Office issues purple 3c victory stamp