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Author(s): Chloe Holland

Title: The professional identities of Ellen Wood

Date: 2013

Originally published as: University of Chester MA dissertation

Example citation: Holland, C. (2013). *The professional identities of Ellen Wood*.  
(Unpublished master's thesis). University of Chester, United Kingdom.

Version of item: Submitted version

Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10034/311965>

**University of Chester**

Department of English

MA Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture

EN7204 Dissertation

G33541

# **The Professional Identities of Ellen Wood**



## Abstract

As author of the 1861 bestseller, *East Lynne*, Ellen Wood forged a successful literary career as a prolific writer of sensation fiction and celebrity-editor of *The Argosy* magazine. While this project will examine the construction and maintenance, of her most famous persona, the pious, conservative 'Mrs Henry Wood', an equal focus is afforded to the other literary identities under which Wood operated during her illustrious career. Although recent scholars have considered the business-like tenacity of Wood as a commercially driven writer in contrast to the fragile, conservative 'Mrs Henry Wood' persona, this dissertation integrates the identities forged in the early anonymous writings in periodicals and publications made under male pseudonyms with these contrasting representations to procure a comprehensive view of the literary identities adopted by Wood.

Situating Wood in the context of her contemporaries, the role of the female writer in the mid-nineteenth-century is primarily outlined to inform Wood's development of anonymous identities as a periodical writer through the semi-anonymous signature in contributions during the 1850s which foregrounded the 'Mrs Henry Wood' persona. The reputation of Wood's most famous professional identity and recent challenges by critics to that carefully devised image, are outlined through examination of the construction, conservation, and contradictions of Wood's most profitable trademark, 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. Finally, the inclusion of masculine identities provides a contrasting insight into Wood's writings, including the relatively unsuccessful boys stories hampered by the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' reputation, alongside her successful male pseudonyms 'Ensign Pepper' and 'Johnny Ludlow'. The consideration of the under studied professional identities adopted by Wood, alongside the famous 'Mrs. Henry Wood' literary persona, develops a comprehensive perception of the astute, tenacious businesswoman who deliberately crafted a popular yet respectable role in a saturated literary market.

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# Introduction

As one of the bestselling authors of the nineteenth century, Ellen Wood's immensely popular sensation novels featuring the trademark pious preachings of moral righteousness forged her place in literary history as the conservative sensationalist 'Mrs Henry Wood'. An orthodox evangelical, Ellen Wood, née Price, was born in 1814 to a successful Worcestershire-based glove manufacturer. Suffering from a debilitating spinal curvature, Wood's observational skills and passion for storytelling were developed at an early age during her confinement in childhood illness.<sup>1</sup> Following her marriage to Henry Wood in 1836 and their relocation to France, Wood entered the literary market comparatively late at the age of thirty-six. Starting as an anonymous 'hobbyist' writer, contributing short stories and articles for the *New Monthly Magazine* for little or no pecuniary reward, Wood's family soon became dependent upon her literary income after the failure of her husband's business venture in France.<sup>2</sup> After returning to England, Wood contributed more frequently to magazines to launch a literary career in order to provide for her family. Keen to protect her femininity and reputation as a female writer, Wood's development of professional identities, through narrative personas and signatures, culminated in the famous 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator featured in her most successful novel, *East Lynne*. Considered among the first 'sensation' novels, *East Lynne* is undoubtedly the text on which perceptions of Wood, both nineteenth-century and present day, are based. With the inimitable melodramatic writing style, including the 'woman-to-woman address,' 'gossipy tone,' and 'intrusive' narrator,<sup>3</sup> Wood provided the melodramatic events and characters that defined the sensation genre but adopted a conservative approach by condemning all misdemeanors and integrating evangelical sentimentalism into the controversial

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<sup>1</sup> Janet L. Grose, 'Ellen Price Wood (Mrs. Henry Wood)' in *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*, ed. Abigail Burnham Bloom (London: Aldwych Press, 2000), p. 411.

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

<sup>3</sup> Lyn Pykett, *The Improper Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and The New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 118.

subject matter. Despite her reputation as ‘one of the milder sensationalists’,<sup>4</sup> Wood managed to simultaneously ‘rattle all kinds of domestic skeletons’ by discussing decidedly unfeminine topics such as ‘patriarchal authority, repressed sexuality, divorce, [and] desertion.’<sup>5</sup> While Wood’s texts reveal an author who was not afraid to take risks, ‘experimenting with scandalous plots, dark characters, and the hidden realities of Victorian life,’ the intelligent professional identities adopted by Wood ensure the controversies are almost sidelined and concealed by the pious, interfering narrator alongside the conservative trademark.<sup>6</sup> Although criticised by contemporary reviewers for her grammatical errors and exaggerated plots, the conservative ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ persona seemingly protected Wood’s texts from major criticism. Following her husband’s death in 1866, Wood purchased the *Argosy* magazine and became its celebrity author-editor, regularly contributing up to half of its contents.<sup>7</sup> Despite having received increasing critical attention over recent years from scholars keen to access the cultural significance of popular texts, the multiplicity of Wood’s professional identities outside the shadow of both ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ and *East Lynne* has hitherto been referenced yet not examined. Therefore, informed by the existing research of Beth Palmer, Janice Allan, and Marie Riley particularly,<sup>8</sup> Wood’s development of professional identities can be used to track her negotiation of the competitive literary market in the transformation from an unpaid, inexperienced, anonymous contributor to the celebrity author-editor of the *Argosy* magazine, ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’.

This dissertation will examine Wood’s use of signature and anonymity to develop and subsequently forge an influential literary identity, ‘Mrs Henry Wood’, with a pious, conservative,

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<sup>4</sup> Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Christine Gibbs, ‘Sensational Schoolboys: Mrs. Henry Wood’s *The Orville College Boys*,’ *The Lion and the Unicorn*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (January 2000), p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Abigail Burham Bloom, *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers: a bio-bibliographical critical sourcebook* (London: Aldwych Press, 2000), p. 412.

<sup>7</sup> Beth Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship in Victorian Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> While Palmer’s work was extremely influential on my research, her discussion focussed on Wood’s literary identity as ‘Mrs. Henry Wood,’ author-editor of the *Argosy*, almost exclusively. However, this paper will provide discussion of Wood’s other professional identities, alongside the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ identity. Allan’s engagement with the textual changes from different versions of texts greatly informed my research of the self-fashioning aspect of Wood’s identities. Marie Riley’s paper foregrounds Wood as a businesswoman with astute consciousness of emerging or dispersing literary trends who adapted her writing according, which again has greatly influenced my research, although my emphasis on the professional identities offers a different approach.

frail persona, to deflect the masculine, assertive associations of a female professional writer and the controversial content of sensation novels. The role of the nineteenth-century woman writer in the will be outlined, which will act as a base for the examination of Wood's manipulation of the market, creating personas to produce the largest income, without tarnishing her reputation or respectability. Wood's anonymous writings to the *New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany* reveal an inexperienced writer still perfecting her craft, finding her audience, and discovering her literary identity. However, research into these anonymous texts uncovers Wood's development of easily discarded semi-anonymous literary personas using signature and text association through the semi-anonymous sign offs of 'By the author of [...]'. Experimenting with forms, styles, and contents, Wood makes use of twenty-five different semi-anonymous signatures before *East Lynne*. As she begins to develop respectable but popular literary personas, identifies her audience, and perfects her writing style, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrative style takes shape through the anonymous writings. The third chapter will focus on Wood after *East Lynne* and the processes undertaken to establish and protect her profitable trademark including republication and alteration of texts, and the exaggeration of the overt femininity of 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. The final chapter will explore Wood's masculine identities, which provide an alternative perspective of Wood's narratives and professional identities. Having successfully adopted a male persona, 'Ensign Pepper', in the 1850s, Wood reverts to a masculine identity in *Johnny Ludlow* after a string of unsuccessful stories for boys which proved incompatible with the meticulously crafted 'Mrs Henry Wood' narrator. Adopting male narrative voices at different stages of her career, Wood escapes both the femininity she attempts to conceal in anonymous contributions through publications as 'Ensign Pepper', a young soldier in the Crimean War, and the overbearing femininity of 'Mrs Henry Wood,' by posing as schoolboy 'Johnny Ludlow'. By examining Wood's professional identities together, the processes and techniques employed by Wood to create professional personas and establish herself as a writer reveal an astute businesswoman who effectively applied the skills she developed in the home to the public setting of the literary industry in order to provide financial stability for her

family while maintaining a respectable reputation. This dissertation uses Wood's literary identities to trace the 'tension' between the different versions of Ellen Wood which emerge from her literary career: 'her personification of the devoted wife and mother' through the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, 'Ellen Wood', 'the hard-nosed professional writer, skillfully trading on the public's desire for violence,' and 'the reticent woman who shunned the spotlight.'<sup>9</sup> While the biased biographical account written by her son and the absence of her destroyed letters and manuscripts have hindered the efforts of a modern reader to develop a comprehensive view of Wood, the professional identities she adopted throughout her affluent career offer an opportunity to gain a more extensive understanding of Wood the writer. While her ability to continue to fascinate modern readers has been attributed to her 'page-turning narratives' and 'celebration of bourgeois achievement and values',<sup>10</sup> the deliberate construction and perpetual shifting of professional literary identities render Ellen Wood a fascinating object of study.

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<sup>9</sup> Emma Liggins, 'Introduction: Ellen Wood, Writer,' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2008), p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> Marie Riley, 'Writing for the Million: The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood' in *Popular Victorian Women Writers*, eds. Kay Boardman and Shirley Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 165.

## Chapter One: The Role of the Woman Writer

Contemporary constructions of gender in the Victorian period construed writing as a decidedly unfeminine activity undermining the pure, passive characteristics of an ideal woman. The patriarchal social system was dependent on the binary, complimentary characteristics assigned to each gender being adhered to so each gender remained in their assigned social sphere: women in the private, domestic sphere and men in the competitive public sphere. The passive, fragile, ideal woman must become opportunistic, hard-working, and forceful to progress in a literary career. Thus, exposing themselves through fiction submitted to the competitive industry and employing 'masculine' characteristics, women writers were portrayed as transgressive, a construction that affected their reception and reputation in Victorian society. The idealistic distinction between the home as a retreat, 'a place of rest and not labour,' and the public sphere as a place of work became challenged with the female writer conducting much of her work within the home.<sup>11</sup> While domestic chores were thought to come naturally to the women, the decidedly masculine act of writing interposed connotations of sexual transgression: when the female writer markets her work she also markets herself. Essentially 'writing both within the domestic sphere and about it' the female writers were 'enabling and disabling their own literary efforts' considering their literary products often reinforced the separate sphere ideologies that their status as a woman writer undermined.<sup>12</sup> For writers like Wood, with families dependent upon the limited income from writing, the literary workload must be balanced with the established duties of wife and mother in maintaining the home and rearing the children. Nineteenth-century women writers did not believe that 'literary talents took precedence over the normal obligations of womanhood'<sup>13</sup> and the 'managerial reach' from a female writer who was also a household manager 'extended to the construction of narrative'.<sup>14</sup> Effectively, the processes of writing became supplementary to their household duties, which strove

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<sup>11</sup> Monica F. Cohen, *Professional Domesticity in the Victorian Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Langland, 'Women's Writing and the Domestic Sphere' in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 119.

<sup>13</sup> Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of their Own: from Charlotte Bronte to Dorris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1999), p. 60-1.

<sup>14</sup> Langland, 'Women's Writing and the Domestic Sphere', p. 130.

to feminise the masculine act of writing by allowing women to ‘successfully integrate their female values and behaviors into the pursuit of their literary careers.’<sup>15</sup> Concurrently, the harmonisation of the two professions, writing and household management, ensured that an effective reconciliation of the masculine and feminine pursuits served to ‘enrich their art and deepen their understanding’.<sup>16</sup> Thereby, in attempting to integrate her roles as wife and mother within her writing by acting as a spiritual guide to her impressionable reader, Wood demonstrates a tenacious business mind which proved critical to her success in the saturated nineteenth-century literary market. Women writers used the ‘hobbyist’ shield to ‘subvert domestic ideology to position themselves as amateurs and thus covertly enter the public sphere.’<sup>17</sup> With little other prospects of income, the ‘immense productivity’ of nineteenth-century female writers is evidence of their ‘total involvement in the literary professions’ and exposes the ‘hobbyist’ persona portrayed by many female writers as part of the attempts to feminise the masculine act of authorship.<sup>18</sup> One of the only professions conductible from within the domestic sphere, only the ‘name and product of the author’ physically entered the public domain, rendering the composition of authorial identity particularly important.<sup>19</sup> The periodical press effectively acted as a ‘mediating agent’ between the public and private domains for female writers, offering a ‘liminal space’ in which they could become professional writers while maintaining their ‘proper’ femininity.<sup>20</sup> Concurrently, female writers often embarked on a conscious effort at self-construction in order to obtain a foothold in the literary market without sacrificing their respectability and reputation.

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<sup>15</sup> Susan Coultrop-McQuinn, *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. xxii.

<sup>16</sup> Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 61.

<sup>17</sup> Georgina Ellen O’Brien Hill, ‘The Woman Author-Editor and the Negotiation of Professional Identity’ [PhD thesis] (Chester: University of Liverpool, 2009), p.1.

<sup>18</sup> Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> Dorothy Thomason, ‘Women, Work, and Politics in Nineteenth-Century England: the Problem of Authority’ in *Equal or Different: Women’s Politics 1800-1914*, ed. Jane Rendall (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 69.

<sup>20</sup> Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnson (eds.), *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 1.

The disjunction between the feminine ideal and characteristics of a successful writer caused the gender of the writer to often become ‘the primary category’ upon which a novel was reviewed.<sup>21</sup> The volume of literature flooding the marketplace in the 1860s, partly due to the vast increase in literacy, meant that ‘reviews became important mediators between literature and the reading public’<sup>22</sup> and greatly influenced the success of authors. The reviewers moulded readers’ opinions by gaining the authority to ‘prescribe and regulate critical value’<sup>23</sup> and a significant factor in the evaluation of literary value was the representation of gender, both within the text and the writer’s conformity to gender stereotypes. According to contemporary constructions, men were rational and intellectual, while women were emotional, spiritual and not able to produce ‘one shrewd and original thought’.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, partaking in the intellectual act of writing cast serious doubt on a woman’s respectability as ‘a truly pure woman is too ignorant to be a good novelist, and conversely, any insightful female novelist is morally suspect’.<sup>25</sup> Acceptance from reviewers, as a female novelist, was mostly achieved by righteous tales of idealistic family life in which the author extends her domestic role as spiritual guide ‘to promulgate appropriate moral values and support the socialisation of young women into properly feminised (and classed) subjects.’<sup>26</sup> However, sensation fiction, often identified as ‘trash’,<sup>27</sup> relied on transgressive females to evoke emotions and excite the reader to increase sales, and seldom received positive comments from more respectable reviewers, consequently confining it to popular culture, rather than high culture monopolised by men. The disruptiveness of sensation fiction also lay not just on the ability to emphasise ‘woman’s capacity to express powerful, emotional reactions’ but the degree to which it made female readers ‘consider their positions within their own homes and within society.’<sup>28</sup> In her study of the genre, Pamela

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<sup>21</sup> Nicola Diane Thompson, *Reviewing Sex: Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Anonymous Reviewer, ‘Verner’s Pride,’ *The Examiner London* (14 March 1863), p. 165.

<sup>25</sup> Thompson, *Reviewing Sex*, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> Janice Allan, ‘The Contemporary Response’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Sensation Novel*, ed. Andrew Mangham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Pamela K. Gilbert. *Disease, Desire and the Body in Victorian Women’s Popular Novels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914* (London: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 276.

Gilbert argues that the ‘author function’ in sensation fiction was ‘implicated in the construction of their readership, their market position, their generic placement, and their position outside the canon.’<sup>29</sup> Rather than expressing any desire to be a ‘high-brow’ writer, Wood directs her efforts towards commercial success and the maintenance of a respectable private persona. The combination of these impulses is evident in the way she incorporated the moral values of domestic realism into the profitable genre of sensation fiction, as a reviewer states, her ‘purpose was to interest and amuse her readers,’ though simultaneously ‘always endeavoured ... to raise the standard of morality.’<sup>30</sup> Wood adopted profitable sensationalist plots to support her family financially, but never compromised the moral message maintained in her overtly feminine ‘Mrs Henry Wood’ persona. While her contemporaries read her most famous pen-name as evidence of an innate conservatism, it is also possible to read it as a carefully crafted performance and professional identity. As a self-conscious business-woman, Wood was aware of the importance of representation and deliberately chose to be identified primarily as a wife and secondly as a writer in the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ persona she became indistinguishable from.

Wood self-consciously and intelligently crafted her own personas throughout her career to ensure the overall perception of her was of the perfect Victorian woman: ‘a safe, harmless, respectable, God-fearing, middle-class Englishwoman.’<sup>31</sup> However, it is not only through the novels published as ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ that we can recognise this process of self-fashioning. As we shall see, Wood’s early anonymous contributions to the *New Monthly Magazine* unearth the development of ‘Mrs Henry Wood’ writing style and persona. While generally the female writer ‘trained to reticence’ feared the ‘vertiginous openness of the literary marketplace,’ Wood’s self-definition as an overtly feminine narrator boxed her firmly within the domestic sphere creating the illusion of propriety and masking the subversive content of her novels.<sup>32</sup> Paradoxically, Wood’s masculine identities, as discussed in the final chapter, shed the overtly feminine narration, yet often maintain

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<sup>29</sup> Gilbert, *Disease, Desire and the Body*, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Anon. Reviewer, ‘Verner’s Pride’, p. 165.

<sup>31</sup> Steve Davies, ‘Introduction’ in Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* (London: Dent, 1984), p. v.

<sup>32</sup> Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: the Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 58.

the pious message that Wood was determined to portray in her writings, particularly in the case of 'Johnny Ludlow' which featured in Wood's *Argosy* magazine and thereby was obliged to conform to its conservative and religious tone. The study of Wood's professional identities, particularly the overpowering 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona, enable an understanding of how Wood was able to maintain her respectable reputation while discussing controversial issues by consistently treating authorship as a 'performative activity' and forging her own literary reputation and identities.<sup>33</sup> The professional identities also uncover Wood's adaptability as a writer as she fine-tunes her craft in the anonymous identities, works to preserve her conservative reputation in the 'Mrs Henry Wood' persona, and sheds the overtly feminine narrator in her masculine identities. As the 'cult of authorship' and 'commodification of the signature' increased throughout the nineteenth-century, Wood's anonymous contributions to *Bentley's Miscellany* and *New Monthly Magazine* during the 1850s provide evidence of the initiation of a complex relationship with self-representation as Wood enters the literary market for the first time.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Catherine A. Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England' in *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, ed. John O Jordan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 225.

## Chapter Two: Anonymous Identities

From February 1851 until the serialisation of *East Lynne*, Wood contributed over 150 texts to two periodicals edited by W.H. Ainsworth, the *New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany*. Written for little or 'no remuneration,' Wood's earliest published texts reveal an inexperienced writer providing sketches and short stories portraying life in provincial France.<sup>35</sup> Invariably attractive to female writers, the 'policy of anonymous publication' common in periodicals provided 'effective cover' for women interacting with 'conventionally 'masculine' social issues.'<sup>36</sup> As the anonymous contributions, and the income they could potentially generate, became increasingly important to the struggling Wood family, Wood contributed more frequently, writing monthly from June 1854. Consequently, the increased significance of her literary pursuits altered the professionalism with which Wood approached her writing, which is marked by the introduction of text-associated signatures, using by-lines such as 'by the author of 'Ashley'. Through these contributions, Wood's anonymous literary personas began development as her professional identities became established through the text-associated signatures. Maintaining an equal level of protection as complete anonymity, the text-associated signature allowed Wood to create an easily discarded literary identity while exploring a variety of writing styles and topics. Thereby, the anonymous writings enabled Wood to hone her literary skill, develop as a writer, and craft a literary persona she believed would provide the optimum pecuniary reward when combined with popular trends and topics. Wood's complicated relationship with signatures, which changed frequently both within a publication and in different magazines, exposes Wood's manipulation of authorial personas. Wood's anonymous identities provide an traceable insight into the carving of a literary identity which would eventually become 'Mrs. Henry Wood'. While many women writers wrote in periodicals as journalists in order to sustain their literary careers as novelists or poets, Ellen Wood appeared to utilise her time as an inexperienced anonymous contributor to monthly magazines to

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<sup>35</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 90.

<sup>36</sup> Alexis Easley, *First-Person Anonymous: Women Writers and the Victorian Print Media, 1830-70* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 1.

'hone her ability both to tune into the popular Zeitgeist and to smooth over any potential indiscretions with recourse to a number of authorial devices.'<sup>37</sup>

As previously discussed, writing anonymously was the norm for a nineteenth-century female writer who 'sought freedom from discrimination' at the hands of reviewers and protected their femininity through anonymity.<sup>38</sup> While many periodicals were 'marked by apparent anonymity,'<sup>39</sup> the constant modification of Wood's semi-anonymous signatures becomes significant in association with the meticulous creation and protection of her later professional identities. While editors afforded writers a 'by-line' on the belief that 'their regular association with a journal would boost readership,'<sup>40</sup> Wood's constantly altered anonymous identities showcase the experimentations of a self-conscious writer aware of the vital implications of authorial image, through name or text-association. Assimilated by Brake to an 'apprenticeship for a would-be writer',<sup>41</sup> anonymous contributions to periodicals provided the opportunity for an inexperienced writer to develop their literary skills and construct their identity, an opportunity of which Wood undoubtedly took advantage. Although the introduction of 'named contributors' had the risk of threatening the 'collective identity' of periodicals through 'house style' and 'the collective 'we', both the *New Monthly* and *Bentley's* appeared to create the collective identity through the tone and content of their contributions, which ensured Wood's writing was obliged to conform to the established house style.<sup>42</sup> The collective authorship in serials through 'intertextuality and editing' ensures that the writer is obliged to compose their work 'within codes of discourse,' which are determined by both the type of piece they are writing and the publication in which it will appear.<sup>43</sup> Described by Deborah Wynne as having a "'manly' tone",<sup>44</sup> the *New Monthly* contained many non-fiction articles about war and politics directed to the magazine's male readers, as opposed to the 'feminine' fiction

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<sup>37</sup> Riley, 'The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood', p. 168.

<sup>38</sup> Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition, 1850-1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 33.

<sup>39</sup> Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 33.

<sup>40</sup> Fraser, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, p. 39.

<sup>41</sup> Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender, and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 18.

<sup>44</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63.

designed to cater for a female audience.<sup>45</sup> The initial publications by Wood often featured ‘anti-Catholic’ and ‘manly’ tones in accordance with the conservative, masculine periodicals.<sup>46</sup> Written before the construction of her career-defining persona, the *New Monthly* contributions show Wood’s freedom to be more transgressive in the developing identity of her audience and masculinity of the publication, which disappears once her female audience and persona are established. Wood’s negotiation of signature and semi-anonymous writing allowed her to carve the professional identity that would become ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’, indicating that her early writings were essential to her understanding and success of the literary market. By associating a contribution through signature with a previous text, Wood was able to carve a literary identity while maintaining a protective anonymity to shield her reputation.

In contributions to the *New Monthly Magazine*, Wood utilised five texts to create semi-anonymous identities before the publication of *East Lynne*, which were each afforded various lengths of use: ‘Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic’ (1851),<sup>47</sup> ‘The Unholy Wish’ (1853-6),<sup>48</sup> ‘Ensign Pepper’ (1854-5),<sup>49</sup> ‘The Elopement’ (1855),<sup>50</sup> and ‘Ashley’ (1856-1861).<sup>51</sup> Although it is untenable to be certain, beyond a doubt, with whom the responsibility for the decision to modify the names under which Wood’s narratives appeared, the evidence of her forthright business acumen and her subsequent manipulation of professional identities indicates that it is likely to have been, at the very least, initiated by Wood, even if the final decision was made by Ainsworth, the magazines’ editor. This perpetual shifting of literary identities, whether initiated by Ainsworth or Wood herself, is indicative of Wood’s active attempts to forge a persona and position for herself within a crowded literary marketplace, and foregrounds Wood’s conscious manipulation of literary identities after the ties between herself and Ainsworth were severed as Wood’s literary

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<sup>45</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 64.

<sup>46</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 90.

<sup>47</sup> Anon., ‘Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic’, *New Monthly Magazine*, 91, 362 (February 1851), pp. 245-255. All further references will be given within the body of the text.

<sup>48</sup> Anon., ‘The Unholy Wish’, *New Monthly Magazine*, 97, 388 (April 1853), pp. 410-423. All further references will be given within the body of the text.

<sup>49</sup> See the Masculine Identities chapter for references to the Ensign Pepper texts.

<sup>50</sup> Anon., ‘The Elopement’, *New Monthly Magazine* (January 1855), pp. 1-17.

<sup>51</sup> ‘The Author of “The Unholy Wish”’, ‘Ashley’, *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1856), pp. 261-273. All further references will be given within the body of the text.

proWess increased. The many façades adopted concurrently suggests a number of different approaches to this process and become especially evident when the earlier fiction is compared to the work published under the 'Mrs Henry Wood' trademark. As each text is discarded or incorporated into Wood's literary identity deliberately, the texts will be examined in order to establish any reasoning behind the mercurial identities of Wood's anonymous writings.

Only used as a signature for seven of her earliest texts, 'Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic' displays Wood's writing style at its most unrefined. Set in provincial France, the narrative warns husbands of the potential perils of a wife becoming controlled by her priest through confession and ends with the husbands' dramatic and bloody suicide.<sup>52</sup> Decidedly anti-Catholic,<sup>53</sup> the tale is specifically aimed at men with the narrator directly addressing the male reader, in typically recognisable manner for readers of Wood's later novels: 'Husbands of England! thank God that you are far removed from these crying evils: they are no fictions' (p. 255). Displaying many characteristics of Wood's inimitable writing style, the text shows the beginnings of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator before its creation. The subsequent contributions under this signature similarly provide an explicitly anti-Catholic viewpoint and deal with the negative influence of the foreign religion on the communication and happiness of married couples. However, while the 'The Unholy Wish', published in April 1853, similarly provides clear warnings to the male reader, regarding the perils of flirtatious women, Wood's writing appears to have deliberately stepped away from the overtly anti-Catholic tone that defined the writings under the 'Seven Years' signature. 'The Unholy Wish' sees two men, James, the surgeon's assistant, and Tom, the squire's son, vying for the affections of the town flirt, Emily. After Emily's rejection, James flees the village, but not before wishing 'to God [Tom] may break his back' (p. 421). Before the story concludes, this wish is 'strangely fulfilled' in a steeplechase accident (p. 422), which echoes a real-life incident reported in

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<sup>52</sup> For an extensive discussion of the portrayal of France and Catholicism in Wood's writings see Matthew Pires' article "'Boulougne-Sur-Mer, of all the places in the world!": France in the Works of Ellen Wood' *Women's Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), pp. 169-186.

<sup>53</sup> Marie Riley argues that Wood's early anti-Catholic writings addressed a particular 'niche' for such narratives in the early 1850s, 'The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood', p. 168.

the *Freeman's Journal* six months before the story appeared.<sup>54</sup> Association with the deceptive Emily clearly hinders the men as Wood alerts male readers to the false promises made by flirtatious women. These warnings distributed to a male reader through direct narratorial address, together with the gossipy tone adopted, more applicable to a female audience, signify Wood's literary inexperience. The use of typically feminine narrative methods, which 'replicate the rhythms of women's conversation' through gossipy tone, 'leisurely pace', and reminders of trivial details,<sup>55</sup> combined with advice directed to male readers indicate Wood's confusion as to her audiences' identity and the determination to apply the narrative techniques with which she is comfortable to the male *New Monthly* reader. The direct addresses, warning men of 'consequences of their own temerity,' (p. 423) 'solicit the reader's attention for a particular moral point of view' allowing Wood to stress her moral lesson and control the readers perspective of her narrative.<sup>56</sup> This narrative control, which consistently 'reminds the reader that she holds the strings which set the puppets in motion,' is continued throughout Wood's literary career, and later formed part of Wood's didactic narrative trademark.<sup>57</sup> As Wood evolved as a writer, the focus upon her reception and the construction of her literary identities suggests a conscious decision to continue writing using these techniques, but to direct it towards the more receptive, impressionable female reader, who would heed her lessons, and consequently Wood adopts her famous 'woman-to-woman' address.<sup>58</sup> However, during the period in which Wood utilised the 'Unholy Wish' signature, the texts that featured Wood's first masculine persona, 'Ensign Pepper', were published as Wood experimented with narrative voice by posing as a soldier sending letters home from the Crimean War. Despite having written from a male perspective for a male reader, 'Ensign Pepper' marks the first occasion that Wood's narrator becomes a masculinised identity. While the 'Ensign Pepper' persona will be discussed at length in the Masculine Identities chapter, it is important to consider

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<sup>54</sup> Anon, 'Sporting Intelligence', *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* [Dublin, Ireland] (October 23 1852), p.17. Integrating real life events into narratives is a technique that sensation writers were well known for and thereby displays Wood's sensationalist techniques before the birth of the genre.

<sup>55</sup> Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 119.

<sup>56</sup> Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 119.

<sup>57</sup> Anon., Review of 'St. Martin's Eve' *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 21, 544 (March 31 1866), p. 387.

<sup>58</sup> Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 118.

that Wood was writing for a specifically male reader in her semi-anonymous texts at the same time as the creation of her first masculine persona. Wood's business acumen suggests that a knowledge of the disjunction between the gossipy tone of her narrative style prompted her creation of a masculine identity which may be more authentic. Similarly during the 'Unholy Wish' signature period, Wood's also adopted the signature of 'by the author of The Elopement', used only once in the publication of the texts' sequel 'The Reception of the Dead' in February 1855.<sup>59</sup> Set in an exclusively female French finishing school, 'The Elopement,' which Wood discarded association with almost immediately, eventually became integrated into her popular novel *St. Martin's Eve* as a sub-plot. 'The Elopement' begins Wood's alteration in content of the narratives which begin to contain an explicitly feminine prominence, more coherent with the emerging 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrative style.<sup>60</sup>

In July 1856, Wood published 'Ashley,' -- a story of an aristocratic man marrying his 'half-caste' ward -- that provided the title of her final anonymous identity preceding the publication of *East Lynne*. As with many sensation fictions at the time, a female character displaying 'proper' characteristics is directly compared with an 'improper' female character. What is, perhaps, less expected, especially from the supposedly conservative Wood, is that it is the 'improper' woman, the 'hot and fiery' Laretta (p. 268), who achieves the reward traditionally reserved for deserving young woman of Victorian fiction: respectable marriage to a wealthy and attractive husband. At the same time, Wood calls into question the attributes of normative femininity, as Laretta declares that Anna, representative of the 'proper' woman, 'ought to have been born a slave... the blacks on grandpapa's estate are under no worse thralldom than you' (p. 266). Wood's unattractive portrayal of the 'proper feminine', as a 'repellant piece of marble' (p. 268), predates Braddon's *Aurora Floyd*, which similarly celebrates a transgressive female with the same 'flashing eyes' as Laretta (p. 262) at the expense of the 'proper' feminine. Therefore, Wood anticipates her more radical rival, which makes clear the complication that the early stories pose to Wood's assumed conservatism.

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<sup>59</sup> 'The Author of "The Elopement",' 'The Reception of the Dead,' *New Monthly Magazine* (February 1855), pp. 427-440.

<sup>60</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63.

Once we become familiar with the content of this story, Wood's efforts to distance herself from it and, more specifically, its critique of middle-class feminine propriety, becomes far more understandable as she attempts to re-fashion herself as a 'respectable' authoress of the circulating library. If this story calls into question critical assumptions about Wood's treatment of gender, it also allows us to re-visit the prevalence of 'woman to woman' address within her corpus. Wood's address to male readers in 'Ashley' is through the character of Arthur, who began the 'fading of his inheritance' by 'his own folly' of flirting with Laretta while promised to Anna (p. 273), which results in Laretta's revenge of marrying Sir Ashley. The narrator's judgmental address to Arthur, 'Serve you right, Mr. Arthur, for you have been unpardonably sweet upon that impulsive girl' (p. 268), doubles as an address to the male reader through the example of Arthur. This moral guidance of her male reader precedes her 'woman-to-woman' addresses which calls into question the assumptions made about Wood based on the addresses in her later novels, particularly *East Lynne*. It begs the question of whether Wood really is just a woman-to-woman writer, or if she coined this narratorial technique in earlier writings and used it to its best advantage, through the profitable market of sensationalism. Wood's ability to persuade Ainsworth in the late 1850s to accept her 'preferred style of fiction, tales of female suffering and disappointment' coincides with the development of the more feminine 'Ashley' signature in the *New Monthly Magazine*, which would eventually produce *East Lynne*, and simultaneously the contributions to *Bentley's Miscellany* began to transform from 'manly sketches' to more feminine stories towards the end of the decade.<sup>61</sup>

Similarly to the *New Monthly*, *Bentley's* had a reputation as a conservative, masculine magazine with 'one thread of gender articles, on men, [concerning] 'men of letters' and 'great men'''.<sup>62</sup> Of the fifty contributions made by Wood to *Bentley's* between January 1855 and November 1859, over half were completely anonymous with the remaining twenty-three contributions featuring seven different text-associated signatures. By only referencing texts in the signatures that featured in *Bentley's*, Wood forged an alternative set of semi-anonymous personas

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<sup>61</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63.

<sup>62</sup> Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 88.

from those of the *New Monthly* using the signatures and increasing the exposure of her developing narrative style on a larger section of the reading public. Similarly to the *New Monthly*, the selection of text for the signature was often dependent upon the continuation of a previous story, for example, the signature featuring ‘Midnight Doings’ only appears once despite the continuation of the story of the family in the narrative. Taking a distinctly different path into a more feminised focus on the same family, Wood deliberately alters the signature under which the texts appear. ‘Midnight Doings’,<sup>63</sup> a decidedly masculine text that encounters Charles Dalrymple’s gambling habits and alleged suicide, is followed by ‘Too Much to Wear’,<sup>64</sup> which features Charles’ sister, Selina, married to a distant relative who stands to inherit the Dalrymple estate. Echoing her brother’s ruinous gambling habit, Selina develops a ‘mania’ for dresses and accumulates up a £3,000 debt far beyond the means of her husband’s limited income (p. 95). By transferring similar issues of excess from the masculine realm of gambling and drinking to the feminine dress shop and domestic realm, Wood translates her work from that of a specifically masculine tone to a text firmly placed in the female sphere. The texts that follow ‘Too Much to Wear’ document the detrimental effect of Selina’s extravagance on both her husband and the surrounding community and it is only when the true heir Charles returns, previously believed to be dead, that order is reestablished in the town. Following this significant change in literary signature and identity, Wood once again descends to complete anonymity through ‘Rushing Headlong into Marriage’,<sup>65</sup> which became the signature of its sequel ‘Three Hundred a Year’.<sup>66</sup> In these overtly feminine texts, two recently married sisters are compared: Augusta, married to an idle, spendthrift husband with an income of five-hundred a year, and Annis, married in a love-match to a clerk with three-hundred a year. The tale distinguishes Augusta’s poor household management from Annis’ household economy as she lives within her means. Reading like a contemporary domestic handbook, once Augusta’s husband descends into

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<sup>63</sup> ‘The Author of “The Passing Bell”,’ ‘Midnight Doings,’ *Bentley’s Miscellany* (July 1857), pp. 561-574.

<sup>64</sup> ‘The Author of “Midnight Doings”,’ ‘Too Much To Wear,’ *Bentley’s Miscellany* (January 1858), pp. 87-102. All further references will be within the body of the text.

<sup>65</sup> Anon., ‘Rushing Headlong into Marriage,’ *Bentley’s Miscellany* (January 1858), pp.338-351.

<sup>66</sup> ‘The Author of “Rushing Headlong into Marriage”,’ ‘Three Hundred a Year,’ *Bentley’s Miscellany* (January 1858), pp. 449-464.

debt, Annis teaches her sister intricate ways of saving money while maintaining the appearance of a comfortable lifestyle. Following these more feminine signature and texts, Wood's signature changes once more to an earlier story, 'Moat-Grange',<sup>67</sup> concerned with the previously mentioned Dalrymple family and returns to a more masculine content such as shootings and gambling. It is well known that Ainsworth was reluctant to allow Wood to serialise a novel in his magazines before the success of *Danesbury House* and the alterations to Wood's contributions, in terms of content, signature, and style seemingly indicate Wood's attempts to find her voice as a writer and convince Ainsworth of her literary value. With Wood's final ten contributions to *Bentley's* appearing entirely anonymously, it appears that her attempts to create a semi-anonymous persona in the magazine came to a halt. Although it is difficult to prove that Wood was the driving force behind the constantly changing signatures and identities, her preoccupation and meticulous consciousness of authorial image suggest that Wood had at least a small influence on the way in which she was presented to the reader and the trend of the signatures and gendered content intimates Wood's attempts to coerce Ainsworth into accepting the feminine narratives she wished to produce.

Wood's transition from 'hobbyist' anonymous contributor to professional writer is often identified through the publication of her first novel *Danesbury House*. Wood's status as an amateur writer, by publishing anonymously, allowed her to enter the novel into a Temperance League competition and win the annual one hundred pound prize despite having almost ten years experience as a regular contributor to monthly magazines. Despite the 'presumed amateurism' and enhanced womanliness, Wood ultimately promoted herself, and her work, in a 'highly professional way' by cultivating both a literary persona and a 'behind-the-scenes professional identity'.<sup>68</sup> Considered the 'central commodity' of the nineteenth century, novels paid considerably more than the 'filler material' of short-stories and sketches, which ultimately explains profit-orientated Wood's determination to become a novelist.<sup>69</sup> *Danesbury House* marks the text that firmly establishes Wood's overtly feminine narrator condemning indulgence and preaching the values of

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<sup>67</sup> 'The Author of "The Passing Bell", 'Moat-Grange,' *Bentley's Miscellany* (July 1857), pp. 477-490.

<sup>68</sup> Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p. 181.

<sup>69</sup> Emmaiggins, *The British Short Story* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 7.

temperance. The realistic portrayal of a working town and the lack of communication through the separate spheres of Mr. and Mrs. Danesbury, situated in Danesbury Works (the public domain) and Danesbury House (the domestic sphere) respectively, portrays many of the issues that Wood would become known for in her more sensational novels. While it is unquestionable that *Danesbury House*'s 'heavy moral tone and catastrophic trajectory [...] set a precedent for much of Wood's later work,' I would argue that the precedent was initially set in Wood's anonymous writings through her conscious formation of her own literary style and identities. An astute businesswoman with knowledge of the commercially popular, Wood's first novel presents further evidence of the formation of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona. The beginnings of the 'Mrs Henry Wood' combination of didactic, pious narration with sensational characters and events is easily identifiable in *Danesbury House*. The direct reader addresses, realistic descriptions, exaggerated language, and reliance upon dialogue are all present in *Danesbury House*. The clear condemnation of less-than-perfect characters, for example the second Mrs. Danesbury who allows her children to drink alcohol and subsequently dies of grief following her son's suicide due to alcohol dependency, and the elaborate idealisation of middle-class pious characters are typical of Wood's subsequent narratives. With an 'emphasis on suffering' specifically through the topic of temperance, which was particularly relevant to evangelicals like Wood,<sup>70</sup> *Danesbury House* includes many attributes connected with the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' trademark including both the evangelical teaching of moderation and adequate parenting alongside sensational scenes of suicide and a baby being poisoned with alcohol. Arthur Danesbury's 'paternalistic didacticism reinforces the novel's overt message' as the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' message is articulated through the idealised middle-class character.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, the direct reader address that is always associated with Wood's texts is particularly prominent, yet the narrator ensures the reader remains gender neutral by using the term 'Reader!' throughout the direct addresses in the text<sup>72</sup> until the final chapter where a 'workingman' in particular is referenced which specifically identifies both the gender and class of her intended

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<sup>70</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 91.

<sup>72</sup> Mrs. Henry Wood, *Danesbury House* [1860] (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1893), chapter XXVI. Kindle Edition.

reader (chapter XXVI). As in *East Lynne*, the narrator uses the story to educate her audience by adopting emotive, melodramatic language for the direct addresses to an ungendered audience: ‘Reader! you do not believe it; but I am telling you nothing but truth! How could they have fallen from their pinnacle, to shame and misery such as this? How indeed!’ (chapter V). Similarly, the gossipy, conversational narrative voice that defines the ‘Mrs Henry Wood’ narrator is present in the text, ‘She was a smart, well-conducted, tidy young woman once... Yes, she was; even that virago, with her offensive words and her black hair hanging about her face’ (Chapter VII) and a gruesomely detailed description of Robert Danesbury’s suicide provides the sensational connotations associated with ‘Mrs Henry Wood’. After years of ‘playing the amateur to Ainsworth’s professional’ and Ainsworth’s reluctance to allow Wood to serialise a novel due to his dependence on her reliable contributions to the magazine,<sup>73</sup> after the success of *Danesbury House* ‘Wood insisted on being an equal partner in the business of authorship and publishing’ and *East Lynne* began its serialisation in the *New Monthly* shortly afterwards.<sup>74</sup>

While *Danesbury House* is undoubtedly Wood’s first novel published in volumes, Wood had previous experience in producing a serialised narrative in *Bentley’s Miscellany*. Throughout her anonymous contributions, many of the tales were sequels or continuations of previous stories, which maintained the interest of the reader over a few months and partially explains the use of signature as she developed a following through the associated text. From September 1855 to November 1856, Wood wrote a series of related stories in *Bentley’s* which became the serialised novel ‘The House of Halliwell,’ republished posthumously in the *Argosy* from January to December 1890. Although Wood edited *Argosy* until her death, during a decrease in contributions due to illness in the mid-1870s, Charles, her dutiful son, ‘took a more active role’ and succeeded her as the magazine’s editor after her death.<sup>75</sup> The *Argosy*’s first installment of ‘The House of Halliwell’

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<sup>73</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 63.

<sup>74</sup> Jennifer Phegley, ‘Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry: Sons’ Memoirs of the Lives of Ellen Price Wood and Mary Elizabeth Braddon’ in Hawkins, Ann R., and Ives, Maura. *Women Writers and the Artifacts of Celebrity in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), p. 193.

<sup>75</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 101.

contains an editor's note,<sup>76</sup> which explains that the story was in fact written many years previously and although it had been prepared for publication, it was not offered to a publishing house. The verity of this statement is questionable as it is unclear as to whether it was rejected by a publisher, or whether Ainsworth was an impediment in its publication in his attempts to keep Wood as an unpaid contributor to the *New Monthly*. The editor's note goes on to explain that the 'story somewhat differs in style and construction' from Wood's subsequent works and points out the possibility for 'additional interest as showing forth the development of dramatic and constructive force.'<sup>77</sup> Admitting that if 'Mrs Henry Wood' were still here, she would 'widen and elaborate' the tale, Charles also alludes to the inimitable individual style associated with Wood that is apparent in the early stories: 'For every page bears the unmistakable impression of the hand of the author of "East Lynne," whose place in the world of Fiction is marked by so distinct a style and individuality that these are at once identified.' Even posthumously, Wood's specific methods of marketing and refashioning her works are maintained by her son, who continues to portray 'Mrs Henry Wood' in the literary marketplace identically to his mother's specific techniques. In effect, Charles Wood's note essentially reinforces the points made in this dissertation of Wood's negotiation of her public image, both in its construction and preservation. Although the narrative features many techniques associated with Wood, like much of her earlier fiction, Wood uses one of the characters, in this case Aunt Copp, as the didactic figure in the absence of the imposing 'Mrs Henry Wood' narrator. By distancing herself from the character, Wood is able to be more radical in her suggestions than is possible with the narrative voice with which she is associated. For example, Aunt Copp controversially suggests that women are 'a great deal clearer-sighted than men' in business (p. 10), while occupying a clear didactic role by warning the characters of recklessness and excess (p. 24), just as the Mrs. Henry Wood narrator would in Wood's subsequent texts. It is in this way that the distinction between *The House of Halliwell* as part of Wood's anonymous identities, and the

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<sup>76</sup> See Appendix C for a copy of the Editor's Note.

<sup>77</sup> Charles Wood, Editor's Note to 'The House of Halliwell', *The Argosy* (Jan 1890), p.1-2. All further references will be given in the body of the text.

contrast identified by Charles Wood, is evident as opposed to the narrative voice of *Danesbury House* as firmly part of the 'Mrs Henry Wood' persona.

Using the decade in which she published semi-anonymously to 'refine [her] craft', Wood's texts display a 'keen awareness of [herself] not as publishing in a vacuum but as part of a wider and diverse community' and it is this consciousness that enabled Wood to identify the optimum persona for herself and construct and maintain it through the next two decades in which she was an active writer.<sup>78</sup> While the *New Monthly Magazine* served an invaluable purpose in the development and launch of Wood's literary identities with its loyal 'conservative bourgeoisie' reader and rigid editor, Ainsworth, unaware of changing literary trends,<sup>79</sup> following *East Lynne* Wood made use of other publications in the Victorian marketplace and began to withdraw from the *New Monthly* causing many readers to take their custom with her. Wynne's observation of Ainsworth's editorial mistakes in failure to support the popular, but controversial, sensation novels serialised in the *New Monthly* with relevant features provide evidence of his inability to 'adapt his magazine to provide a suitable environment for their novels' and failure to consider the 'integrated approach' as apparent of newer magazine editors.<sup>80</sup> Wood's evident awareness of the literary market is displayed in her distancing herself from the conservative magazine and eventually editing her own magazine, the *Argosy*, where she would have absolute control over every aspect of her publications. Therefore, the anonymous identities adopted by Wood throughout the early stages of her literary career provide an insight into the creation of the famous 'Mrs Henry Wood' brand and trace the ways in which the brand came into fruition.

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<sup>78</sup> Andrew Radford, *Victorian Sensation Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 19.

<sup>79</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 35.

<sup>80</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 37.

## Chapter Three: ‘Mrs Henry Wood’

The literary reputation of Ellen Wood, as the conservative sensationalist, has typically been based on the ‘too exclusive focus on Wood’s most famous narrative,’ *East Lynne*, which confines the range of writing approached in Wood’s affluent career and produces an unbalanced view of her stance.<sup>81</sup> As one of ‘few’ female writers to consciously make use of strategies to protect herself from scrutiny by publishing ‘under the protective umbrella of her husband’s name’,<sup>82</sup> this chapter will outline the reputation of the famous ‘Mrs Henry Wood’ persona as a carefully considered construction, and uncover the strategies adopted in order to protect and maintain her almost cherished literary identity. Having exploited the anonymity of the periodical press as a ‘theatre for cross-gender performativity’, the creation of the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ identity provides an equal opportunity for the literary market to become a ‘stage for the performance of femininity.’<sup>83</sup> As a contrast, the professional approach of a writer determined to portray a wholesome reputable exterior ultimately exposes herself as the competent businesswoman she undoubtedly was in both private correspondence with her editor and, surprisingly, more public letters to *The Times*, using the signatures ‘Ellen Wood’ or ‘E. Wood’. Crafting another identity as a driven, resolute writer, the feminine restraints of the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ identity are momentarily unfettered. By discussing Wood’s most famous and carefully constructed literary identity, the anonymous writings and masculine identities she adopted can be considered within the context of, and in comparison to the famous ‘Mrs Henry Wood’ to understand Wood’s complex and considered construction of identities as a whole.

Serialised from January 1860 to September 1861 in the *New Monthly Magazine*, Wood’s bestselling second novel, *East Lynne*, firmly launched her career as a successful, professional writer, unquestionably aided by a glowing 1862 review from the influential *Times* critic Samuel

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<sup>81</sup> Janice M. Allan, ‘A ‘base and spurious thing’: Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood’s *Parkwater* (1857)’, *Critical Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2011), p. 8.

<sup>82</sup> Emily Allen, ‘Gender and Sensation’, in *A Companion to Sensation Fiction*, ed. Pamela K. Gilbert (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p. 411.

<sup>83</sup> Fraser, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, p. 43.

Lucas.<sup>84</sup> Despite its popularity in serialised form, the novel was rejected by several publishing houses on account of its sensational content of adultery and divorce until Bentley's agreed to publish the text on a 'half-profit basis' shortly after the end of its serialised run.<sup>85</sup> Novels, the 'central commodity' of the nineteenth century, paid considerably more than the 'filler material' of short-stories<sup>86</sup> and while many major Victorian novelists commenced their career in short-stories, novel-writing and serialisation was the aim, particularly for writers with dependent families like Wood. Having utilised her experience as a prolific contributor to periodicals to develop a distinctive literary style, like other female writers such as Florence Marryat, Wood 'used [contemporary] domestic ideology to [her] advantage by creating [a] suitably feminine persona [...] compatible with the market.'<sup>87</sup> In a letter to George Bentley discussing the three-volume publication of *East Lynne*, Wood specifically requests the inclusion of 'by Mrs. Henry Wood, Author of Danesbury House' on the title page and insists that Bentley is 'particular [that] the Christian name (Henry) is inserted.'<sup>88</sup> With ten years experience contributing to monthly magazines, Wood had determined her literary identity and the publication of *East Lynne*, plus its popularity, allowed her to name this professional identity to create her own brand within the emerging 'sensational' genre. Wood's sensational yet pious writing was required to be 'more carefully orchestrated' after this adoption of the 'matronly sobriquet 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.'<sup>89</sup> Whereas the anonymous writings provided protection to her private feminine identity and were easily shed and refashioned, the deliberate choice of adopting her married name, and insistently including the Christian name of her husband, firmly defined Wood as a gendered writer and as the property of her husband. Although indicative of a 'desire to appease Victorian gender ideals,'<sup>90</sup> the controversial content of the subversive sensation genre simultaneously challenged the very ideals her authorial name attempted to uphold.

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<sup>84</sup> Samuel Lucas, 'Review of *East Lynne*', *The Times* (25 January 1862), p.6.

<sup>85</sup> Joanne Shattock, *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 156.

<sup>86</sup> Liggins, *The British Short Story*, p. 7.

<sup>87</sup> Hill, *The Woman Author-Editor and the Negotiation of Professional Identity*, p.10.

<sup>88</sup> Andrew Maunder, 'Appendix A: Letters from Ellen Wood on the writing and publication of *East Lynne*' in Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2000), p. 694

<sup>89</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 91.

<sup>90</sup> Grose, *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers*, p. 412.

While it is appropriate to suggest a ‘discrepancy between the narrator’s opinions, which often echo those of Victorian propriety, and the author’s opinions, which may be significantly more radical’, the purpose of the overtly feminine and righteous narrator, ‘Mrs. Henry Wood,’ became to mask these discrepancies along the tightrope of conforming to propriety and artistic license. By ‘craftily [using] her gentlewomanly demeanour’<sup>91</sup> to establish a literary career as a ‘moral force in popular literature,’ Wood made use of her status as a wife and mother to reinforce and authenticate the moral message of her texts.<sup>92</sup> The ‘devout respectability, which she attempted to transmit to her prose’ was supported by the combination of the matronly ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ persona, validated by the ‘long term invalidism [which confined] her to quiet domesticity’, and the distinctively pious, didactic narrative voice.<sup>93</sup> Together with maintaining her own professional identity through her works, the name of the persona simultaneously put the reputation of her husband potentially at risk as any misdemeanors in her writing would reflect badly upon him plus the family’s monetary dependency on Wood’s writing added to the pressure to be commercially successful. Thereby, Wood’s meticulous protection and maintenance of her most famous professional identity is hardly surprising considering the stakes placed upon it. The importance of Wood’s cultivation of a respectable persona is understandable when the publishing history of the mid-nineteenth-century is considered. Reliant upon a text gaining ‘rhythm’ through serialisation, publishers and authors were simultaneously reliant upon the ‘huge purchases of the circulating libraries that provided a guarantee of sales and a means of distribution of both the serial and volume forms.’<sup>94</sup> Acceptance into successful circulating libraries, such as Mudie’s, was often aided by a respectable tone and valuable lessons in the novels which the owners believed would be beneficial to their readers and enhance their own reputation.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the respectably sensational identity forged by Wood that guaranteed the combination of an exciting plot with a didactic narrator, that aided the development

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<sup>91</sup> Phegley, ‘Domesticating the Sensation Novelist’, p.181.

<sup>92</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 92.

<sup>93</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 82.

<sup>94</sup> Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 13.

<sup>95</sup> Sanders, ‘Women, Fiction, and the Marketplace’ in *Women and Literature in Britain*, ed. Joanne Shattock, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 143. Gilbert, *Disease, Desire, and the Body in Victorian Women’s Popular Novels*, p. 45-6.

of young impressionable women, rendered lending libraries like Mudie's increasingly likely to purchase texts written by 'Mrs. Henry Wood'.

Crafting her own inimitable style of writing through her anonymous texts, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator became instantly recognisable to nineteenth-century readers with this unique mix of pious teachings and sensational content. Particularly celebratory of the rising of the bourgeoisie and sympathetic to issues of middle-class marriage, Wood wrote within her own experience and aligned herself with her specifically female middle-class reader with shared morals and ideals. Pykett's identification of the 'intrusive, moralising and gossipy feminine narrator', who uses the shared experience of a gossipy tone to introduce the reader to subjects commonly beyond the reach of a 'proper' woman writer by simultaneously distancing them both from the 'evil passions of human nature'.<sup>96</sup> The 'much-noted moralising of the narrator' together with the 'consistently woman-to-woman address'<sup>97</sup> renders the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator assuredly feminine as Wood's anonymous identities allowed her to identify the audience most suited to her literary style. Wood used narrative techniques such as direct reader address and adopting emotive, melodramatic language to link sentimentality, overt religious moralising, and sensational events to the identification with her specified reader. By establishing an intimate relationship with her reader, particularly in the direct addresses which used the phrase 'dear reader',<sup>98</sup> the approachable 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator invoked intense emotions in deathbed scenes and preaching pity for erring heroines, such as Isabel Vane in *East Lynne*. Wood portrayed her villains with equal strength, castigating Francis Levison in *East Lynne* and specifically noting to illustrators to contrast Carlyle's dark clothing with Levison's 'showy style'.<sup>99</sup> While creating a shared narrative experience, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator simultaneously elevates herself as superior, 'periodically apostrophising the reader' insisting on the veracity of her narratives and '[reassuring] that deviance was being described for cautionary purposes only' for which the didactic narrator would ensure the

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<sup>96</sup> Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 115.

<sup>97</sup> Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 118.

<sup>98</sup> Garrett Stewart, *Dear Reader: the Conscripted Audience in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 133.

<sup>99</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 96.

reader learned a valuable lesson and allowed her to ‘strike the right ideological note’.<sup>100</sup> The ‘urgently didactic “preacher” rhetoric’ typically found in ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ texts<sup>101</sup> encourages an intimate relationship, ‘a kind of covert solidarity,’ between the narrator and the assumed ‘female, middle-class, and leisured’ readers.<sup>102</sup> The novels which followed *East Lynne* continued the ‘staid and domestic reputation’ which distanced Wood from ‘the more dangerous facets of sensationalism even while her fiction worked to elicit the most sensational effects on its readers.’<sup>103</sup> However, the overtly feminine and religious nature manifested so strongly in the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ proved ‘more controversial, for some critics, than her sensationalism’ as they considered the possibility of the explicit piety as potentially performed and disingenuous.<sup>104</sup>

However, while the wholesome ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ narrative style provided a respectable persona in contrast to her ‘fast’ contemporaries such as Braddon,<sup>105</sup> Wood simultaneously used the sobriquet to integrate less than respectable content and topics into her novels questioning patriarchal norms and the position of women.<sup>106</sup> Rather than solely a means by which to enter the literary industry respectfully as a woman writer, Wood’s ‘perceived conventionality’ is increasingly perceived as ‘carefully constructed and complexly shifting.’<sup>107</sup> The ‘moral posturing and apparent conservatism’ through the foregrounded narrative voice allowed Wood access to tread on ‘territory that might have been considered inappropriate [for a woman writer] without offending the sensibilities of her readership.’<sup>108</sup> Although never explicitly critical of domestic norms, Wood’s narratives offer ‘suggestions of the effects on women’s lives of male inadequacy’ which brings into question Wood’s status as merely a conservative writer.<sup>109</sup> The careful construction and adaptation

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<sup>100</sup> Riley, ‘The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood’, p. 169.

<sup>101</sup> Mary Lenard, *Preaching Pity: Dickens, Gaskell, and sentimentalism in Victorian Culture* (New York: Peter Lang, c1999), p. 47.

<sup>102</sup> Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 159

<sup>103</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 83.

<sup>104</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 84.

<sup>105</sup> Radford, *Victorian Sensation Fiction*, p. 5.

<sup>106</sup> See Lyn Pykett, Deborah Wynne, and Marie Riley for allusions to the subversive aspects of Ellen Wood’s sensation fiction.

<sup>107</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 189.

<sup>108</sup> Riley, ‘The Enterprising Fiction of Ellen Wood’, p. 168.

<sup>109</sup> Gibbs, ‘Sensational Schoolboys’, p. 56.

of literary personas indicated by the re-fashioning of material throughout Wood's career similarly provides a 'new light' on the reputation of Wood as the mild sensationalist.<sup>110</sup>

The creation of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' trademark ensured that publications by Wood must conform to the restrictive nature of the sobriquet adopted. It appears that Wood's later writings demonstrate an acute awareness of the importance of the narrative's audience, and Wood alters her writing accordingly. These changes are identified by minor, yet significant, alterations made from the serialisation of *East Lynne* to the three-volume novel. In terms of plot, the only change made to the serialised version is the representation of the train crash.<sup>111</sup> In the serialised text, Isabel writes a letter, alone, informing her relative, Lord Mount Severn, of the crash and her, presumed fatal, injuries. However, in the novel version, a 'Sister of Charity' (p. 374) speaks to Isabel about redemption in death, and the Sister helps Isabel with the letter to Lord Mount Severn. Wood's more Christian context through the addition of the Sister, demonstrates her desire to appear pious, but also attempts to gain sympathy for the deviant Isabel. The heightened Christianity and helplessness of Isabel constructed through the changes reduces the feeling of agency associated with adulterous women and, equally importantly, feeds in to a construction of Wood herself as a woman of morals. Both Isabel's and Wood's femininities are enhanced, as Isabel finds herself powerless, weak, and disfigured, and Wood becomes the reader's spiritual guide through an explicit discussion of sin and redemption. Here, as elsewhere, narratorial address is a method through which Wood applies the morals of 'Mrs Henry Wood' to the reader.

Through her 'consistently woman-to-woman' narratorial addresses, Wood assumes 'a shared experience and a community of values with her reader',<sup>112</sup> most famously in *East Lynne*'s 'Lady-wife-mother' address (chapter. 29). Interestingly, a direct address from the narrator to 'East Lynne''s male readers which features in the *New Monthly* version is omitted from the 1861 novel. Chapter five of the novel contrasts Cornelia's passion for making money and Carlyle's more ethical

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<sup>110</sup> Allan, 'Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's *Parkwater*', p. 23.

<sup>111</sup> Ellen Wood, *East Lynne* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2000), chapter 33. Subsequent references to be given in the body of the text.

<sup>112</sup> Pykett, *The Improper Feminine*, p. 119.

business strategy, however the serialised narrative features the narrator explicitly addresses a male reader in reference to Carlyle's moral business ethics: 'Against his interest?' sneers the reader. No: rest you assured, sir, that when business is conducted upon honest and sincere principles, it must and it does prosper'.<sup>113</sup> The deliberate omission of this address, as the refashioned 'Mrs. Henry Wood,' indicates the perceived audience change as the three-volume novel, unlike the *New Monthly*, was aimed primarily at a middle-class female reader. The significant changes in *East Lynne* display Wood's acute consciousness of the importance of ensuring the text is appropriate and targeted to its altered audience in order to generate maximum success.<sup>114</sup> Concurrently, in moving from anonymous serialiser to respectable novelist, Wood's construction of the 'Mrs Henry Wood' persona, by which she sustains her properly classed and gendered identity throughout the majority of the remainder of her literary career, becomes firmly established.

While some previously anonymous texts were simply edited and republished in *The Argosy* as filler material, Wood also 'strung together' anonymous texts to create longer, more substantial narratives<sup>115</sup> and some texts, including *Parkwater*<sup>116</sup> and *St. Martin's Eve*, became novels based upon a corresponding short-story published in the 1850s. In 1866, Wood published an extended version of the short story 'St. Martin's Eve' as a full-length novel, using other stories published in the *New Monthly*, from February 1855 to August 1855, as a sub-plot to the main narrative. The central narrative tells the story of Charlotte Norris, the beautiful, passionate second wife of George St. John who begins to resent George's son by her first wife, Benja, as the inheritor of the estate, acting violently towards him on several occasions after the birth of her own child, Georgy. Despite the near constant supervision of his suspicious nurse after George's consumptive death, Charlotte causes Benja's death by locking him in his nursery knowing he has accidentally set himself on fire with a lit toy paper church. After attacking two other people and being haunted by Benja's memory,

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<sup>113</sup> 'The Author of "Ashley"', 'East Lynne', *New Monthly Magazine* (Feb 1860), p. 152.

<sup>114</sup> There are several other significant changes in Wood's texts, including *East Lynne*, which were inappropriate to incorporate into a project of this limited size, but the research will be considered for future projects.

<sup>115</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 101.

<sup>116</sup> For an extensive discussion of the changes made to *Parkwater*, see Janice Allan's 'A 'base and spurious thing': Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's *Parkwater* (1857)', which greatly informed and influenced my research into the motivated textual changes Ellen Wood conducted during the process of re-fashioning herself as a writer.

Charlotte is declared insane, allegedly inherited from her father, and sent to an asylum. Like *East Lynne*, the transition of *St. Martin's Eve* from its appearance as a short-story in the *New Monthly* to its publication as a novel under the ever protected 'Mrs Henry Wood' masthead, involved motivated changes to the text. The most significant change involves Charlotte's role in Benja's death. In the short story, the narrator describes how Charlotte actively "held him [in the fire] with a firm, revengeful hand, beating him about the head and ears".<sup>117</sup> However, in the 1866 version, Prance, Charlotte's maid, claims that 'she did not purposely set him on fire' but 'bolted [the door] upon him, knowing he was on fire.'<sup>118</sup> Andrew Mangham's claim that despite 'Wood's prudish reputation, the plot of her 1866 novel is one of the most shocking of all popular fiction produced during the mid-nineteenth century' shows that even the censored novel version placed doubt upon the prudish and moralist nature of Wood.<sup>119</sup> Wood's freedom as an anonymous writer disappeared with the creation of a persona to uphold, and together with the previously discussed importance of target audience, as the crime of locking a burning child in a room would be severe enough for female readers without Charlotte holding Benja in the flames, Wood is required to alter the violence in her story.

The self-fashioning in Wood's writing continues with the editorship and eventual ownership of the 'determinedly non-controversial, and non-political monthly magazine' *Argosy* (Maunder; Wood 25), a year after her husband's death. The family magazine was a 'profitable business venture' which allowed Wood to retain ultimate control over the presentation of her professional identities.<sup>120</sup> Alexander Strahan, the *Argosy's* previous owner, was keen to gain a respectable editor, after a controversial Charles Reade novel threatened its reputation and, for Wood, the complete literary control provided the 'opportunity to counter some of the negative criticism she had received

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<sup>117</sup> "The Author of "The Unholy Wish", 'St. Martin's Eve,' *New Monthly Magazine* (November 1853), p. 337.

<sup>118</sup> Ellen Wood, *St. Martin's Eve* (London: Macmillan, 1932), p. 474.

<sup>119</sup> Andrew Mangham, *Violent Women and Sensation Fiction: Crime, Medicine, and Victorian Popular Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 71.

<sup>120</sup> Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian family literary magazines and the cultural health of the nation* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, c2004), p. 70.

as a sensation novelist and to make a case for herself as a more respectable writer'.<sup>121</sup> Previously established through her novels as a popular writer, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' brand and celebrity editorship attracted a large following and the monthly circulation for the magazine rose to 20,000 within three years of her takeover, exceeding Braddon's magazine *Belgravia* by 5,000.<sup>122</sup> Serving as a 'showcase for her own fiction', the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona was established sufficiently to withstand the translation from 'a "hidden" professional identity into a very public position as the magazine's editor and primary contributor' by the time of her takeover of the *Argosy*.<sup>123</sup> Foregrounding her own serialised novels, providing the majority of the content, and incorporating few other contributors, often her like-minded friends chosen to 'complement her own carefully crafted profile', Wood was able to 'reinforce her own celebrity' while 'cut[ting] down on overheads' ensuring the magazine was easily operable from within her home.<sup>124</sup> Contributing many of the articles herself, Wood republished many of the texts she contributed to the *New Monthly* during her time as an anonymous writer in the 1850s. While anonymous short stories allowed writers to 'experiment with ideas which they would explore at greater length in their novels', Wood's short stories evidently allowed her to simultaneously develop the narrative persona that would become Mrs. Henry Wood.<sup>125</sup> Thereby, on the launch of her professional career following *East Lynne*, Wood was able to republish and refashion the topics and texts she had created for no pecuniary reward as an anonymous writer. The furious pace of publishing in periodicals ensured that there was little, if any, time for 'revision or careful writing' and thereby, Wood's republication of short stories allowed her to reformat them to converge with her professional identity, plus fine-tune them to a more professional standard.<sup>126</sup> The inclusion of previously written material also incorporated time for other pursuits, particularly when Wood became the editor of the *Argosy*, and this uncovers Wood as the epitome of a household manager, implementing her time-management

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<sup>121</sup> Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p. 186.

<sup>122</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 100.

<sup>123</sup> Phegley, 'Domesticating the Sensation Novelist', p. 181.

<sup>124</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 102.

<sup>125</sup> Liggins, *The British Short Story*, p. 7.

<sup>126</sup> Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 157.

skills learnt in the home and applying them to the public publishing domain. Typically of a thrifty household manager, Wood reused her short anonymous narratives to fill her magazine just as Ainsworth had used them decades previously. While the periodicals ‘nurtured anonymous authors,’ the name and brand of the author once revealed became ‘commodified’, allowing the names to achieve an enhanced value through the ‘recognition of authors by readers and consumers’.<sup>127</sup> Consequently, previously anonymous works by named authors were ‘reintroduced into periodicals with a signature’, serving to increase the profile of the writer. By republishing her previously anonymous texts in the *Argosy*, Wood was able to maintain a high level of contributions with less work, utilise existing texts within a different context, and most importantly, refashion the texts to reinforce the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ brand. Many of the republished texts underwent alterations in order to cleanse the texts of signs of an inexperienced authorship, plus remove the more controversial aspects, which were appropriate for a predominantly male *New Monthly* reader, but undermined the pious, conservative ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ author-editor of the *Argosy*.

An example of the republished stories is ‘The Parson’s Oath’, initially published in *Bentley’s Magazine* in March 1855 and republished in *The Argosy* in December 1880. In the original version, one of the characters, Brassy, confesses to a murder, which is narrated as: ‘Brassy at last hiccuped out that he had, one night, decoyed a girl into his house at the Rill, and ill-used her’. The narrative continues to describe how ‘she burst out with such a flood of despair and scorn and loathing, that it drove him mad, and he put a bullet through her.’<sup>128</sup> In contrast, the adapted *Argosy* version is narrated as ‘Brassy at last hiccuped out that he had, one night, had a desperate quarrel with a girl in his house, at the Rill.’<sup>129</sup> While the murder is narrated as ‘at last got so mad that he shot her, though he never meant to kill her.’ The altered version omits Brassy’s ‘ill-use’ of the girl and attempts to absolve Brassy from guilt. Using the discourse noticeable in *East Lynne*, Wood’s alteration of the text indicates her combination of sensational topics with conservative ideals. The

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<sup>127</sup> Brake, *Print in Transition*, p. 16.

<sup>128</sup> The Author of “War; and the Paris Mesmerists”, ‘The Parsons’s Oath’, *Bentley’s Miscellany*, Vol. 37 (Jan 1855), p. 311.

<sup>129</sup> Mrs Henry Wood, ‘The Parson’s Oath’, *The Argosy*, Vol. 30 (Dec 1880), pp. 515-516.

comparisons of several republished texts indicates that this is typical of the motivated changes as Wood's thrifty approach to writing is combined with her desire to maintain her respectable persona, and her professional identity as 'Mrs Henry Wood'. Many of the duplicated stories also attempt to subdue the overtly anti-Catholic tones of Wood's earlier stories, one particularly striking example is 'Gina Montani' in which a non-Catholic woman, idealised by the narrator, is murdered by a jealous, Catholic wife who is controlled by her evil priest. While the plot remains almost identical, Wood removes a scene in which the priest asks for Gina's Bible, 'tears the leaves from the Book' and 'set light to them, till all, both the Old and New Testament, were consumed, and the ashes scattered on the ground.'<sup>130</sup> The shocking scene is omitted from the version republished years later in the *Argosy*, seemingly in another attempt to reduce the more sensational aspects of the tale.<sup>131</sup> 'A Tomb in a Foreign Land' similarly showcases the alterations made by Wood in consciousness of the different audience from the *New Monthly* to her own magazine *Argosy*. Swapping the gender neutral 'reader'<sup>132</sup> for 'my good young lady'<sup>133</sup> in the later version, the Mrs. Henry Wood narrator has identified and isolated her audience and alters the address of her narratives accordingly. Wood recycles previous material in order to keep up with the popular topics of the ever-changing literary market, a particularly transparent example is the republishing of 'A Record of the Gold Fever', a cautionary tale of the dangers of seeking an unlikely fortune in Australia, which is repeated verbatim in 'Going Out to the Diamond Fields' in *Argosy* in January 1854. Attaching a introductory note, the narrator states how the reprint of that narrative may 'serve as a warning to others, who were about to embark on the same folly' in African diamond fields.<sup>134</sup> Blighted by illness and working hard as the editor of the *Argosy*, Wood re-establishing value into the previously anonymous and unrewarded texts that contributed to the inauguration of her literary career and maintains her literary persona, Mrs. Henry Wood, through small changes to the texts in order to align them with the professional identity.

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<sup>130</sup> Anon., 'The Punishment of Gina Montani,' *New Monthly Magazine* (December 1851), p. 414.

<sup>131</sup> 'The Author of "East Lynne";' 'Gina Montani,' *Argosy* (December 1875) pp. 214-247.

<sup>132</sup> 'The Author of "The Unholy Wish"', 'A Tomb in a Foreign Land', *New Monthly Magazine* (Sept 1853), p. 18.

<sup>133</sup> 'The Author of "East Lynne"', 'A Tomb in a Foreign Land', *Argosy* (Jan 1879), pp. 71.

<sup>134</sup> Anon., 'Going Out to the Diamond Fields', *Argosy* (April 1871), p. 271.

Contrary to Sanders suggestion that many female professional writers appeared ‘unsure of [themselves] in [their] business correspondence’,<sup>135</sup> letters written by Wood portray an astute, determined businesswoman using the signature ‘Ellen Wood’ or ‘E. Wood’.<sup>136</sup> Portraying herself as forceful and resolute, various letters of Wood’s to her publishers and *The Times* newspaper reveal the emergence of another professional identity, ‘Ellen Wood’ the author. The letters consistently expose the business acumen of a writer keen to protect her name and reputation. Often speaking out in response to untruthful claims in the press, Wood consistently protects her literary reputation yet exposes her tenacity as a businesswoman in the letters. In a letter to *The Times*, Wood adamantly confirms that a novel advertised as ‘Mrs Wood’s new work’ was not written by ‘Mrs. Henry Wood, author of *East Lynne*’.<sup>137</sup> Eager to avoid the ‘misapprehension’ of the similarities in names, Wood acts once again in protection of her brand. Another letter to *The Times*, sent in reply to a feature by a Mrs. Norton the previous day, Wood forcefully refutes the accusations that *East Lynne* was an adapted and extended version of one of Norton’s stories. Throughout the letter, Wood’s concerns of effects of Mrs. Norton’s accusations on her carefully constructed image are prominent as the Times readers are referred to throughout.<sup>138</sup> Mrs Norton’s accusations which are ‘sent them forth as truth in the leading journal of the day’ forced an uncharacteristic response from Wood, who evidently felt obliged to protect herself and her literary reputation. Norton’s letter also states that *East Lynne* is the only text written by Wood with a ‘lasting impression on the public,’ which again is strongly refuted by Wood who suggests Mrs. Norton takes ‘the trouble of applying’ to her publishers who can assure her that other texts have made ‘quite as permanent an impression as *East Lynne*’.<sup>139</sup> Evidently feeling personally attacked by Norton, Wood’s forceful denials expose the tenacious businesswoman adamantly protecting her precious reputation. Featuring the signature ‘Ellen Wood’, the matronly identity that presides over her fictional tales is relinquished in the letter in

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<sup>135</sup> Sanders, ‘Women, Fiction and the Marketplace’, p. 149.

<sup>136</sup> Many of Wood’s letters and manuscripts were destroyed in the twentieth-century, which leaves a limited number of correspondences directly from Wood’s pen.

<sup>137</sup> The Author of *East Lynne*, ‘Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Henry Wood’, *The Times* (January 23, 1867), p.10, col. F.

<sup>138</sup> See Appendix B for the letter in full.

<sup>139</sup> Ellen Wood, ‘To the Editor of the *Times*’, *The Times* (28 October 1871), p. 3.

favour of a more professional pseudonym. The curt writing style and determined tone, ‘let me explain to Mrs. Norton’, portrays a strong-willed woman, resolutely defending herself against ‘unjustifiable’ claims.<sup>140</sup> Wood also reveals the extent of influence she has on the construction of her professional public image as confirmed that it is Wood’s decision to persistently use *East Lynne* on the titles of her novels, ‘*East Lynne* was my first novel; and therefore I (not my publishers) retain it as my distinguishing title’.<sup>141</sup> The letter provides an abundance of evidence of the presence of Wood’s professional identity as the tenacious writer ‘Ellen Wood’ who is responsible for the meticulous crafting of her numerous literary identities and successfully negotiates the challenging literary marketplace. Always signing herself ‘Ellen Wood’ in correspondence with her publishers,<sup>142</sup> the Bentley brothers, Wood portrays herself as a wily, knowledgeable negotiator always insistent upon getting the best deal for herself and her novels by pushing for new editions to be printed and asserting when there is a ‘good opportunity for [her] to receive the money [from *East Lynne*].’<sup>143</sup> The passive-aggressive tone with which Wood asserts to her publishers the inappropriateness of using the by-line ‘by the author of ‘Ashley’’ for *East Lynne*, which Wood condemns as a mere ‘nom de plume’ for the *New Monthly*,<sup>144</sup> showcases both Wood’s tenacity and her acknowledgment of the importance of marketing in publishing. Writing as ‘E.W’ in the preface to the republished, controversial novel *A Life’s Secret*,<sup>145</sup> Wood allows the reader an insight into the workings of her professional mind. Describing the previously anonymous novel as ‘not ... to me so eligible for republication as some other works that [she has] written’, ‘E.W.’ explains how she has been pressured ‘by many different applications’ into the publication of the serialised tale into the novel form.<sup>146</sup> Centering on the narrative of a bigamy, the text also includes an attack on ‘what [Wood] saw as unscrupulous Trade Unionists’ therefore the preface explains the reason for the

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<sup>140</sup> Wood, ‘To the Editor of the *Times*’, p. 3.

<sup>141</sup> Wood, ‘To the Editor of the *Times*’, p. 3.

<sup>142</sup> Andrew Maunder, Personal email correspondence (22 July 2013).

<sup>143</sup> Letters 3 and 4, ‘Appendix A: Letters from Ellen Wood on the writing and publication of *East Lynne*’, p. 694-695.

<sup>144</sup> Letter 1, ‘Appendix A: Letters from Ellen Wood on the writing and publication of *East Lynne*’, p. 693-694.

<sup>145</sup> The Preface claims that it’s original serialisation caused an angry demonstration at the offices of the periodical in which it was published ‘*The Leisure Hour*’.

<sup>146</sup> ‘E.W’, ‘Preface’, *A Life’s Secret* (London: Charles W. Wood, 1867), p.1. All further references provided in the body of the text.

revived interest: ‘strikes, as we all know, have been latterly growing into notoriety’ (p.1). Involving herself in a politically charged topic such as striking, the original editor of *A Life’s Secret* almost placed a disclaimer that the author is not attempting to address ‘the vexing questions between masters and men, between capital and labour’ but simply with the ‘truest sympathy with their suffering families’ (p.1), which is emphatically repeated by ‘E.W.’. Stepping back from the text, ‘E.W.’ insists the ‘political bearings’ that the novel addresses are left to ‘wiser heads than [hers]’ but expresses a wish to reach out to ‘even one workman’ with the hope of ‘avert[ing] seasons of bitter suffering [for] his family’ (p.1). By focusing on an individual rather than the striking problem as a whole, Ellen Wood has avoided the scandal of a woman becoming involved in political issues which contemporary readers would assume she had no understanding of and signing herself using only her initials, Wood almost removes her gender in the preface.

While Wood’s meticulous construction and preservation of her matronly persona in comparison with unorthodox personal life of her sensation fiction rival Braddon, an ex-actress living with a married man, further isolated Wood from controversy, the posthumous biographical account of Wood’s life written by her dutiful son, Charles Wood, greatly aided the continued protection of the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ reputation. The adoring account of his mother’s life ‘obscures and mythologizes’ Wood,<sup>147</sup> depicting her as a ‘fragile and delicate’ woman<sup>148</sup> with a ‘carefully ruled’ home,<sup>149</sup> and cemented Wood’s place as the ideal wife and mother despite her literary pursuits. The persona of the ‘loveliest and most modest of women’ offered by the memorial disguises the focused, tenacious businesswoman who became the family’s breadwinner following her husband’s business failure.<sup>150</sup> Wood’s demanding literary career is reduced to a hobby as her son downplays the business-minded side of Wood in favour of a rich description of her ‘blameless, methodical, and virtuous life’.<sup>151</sup> The effortless control over her home, marriage, and career is consistent with Victorian belief that women were naturally able to run a household and

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<sup>147</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 64.

<sup>148</sup> Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood* (London: Richard Bentley and son, 1894), p. 36.

<sup>149</sup> Charles W. Wood ‘Mrs. Henry Wood. In Memorium’ *Argosy* (April 1887), p. 227.

<sup>150</sup> Charles W. Wood, ‘Mrs. Henry Wood. In Memorium’ *Argosy* (June 1887), p. 442.

<sup>151</sup> Lucy Sussex, ‘Mrs Henry Wood and Her Memorials,’ *Women’s Writing*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (August 2008), p. 157.

become a perfect wife. Therefore, Wood is portrayed as an ideal woman, despite her position as a writer, and her writing is firmly placed as secondary, after her devotion to her family and God. While ‘references to Wood’s novels as they relate to her personal experiences pepper the narrative, but details of Wood’s professional life remain vague [and the] lengthy memoir only briefly mentions Wood’s most prominent professional endeavour as *Argosy*’s editor and chief serial novelist.’<sup>152</sup> Wood’s devout Christianity also features extensively in the memorial, as she is depicted as ‘one of the most religious women that ever lived’.<sup>153</sup> The ratification of the patriarchal hierarchy imbued in Victorian society by Wood’s frail, religious persona reduces the threat posed by Wood’s production of controversial plots. Furthermore, from behind this carefully crafted façade, embodied in a moralising narrator, Wood is able to offer concealed social criticisms and expose conventionalities of both marriage and class.

Despite the importance of Charles Wood’s memorial, it is likely, as has been suggested by Lucy Sussex, that the ‘creation of ‘Mrs Henry Wood’, probably began with mother’ as the virtuous description of the memorial is consistent with the persona forged by Wood throughout her career as both a writer and editor.<sup>154</sup> It is the combination of the two sides of Mrs Henry Wood -- the pious, fragile woman described in the memorials and embodied in the moralising narrator in her novels, with the resolute, efficient businesswoman in Bentley letters and the proficient writing career -- that suggests that the orchestrator of Wood’s public persona was, in fact, Wood herself. Therefore, Wood’s ability to maintain a righteous, Christian persona, despite criticisms which threatened to ‘compromise ... personal reputations’,<sup>155</sup> enabled her to compete with the success notoriety afforded Braddon whilst ensuring her respectability as a wife, mother, and woman remained untainted. As Maunder suggests despite Wood’s ‘status as the typical Victorian, there is something very modern about the way in which she carefully moulds her image through selective publicity and creates her

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<sup>152</sup> Jennifer Phegley, ‘Motherhood, Authorship, and Rivalry: Sons’ Memoirs of the Lives of Ellen Price Wood and Mary Elizabeth Braddon’ in *Women Writers and the Artifacts of Celebrity in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds., Ann R. Hawkins, and Maura Ives (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), p. 192.

<sup>153</sup> Charles W. Wood, ‘Mrs. Henry Wood. In Memorium’ *Argosy* (April 1887), p. 266.

<sup>154</sup> Sussex, ‘Mrs Henry Wood and Her Memorials’, p. 166.

<sup>155</sup> Palmer, ‘Women’s Authorship and Editorship’, p. 2.

own legend'<sup>156</sup> and the stark contrast between Wood's numerous professional identities, particularly the resolute writer 'Ellen Wood' and the pious, conservative 'Mrs. Henry Wood', expose the identities as mere constructions cultivated in order to gain the optimal profit and maintain a carefully constructed literary persona. Constantly adapting her writing to align herself with the popular trends of the time of publication and reusing yet refashioning her existing material under a new professional identity, Wood's astute business acumen is palatable through the re-fashioning of her texts and renegotiation of her literary identities.

Despite arguably writing under a masculine name by adopting the name of her husband,<sup>157</sup> Wood's masculine identities, namely Ensign Pepper, which appeared when Wood was an anonymous contributor, and Johnny Ludlow, written when Wood was firmly established as 'Mrs Henry Wood' and editor of the *Argosy*, provide a contrasting side of Wood's writing, while maintaining the overriding pious message of the 'Mrs Henry Wood' brand. The final chapter will discuss the significance of Wood's attempts at procuring masculine identities while also referencing the disjunction found between the established 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator in the boys tales published after the success of *East Lynne*, which ensured the subsequent boys texts written by Wood were portrayed through a male narrative voice through Wood's most famous and successful masculine identity, Johnny Ludlow.

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<sup>156</sup> Andrew Maunder, 'Ellen Wood was a Writer: Rediscovering Collin's Rival', *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*, No. 3 (2000), p. 21.

<sup>157</sup> Clare Pettitt, *Patent Inventions- Intellectual Property and the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 209.

## Chapter Four: Masculine Identities

Alongside forging the overtly feminine ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ persona, Ellen Wood also adopted male pseudonyms which offer a different perspective on her literary identities. Unlike her contemporaries, Wood utilised male literary identities to establish authenticity in the masculine focussed texts and exhibit a different aspect of her writing, rather than to disguise her position as a woman writer. After establishing the role of the male pseudonym for the nineteenth-century woman writer, the first section of this chapter will examine the use of signature in Wood’s first male persona, ‘Ensign Pepper’. The chapter will progress to the discussion of three ‘schoolboy’ texts<sup>158</sup> published by Wood following the success of *East Lynne*, to argue that Wood’s creation of her most successful male pseudonym, ‘Johnny Ludlow’, partially came from reviewer’s criticisms of the disjunction between the ‘Mrs Henry Wood’ persona, the narrator of the schoolboy stories, and their masculine setting, content, and language. The final section of this chapter will focus on the *Johnny Ludlow* stories, representing Wood’s longest sustained gender-bending, where the narrative voice, tone, and content is contrasted with the ‘Mrs Henry Wood’ persona, yet the values and morals associated with Wood are maintained through Wood’s complex relationship with her final male pseudonym.

Female writers in the nineteenth century often adopted male pseudonyms ‘to disguise their identities’ in a patriarchal society, arguably the most famous examples including George Eliot and the Bronte sisters.<sup>159</sup> In ‘shrouding the ‘disability’ of femininity’, masculine personas allowed women the opportunity to ‘overcome the prejudices’ of the patriarchal literary marketplace,<sup>160</sup> however, Wood’s use of masculine identities appears to differ from many of her contemporaries. Judd outlines three reasons a nineteenth-century woman writer would choose to adopt a male pseudonym; the first as a ‘necessary mask’ to shield from the ‘prejudices of the literary

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<sup>158</sup> The texts considered as ‘schoolboy texts’ are *The Elchester College Boys* (1861), *The Orville College Boys* (1867), and *William Allair; or Running Away to Sea* (serialised weekly from December 1862 to January 1863).

<sup>159</sup> Patricia Lorimer Lundberg, ‘George Eliot: Mary Ann Evans’s Subversive Tool in Middlemarch?’, *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Fall 1986), p. 270.

<sup>160</sup> Judd, ‘Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England’, p. 250.

marketplace,' the second to 'shield her name [and] protect her family honour', and the third as a 'need to feel masculinized before she could pick up the 'phallic' pen.'<sup>161</sup> However, Wood's masculine personas do not appear to conform to these reasons. As previously discussed, Wood's adoption of her husband's name served to protect her narratives from criticism by using a protecting overt femininity to shield her reputation. Rather than hiding her work behind the mask of the male name, Wood used her masculine identities to showcase a different side of her writing outside the overpowering 'Mrs Henry Wood' persona. While ME Braddon, Wood's sensational rival, was often criticised for her extensive knowledge of exclusively male environments, 'she knows much that ladies are not accustomed to know,'<sup>162</sup> 'Mrs Henry Wood's' conspicuous femininity, together with her use of male personas, offered protection from such criticism, despite her texts displaying considerable knowledge of masculine environs. Rather than disguising her position as a female writer, Wood's masculine identities were adopted to add authenticity to the tales by supposedly originating from a knowledgeable source. By posing as a young soldier and schoolboy, Wood was able to merge the literary skills that yielded commercial success together with an authentic narrative voice.

At the beginning of her literary career, Wood's anonymous contributions to the *New Monthly Magazine*, required her writing to conform to the style of the publication, which consisted of 'politics and social comment' presented predominantly in a 'manly tone'.<sup>163</sup> While 'self-consciously appealing to the magazine's male readers' by both direct address and employing masculine topics like steeplechasing, the anonymous contributions often expose Wood's gender-bending through her construction of masculine-toned texts and her first masculine identity, 'Ensign Pepper'.<sup>164</sup> Published between July 1854 and November 1855, the Ensign Pepper texts appeared as a series of letters sent home from the Crimean War. As one of the first wars to be extensively

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<sup>161</sup> Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England', p. 251.

<sup>162</sup> Henry James, 'Miss Braddon', (first pub. *Nation* 1865 repr. *Notes and Reviews* Cambridge Mass., 1921, 115-5) quoted in Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914* (London: Clarendon Press, 1995) p. 275. Braddon's representation of male-only environments often implied a distinctly unfeminine sexual knowledge, as opposed to Wood's knowledge of more innocent schoolboy adventures, which tended to increase the criticism she received at the hands of male reviewers.

<sup>163</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*, p. 62, p. 63.

<sup>164</sup> Allan, 'Reading and Deceptive Femininity in Ellen Wood's *Parkwater*', p. 13.

documented, the British reading public had the opportunity to gain a novel insight into day-to-day experiences of war. Adapting her writing for the commercially popular, Wood capitalised on this interest by posing as a low ranking officer. Utilising the time gap between the letters arriving home from the front, Wood was able to create a seemingly plausible narrative based on the exhaustive war details in the Victorian press.<sup>165</sup>

The Ensign Pepper letters provide several contrasting identities, distinguished by signature, which coincides with Wood's fluid approach to her own literary identities. While Mitchell has identified Ensign Pepper's contrasting accounts 'depending on whether his letters were intended for a male friend, his guardian, or his girlfriend,'<sup>166</sup> the specific use of signature in the texts has hitherto been overlooked. Wood's decision to incorporate different signatures arguably foregrounds her own interchangeable use of signature and construction of several literary identities. Pepper's descriptions of events at war differ enormously in each letter and Wood constructs individual signatures for each recipient. Indicative of an awareness of the power of signature, this manipulation of the narratives for a particular purpose is a technique which is subsequently implemented in Wood's own literary career. For example, one of the most striking differences accounts for Pepper's arrival at Scutari hospital. To his guardian, Pepper presents himself as a selfless, considerate comrade, claiming to compassionately replace an unwell colleague at the hospital who was too weak for the journey; 'for if we did not help each other, out here, dear sir, who is there that will help us?'<sup>167</sup> However, the letter to his friend, Gus, reveals a mix up by the officials who sent the ill soldier to the trenches while Pepper supplants the fatally injured comrade at the hospital to 'see the girls who [had] come out' as nurses.<sup>168</sup> Unrepentant at the later report of his friend's death, Pepper exposes his true

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<sup>165</sup> As the letters are found and subsequently published 'by a direct Providential accident', Wood imitates a distinctly feminine method of publication. Many nineteenth-century female writers would publish their works anonymously as mysteriously discovered letters and diaries in order to shield their identity, protect their femininity, and distance themselves from the public domain. Therefore by portraying these fictional letters as genuine and utilising a male voice, Wood subverts this implicitly feminine mode of publication. Although this aspect represents an extremely interesting line of study, the scope of this dissertation did not allow further investigation of this topic, although this could feature in future study.

<sup>166</sup> Sally Mitchell, 'Wood, Ellen [Mrs. Henry Wood] (1814-1887)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29868>, accessed 11 July 2013], p. 3.

<sup>167</sup> Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', *New Monthly Magazine* (June 1855), 104, 414, p. 142.

<sup>168</sup> Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', p. 151.

selfishness in direct contrast to the persona provided for the guardian. The numerous identities adopted in the texts are negotiated through signature, style of writing, tone, and content adopted to each of his four correspondents; his aunt, to whom he is 'Thomas Pepper', his girlfriend, to whom he is 'Tom', his friend, to whom he is Tom Pepper, and his guardian, to whom he is T. Pepper.

The letters to his aunt, signed 'your affectionate nephew, Thomas Pepper,' often concentrate on his plight, starvation, and righteousness. Portraying himself as an innocent among mischievous soldiers, Pepper adopts a perfect nephew persona to persuade his aunt to send him food and money, using emotive language to invoke pity: 'I feel sure, dearest aunt, you cannot let me remain in this forlorn state so do send me off a hamper immediately.'<sup>169</sup> There is also an emphasis on domestic experiences at war, often describing the price of food, clothing, and cooking rather than accounts of battle: 'I have nothing to say about the war or the siege. Some night skirmishes take place occasionally... That's all.'<sup>170</sup> To his female correspondents, Wood often utilises domestic references to describe warfare, the most vivid of which describes blood gushing from a soldier's body: 'If you'll just watch the pump-spout the next time your cook's pumping water into a bucket to wash the potatoes, you'll have an idea of how it came out of him.'<sup>171</sup> By using familiar domestic images, Wood replicates how English soldiers may describe unfamiliar events in a way the correspondent, and reader, can understand. Similarly, as 'Tom' in the letters to Fanny, his girlfriend, the comparison of the Crimean heat to a domestic oven during a dinner-party allows Wood to apply her domestic knowledge to intensify the vividness and effect of the description.<sup>172</sup> The letters to Fanny, which feature the intimate signature 'your ever devoted, Tom,' present Pepper as a warrior 'in the midst of gore and glory.'<sup>173</sup> Using language that implies gallantry, bravery, and valour, 'Tom' takes undeserved credit for British war achievements: 'You have got a hero at last, for I have taken Sebastopol. *I* did it; that is, I chiefly contributed to the glorious capture.'<sup>174</sup> While the letters to

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<sup>169</sup> Anon., 'Stray Letters from the East', *New Monthly Magazine*, (July 1854) 101, 403, p. 345.

<sup>170</sup> Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', p. 429.

<sup>171</sup> Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea', p. 38.

<sup>172</sup> Anon., 'More Stray Letters from the East', *New Monthly Magazine* (September 1854), 102, 405, p. 52.

<sup>173</sup> Anon., 'More Stray Letters from the East', p. 50.

<sup>174</sup> Anon., 'Ensign Pepper's Letters from Sebastopol', *New Monthly Magazine* (November 1855), 105, 419, p. 293.

female correspondents use signature, tone, and language to invoke pity and esteem, the male correspondents receive contrasting accounts of life at war using different signatures.

To his friend Gus, a candid account of war is provided using the amiable signature ‘yours old ‘fellow’, or ‘boy’, or ‘chum’, Tom Pepper’. The informal language used under the ‘Tom Pepper’ signature, with juvenile vocabulary such as ‘stupid, thickheaded, brag-all and do-nothing boobies’ and ‘such a game,’ contrasts with more refined language featured in other letters.<sup>175</sup> The content of the ‘Tom Pepper’ letters provide uncensored details about the idle, pleasure-focussed ensign life before the battles, having a ‘jovial time’ with ‘delicacies in the eating line, [...] prime smoking, and bets and billiards’.<sup>176</sup> Concurrently, the frank nature ensures that criticisms of the war management and dire conditions, moderated for his other correspondents, become more explicit and images of warfare become more graphic; ‘yells of despair and pain, smell[s] emitted from burning human flesh.’<sup>177</sup> The familiarity between the friends provides an opportunity for unguarded language and content to include distinct criticism of the war management. ‘Tom Pepper’ implies treachery, and even murder, at the hands of British officials and provides numerous examples of incompetency, including officials’ refusal to accept vegetables that would cure soldiers with scurvy ‘because the bills of landing were written with blue ink instead of red.’<sup>178</sup> Wood repeatedly criticises the red tape involved in British warfare through ‘Tom Pepper’s’ unreserved letters to his friend. However, the criticisms are overarched by Pepper’s humorous and contradictory accounts, more concerned at the effects on his home life that his letters’ publication will have, ‘I have called the governor a humbug!’, than his criticisms of ‘the management and short-comings in the Crimea.’<sup>179</sup> While the ‘Tom Pepper’ letters offer an unrestrained account of war, the ‘official’ letters sent to his guardian provide a stark contrast in the representation of the same events. Under the distinguished signature, ‘yours very dutifully, T. Pepper’, the letters to his guardian claim to

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<sup>175</sup> Anon., ‘Stray Letters from the East’, p. 347. Anon., ‘More Stray Letters from the Seat of War’, *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1854), 102, 408, p. 462.

<sup>176</sup> Anon., ‘More Stray Letters from the East’, p. 47.

<sup>177</sup> Anon., ‘More Stray Letters from the Seat of War’, p. 458.

<sup>178</sup> Anon., ‘Ensign Pepper’s Letters from the Crimea’, p. 430.

<sup>179</sup> Anon., ‘Ensign Pepper’s Letters from Sebastopol’, p. 296.

represent ‘a fair specimen of the average official letters that go out from camp,’<sup>180</sup> that are drawn ‘very mild’ and ‘put the best construction on things.’<sup>181</sup> Written communally with other ensigns, using a more respectful tone and sophisticated vocabulary, the ‘T. Pepper’ letters provide official accounts of war tactics, including specific place names and military terminology. Although the incompetency of the officials is suggested, it is treated with an ironic emphasis on his guardian’s anticipated admiration of the officials’ ‘obedience to official routine.’<sup>182</sup> By manipulating the narratives by using different signatures, the fluidity of authorial identity is exposed, which Wood made use of extensively throughout her career. In the same way that Wood reshaped the narratives of her anonymous writing to complement the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ persona later in her career, ‘Ensign Pepper’ reshapes his war narratives according to the persona adopted for each letter. Although Wood had only made use of two signatures prior to the letters’ publication, after experimenting with the Ensign Pepper personas, the variety of signatures used in her anonymous contributions increased considerably. As discussed in the previous chapters, Wood negotiated the literary market and generated her own persona using signature and text association, which is arguably influenced by the experimentation during the Ensign Pepper letters.

The masculine identity of ‘Ensign Pepper’ must have appeared authentic as Charles Wood’s story in her memorial features Wood meeting a couple who were ‘certain [the letters were] genuine.’ Emphasising the couples’ ‘astonishment’ at finding the author of ‘those masculine and realistic letters’ was the ‘calm, gentle, refined lady’ they had met,<sup>183</sup> Charles reinforces the frail, gentle ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ image and celebrates Wood’s ability to create a convincingly male narrative. Wood’s seemingly effective gender-bending in the construction of a male persona would be revisited in the extremely popular *Johnny Ludlow* series later in her career. However, following the success of *East Lynne*, Wood attempted to integrate her now famous, ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ narrative style with three texts published specifically for young boys, *The Elchester College Boys*,

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<sup>180</sup> Anon., ‘Tom Pepper’s Letters from the Crimea’, *New Monthly Magazine* (February 1855), 103, 410, p. 162.

<sup>181</sup> Anon., ‘Tom Pepper’s Letters from the Crimea’, p. 162.

<sup>182</sup> Anon., ‘Ensign Pepper’s Letters from the Crimea’, p. 422.

<sup>183</sup> Charles W. Wood, ‘Mrs. Henry Wood. In Memorium’ *Argosy: a magazine of tales, travels, essays and poems*, 43 (1887:Apr.), p. 269.

*The Orville College Boys*, and *William Allair*. Treated as precursors to Johnny Ludlow, these three narratives provide evidence for the factors contributing to Wood's decision to revert to adopting a masculine identity in specifically male texts rather than integrating the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator.

Christine Gibbs argues that Wood's decision to produce few boys' stories rested purely on the 'genre [proving] less profitable.'<sup>184</sup> While this was certain to represent a factor in Wood's decision, my research implies that the disjunction between the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator and the 'masculine' content of the stories had a negative effect on their believability, which Wood always strove for, and conceivably informed Wood's decision to return to a male persona in the *Johnny Ludlow* stories. The inconsistency between the overtly feminine 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator and the male-only environments of college and life at sea impaired the credibility of the narratives. Although not exposed to first-hand experience of life at sea or college, Wood's physical proximity to the Worcester Cathedral and its scholars in her youth, plus her companionship with younger brothers, and role as a mother to three boys gave her a familiarity with the male-only environs represented in the boys' stories.<sup>185</sup> *The Orville College Boys*, essentially an extended, sensationalised rewriting of *The Elchester College Boys*, tells the story of the schoolboys' adventures, including an attempted duel, a boy almost drowning at sea, and a schoolboy being accidentally shot. Although the tamer *Elchester College Boys* follows William Ord, a precursor for Johnny Ludlow, in his attempts to secure a scholarship at the school, the narrative still includes sensational scenes including a savage 'birching' and a boy being locked in a crypt. *William Allair*, serialised in the religious weekly *The Quiver*,<sup>186</sup> is a cautionary tale to boys keen to become sailors, describing shocking conditions of near starvation, strenuous work, and even intimations of sailors considering cannibalism in a shipwreck. Each of the texts feature the narrative techniques that Wood became well known for, including her 'inimitable concoction of excitement and

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<sup>184</sup> Gibbs, 'Sensational Schoolboys', p. 46.

<sup>185</sup> Gibbs, 'Sensational Schoolboys', p. 46.

<sup>186</sup> Described as containing 'profitable reading of a religious and moral kind' in a review of *William Allair*, *The Quiver* provided the perfect place for Wood's moralising tale and to maintain her pious persona adopted after *East Lynne*. Anon. 'Literary Notices', *The Bradford Observer* (Bradford, England), Thursday, January 15, 1863; p. 7; Issue 1512.

conventionality, subversiveness and propriety.’<sup>187</sup> The moralising, pious ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ narrator, famous for the ‘lady-wife-mother’ speech in *East Lynne*,<sup>188</sup> uses a similar direct reader address, as the narrator constantly pleads with the assumed reader: ‘Oh, boys! my dear young fellow-workers for whom I have written this story! Do you strive, earnestly and patiently, to do your duty in this world; and take that legacy home to your hearts!’<sup>189</sup> Although writing for a distinctly different readership, Wood continues to use the same melodramatic writing style as her sensational adult literature. The opening sentence to *William Allair*, ‘I like writing for boys, and I am going to tell them a story of real life,’<sup>190</sup> immediately identifies her assumed reader, yet appears to be speaking over the heads of the children to the adults who are assured that ‘Mrs. Henry Wood,’ the author of ‘the Channings’ and ‘Mrs Halliburton’s Troubles’, will provide a moral, appropriate tale for their children. For both the publisher and Wood, the pull of her celebrity appeared to pre-empt sales and the reviews of each tale concur with this, admitting the ‘prestige attached to her name ensure[s] a hearty welcome.’<sup>191</sup> However, many of the reviews emphasise a woman’s alienation from these male-only areas, with one reviewer of *The Orville College Boys* exclaiming that Wood ‘does not seem to know much about either boys or colleges,’<sup>192</sup> and a scathing reviewer of *William Allair* announcing that ‘Mrs. Wood cannot delineate English school-boy life, and betrays a lamentable want of knowledge of the relative positions of master and pupil in our schools.’<sup>193</sup> It appears that Wood had cemented her literary reputation so effectively that the association of her name gave an undesirable impression of the authenticity of her children’s stories. While some reviewers commended Wood’s ability to capture boys’ vocabulary and events which ‘perfectly harmonize’ with their own experience of school,<sup>194</sup> the inconsistency between the conservative, pious, motherly narrator and the content of the tales had a detrimental effect on their commercial

<sup>187</sup> Gibbs, ‘Sensational Schoolboys’, p. 46.

<sup>188</sup> Ellen Wood, *East Lynne*, p. 334.

<sup>189</sup> Ellen Wood, *The Orville College Boys: A Story of School Life* (London: Routledge, 1871), p. 299.

<sup>190</sup> By the author of ‘The Channings,’ ‘Mrs. Halliburton’s Troubles,’ etc., ‘William Allair: or, Running Away to Sea’, *The Quiver* (December 13, 1863), p. 171.

<sup>191</sup> Anon., ‘Illustrated gift Books for the Young’ *The Morning Post* (London, England), Wednesday, December 12, 1866; pg. 3; Issue 29018. (Review of *The Elchester College Boys*)

<sup>192</sup> Anon., ‘Our Literary Table’, *Fun* (October 26 1867), Vol. 6, p. 69.

<sup>193</sup> Anon., ‘William Allair; or, the Running Away to Sea’, *The Reader* (Nov 21 1863), Vol. 2, p. 600.

<sup>194</sup> Anon., ‘New Novels’, *The London Review* (July 6 1867), Vol. 15, No. 366, p. 23.

success. Unsurprisingly, on her return to children's writing Wood reverted to using a masculine identity, following the success of *Ensign Pepper*, which provided the opportunity for a seemingly authentic voice to narrate the stories, while maintaining Wood's values and literary prowess.

Having successfully negotiated a male identity through 'Ensign Pepper', Wood created a series of short stories in the *Argosy* featuring the signature, 'Johnny Ludlow'. Despite her similar 'schoolboys' fiction and status as editor of the *Argosy* magazine, Wood was not uncovered as 'Johnny Ludlow' until 1879, a decade after the publication of the first story. Praised by reviewers as 'superior to the work of sensationalists,' the stories are often proclaimed to be among Wood's finest work.<sup>195</sup> In the preface to the collection of the stories, Wood's reasoning behind disguising herself as the true author places an emphasis on the importance of authenticity: 'my only motive for not putting my name to them was that they appeared to be told by a boy; and to append my name as the Author would have destroyed the illusion; or, at least, have clashed with it.'<sup>196</sup> Wood's awareness of the possibly negative effect of a contradiction between narrator and narrative content was generated in her previous schoolboy stories, as previously discussed, which accounts for her decision to adopt the male pseudonym in the *Johnny Ludlow* stories. Many readers and reviewers had been initially fooled by Wood's persona, believing Johnny Ludlow to truly exist: 'The *Argosy* has a very remarkable contributor in Johnny Ludlow. His papers possess some of the finest humour [...], some of the deepest insight into human nature we have met with for many years.'<sup>197</sup> Thereby, the authenticity and success of Johnny Ludlow controverted the reviewer's criticism of reviewers that denied Wood's ability to accurately portray masculine aspects of life in the schoolboy stories. Wood's success in creating a believable masculine identity. In *Johnny Ludlow* can be examined through the narrative voice, style, and literary techniques adopted in comparison with the 'Mrs Henry Wood' narrator. The *Johnny Ludlow* stories also provide further evidence of Wood's commercial acumen and savvy business sense as she continues to refashion her brand to optimise

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<sup>195</sup> Mitchell, 'Wood, Ellen [Mrs. Henry Wood] (1814-1887)', p. 2.

<sup>196</sup> Ellen Wood, 'Preface,' *Johnny Ludlow: First Series* [Fifth Edition] (Bentley: London, 1880), p. i.

<sup>197</sup> Anon., 'The *Argosy*- Opinions of the Press' *The Times* (Jan 3 1870) p. 14 col. A. Charles Wood also references one particular letter, among many, sent to 'Johnny Ludlow' from a reader who expressed interest in spending an evening discussing 'reminiscences of old college days' over a cigar. (Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 210.)

commercial gain while maintaining her all-important reputation and Charles Wood's memorial reveals the complex relationship between Wood and her masculine identity.

The ninety *Johnny Ludlow* short-stories document Worcester life through Johnny's memories of incidents featuring an intricate network of extended family, friends, and neighbours.<sup>198</sup> While the narratives often differ from Wood's signature style, there are also many similarities, which provide a to link the stories in the *Argosy* magazine and, thereby, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona. The first-person narration itself differs from the majority of Wood's literary endeavors, which almost exclusively feature an omniscient narrative voice. Just as the Ensign Pepper letters made use of slang and colloquial language, Johnny's narration, both in terms of vocabulary and tone, provide an authentically masculine, childish voice, including phrases such as 'muff',<sup>199</sup> and 'licked into next week'.<sup>200</sup> Johnny Ludlow's 'short sentences with simple vocabulary' are typical of the speech of older children in Victorian fiction<sup>201</sup> and provide a conversational quality to the narrative, which is believable and relatable.<sup>202</sup> The authentic vocabulary adopted is often commended as the 'accurate renderings of both Worcestershire dialect and young men's slang showed her skill with voice and tone.'<sup>203</sup> In the pursuit of authenticity, the county of Worcester is described in impressive detail, 'you must know the long green lane leading to Cookhill; it is dark with overhanging trees, and uphill all the way.'<sup>204</sup> The conspicuous realism employed in both the descriptions of the settings and characters, many of which were based on real people, 'lend[s] credence to the stories which typically veer towards the supernatural or the melodramatic.'<sup>205</sup> However, peppered with direct addresses to the reader, extensive passages of direct dialogue, melodramatic language, and assertions of truth, the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' writing style is tangible

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<sup>198</sup> Michael Flowers estimates there are more than one thousand one hundred named characters across the stories. See his informative website for an introduction to the stories, Michael Flowers, 'The Johnny Ludlow Stories: A Brief Introduction' [www.mrshenrywood.co.uk/ludlow](http://www.mrshenrywood.co.uk/ludlow) [Accessed 26 Mar 2013].

<sup>199</sup> Mrs. Henry Wood [as Johnny Ludlow], 'Losing Lena' in *Johnny Ludlow First Series* (London: Bentley, 1895), p. 6.

<sup>200</sup> Mrs. Henry Wood [as Johnny Ludlow], 'Wolfe Barrington's Training' in *Johnny Ludlow First Series* (London: Bentley, 1895), both p. 31.

<sup>201</sup> Raymond Chapman, *Forms of Speech in Victorian Fiction* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 167.

<sup>202</sup> Mrs. Henry Wood [as Johnny Ludlow], 'Losing Lena', p. 14.

<sup>203</sup> Mitchell, 'Wood, Ellen [Mrs. Henry Wood] (1814-1887)', p. 3.

<sup>204</sup> Mrs. Henry Wood [as Johnny Ludlow], 'Losing Lena', p. 10.

<sup>205</sup> Andrew Maunder, 'Mrs Henry Wood,' *The Literary Encyclopedia*, 18 July 2001

[<http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=4790>, accessed 23 August 2011].

within the narrative: '[t]hree-quarters of an hour, if you'll believe me, before that sermon came to an end!'<sup>206</sup> However, rather than the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' narrator imposing herself upon the narrative, the inclusion of these literary techniques provide a connection between the masculine Johnny Ludlow stories and the other publications in the *Argosy*, which always included a serialisation of one of Wood's novels. Thereby, the 'Johnny Ludlow' narrator appears to be a regeneration of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' style as Wood uses previous experiments with masculine pseudonyms and topics to create this alternative persona for the reader to relate to. As opposed to the spiritual guide of a wife or mother, Johnny provides an alternative didactic figure that represents the 'innate moral wisdom' of the orphaned, innocent child, who 'feels rather than intellectualizes.'<sup>207</sup> Contrasting delicate Johnny with both Tod, his mischievous step-brother, and Squire Todhetley, his blundering step-father, the narratives often feature Johnny 'having brought the other characters [and thereby the readers] around to his morally upright Christian point of view.'<sup>208</sup> Although 'place[d] in increasingly complex moral dilemmas,' Johnny 'continues to be sensitive to his feelings, and remains a pivotal part of her magazine's moral code, and therefore of her own self-presentation'<sup>209</sup> as Johnny becomes an integral part of Wood's literary identities.

The complicated relationship between Wood and her most famous male pseudonym make the stories fascinating in relation to Wood's creation of literary professional identities. From Charles Wood's memorial, it emerges that 'Johnny Ludlow' held a special place in Wood's literary experience, with Charles describing him as 'Mrs. Wood's companion, continually in her thoughts, and very much in her heart.'<sup>210</sup> Charles also intimates that Ludlow had 'become part of her life; a reality; endowed with existence'<sup>211</sup> and revealed how Wood reveled in reading reviews of the stories as it felt like 'reading about herself from, as it were, an outside point of view.'<sup>212</sup> Ludlow is portrayed as her masculine self, a literary embodiment of childhood memories effortlessly 'arising

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<sup>206</sup> Mrs. Henry Wood [as Johnny Ludlow], 'Finding Both of Them' in *Johnny Ludlow First Series* (London: Bentley, 1895), p. 20.

<sup>207</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 105.

<sup>208</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 106.

<sup>209</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 106.

<sup>210</sup> Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 265.

<sup>211</sup> Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 266.

<sup>212</sup> Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 248.

as if it were from a long closed cavern of memory' in her native Worcester.<sup>213</sup> Sharing a delicate body and an ability to 'read people as easily as a book,' Wood's repeated identification with 'Johnny Ludlow' can ensure he is read as her literary male self.<sup>214</sup> Charles' exaggeration of Wood's 'quiet way- too delicate and sensitive to be actively among [the boys in her childhood]-' renders a position for Wood as a distanced spectator, who 'must have closely observed their characters and dispositions, [to] grasp and comprehend [the] many-sided [...] nature of a school-boy.'<sup>215</sup> This spectator position is mirrored in Johnny, who is 'not the hero in any one story,'<sup>216</sup> and often occupies a liminal existence spectating rather than participating, yet frequently teaches his classmates and guardians valuable lessons. Concurrently, the Ludlow stories are also described as 'another proof of Mrs Wood's fertility of invention,' which foregrounds Wood's femininity and Charles Wood also portrays 'Johnny Ludlow' as a literary child that Wood gave birth to and nurtured through life. Wood's tireless campaign to create and maintain the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona is referenced again as Charles defines Wood primarily as a woman and mother by utilising birthing imagery alongside descriptions of Wood's writing. While the 'Johnny Ludlow' persona can be read as either a male embodiment or a literary offspring of Wood's creation, importantly, independently of this, the stories provide a different aspect of her writing, where she is free of the Mrs. Henry Wood persona, yet still protected under a new masculine name.<sup>217</sup> Palmer argues that by 'cross-dressing as Johnny Ludlow' Wood was able to 'reinforce the healthy, moral tone' in the *Argosy* and 'gave readers (particularly male ones) another figure to identify with.'<sup>218</sup> Wood primarily uses Ludlow as an alternative voice which continues to convey the same Christian and moral message found in the Mrs. Henry Wood persona, and, more largely, in the *Argosy* magazine. Considered to be an extension of the evangelically pious, didactic writings that featured in Wood's editorship of the *Argosy*, many of the Johnny Ludlow stories 'place feeling in a position of

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<sup>213</sup> Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 267.

<sup>214</sup> Mrs. Henry Wood [as Johnny Ludlow], 'Losing Lena', p. 15.

<sup>215</sup> Charles Wood, *Memorials of Mrs. Henry Wood*, p. 295.

<sup>216</sup> Anon. Review of 'Johnny Ludlow', *The Saturday Review* (May 9 1874), 37, 967 p. 603.

<sup>217</sup> Judd, 'Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England', p. 251.

<sup>218</sup> Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship*, p. 101.

centrality to faith,<sup>219</sup> and just as the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ identity personifies the ideal wife/mother role, Johnny is a perfect embodiment of the fragile youth who teaches valuable lessons based on his Christian sentimentalism. This approach is identical to Wood’s signed writings which couple evangelicalism with sentimentality and feeling. Wood’s use of the ‘innocent child [...] as the perfect catalyst for the conversion of corrupt adult characters’ places Johnny in the same position as Mrs. Henry Wood in her fictions as she uses many of the same literary techniques but also employs the same self-fashioning as featured in her ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ persona.<sup>220</sup>

While Wood’s masculine identities offer a deviation from the ‘Mrs. Henry Wood’ narrator that presides over the majority of her writings, the use of similar literary techniques and storytelling, plus the integration of the moral and pious message that she became known for, ensure that there is not an obvious contradiction between the styles. Instead of creating a masculine name to hide her writing behind, Wood embraces the new pseudonyms to introduce the authenticity and believability she achieved in her female-focussed writings through the title of ‘Mrs Henry Wood’. The complex relationship Wood developed with Johnny Ludlow, who is portrayed as both a male self and literary offspring by Charles Wood in the memorial, offers a fascinating line of research which may be developed in the future as Johnny Ludlow has been researched mainly as supernatural or detective stories. The masculine pseudonyms, and male focussed writings, showcase a different side to Wood’s diverse storytelling prowess while simultaneously exhibiting her as a savvy businesswoman always keen to maintain her precious image and reputation.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Palmer, *Women’s Authorship and Editorship*, p. 106.

<sup>220</sup> Lynne Vallone, ‘Women Writing for Children’ in *Women and Literature in Britain*, ed. Joanne Shattock, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 279.

<sup>221</sup> Wood’s self-fashioning as explored in previous chapters was replicated with the *Johnny Ludlow* stories as two of the tales published in the *Argosy* were omitted from the *Johnny Ludlow* collections. The first story, ‘Shaving the Ponies’ Tails’ was presumably omitted due to the uncharacteristic physical violence bestowed on Tod by his father. This self-censoring on Wood’s part is typical of her business acumen that invariably strove to protect her literary identities. The omission of the two tales as further evidence of Wood’s self-fashioning would be an interesting line of study to explore in a larger project.

## Conclusion

The examination of Wood's literary identities uncover a tenacious, determined businesswoman who utilised her skill as an accomplished storyteller to yield a substantial and maintainable income for her family. The speed and volume at which the fictions were produced are a testament to Wood's work ethic, despite being quickly denied by her sons' memorial which portrays her as a frail, pious household-manager who identified herself as a wife and mother before a writer. The professional identities adopted by Wood throughout her long and illustrious literary career provide a glimpse of the knowledgeable and adept manner in which Wood negotiated the literary market and consistently adapted her writings to conform to, and create, popular literature trends. By considering each of the professional identities adopted through her illustrious career, Wood's intelligence and knowledge of a booming literary market becomes clear. While the anonymous identities trace Wood's consciousness of the importance of signature and her transition from a conforming contributor to Ainsworth's magazines to crafting her own literary identities, which foregrounded the influential 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona. Wood's most famous identity provides evidence of Wood's forthright business acumen by cultivating a unique, easily recognisable writing style under the protective shield of her husband's name. The combination of propriety and sensationalism both deflected criticism and afforded Wood the opportunity to critique patriarchal society in a covert manner behind the mask of a pious, conservative wife and mother. The conservation of the Mrs. Henry Wood brand by both Wood herself, through motivated textual changes, refashioning of material, and gaining complete control over her identity through purchasing the *Argosy*, and the continuation by her son, Charles, in both his memorial and sustained publication of Wood's work posthumously, created a niche market for Wood's publications which remained popular into the early decades of the twentieth century yet condemned her as clichéd later. Overall, the motivation for Wood's writing was always pecuniary and in this way, her efforts were wholly and completely successful. The masculine identities offer a different perspective on the overtly feminine reputation of Wood as she steps away from the woman-to-woman writing by which she was known through 'Johnny

Ludlow' and discovers a new identity to provide an outlet for her tales. The 'multifaceted consistency' provided by Wood's masculine writing alongside the more feminine writing must be celebrated and admired as they uncover an astute, intelligent businesswoman with a talent for story writing and simultaneously provide an interesting perspective of the ability of a malformed, fragile wife to negotiate successfully through the competitive literary marketplace of nineteenth-century Britain.

While the key to Wood's success undoubtably lies in her 'adaptability and opportunism' through 'identifying her target market and tailoring her material accordingly',<sup>222</sup> my research has uncovered the essential role of the performative authorship of the 'Mrs. Henry Wood' persona and the creation of several other professional identities which enabled Wood to negotiate the literary market successfully during her phenomenally profitable and lucrative career.

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<sup>222</sup> Riley, 'The enterprising fiction of Ellen Wood', p. 181.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1- Timeline of Ellen Wood's contributions to periodicals

A timeline I compiled of Wood's traceable writings in monthly and weekly publications, which has been invaluable to my research.

	Publication	Month	Year	Title	Author
1	NMM	Feb	1851	Seven Years in the Wedded Life of a Roman Catholic	Anonymous
2	NMM	Mar	1851	Clarisse de Maulevrier	Author of Seven Years...
3	NMM	Apr	1851	The Fate of Charles De St. Leger	Author of Seven Years...
4	NMM	May	1851	Maria Ernach's First and Last Pilgrimage	Author of Seven Years...
5	NMM	Jun	1851	Maria Ernach's First and Last Pilgrimage	Author of Seven Years...
6	NMM	Jul	1851	An Episode in the Life of John Rayner	Author of Seven Years...
7	NMM	Sept	1851	The Requital of Frances Hildyard	Author of Seven Years...
8	NMM	Nov	1851	A Dark Deed of The Days Gone By	Anonymous
9	NMM	Dec	1851	The Punishment of Gina Montani	Anonymous
10	NMM	Feb	1852	The Golden Era	Anonymous
11	NMM	Mar	1852	The Concluding Years in the Life of Anna Leicester	Anonymous- Wellesley Attribution
12	NMM	May	1852	My Cousin Caroline's Wedding	Anonymous
13	NMM	Aug	1852	The Day-dream of George Vansittart: and its Recompense	Author of Seven Years..., The Golden Era etc.
14	NMM	Dec	1852	Annie Lee	Author of Seven Years...
15	NMM	Jan	1853	Annie Livingstone	Anonymous
16	NMM	Feb	1853	A Word to England	Anonymous- Wellesley Attribution
17	NMM	Mar	1853	A Word to England: The Sequel	Anonymous
18	NMM	Apr	1853	The Unholy Wish	Anonymous
19	NMM	May	1853	A Turn in the Leaf of Life	Sequel to The Unholy Wish
20	NMM	Jun	1853	Two Phases in the Life of an Only Child	Author of The Unholy Wish
21	NMM	Jul	1853	Georgina Vereker	Author of The Unholy Wish
22	NMM	Aug	1853	The Self-Convicted	Author of The Unholy Wish
23	NMM	Sept	1853	A Tomb in a Foreign Land	Author of The Unholy Wish
24	NMM	Oct	1853	An Event in the Life of Lord Byron	Author of The Unholy Wish
25	NMM	Nov	1853	An Imperial Visit	
26	NMM	Nov	1853	St. Martin's Eve	Author of The Unholy Wish
27	NMM	Dec	1853	The Lady's Well	Author of The Unholy Wish
28	NMM	Jan	1854	A Record of the Gold-Fever	Author of The Unholy Wish
29	NMM	Feb	1854	Annabel Annesley's First Valentine	Author of The Unholy Wish
30	NMM	Mar	1854	A Visit to Worcester	Author of The Unholy Wish
31	NMM	Jun	1854	(A Visit to) A Day at Malvern	Author of The Unholy Wish
32	NMM	Jul	1854	A Soldier's Career	Author of The Unholy Wish
33	NMM	Jul	1854	Stray Letters From The East	Thomas Pepper
34	NMM	Aug	1854	The Tour of David Dundyke, Esquire.	Author of The Unholy Wish
35	NMM	Sept	1854	What Became of Him?	Author of The Unholy Wish
36	NMM	Sept	1854	More Stray Letters From The East	Ensign Pepper
37	NMM	Oct	1854	Mildred Arkell	Author of The Unholy Wish
38	NMM	Nov	1854	A City's Desolation	Author of The Unholy Wish
39	NMM	Dec	1854	The Aunt and Niece	Author of The Unholy Wish

40	NMM	Dec	1854	More Stray Letters From The Seat Of War	Ensign Pepper
41	NMM	Jan	1855	The Elopement	Anonymous
42	Bentley's	Jan	1855	War; and the Paris Mesmerists	Anonymous
43	NMM	Feb	1855	The Reception of the Dead	Author of "The Elopement"
44	NMM	Feb	1855	Tom Pepper's Letters from the Crimea	Ensign Pepper
45	NMM	Mar	1855	The Chateau de Beaufoy	Author of The Unholy Wish
46	Bentley's	Mar	1855	The Parson's Oath	Author of War; and the Paris Mesmerists
47	NMM	Apr	1855	The Plain Gold Ring	Author of The Unholy Wish
48	NMM	Apr	1855	Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea	Ensign Pepper
49	NMM	May	1855	Sarah Beauclerc	Author of The Unholy Wish
50	NMM	Jun	1855	The Crisis	Author of The Unholy Wish
51	NMM	Jun	1855	Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea (Batch The Sixth)	Ensign Pepper
52	NMM	Jul	1855	The Sick-Chamber	Author of The Unholy Wish
53	NMM	Aug	1855	The Reception	Author of The Unholy Wish
54	NMM	Sept	1855	The Lunatic Asylum	Author of The Unholy Wish
55	NMM	Sept	1855	Ensign Pepper's Letters from the Crimea	Ensign Pepper
56	Bentley's	Sept	1855	The House of Halliwell Part I: A Draught of Poison	Anonymous
57	NMM	Oct	1855	The Prebendary's Daughter	Author of The Unholy Wish
58	Bentley's	Oct	1855	(The House of Halliwell Part II): Another Passage in a Dark Story	Anonymous
59	NMM	Nov	1855	Millicent and Philip Crane	Author of The Unholy Wish
60	NMM	Nov	1855	Ensign Pepper's Letters from Sebastopol	Ensign Pepper
61	NMM	Dec	1855	Seven Years	Author of The Unholy Wish
62	NMM	Jan	1856	All Souls Eve	Author of The Unholy Wish
63	Bentley's	Jan	1856	(The House of Halliwell Part III): How I grew into an Old Maid	Anonymous
64	NMM	Feb	1856	Adela Chenevix	Author of The Unholy Wish
65	Bentley's	Feb	1856	The House of Halliwell Part IV: Our First Lodgers	Anonymous
66	NMM	Mar	1856	The Merchant and his Wife	Author of The Unholy Wish
67	Bentley's	Mar	1856	The House of Halliwell Part V: Going to the Shows	Anonymous
68	NMM	Apr	1856	Infatuation	Author of The Unholy Wish
69	Bentley's	Apr	1856	The House of Halliwell Part VI: Lucy's Adventure	Anonymous
70	NMM	May	1856	The Mail-Cart Robbery	Author of The Unholy Wish
71	Bentley's	May	1856	The House of Halliwell Part VII: Tom Elliot's Prize	Anonymous
72	NMM	Jun	1856	The Missing Letter	Author of The Unholy Wish
73	Bentley's	Jun	1856	The House of Halliwell Part VIII: The Physician's Home	Anonymous
74	NMM	Jul	1856	Ashley	Author of The Unholy Wish
75	Bentley's	Jul	1856	The House of Halliwell Part IX: Clara Elliot	Anonymous
76	NMM	Aug	1856	The Butterfly Chase	Author of The Unholy Wish
77	Bentley's	Aug	1856	The House of Halliwell Part X: Mary Goring	Anonymous
78	NMM	Sept	1856	St. Owest	Author of The Unholy Wish
79	Bentley's	Sept	1856	The House of Halliwell Part XI: Right at Last	Anonymous
80	NMM	Oct	1856	The Delayed Will	Author of The Unholy Wish

81	Bentley's	Oct	1856	The House of Halliwell Part XII: The Young Clergyman and his Anti-Macassars	Anonymous
82	NMM	Nov	1856	Cheating Does Not Always Prosper	Author of The Unholy Wish
83	Bentley's	Nov	1856	The House of Halliwell Part XIII: The Steward's Bargain	Anonymous
84	NMM	Dec	1856	Jane Dixon	Author of Ashley
85	NMM	Jan	1857	Lost and Found	Author of Ashley
86	Bentley's	Jan	1857	Doing the Dun	Anonymous
87	NMM	Feb	1857	Five Thousand A Year	Author of Ashley
88	Bentley's	Feb	1857	The Red-Court Farm	Anonymous
89	NMM	Mar	1857	A Dream From Heaven	Author of Ashley
90	Bentley's	Mar	1857	The Coroner's Inquest	Author of The Red-Court Farm
91	NMM	Apr	1857	The Lawyers' Servants	Author of Ashley
92	Bentley's	Apr	1857	Robert Hunter's Ghost	Author of The Red-Court Farm
93	NMM	May	1857	Parkwater	Author of Ashley
94	Bentley's	May	1857	The Passing-Bell	Author of The Red-Court Farm
95	NMM	Jun	1857	A Stolen Mar	Author of Ashley
96	Bentley's	Jun	1857	Ellen Leicester	Author of The Red-Court Farm
97	NMM	Jul	1857	The Countrywoman and the Child	Author of Ashley
98	Bentley's	Jul	1857	The Six Grey-Powders	Author of The Red-Court Farm
99	NMM	Aug	1857	The Detective Officer	Author of Ashley
100	Bentley's	Aug	1857	A Midnight Dream	Author of The Red-Court Farm
101	NMM	Sept	1857	A Race With Time	Author of Ashley
102	Bentley's	Sept	1857	Beech Lodge	Author of The Red-Court Farm
103	NMM	Oct	1857	The Engagement of Susan Chase	Author of Ashley
104	Bentley's	Oct	1857	A Mysterious Visitor	Author of The Passing Bell
105	NMM	Nov	1857	The Pines	Author of Ashley
106	Bentley's	Nov	1857	Moat-Grange	Author of The Passing Bell
107	NMM	Dec	1857	The End of an Ill-Starred Visit	Author of Ashley
108	Bentley's	Dec	1857	Midnight Doings	Author of The Passing Bell
109	NMM	Jan	1858	Home At Last	Author of Ashley
110	Bentley's	Jan	1858	Too Much to Wear	Author of Midnight Doings
111	Bentley's	Feb	1858	Season the Second	Author of Too Much to Wear
112	NMM	Feb	1858	The Voyage of the "Rushing Water"	Author of Ashley
113	NMM	Mar	1858	Alnwick Cottage	Author of Ashley
114	Bentley's	Mar	1858	A Night of Tumult	Author of Too Much to Wear
115	NMM	Apr	1858	A Premature Disclosure	Author of Ashley
116	Bentley's	Apr	1858	Rushing Headlong into Marriage	Anonymous
117	NMM	May	1858	The Wager Boats	Author of Ashley
118	Bentley's	May	1858	Three Hundred A Year	Author of Rushing Headlong into Marriage
119	NMM	Jun	1858	The Earl's Dilemma	Author of Ashley
120	Bentley's	Jun	1858	The Diamond Bracelet	Author of Moat Grange
121	NMM	Jul	1858	The Stranger	Author of Ashley
122	Bentley's	Jul	1858	Going Into Exile	Author of Moat Grange
123	NMM	Aug	1858	The Second Wife	Author of Ashley
124	Bentley's	Aug	1858	Coming Out of Exile	Author of Moat Grange
125	NMM	Sept	1858	Agnes Waterlow	Author of Ashley
126	Bentley's	Sept	1858	The Rock	Author of Moat Grange
127	NMM	Oct	1858	Raby Verner	Author of Ashley
128	Bentley's	Oct	1858	A Last Will and Testament	Author of Moat Grange
129	NMM	Nov	1858	A Night with the Ghosts	Author of Ashley

130	Bentley's	Nov	1858	The Rejection	Author of Moat Grange
131	NMM	Dec	1858	Mr. Fauntleroy's Office	Author of Ashley
132	Bentley's	Dec	1858	Died In A Fit	Author of Moat Grange
133	NMM	Jan	1859	Assize Sunday	Author of Ashley
134	Bentley's	Jan	1859	The Postern-Door	Author of Moat-Grange
135	NMM	Feb	1859	The Assize Cause	Author of Ashley
136	Bentley's	Feb	1859	Recollections of Charles Strange Part I	Anonymous
137	NMM	Mar	1859	The Gravestone in the Cloisters	Author of Ashley
138	Bentley's	Mar	1859	Recollections of Charles Strange Part II	Anonymous
139	NMM	Apr	1859	Pommeroy Abbey	Author of Ashley
140	Bentley's	Apr	1859	Recollections of Charles Strange Part III	Anonymous
141	NMM	May	1859	The Prediction	Author of Ashley
142	Bentley's	May	1859	Recollections of Charles Strange Part IV	Anonymous
143	NMM	Jun	1859	The Brothers	Author of Ashley
144	Bentley's	Jun	1859	Blanche Level Part I	Anonymous
145	NMM	Jul	1859	Changes	Author of Ashley
146	Bentley's	Jul	1859	The Maze- Blanche Level Part II	Anonymous
147	NMM	Aug	1859	Coming Again	Author of Ashley
148	Bentley's	Aug	1859	The Barred-Up Rooms	Anonymous
149	NMM	Sept	1859	The Old Keep	Author of Ashley
150	Bentley's	Sept	1859	Great and Little Whitton	Anonymous
151	NMM	Oct	1859	Clara Lake's Dream	Author of Ashley
152	Bentley's	Oct	1859	The Dean of Denham	Anonymous
153	NMM	Nov	1859	The Signal Lights	Author of Ashley
154	Bentley's	Nov	1859	French and English Female Dress	Anonymous
155	NMM	Dec	1859	The Ill-Omened Dream Worked Out	Author of Ashley
156	NMM	Jan	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
157	NMM	Feb	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
158	NMM	Mar	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
159	NMM	Apr	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
160	NMM	May	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
161	NMM	Jun	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
162	NMM	Jul	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
163	NMM	Aug	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
164	NMM	Sept	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
165	NMM	Oct	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
166	NMM	Nov	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
167	NMM	Dec	1860	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
168	NMM	Jan	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
169	NMM	Feb	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
170	NMM	Mar	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
171	NMM	Apr	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
172	NMM	May	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
173	NMM	Jun	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
174	NMM	Jul	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
175	NMM	Aug	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
176	NMM	Sept	1861	East Lynne	Author of Ashley
177	The Leisure Hour	Sept 12	1861	A Race For Life	Author of Danesbury House
178	The Leisure Hour	Sept 19	1861	A Race For Life	Author of Danesbury House
179	The Leisure Hour	Sept 26	1861	A Race For Life	Author of Danesbury House

180	Quiver	Sept	1861	The Channings: A Tale	Anonymous
181	NMM	Oct	1861	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
182	Quiver	Oct	1861	The Channings: A Tale	Anonymous
183	NMM	Nov	1861	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
184	Quiver	Nov	1861	The Channings: A Tale	Author of Danesbury House, East Lynne Etc.
185	NMM	Dec	1861	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
186	Quiver	Dec	1861	The Channings: A Tale	Author of Danesbury House, East Lynne Etc.
187	NMM	Jan	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
188	Quiver	Jan	1862	The Channings: A Tale	Author of Danesbury House, East Lynne Etc.
189	The Leisure Hour	Jan	1862	A Life's Secret	Anonymous
190	NMM	Feb	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
191	St. James's	Feb	1862	The Brilliant Keeper	Author of East Lynne
192	Quiver	Feb	1862	The Channings: A Tale	Author of Danesbury House, East Lynne Etc.
193	The Leisure Hour	Feb	1862	A Life's Secret	Anonymous
194	NMM	Mar	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
195	Quiver	Mar	1862	The Channings: A Tale	Author of Danesbury House, East Lynne Etc.
196	The Leisure Hour	Mar	1862	A Life's Secret	Anonymous
197	NMM	Apr	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
198	Quiver	Apr	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
199	The Leisure Hour	Apr	1862	A Life's Secret	Anonymous
200	NMM	May	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
201	Quiver	May	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
202	The Leisure Hour	May	1862	A Life's Secret	Anonymous
203	NMM	Jun	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
204	Quiver	Jun	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
205	Once a week	Jun 28	1862	Verner's Pride	The Authoress of East Lynne
206	NMM	Jul	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
207	Quiver	Jul	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
208	NMM	Aug	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
209	Quiver	Aug	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
210	NMM	Sept	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
211	Quiver	Sept	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
212	NMM	Oct	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
213	Quiver	Oct	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
214	NMM	Nov	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
215	Quiver	Nov	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
216	NMM	Dec	1862	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
217	Quiver	Dec	1862	Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles	Author of The Channings
218	Quiver	Dec	1862	William Allair; or Running Away To Sea	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
219	NMM	Jan	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
220	Good Words	Jan	1863	The Night-Walk Over The Mill Stream	Author of East Lynne
221	Good Words	Jan	1863	Martyn Wares Temptation	Author of East Lynne

222	Quiver	Jan	1863	William Allair; or Running Away To Sea	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
223	NMM	Feb	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
224	Quiver	Feb	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
225	NMM	Mar	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
226	Quiver	Mar	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
227	NMM	Apr	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
228	Quiver	Apr	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
229	NMM	May	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
230	Quiver	May	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
231	NMM	Jun	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
232	Quiver	Jun	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
233	NMM	Jul	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
234	The Leisure Hour	Jul	1863	The Lost Bank Note	Author of Danesbury House
235	Quiver	Jul	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
236	NMM	Aug	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
237	The Leisure Hour	Aug	1863	The Lost Bank Note	Author of Danesbury House
238	Quiver	Aug	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
239	NMM	Sept	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
240	Quiver	Sept	1863	Squire Trevlyn's Heir	Author of The Channings Mrs Halliburton's Troubles
241	NMM	Oct	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
242	NMM	Nov	1863	The Shadow of Ashlydyat	Author of East Lynne
243	Good Words	Jan	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
244	Good Words	Feb	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
245	Once a Week	Mar	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne
246	Good Words	Mar	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
247	Good Words	Apr	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
248	Once a Week	Apr	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne
249	Good Words	May	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
250	Once a Week	May	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne
251	Good Words	Jun	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
252	Once a Week	Jun	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne
253	Good Words	Jul	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
254	Once a Week	Jul	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne
255	Good Words	Aug	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
256	Once a Week	Aug	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne
257	Good Words	Sept	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
258	Once a Week	Sept	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne

259	Good Words	Oct	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
260	Once a Week	Oct	1864	Lord Oakburn's Daughters	Author of East Lynne
261	Good Words	Nov	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
262	Good Words	Dec	1864	Oswald Cray	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
263	Temple Bar	Apr	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
264	Temple Bar	May	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
265	Temple Bar	Jun	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
266	Temple Bar	Jul	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
267	Temple Bar	Aug	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
268	Temple Bar	Sept	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
269	Temple Bar	Oct	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
270	Temple Bar	Nov	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
271	Temple Bar	Dec	1866	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
272	Temple Bar	Jan	1867	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
273	Temple Bar	Feb	1867	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
274	Temple Bar	Mar	1867	Lady Adelaide's Oath	Author of East Lynne
275	Routledge's Every Boy Magazine		1867	Orville College	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne", "the Channings", "Trevlyn Hold", "St. Martin's Eve", Elster's Folly" etc.
276	Argosy	Dec	1867	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
277	Argosy	Jan	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
278	Argosy	Jan	1868	Shaving the Ponies' Tails (0)	Johnny Ludlow
279	Argosy	Feb	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
280	Argosy	Feb	1868	Losing Lena (1)	Johnny Ludlow
281	Argosy	Mar	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
282	Argosy	Mar	1868	Finding Both of Them (1)	Johnny Ludlow
283	Argosy	Apr	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
284	Argosy	Apr	1868	Watching on St. Mark's Eve (5)	Johnny Ludlow
285	Argosy	May	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
286	Argosy	May	1868	Sanker's Visit (5)	Johnny Ludlow
287	Argosy	Jun	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
288	Argosy	Jun	1868	Selling Flowers	Author of East Lynne
289	Argosy	Jul	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
290	Argosy	Jul	1868	Roger Monk (5)	Johnny Ludlow
291	Argosy	Aug	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
292	Argosy	Aug	1868	A Hunt by Moonlight (1)	Johnny Ludlow
293	Argosy	Sept	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
294	Argosy	Sept	1868	Major Parrifer (1)	Johnny Ludlow
295	Argosy	Oct	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
296	Argosy	Oct	1868	Coming Home to Him (1)	Johnny Ludlow
297	Argosy	Nov	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
298	Argosy	Dec	1868	Anne Hereford	Author of East Lynne
299	Argosy	Dec	1868	Reality or Delusion? (1)	Johnny Ludlow
300	Argosy	Dec	1868	Mr. North's Dream	Author of East Lynne
301	Argosy	Jan	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne
302	Argosy	Jan	1869	Lease, the Pointsman (1)	Johnny Ludlow
303	Argosy	Feb	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne
304	Argosy	Feb	1869	Going through the Tunnel (1)	Johnny Ludlow
305	Argosy	Mar	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
306	Argosy	Mar	1869	The Beginning of the End (1)	Johnny Ludlow

307	Tinsley's	Apr	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
308	Argosy	Apr	1869	"Jerry's Gazette" (1)	Johnny Ludlow
309	Argosy	Apr	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
310	Argosy	May	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
311	Argosy	May	1869	Crabb Ravine (3)	Johnny Ludlow
312	Tinsley's	May	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
313	Argosy	Jun	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
314	Argosy	Jun	1869	Tod's Repentance (3)	Johnny Ludlow
315	Tinsley's	Jun	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
316	Argosy	Jul	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
317	Tinsley's	Jul	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
318	Argosy	Aug	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
319	Argosy	Aug	1869	Jellico and His Pack (3)	Johnny Ludlow
320	Tinsley's	Aug	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
321	Argosy	Sept	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
322	Argosy	Sept	1869	Sophie Chalk (1)	Johnny Ludlow
323	Tinsley's	Sept	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
324	Argosy	Oct	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
325	Argosy	Oct	1869	At Miss Deveen's (1)	Johnny Ludlow
326	Tinsley's	Oct	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
327	Argosy	Nov	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
328	Argosy	Nov	1869	The Game Finished (1)	Johnny Ludlow
329	Tinsley's	Nov	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
330	Argosy	Dec	1869	Roland Yorke	Author of East Lynne George Canterbury's Will
331	Argosy	Dec	1869	David Garth's Night-Watch (1)	Johnny Ludlow
332	Argosy	Dec	1869	Feathers and Spangles	Author of East Lynne
333	Tinsley's	Dec	1869	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
334	Tinsley's	Jan	1870	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
335	Argosy	Jan	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
336	Argosy	Jan	1870	Robert Ashton's Wedding-Day (2)	Johnny Ludlow
337	Tinsley's	Feb	1870	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
338	Argosy	Feb	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
339	Argosy	Feb	1870	Hardly Worth Telling (2)	Johnny Ludlow
340	Tinsley's	Mar	1870	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
341	Argosy	Mar	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
342	Argosy	Mar	1870	Lost in the Post (2)	Johnny Ludlow
343	Tinsley's	Apr	1870	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
344	Argosy	Apr	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
345	Argosy	Apr	1870	Dick Mitchel (1)	Johnny Ludlow
346	Tinsley's	May	1870	George Canterbury's Will	Author of East Lynne Roland Yorke etc
347	Argosy	May	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
348	Argosy	May	1870	A Life of Trouble (2)	Johnny Ludlow
349	Argosy	Jun	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
350	Argosy	Jul	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
351	Argosy	Jul	1870	A Tale of Sin (2)	Johnny Ludlow

352	Argosy	Aug	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
353	Argosy	Aug	1870	A Tale of Sin (2)	Johnny Ludlow
354	Argosy	Sept	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
355	Argosy	Sept	1870	A Tale of Sin (2)	Johnny Ludlow
356	Argosy	Oct	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
357	Argosy	Oct	1870	A Tale of Sin (2)	Johnny Ludlow
358	Argosy	Nov	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
359	Argosy	Dec	1870	Bessy Rane	Author of East Lynne
360	Argosy	Dec	1870	Wolfe Barrington's Taming (1)	Johnny Ludlow
361	Argosy	Dec	1870	Out In The Streets	Author of East Lynne
362	Argosy	Jan	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
363	Argosy	Jan	1871	David Garth's Ghost (1)	Johnny Ludlow
364	Argosy	Feb	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
365	Argosy	Feb	1871	Seeing Life (1)	Johnny Ludlow
366	Argosy	Mar	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
367	Argosy	Mar	1871	The Mystery of Jessy Page (3)	Johnny Ludlow
368	Argosy	Apr	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
369	Argosy	Apr	1871	Coming Home to Die (3)	Johnny Ludlow
370	Argosy	Apr	1871	Going Out To The Diamond Fields	Anonymous
371	Argosy	May	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
372	Argosy	Jun	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
373	Argosy	Jun	1871	Bursting Up (1)	Johnny Ludlow
374	Argosy	Jul	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
375	Argosy	Jul	1871	Getting Away (1)	Johnny Ludlow
376	Argosy	Aug	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
377	Argosy	Aug	1871	Over the Water (1)	Johnny Ludlow
378	Argosy	Sept	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
379	Argosy	Oct	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
380	Argosy	Nov	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
381	Argosy	Nov	1871	Our Strike (1)	Johnny Ludlow
382	Argosy	Dec	1871	Dene Hollow	Author of East Lynne
383	Argosy	Dec	1871	Going to the Mop (1)	Johnny Ludlow
384	Argosy	Dec	1871	Mary Winter's History	Author of East Lynne
385	Argosy	Jan	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
386	Argosy	Jan	1872	At Whitney Hall (1)	Johnny Ludlow
387	Argosy	Feb	1872	The Self-Convicted	Author of East Lynne
388	Argosy	Feb	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
389	Argosy	Mar	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
390	Argosy	Mar	1872	Breaking Down (1)	Johnny Ludlow
391	Argosy	Apr	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
392	Argosy	May	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
393	Argosy	May	1872	Aunt Dean (1)	Johnny Ludlow
394	Argosy	Jun	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
395	Argosy	Jul	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
396	Argosy	Aug	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
397	Argosy	Sept	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
398	Argosy	Sept	1872	A Day of Pleasure (2)	Johnny Ludlow
399	Argosy	Oct	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
400	Argosy	Oct	1872	The Final Upshot (2)	Johnny Ludlow
401	Argosy	Nov	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
402	Argosy	Dec	1872	Within The Maze	Author of East Lynne
403	Argosy	Dec	1872	Cyrilla Maude	Author of East Lynne

404	Argosy	Jan	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
405	Argosy	Jan	1873	Our First Term at Oxford (5)	Johnny Ludlow
406	Argosy	Jan	1873	My Cousin Caroline's Wedding	Anonymous
407	Argosy	Feb	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
408	Argosy	Feb	1873	A Crisis in His Life (5)	Johnny Ludlow
409	Argosy	Mar	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
410	Argosy	Apr	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
411	Argosy	Apr	1873	A Great Mystery (3)	
412	Argosy	May	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
413	Argosy	May	1873	Janet Carey (3)	Johnny Ludlow
414	Argosy	Jun	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
415	Argosy	Jul	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
416	Argosy	Jul	1873	Dr. Knox (3)	Johnny Ludlow
417	Argosy	Aug	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
418	Argosy	Sept	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
419	Argosy	Oct	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
420	Argosy	Nov	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
421	Argosy	Nov	1873	Fred Temple's Warning (0)	Johnny Ludlow
422	Argosy	Dec	1873	The Master of Greylands	Author of East Lynne
423	Argosy	Dec	1873	Mrs. Todhethley's Earrings (2)	Johnny Ludlow
424	Argosy	Dec	1873	The Major's Daughter	Author of East Lynne
425	Argosy	Jan	1874	All Souls' Eve	Author of East Lynne
426	Argosy	Jan	1874	Selina Radcliffe's Home (4)	Johnny Ludlow
427	Argosy	Feb	1874	Adam Grainger	Author of East Lynne
428	Argosy	Feb	1874	Pritchley's Farm (4)	Johnny Ludlow
429	Argosy	Mar	1874	Five Thousand A Year	Author of East Lynne
430	Argosy	Mar	1874	The Cries in the Trees (4)	Johnny Ludlow
431	Argosy	Apr	1874	A Dream From Heaven	Author of East Lynne
432	Argosy	Apr	1874	Sandstone Torr (4)	Johnny Ludlow
433	Argosy	Jun	1874	The Diamond Bracelet	Author of East Lynne
434	Argosy	Jul	1874	The Diamond Bracelet	Author of East Lynne
435	Argosy	Aug	1874	The Diamond Bracelet	Author of East Lynne
436	Argosy	Aug	1874	Hester Reed's Pills (2)	Johnny Ludlow
437	Argosy	Sept	1874	Abel Crew (2)	Johnny Ludlow
438	Argosy	Dec	1874	Frances Hildyard	Author of East Lynne
439	Argosy	Dec	1874	The Other Earring (2)	Johnny Ludlow
440	Argosy	Jan	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
441	Argosy	Jan	1875	Charles Van Rheyn (2)	Johnny Ludlow
442	Sunday Magazine	Jan	1875	Bessy Wells	Author of East Lynne
443	Argosy	Feb	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
444	Argosy	Feb	1875	Margaret Rymer (2)	Johnny Ludlow
445	Sunday Magazine	Feb	1875	Bessy Wells	Author of East Lynne
446	Argosy	Mar	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
447	Sunday Magazine	Mar	1875	Bessy Wells	Author of East Lynne
448	Argosy	Apr	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
449	Argosy	Apr	1875	The Key of the Church (2)	Johnny Ludlow
450	Sunday Magazine	Apr	1875	Bessy Wells	Author of East Lynne
451	Argosy	May	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
452	Argosy	May	1875	The Syllabus Feast (2)	Johnny Ludlow

453	Argosy	Jun	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
454	Argosy	Jul	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
455	Argosy	Aug	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
456	Argosy	Sept	1875	Parkwater	Author of East Lynne
457	Argosy	Sept	1875	Chandler & Chandler (4)	Johnny Ludlow
458	Argosy	Oct	1875	Chandler & Chandler (4)	Johnny Ludlow
459	Argosy	Dec	1875	Gina Montani	Author of East Lynne
460	Argosy	Dec	1875	Seen in the Moonlight (2)	Johnny Ludlow
461	Argosy	Jan	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
462	Argosy	Jan	1876	Rose Lodge (2)	Johnny Ludlow
463	Argosy	Feb	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
464	Argosy	Feb	1876	The Angels' Music (3)	Johnny Ludlow
465	Argosy	Mar	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
466	Argosy	Mar	1876	Ketira the Gypsy (4)	Johnny Ludlow
467	Argosy	Apr	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
468	Argosy	Apr	1876	Ketira the Gypsy (4)	Johnny Ludlow
469	Argosy	May	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
470	Argosy	Jun	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
471	Argosy	Jul	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
472	Argosy	Aug	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
473	Argosy	Sept	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
474	Argosy	Oct	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
475	Argosy	Oct	1876	Anne (2)	Johnny Ludlow
476	Argosy	Nov	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
477	Argosy	Nov	1876	Anne (2)	Johnny Ludlow
478	Argosy	Dec	1876	Edina	Mrs Henry Wood, author of East Lynne
479	Argosy	Dec	1876	Anne (2)	Johnny Ludlow
480	Argosy	Dec	1876	Rupert Hall	Author of East Lynne
481	Argosy	Jan	1877	Katarina Orsini	Author of East Lynne
482	Argosy	Jan	1877	The Mystery at Number Seven (6)	Johnny Ludlow
483	Argosy	Feb	1877	Owen, the Milkman (6)	Johnny Ludlow
484	Argosy	Mar	1877	Helen Whitney's Wedding (3)	Johnny Ludlow
485	Argosy	Apr	1877	Helen's Curate (3)	Johnny Ludlow
486	Argosy	Aug	1877	A Day in Briar Wood (3)	Johnny Ludlow
487	Argosy	Dec	1877	A Mysterious Visitor	Author of East Lynne
488	Argosy	Dec	1877	Lee, the Letter-Man (3)	Johnny Ludlow
489	Argosy	Jan	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Author of East Lynne
490	Argosy	Jan	1878	Caromel's Farm (3)	Johnny Ludlow
491	Argosy	Feb	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Author of East Lynne
492	Argosy	Feb	1878	Charlotte and Charlotte (3)	Johnny Ludlow
493	Argosy	Mar	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
494	Argosy	Mar	1878	The Last of the Caromels (3)	Johnny Ludlow
495	Argosy	Apr	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
496	Argosy	May	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
497	Argosy	Jun	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
498	Argosy	Jul	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
499	Argosy	Aug	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
500	Argosy	Sept	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
501	Argosy	Oct	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
502	Argosy	Nov	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
503	Argosy	Dec	1878	Pomeroy Abbey	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of East Lynne
504	Argosy	Jan	1879	A Tomb in a Foreign Land	Author of East Lynne

505	Argosy	Jan	1879	Lady Jenkins (3)	Johnny Ludlow
506	Argosy	Feb	1879	Lady Jenkins (3)	Johnny Ludlow
507	Argosy	Mar	1879	Lady Jenkins (3)	Johnny Ludlow
508	Argosy	Apr	1879	Lady Jenkins (3)	Johnny Ludlow
509	Argosy	Nov	1879	The Curate of St. Matthew's (4)	Johnny Ludlow
510	Argosy	Dec	1879	The Lady's Well	Author of East Lynne
511	Argosy	Dec	1879	The Rector of St. Matthew's (4)	Johnny Ludlow
512	Argosy	Jan	1880	Verena Fontaine's Rebellion (4)	Johnny Ludlow
513	Argosy	Feb	1880	Verena Fontaine's Rebellion (4)	Johnny Ludlow
514	Argosy	Mar	1880	Verena Fontaine's Rebellion (4)	Johnny Ludlow
515	Argosy	Apr	1880	Verena Fontaine's Rebellion (4)	Johnny Ludlow
516	Argosy	May	1880	Verena Fontaine's Rebellion (4)	Johnny Ludlow
517	Argosy	Dec	1880	The Parson's Oath	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
518	Argosy	Jan	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
519	Argosy	Jan	1881	The Story of Dorothy Grape (3)	Johnny Ludlow
520	Argosy	Feb	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
521	Argosy	Feb	1881	The Story of Dorothy Grape (3)	Johnny Ludlow
522	Argosy	Mar	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
523	Argosy	Apr	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
524	Argosy	May	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
525	Argosy	Jun	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
526	Argosy	Jul	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
527	Argosy	Aug	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
528	Argosy	Sept	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
529	Argosy	Oct	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
530	Argosy	Nov	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
531	Argosy	Dec	1881	Court Netherleigh	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
532	Argosy	Dec	1881	Mrs. Cramp's Tenant (4)	Johnny Ludlow
533	Argosy	Jan	1882	A Mystery (4)	Johnny Ludlow
534	Argosy	Feb	1882	A Mystery (4)	Johnny Ludlow
535	Argosy	Mar	1882	A Mystery (4)	Johnny Ludlow
536	Argosy	Dec	1882	A Soldier's Career	Author of East Lynne
537	Argosy	Jan	1883	The Ebony Box (4)	Johnny Ludlow
538	Argosy	Feb	1883	The Ebony Box (4)	Johnny Ludlow
539	Argosy	Mar	1883	The Ebony Box (4)	Johnny Ludlow
540	Argosy	Nov	1883	A Curious Experience (4)	Johnny Ludlow
541	Argosy	Dec	1883	A Mesmerist of the Years Gone By	Author of East Lynne
542	Argosy	Jan	1884	Roger Bevere (4) I. Mr. Brandon's Skeleton	Johnny Ludlow
543	Argosy	Feb	1884	Roger Bevere (4) II. The Bell-and-the Clapper	Johnny Ludlow
544	Argosy	Mar	1884	Roger Bevere (4) III. Roger's Skeleton	Johnny Ludlow

545	Argosy	Dec	1884	The Mail-Card Robbery	Author of East Lynne
546	Argosy	Jan	1885	Caramel Cottage (6) I. The Barrister's Visit	Johnny Ludlow
547	Argosy	Feb	1885	Caramel Cottage (6) II. Disappeared	Johnny Ludlow
548	Argosy	Mar	1885	Caramel Cottage (6) III. Under the Summer Apple Tree	Johnny Ludlow
549	Argosy	Jan	1886	A Tragedy (6)	Johnny Ludlow
550	Argosy	Feb	1886	A Tragedy (6)	Johnny Ludlow
551	Argosy	Mar	1886	A Tragedy (6)	Johnny Ludlow
552	Argosy	Apr	1886	A Tragedy (6)	Johnny Ludlow
553	Argosy	Dec	1886	Millicent's Folly	Author of East Lynne
554	Argosy	Jan	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
555	Argosy	Feb	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
556	Argosy	Mar	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
557	Argosy	Apr	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
558	Argosy	May	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
559	Argosy	Jun	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
560	Argosy	Jul	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
561	Argosy	Aug	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
562	Argosy	Sept	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
563	Argosy	Oct	1887	Lady Grace	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
564	Argosy	Dec	1887	In Later Years (6)	Johnny Ludlow
565	Argosy	Jan	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
566	Argosy	Feb	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
567	Argosy	Mar	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
568	Argosy	Apr	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
569	Argosy	May	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
570	Argosy	Jun	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
571	Argosy	Jul	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
572	Argosy	Aug	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
573	Argosy	Sept	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
574	Argosy	Oct	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
575	Argosy	Nov	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
576	Argosy	Dec	1888	The Story of Charles Strange	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"

577	Argosy	Jan	1889	Featherston's Story (5)	Johnny Ludlow
578	Argosy	Feb	1889	Featherston's Story (5)	Johnny Ludlow
579	Argosy	Mar	1889	Featherston's Story (5)	Johnny Ludlow
580	Argosy	Apr	1889	Featherston's Story (5)	Johnny Ludlow
581	Argosy	May	1889	Featherston's Story (5)	Johnny Ludlow
582	Argosy	Jun	1889	Featherston's Story (5)	Johnny Ludlow
583	Argosy	Dec	1889	Dr. Marsh's Daughters	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
584	Argosy	Jan	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
585	Argosy	Feb	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
586	Argosy	Mar	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
587	Argosy	Apr	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
588	Argosy	May	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
589	Argosy	Jun	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
590	Argosy	Jul	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
591	Argosy	Aug	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
592	Argosy	Sept	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
593	Argosy	Oct	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
594	Argosy	Nov	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
595	Argosy	Dec	1890	The House of Halliwell	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
596	Argosy	Jan	1891	The Silent Chimes (6)	Johnny Ludlow
597	Argosy	Feb	1891	The Silent Chimes (6)	Johnny Ludlow
598	Argosy	Mar	1891	The Silent Chimes (6)	Johnny Ludlow
599	Argosy	Apr	1891	The Silent Chimes (6)	Johnny Ludlow
600	Argosy	May	1891	The Silent Chimes (6)	Johnny Ludlow
601	Argosy	Jun	1891	The Silent Chimes (6)	Johnny Ludlow
602	Argosy	Dec	1891	Two Phases in the Life of an Only Child	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
603	Argosy	Jan	1892	Ashley	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
604	Argosy	Jan	1893	The Engagement of Susan Chase	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
605	Argosy	Jan	1895	Mr. Castonel	The Late Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
606	Argosy	Mar	1897	Arthur Durham	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
607	Argosy	Apr	1897	The Prebendary's Daughter	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"
608	Argosy	Jan	1899	The Scapegoat	Mrs Henry Wood, Author of "East Lynne"

Appendix 2- Letter from Wood to *The Times* (Saturday October 28, 1871)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—I am entirely unable to account for the sweeping charge the Hon. Mrs. Norton has made against me in your impression of yesterday. She tells you and your readers that I took a story of hers—a brief story that she wrote at the beginning of her literary career, and published in one of the “Annuals” at that time fashionable; that I expanded it and issued it as my work, *East Lynne*. Mrs. Norton asserts this as a fact; as though it were an undoubted and ascertained truth.

Nothing can be more false; nothing more unjustifiable. There is not a shadow of foundation for it. Mrs. Norton may have written the brief story, but I never saw or heard of it. The only writings I have read of Mrs. Norton's are two of her three-volume novels. Her short stories I never saw until now; I did not know that she had written any. For many years before *East Lynne* came out I lived abroad, where I had no opportunity of seeing the English Annuals. I never did see them. Moreover, I fancy that the particular story Mrs. Norton speaks of (“one of the first,” she says, “I ever wrote”) must have appeared before my time. *East Lynne*—if it concerns the public and Mrs. Norton to know so much—was taken partly from my own imagination, partly from a romance enacted in real life, some of whose actors are living yet and will recognize what I say as true.

When *East Lynne* first came out—it is now exactly ten years ago—one of its reviewers told the public I had taken it from a story of Mrs. Marsh's, published from 20 to 30 years before, and called *The Admiral's Daughter*—that it was nearly a reprint of that story. Being curious to see this close resemblance, I succeeded in procuring Mrs. Marsh's story, and, beyond the fact that a wife who had quitted her home came back when her husband was dying and nursed him in disguise, there was no point of similarity between it and *East Lynne*. A reviewer may be licensed to make random assertions, but, surely, a private individual ought not to do so, and to send them forth as truth in the leading journal of the day.

Mrs. Norton does not end there. She takes upon herself to state that *East Lynne* (stolen from her) is the only one of my works that has made a lasting impression on the public; that my publishers, in advertising a new work from my pen, announce it as “by the author of *East Lynne*” in preference to any other of my books' titles, and she concludes this portion as follows,—“Now the story from which *East Lynne* is taken is mine.”

Let me explain to Mrs. Norton. *East Lynne* was my first novel; and therefore I (not my publishers) retain it as my distinguishing title. In regard to its being the only work that has made a permanent impression on the public, if Mrs. Norton will be at the trouble of applying to my publishers, they can assure her that others of my works (if the sale be any criterion) have made quite as permanent an impression as *East Lynne*.

Has Mrs. Norton yet to learn that where the gifts of imagination and power of construction are possessed together in a large degree an author has too much resource within himself to need to go abroad for pillage? Let those of the public who have read my works and Mrs. Norton's be themselves the judges which has least cause to pillage from the other. If I possessed no other requisite to make a novelist, I at least possess that of construction. Even the *Saturday Review* (which rarely fails to give me an ill word when it can) admitted this in a recent notice of my last work, *Dene Hollow*. It was good enough to say that “even Mr. Wilkie Collins was not greater in the power of constructing a plot than Mrs. Henry Wood,” or words to that effect. For myself, I can only say that the very fact of any author having taken up a particular plot or story would be the signal for me to avoid it.

I should like to be permitted to add a word on a portion of Mrs. Norton's letter that does not concern myself. She indirectly accuses Baron Tauchnitz, of Leipsic, of taking our works without acknowledgment; of stealing them, in fact, and of “not venturing to communicate with pirated authors.” I cannot think where Mrs. Norton's experience can have lain; mine shows me that the Baron honestly and liberally purchases all the works of our authors that are worth it.

Allow me, in conclusion, to repeat, that these public assertions of Mrs. Norton's in respect to myself cannot be justified by any law of courtesy, or right, or truth; neither will they be deemed excusable.

There is one remarkable omission in her letter. She does not state what the title of her “brief story” was. She gives neither the name of the Annual it appeared in nor its date. Mrs. Norton must be so kind as to supply these particulars for the satisfaction of myself and the public. Not that it can make the least difference in this my answer, for I have stated the absolute truth; but that we may be enabled to judge for ourselves (if the story be procurable) how much of the stated resemblance between itself and *East Lynne* exists.

I am, Sir, very sincerely yours,  
October 26. ELLEN WOOD.

Letter from ‘Ellen Wood’ to the editor of *The Times* in reply to a feature from a Mrs. Norton, who claimed Wood stole *East Lynne* from one of her lies.

*The Times*, Saturday October 28, 1871, page 6.

Editor's Note

Author Of “East Lynne”, ‘The House of Halliwell’, *Argosy*

\* "THE HOUSE OF HALLIWELL" was written by Mrs. Henry Wood many years ago- even as far back as the days when she had not yet written "East Lynne." It was at that time prepared for publication in three volumes, but was never offered to any Publishing Firm.

The story somewhat differs in style and construction from the Author's subsequent works, but possibly for that reason may gain an additional interest as showing forth the development of dramatic and constructive force, of the life and movement of each separate set of dramatis personae, as a writer, passing from work (2) to work, gains experience which leads to higher flights of thought and fancy. For, as a great essayist recently remarked, talent exhausts itself, but genius grows and goes on from strength to strength. In the instance of Mrs. Henry Wood it was chiefly her physical powers- the ability to sit at her table, the mere exertion of writing- that declined, and at the last almost deserted her.

Therefore, if Mrs. Henry Wood were still here, it is probable that the Story of "The House of Halliwell" would be widened and elaborated; but the interest of the contrast of this early work with the methods adopted in Mrs. Henry Wood's later works would be lost to the reader.

On the other hand, considering the nature of the story and the somewhat gentle and subdued lines on which it is written, it may be a matter of opinion whether it has not been carried out as successfully as many of the author's later works.

For every page of "The House of Halliwell," from the opening to the closing scenes, bears the unmistakable impression of the hand of the author of "East Lynne," whose place in the world of Fiction is marked by so distinct a style and individuality that these are at once identified. In the present story, also, the reader is introduced to the characters of Aunt Copp and her son Sam- characters which the author again introduced and described in her novel of "The Red Court Farm:" not repeating the incidents, but carrying on the lives. Those who have read that story will, we believe, welcome Aunt Copp in the somewhat earlier days of her career; whilst others who have not read it will receive the energetic but humourous lady, and her equally downright and unsophisticated son, as new and entertaining creations.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the two stories- "The House of Halliwell" and "The Red Court Farm"- are distinctly separate and independent, the one of the other.- C.W.W.

#### Appendix 4- Ellen Wood's Preface to *A Life's Secret* (1867)

'E.W', 'Preface', Mrs. Henry Wood, *A Life's Secret* (London: Charles W. Wood, 1867)

'During the last twelve months, I have received many different applications, requesting me to publish "A Life's Secret," in book form. It was written six years ago, and appeared in "the Leisure Hour," in 1862. These applications have been made to me- not on account of any merit in the story calling particularly for republication, but because some of the chief incidents depicted in it turn upon a strike: and strikes, as we all know, have been latterly growing into notoriety.

At first I would not listen to the requests: for reasons that I gave, and also that the story did not appear to me to be so eligible for republication, as some works that I have written. But the step has been so pressed upon me, and from quarters bearing weight, that I have at length yielded. It is thought that the pictures of the social misery induced by the strike (or lock-out), as described in the story, and which it fell to my lot to see something of, may possibly be felt as a warning, and act for good now. The scenes, however, are touched upon, rather than elaborated: the work having been made of necessity short, to suit the periodical for which it was destined.

The appearance of the story in 1862 did not please everybody, and angry remonstrances came down on the managers of "The Leisure Hour." The tenor of its sentiments was not liked: and one gentleman, who filled a somewhat conspicuous part in its pages, was particularly repudiated- Mr. Samuel Shuck. This gave rise to a short, spontaneous note from the editor- reinserted here at the end of Chapter I. of the Second Part: and. Subsequently, to the following note from myself:-

"In writing this story the author's object has not been to deal with the vexing questions between masters and men, between capital and labour, about which there must always be conflicting opinions, so much as to depict the injurious social results that these quarrels produce, and the misery they leave behind them. It was written in the kindest, heartiest spirit towards the men, and in the truest sympathy with their suffering families.- *May 1862*:

Every word of this last note I would repeat now: and also the opinions expressed in the work, as to strikes and the social ill they bring. They can but be productive of mischief, both to masters and men. In 1862, the disaffection lay, comparatively speaking, in a nut-shell; in 1867, it has become a stupendous evil; and none, I think, can foresee where the evil will end. I presume not to touch upon the political bearings of the question, leaving them to wiser heads than mine: but if the book shall cause even one workman to stand bravely to his daily labour, in the teeth of adverse counsels and offered hindrances, and so avert seasons of bitter suffering from his family, I shall be thankful to have sent it forth.

It is republished by the kind permission of the proprietors of "The Leisure Hour."

E.W.

*October, 1867.*