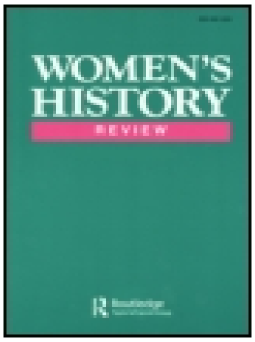

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Women's History Review

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rwhr20

Women historians, gender and fashioning the authoritative self in paratexts in late-Victorian Britain

Elise Garritzen

To cite this article: Elise Garritzen (2020): Women historians, gender and fashioning the authoritative self in paratexts in late-Victorian Britain, Women's History Review, DOI: 10.1080/09612025.2020.1804111

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2020.1804111

© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

Published online: 19 Aug 2020.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 163

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rwhr20

WOMEN'S HISTORY REVIEW
https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2020.1804111

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

OPEN ACCESS
Check for updates

Women historians, gender and fashioning the authoritative self in paratexts in late-Victorian Britain

Elise Garritzen

Department of History, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

ABSTRACT
Adopting the interdisciplinary approach of historiography, gender history and book history, the essay sheds new light on the gendered nature of historical authorship in the late-Victorian era. By analysing how historians used such paratexts as title pages, dedications and prefaces for self-fashioning, the aim is to illustrate how paratexts contributed to the gendered idea of historical authority. As men decorated title pages with academic degrees and appointments, their title pages became symbols of scholarly excellence, strengthening the idea of history as a male preserve. Thus, it is necessary to ask how women, largely excluded from such formal qualifications, used paratexts for presenting themselves as authoritative historians. By examining the paratexts of Kate Norgate, Mary Hickson and Alice Gardner, the essay demonstrates that women borrowed authority from renowned male historians to sanction their scholarly competence. Consequently, this practise strengthened the gendered image of scholarly authority since the dedications and prefatorial acknowledgments guided reviewers to measure women historians against the male authorities enlisted in the paratexts. Thus, it is argued here that the paradox was that as women's engagement in historical research expanded, they were nonetheless submitted to the very male authority that their paratexts established.

When William Stubbs, a major figurehead of history, published in 1900 *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History*, he invested its title page with an astounding number of seventeen attributes that promoted his scholarly merits and authority. Readers learned that he was Bishop of Oxford, an honorary Student of Christ Church, the late Regius Professor of Modern History, a recipient of five honorary doctorates, a member of numerous international academies and a recipient of the prestigious Knight of the Prussian Order's Pour le Mérite. This register of achievements created such a textually and visually arresting effect that it prompted one reader to scribble 'wow!' next to the public celebration of Stubbs's academic excellence.[1] Stubbs and other professional historians conceived a title page to be what Whitney Trettien describes as an encoded paratextual space serving 'a critical

CONTACT Elise Garritzen elise.garritzen@helsinki.fi Department of History, University of Helsinki, P.O. Box 59, 00014 Helsinki, Finland

© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

role in generating confidence in a text'.[2] For historians, a title page was the prime site for authorial and collective self-fashioning, whereas for readers it provided clues for detecting an historian's competence. While early-Victorian historians such as Henry Hallam and Thomas Babington Macaulay had trusted primarily in the power of their name, the new professional establishment appropriated the title page for curating the type of public image of a historian that it believed history, as a branch of science, now demanded. Historians adorned their title pages with academic degrees, fellowships and professorships, thereby institutionalising an index of the formal requirements expected of an authoritative historian. The abundance of formal merits on the title pages resonated with the transition into a merit-based society. The vocabulary of scholarly authority was distinctly gendered at a time when university degrees and appointments belonged mostly to the male public sphere. This begs the question: How did women claim status as competent historians? The primary aim of this essay is to explore the alternative paratextual strategies women adopted to convey their authority as historians and the impact this had on the image of women historians.

According to the common narrative of the professionalisation of science and scholarship in Britain, professionalisation was a masculine project that validated men's expertise and restricted women's chances for engaging in scientific research. Women historians were assigned a role as amateurs or assistants to their husbands, fathers and other male relatives.[3] This was considered only natural, as women were perceived to lack the intellectual power to generate original knowledge. Darwinian evolutionary biology only intensified such claims and increased doubts about women's competence for conducting scientific work.[4] Many of the historians agreed that women were mainly suited for reproducing the original knowledge generated by men.[5]Although this account holds some truth and the contours of the discipline were largely shaped by university-educated men, I suggest that it nonetheless simplifies the complex nature of women's history writing. One aim of this essay is to provide a more nuanced picture of late-Victorian women historians, whose historical pursuits have received relatively little historiographical attention.[6] The emphasis has mostly been on early and mid-Victorian women or on the academically educated women of the twentieth century.

Women had access to historical pursuits throughout the nineteenth century despite the prevailing gender norms and the notion of two separate spheres, which restricted – but did not entirely prevent – female public engagement. Women who wrote history during the first half of the century appropriated a range of genres from novels to biographies and memoirs of feminine worthies to explore the history of women. More recently, Mary Spongberg has argued that women's engagement with history was not limited to historical women, but that they emerged as political commentators whose histories challenged the masculinist Whig interpretation of national history.[7] Notwithstanding this interest in women's historical pursuits, there remains a significant gap in research between the mid-Victorian women historians and the academically oriented women of the twentieth century. Hence, as Rosemary Mitchell only recently observed, it might come to us as a surprise that during the early years of the *English Historical Review*, 'a substantial minority' of the articles were written by women.[8] Kate Norgate (1853–1935), Mary Hickson (1825–1899) and Alice Gardner (1854–1927), the three historians discussed in this essay, are illuminating examples of the diversifying possibilities women embraced in the last decades of the century as history gradually emerged as a professional occupation. Women's historical endeavours were not isolated from the professionalisation of or methodological innovations in history.

Therefore, the paratextual strategies they employed for fashioning themselves as authoritative historians are explored here within the context of this new culture of history to unravel how the idea of historical authority was informed by gender ideologies.

The break between 'old' and 'new' ways of writing history was not as radical as contemporaries claimed.[9] Historians continued to come in many guises; the field was occupied by antiquarians, biographers, genealogists, essayists plus many others. There also emerged the elusive 'professional' historian, defined here as someone who adhered to the scientific method and produced original knowledge. As Rolf Torstendahl maintains, compliance with the shared methodological rules was a chief criterion for a professional historian in the late nineteenth century. A professional was not necessarily someone who held an academic position, but someone recognised as a professional by others.[10] Such a loose definition renders 'professional' an evasive category; but the very porousness of the boundaries captures the conditions of late-Victorian historical research. As Stefan Collini maintains, this was a transitional period between amateurism and the formation of clear professional and disciplinary boundaries and identities.[11] What was significant for the period was the general opinion that the nature of historical research was changing and impacting ideas about who belonged in the new category of professional historian. William Gladstone commented on history's new status in 1875 by claiming that a 'truly historical school in England' was winning ground and rendering history 'a noble invigorating manly study, essentially political and judicial'.[12] Many agreed that history was a manly endeavour. Yet, it can be argued that for some women, the unfixed nature of the discipline provided novel opportunities for engaging with the past and granted them, if not membership in, at least connections to the professional community of historians. Hence, women's attempts to pursue historical research at the advent of the professionalisation of history offer a powerful instance not merely of the gendering of historical authority, but also of the chances they had for staking out a place as contributors to the common pool of original historical knowledge.

The practice of authorial self-fashioning on the title page discloses the urge by professional historians to manage their individual public image and reinforce the sense of a knowledge community. Moreover, title pages reveal the significance that proper names and the qualities associated with them had in the process of drawing epistemic boundaries for the discipline. The name of an author is, as Gérard Genette asserts, a *factual* paratext because the information readers might have about the writer shapes their expectations and influence their reading strategies.[13] In modern science, a name is extremely important, as Mario Biagioli and James Secord argue. An established name invokes associations with value, reliability and such normative qualities as truthfulness.[14] In nineteenth-century Germany, according to Herman Paul, certain proper names of historians became symbols of desirable virtues and qualities and held up as examples of what was expected from the members of the scholarly community.[15] This is the case with Victorian Britain as well, and this essay illustrates how the names of William Stubbs, Edward Freeman, John Richard Green and James Anthony Froude produced strong associations among readers. Furthermore, a historian's name was also considered important because it enabled readers to assess the moral character of the author.[16] The dispositions cultivated by historians and their historical oeuvre were therefore inextricably linked in the minds of their readers. Thus, historians rarely published books anonymously or pseudonymously. This applied also to women, who otherwise cherished the culture of anonymous publishing because it helped them to enter the male-dominated literary marketplace.[17] A name was needed to sanction the reliability of historical knowledge.

Since the evaluation of scholarly reliability demanded that the author appear credible to readers, a title page became an ideal site for authorial display. While the author's name evoked associations with scholarly virtues and vices, the repetition of degrees, fellowships and other formal markers of status constructed a collective and gendered ideal of a professional historian. The title pages of professional historians and of those who were considered amateurs are strikingly different in this sense. Whereas the professionals lavishly decorated their title pages with markers of excellence, the title pages of amateurs gave sparse description of the author. It can be suggested that this formally delineated authorial 'I' on a title page added yet another layer to the author function and the 'plurality of egos', which Foucault discusses in the essay 'What is an Author?' He identifies within the textual bounds of a mathematical treatise the 'I' of a preface, signifying the successful completion of a project, and the 'I' of the text who is concluding the mathematical demonstration.[18] The author and the display of merits on the title page of a late-Victorian history book thus constitute a formally defined 'I' whose authority was assessed against a repertoire of institutionalised qualifications that designated status and indicated adherence to the shared methodologies of the discipline. The impact that a title page could have on the book's reception was made plain by W. A. B. Coolidge, who professed in the *English Historical Review* that Bernard Moses had 'some special advantages' in writing Swiss history because his title page 'tells us that he is professor of history'.[19] Since a title page was one of the first paratexts readers encountered, it was an efficient means to mediate formal scholarly authority.

While a name had high currency in nineteenth-century science, Eva Hemmungs Wirtén's research on the fluidity of Marie Curie's name illustrates how the scientific value attached to a name was conditioned by prevailing gender norms.[20] Since women historians in Victorian Britain were unable to draw on the same repertoire of formal symbols as men, their authorial image on a title page remained vague. The most common attributions on their title pages indicated either previous publications or family status. Hence, this essay explores the alternative paratextual strategies women adopted to circumvent their limited ability to sanction their authorship with formal merits. Although it is possible to argue that this was particularly pressing for women such as Norgate, Hickson and Gardner, whose topics could be described as 'manly', their paratexts nonetheless represent the common paratextual practices of women historians more broadly. To compensate for a lack of formal merits, women often relied on the authority they borrowed from well-known male historians. It is therefore necessary to broaden our scope from the title pages to such front-matter paratexts as dedications and prefaces, for they help us to understand how women endeavoured to validate their scholarly credibility. The appropriation of dedications and acknowledgments discloses a paradox faced by such women. Indeed, it is argued here that, first, while women carved out more space for producing original historical knowledge, they were nonetheless forced to frame their authorship through male endorsement, and second, the reception of their studies indicates that these paratexts influenced the reading of their texts and reinforced the image of women historians' limited autonomy and ability to conduct independent research.

Paratexts in modern scholarly discourse

A simple definition of a paratext is that it may be a textual, visual, factual or material element located at the fringes of a text. Paratexts' multi-functionality in explaining texts, assigning them meaning and value, alluring readers and guiding their reading experience has attracted growing interest since Genette introduced the concept in his influential work *Seuils* in 1987.[21] As many scholars have pointed out since then, paratexts do not merely contextualise the text, they form a zone between the author, text, publisher and readers that is ideal for shaping the authorial self.[22] The significance of paratexts is further augmented by the fact that they tend to reach a wider audience than does a text. As Jonathan Gray stresses, it is common to browse only the paratexts and form an image of the text and its author based on the information provided in the paratexts alone.[23] While it must be stressed that paratexts primarily disclose how authors and publishers frame a text for a specific audience, the wealth of comments on paratexts in the Victorian book reviews offer us a glimpse of their reception as well.[24] These paratextual remarks, which thus far have escaped our attention, not only reveal Victorian readers' fascination with paratexts, but also an acknowledgment of the cultural codes that underpinned their application.

Despite the growing awareness of the role that paratexts play in books, their use in modern scholarly discourse remains largely unaddressed. Book historians and literary critics have mostly explored the use of paratexts in early modern print culture or modern fiction.[25] This is a missed opportunity: since paratexts have genre- and discipline-specific features and functions, tracing their use in scholarly publications helps to contextualise textuality in scientific discourse. Paratexts, grounded in disciplinary ideals, reflect the scholarly values, practices and perceptions of a given time. Moreover, as paratexts are invested with ideological meanings, a systematic analysis of paratextual practices could make transparent the different factors that inform scientific research. The surprisingly frequent remarks about paratexts in late-Victorian historians' correspondence suggest that historians did indeed realise paratexts' usefulness in transmitting culturally and ideologically specific messages. The legal historian Frederic William Maitland, for instance, asserted that it was essential to invest energy in writing a preface because usually the preface was all that the 'casual reviewers care to read' or use for judging the book and its author. He inserted into his prefaces 'a passage about the book which I mean critics to copy' and was delighted that the reviewers tended to 'catch the bait'.[26] Indeed, history books were more than the accounts of past events; each narrative was surrounded by attempts to achieve various goals ranging from confirming professional authority and shaping textual reception to selling books.

Many examples in Victorian history books suggest that paratexts were ideal for self-fashioning because they were susceptible to manipulation. For example, when Alice Stopford Green expanded and rewrote a chapter on the history of the Victorian era in her late husband John Richard Green's *A Short History of the English People*, the title page of the new separate volume on contemporary history attributed the authorship to her alone. In reality, though, she had received help and lengthy sections of text from one Mr. Harris. Nevertheless, she insisted on muting his authorial role due to their scholarly disagreements.[27] The paratextual invisibility of Harris meant that readers were unaware of the dual authorship.

The deceptiveness of paratexts poses a methodological challenge that should not be overlooked when dissecting historians' paratextual practices. One means for redressing potentially insincere paratexts is to complement the paratext data with publishing records and correspondence between historians and their publishers. However, such little-known historians as Norgate, Hickson and Gardner have left us a paper trail that is sparse at best. Therefore, an analysis of their paratextual strategies must rest largely on an examination of the paratexts in the histories they published. To avoid the methodological pitfall of treating women historians as an isolated entity, and to detect broader patterns in the use of paratexts, I read their paratexts against the ones that men employed in their histories. The aim is not to reproduce the nineteenth-century notion of male scholarly superiority, but to examine how the prevailing assumptions about gender and scholarship induced women and men to adopt paratextual strategies that contributed to the then-dominant idea of a man and manly virtues as models for a proper historian. As the example of Alice Gardner will suggest, women historians were considered in this discourse as exceptions. To achieve its goal, the article builds on a large paratext database collected from 400 history books published between 1860 and 1900. Thirty-five of them were written by women. The paratext corpus contains material both from the leading historians of the time and from writers less well-known today but popular in the nineteenth century. Because of this diversity, the material is ideal for analysing the gendered expectations that shaped the use of paratexts in authorial self-fashioning.

Dedications, acknowledgments and aligning oneself with authority

The paratextual strategy of Kate Norgate illustrates how women sanctioned their authority by associating themselves with well-known male historians and how this had a direct bearing on how readers received their studies and on their subsequent reputations. Norgate was the daughter of a London bookseller and astonished many with her 'soundest sobriety of judgment' and 'clearness' of style.[28] When she published in 1887 her first study, *England under the Angevin Kings*, she was unknown to the broader audience and so furnished in a markedly feminine style the front matter paratexts with references to several leading authorities recognised even beyond professional circles. This paratextual strategy placed her, on the one hand, within the scholarly community, but on the other hand it created the image of a traditional woman historian whose research hinged on men's supervision and instruction. Although collaboration was at the core of historical research, acknowledging such cooperation could undermine women's scholarly autonomy.

Norgate was a protégé of John Richard Green (1837–1883), author of the best-selling *Short History of the English People*. He advised her on how to conduct historical research and introduced her to the history of the Angevin kings, a project he had once begun but given up entirely since then.[29] Green did not live to see Norgate complete the book, but his presence nonetheless dominated Norgate's front matter paratexts, giving readers a strong impulse to assess her and her book against his unique historical views, methods and literary style.

Norgate dedicated the book 'with deepest reverence and gratitude to the memory of my dear and honoured master John Richard Green'.[30] This was a classic pattern: authority was derived from the name of the dedicatee. Mary Anne Everett Green, when dedicating her work *Lives of the Princesses of England* (1850) to Dawson Turner, had caricatured this traditional model by adding to the dedication that it was done 'in conviction that it [the book] will derive additional value from its association with a name so well known and deservedly honoured in science, literature and art'.[31] This was a clever strategy. Dedications were going out of fashion by then, and in 1887 Henry B. Whatley was able to proclaim in the *Dedications of Books to Patron and Friend* that dedications indeed belonged to the past.[32] Thus, by adding a satirical element to the dedication Everett Green acknowledged that she was familiar with the paratextual fashions, yet succeeded at the same time in adding a valuable endorsement to her book without appearing presumptuous or old-fashioned. Norgate's dedication almost forty years later did not show in its sincerity a similar sensitivity to the altering dedicatory conventions that were rendering dedications rare in history books. At the Oxford University Press, dedications were by the 1880s considered unnecessary decorations and 'out of place' in serious scholarly works.[33] The leading historians agreed with this assessment, and as my paratext data demonstrates, dedications were used during the last quarter of the century mostly by amateurs or women, who, just like Norgate, hoped that a dedication to a male authority would lend distinction to their books.[34] Dedications, it can be argued, became symbols of amateurism and femininity in history books.

Even more detrimental to Norgate's reputation as an independent historian was, however, the preface she wrote for the *Angevin Kings*. It gave the impression that the book owed its existence to Green, her mentor:

> It was undertaken at his suggestion; its progress through those earliest stages which for an inexperienced writer are the hardest of all was directed by his counsels, aided by his criticism, encouraged by his sympathy; and every step in my work during the past eleven years has but led me to feel more deeply and to prize more highly the constant help of his teaching and his example.[35]

This opening paragraph was followed by a brief acknowledgment of the assistance and 'kindness' Norgate had received after Green's death (1883) from two other renowned historians, William Stubbs and Edward Freeman. The preface was rounded off with yet another paragraph where she revered Green's memory, remarking on how it was to her 'dear master' that she owed 'gratitude which cannot be put into words'.[36] Significantly, the preface lacked the common tropes of prefatorial discourse in history books. It did not say anything about the subject matter or its historical meaning or value. Nor did it comment on the primary sources or the critical method of their investigation. These prefatory staples were used in the majority of prefaces. They helped to arouse readers' curiosity and to anchor history books firmly in the new methodological principles of historical research. In contrast, Norgate used the preface to pledge her alliance and indebtedness to Green – and to a lesser extent to Freeman and Stubbs. As the analysis of the reception of the *Angevin Kings* will show, this created the impression that she lacked autonomy, which was considered essential for a historian.

The sentimental tone and the detailed and affectionate account of Green's role in the making of the *Angevin Kings* contributed to the feminine image created in the preface. Acknowledgments were recurrent in prefaces, but their use was regulated by a set of rules that Norgate overlooked in two significant ways. First, she adopted a highly emotional tone, and second, the intimate description of her learning process made public the private, domestic side of history writing. She did not conceal the moments of insecurity or the frustration caused by learning how to conduct historical research. She sincerely recalled how she had depended on Green's guidance. These were issues that usually were not publicised to such an extent, and by revealing her apprehensions Norgate implied that she lacked the foundational scholarly virtues of a proper historian: assertiveness, detachment and emotional restraint. Moreover, the sentimental tone of the preface was far from the ideal of dedications and acknowledgments in late-Victorian books. As Helen Smith observes, emotional pathos became fashionable in these paratexts only in the twentieth century.[37] Historians were indeed weary of emotionally laden acknowledgments, and Maitland instructed Mary Bateson that if she wished to acknowledge him in a preface, she ought to do it in simple style.[38] This was in line with the majority of historians' acknowledgments: they were lists of names of colleagues, archivists and librarians and elaborated relatively little on the emotional meaning of the collaboration to the historian. Since Norgate's preface deviated from these conventions, it confirmed the accepted idea of emotionally unrestricted women historians who dwelled on unnecessary details and who, in Norgate's case, confused the feminine private sphere with the masculine public sphere to which such published histories belonged.

The paratextual endorsements shaped the reception of Norgate's book and her reputation as a historian. Most of the reviewers drew heavily on the dedication and preface and introduced her as an acolyte of Green and compared her methods and narrative style with those of Green and Freeman. Stubbs, the leading figurehead of professional history, seemed to be above such comparisons. The *Scottish Review*, for instance, declared in its opening sentence that Norgate was Green's disciple, then quoted the preface and reported how traces of Green's influence could be detected throughout the *Angevin Kings*. Norgate had, the writer observed, assumed Green's 'scrupulous conscientiousness', and a preference for social history, which had made his 'character as an historian'.[39] From one review to another, Norgate was first and foremost described as an 'intellectual daughter' of Green.[40]

Those reviewers who were familiar with the histories of Green and Freeman read the *Angevin Kings* against this framework. C. W. Cox contrasted Norgate with her 'venerated master' Green and with Freeman. He was pleased to discover that she had not just learned from them the historian's craft but had also avoided the narrative vices that had marred their books. She had both 'resisted the temptation to strain after pictorial effects by which Mr. Green was not unfrequently overcome' and 'refrained from loading her pages with matter which … is only too likely to clog or weary the reader', as Freeman tended to do. 'Miss Norgate may be wholly acquitted of all extravagances of thought or exaggeration of expression', which her teachers had suffered from, Cox concluded.[41] Those who contested Green and Freeman's scholarly abilities were equally sceptical of Norgate's work. For Richard Howlett, who reviewed the book in the *Academy*, Norgate was nothing but a young woman who had been misled by her 'personal friends' Green and Freeman. According to Howlett, she had assumed her masters' outdated views and jealously guarded them against any new interpretations. Therefore, 'the mental effects of having so doubtfully valuable a possession as a band of revered "masters", are disappointingly obvious in these volumes'. He was convinced that had Norgate not been restrained by 'the orthodox school' and received instead guidance from more progressive historians, her book could have become a genuinely valuable historical contribution.[42] In other words, Howlett was unable to envision Norgate as an independent agent: her scholarly success relied on her replacing the ill-advice she had received from Green and Freeman with guidance from more suitable authorities who, likewise, were without a doubt men.

Although Norgate's *Angevin Kings* was for the most part well received, the dedication and preface directed the reviewers' attention to Green and Freeman and spurred them to weigh Norgate against her mentors. While she used the names of well-known historians to validate her scholarly credibility, the paratexts constructed a powerful context for her authorship, conveying the image of a typical woman historian whose intellectual pursuits had been submitted to the guidance of male authorities. Even when the reviewers noted that she had avoided the vices of her teachers, she nonetheless remained their disciple. This characterisation did not necessarily disturb her. She was actively engaged in shaping Green's and Freeman's posthumous reputations and retained the same paratextual strategy in her next book, *John Lackland* (1902). Once again, she used Green's name to lend distinction to her work and to sanction the historical value of its subject matter. Instead of composing a dedication or a preface, she added to the front matter a brief quote from him, wherein he justified the need for a revisionary investigation of John Lackland and his historical significance.[43] Largely owing to Norgate's paratextual choices, the shadow of Green loomed large over her public image as a historian.

Allographic prefaces and auxiliary authority

Inviting an outsider to eulogise a text is a common method for boosting sales of a book and the reputation of its writer. Mary Hickson collected depositions about the massacre of Protestants by Catholics in the Rebellion of 1641 in Ulster, and when the two volumes of her annotated documents were published in 1884, the title page of *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century or the Irish Massacre of 1641–2* announced that it was issued 'with a preface by J. A. Froude, M.A.'. Genette calls a preface that is solicited from an outsider an allographic preface and adds that its mere presence in a book is a strong recommendation and validation of the text's value. It indicates that someone other than the writer has considered the text worthy of his or her name.[44] Moreover, while such good taste prevents authors from engaging in exalted prefatorial self-praise, the writer of an allographic preface is not restricted by a similar etiquette of moderation. For nineteenth-century historians, this was significant, for vanity and egotism were regarded as scholarly vices and false motives for conducting research. For this reason, historians trod a fine line between hyperbole and eloquent self-praise in their prefaces. An allographic preface solved this problem, but as the reception of Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* indicates, it could profoundly influence readers when it was written by a contested figure like James Anthony Froude. His paratextual presence overshadowed Hickson and undermined the original idea of using his name to sanction her competence. As the *Scottish Review* put it, Froude's preface was 'strongly worded, and somewhat pugnacious' and added 'nothing to the value of the volumes, though it is certainly of value as affording additional evidence, if such were wanted, of the direction in which its author's sympathies lie'.[45] Subsequently, Hickson was perceived either as Froude's assistant or as a woman misguided by his historical fantasies.

Editing historical records became a common historical practice in the nineteenth century when states, learned societies and wealthy patrons sponsored the publication of records to furnish historians with raw materials.[46] Large national ventures like the

Monumenta Germaniae Historica enlisted male editors, but at least in Britain the editorial work created opportunities for women as well. Although we lack a comprehensive survey of women's editorial work, we know that Mary Bateson edited medieval manuscripts for Selden Society and Camden Society and, as Christine Krueger has observed, the first 'professional' woman historian was Mary Anne Everett Green, who was hired by the Public Record Office in 1854 to edit the *Calendars of the State Papers*.[47] The institutional labels on title pages asserted the authority of such women, but when records were published outside an institutional framework, other paratexts were needed to ascribe authority to the work.

Froude's notions on present-day Ireland and its history were well known for their divisiveness and hostility to the Irish Catholics.[48] Professional historians rejected his historical views and denounced his methods and style. Freeman even suspected that Froude suffered from some inherent condition that prevented him from telling the historical truth. While Freeman and his supporters refuted Froude's lofty narratives, inaccuracies and careless treatment of primary sources, the general audience admired the powerful historical images he painted.[49] Since the depositions that Hickson edited supported the Unionist interpretation, Froude was keenly interested in them. Their historical veracity had been questioned by many a historian, but Froude believed them to be a credible testimony of Catholic atrocities. Hickson, an Irish Protestant and a supporter of the Unionist narrative of Irish history, shared this understanding of their historical value.[50] While editing the documents, she encountered financial troubles and approached Froude for help. He reached out to his friend Lord Carnarvon and, referring to the 'most excellent service' Hickson had done for Ireland, convinced him to fund her research.[51] It was also Froude's idea to write the allographic preface. Supposedly, he feared that a woman, known only as a family and local historian, would not have evoked the sort of authority that he thought was needed to establish the depositions as a genuine historical source.

It was essential to frame Hickson first of all as an able historian who had mastered the technical skills of an editor, and second, as a historian who cultivated the virtue of impartiality. Before doing this, Froude however went ahead and established *his* authority as an expert in Irish history. Employing his usual literary bravado, he claimed that 'irresponsible agitators' had misguided the Irish to believe that the massacre and atrocities committed by the Irish were a mere fabrication, 'cowardly lies', which seriously insulted 'English honour'. The now published documents, he continued, finally allowed everyone to judge the matter for themselves – though he made it perfectly clear what conclusion everyone should draw. After saying this, he moved on to explain why Hickson had been the best possible person to transcribe and annotate the depositions. She had experience with historical research, and Froude claimed that what served as compelling proof of her abilities was the fact that she had convincingly resolved the controversy over the authenticity of the depositions and proved their reliability as historical evidence. Moreover, considering the contested nature of Irish history, it was important to accentuate her 'fairness of mind' and the 'love of justice' that rendered her perfect for the task. She harboured no keen English prejudices and 'on some points she is in full sympathy with Irish nationalism'. Therefore, she was able to explain 'better than any previous writer the causes which drove them [the Irish] into fury'.[52] This was quite an overstatement. As Nadia Clare Smith has maintained, Hickson channelled her Unionist sentiments into her histories and promoted the polemical Protestant narrative of victimisation.[53] Obviously, exaggerating Hickson's detachment was crucial for Froude, who wished to assure readers that she was a competent and reliable historian and that her work had high scholarly value. Those reviewers who subscribed to Froude's views on the history of Ireland applauded Hickson's partiality.[54] But those who were suspicious of Froude were not convinced. For them, his words became the critical target when they questioned Hickson's views and skills as an editor of historical records.

The central role that the allographic preface was to play in the book's reception was predicted already in the pre-release announcements in newspapers. Several papers printed a brief announcement almost word for word foregrounding Froude's agency in the making of *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*. Most likely the text came from the publisher, Longmans, for whom pre-release announcements were a standard marketing strategy. Since Froude was a bestselling author of Longmans, the publisher obviously grasped the monetary value of his name and gave him prominence in the marketing material. The concise advertisement strikingly illustrates the scholarly and gendered hierarchies of authorship in history, as it stated how

> Mr. J. A. Froude will contribute a preface to a forthcoming work on the Irish Massacres of 1641. The volume will consist of a selection from the unpublished sworn depositions taken verbatim from the original MSS. in Trinity College Library, Dublin. Miss Mary Hickson has written an introduction. Messrs. Longmans and Co. are the publishers.[55]

The announcement introduced in fact four different authors. First, there was Froude, the contributor of the preface. Since he was mentioned first in the advertisement, he appeared as the leading figure in the project. Then, the announcement mentioned the unspecified author who had compiled the documents. Hickson came only third, and she was presented as nothing but the author of an introduction. Lastly, there was the publisher, who was about to usher the book to the literary marketplace. It is likely that Hickson's authorial agency was concealed to minimise any doubts about the scholarly nature of the edition. This was achieved by anonymising the editorial work and by downplaying the comprehensive 110-page introduction she had written by referring to it rather ambiguously as 'an introduction'.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* declared it to be an 'honour' for Hickson to have an allographic preface from Froude in it.[56] In light of the ensuing events, such a proclamation sounds hasty. As was to be expected, Froude's preface provided the reviewers with an easy framework for contextualising Hickson's authorial self. This was taken to the extreme in a controversy that broke out between Hickson and Robert Dunlop in the *English Historical Review*. Dunlop, a recent graduate from Owens College, was specialising in the history of Ireland. He questioned Hickson's argument about the trustworthiness of the depositions. The allographic preface was, for him, compelling evidence of Froude's destructive influence on Hickson, whom he treated merely as a *Froudian* zealot.[57] Hickson replied to Dunlop in the following issue, insisting that Froude had not coaxed her in any manner. The preface was proof of her authorial autonomy. Froude, she explained, had made 'considerable alterations' to the preface according to her wishes because the first version had 'appeared too political for the volumes'.[58] Dunlop answered Hickson in the next issue. Writing with obvious derision, he noted how apparently he had 'misrepresented Miss Hickson's views' and how 'She says she cannot be accountable for those of Mr. Froude, that she even does not know what his opinion is, and yet, strange to say, she asked him to write a preface to her book'.[59] Hickson defended herself once more in a brief rebuttal. The question of the allographic preface had to have been important to her, as she addressed it even in her short final reply. She used it again to underline her scholarly autonomy: 'Mr. Froude offered, rather to my surprise, to write the preface, and I very thankfully accepted his kind offer, on condition that there was to be nothing in it which seemed to connect the volume with present politics.'[60]

The controversy gave Hickson the chance to fashion herself as an authoritative and independent historian. Nevertheless, as Froude's name and the preface were constantly brought up in the debate, it was hard to alter the prevailing image of her as Froude's loyal disciple. Thus, while Froude's allographic preface was calculated to attract readers and validate Hickson's scholarly authority, its positive impact was limited by, on the one hand, Froude's controversial reputation, and on the other by the reviewers' doubts about Hickson's autonomy. Just like in Norgate's case, the paratextual presence of a well-known male historian created an impression of subordination, with the female historian lacking scholarly independence. The paratexts that were used as authorial endorsements became, for many reviewers, the primary reference points for evaluating women historians and their publications.

Title pages and the emergence of academic women historians

An academic career became available for a small number of women during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The title pages of the works by Alice Gardner, a lecturer at Newnham College, are a testimony to this change.[61] The title page of her first major publication, *Synesius of Cyrene, Philosopher and Bishop* (1886), introduced her as a 'Resident Lecturer, Newnham College, Cambridge'. The title page of her next work, *Julian Philosopher and Emperor and the Last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity* (1895), stated that she was a 'Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge, Associate of Newnham College, Cambridge, Author of "Synesius of Cyrene"'.[62] Her paratextual strategies, though, suggest that even university educated women drew on men's authority to win approval for their histories.

The founding of the first women's colleges at Cambridge and Oxford in the 1860s and 1870s, together with women's admittance to the new civic universities, created novel possibilities for female academics. In the ancient universities, though, women's status remained 'rather anomalous', as Gardner put it.[63] Women's arrival was perceived as a threat to the prevailing masculine ideologies, and the Oxbridge men tried to limit their academic participation. Although women were allowed to sit for the university examinations from the early 1880s onwards, they were not granted degrees. Instead of a degree, they were given a certificate, but as Gardner sharply remarked in *A Short History of Newnham College* (1921), 'the world' was unable 'to understand that a certificate stating that a woman had attained the standard required for a degree in honours is really as good a guarantee of attainments as the letters B.A. to which every poll man is entitled'. As a result, Gardner and the other members of the women's colleges campaigned for the granting of degrees to women – but in vain.[64] The position of women lecturers and Fellows was complicated by their exclusion from any decision making.[65] Despite these limitations, and despite women's ambiguous status, forging an academic career became a desirable option for some, and by the 1890s women's colleges expected a university education from their Fellows and teachers.[66] The colleges acknowledged the value of original research, and according to Gardner, she was encouraged at Newnham College to pursue historical studies.[67]

In the dedications and prefaces, Gardner availed herself of the scholarly repute of her academic family members and of her Cambridge colleagues. Her brothers Percy Gardner (1846–1937) and Ernest Arthur Gardner (1862–1939) were archaeologists, and her paratexts established this familial lineage. She 'affectionately dedicated' the *Synesius of Cyrene* 'To Percy Gardner, Litt.D.' as 'his sister and pupil'. She acknowledged the assistance of her brothers in the preface to the *Julian Philosopher*, expressing her indebtedness as follows:

> to my brothers, Professor Percy Gardner of Oxford, and Mr. Ernest Gardner of the British Archæological School at Athens: the former for much general advice, and for assistance in selecting the illustrations; the latter for very useful criticisms while the work was in manuscript, and especially for his help rendering difficult passages in the Greek text.

Although the dedication indicated sisterly affection, the general tone of Gardner's paratexts lacked the emotional investment that had characterised Norgate's dedication and preface.

Gardiner added a dedication to the *Julian Philosopher*, too, but avoided again any sentimentality. She dedicated it 'with many grateful remembrances' to Mandell Creighton and listed his honorary doctorates and professional positions as the Lord Bishop of Peterborough and former Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge. Creighton was a natural choice for her, and not only because he enjoyed a great public profile. He shared her interest in improving the teaching of history for women and they had worked together to that end during his professorship at Cambridge.[68] The dedication made their affinity visible on two levels. First, it was a performative utterance stating explicitly that Gardner dedicated the book to Mandell Creighton, an accomplished historian. Second, the dedication assured readers indirectly that Gardner was backed by a respected historian, because scholarly etiquette dictated that a dedication should have been approved by the dedicatee before its publication.[69] Readers could assume that Gardner had requested permission from Creighton, and that by accepting the proposal, he had agreed to publicly vouch for her competence and for the book being worthy of his name. For those readers who were familiar with such dedicatory conventions, the dedication was an illocutionary act demonstrating that Gardner was considered a credible historian.

Gardner's studies were received in a significantly different manner than Norgate's *Angevin Kings* or Hickson's *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*. In Gardner's case, the paratextual endorsements did not shape the reviewers' judgments or inspire them to evaluate her against models set by professional scholars. Only the *Times* pointed out in a review of the *Julian Philosopher* that she had received 'valuable assistance' from 'her brother, Professor Percy Gardner'.[70] It is impossible to say what exactly caused this lack of attention regarding Gardner's male mentors. Was it because she had a formal academic status, or because the reviewers had limited knowledge of the Gardner brothers, who enjoyed a less controversial or colourful reputation than did Froude, Green or Freeman? Did the restrained tone of her paratexts influence how she was viewed as a woman historian? Or, was it because her books provoked less enthusiasm due to their topics, which appeared politically less contentious than, for instance, the history of seventeenth-century Ireland? Whatever the reasons, what matters here is that Gardner invested her books with paratextual references to established scholars who could help to sanction her scholarly credibility.

One explanation for her paratextual strategy might be the 'anomalous' position of academic women historians and Fellows. Women historians continued to divide opinions, and historians like John Horace Round and Frederick York Powell were convinced that women were only capable of 'plain, plodding work'.[71] Perhaps more importantly, Gardner was well aware of the mounting tensions between the sexes at Cambridge, as the question about women's degrees caused much discontent. She was greatly disappointed that even Creighton objected to the motion of conferring degrees upon women. He supported the popular opinion that a separate degree programme should have been devised for women, a programme that would account for their special nature and inclinations. The traditional Cambridge education – tailored for the needs of young men – failed to do this, the argument went.[72] But Gardner had an even more intimate reminder of the anxieties caused by the campaign: Percy Gardner, then a professor of archaeology at Oxford, vehemently opposed women's admission to full membership in the old universities.[73]

Percy Gardner published pamphlets and wrote letters to the editor of the *Times* arguing that a degree programme shared by both sexes was against the 'broad laws of the human nature'. He also insisted that women grossly exaggerated the harm that the lack of a degree caused them.[74] He continued to support such views in his *Autobiographica* (1933), though he admitted that his pronouncements had caused 'a little tension between me and my sister Alice'. In the same instance, he effectively downplayed her feminism. According to him, she had been 'moderate' and 'in many ways puritan' and misguided by the other university women, who had fostered 'very advanced views'. She had been torn between 'her loyalty to her College and her deep-seated affection for her family', and this 'tragedy' had made her life 'sometimes difficult and sometimes painful'.[75] Alice Gardner had died in 1927, so she could not comment on the *Autobiographica*. However, when we read the autobiography against her letters or the short history of Newnham College that she wrote, his reductionist view of her feminism appears quite inappropriate. In fact, she campaigned actively for equality at Cambridge, as she was quite familiar with the negative impact that the limitations imposed on women at Cambridge and Oxford had on their later lives. Undoubtedly, Percy Gardner's public pronouncements about the unnaturalness of university women made the matter even more pressing to her.

The symbolic value of a formal degree becomes evident when reading the *Short History of Newnham College*. Gardner stressed how this was not a matter of displaced feminine vanity. The fact was that 'the world … does not care for education without a degree' and that there was 'actual market value to educated women of the letters denoting a certain standard of mental equipment'.[76] The members of the women's colleges understood the circumstances, but the meaning of a 'certificate' was not understood outside the small academic circles at a time when examinations and degrees had become formal markers of excellence and academic competence. Without degrees, women were compelled to find alternative ways to demonstrate their learning and authority. The dedications and prefaces offered one surrogate textual sphere to compensate for the absence of the letters 'B.A.' on a title page.

This essay has brought into dialogue gender, historical research, authority and paratexts and showed how paratexts were used for consolidating scholarly authority and how women's paratextual strategies reinforced the gendered image of a proper historian. What women might have gained in credibility by relying on male authority in paratexts, they lost in their presumed lack of scholarly independence – even when their male colleagues praised their studies. Although the focus here has been on gender, my paratexts corpus suggests that paratexts were used also for establishing and performing other categories of identity as well as class distinctions. Even in scholarly discourse, paratexts were charged with cultural and ideological meanings.

Paratexts present historians with rich analytical opportunities for further research. They bring together historians, publishers and readers precisely because their use is shaped by disciplinary ideals, publishers' expectations and assumed audiences. As women's historical pursuits encompassed a wide range of genres in late-Victorian Britain, it would be fruitful to widen the scope to paratexts in the different types of histories that women authored. For example, historical novels or visually rich histories of material culture, such as Alicia Amherst's *History of Gardening in England* or Mrs. Bury Palliser's *History of Lace*, could be good starting points for such queries. Paratexts also merit closer interrogation because they contribute to the processes of making historical knowledge available for different audiences. They serve vital epistemic, cognitive and pedagogic aims in the production and contextualisation of scholarly narratives. Moreover, since paratexts are also essential marketing devices, they prompt us to address history books as commercial commodities and take seriously the financial expectations that influence what kinds of histories are published. Because of these manifold, even competing and conflicting, aims that historians envision for paratexts, further research on paratexts in history books holds the potential for an entirely new line of inquiry into historiography.

Notes

1. William Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900). This specific copy belongs to the Harvard Library and can be accessed online: https://archive.org/details/seventeenlectur00stubgoog/page/n9.
2. Whitney Trettien, 'Title Pages', in *Book Parts*, ed. Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 41.
3. Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670–1820* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 8–9; Anne Laurence, 'Women Historians and Documentary Research: Lucy Aikin, Agnes Strickland, Mary Anne Everett Green and Lucy Toulmin Smith', in *Women, Scholarship and Criticism: Gender and knowledge c. 1790–1900*, ed. Joan Bellamy, Anne Laurence, and Gill Perry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 127–8; Ann B. Shteir, 'Elegant Recreations? Configuring Science Writing for Women, in *Victorian Science in Context*, ed. Bernard Lightman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 236. See also Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
4. Alison Winter, 'A Calculus of Suffering: Ada Lovelace and the Bodily Constraints on Women's Knowledge in Early Victorian England', in *Science Incarnate: Historical Embodiments of Natural Knowledge*, ed. Christopher Lawrence and Steven Shapin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 207; Looser, *British Women Writers*, 8–9.
5. Elise Garritzen, 'Pasha and his Historic Harem: Edward A. Freeman, Edith Thompson and the gendered personae of late-Victorian historians', in *How to be a Historian: Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800–2000*, ed. Herman Paul (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 93–4.
6. Some exceptions include R. B. McDowell, *Alice Stopford Green: A Passionate Historian* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1967); Sandra Holton, 'Gendered Difference, National Identity and Professing History: The Case of Alice Stopford Green,' *History Workshop Journal* 53 (2002): 119–27; Helene Kingstone, 'Feminism, Nationalism, Separatism? The Case of Alice

Stopford Green', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 19, no. 4 (2014): 442–56; Christine L. Krueger, 'Why She Lived at PRO: Mary Anne Everett Green and the Profession of History', *Journal of British Studies* 42, no. 1 (2003): 65–90.

7. Spongberg Mary, *Women Writers and the Nation's Past 1790–1860: Empathetic Histories* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 1–17; Rohan Amanda Maitzen, *Gender, Genre, and Victorian Historical Writing* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1998); Rosemary Ann Mitchell, '"The busy daughters of Clio": Women Writers of History from 1820 to 1880', *Women's History Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 107–34; Billie Melman, 'Gender, History and Memory: The Invention of Women's Past in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *History and Memory* 5, no. 1 (1993): 5–41.
8. Rosemary Mitchell, 'Women in *The English Historical Review*', *English Historical Review* (2018): 2–3, doi:10.1093/her/cey395.
9. Rosemary Jann, *The Art and Science of Victorian History* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 204–6; For more on the scientific turn, see Ian Hesketh, *The Science of History in Victorian Britain: Making the Past Speak* (London: Pickering & Chatto 2006).
10. Rolf Torstendahl, *The Rise and Propagation of Professional History* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 7–11, 42–54.
11. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 22–5.
12. Gladstone to Stubbs, 27 December 1875, in *Letters of William Stubbs*, ed. William Holden Hutton (London: Archibald Constable, 1904), 147.
13. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7–8.
14. Mario Biagioli, 'Rights or Rewards?', in *Scientific Authorship: Credit and Intellectual Property in Science*, ed. Mario Biagioli and Peter Galison (New York: Routledge, 2003), 254–7, 274; James Secord, 'Progress in print', in *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 375.
15. Herman Paul, 'The Virtues of a Good Historian in Early Imperial Germany: Georg Waitz's Contested Example', *Modern Intellectual History* 15 (2018): 681–709.
16. Ian Hesketh, *Victorian Jesus: J.R. Seeley, Religion, and the Cultural Significance of Anonymity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 135–6.
17. Gill Perry, Anne Laurence, and Joan Bellamy, 'Introduction: Gender and Women's History', in *Women, Scholarship and Criticism* (see footnote 3), 5–6; Hesketh, *Victorian Jesus*, 11.
18. Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice. Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 129–31.
19. W. A. B. Coolidge, review of *The Federal Government of Switzerland*, by Bernard Moses, *English Historical Review* 5 (1890), 799.
20. Eva Hemmungs Wirtén, *Making Marie Curie: Intellectual Property and Celebrity Culture in an Age of Information* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015), 25–6. Hemmungs Wirtén shows how Marie Curie appeared as Marie Skłodowska Curie in the first note that she and Pierre Curie presented to the Academy of Science in Paris, but as their scientific work gained in importance, her authorial presence diminished. In the third note they presented to the Academy, she had become Madame P. Curie.
21. In English, *Paratexts* (1997).
22. Patrick Marot, 'Pour une poétique historique des textes liminaires', in *Les textes liminaires*, ed. Patrick Marot (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2010), 10; Pierre Masson, 'Marginalité de la préface autoriale', in *L'Art de la préface*, ed. Philippe Forest (Nantes: Éditions Cécile Defaut, 2006), 14; Kate Ozment, '"She Writes like a Woman": Paratextual Marketing in Delarivier Manley's Early Career', *Authorship* 5, no.1 (2016): 1–15.
23. Jonathan Gray, *Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and Other Media Paratexts* (New York: NYU Press, 2010), 23–6.

24. This is based on an analysis of reviews of history books in the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review* between 1860 and 1900 and in the *English Historical Review* during its first five years.
25. The articles in the journals specialising in paratexts, *Paratesto: Rivista Internazionale* and *Margini: Giornale della dedica e altro*, illustrate these preferences. See also Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (ed.), *Book Parts* (see footnote 2). Some exceptions include Hannah C. Tweed and Diane G. Scott (ed.), *Medical Paratexts from Medieval to Modern: Dissecting the Page* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997); Matthew Skelton, 'The Paratext of Everything: Constructing and Marketing H. G. Wells's *The Outline of History*', *Book History* 4 (2001): 237–75.
26. Maitland to Paul Vinogradoff, 12 March 1889, in *The Letters of Frederic William Maitland*, ed. C. H. S. Fifoot (London: Selden Society, 1965), 59–60.
27. Elise Garritzen, 'Framing and Reframing Meanings in History Books: The Original and Posthumous Paratexts in J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*', *History of Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2018): 194–6.
28. [G. W. Cox], review of *England under the Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate, *Edinburgh Review* (October 1887), 466.
29. Green to Norgate, 5 March 1877 and 18 June 1877, in *Letters of J. R. Green*, ed. Leslie Stephen (London: Macmillan, 1901), 448–9, 470–1.
30. Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1887).
31. Mary Anne Everett Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England, from the Norman Conquest*, vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1850).
32. Henry B. Wheatley, *The Dedications of Books to Patron and Friend: A Chapter in Literary History* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1887), 185–6.
33. P. L. Gell to C. Plummer, 23 June 1885, Letter Books, vol. 37, Oxford University Press Archive (OUP); C. E. Doble to Dr. Birkbeck Hill, 21 December 1896, Letter Books, vol. 67, OUP.
34. Two noteworthy exceptions are Edward Freeman's *History of the Federal Government* (1860), which was dedicated to the Greek Minister Spyriden Trikoupes, and John Robert Seeley's *Life and Times of Stein* (1878), dedicated to the historian Reinhold Pauli.
35. Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, vii.
36. Ibid.
37. Helen Smith, 'Acknowledgments and Dedications', in *Book Parts* (see footnote 2), 105.
38. Maitland to B. Fossett Lock, 17 July 1904, *Letters of Frederic William Maitland*, 312.
39. [Anon.] review of *England under the Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate, *The Scottish Review* (July 1997): 174–6.
40. Edward A. Freeman, review of *England under the Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate, *English Historical Review* 2, no. 8 (1887): 774; see also, e.g. Reginald L. Poole, 'Modern History', *The Contemporary Review* (1 July 1877): 737–9.
41. [Cox], review of *Angevin Kings*, 466.
42. Richard Howlett, review of *England under the Angevin Kings*, by Kate Norgate, *The Academy*, 12 November 1887, 312–3.
43. Kate Norgate, *John Lackland* (London: Macmillan, 1902).
44. Genette, *Paratexts*, 263–75.
45. [Anon.] review of *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, by Mary Hickson, *The Scottish Review* (October 1884), 359.
46. Daniela Saxer, 'Monumental Undertakings: Source Publications for the Nation, in *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, ed. Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek (New York: Palgrave, 2012), 47–69.
47. Krueger, 'Why She Lived at PRO', 87–9; Michel Duchein, 'The History of European Archives and the Development of the Archival Profession in Europe', *American Archivist* 55 (1892): 17; Philippa Levine, *Amateur and Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 125–34.

48. Ciaran Brady, *James Anthony Froude: An Intellectual Biography of a Victorian Prophet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
49. Hesketh, *The Science of History*, 73–94.
50. Nadia Clare Smith, *A "Manly Study"? Irish Women Historians, 1868–1949* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 15–21.
51. Froude to Lady Carnarvon, 18 August [1885] and 5 September [1885], Carnarvon MSS, Add MS 60799B, BL; Brady, *James Anthony Froude*, 284.
52. J.A.F., 'Preface', in Mary Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century or the Irish Massacre of 1641–2*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, 1884), v–xii.
53. Smith, *A "Manly Study"*, 17–21.
54. [Thomas Croskery], 'The Irish Massacre of 1641', *Edinburgh Review* (October 1884), 490–524.
55. 'Literary Notes', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 February 1884, 4. See also *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 8 February 1884, 5; *The Leeds Mercury*, 11 February 1884, 2; *The Western Daily Press*, 11 February 1884, 7; *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 12 February 1884, 4; *The Bath Chronicle*, 14 February 1884, 6; *Leicester Chronicle*, 16 February 1884, 4.
56. [Anon.] review of *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, by Mary Hickson, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 July 1884, 4–5. The book was reviewed also at least by Creighton, 'Modern History', *The Contemporary Review*, July 1884, 897; Samuel R. Gardiner, review of *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, by Mary Hickson, *The Academy*, 26 July 1884, 53.
57. R. Dunlop, 'The Depositions Relating to the Irish Massacres of 1641', *English Historical Review* 1, no.4 (1886): 740–4.
58. Mary Hickson, 'The Depositions Relating to the Irish Massacre of 1641', *English Historical Review* 2, no. 5 (1887): 133–7.
59. R. Dunlop, 'The Depositions Relating to the Irish Massacre of 1641', *English Historical Review* 2, no.6 (1887): 338–40.
60. Mary Hickson, 'The Deposits of 1641', *English Historical Review* 2, no. 7 (1887): 527.
61. Gardner had gone to Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1876, and she placed first in the history tripos in 1879. In 1884, she was appointed a teacher and director of history studies at Newnham College, where she resided until her retirement in 1914. Gillian Sutherland, 'Gardner, Alice', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48491).
62. Alice Gardner, *Synesius of Cyrene, Philosopher and Bishop* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1886); Alice Gardner, *Julian. Philosopher and Emperor and the Last Struggle of Paganism and Christianity* (London: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1895).
63. Gardner to Lord Acton, 5 November 1895, The Papers of Lord Acton, Add 8119 (2)/I/930, Cambridge University Library (CUL).
64. Alice Gardner, *A Short History of Newnham College* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1921), 42–6, 100–13.
65. Gardner to Lord Acton, 5 November 1895, Add 8119 (2)/I/930, CUL; Fernanda Perronne, 'Women Academics in England, 1870–1930', *History of Universities* 12, no. 1 (1993): 340–2; Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington & Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2005), 185–94; Julie S. Gibert, 'Women Students and Student Life at England's Civic Universities before the First World War', *History of Education* 23, no. 4 (1994): 405–6; Covert, *A Victorian Marriage*, 90–1.
66. Perronne, 'Women Academics', 352, 354.
67. Gardner to B. A. Clough, 8 September 1896, Add MS 72824A, BL.
68. Louise Creighton, *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, sometime Bishop of London*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, 1904), 288–9, 295.
69. See, e.g. Edward Freeman to Spyridon Trikoupes, 19 January 1862, in *The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman*, vol. 1, ed. W. R. W. Stephens (London: Macmillan, 1895), 272–3; Maitland to Melville Bigelow, 31 July 1888, *Letters of Frederic William Maitland*, 45.
70. [Anon.], review of *Julian Philosopher and Emperor*, by Alice Gardner, *The Times*, 24 May 1895, 13. For further reviews, see the following: *Glasgow Herald*, 16 May 1895; *The Scottish*

Review 26:51 (July 1895), 208–9; *Academy* 48:1214 (10 August 1895), 105–6; *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 September 1895, 10; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21 September 1895, 4; *English Historical Review*, vol. 11 (January 1896), 134–5.

71. John Horace Round, quoted in W. Raymond Powell, *John Horace Round: Historian and Gentleman of Essex* (Chelmsford: Essex Record Office, 2001), 160–1, 186; Oliver Elton, *Frederick York Powell: A Life and a Selection from his Letters and Occasional Writings*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 74–5, 119–20.
72. Creighton to Alice Gardner, 10 December 1895 and 16 December 1895, in *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, sometime Bishop of London*, vol. 2, ed. Louise Creighton (London: Longmans, 1904), 186.
73. Percy Gardner, *Autobiographica* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933), 67–70.
74. Percy Gardner, 'The Proposed Degree for Women', *Times*, 31 January 1896, 10 and 'The Proposed Degree for Women', *Times*, 15 February 1896, 12.
75. Percy Gardner, *Autobiographica*, 68–70.
76. Gardner, *Short History of Newnham*, 43, 45, 100, 112.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Josephine Hoegaerts, Helen Kingstone, Anna Koivusalo, Markku Peltonen, Laura Tarkka-Robinson and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions. The research was funded by the Jenny and Antti Wihuri Foundation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributor

Dr *Elise Garritzen* is Academy of Finland Research Fellow, Department of History, PO Box 59, 00014, University of Helsinki, Finland where she specializes in nineteenth-century European historiography and book history. Her current project explores the use of paratexts for professional self-fashioning in late-Victorian history books. She has published a monograph on Finnish historians in Rome around 1900 and articles in *History of Humanities*, *Clio*, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, *Scandinavian Journal of History* and *Storia della Storiografia*.