

Elizabeth Julia Hasell and Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

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When the well-respected publisher and editor John Blackwood died in October 1879, letters of condolence poured in on his right-hand man and nephew William Blackwood from many in the literary and publishing worlds, including contributors to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. One of the latter was Elizabeth Julia Hasell (1830-87), who recalled John Blackwood's "pleasant & sensible letters: an agreeable intercourse which has been continued off & on now for just twenty years" (30 October 1879, Blackwood MS 30497, f. 31).¹

Blackwood's had been founded in 1817, and in its early years was dominated by a very masculine coterie. Under John Blackwood, however, prominent in the magazine's affairs from the mid-1840s until his death, a range of women contributors had found encouragement. George Eliot had begun her mature career as a writer of fiction with the serialization of her novellas, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, in the magazine in 1857, while its most prolific contributor of both fiction and criticism from the 1850s to the 1890s was Margaret Oliphant (1828-97). Also notable as a writer on literature and general topics between 1861 and 1880 was Anne Mozley (1809-91). Unlike these contributors, however, Elizabeth Julia Hasell has received no critical attention.

Although John Blackwood welcomed women contributors, and admired both their literary skills and their range of knowledge, he was evidently most comfortable when their demeanor was modest and feminine. He told Anne Mozley approvingly in 1868 that "really accomplished women," such as Oliphant, Eliot, and herself, were "least disposed to swagger about the Rights of Women," and that "The rights of Women papers" he saw were "almost invariably badly composed as doubtless [the writers'] unfortunate husbands'

dinners are cooked” (Wilkes 95). This attitude was to affect as well Blackwood’s relations with Hasell.

A notable feature of *Blackwood’s* was that it published its contributions anonymously. This had been the general convention at the magazine’s inception, but from the early 1860s, both the advocacy and practice of signature became increasingly common. This was especially the case with the shilling monthlies established from 1859 onwards: *Macmillan’s Magazine*, the *Cornhill Magazine*, the *Fortnightly Review* (only temporarily fortnightly), and *St Paul’s Magazine*. Yet John Blackwood continued to champion anonymity, arguing that it gave opportunities to the young and talented whose names brought no prestige: “If an editor sees a clever young fellow he is delighted to employ him which he would hardly venture to do if he had to attach the name of some poor unknown carrying no weight to the article” (18 January 1859, MS 30359, ff. 9-11).

Blackwood’s defense here suggests something of the paradoxical situation faced by women contributors to the magazine. On the one hand, not being identifiable as female enabled them to write on topics that were normally considered outside women’s competence. But on the other, the terms of Blackwood’s defense imply that the “poor unknown” worth fostering was, by default, male. This paradox affected the Blackwoods’ dealings with Elizabeth Julia Hasell, many of whose contributions covered classical literature – a field then coded as masculine.

Hasell’s claim in her letter to William Blackwood of twenty years of “agreeable intercourse” with his uncle was appropriate to a condolence letter, but is not really borne out by the evidence. Her relations with John Blackwood from the outset were for her often both fraught and frustrating. Hasell was to publish a substantial number of articles in *Blackwood’s*, starting in 1859, continuing beyond John Blackwood’s death, and concluding with a contribution published posthumously in September 1888. She seems to have been anxious to establish herself as, and to remain, a regular contributor to the magazine. It was clearly her venue of choice: she published only sporadically elsewhere, in the *Monthly Packet* (directed at Anglican adolescent girls), in the weekly *Athenaeum*, and – as a last resort – in *St. Paul’s Magazine*.

But what emerges from the correspondence with John Blackwood, and (to a lesser extent) with William Blackwood, is that Hasell had very little leverage in her efforts to get her work published. Although she did not seek public recognition and had little concern with financial reward, she was committed to the extensive erudition required to follow up her interests, to writing on a wide range of literary subjects, and to the validation of these endeavors through publication in *Blackwood's*. Yet there was no way she could ensure acceptance of her articles, or even a timely response to their submission. Hasell is constantly writing to the Blackwoods, sending off work and soliciting either its acceptance – or, more often, any kind of reaction to it at all. Arguably, she was insufficiently sensitive to the demands on the time of busy editor-publishers, but the power imbalance between these men and a fervent and rather needy woman contributor is striking in her correspondence with the firm. In what follows, I hope to illustrate both the impressiveness of what Hasell published and the difficulties she encountered in achieving publication. These difficulties, moreover, made her adopt various strategies for representing herself and for striving to create some kind of bond with the Blackwoods.

Born in 1830, Elizabeth Julia Hasell belonged to the Cumberland squirearchy. She was the second of a family of nine: her father, Edward Williams Hasell, was the Squire of Dacre and Barton and of Dalemmain, near Penrith, and she appears to have spent most of her life there. As a single lady of leisure, she devoted much of her time to teaching and to good works. It is hard to determine how many links she had with people of intellectual interests. Certainly her eldest brother William (who predeceased their father) became a lawyer, while her youngest, George, was a clergyman. In January 1873 Hasell mentions to John Blackwood getting some Greek translations (from *Antigone*) checked by an Oxford tutor (MS 4304, f. 286). In July 1881, she asks for a paper she has written on the three dramatic treatments of the Electra story by Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles to be sent to "Professor Jebb of Cambridge," to whom she owes "much," as well as to the wife of the Earl of Carnarvon, since she quotes the Earl's translation of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (MS 4419, f. 288). The Earl was obviously an aristocrat as well as a scholar,

and an extremely well connected one. Hasell mentions to William Blackwood in October 1886 that his wife is the daughter of an old friend of hers (MS 4484, ff. 284-85): Carnarvon had married his cousin Evelyn Howard, whose mother was Charlotte Howard, née Long, and the pair were both related to the Duke of Norfolk, England's premier peer. Hasell did not trumpet her aristocratic or scholarly connections to the Blackwoods, but she was not afraid to make them known.

Nonetheless, Hasell's erudition much exceeded what might have been expected of an educated daughter of the squirearchy. In April 1865, John Blackwood wrote to her, "Your scholarship quite astonishes me. How in the world did you come to acquire such a knowledge of Greek, and apparently of all other languages" (MS 30361, f. 317). Her articles in *Blackwood's* demonstrate that she read Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German and Spanish, and was familiar with much of the literature written in those languages over the centuries, especially poetry and drama. As this breadth of knowledge was unusual, Hasell is likely to have been largely self-taught; that her learning was affirmed by publication in *Blackwood's* presumably gave her some satisfaction for achievements that went beyond the habitual life of a country squire's single daughter.

When Elizabeth Julia Hasell first approached John Blackwood in 1859 as a potential contributor to his magazine, however, it was with a review of an English work of very topical interest. This was the most recent production of the Poet Laureate, Alfred Tennyson – the first four of his *Idylls of the King*. She was therefore pitching to Blackwood an article on a subject she might assume the magazine would cover, but one on which Blackwood could have already commissioned a contribution. Hasell deals with this situation by being stiffly polite, but also rather peremptory, writing to him on 14 September 1859:

Miss E. Hasell presents her Compliments to the Editor of Blackwood's Magazine and ventures to offer for his approval an article on the Idylls of the King. It will be a great favour (in the not improbable case of a similar Article being already accepted for insertion) if the Editor would kindly return it

immediately, as time is very precious in such matters. If not returned in a week's time, Miss E. Hasell will venture to believe, that her Review has been accepted & will appear in the October or November Magazine. (MS 4139, f. 220)

Blackwood did not reply within the week, and, beginning a pattern which would affect her correspondence with him for many years, Hasell greets his silence about one contribution by offering another, in this case an article about a friend's poem called *Irene*. She also hopes that this silence about the *Idylls* review implies imminent publication, such that "if it is not to appear in the November number," Blackwood should "explain the reason why" (MS 4139, ff. 223-24). The review was indeed accepted and published in November, so that at the end of October, Hasell is thanking Blackwood fulsomely for both the publication and the payment: "I have always heard much of the liberality of the Messrs Blackwood, but, I assure you, you have far exceeded my expectations & your approbation of my review has given me a most sincere pleasure" (MS 4138, f. 225). She also offers to do other reviewing for him, and to meet any deadlines he may set. But she follows up as well on the article on *Irene*, asking Blackwood either to return it or to help her get it placed elsewhere, such as in *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*.

Hasell's letters, especially in the early years of her correspondence with John Blackwood, come across as rather naïve – why should he help her find an outlet for a contribution that he has rejected? There is a constant uncertainty about the ground on which she stands with him, what she can expect of him – what the editor-contributor relationship really entails. Although most of her submissions to the magazine did end up being published, Hasell was often impatient, chasing up decisions, or proofs of articles that had been accepted, and usually seeking publication as soon as possible. It is also undeniable that both Blackwoods sometimes let months go by without responding to her at all. In confronting this predicament, it is as if she is seeking to crack some kind of code that would enable her to communicate promptly and straightforwardly with the editors. Insofar as such a code existed, it was linked to Hasell's gender, as is suggested by John Blackwood's reaction to her next review of Tennyson.

Hasell returned to Tennyson in November 1864, this time dealing with the Laureate's *Enoch Arden* volume. As in the case of the *Idylls*, she had mixed feelings about this collection. Among the four 1859 *Idylls*, she had lauded "Elaine" and "Guinevere," but had found "Enid" tedious and "Vivien" implausible; in the *Enoch Arden* volume, she thought the title poem a powerful narrative, but considered "Aylmer's Field" trite and improbable, for all the quality of the poetry. John Blackwood was very enthusiastic about this review, calling it "excellent criticism," and praising in particular what he saw as its freshness and sincerity: "it has the great merit too of reading fresh and genuine an effect which could not have been produced on a subject like Tennyson unless the writer had been saying what she felt" (16 October 1864, MS 30361, f. 188). What a woman has to say about Tennyson might be new, unhackneyed. So John Blackwood wrote again to Hasell in January 1865, asking her to review a translation of Homer's *Iliad* just published by Lord Derby, and saying that she could "do it well, and in a fresh way different from the ordinary style of Criticism" (MS 30361, ff. 231-32). What he apparently meant was that she had the knowledge of Greek needed for such an undertaking, but that her version would be free of "pedantry or unnecessary worrying about 'renderings'" (1 April 1865, MS 30361, f. 318), while as a general reader rather than a professional scholar, she could determine whether Lord Derby had "made a really fine *English* Poem such as all readers classical or unclassical can enjoy & read with interest" (MS 30361, ff. 231-32). That is, whereas the expected approach might be that of a (male) classical scholar, she could offer, as a woman, something less pedantic, more feeling.

The stakes were unusually high for John Blackwood here, since politically, *Blackwood's* was very much an organ of the Conservatives, and Lord Derby was their leader; he also knew John Blackwood personally. So there is an unusually regular flurry of letters between Blackwood and Hasell about this review: Blackwood may have expected her to write "in a fresh way," but he monitored closely what she said. Meanwhile Hasell, clearly elated to have a commission, was eager to please. In fact, she ended up overpraising the translation, in Blackwood's view (6 March 1865, MS 30361, ff. 297-99).

One possibly unpredicted consequence of Hasell's sex and her rural isolation was that she was unable to bear direct witness to something John Blackwood wanted her review to stress: Lord Derby's eminence as an orator in the House of Lords. Hasell had never encountered Derby in this capacity, but she did her best, praising his oratory warmly without actually claiming to have heard it:

Most of all perhaps, is it delightful to hear the winged words of Ulysses or of Nestor, the fierce debates of Agamemnon and Achilles, repeated to us by the lips of our greatest living orator; to have the vigour of Homer's language echoed back to us by that eloquence whose force has often held listening senators breathless; his minutest shades of meaning reproduced to us with that precision and finished neatness of expression, which have so often won their admiration.
(Hasell 1865, 439)

John Blackwood may have been happy with Hasell's review for what he saw as its combination of naturalness and erudition, but he did not disclose the sex of the writer when discussing it with others. In writing to Derby himself, and also to the novelist-politician-classicist Edward Bulwer-Lytton (to whom Blackwood was closer), he referred to the reviewer as "he" (MS 30361, 27 March 1865, f. 312; 27 January 1865, f. 247). A *Blackwood's* writer on a classical subject could be assumed to be male.

After producing this review, Hasell had a smattering of articles in *Blackwood's* in the second half of the 1860s, and they demonstrated the breadth of her knowledge. Having published, between the two Tennyson pieces, two articles on Euripides' Iphigenia plays and their later adaptations by Goethe and Racine (July and October 1862), she went on to cover the contrasting religious tenets of Ariosto and Spenser (February 1866), translations of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (June 1867), and William Morris's *Earthly Paradise* and *The Life and Death of Jason* (July 1869). But if she had thought that her cooperation over the Derby review would guarantee prompt responses from John Blackwood, she was very wrong. To get the review of Morris's poems finally published, she had remonstrated with him in four

letters between 26 January and 10 April 1869, not having heard from him at all since June 1867. In the letter of 11 February, too, she evokes her status as an old contributor.

Worse was to come. Deploying her strategy of keeping up suggestions for future articles when earlier ones remained unpublished, Hasell proposed in her letter of 10 April that the recent publication of Robert Browning's *The Ring and the Book* would provide an opportunity for "a comprehensive survey of Browning's genius and writings" (MS 4247, ff. 98-99). Blackwood did reply promptly to this letter, in a response that has not survived, for she wrote four days later taking him up on his negative view of the poet, acknowledging his strictures (evidently about Browning's obscurity, "Browningese" and recondite subjects), but arguing that "Maga [as *Blackwood's* was familiarly known] should not be conspicuous by her silence on so remarkable a writer" (14 April 1869, MS 4247, f. 100). John Blackwood had little time for Browning – as Hasell might have realized when he had asked her to delete from her *Enoch Arden* review a passage in praise of the poet. He reluctantly accepted her idea of the new Browning article, however, only to resort to silence again when she submitted the review in August 1869. Finally, in January 1870, he declined the review because he ultimately could not accept strong praise of Browning in *Blackwood's*.

In the meantime, Hasell had decided that the way to overcome communication problems with John Blackwood was to make their contact personal rather than simply epistolary, so that in both June and December of 1869, she invited him to visit Dalemmain. But both invitations were politely declined. Hence she was understandably very angry when the Browning review was turned down, and so tardily – and in this instance Blackwood seems to have felt genuinely guilty: he offered to contact the editor of *St Paul's Magazine*, his friend Anthony Trollope, with a view to his taking the article. This he did successfully, explaining to Trollope that he had "behaved very badly" to Hasell and was "quite ashamed" of himself (3 March 1870, MS 30363, ff. 275-76); Hasell accepted this outcome. But Blackwood still had on hand an article from her about Austin's translation of Goethe's *Faust*, and again Hasell tried to reorientate her relations with him: on 9 September

1870, she sent a revised version of this paper, incorporating discussion of Sir Theodore Martin's translation of the drama, which Blackwood had sent her, and asked him to consider the new paper "as the work of a previous unknown correspondent [...] unprejudiced by that former self, so little of which remains in it" (MS 4261, ff. 240-41).

But as well as attempting to erase her former reviewing and letter-writing self, Hasell simultaneously tried to establish a more personal bond with Blackwood. About three weeks before the letter just cited, she had reiterated her invitation to him to visit her (15 August 1870, MS 4261, ff. 236-37), and a couple of months after that, she expressed empathy with him for their mutual loss of brothers (Archibald Blackwood, and her own eldest brother William) (4 November 1870, MS 4261, ff. 242-43). From her viewpoint, nonetheless, the relationship continued to deteriorate, as John Blackwood remained silent about the *Faust* paper, and declined to publish two articles on the dramas of Spanish playwright Calderon de la Barca. On 9 August 1872, Hasell urges the claims of the article on Calderon's sacred dramas and conveys the wish that the connection she and Blackwood share should not be severed: "It has been too long & too pleasant for [her] to part with it willingly," especially as they've never had the chance to meet (MS 4291, ff. 41-42). (The paper on *Faust* and those on Calderon do nevertheless end up in *St Paul's*.) Evidently not having had any response from Blackwood, Hasell writes again on 6 November: "instead of better understanding each other through the lapse of time I fear that we find an increasing difficulty in even agreeing on a subject: not to speak of differences of opinion as to its treatment" (MS 4291, f. 47). After two more weeks of silence, she fears that she will never get to contribute to *Blackwood's* again, but reiterates the desire to meet (21 November 1872, MS 4291, ff. 51-54). A few days later, she is invited to Edinburgh; the following year, she is asked to the Blackwood family home in St Andrews.

Relations between Hasell and John Blackwood changed as a result of these meetings. Blackwood remained an erratic correspondent, but Hasell became more calm and tolerant, as if she felt more confident about the stability of her bond with the firm. The key to this change was that Blackwood, on meeting her in person, had been disarmed by her modesty and ladylike

demeanor. Like his other notable female contributors, she had turned out to be (in his view) nothing like the “Rights of Women” advocates, nor did she draw attention to her learning. After her initial visit to Edinburgh late in 1872, he told Robert Lytton (Bulwer-Lytton’s son) that as Hasell was “evidently a woman of most singular accomplishment,” he had been “almost alarmed” when she accepted his invitation. But to his relief, “she turned out a most agreeable person a thorough lady without a bit of blue [bluestocking] about her.” He concluded: “She is a Miss Hassell [sic] of Dalemain in Cumberland & while such plants grow in English country there is hope for the Country” (7 December 1872, MS 30364, f. 212). By seeming in person fresh and natural, just as Blackwood took her literary criticism to be, Hasell, wittingly or not, had cracked the code.

At the nadir of her relations with John Blackwood, Hasell had tried to enlist nephew William in her cause, to get the paper on Calderon’s sacred dramas accepted, and also to ensure more prompt returns of rejected papers (MS 4291, 7 June and 9 August 1872, ff. 31-34, 39-40). After John’s death, of course, her dealings were regularly with William. Although she continued to be frustrated with silences, a trend that had begun in her correspondence with John continued in that with William – the habit of discussing other matters of common interest, especially Tory politics, a topic on which she shared the Blackwoods’ views. She might also be arch, rather than directly condemnatory, when coping with the silences. The fact that William (b. 1836) was six years younger than she, whereas his uncle (b. 1818) had been twelve years older, probably contributed to her more relaxed attitude.

Hasell had succeeded in getting two articles on Calderon into *Blackwood’s* in June and August 1876, and she reviewed two verse dramas of Tennyson’s, *Queen Mary* (September 1875) and *Becket* (July 1885). When the firm established its Foreign Classics series under the editorship of Margaret Oliphant, Hasell sought to do the volumes on Calderon and on Torquato Tasso, and was accepted. She also continued to write for *Maga* on classical subjects – including papers that related figures from classical texts to later treatments in European literature. So her “Family Jewels” (July 1874) traced the versions of various legendary figures from classical antiquity

through the works of Dante, Ariosto, Spenser, Tasso, Calderon, Chaucer, and Goethe; her "Andromache: The Daughters of Priam" (March 1875) covered the post-Homeric renderings of Andromache by Euripides and Racine; "The Phoenissae of France, Italy, and Germany" (November 1878) tracked the rivalry of Oedipus's sons through plays by Euripides, Racine, Schiller, and Alfieri. As already noted, Hasell discussed three classical versions of the Electra story (September 1881); she also wrote on Sophocles' plays *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* (January 1884). Early Modern Italian literature was treated again in "The Rinaldo of Torquato Tasso" (July 1883) and "Stories from Boiardo" (September 1885).

There was also a review of Sir Theodore Martin's translation of the abstruse second part of Goethe's *Faust* (June 1886). This was a commissioned item, and the negotiations between Hasell and William Blackwood replayed, in a less fraught way, the flurry of correspondence between Hasell and John Blackwood over Lord Derby's *Iliad* twenty years earlier. Like Lord Derby, Sir Theodore Martin (Queen Victoria's Private Secretary) had known links to *Blackwood's*. And like his uncle, William Blackwood wanted from Hasell a review that seemed fresh and sincere but was also highly laudatory. So when he found her first version "somewhat hypercritical," he acknowledged that "its independent tone will tell better in favour of the Magazine's critical reputation as [Martin] is a well-known ally of it." But still – couldn't she "throw in another compliment here and there"? (11 May 1886, MS 30372, ff. 133-34). So Hasell obliged. One difference from the Derby scenario, however, was that William Blackwood was willing to disclose the review's authorship, or at least to confirm Martin's correct hunch as to this. Martin seems to have been in the know about Hasell's other work for the magazine, and – as a friend of the famously erudite George Eliot – had no objection to being reviewed by a woman.

Although William Blackwood continued to accept contributions on classical and Early Modern subjects from Hasell, he seems to have preferred more free-wheeling, less overtly erudite material. He welcomed from her four articles framed as conversations on literary matters among friends, set in the beautiful Lakes District so familiar to Hasell. These were "A Talk About

Sonnets” (August 1880), “A Talk About Odes” (June 1881), “A Talk Beside Ulleswater” (November 1886), and the posthumously published “On St Herbert’s Island, Derwentwater” (September 1888). It is notable that of the three articles he had on hand when Hasell died suddenly late in 1887, William Blackwood published only “On St Herbert’s Island, Derwentwater,” quietly dropping papers on the Oedipus legend and on a further story from Boiardo. He seems to have felt that her material could be too esoteric for the magazine, however impressive her scholarship, and she could see his point. Their correspondence reflects their awareness that 2/6- monthlies like *Blackwood’s* were increasingly caught between the weighty, established quarterlies and the ever-burgeoning numbers of cheaper magazines. In November 1882, Hasell tells Blackwood that currently the main determinant of any magazine’s sales is its fiction, so urges him to commission something “in a newer style.” She has noted the recent failure of the long-established monthly *Fraser’s Magazine*, although she avows that *Blackwood’s* will still appeal to those seeking something “solid.” Of her own contributions, she says that they “are only likely to attract the attention of a small, though respectable, section” of the readers; hence accepting papers that are “longer & weightier” than those published in Maga’s “shilling or sixpenny rivals” adds to the respectability of the magazine (MS 4433, ff. 19-20).

Before this, William Blackwood had said of Hasell’s paper on sonnets that he feared that it was “rather above the intellect of the present day public” (10 July 1880, MS 30367, ff. 543-44). She apparently accommodated this concern in her later “talk” papers, and also cut some of the learned notes in her 1881 paper on Electra (13 July 1881, MS 4419, f. 288). As a result, he committed on 16 May 1881 to inserting the “Electra” paper so as to balance some “light matter” in his summer and autumn issues (MS 30368, ff. 338-39). William also accepted that the criticism in her “Sonnets” paper was based on a “high literary standard of Criticism which old Christopher North so successfully inaugurated” (12 November 1880, MS 30368, ff. 153-54). This is a compliment, but by invoking to her “Christopher North” (Professor John Wilson), prevailing spirit of the magazine’s early years, William Blackwood hints too that Hasell’s work is old-fashioned. *Blackwood’s* did indeed suffer

during the 1880s from competition from newer and cheaper magazines, and, from 1883, from the *National Review*, a rival Tory organ. William Blackwood then came to target more exclusively an upper-middle-class military, colonial, and political audience (Finkelstein 94-99).

Anonymous publication in respected periodicals could, then, enable women to demonstrate their erudition on topics about which they were not conventionally thought to possess expertise or authority. Elizabeth Julia Hasell seems to have relished this opportunity, as well as identifying with Maga's Tory values and long-established reputation. Although her articles in *St. Paul's* were published signed, as by "E.J. Hasell," she clearly considered this a second-rate venue. So *Blackwood's* gave a voice to a female autodidact who was little-known in the intellectual world, and something of her feeling about this emerges in her quasi-autobiographical piece from November 1876, "Pages from the Story of my Childhood." This focuses on the literary efforts of her youth, taking a jocular approach to these ambitions – such as the play she wrote at nine, "The Siege of D'Arcy Castle," followed by further dramatic efforts at twelve, "The Knight and the Enchantress," and, the following year, her grand historical tragedy, "Harold." Hasell may be very self-deprecating here, but the article does give her the chance to quote from some of these early works. Most interestingly for my purposes here, however, she makes play with the magazine's deployment of authorial anonymity. She acknowledges that the practice can enable the masking of celebrity authors such as Tennyson or Disraeli – but goes on to assure readers that she is certainly not one of those. Rather, she is "nobody whose name can bespeak attention – a person of whom you, my discouraging and unwilling listener, never heard before" (Hasell 1876, 537). She does recall sitting in "the Squire's pew" as a child (538), as if to align herself with the *Blackwood's* traditional readership. But one thing she is not going to disclose is her sex. She declares: "I have not even a seat in Parliament, and see no great chance at present of obtaining one" (537). For a woman in 1876, of course, obtaining a seat in Parliament was not just unlikely, it was impossible. But this is an in-joke for Elizabeth Julia Hasell: she had a literary career beyond her unpublished juvenilia, and concealing her sex made it possible.

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Note

¹Quotations from the letters of Elizabeth Julia Hasell and of John and William Blackwood are from the manuscripts in the Blackwood Archive in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. MS and folio numbers are provided parenthetically after quotations, and all emphases are those of the writers.

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