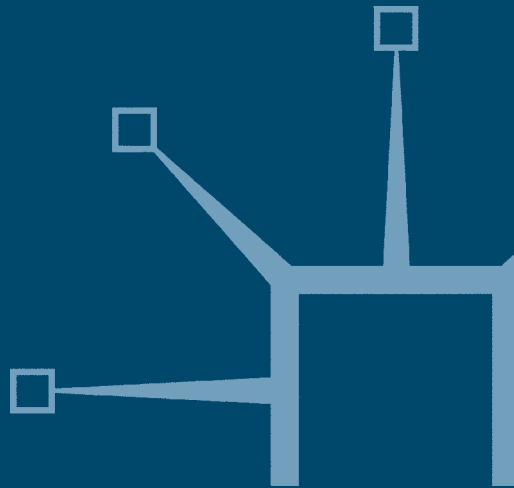


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# An Elizabeth Gaskell Chronology

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Graham Handley



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# An Elizabeth Gaskell Chronology

Graham Handley

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*For Frances Twinn  
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# General Editor's Preface

Most biographies are ill-adapted to serve as works of reference – not surprisingly so, since the biographer is likely to regard his function as the devising of a continuous and readable narrative, with excursions into interpretation and speculation, rather than a bald recital of facts. There are times, however, when anyone reading for business or pleasure needs to check a point quickly or to obtain a rapid overview of part of an author's life or career; and at such moments turning over the pages of a biography can be a time-consuming and frustrating occupation. The present series of volumes aims at providing a means whereby the chronological facts of an author's life and career, rather than needing to be prised out of the narrative in which they are (if they appear at all) securely embedded, can be seen at a glance. Moreover, whereas biographies are often, and quite understandably, vague over matters of fact (since it makes for tediousness to be forever enumerating details of dates and places), a chronology can be precise whenever it is possible to be precise.

Thanks to the survival, sometimes in very large quantities, of letters, diaries, notebooks and other documents, as well as to thoroughly researched biographies and bibliographies, this material now exists in abundance for many major authors. In the case of, for example, Dickens, we can often ascertain what he was doing in each month and week, and almost on each day, of his prodigiously active working life; and the student of, say, *David Copperfield* is likely to find it fascinating as well as useful to know just when Dickens was at work on each part of that novel, what other literary enterprises he was engaged in at the same time, whom he was meeting, what places he was visiting, and what were the relevant circumstances of his personal and professional life. Such a chronology is not, of course, a substitute for a biography; but its arrangement, in combination with its index, makes it a much more convenient tool for this kind of purpose; and it may be acceptable as a form of 'alternative' biography, with its own distinctive advantages as well as its obvious limitations.

Since information relating to an author's early years is usually scanty and chronologically imprecise, the opening section of some volumes in this series groups together the years of childhood and adolescence. Thereafter each year, and usually each month, is dealt with separately.

Information not readily assignable to a specific month or day is given as a general note under the relevant year or month. The first entry for each month carries an indication of the day of the week, so that when necessary this can be readily calculated for other dates. Each volume also contains a bibliography of the principal sources of information. In the chronology itself, the sources of many of the more specific items, including quotations, are identified in order that the reader who wishes to do so may consult the original contexts.

NORMAN PAGE

# Introduction

There was a marked increase of interest in Elizabeth Gaskell's life and works during the last decades of the twentieth century, and this looks set to continue without any significant slackening. After her death in November 1865 her works were steadily reprinted, and shortly after the beginning of the 20th century collected editions like Clement Shorter's *The Novels and Tales of Mrs Gaskell* (1906–19) and *The Works of Mrs Gaskell* (ed. A. W. Ward, The Knutsford Edition, 1906) were effectively precursors to investigations of the life. Though Ward omitted *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* from his edition, his introductions provided serious critical appraisal, now inevitably dated, with biographical detail, sometimes more anecdotal than factual, which invited expansion.

The first important full-length study was Mrs Ellis Chadwick's *Mrs Gaskell: Haunts, Homes and Stories* (1910), the revised edition of 1913 adding material and correcting some errors, and there was a further spurt of interest some fifteen years later which began with A. Stanton Whitfield's *Mrs Gaskell, Her Life and Work* (1929), Gerald de Witt Sanders, *Elizabeth Gaskell* (1929), which includes a useful bibliography by Clark S. Northup, and Elizabeth Haldane's *Mrs Gaskell and Her Friends* (1930). In these studies descriptive criticism and biography derived from a clear love of subject. *Letters of Mrs Gaskell and Charles Eliot Norton 1855–1865*, edited with an introduction by Jane Whitehill (1932, reprinted 1973) further extended knowledge and interest, while in *Early Victorian Novelists: Essays in Revaluation* (1934) Lord David Cecil paid Gaskell the compliment of a chapter while promulgating a myth:

But we have only to look at a portrait of Mrs Gaskell, soft-eyed beneath her charming veil, to see that she was a dove ... . [she] was all a woman was expected to be; gentle, domestic, tactful, unintellectual, prone to tears, easily shocked. So far from chafing at the limits imposed on her activities, she accepted them with serene satisfaction. She married young and had seven children: she performed with decorous enthusiasm the duties expected of a Unitarian minister's wife; she looked up to man as her sex's rightful and benevolent master (p. 198).

It is an authoritarian statement, misleadingly definitive (think at least of *Mary Barton* and *Ruth*), but influential in its time and beyond: Cecil extended his comments to allow that she possessed observation, freshness, charm, and 'delicate feminine subtlety'. These pluses carry the inbuilt condescension of minuses, and when he asserted that she lacked intellectual grasp, that she was first and foremost a 'domestic novelist', that she was unable to write with passion and did not understand men, we register a widespread failure in critical comprehension.

Perhaps even more influential in terms of 'placing' Mrs Gaskell was F. R. Leavis's revisionist *The Great Tradition* (book publication 1948), which lumped her with Trollope, Charlotte M. Yonge, Wilkie Collins, Charles Reade, Charles and Henry Kingsley, Captain Marryat and John Henry Shorthouse as lesser novelists of the Victorian period. That period has since become an established, extensive scholarly and interpretative area, wide, deep-ranging, ever-expanding, often with authorial gender as its focus.

Interestingly, two women writing shortly after Leavis did much to elevate Gaskell and suggest that the twin thrusts of scholarship and criticism would lead to new discoveries and revaluation. Aina Rubenius's *The Woman Question in Mrs Gaskell's Works* (1950) is well before its time – it sounds as if it belongs to the 1970s or 1980s – in stressing the particularities of gender in social and literary terms and indicating Gaskell's interaction with them in her life and works. There is much investigation of derivations and connections, particularly the influences of the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer on Gaskell's writings, but the density of the conception and a firm historical grasp are impressive and still relevant for us today. In 1952 a retired American professor, Dr A. B. Hopkins, produced a biographical-cum-critical study, *Elizabeth Gaskell: Her Life and Work*, full of fresh research and insights which make it a source book for anyone writing about Gaskell thereafter. Hopkins re-examines and re-evaluates her subject: she is scholarly, balanced, persuasive and forward-looking, indicating weaknesses but stressing developmental craftsmanship, seen particularly in the work of Gaskell's artistic maturity, where she stresses Edmund Gosse's assertion that *Cousin Phillis* and *Wives and Daughters* are 'among the most faultlessly constructed novels in the language' (quoted p. 332).

Around the centenary of Gaskell's death (1965) there is a recognisable movement on from the admirable investigations of Rubenius and Hopkins. Edgar Wright's *Mrs Gaskell: The Basis for Reassessment* (1965) argues sensibly for fresh approaches and maintains 'There is evidence

for believing that the view, still widely held, that she is an intuitive novelist, relying on her natural insight and a natural gift for storytelling, is a very mistaken one' (p. 22). A year later *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, edited by John Chapple and Arthur Pollard appeared, immediately if indirectly supporting Wright's central thesis.

The *Letters* mark the greatest single advance in the course of Gaskell's reputation and status. They provide striking insights into her family life, her relationship with her daughters and her husband: they demonstrate her capacity for friendships, her cultural interests, her ingenuity and stamina in combining domestic responsibilities with the expansion of her own creative career. They reflect her social concerns, the motivating impetus of her practical, enlightened and never cloying Christianity (a mark of so many Unitarians), her busy life in Manchester and her reflexive need for holidays and travel away from it, her varied and vibrant sense of humour, the sad submerged notation of her child-deaths (particularly that of her son Willie), all this and much more make her a fascinating and complex character. Letters are living biography, and although cultural/historical annotation in this edition is sparse (but not in the *Further Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, ed. Chapple and Shelston, issued in 2000, reprinted 2003 with additions and corrections) the great advantage is that we hear Gaskell directly; her discourse is immediate and unmediated, her persona natural in description or reflection, warm, vital, involved, committed, trivial, exasperating, idiosyncratic: a woman for all seasons, writing in the midst of a busy life.

Commentary, tellingly and densely in its own right, is found in J. G. Sharps's *Mrs Gaskell's Observation and Invention: A Study of Her Non-biographic Works* (1970). His study combines encyclopaedic knowledge and meticulous detail, with considered introductions to each of the works, relevant immediate and far-reaching associations, a clear context of criticism and summary. A collector and scholar, Sharps is saturated in his subject, providing the Gaskell student and the casual reader with the facts that feed the fiction, essential information which remains despite any shifting modes of criticism or the whimsy of imposed stance. The main thrust of the work has not been superseded, give or take certain revisions and discoveries.

The Gaskell database, boosted by the *Letters* and Sharps's 'Companion' (he too chose to omit *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*) was soon expanded by contingent articles, essays and notes in journals dealing especially with 19th century fiction, and full-length biographical or critical studies, sometimes a combination of both. These have continued apace,

emergent disciplines absorbing Elizabeth Gaskell (inevitably 'Gaskell' for the last fifteen years or so) into their individual frames with ease. Margaret Ganz (1969), W. A. Craik (1975), Winifred Gérin (1976), Angus Easson (1979), Patsy Stoneman (1987) have made distinctive contributions at book length, while R. K. Webb's seminal article, 'The Gaskells as Unitarians' (1988) is a distinctive contextualization of them within the culture of 19th century Unitarianism. There was a remarkable upsurge in the 1990s, with Easson's *Elizabeth Gaskell: The Critical Heritage* (1991) containing an edited selection of contemporary reviews and an invaluable section of 'Judgements and Opinions' going up to 1910, effectively another supplement to the critical and scholarly prestige-emergence of Gaskell in the latter part of the 20th century. Easson's introductory overview is a fine example of the deepening of Gaskell studies in this period. That critical emergence is exemplified in two strongly individualized studies which appeared in 1992, those of Felicia Bonaparte and Hilary M. Schor. The first is an adventurous investigation, its title *The Gypsy-Bachelor of Manchester: The Life of Mrs Gaskell's Demon* appropriating Gaskell's own words as stimulus for the critical journey: the second, *Scheherezade in the Marketplace: Elizabeth Gaskell & The Victorian Novel*, places the subject fully in her contexts. And in 1993 Jenny Uglow published the most complete biography to date in her *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Habit of Stories*. It covers, and uncovers, new ground, a critical biography in the fullest sense of that term: it is sympathetic, probing and clear, boldly avoiding contemporary critical jargon and 'correct' postures in the interests of truth.

*Private Voices: The Diaries of Elizabeth Gaskell and Sophia Holland*, edited by J. A. V. Chapple and Anita Wilson (1996), is further evidence of the continuing interest and depth investigation which Gaskell and her family are occasioning. The Hollands from whom Elizabeth Gaskell is descended on her mother's side (Sophia married Edward Holland, first cousin to Elizabeth, just four months before Elizabeth married William Gaskell) have an important status and influence of their own. But the *Diary* itself, which only existed in Clement Shorter's privately printed edition of 1923, reveals Gaskell the anxious mother, the responsible, aware, concerned but always self-critical guardian of her daughter Marianne. There are poignant and delightful family insights: more importantly, as Anita Wilson points out in her sensitive introduction, we see Gaskell's infinite capacity for observation (Sharps's defining word) and a like capacity for composition which were to become the trademarks of the mature novelist. Gaskell would always have a strong involvement in her daughters' lives and a marked degree

of anxiety on their account. This did not inhibit her constant, almost reflexive, philanthropic activity or the development of her narrative and related literary concerns.

In 1997 there appeared the most remarkable study of those lost or part-lost years of Elizabeth Stevenson, those family and social contexts which provide a fuller appreciation and understanding of the mature writer. John Chapple's *Elizabeth Gaskell: The Early Years* is both an incisive and exciting investigation, taking us up to the time when Elizabeth Cleghorn Stevenson married William Gaskell in August 1832, and they set up home in Manchester as he continued his lifetime's work as a Minister at Cross Street Unitarian Chapel. The life of William Stevenson, Elizabeth's father, is teased out on the one hand, and exploration of the Holland family and its multiple connections extensively revealed on the other. Chapple documents meticulously and corrects earlier errors with an urbane and tolerant overview that never descends into condescension but which frequently includes a quiet and engaging wit. His mining of this pre-Gaskell period is particularly impressive in terms of what is both a specific and wide historical identification – family, friends, influences of place, education, the Unitarian contexts and pre-contexts, these and more constitute a narrative which enfolds the child, the adolescent, the young woman. The first sections of this Chronology would have been sparse and inadequate without the exemplary dedication of John Chapple.

The Mandarin reissue of *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* in 1997 (the 1966 edition with corrections), together with John Chapple's and Alan Shelston's *Further Letters of Mrs Gaskell* referred to earlier, continues to supplement contemporary Gaskellian scholarship, the *Further Letters* enhanced by a full and often distinctive annotation and commentary, thus bringing it into line with, say, Gordon S. Haight's edition (1954–78) of *The George Eliot Letters* and conferring by association a comparable distinction on Gaskell. The Introduction, and the Biographical Register of major correspondents and acquaintances, are invaluable for the Gaskell student.

Mention must be made here of Shirley Foster's *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Literary Life* (2002), published when I was in the early stages of writing this chronology. It is a stimulating, succinct and finely integrated study of the life and works (particularly original on the stories), uninhibited by the comparatively brief compass of the imposed format: it embraces past and present critical disciplines and is an invaluable exploration, its tone informed, unpretentious, enhancing its subject. William Gaskell's borrowings from the Portico



library are of great interest: many suggest his wife's researches and the directions of her reading.

Bibliographical activity has further elevated Gaskell's status. Walter Smith's work on the First and Early editions (1998) as well as the reference guide of Robert Selig (1977), the bibliographies of Jeffrey Welch (1977) and Nancy Weyant (1994), the latter's work ongoing with a further supplement expected in 2004, all trace the upward curve of Gaskell's reputation in the last decades of the 20th century. Almost complementary to this is the work of the Gaskell Society (founded 1985), with a regular *Newsletter* and an annual *Journal* (Indexed to Vol. 16, 2002) which contain articles, reviews, notes on their author and related topics, with meetings, lectures and conferences regularly held in the North and the South. Gaskell texts edited by scholars are published by Penguin, Oxford University Press and Everyman, while it is only five years ago that *Wives and Daughters* brought Gaskell to a wider audience through a prime-time televisual adaptation (1999). 'The Gaskell Web' (1995), initiated and since much extended by Mitsuharu Matsuoka, has established a world-wide source for students, scholars and general readers. The span of interest is reflected specifically in Italian and Japanese scholarship.

A Chronology is of great importance now in considering Gaskell. It will show, I hope, that her two lives, the creative and the domestic, feed into and off each other, not seamlessly but productively; her observation – that word again – is vibrant with a kind of unassuming sympathy and wisdom which often translates into high art. If it is politically correct to say 'Gaskell' today, it is, ironically, humanly incorrect and inaccurate to do so. She herself has clearly defined the compromises and divisions in a woman's life – or at least the life of a woman who feels and thinks, practises and prizes, a life beyond domesticity – without in any way disparaging or diminishing the duties and fulfilments of her family sphere. In a letter to Eliza 'Tottie' Fox, daughter of that charismatic Unitarian and Radical politician W. J. Fox, she observes that some women need to be able to engage with Art as antidote to everyday small frustrations: 'it keeps them from being morbid as you say; and takes them into the land where King Arthur lies hidden, and soothes them with its peace. I have felt this in writing, I see others feel it in music, you in painting, so assuredly a blending of the two is desirable' (*GL* 106).

Gaskell's life exemplifies the demanding duality of her chosen commitments. She died in the house she had purchased for her husband's retirement: she had almost completed the novel which, though it lacks

the mechanics of closure, many of us would regard as her masterpiece. Sad and premature though her end was, there is a curiously ironic fitness about it; she was wife, mother, author in her last chapter of fact and fiction.

The need for an Elizabeth Gaskell chronology at this stage – and who knows what discoveries may still be made in the form of relevant documents – is I suggest obvious from the foregoing. She lived through a period of literary richness, cultural development and change, human suffering which precipitated reform, social and spiritual agonies, scientific, political, humanitarian advance. Her contexts are as various as she was, and accordingly this chronology refers in passing to those other major contexts of the period which are felt to be important to her and to us as her readers. I include dates for the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the American Civil War, industrial action, legislation, all of which touched the vibrant wires of her sympathy. Selected literary or cultural notes are given, brief quotes or summary from reviews of Gaskell's works, and comments from friends or important figures: these are of relevance to her own biography, witness her anguish – or delight – over what she heard or read about, for example, *Mary Barton* and *Ruth*. Brief summaries of some of Gaskell's lesser-known works are included, together with occasional comment or explication.

Where there is doubt about the date of a letter or specificity of another kind I have put (?) before the entry in the Chronology. Undated letters have rarely been cited, since they can hardly be fitted into a chronological frame, but year references, though lacking a day, week or month date, whether of a personal or wider nature, have been included where it is felt they are appropriate. A singular verb used without naming her always refers to Gaskell, thus 'Wrote to Marianne'. Abbreviations are listed on the page following this introduction.

A Chronology is not only selective it is, inevitably, subject to additions and corrections. Chapple and Shelston wisely observed in their Introduction to *Further Letters* (2000) that new material would be found. Their 2003 reprint records corrections, revisions, more discoveries, all evidence of the Gaskell continuum.

Graham Handley

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# Acknowledgements

My major debts are to John Chapple and the late Arthur Pollard for their edition of *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* (1966), which first set me exploring – and more fully appreciating – the woman behind the fiction and *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. I am grateful to Manchester University Press and John Chapple for allowing me to quote from the revised edition (1997) of the *Letters*, and to the same and Alan Shelston for similar permission to quote from *Further Letters of Mrs Gaskell* (2003), newly updated in paperback. John Chapple and Alan Shelston have been generous with their time and support, reading parts of the Chronology with great care and making some invaluable suggestions. John Chapple sent me some unpublished material, and Alan Shelston kindly gave me the paperback edition of *Further Letters* (2003) shortly after its publication. I have been fortunate in having the comments and corrections of those other Gaskell authorities, John Geoffrey Sharps, Angus Easson and Frances Twinn. The first directed me to some errors and pointed me towards other relevant emphases, while Angus Easson has been meticulous in his attention to my text: his detailed knowledge of Gaskell, particularly his ability to pick up references in the letters, plus his deep awareness of the period has effectively provided me with invaluable additions and adjustments. Frances Twinn has made a number of comments which have caused me to reconsider both emphases and content, while her saturation in townscape and landscape in Gaskell have given me greater insight into the particularities of place. I have also had the benefit of sound practical advice from the General Editor of this series, Norman Page. Any errors are obviously mine.

In addition I should like to mention the benefits I have derived from the work of Felicia Bonaparte, Barbara Brill (on William Gaskell), Dorothy Collin, Winifred Gérin, Hilary M. Schor, Patsy Stoneman, Jenny Uglow and others. Janna Henrichsen has generously devoted some time to checking Brontë references for me. I have drawn on the particularised knowledge of Joan Leach, Peter Skrine, Philip Yarrow and many others who have contributed articles and notes to *The Gaskell Society Journal* and *Newsletters*. To all these my thanks and appreciation. I am grateful to Paula Kennedy and Ann Marangos for their help.

# List of Abbreviations

ATYR	All the Year Round.
CBL	Margaret Smith (ed.), <i>The Letters of Charlotte Brontë</i> , 3 vols (Oxford 1995–2004).
ES	Elizabeth Stevenson (to 30 August 1832).
EG	Elizabeth Gaskell (after 30 August 1832). EG is sometimes referred to as ‘Lily’.
WG	William Gaskell.
GL	<i>The Letters of Mrs Gaskell</i> , ed. J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (Manchester, 1966, 1997), followed by page number where there is quotation.
FL	<i>Further Letters of Mrs Gaskell</i> , eds. John Chapple and Alan Shelston (Manchester, 2000, newly updated paperback 2003), followed by page number in 2003 edition where there is quotation.
Chapple	John Chapple, <i>Elizabeth Gaskell: The Early Years</i> (Manchester, 1997).
Easson	Angus Easson, <i>Elizabeth Gaskell</i> (London, 1979).
Foster	Shirley Foster, <i>Elizabeth Gaskell: A Literary Life</i> (Basingstoke, 2002).
HW	<i>Household Words</i> .
Pilgrim	<i>The Pilgrim Edition of the Letters of Charles Dickens</i> , 12 vols (Oxford, 1965–2002).
L&M	<i>Letters and Memorials of Catherine Winkworth</i> , 2 vols, ed. Susanna Winkworth (Clifton, 1883–86).
Private Voices	<i>Private Voices: The Diaries of Elizabeth Gaskell and Sophia Holland</i> , eds J. A. V. Chapple and Anita Wilson, (Keele University Press, 1996).
Shaen	Margaret Shaen, <i>Memorials of Two Sisters: Susanna and Catherine Winkworth</i> (London, 1908).
Sharps	John Geoffrey Sharps, <i>Mrs Gaskell’s Observation and Invention: A Study of Her Non-Biographic Works</i> (Sussex, 1970).
Smith	Walter E. Smith, <i>Elizabeth Gaskell: A Bibliographical Catalogue</i> (Los Angeles, 1998).
Twinn	Frances Twinn, ‘Half-finished Streets’, ‘Illimitable Horizons’ and ‘Enclosed Intimacy’: <i>The Landscapes of</i>

*Elizabeth Gaskell's Writing* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham, 1999).

Waller Ross. D. Waller, *Letters Addressed to Mrs Gaskell* (Manchester, 1935).

Whitehill Jane Whitehill (ed.) *Letters of Mrs Gaskell and Charles Eliot Norton 1855–1865* (Oxford, 1932).

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# Chronology



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## Forebears and families to 1810

Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell née Stevenson is descended from the Stevensons of Berwick on the male side, and the Hollands of Sandlebridge, near Knutsford, Cheshire, on the female. John Chapple has rightly observed in *Elizabeth Gaskell: The Early Years* (1997), hereafter Chapple, just how important the two family strands are in the life and fiction of Elizabeth Gaskell.

Her father William Stevenson (b. 26 November 1870) was the eldest of five sons of a Berwick naval man, Joseph Stevenson (1719–99), and the only one who did not follow a naval calling. William attended Berwick Grammar School, studied Latin and Greek among other subjects, and at the age of 17 went to Daventry Academy in preparation for becoming a Dissenting Minister. There he would follow in the footsteps of the most eminent Unitarian of the 18th century, the chemist and religious reformer, Joseph Priestley.

William Stevenson moved on to Northampton Academy in 1789, then to Bruges as a tutor in 1792, the year in which he was made a burgess of Berwick. He became a tutor at Manchester New College in 1793, preaching also to the small congregation at Dob Lane Chapel, Failsworth, Manchester. In 1796 however he disengaged from his ministry: he published a pamphlet which criticised the primacy of classical learning, and moved to East Lothian, apparently to study farming, probably under the tutelage of one Robert Hope, whose grandson George Hope visited the Gaskells in Manchester many years later. Stevenson's first stay in Scotland was comparatively brief, for he returned to England some time in 1797, and on 1 December married Elizabeth Holland (b. 19 April 1771) at Over Peover parochial chapel, Cheshire. She was the sixth child of Samuel and Ann Holland (née Swinton), her father being a farmer who had moved to Sandlebridge, near Knutsford, in 1774.

Mr and Mrs Stevenson went to Scotland, where he took up farming again at Saughton Mills, near Edinburgh, in 1798. On 27 November their son John Stevenson was born. There were probably other children apart from Elizabeth, but no evidence survives to date. William renounced farming and settled in Edinburgh, where he became a tutor; he also contributed articles to the *Edinburgh Review* from 1803 onwards. In 1805 (William Gaskell was born on 24 July in this year in a suburb of Warrington), Stevenson was appointed private secretary to the Earl of Lauderdale, expected to be the next Viceroy of India. Lauderdale was not chosen but obtained for Stevenson the post of Keeper of the Papers

at the Treasury (20 May 1806) at an initial salary of £200 per annum. Stevenson came to London, and by 1809 he and his wife were settled in Chelsea at Belle Vue, then part of Lindsey Row (now Cheyne Walk), where ES was born on 29 September 1810. Stevenson contributed to the *Annual Register*, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and periodicals like *Blackwood's* over the years.

An older sister of ES's mother, Hannah Holland (b. 29 July 1867), was to play an important part in ES's life. In 1789 she had married Samuel Lumb, a Wakefield woolstapler in comfortable circumstances, at Over Peover chapel. Their daughter Marianne was born 17 October 1790. Samuel was mentally unstable and spent periods of time in asylums: he also had another family life with his housekeeper and their children. He died in March 1805. The formal separation in 1795 provided Hannah with £120 per annum for life. The Hollands were a close and sympathetic family, and Hannah was certainly living in Over Knutsford between 1799 and 1809, near some of them. Relevant details of Stevenson and Holland families and relations are given below in the next section, which begins with the birth of ES.

## Early life (1810–30)

### 1810

#### March

Luddites break machinery in Nottingham, effectively the beginning of wide industrial unrest.

#### April

13 (Fri.) Publication of *The Borough* by George Crabbe.

#### July

18 (Wed.) Birth of novelist William Makepeace Thackeray.

#### September

29 (Sat.) Elizabeth Cleghorn Stevenson born at 'Belle Vue', Lindsey Row, Chelsea. (After EG's death her daughter Meta said that her mother's second Christian name, Cleghorn, originated from that of a woman who had been kind to ES's mother. Her father's friend, the farmer and writer James Cleghorn, also has a claim.)

### 1811

#### October

29(?) (Tues.) ES's mother Elizabeth Stevenson dies in Chelsea; interred in King's Road burial ground there.

#### November

1 or 2 (Fri. or Sat.) Marianne Lumb, shocked by the news of her aunt Elizabeth Stevenson's death, writes from The Heath, Knutsford, to her mother Hannah, who was probably visiting her brother Swinton near London: she is greatly concerned about the baby Elizabeth, and suggests that she could live with them. There was space for a '*large Crib*' (quoted Chapple 118) in her own bedroom, for which she would pay. She asks her mother to reassure Mr Stevenson that she, Marianne, would be a mother to Elizabeth 'to the very best of my power' (Chapple 113). Exactly when ES went to Knutsford is not clear – certainly within weeks of her mother's death – but supportive, well-to-do Holland relations

were established there. Most prominent was Peter Holland, surgeon, of Church House, Knutsford, who had remarried in 1809. The children of this marriage would be contemporary with ES: Charles (b. 1809), Susan (b. 1811) and Arthur (b. 1813). Unitarian influence within the family was strong, with regular attendance at Brook Street Chapel (Unitarian since 1740).

## November

Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* published.

# 1812

## February

7 (Fri.) Birth of Charles Dickens.

Luddite riots begin near Huddersfield: act passed prescribing death penalty for such actions.

## March

Overnight fame for the poet Byron with the publication of Cantos 1 and 2 of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

31 (Tues.) Marianne Lumb, Hannah's only daughter, dies in Halifax. ES was 18 months old at the time, and almost certainly became the major focus of Aunt Lumb's attention. They lived comfortably at Heathside, Knutsford, Hannah Lumb's home for the rest of her life.

## April

Maria Edgeworth visits the Hollands, with whom she was friendly, at Knutsford. (Just before her death she would comment on *Mary Barton* (see below) while her novel *Helen* (1834) may have been an influence on EG's fiction).

11 (Sat.) Luddite attack on mill near Hartshead, Yorks, repulsed: Patrick Brontë was the curate there.

## June

Napoleon invades Russia, (Sept.) enters Moscow, (Dec.) retreats.

## September

George Crabbe's *Tales in Verse* published.

## 1813

**January**

Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* published.  
66 Luddites tried at York; 17 executed.

## 1814

**April**

11 (Mon.) William Stevenson (ES's father) marries Catherine Thomson  
(b. 1775).  
11 Abdication of Napoleon, who is exiled to Elba.

**May**

(end) Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* published.

**July**

1 (Fri.) Death of ES's Holland grandmother Ann.  
7 Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* published.

## 1815

**February**

24 (Fri.) Publication of Scott's *Guy Mannering* (thereafter Waverley novels continue until 1832, the year of Scott's death).

**March**

20 (Mon.) Beginning of Napoleon's 'Hundred Days'.

**June**

12 (Mon.) William, half-brother to ES, born to William Stevenson and his second wife Catherine. Baptised by William Turner charismatic, enlightened Unitarian minister of Newcastle-on-Tyne, with whom ES was to stay in the winters of 1829–30 and 1830–31, and to whom she was to read in his last years in Manchester.  
18 Wellington and Blücher defeat Napoleon at Waterloo.

**December**

(end) Jane Austen's *Emma* published (title page 1816).

## 1816

### April

21 (Sun.) Birth of Charlotte Brontë.

### May

20 (Mon.) or 26 (Sun.) Death of ES's grandfather Samuel Holland (b. 1734) of Sandlebridge, which his son Peter inherited. Peter, surgeon in Knutsford from 1787 onwards, attended the distinguished local family, the Stanleys of Alderley. (Lady Jane Stanley, a character in Knutsford, may have supplied EG with some ideas for her fictional aristocratic ladies, for example Lady Ludlow and Lady Cumnor.) Samuel Holland's will (Jan. 1815) effectively cut William Stevenson out of any inheritance (through his deceased Holland wife) in the light of his second marriage, but Hannah Lumb was left even more comfortably off, with some financial provision made through her for the use of Samuel's grandchildren.

25 Coleridge: *Christabel and Other Poems* (includes 'Kubla Khan' and 'The Pains of Sleep') published.

### December

2 (Mon.) Spa Fields riot in London demanding political reform.

7 Birth of daughter Catherine to William and Catherine Stevenson, a half-sister for ES, baptised at St Luke's, Chelsea. Her mother was the sister of Anthony Todd Thomson, prosperous and successful doctor (first wife died in 1815). His second wife (see 1820 below) was Katherine Byerley who, with her sisters, had founded the school, Avonbank, which ES later attended. Thomson became a Professor at London University (1828), and indulged his love of verse (and family) by annotating his relative James Thomson's poem *The Seasons* (1730) in 1847.

## 1817

Publication of George Young's *History of Whitby*, consulted by EG in the period when she is preparing *Sylvia's Lovers* from 1859 onwards.

### January

17 (Fri.)–18 March (Tues.) Jane Austen writing *Sanditon*.

**March**

4 (Tues.) Habeas Corpus Act suspended, first step in repressive legislation aimed at preventing insurrection.

Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* published.

**April**

*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Tory) founded (publication October) by William Blackwood: William Stevenson is a regular contributor, though sometimes late in supplying articles, often short of money and requesting advance payments. Financial embarrassment was apparently an irreversible characteristic: ES meanwhile was in Knutsford, perhaps visiting her father in London occasionally, but within the protective ambience of cousins and other relatives, secure with Aunt Lumb.

**June**

26 (Thurs.) Birth of Patrick Branwell Brontë.

**July**

Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* published.

18 (Fri.) Death of Jane Austen.

The Misses' Byerleys' school moves from Warwick to Barford. (Lois Barclay, tragic heroine of *Lois the Witch* (1859) was brought up in Barford before her enforced emigration to Salem.)

**December**

(late) Posthumous publication of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* (title page 1818).

**1818****May**

19 (Tues.) Keats's *Endymion* published.

**June**

Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* published.

**July**

30 (Thurs.) Birth of Emily Jane Brontë.

Throughout these formative years before she began to attend school in 1821, ES would undoubtedly have access to a number of books at Sandlebridge, farm home of her Holland relations.



## 1819

Publication of the first two cantos of Byron's *Don Juan*.

### March

15 (Mon.) Death of William Gaskell's father.

### July

3 (Sat.) Publication of Crabbe's *Tales of the Hall*.

### August

16 (Mon.) Peterloo Massacre, St Peter's Fields, Manchester, 11 dead, 400 injured, preceded by widespread radical agitation. Divisions of opinion and reaction to these events in Knutsford, with Peter Holland supporting the severity of the magistrates. Samuel Bamford, author of *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (1843), greatly liked by EG later, imprisoned for 20 months after Peterloo.

### November

22 (Mon.) Birth of Marian Evans, the future novelist George Eliot.

### December

Passing of the Six Acts to prevent outbreaks of public disorder.

John Stevenson, ES's brother, writes to her about his social activities, for example, dancing, and assumes that she has read Thomas Day's *Sandford and Merton*. His sending good wishes to relations indicates that ES was in Knutsford. He is obviously concerned to remain in touch with his sister.

18 (Sat.) Publication of Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

## 1820

William Scoresby's *An Account of the Arctic Regions, with a History and Description of the Northern Whale-Fishery* published, later consulted by EG in preparation for *Sylvia's Lovers*.

William Gaskell (hereafter WG), ultimately destined for the Ministry, enters Glasgow University.

### January

17 (Mon.) Birth of Anne Brontë.

29 Death of George III. Accession of George IV, Regent since 1811.

## February

- 1 (Tues.) Anthony Todd Thomson (42) marries Katherine Byerley (22) – perhaps the clinching emphasis in choice of school for ES in 1821, possibly allowing payment of reduced fees through the family connection. Katherine is the youngest of the Byerley sisters. The school was successively at Warwick, Barford (1817–24), then Stratford-upon-Avon.
- 25 (Fri.) Patrick Brontë appointed perpetual curate at Haworth.

## March

- 1 (Wed.) John Stevenson given permission by the East India Company to trade in the East (father provides surety of £500).
- 13 John Stevenson made a Freeman of Berwick.
- John Stevenson gives ES account of his stay in Berwick. Mentions two books to ES which he'll send her, *Elizabeth*, or *The Exiles of Siberia*, and *Paul and Virginia* (soon to be recognised as a classic), the first by S. Cottin, the second by Bernadin de St Pierre: both popular translations from the French this year. Further proposes that ES should visit them in the summer, her father returning her to Knutsford in the autumn.

## May

- 7 (Sun.) Letter from John to ES describing his London activities.

## June

- 12 (Mon.) John writes again from Portsmouth just prior to his sailing (14 June) for Calcutta, where he arrives in November.

## July

- 1 (Sat.) Publication of John Keats's *Lamia*, *Isabella*, *The Eve of St Agnes*, and *Other Poems* (the *Odes* and *Hyperion* among them.)

## August

- 13 (Sun.) Birth of Susanna Winkworth, older sister of Catherine (Katie), member of a Manchester family later friendly with EG, Katie becoming close to her: the Winkworths are a major source for knowledge of EG in the late 1840s and 1850s.
- (Summer) Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, and other poems including 'Ode to the West Wind', published.

## November

29 (Wed.) Diary-type letter from John Stevenson to ES conveying experiences of India: long, extravagant, wanting news, for instance, of how she is progressing with her music.

## 1821

*Manchester Guardian* begins publication.

## January

15 (Mon.) John Stevenson writes to ES from Calcutta where he is waiting to sail, rather upset at not hearing from her, wanting news from home.

Scott's *Kenilworth* published.

## February

23 (Fri.) John Keats dies in Rome at the age of 25.

## April

Greek struggle for Independence against Turkey begins.

## May

5 (Sat.) Death of Napoleon Buonaparte at St Helena.

## July

13 (Fri.) Shelley's *Adonais*, an elegaic tribute to Keats, published.

19 Coronation of George IV.

## August

17 (Fri.) Death of Queen Caroline.

## September

15 (Sat.) Death of Patrick Brontë's wife Maria.

(Sept./Oct.) De Quincey publishes *The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*.

ES joins the Miss Byerleys' school at Barford, evidenced by two gifts for her 11th birthday (29 Sept.): from her father *The Female Mentor; or, Select Conversations* in the prescriptive conduct mode, and from Aunt Lumb a present of a similar nature inscribed to her niece. The Byerley sisters were connected with the Wedgwoods, their father

having been Josiah Wedgwood's partner. ES would follow the curriculum of English, Geography, History, and additionally French, Music, Drawing, Dancing and Italian: certainly evidence of her musical interests (see below).

## 1822

John Stevenson goes to Madras.

While ES is in her second year at Barford, her father continues to produce articles, suggesting subjects like the then current one of political economy to Blackwood – and pushing for payment.

### July

8 (Mon.) Death of Shelley by drowning off the Italian coast at Viareggio. He was 30.

## 1823

Unitarians help to found the Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, later the Royal Manchester Institution.

Charles Lamb's the *Collected Essays of Elia* published.

### May

17 (Sat.) Scott's *Quentin Durward* published.

### September

20 (Sat.) ES's Holland cousins, Mary, Bessy and Lucy spend some time in Wales, keeping journals and writing to Aunt Lumb about their doings, returning to Knutsford on that date. The Holland connections with Wales are important to ES. Samuel Holland, copper mine and quarry owner, later moves there – his mother and sisters resident already – and ES stayed at Plas yn Penrhyn (see below) with important results for her fiction.

ES is given Cowper's poems by her father.

### November

6 (Thurs.) WG's mother remarries, her husband being Edward Dimock (later subjected to EG's wit in a letter of 17 July 1838): Dimock becomes minister at Sankey Street Chapel, Warrington.

## December

4 (Thurs.) Advertisement for Cowan Bridge 'School for Clergymen's Daughters' in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, the original for Lowood Institution in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.

## 1824

Mechanics' Institute, with its educational provisions for working men, founded in Manchester.

## April

19 (Mon.) Byron, intent on practical involvement in the fight for Greek independence, dies of fever at Missolonghi.

## May

William Stevenson publishes his *Historical Sketch*.

In the same month the Byerleys' school moves to Avonbank, Stratford-upon-Avon. Abroad John Stevenson's travels continue – he reaches the Red Sea: the first Burmese War had begun in January, the attack on Rangoon and its capture coming on 11 May (John referred to the fighting in December).

WG is awarded his BA degree at Glasgow: he receives prizes for Greek, Mathematics and Ethics.

## June

21 (Mon.) Repeal of the Combination Acts of 1799–1800: unions were permitted, but any intimidation of workers was proscribed.

## August

10 (Tues.) Charlotte Brontë begins to attend Cowan Bridge school, followed (25 Nov.) by her sister Emily.

Radical journal the *Westminster Review* founded by James Mill, father of John Stuart Mill. William Stevenson contributes to it.

## 1825

John Stevenson writes from India to ES and Aunt Lumb suggesting that if his sister kept a diary she would have material for her letters to him. William Stevenson's articles on political economy concluded.

Fanny Parkes (née Byerley) publishes *Domestic Duties, or Instructions to Young Married Mothers on the Relations and Duties of Married Life*,

reprinted several times over the next few years. Almost certainly ES read this, inwardly absorbing its precepts for ironic fictional use later in *Cranford*.

The Avonbank years also provide descriptive material for *My Lady Ludlow*.

## June

15 (Wed.) ES inscribes a music book on this date (though she says 'Thursday'), its pages indicating an interest in contemporary song and dance and also reflecting the Byerley sisters' promotion of 'the collaborative musical culture they encouraged in their pupils' (Chapple 246).

Death of Elizabeth Brontë – her sister Maria had died 6 May – Charlotte Brontë's older sisters. She connected their deaths with conditions at Cowan Bridge School.

WG is awarded his MA degree at Glasgow in Science and Maths, having won prizes in Greek, Maths and Ethics. Begins his studies for the Ministry at Manchester New College, then at York, one of his teachers being William Turner. (WG was to preach William Turner's funeral sermon in 1859.) Fellow student is James Martineau, later powerful Unitarian, brother of the writer Harriet Martineau. WG now has three years further study as preparation for the Ministry.

## August

2 (Tues.) William Stevenson gives ES a copy of Gray's poems and continues to write and may even, deduces Chapple, have been the author (October) of an article on Lord Braybrooke's edition of Pepys' *Diary*, published in the summer.

## September

27 (Tues.) opening of the Stockton–Darlington railway.

ES nears the end of her schooldays: she obviously had access to many classics over these years through her Holland cousins in Knutsford, from the *Arabian Nights*, through Shakespeare, Spenser, Cervantes, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the 18th century writers, then Scott, Crabbe, Wordsworth, Burns, probably Jane Austen, as well as literary reviews, certainly the *Literary Gazette*, founded 1817. This 'intellectually solid literary fare' was supplemented by children's classics, like 'Sarah Trimmer's *History of the Robins* (1786) which she also read to her own children' (Foster 13, further detail Easson 20–21).

## 1826

University College, London founded.

Brougham's Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge founded.

### February

24 (Fri.) End of the Burmese War.

### April

22 (Sat.) Disraeli's *Vivian Grey* published anonymously.

### June

ES leaves Avonbank, her formal education over.

14 (Wed.) Jane Byerley writes to ES giving critique of Cheltenham, her letter embodying 'Ideals of womanhood' (Chapple 246) and referring to the disappearance in India of a relation of a certain Sophy, uncanny anticipation of ES's future loss of her brother John.

(Winter) ES probably in London with her father, who perhaps tutored her in Italian, Latin, French: she reads (or has read) and admires Goldsmith, Cowper, Pope and Scott.

### December

25 (Mon.) Death of Jane Turner, William Turner's second wife. His daughter Ann takes charge of his household.

## 1827

John Keble publishes (anonymously) his devotional poems, *The Christian Year*. Their popularity stimulates the Anglican revival.

William Stevenson continues to write articles (now lost).

### June

8–10 (Fri.–Sun.) John Stevenson writes to ES, pleased that she has started to keep a Journal; tells her he is going to Bombay, hoping to sail on the 15 June. Wishes he could be with her and affectionately, nostalgically recalls their early days when she was 10. Describes a farewell party on board ship.

12 ES's music book of this date has popular songs copied from friends over a period of time, piano arrangements, dances.

13(?) Writing from Gravesend John Stevenson praises ES's criticism of Byron's poetry in a letter sent to her father, but is also full of his own flirtations.

- 29(?) John Stevenson's sailing delayed by unfavourable weather – remembrances to Aunt Lumb and relatives, and wishes ES had written to him before he sailed.

## July

- 2 (Mon.) William Stevenson's only letter to ES which survives (enclosing the previous one from John). Reveals the latter's delay, urges ES to write to him and to maintain her studies (particularly Latin and Italian) since she has been in Knutsford upwards of a month, and encloses the *Literary Gazette* with a review, largely extracts, of Scott's *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte* (published July). Also suggests she keeps her journal if she holidays in Wales.

ES probably in Wales this summer, staying at Plas Brereton – rented by Samuel Holland senior early in the 19th century – also at Aber and visiting Anglesey.

- 6 Treaty of London – England, France, Russia press for Greek autonomy.

## August

- 8 (Wed.) Death of the Prime Minister George Canning.

## September

- 13 (Thurs.) Catherine Winkworth (Katie) born – later close friend of EG's.

## October

- 20 (Sat.) Turkish fleet wiped out at Navarino (Greek autonomy guaranteed by the major powers).

## November

- 16 (Fri.) Birth of Charles Eliot Norton, close friend of EG after their meeting in Rome in 1857. He is to become one of EG's most important correspondents after that date.

# 1828

King's College, London, founded.

Thomas Arnold appointed Headmaster of Rugby School.

(1828–1832) Albertine Necker de Saussure is publishing *l'Education progressive*, an influence on EG's *My Diary* (1835–38).

## January

- 9 (Wed.) Duke of Wellington becomes Prime Minister.



## May

- 9 (Fri.) Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts removes restrictive measures against Dissenters.

## July

- 15 (Tues.) Differential scale of charges introduced for the importation of wheat (Corn Law) keeps the price of bread high and particularly embitters the labouring poor.
- 30 John Stevenson writes to ES praising her tale of the old naval man Capt Barton and mentioning a quicksand incident in it which connects later with 'The Sexton's Hero' (see 4 September 1847). John obsessed with immediate concerns, kicking against exile from England and his sister.

## August

- 3 (Sun.) WG is appointed to Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, to join the other serving Minister there, J. G. Robberds: salary initially £200 per annum, congregation predominantly well-off. Robberds is married to Mary Turner, daughter of William Turner. Possibly WG met ES at the Robberds' some time in 1831. WG's brother Sam becomes a doctor, is often consulted later about the health of the children of EG and WG; his sister Anne (m. William Robson) becomes close to EG, while another sister Elizabeth later marries EG's cousin Charles Holland (see below) thus making a mini-familial Unitarian web.
- 15 Letter from John Stevenson (in Chelsea) implying he may stay in India and saying that he has had work rejected for publication – the family writing ambition/tradition which ES was to develop with distinction obviously present in him. The rejection was from Smith, Elder, EG's last and most congenial publisher from *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857) onwards. John sent her an annual, *Friendship's Offering*, which Smith, Elder had enclosed.
- 29 ES copies lines from the popular poet Mrs Hemans's 'The Captive Knight' into her music book.
- (in this year) John Stevenson is either lost at sea or disappears in India. The lost character – Poor Peter in *Cranford*, Kinraid in *Sylvia's Lovers* – who returns, or Frederick Hale's clandestine journey to see his dying mother in *North and South*, are perhaps EG's fictional expressions of something unexplained or concealed. This recurrent *motif* also appears in

the anecdotal 'Disappearances' (1851) and 'The Manchester Marriage' (1858).

30 September–4 October (Tues.–Sat.)

ES probably attended a fancy dress ball at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, part of a musical festival marked by the appearance of the opera singer, Angelica Catalani.

## 1829

Industrial unrest in Rochdale, Macclesfield, Manchester. Police Force established in Manchester, centralised effectively with Borough status 10 years later.

ES's bust by David Dunbar possibly executed in Newcastle late this year.

### March

5 (Thurs.) Wellington and Peel steer the Bill for Catholic Emancipation through the Commons (becomes law 13 April): major disabilities were removed, and Catholics could sit in Parliament.

20 William Stevenson suffers a stroke, dies 22 March (ES with him), funeral 27 March. Buried beside his first wife in King's Road cemetery, Chelsea.

(March–June) ES stays in London, probably with Holland relatives.

### April

The widowed Elizabeth Stevenson, ES's step-mother-in-law, given £40 from the Royal Literary Fund.

### June

15 (Mon.) Elizabeth Stevenson writes to Aunt Lumb about ES's commendable behaviour while she was with them at the time of her father's death, noting how improved she was (an enigmatic emphasis) – 'I could easily see that he felt proud of his daughter ... I shall ever love Elizabeth as my own child' (quoted Chapple 332–3).

### September

Mary Holland reports ES and Aunt Lumb as having a good time in Gloucester, while Jane Byerley records later (4 November) she has received long and amusing letters from ES, suggesting she, Aunt Lumb and Bessy Holland have been enjoying themselves: this may have included the Bath Ball at Cheltenham.

29 (Tues.) The London Police Force, 'Peelers', is established.

Probably ES went to Newcastle late in 1829 to stay with William Turner and his daughter Ann for the early winter months of 1830, a visit repeated in the following year, then going on to Edinburgh. ES would hear Turner preach and move in a stimulating, tolerant, cultural circle, Turner undoubtedly a major influence on her. Turner had helped found the Literary and Philosophical Society in Newcastle and was an active educationist. He perhaps provided some (though certainly not all) traits for Mr Benson in *Ruth*.

John Stevenson not mentioned again: 'On present evidence there must have been a kind of deliberate suppression of painful recollections' (Chapple 339).

Particularized evidence of ES's other movements lacking – Meta Gaskell said later she visited uncle Swinton, but that prosperous banker, a partner in Barings, had died in 1827, though she may of course have stayed with his wife.

## 1830

Much unrest ('Captain Swing' in the South) against introduction of threshing machines and enclosure of land. William Cobbett, uncompromising Radical, gives four lectures in Manchester, while a meeting at Cross Street Chapel, attended by WG, reflects the general Unitarian concern to ameliorate degrading social conditions. Radical Unitarian W. J. Fox observes in June 'The union and energy of Unitarians will be the reformation of England' (quoted Chapple 423).

### June

Publication of Tennyson's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*.

26 (Sat.) Death of George IV.

### July

26–29 Revolution in Paris: Louis Philippe becomes French King.

### September

15 (Wed.) Liverpool–Manchester railway opened, marred by the death of the ex-Colonial Secretary, William Huskisson, run down by Stevenson's prototype locomotive, *Rocket*. In the autumn, perhaps into the winter, ES in Edinburgh with Ann Turner.

### November

16 (Tues.) Liberal Ministry under Earl Grey formed following the resignation of Wellington.

## 1831

(ES 21 in this year – her first letters to have survived begin).

Ebenezer Elliott publishes his *Corn Law Rhymes*, simple effective verses condemning the tax on bread.

In this year Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (as he became) is Secretary to the Manchester Special Board of Health to control cholera, his work reformist and successful. He had been a factory owner. He was later to help, hinder and irritate EG in their dealings with Patrick Brontë and Mr Nicholls as she began researching *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science founded. First meeting in York, attended by William Turner.

Cholera danger in the North – Ann (Turner) and ES in Edinburgh during early months, perhaps as a safety precaution. Sympathetic Edinburgh ambience perhaps reflected in the ‘frame’ technique of *Round the Sofa* (see 19 March 1859).

## January

3 (Mon.) Murder of Thomas Ashton in Manchester, an event which has resonances in the plots of Elizabeth Stone’s *William Langshawe*, *The Cotton Lord* (1842), where Henry Wolstenholme is murdered, and (allegedly) in EG’s *Mary Barton* with the killing of Harry Carson. EG denied knowledge of the earlier novel, although it seems likely she read it. (See 16 August 1852 below.)

19 Charlotte Brontë attends Roe Head School.

## February

3 (Thurs.) ES and Ann Turner have tea with family of prominent Newcastle Unitarian James Losh (afterwards Recorder of Newcastle).

14 ES and Ann Turner spending a few days with the Loshes.

## March

23 (Wed.)–8 October – Reform Bills steered through the Commons, only to be defeated in the House of Lords.

(Possible that the bust of ES executed by David Dunbar, variously dated 1829, 1831, may have been done in Newcastle rather than Edinburgh. James Losh sat for Dunbar on 31 March and 1 April.)

### c. June

ES writes from Newcastle to friend Anne Burnett: affectionate tone, thanks her for a book, which she will read when she is at Woodside near Birkenhead with her Aunt Lumb for the summer. Warm appreciation of kindness received from friends in Newcastle and the happy memories she has.

18 (Sat.) Letter from Woodside to friend Harriet Carr in London. Trademark humour which distinguishes EG's maturity embryonically evident, sometimes crudely (she compares Harriet's voice to a parrot's). Ironic appraisal of Harriet's (supposed) social activities: questions her about the celebrated violinist Nicolo Paganini, who had a triumphal first London season between June and August. ES provides a potted history of Achille Murat's (Napoleon's nephew) career. Some rather self-conscious name-dropping here when ES mentions her cousins, the children of her uncle Swinton and his wife Anne. Self-mockery when she says she would like to wear a wig for she finds having hair a nuisance. (ES and Aunt Lumb probably stayed with the latter's brother Samuel Holland at Woodside June to September.)

### August

31 (Wed.) and 1 Sept. Rambling letter to Harriet from Woodside. Refers to the loss of the *Rothsay Castle*, which foundered on its way to Beaumaris, with more than 120 dead. Pertinent criticism of its being allowed to sail. Big event in Woodside, a Bazaar, takes precedence over the coming coronation of William IV (8 September). Will visit Manchester before the end of the winter, mentions her scrapbook, though can't pretend it's an album. (This is perhaps the commonplace book, now lost, with extracts from Shakespeare, Burns, Wordsworth, sentimental poetry, Southey, Mrs Hemans, Petrarch, ballads, a mass of 17th century poetry – Ben Jonson, Lovelace, Suckling, Vaughan, Herbert –, a chunk of *The Compleat Angler*, romantic lyrics, laments, all individual choices first noted by Jane Whitehill: 'the range of Gaskell's early literary predilections, and in particular the foundation of her life-long love of poetry' (Foster 15.) ES reveals she has been studying phrenology, enjoying pleasant river trips, exclaims how much she likes 'Liverpool and the Mersey and the accent, & the people' (*FL* 8). Has begun but not

finished (over a period of time) both *Sir Charles Grandison* and *Madame de Sévigné*. Latter reference fascinating since in 1862 she would deepen her own research on the celebrated Frenchwoman of letters with a view to writing a memoir, never completed. Mentions books read many times (not titled) and stray volumes of Shakespeare, Tasso and Hume. Daringly she has re-read *Paul Clifford* (by Bulwer Lytton), whose work she likes despite its being considered immoral. Delightful irony: she and cousin Ann are thinking of writing a book on the '*crimes of innocent people*' (FL 9). Wearied by the ongoing obsession with the Reform Bill. Letter, which ranges way beyond this summary, signals ES's vivacity, humour, observation, literary interests – zest for life.

## September

8 (Thurs.) Coronation of William IV.

(this month) ES goes from Liverpool to Knutsford, then on to Sandlebridge, then returns to Knutsford to receive visitors in October with Aunt Lumb.

29 ES's 21st birthday.

Later in the autumn (but before 20 October). ES and Ann Turner go to Manchester, staying with J. G. Robberds and his wife Mary. ES probably meets WG then.

## October

20 (Thurs.) To Harriet Carr from, Knutsford. Has copied some songs for her, is going to settle quietly for the winter, has been reading a book about a year in Spain by an American author and completing a third reading of *Destiny* (1831, by Susan Ferrier). Here ES waxes witty: thinks of setting up as a dancing instructress, ranges over visitors and friends, comments racy on the number of marriages in a week. Ponders an epigrammatic sentence which suggests one can make friends but that it is hard to keep them. Mentions cholera spreading, but can't envisage it nearby. Records her stay at Sandlebridge with cousin Susan Holland.

26 Cholera reaches Sunderland

## November

27 (Sun.) William Turner speaks at the British Association for the Advancement of Science in York.

## December

- 7 (Wed.) Cholera in Newcastle.  
21 Public dinner for William Turner in Newcastle to celebrate his 50 years' in the town.  
27 Darwin sails in the *Beagle* to gather scientific data off South America, a voyage which took nearly five years.

## 1832

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth writes his treatise on the conditions of the cotton operatives in Manchester.

Sam Gaskell practises as a doctor in Manchester (1832–40) – greatly trusted by his brother and EG.

Harriet Martineau publishes her *Illustrations of Political Economy*, which includes 'A Manchester Strike'.

## January

Cholera in Edinburgh.

- 16 (Mon.) onwards. References to ES in Herford's Diary, important source for the local Unitarian community. (Edward Herford studied under J. G. Robberds from 1830–32.)

## February

Cholera in London.

- 6 (Mon.) WG displays his sometimes overlooked sense of humour – apparently he knocked on people's doors and ran away.  
(mid-month) ES organizes a charade. Herford (aged 17) smitten with WG's sister Elizabeth.

## March

- 13 (Tues.) J. G. Robberds notices ES's shy behaviour.  
14 ES goes for a walk with WG.  
(mid-month) Engagement of ES and WG.  
26 Death of Mrs Robberds senior.  
27 ES and WG in Knutsford together. ES tells Elizabeth Gaskell (her future sister-in-law) that WG has not seen much of Aunt Lumb, who broke a blood vessel on the day he arrived. Reports Aunt Lumb as saying to her 'Why Elizabeth how could this man ever take a fancy to such a little giddy thoughtless thing as you' (*GL* 1). Light tone – ES writing of WG's last evening there.  
29 WG's engagement letter to his sister Elizabeth reveals he has seen ES in an even more loveable way than before – her

care, concern, warmth – and it has brought them closer. Aunt Lumb also received him kindly, pleased with the engagement. Mrs Robberds was buried that day: WG most anxious to visit ES in Knutsford the following week.

## April

Carlyle's essay on 'Biography' published in *Fraser's Magazine*. EG quotes from it on the title page of *Mary Barton*, reflecting her admiration for him.

## May

3 (Thurs.) From Knutsford to Harriet Carr thanking her for her engagement good wishes. Aunt Lumb recovering well. ES interested in the Fancy Dress Balls Harriet attended in Newcastle. Gives her more local news of marriages. She has read Bulwer Lytton's *Eugene Aram*, published this year (schoolmaster embraces crime but repents). Comments on Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (published 19 March) that she has found it amusing and its criticism of American manners convincing. ES defines her own writing as that of a 'very commonplace boarding-school young lady' (FL 18).

## June

4 (Mon.) Reform Bill passed by the House of Lords.

6 Death of Jeremy Bentham, social reformer who posited 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'.

ES spends at least part of the summer in Edinburgh. W. J. Thomson (brother of her stepmother) paints a miniature of her in this month.

## July

Precautions taken in Knutsford against the spread of cholera.

## August

8 (Wed.) Thanks Harriet for a forget-me-not ring, jokes about her marriage, but absorbed in wedding preparations, observing ironically 'I am to learn obedience the 30th of this month' (FL 19). Gives an account of a production of *The Rivals*, though not participating. Obviously pleased Harriet has enquired about WG. Cholera not in Knutsford though in villages nearby. Vivid observation and descriptive liveliness throughout

30 ES married to WG at St John's Parish Church, Knutsford, by special licence. Her uncle Peter Holland probably gave



the bride away, and almost certainly she was married from Heathside.

- 30 EG and WG honeymoon in Wales at Aber. Topography, atmosphere, stored and used later in fiction, conflated with previous stays in area. They travel about and return to Plasyn Penrhyn.

## September

- 16 (Sun.) Shared letter with WG to his sister Elizabeth descriptive of their honeymoon touring from their favourite Aber: WG says EG ('Lily', expressive of loving intimacy) is in the best of health, much praise, affection for Mrs Holland, Sam and Ann (EG's relations). Asks Elizabeth to look after the garden, hopes she'll get a Broadwood piano for them.
- c.17 EG jokes to Elizabeth Gaskell about WG and their travels: there is a. delightful freshness, intimacy, humour about family which reflects their happiness.
- 29 EG and WG return to Manchester at 1 (later renumbered 14) Dover Street on EG's 22nd birthday.

## October

- 6 (Sat.) Thanks William Turner for good wishes, likes her new home, cheerful, comfortable, and somewhat rural for Manchester. Aunt Lumb much improved. WG will take her on pastoral visits and Mary Robberds (Turner's daughter) will be initiating her. Wants to be remembered to her friends in Newcastle: Aunt Lumb visiting her soon.
- (later in the year) WG involved via the Domestic Mission of Cross Street Chapel in practical aid for the poor – EG active soon in the Lower Mosley Street Schools, administered by the Chapel.

## November

- 5 (Mon.) Herford visits WG and EG some days previously and notes their happiness. Their home, on the edge of the city, was away from the poverty and social deprivation which characterized so much of Manchester.

## December

Dickens's 'A Dinner at Poplar Walk' is published, the first of what became *Sketches by Boz*.

## 1833

The Factory Act stipulates that children under nine could not be employed in the cotton mills. Hours for children under 13 were limited to 48 per week. Inspectors had the power to see that these regulations were enforced.

Katherine Thomson (née Byerley) publishes a silver fork (society) novel, *Constance*, which may have had some influence on EG's fiction. EG certainly had the capacity to produce ironic pictures of Welsh or Warwickshire society, but the Manchester experience ensured that 'her own pen was destined to dwell on urban guilt and misery' (Chapple 432). Katherine Thomson's influence possibly seen in *Cranford* and *Wives and Daughters*.

**January**

1 (Tues.) The ministry to the poor from Cross Street Chapel publishes its first report indicating its practical concern with schools, clothing clubs, mechanics institutes, etc. all ongoing.

**July**

3(?) (Wed.) or 10(?) or 4(?) EG has a still-born girl. (See 4 July 1836).

14 John Keble's Assize Sermon attacks government's misuse of Church Funds and clears the way for the Oxford Movement, the reinvigoration of the Anglican church through an emphasis on its essentially Catholic principles.

**September**

9 (Mon.) The first of J. H. Newman's *Tracts for the Times* (1833–37) gives positive impetus to the Oxford Movement.

**December**

c.16 (Mon.) Generally gossipy and family-newsy letter to her sister-in-law Elizabeth, jokes about married life, mentions nursing Aunt Lumb, concerned about the health of WG's mother, and reveals that her 17-year-old half sister is to be married before Christmas.

## 1834

**March**

Chadwick's report on the Poor Law following the Royal Commission (see below).

## July

25 (Fri.) Death of Coleridge.

## August

1 (Sat.) Slaves freed within the British Empire following legislation the previous year.

14 Poor Law Amendment Act (establishment of the Workhouse System).

## September

12 (Fri.) Marianne Gaskell born.

## October

16 (Thurs.) Houses of Parliament destroyed by fire.

## November

26 (Wed.) Marianne baptised at Brook Street Chapel, Knutsford, by Revd Henry Green, later (1859) historian of Knutsford and close friend of EG and WG.

## December

27 (Sat.) Death of Charles Lamb.

29 Aunt Lumb's will of this date makes no mention of John Stevenson (see 1 May 1837).

# 1835

Saussure's work on education translated into English during this year.

## March

9 (Mon.) Newcastle–Carlisle railway opened.

10 EG begins *My Diary*. The emphasis is 'as much subjective as objective' (Sharps 18), but it is 'a foreshadowing of her development as a novelist' (*Private Voices* 11). Marianne, six months old, good-tempered, occasionally passionate, obstinate: EG intent on getting, maintaining her attention, prays for her, stays with her until she sleeps.

## July

29 (Wed.) Charlotte Brontë becomes a teacher at Roe Head School: Emily accompanies her but returns home after three months.

**August**

- 4 (Tues.) Diary entry expressing EG's fears of Marianne dying should she become ill. These fears obviously derive from the birth of her still-born girl in July 1833, later commemorated in a poem (see 4 July 1837). Also records her own doubts about her capacity to be patient with Marianne.

**September**

- 9 (Wed.) Widespread establishment of Local Government in England through the Municipal Reform Act.

**October**

- 4 (Sun.) Has concluded that Marianne needs to avoid excitement. Reveals that WG has reassured her (EG) that she is not by nature jealous, though she admits to being upset at times by Marianne's preference for the nurse Betsy. More prayers for Marianne reflect EG's unquestionable faith, the seriousness with which she takes her maternal responsibilities.

**December**

- (Christmas) Encloses songs to Mary Darbishire (of the Dukinfield Darbishes) and sends seasonal good wishes to her and her husband Sam.
- 28 (Mon.) Records Marianne's fondness for 'Papa': reiterates faith at the end of this year – calls down God's blessing on Marianne and seeks for His help and guidance in her upbringing.

**1836**

The next two years see the widespread introduction of railway travel. The celebrated engineer and inventor James Nasmyth begins to build the Bridgewater Foundry at Patricroft near Manchester, later visited by EG and Katie Winkworth. (Some of Nasmyth's traits are fictionalised in Paul Manning's father in *Cousin Phillis*.)

**February**

- 7 (Sun.) Notes Marianne's affection for her when she is not feeling well, her memory seems good, she has some natural abilities.
- 8 *Sketches by Boz*, First series (book publication).

## April

*Pickwick Papers* begins publication in monthly parts, concluding November 1837.

## May

12 (Thurs.) Revealing letter to sister-in-law Elizabeth Gaskell from Sandlebridge, Holland family home, which is five miles away from anything close to a town. Has enjoyed her riding (one jaunt of 18 miles to the Davenportes at Capesthorpe). Much reading – Spenser, Shakespeare and, specifically, Coleridge and Wordsworth – ‘for one can’t think any thing but poetry & happiness’ (*GL* 7). Here until Saturday (14th). Revels in her reading, and is appropriately sitting amid nature. She and WG are undertaking imitations of the poets: refers to Dryden, Crabbe, Pope as she works away at them all. They will probably go to Poulton (le-Fylde) in August. Tone is racy, gossipy, skipping from one subject to another, a letter of dashes but warm with immediacy of experience, reaching heights of enthusiasm and sheer exuberance with life.

## July

4 (Mon.) Writes sonnet ‘On Visiting the Grave of my Stillborn Little Girl’. (Says Sunday, which was the 3 July.) Moving, poignant if conventionally expressed sense of love and loss, seen in the climactic couplet ‘And thou, my child, from thy bright heaven see/ How well I keep my faithful vow to thee.’ (See first entry for July 1833.) During this year ‘Sketches Among the Poor’ written with WG: evidence of strong influences of Wordsworth, Crabbe, derivations too from Goldsmith, Cowper and others. Story of Mary in the poem is recycled in *Mary Barton*, as EG later acknowledges.

July–5 November (Sun.): diary entry on that date largely retrospective – thus at the beginning of July Marianne’s eye-teeth were through, she was beginning to walk, had become a chatter-box, loved to be told stories and listen to bits of poetry. Has not pushed her mind too much, but encouraging her to observe, pay attention and keep trying. Upset at times by Marianne’s obstinacy (often she is overtired), records her response to punishment – feels she knows right from wrong. EG registers her responses to bathing, being rewarded after

taking something unpleasant, refusal of food sometimes: she is of an affectionate, responsive nature. EG prays fervently for them both.

(late in the year) Stays in Knutsford – she is pregnant – obviously needs to leave Manchester periodically, a recurring pattern.

## December

17 (Sat.) *Sketches by Boz*, Second series, published.

## 1837

### January

'Sketches among the Poor' published in *Blackwood's* xli, 48–50 – love of countryside and nature exemplified, poignant focus on the lonely Mary who has the associations of childhood return without a physical return to the places she loved.

15 (Sun.) Marianne goes to stay with Aunt Lumb, thus easing EG's situation as she waits for the birth of next child.

### February

*Oliver Twist* begins serialization in *Bentley's Miscellany* (to March 1839).

5 (Sun.) Birth of Margaret Emily Gaskell, always referred to later as 'Meta'.

28 Working Men's Association (London) urges petitioning of Parliament for reforms (precursor of full-scale Chartist Movement).

### March

(early) Robert Southey, poet laureate (1813), responding to Charlotte Brontë's sending him poems, recognises her talent but asserts literature cannot be the main concern of a woman's life and it should not be anyway.

8 (Wed.) Aunt Lumb, whom EG thought of as being more than a mother to her, has a paralytic stroke. EG hastens to Knutsford, stays nearby with her two children, little more than a month after the birth of Meta.

15 Further deterioration in the condition of Aunt Lumb.

16 Aunt Lumb in terrible pain now and completely blind.

18 Gives Elizabeth Gaskell moving account of Aunt Lumb's state, exclaiming 'Oh there never will be one like her' (*GL* 9),

grateful, always considerate of other people. The letter is instinct with compassionate feeling and love.

Takes Marianne to see her but apprehensive about effect. Aunt Lumb, afraid her blindness will upset Marianne, puts on a night-cap: Marianne at ease and plays in the room.

### May

- 1 (Mon.) Death of Hannah Lumb. EG is left an annuity of £80.
- 3 EG and daughters return to Manchester.
- 9 Publication of Carlyle's *The French Revolution*.

### June

- 20 (Tues.) Death of William IV – accession of Queen Victoria.

### July

- Goes to Crosby, Liverpool to recover her health.
- 13 (Thurs.) Opening of London rail terminus at Euston Station.

### September

Goes with WG to Wales, staying at Plas yn Penrhyn for three weeks, leaving children behind. Marianne remains in Knutsford: EG has not told her that Aunt Lumb is dead. EG still recovering from her loss.

### September

- 28 (Thurs.) William Turner baptises Meta in Manchester.

### November

Feargus O'Connor founds militant newspaper *The Northern Star*, read by John Barton in *Mary Barton*.

### December

- 9 (Sat.) Long entry in *My Diary* reveals poignant reactions to the death of Aunt Lumb and her absorption in the welfare of Marianne and ten-month old Meta, with further moving prayers reflecting humility, sincerity, abiding concern.

## 1838

A visit to Clopton Hall may have taken place this year, though EG almost certainly went there when at school.

Formation of the Manchester Anti-Corn Law League.

## March

- 25 (Sun.) Has told Marianne about God in simple terms before she goes to Infant school: she and WG have debated the pros and cons of her attending, so she goes mornings at present. Revealing comment on her marriage – ‘William says he fears I excite her [Marianne’s] sensibilities too much’. Sometimes Marianne has to have ‘a slight whipping’ but she responds, is not resentful (*Private Voices* 68).
- 30 Marianne had an attack of croup the previous Friday. Eliza (sometimes Lizzie) Gaskell (sister-in-law) is coming to visit them and will have her tiny room with Marianne attending her. Family news, bazaar, tired out with preparations. WG thinks she looks miserable, but she (EG) is looking forward to seeing Lizzie, whom she wished for during Marianne’s illness.

## April

- 8 (Sun.) Evening, reference to Marianne’s attack of croup earlier: she was treated by Sam Gaskell (WG’s doctor-brother) and James Partington. EG’s own anguish and fears are vividly recreated. Graphic account and more perception of the differences between her two children, particularly noting that Meta is already much the more independent.

Serial publication of *Nicholas Nickleby* begins (to October 1839).

## May

Writes to William and Mary Howitt – reminiscences about the ‘little, clean, kindly country town’ (*GL* 15) where she lived in her childhood. Specific location of Knutsford is clear from references to Old Tabley and its one-time occupant, Sir Peter Leycester. Love of the countryside – would like to wander about it now but has two children to look after, and a husband who is a busy Unitarian Minister. Lyrical nostalgia and fine talent for descriptive writing evident, though something of a set piece.

- 8 (Tues.) Publication of the ‘People’s Charter’.

## June

- 28 (Thurs.) Queen Victoria’s coronation.

## July

- 17 (Tues.) Tells sister-in-law Elizabeth (in Beaumaris) she would like to show her her favourite haunts in the area. Refers to



Aber, Cwm Morfyn Lake and other places familiarly which she saw last autumn and indeed in past years, and looks forward to discussing Wales with her. Witnessed the Coronation celebrations at Knutsford happily, then went visiting and on to Rivington, where air did her good, to see the Dukinfield Darbishires. Stayed a week more than she meant to in Knutsford with Henry Green's wife Mary. WG preaching at Buxton. Reveals he is to give series of lectures at the Mechanics Institute at Miles Platting, Manchester, on the poets of humble life. Delicious risqué humour: 'Mrs J. J. Tayler has got an impromptu baby at Blackpool ... Bathing places do so much good. Susan & Mary went to Blackpool last year, but did not derive the same benefit' (*GL* 20). Constructs parodic Johnsonian sentence for retailing to her step-father-in-law (the Rev Dimock) so that he'll think her clever. Vivacious, witty, inconsequential, self-mocking, wonderfully alert to mixed experiences of a busy life.

Summer – Charles Holland, EG's cousin, falls in love with Elizabeth Gaskell, WG's sister (see 3 December below).

## August

6 (Mon.) WG lectures on Burns.

7 EG notes Charles Holland's interest in Elizabeth. EG had called on the Nasmyths at Patricroft the previous Saturday (4 August). The girls continue to improve, Marianne 'obedient', Meta 'lively'. EG's tone lively too, family confidences and gossip retailed. (*GL* 23).

13 WG reads lectures aloud.

14 Visitors staying overnight.

15 Spends day near Pendleton on visit to the wealthy Bradford family (see below) for a christening party.

16 Visits woman who had lost a child.

17 WG to Burton to repeat lectures (returning Mon. 20 August). EG teases Elizabeth Gaskell about her interest in Charles and the progress of their romance – offers to show her one of WG's letters to her (EG) if she'll respond with one of Charles's to her. Light jokey tone throughout but comforting, supportive. Disparages long engagements.

(May–August 1838) Reminisces about living in Chelsea in the distant past sometimes with her father and step-mother – was very unhappy but recalls the 'beautiful, grand river' (*GL* 797).

- 18 Directs William Howitt's attention to Clopton Hall (see below), displays her own historical interests, reminisces about being a Londoner born, but her mother died when she (EG) was very young and she was taken to 'my dear *adopted native* town, Knutsford' (GL 28). Gives details of customs, superstitions etc, for example quoting the verses about 'sanding', one of which is repeated in *Sylvia's Lovers* by Kester when Sylvia and Philip are married (ch. xxx), plus 'Riding Stang' and 'Marling'. Slightly misquotes Tennyson's 'Deserted House' ('Life and thought are gone away'). Writes of the deserted old halls she'd like to explore, mentions her own and WG's wish to write about the labouring poor – their only one in *Blackwoods* in 1837 – disarmingly joking about their non-success. Takes great pride in WG's lectures to the impoverished weavers in the most deprived area of Manchester – evidence of his, and her, strong socio-moral-humanitarian-Christian commitment. Quotes Wordsworth's 'The Old Cumberland Beggar' ('That we have all of us one human heart', line 253), a favourite of hers. (Howitt later included extracts from this letter in the second edition of his *Rural Life of England*. See April 1840.) EG probably met the Howitts this year.
- 19 Baby fretful, treated with calomel, advises her sister-in-law what to wear, longs for her to visit – wedding with Charles Holland is approaching, says that WG will provide the wedding dress, accessories. Much affectionate mention of Sam Gaskell (a great comfort over Marianne, someone in whom she can confide – an implied contrast with WG). WG critical of her last letter (he is away at Buxton). Tells Lizzie a week of marriage is more valuable than a year of visits. Full, sometimes fulsome practical advice, delight in giving it, excited anticipation of the wedding. Begs her to visit – two years since she has done so.
- 21 Sam Gaskell and WG to the Lakes.

## September

- 23 (Sun.) Anti-Corn Law League formed – same day, a Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor, Manchester.

## October

- 14 (Sun.) *Diary* entry records Marianne began to read and sew following her birthday on 12 September Still excitable though, does not take naturally to occupation: contrast with Meta, always busy.

- 28 Last Diary entry – still absorbed with Marianne and her problems, warmed by her sympathy if she feels EG sad, asks for guidance to improve her, EG's, patience, ends with the simple prayer calling for God's blessing on both her daughters.

## November

15 (Thurs.) Elizabeth Gaskell marries Charles Holland.

## December

- 2 (Sun.) Wedding letter from EG to her sister-in-law Elizabeth Holland on her marriage to Charles, hoping the next day will be as lovely as this one when she enters her new home. Full of good wishes and generally tactful advice, but confiding, warm, loving. EG is with Samuel Dexter Bradford (see above 15 August) at Seedley, staying with this American family whom she greatly admires. EG and Marianne arrived on Friday 30 November. WG will join them today – they leave on Tuesday 4 December. WG adds a line, sending his love which 'Lily' had forgotten to pass on. Lily's own wit evident: she observes of Mr Bradford, 'It seems funny to dine with a man who has dined with the Pope' (*GL* 39). (Julia Gaskell, b. 3 September 1846, has second Christian name 'Bradford'.)

[Some time between 1838 and 1841 EG gave birth to a son who died when he was still a baby. See below 15 March 1856]

# 1839

WG's book of *Temperance Rhymes* published (anonymously) dedicated to the working men of Manchester.

Widespread suffering in England and, particularly in the industrial centres, poverty increasing.

## February

4 (Mon.) Chartist meeting in London.

## June

- 14 (Fri.) The great Chartist Petition of the National Convention, taken by working men's delegates to the House of Commons, presented there, with more than one million signatures, atmospherically charged sequence conveyed in *Mary Barton*.

**July**

- 12 (Fri.) Commons rejects the Chartist petition.  
 15 Chartist demonstration in Birmingham.  
 Henry Holland, eldest son of Peter Holland, publishes *Medical Notes and Reflections*.

**Autumn**

WG has a ten-week holiday with a friend – Switzerland, Florence, Venice.

**December**

Publication of *Visits to Remarkable Places* by William Howitt, to which EG contributes a description of Clopton Hall or House, Howitt acknowledging it as being by a lady. Recollections of a visit during her schooldays at Avonbank in 1825 perhaps supplemented later. Delight in the creation of atmosphere, speculation about past lives, interest in research, all anticipatory of EG's later fictional practice. The anecdote re Charlotte Clopton was adapted by Katherine Thomson in her novel *Constance*, where 'Margaret of Marchmont ... had caught the plague and, in a trance, was buried alive' (Chapple 256).

- 28 (Sat.) Carlyle's *Chartism* published. Obvious influence on EG: 'that great dumb toiling class' is a phrase almost echoed in EG's preface to *Mary Barton*. Carlyle advocates investigation of the current state of the labouring classes, damns meaningless statistics, the New Poor Law, the failure of Parliamentary Radicalism.

**1840**

During this year F. W. Newman becomes a Professor (Greek, Latin and English) at Manchester New College (to 1846): he 'moved through strict Calvinism to a spiritual faith in God free of all dogma' (Easson 13).

Frances Trollope publishes *Michael Armstrong, The Factory Boy* (1839–40).

The general recession in Manchester (reflected in *Mary Barton*) worsens: many operatives are unemployed and have to live on their savings – the majority had none.

WG becomes secretary of Manchester New College, which has moved back to Manchester from York.

Ebenezer Elliott's *Poetical Works* published.

**January**

- 10 (Fri.) Introduction of the Penny Post nationally.

## February

10 (Mon.) Queen Victoria marries Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

## April

Publication of *The Rural Life of England* by William Howitt, to which EG contributes 'Notes on Cheshire Customs'.

25 (Sat.) Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* appears as weekly serial (to Feb. 1841).

## July

22 (Wed.) Wordsworth writes to WG praising his *Temperance Rhymes* and particularly commending his humanity.

## November

6 (Fri.) Susanna Winkworth praises WG's teaching to her sister Emily.

## December

23 (Wed.) EG writes probably to WG's sister (?Anne Robson), concerned about Marianne's health and a certain dependence about her, asks Anne to safeguard her in the event of her own death (widowers so often remarry). WG holds back from emotional expression despite his feelings for his children. EG has just read Harriet Martineau's *The Hour and the Man* (1840), feels it is somewhat like reading history, though it has some comparisons with *Deerbrook* (1839). She and WG have taken up chess. Reiterates faith in Sam Gaskell as doctor. Earlier confided that WG 'won't allow me ever to talk to him about anxieties, while it would be SUCH A RELIEF often' (GL 45). Going to the Bradfords for Christmas.

## 1841

Working conditions in industrial cities continue to deteriorate, the severe economic depression that impregnates *Mary Barton* now unremitting.

Emily and Susanna Winkworth have lessons in History, Composition, Chemistry and German (and music) from WG.

William Turner finally retires and moves to Manchester

## February

- 13 (Sat.) Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge* begins serialisation (to November).  
 27 John Henry Newman's interpretation of the 39 Articles in *Tract XC* (the essential Catholicism of the Anglican Church) is the precursor of his, and others, later conversion to Roman Catholicism.

## March

- 2 (Tues.) Charlotte Brontë becomes a governess at Upperwood House, near Bradford, but leaves her employers at Christmas – idea of setting up school with her sisters already in her mind.

## April

- 20 (Tues.) Death of Mrs Winkworth.

## June

- 12 (Sat.) EG to John Pierpont, Unitarian minister in Boston, who sent a volume of poetry which she appreciates, commending in turn WG's *Temperance Rhymes* (sent now), proudly mentioning Mary Howitt thought highly of them, as did Wordsworth. Sufferings of the poor stressed, looking forward to her visit to Heidelberg, thinks it unlikely they would go to America. Succinct details of itinerary, WG has a month's leave. Explains the move of Manchester College from York has meant increased workload for many he (Pierpont) would know, including WG. Retails all news.

[WG apparently did not support the endorsement of the Anti-Corn-Law League by the Manchester Unitarian meeting.]

## July

- 17 (Sat.) First number of *Punch* published.

(Some time in this month onwards) In Heidelberg – the first time she had been abroad. Visit had far-reaching effects on her writing, seen not only in 'The Grey Woman' and 'Six Weeks in Heppenheim' but in her development of stories which have affinities with and derivations from German *novelle*. The ongoing intimacy with Katie and Susanna Winkworth almost certainly deepened her knowledge of the genre.

(Late in the year) EG writes to sister-in-law Elizabeth Holland about the visit to Heidelberg : much praise for the beauty of the cathedrals

in Flanders, liked Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp. Lovely touches of humour, observing that the Rhine ‘smells of the bones of the 3,000 virgins’ (GL 41). Has met some relations of Coleridge, says the talk they had was ‘superior’ – not that they contributed, just ‘listened and admired’ (GL 41). Retails legends, met Mary Howitt and daughter, interaction with students, music, general festival air. Description of food, ritual, routine, name-dropping, including that of popular novelist G. P. R. James, Wordsworth, Mrs Jamieson, German acquaintances. EG gives a lyrical description of the town. Graphic narrative, particularly an account of a German Ball, and some delightful self-mockery, when she describes how she refused to dance with a very ugly man, only to find out that he was a grandson of Goethe’s. WG observed that she should have danced with ‘the name’ (GL 821).

In this year Ludwig Feuerbach publishes *The Essence of Christianity*, which would be translated by Marian Evans (George Eliot) in 1854.

## 1842

Ann Hearn, servant and friend to EG and family, enters their service and remains with them throughout EG’s life.

Branwell Brontë becomes tutor to the son of Mr Robinson of Thorp Green, near York (Anne Brontë had been a governess to the girls there since 1840), with far-reaching results for himself and, ironically, later for EG.

Elizabeth Stone publishes *William Langshawe, The Cotton Lord*.

The sociologist and political theorist Friedrich Engels is at this time living in Manchester (to 1844).

### January

2 (Sun.)      Mentions WG’s lecture on ‘Poetry of Humble Life’ in Macclesfield, then another on the poetry of Burns the following evening.

### February

8 (Tues.)      Katie Winkworth hears WG lecture on Crabbe at the Athenaeum and is suitably impressed.

12              Charlotte and Emily Brontë go to Madame Héger’s school in Brussels.

## March

Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor comes to Manchester and there is a major violent incident.

## May

- 2 (Mon.) Chartist petition with more than three million names presented to the Commons, but request for a hearing defeated.
- 14 Tennyson publishes *Poems*, 2 vols, the second with new poems, including *Locksley Hall*.

## June

Manchester hosts the meeting of the British Association – warmly supported by Unitarians, who welcomed scientific enquiry.

- 12 (Sun.) Death of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School.

## July

Chadwick's report on the manual working class population is issued.

## August

- 7 (Sun.) Three weeks of Plug Plot Riots (Chartists, anti-corn law activists) in Manchester, the army being assembled in strength to deal with them. Incidents included by Benjamin Disraeli in *Sybil* (1845).

Bad harvests continue as in immediately preceding years.

- 9 Strike begins in Manchester: workers compelled to leave the mills.
- 12 Strike continues, but six days later a further meeting is dispersed by police.

National subscription to ameliorate conditions in industrial towns is initiated by the Queen.

- 15 Katie Winkworth notes the incidence of mobs and riots in Manchester, and Susanna records how they distributed food to the striking men.

(late Autumn) Gaskell family move to 121 Upper Rumford Street, Manchester.

## October

- 7 (Fri.) Birth of Florence Elizabeth Gaskell ('Flossy').

Work begins in Manchester to improve sanitation.



Charles Mudie opens lending library from modest bookshop in Southampton Row, London – tremendous expansion by 1852 and move to New Oxford Street – major effect on Victorian publishing.

## December

31 (Sat.) Katie Winkworth records she and her sisters ‘have made acquaintance with the Gaskells’; she is apprehensive about lessons with WG (L&M i 65).

## 1843

Fredrika Bremer’s (Swedish novelist) *The Home* translated into English by Mary Howitt: perhaps connects with *Wives and Daughters* in some character traits of Osborne and Roger Hamley (Rubenius 269–70).

Mrs Wheeler publishes *The Young Milliner*, Mrs Tonna *The Wrongs of Woman* (to 1844), Mrs Trollope *Jessie Phillips* (seamstress/seduction connection with *Mary Barton* and more positively with *Ruth*.)

## January

11 (Wed.) Florence Gaskell baptised at Cross Street Chapel by J. G. Robberds.

## February

8 (Tues.) Charlotte and Emily, accompanied by Patrick Brontë, leave Haworth for Brussels.

Motion to consider distress and poverty of working population put before the Commons and rejected. Widespread concern, Ashley’s reforms, particularly with regard to children, now set in motion.

## March

21 (Mon.) Death of Robert Southey.

## April

7 (Fri.) Wordsworth becomes Poet Laureate.  
(towards the end of the month) Carlyle publishes *Past and Present*.

## July

Family holiday for a month at Gibraltar Farm, Silverdale, Morecambe Bay, a regular holiday home for more than a decade. The area stimulates EG’s writing: she is always fascinated by legends, particularities of place,

as in 'The Sexton's Hero' and *Ruth*. They visit the Winkworths, staying nearby, WG lends the sisters the poems of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats.

## December

- 16 (Sat.) Publication of Thomas Hood's 'Song of the Shirt' with its indictment of sweated female labour, here seamstress outworkers.
- 19 Dickens publishes *A Christmas Carol*.

## 1844

Fredrika Bremer's *A Diary* translated into English, again perhaps some influence on *Wives and Daughters* (Rubenius 261–8).

Mr Winkworth's warehouse destroyed by fire (connects with factory blaze in *Mary Barton*).

## January

- (early) Charlotte Brontë leaves Brussels to return to Haworth.
- 23 (Tues.) Charlotte's letter (quoted in EG's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* Vol I, ch xii) which records the anguish she felt on leaving Monsieur Héger.

## May

Disraeli publishes *Coningsby*: 'The Age of Ruins is past. Have you seen Manchester?' (Book 3, ch 1).

## June

- 15 (Sat.) Factory Act prescribes maximum 12-hour day for women, 6-hour day for children.

## September

- 29 (Sun.) Katie Winkworth records her liking for WG.

## October

- 23 (Wed.) Birth of William ('Willie') Gaskell.

## 1845

Henry Fothergill Chorley publishes *Pomfret: or Public Opinion and Private Judgment* (similarities with *North and South*, Rubenius 247–52).

Publication of Engels' *The Condition of the Working Classes in England* (no English translation until 1892).

Geraldine Jewsbury publishes her novel *Zoe*, the name by which EG jocularly refers to her later.

### January

23 (Thurs.) Willie Gaskell baptised at Cross Street Chapel.

### May

8 (Thurs.) Publication of Disraeli's *Sybil* (see Plug Plot Riots under 1844).

### June

6? (Fri.) EG writes to Barbara Fergusson from Knutsford, addressing her by the nickname of 'Daddy' (she is the governess, clearly thought of as a dear friend). Space taken up by arrangements, gossip, Florence sleeping with Hearn but not well. Promises Barbara some 'Knutsford humbugs' (*FL* 28). Recommends ointment for tic. Very much EG in her domestic domain (one of her 'me's'). Engaging rooms for 3 July (this will be for the holiday at Festiniog).

Katie and Selina Winkworth visit Dresden (returning in July 1846).

Anne Brontë amicably leaves employment at Thorp Green.

Summer Poignant letter to sister-in-law Elizabeth Holland saying that Willie is asleep, everyone else out, tells her how she spends her days and looks after her children – 'Willie comes on grandly & so does his red hair' (*GL* 824). Neat throwaway humorous touch about hearing someone is to marry but doesn't know who it is. Loves making lists – a technique repeated later in letters to Marianne with regard to clothes, itineraries – and adjures her to make sure that Meta's feet are kept warm when she's in bed.

### July

Branwell Brontë dismissed as tutor at Thorp Green.

### July–August

Holiday in Wales, Marianne has scarlet fever, but recovers.

### August

10 (Sun.) Death of Willie Gaskell at Festiniog. He had caught scarlet fever from Marianne.

## September–October

Potato blight develops in Ireland, leading to the wiping out of the crop.

## October

8–9 (Wed.–Thurs.) John Henry Newman converts to Roman Catholicism.

## November

Rail investment speculation intensifies.

(late) EG probably begins *Mary Barton* at WG's suggestion to alleviate her grief over Willie's death.

At Haworth Charlotte Brontë witnesses the continuing deterioration of Branwell.

# 1846

Second year of the failure of the Irish potato crop.

## January

c17 (Sat.) To Barbara Fergusson. Fretful about the children, one suspects in the wake of Willie's death. All the more determined they will have happy childhoods. Willie died only five months ago: mere mention of Warrington, where he is buried, accentuates the anguish of loss.

## February

c23 (Mon.) (given as Sunday) To Barbara Fergusson, from Knutsford, EG staying with the Greens. Still in the grip of grief, sharing the feeling with Miss Fergusson, whose devotion to Willie was exemplary. Encloses lines from Barry Cornwall's poem 'A Prayer in Sickness' and recalls 'that most mournful week of watching' (*FL* 30) (EG was to meet Cornwall – Bryan Waller Procter – socially in London in 1849).

## May

26 (Tues.) Death of Mr Robinson of Thorp Green (his widow remarried Sir Edward Scott 8 November 1848 and removed to London).

(late) *Poems*, by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell (Charlotte, Emily and Ann Brontë) published.

## June

c17 (Tues.) Writes to solicitor William Beaumont in answer to certain queries and family connections.

25 Repeal of Corn Laws.

Summer(?) 1846(?) Letter to Miss Fergusson (from Southport) asking for news of WG, who had fainted on Sunday night. Full of concern, wants attention given to his diet since he is careless what he eats, feels he should be cosseted a little, even having the sofa back in his study. Offers to return home if Miss Fergusson thinks it necessary.

## August

25(?) Charlotte Brontë begins *Jane Eyre* in Manchester, where she is staying as her father recovers from his cataract operation.

## September

3 (Thurs.) Julia Bradford Gaskell born.

Bulk of *Mary Barton* probably written after the birth of Julia: a sketch of the novel (undated) before changes survives, with a swapping of the Bartons' and Wilsons' identities: one interesting note indicates EG's concern with 'How Characterism from a theory becomes an action in bad times' (Sharps 555).

## October

Publication of first monthly part of Dickens's *Dombey and Son* (concluded April 1848).

In this year WG becomes Professor of English Literature and History at Manchester New College.

## 1847

First number of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* published (concluded July 1848).

Town Improvement Causes Act passed.

Short-time working in Manchester, plus Irish immigrants seeking work.

*Mary Barton* almost certainly completed in the first part of this year.

John Forster reads the novel and recommends it for publication to Chapman and Hall.

## March

early(?) From Rivington tells Meta and Marianne warmly that Laetitia (apparently considered by WG) will not be one of the baby's (Julia's) names.

- 9 (Tues.) Tells cousin Fanny Holland she regrets having to get rid of Barbara Fergusson though feels it is in best interests of the children. Acknowledges strong feelings of friendship for her, recalls movingly her tenderness to Willie, genuinely regrets her going. Details her plans for the education of the children – getting teaching help, EG to take reading, dictation, grammar with them while WG will cover History and Natural Science. EG will spend leisure time with them, Emily Winkworth and Rosa Mitchell will help. The anguish of Willie's death remains: recalls the Festiniog holiday and is haunted by the thought of Barbara 'who knew him most, & loved him most at last, going to leave our house which ought to be her home – and our doing' (*FL* 36).
- 17 Julia Bradford Gaskell baptised at Cross Street Chapel.

## April

Tells Marianne and Meta F. W. Newman has called to say goodbye, leaving her feeling sad. WG has made kites which he and Flossy are flying!

## May

- 1 (Sat.) Susanna Winkworth describes poor state of affairs generally – famine in Ireland, 'Failure of the cotton crops, and consequent stoppage of many mills. Derangement of the money market, and consequently unusual depression of trade' (Shaen 22).

About this time WG has good influence on Katie Winkworth, helping form her literary taste. The Winkworths described EG as 'a noble-looking woman, with a queenly presence, and her high, broad, serene brow, and finely-cut mobile features, were lighted up by a constantly-varying play of expression as she poured forth her wonderful talk. It was like the gleaming ripple and rush of a clear deep stream in sunshine' (Shaen 23).

W. R. Greg, writer, later to review *Mary Barton* tells EG 'there may be riots next week, when there are holidays, against the Irish' (*L&M* i 122–3). The Ten Hours Act passed – 10 hour day for women and for those under 18.

## June

- 5 (Sat.) The first of 'Libbie Marsh's Three Eras' ('St Valentine's Day'), published in *Howitt's Journal*. Pre-title of each Era is

'Life in Manchester': EG's usage of her Manchester experience evident, probably written or sketched earlier, showing her familiarity with poverty, the area – including trip out for day's holiday to Dunham Park, favourite spot – and the themes of giving, loving, reconciliation characteristic of her work. Pathos not sentiment the hallmark. The sick child is the focus of the narrative (Willie's death obvious influence), as well as the release of Lizzie's sympathy, tremulous because of her own emotional deprivations.

12 Second of 'Libbie Marsh's Three Eras' ('Whitsuntide') in *Howitt's Journal* (The mills were closed in Whit week).

19 Third, concluding part of 'Libbie ...' ('Michaelmas') in *Howitt's Journal*. All three appear under the pseudonym 'Cotton Mather Mills, Esq.' "Mather" perhaps images "mother", "the buried central image of all three stories". (Uglow 172): 'a hint of Puritan ancestry and present environment' (Easson 43) (Cotton Mather, believer in witchcraft and prominent religious extremist in fact is to appear in fiction in *Lois the Witch*.) The death of Frankie is paradoxically the beginning of independence in Libbie, seen in her refusal to attend the wedding of Anne Dixon on this saddest of days, her dedication to Frankie's mother giving her 'purpose in life, and that purpose is a holy one'.

## June

Short-hour working in Manchester, Irish immigrants wanting employment a further problem.

## July

18 (Sun.) Charlotte Brontë receives letter from W. S. Williams at Smith, Elder rejecting – kindly – *The Professor* but expressing interest in Charlotte's work. This stimulates completion, revision of *Jane Eyre*.

Newby accepts *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* for publication.

## August

11 (Wed.) Mary Clarke marries the orientalist Julius Mohl. She is to become a good friend to EG, who stays with her later at 120 Rue du Bac, Paris.

24 *Jane Eyre* sent to Smith, Elder.

## September

- 4 (Sat.) 'The Sexton's Hero' in *Howitt's Journal*, again with the pseudonym 'Cotton Mather Mills'; rooted in place, Morecambe Bay, impossible to cross at low tide. The story probably conceived while EG was holidaying some time at Silverdale (Katie Winkworth says they were there this summer). Poignant tale with natural non-industrial background, simple lives and narrative in a kind of Wordsworthian sequence, here with thematic nobility and sacrifice.
- 9 Writes to Barbara Fergusson, after brief discussion of her brother's (Miss Fergusson's) fits or epilepsy, about the seduction of a servant, Anne. An intermediary has failed to persuade the man to marry Anne. Lies, deception fail to deter EG, who wants to get Anne away from Manchester (and her seducer) as a wet-nurse. This shows EG's social commitment, the 'fallen' woman in life an ongoing concern bringing her into contact with Dickens (see below) and a referential point in her fiction (Esther in *Mary Barton*, Ruth in *Ruth*, for example).

## October

- 16 (Sat.) Publication of *Jane Eyre* by Smith, Elder, Charlotte receiving her copies three days later.
- 20 Emerson arrives in Manchester. Lectures at the Athenaeum and the Mechanics Institute.

## November

- 16 (Tues.) Katie Winkworth tells of Annie Shaen's visit to the Gaskells. Says the Gaskells went to Emerson's lecture the previous Thursday (11 November) at the Athenaeum.
- 17 William Howitt writes to EG giving advice on the agreement over *Mary Barton*. Suggests she uses her own name, but if she objects then he will advance the possibility of using 'Cotton Mather Mills' to Chapman and Hall. Further proposes the novel should be known to be by a lady.
- November–December Stays with the Shaens at Crix, a grand house in Essex where she became a regular visitor (see below).



## December

- 11 (Sat.) 'Emerson's Lectures: a Contribution' in *Howitt's Journal* 2, may be by EG. Description of Emerson but short on the lectures, which covered Swedenborg, Montaigne, Shakespeare.
- (before 14) Newby issues *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*, advertising them as by the author of *Jane Eyre*.
- 18 Letter to *Howitt's Journal* 2 (written 6 December) under signature of C. M. M. (possibly 'Cotton Mather Mills'), asking if the *People's Journal* is to be sold.
- December(?) 1847(?) To Marianne and Meta (from Clapton, pleasant village where the Howitts lived) describing rail journey and arrival in London, meeting the Howitts and their children.
- December(?) Letter from Crix – beauty of the surroundings, kindness of Mrs Shaen, records WG has a cold, notes quantity of food available. Mr Bradford has given Annie Shaen Longfellow's 'Evangeline' (EG's first stay of many at Crix).
- 25 Tennyson, *The Princess*.
- Undated letter probably in 1847 records 'It is 20 years since I have been at dear Avonbank' (GL 52).

## 1848

J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*.

Failure of the final Chartist Petition.

Geraldine Jewsbury, *The Half-Sisters*.

Charles Kingsley, *Yeast*.

London–Edinburgh main line railway opened.

Year of revolutions, radical risings in Europe, notably France (restoration of republic), Germany, Italy, Austria.

## January

- 1 (Sat.) 'Christmas Storms and Sunshine' in *Howitt's Journal*. Slight tale with pathos and sentiment, EG's last usage of 'Cotton Mather Mills'. Child's croup has obvious associations with Willie's death in August 1845 and Marianne's croup in March 1838. Tom survives. Theme of reconciliation widely present in EG's fiction central here.
- 9 *Mary Barton* sent to Chapman and Hall. EG elsewhere says that the novel was with them for 14 months, but this appears unlikely.

- 22 Second edition of *Jane Eyre* dedicated to Thackeray, giving rise to gossip about his personal circumstances (he was separated from his mentally ill wife).

## February

- 22 (Tues.) Outbreak of revolution in France: Louis Philippe abdicates on 25 February.

## March

- 21 (Tues.) Writes to Edward Chapman urging publication of *Mary Barton*, believing her story relevant to the present efforts of the working classes to get what they feel to be justice. Understands *Mary Barton* is to succeed Geraldine Jewsbury's *The Half-Sisters* in Chapman's series.

EG received £100 for copyright of *Mary Barton*, was later given £100 for the second edition.

## April

- 2 (Sun.) More nagging of Chapman to issue her 'Manchester Love Story'. He had promised to publish it within two or three months of meeting her in January.
- 10 Another Chartist petition rejected. Trouble anticipated from large gathering at Kennington. The Duke of Wellington in charge of organisation to prevent riot, which never came.
- 13 Even more nagging of Chapman. EG stresses *Mary Barton's* current relevance and feels it should be read now.
- 17 Adjusts the title to '*Mary Barton. A Manchester Love Story*' and says she has decided to use mottoes (chapter epigraphs). WG has added notes to difficult dialect words.
- Emily and Selina Winkworth visit Annie Shaen at Crix: William Shaen and Emily fall in love.
- 23 Meta writes to Miss Fergusson giving her news of children, family, friends – contact with the governess who cared so much for Willie is being maintained.
- 24(?) to (?) Anne Shaen. EG recalls three years earlier she was 'watching my *darling* Willie, who now sleeps sounder still in the dull, dreary chapel yard at Warrington' (GL 57). Urges her recipient to read *Jane Eyre*, though can't define her own feelings about it. Has copied an Irish song which is very pretty and simple, mocking herself by observing that she can't always be superior and morally elevated in what she writes.

## May

- 12 (Fri.) Katie Winkworth reports EG as being very struck with *Emilia Wyndham*, Mrs Marsh's (also Caldwell, Marsh-Caldwell) best-seller (1846). The author is related to EG by marriage.
- 26 To Chapman saying she understands she will not have to 'dilute my story [*Mary Barton*] so much as I feared. It would be like adding water to an already drained teapot' (FL 39). Wants return of MS of last chapter, and wishes to retain her anonymity [Chapters 33, 34 and 37 were affected].

## June

- (late?) tells Chapman they will be travelling on 26 June. Wants the book completed before then.
- (late) Anne Brontë's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* published.

## July

- (7–8) (Fri.–Sat.) Anne and Charlotte Brontë travel to London to see George Smith to convince him of their individual identities.
- 10 Tells Chapman she leaves decision about time of publication to him, doesn't understand what he means by an 'explanatory preface', doesn't want *Mary Barton* to be considered an opportunistic work deriving from continental events which have directed public attention to relations between employers and employees, an apparent contradiction of her earlier views.
- Goes to Derbyshire, then short holiday in the Lake District.
- 18 Publication of first single-volume edition of *Vanity Fair*.
- (Summer–early Autumn) Founding of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood by principal members Holman Hunt, D. G. Rossetti and John Everett Millais.

## September

- 24 (Sun.) Death of Branwell Brontë.
- 29 EG's thirty-eighth birthday.

## October

EG in Wales and Southport for part of this period.

- 6 (Fri.) Emily Winkworth writes Susanna from Southport to say she is expecting EG the following day – 'She is just the right sort of person to have, wants no amusing, keeps up the

conversation herself; wants, in short, no *effort* made for her in any way. Then, besides, she is so deliciously gentle and considerate and quiet' (L&M i 155).

(early?) From Southport to Marianne with a rhyming receipt which she transcribes for her about the making of 'sun pictures' (GL 59).

9 Katie Winkworth finds it very agreeable to have EG in Southport – 'I only hope it may do her a little good, for she is looking to me very thin and not at all well.' (L&M i 157). Perhaps an indication of strain in the run-up to the publication of *Mary Barton*.

12 Emily Winkworth tells Susanna that Katie is deriving much benefit from EG – 'they suit so beautifully ... all those nice long stories, and the very factual style of conversation altogether that Katie is so fond of.' Emily is invited to accompany EG to Plas yn Penrhyn (L&M i 158–9).

14 *Mary Barton* advertised in the *Athenaeum*.

18 *Mary Barton: a Tale of Manchester Life* (2 vols) published. Anonymous. Uhland's verses prefixed to the novel seem to have personal associations for EG in terms of her child deaths and the child deaths in the novel. Preface (dated October 1848) suggests she had been working on *Mary Barton* for three years. She wishes to 'give some utterance to the agony which, from time to time, convulses this dumb people', and glances across at the sufferings 'which have so recently occurred among a similar class on the Continent'. Influence of Carlyle underlined by the quotation from his essay 'Biography' (1832).

19 Writes, too late, from Plas yn Penrhyn to ask Chapman if 'Stephen Berwick' (EG's father was from Berwick) could be given as the author of *Mary Barton*. Will not be returning to Manchester for some time. Asks him if he can help her get articles into magazines.

21 Review of *Mary Barton* in the weekly, prestigious periodical the *Athenaeum* (by H. F. Chorley) praises descriptions of the working class in the novel, the dialect, and the unequivocal nature of its truths. Chorley was to become friendly with EG despite detecting some derivations from his own novel *Pomfret* (1845) in *North and South*.

27 Katie Winkworth tells her sister Emily that Southport is irradiated for her because of EG's visit: she loves and admires her increasingly. 'She is so full of information on

such various subjects, has seen so many clever and curious people, so much life altogether.' She is completely genuine and good, and was thoughtful, gentle, kind to Katie during her illness, treating her as one of her own children (L&M i 159).

- 28 Review of *Mary Barton* in the *Literary Gazette* praises true representations of life in the industrial city (Manchester).
- c29 EG writes from Plas yn Penrhyn telling Barbara Fergusson her book has been published, reviewed and praised in the *Athenaeum* but she has heard nothing more. Will be returning home next Friday (3 November) or tomorrow week (7 November).

## November

- 2 (Thurs.) From Plas yn Penrhyn to Katie Winkworth. Uncle Sam flirts with Emily (Winkworth), who will have many Welsh tales when she comes home since Sam is plying her with them. EG critical of Catherine Crowe's novel *Susan Hopley* (1841) for its content and style. Calls *The Times* 'unprincipled' though allows it to be the 'most satisfactory newspaper going' (GL 60) and mocks herself for saying this as inappropriate for the wife of a minister. She can't really define her political views, they range from right wing stance to left – but are never extreme.
- 3 Emily Winkworth tells Katie from Plas yn Penrhyn she has discovered EG wrote *Mary Barton* – 'The folks here know it I am sure – they all turned so silent when I began to talk about it at breakfast-time, and Mrs Gaskell suddenly popped down under the table to look for something which I am sure wasn't there' (Shaen 31). Emily found *Mary Barton* 'exquisitely written', with fine descriptions, but it made her weep too much.

In this month EG is visited by 'Zoe' (Geraldine Jewsbury) but is determined to preserve her anonymity.

- 4 Forster in the *Examiner* identifies *Mary Barton* as by a woman (he knows anyway): notes some contrast with Disraeli's *Sybil* (the Chartist delegate Gerard with John Barton), while the theme of the novel is that sympathetic involvement may produce good effects.
- 8 Letter from Carlyle praising *Mary Barton*. He asserts it is 'a Book deserving to take its place far above the ordinary

- garbage of novels' and hopes she (he recognizes the author as a woman) will 'live long to write good Books' and perform '*silently good actions*' (*Carlyle Letters* 23: 154–5).
- 11 Tells Katie Winkworth that she heard that a Mrs Wheeler, née Stone, wrote *Mary Barton* and mentioning her as the author of *The Cotton Lord*.
- 11 Mary Barton praised in the *Inquirer*, a weekly Unitarian journal, for its clearly seen truths.
- 13 Answers Carlyle she is the author of *Mary Barton*.
- 15 The *Critic* reviewer suggests the author of *Mary Barton* is nearly as skilful as Dickens himself.
- 25 *The Economist* finds *Mary Barton* disturbingly interesting.
- 29 EG tells Katie Winkworth she has been criticised for discussing Scott's novels on a Sunday. Mrs J. J. Tayler was shocked by the five minute conversation EG had with some of the Sunday School girls. Hopes to meet Geraldine Jewsbury that evening.
- 30 The *Sun* (London daily paper) praises the characterisation of Mary (Barton) for its comprehension of the complex feelings which are present in women's motivation.

## December

Elizabeth Rigby's (later Lady Eastlake) outrageous attack on *Jane Eyre* in the *Quarterly Review*.

- 1 (Fri.) First American edition of *Mary Barton*.
- 5 To Chapman wondering why she has received no payment yet (for *Mary Barton*). Disturbed by speculation over authorship, complains about the curiosity of others, states her unchanged wish for anonymity: Carlyle's praise is the most worthwhile and honest comment she has received since publication. Found many mistakes in the printing of the dialect.
- 7 Acknowledges £50 from Chapman, first half of the payment for *Mary Barton*. Reveals her cousin Dr Holland has guessed the authorship and told friends: still bothered by speculation – recurs to Carlyle's comments as having 'the stamp of honesty and truth' (*GL* 65). EG is upset, self-reproachful because of the deceit she has had to practise over her identity. Fretful too because Dickens and her friend Mrs Davenport have not acknowledged copies sent them.

- 16 Stephen Winkworth tells Katie he is completely absorbed with *Mary Barton* and that it is 'too good to be praised' (Shaen 32). But it caused him overmuch weeping.
- 19 Death of Emily Brontë.
- 23 Tells Katie Winkworth that people say the employers are angry but she believes her writing was truthful. Felt the experience of writing the novel deeply. Thanks Katie warmly for her responses to *Mary Barton*.
- (Christmas) Emily Winkworth engaged to William Shaen.
- (late?) Tells Mary Ewart 'No one can feel more deeply than I how *wicked* it is to do anything to excite class against class' (GL 67) (Mary had guessed EG was the author). Says she wanted *Mary Barton* to reflect what some of the workmen believe, though she is not asserting that it is an absolute truth. Defends herself for displaying the evils of the industrial situation.
- 27 Maria Edgeworth tells Mary Holland she thinks the author of *Mary Barton* might be Harriet Martineau, and describes the onset of blindness in it as being beautifully done: she deplores the overall depressing effect – too many deaths – while the emigration at the end solves nothing.

## 1849

Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* begins in the *Morning Chronicle* (to 1850).

Chief event for EG probably is her visit to London, where she is lionised: London was 'a cultural Mecca for her' (Foster 51).

Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*.

Charles Hallé begins to revitalise musical concerts in Manchester.

WG becomes Chairman of the Manchester Portico Library until his death in 1884. His borrowings over the years reflect both his and EG's specific and wide interests and are an important index to their cultural, intellectual affiliations and needs (Foster *passim*).

### January

The Nonconformist *Eclectic* review praises the broad humanity of *Mary Barton*.

- 1 (Mon.) Again refers self-comfortingly to Carlyle's praise, could not coincide that her novel would arouse such strong feelings. Wants copy of *Mary Barton* sent to her cousin the Hon. Mrs Holland of Wimpole Street.

- 3 Second edition of *Mary Barton*. EG probably wrote to Chapman that day saying what she wrote so sincerely and felt so deeply was justified. Also says (wrongly) that she has not been concerned about the reviews, though she notes Forster's praise, is glad Chapman will make some profit from *Mary Barton*.
- 5 Tells Miss Lamont 'John Barton' was her first choice title, but that a 'London thought' (GL 70) from her publisher virtually ensured the novel would be called *Mary Barton*.
- 7 Crabb Robinson, indefatigable diarist, reads *Mary Barton* and praises the portrait of Job Legh.
- 13 EG instructs Edward Holland that £1500 invested in Catherine Dock shares is to be put into the general fund as part of her investment, and observes that her novel has roused feelings against her in Manchester, but those who know the poor recognise its truthfulness.
- (EG was probably in Southport for a week about this time.)
- 21 J. A. Froude tells A. H. Clough that *Mary Barton* has given him great pleasure.
- 22 Eliza Cook (popular poet) requests articles from EG on contemporary topics for the journal which will carry her, Cook's, name to be published in April. Praises *Mary Barton* and the principles and literary talent which inspired it.
- 27 Geraldine Jewsbury tells Clough that *Mary Barton* has created an outcry because it is thought to be biased.
- Clough's *Ambarvalia*, poems written jointly with friend Thomas Burbidge, is published.
- (early 1849?) Writes to Mrs Greg, wife of W. R. Greg, whose somewhat hostile review of *Mary Barton* appeared in April (see below). Tells how *Mary Barton* 'grew up in my mind as imperceptibly as a seed germinates in the earth' (GL 74). Feels social injustices keenly, tries to represent how working men would feel about them, and says 'John Barton' was her first chosen title and she identified with him. Much of the early part was written when she had to rest – sad memories absorbed her and account for its general sombreness. Chapman had had the novel for a long time before telling her she had to write more to fill the required number of pages. Despite her objections she was forced to do this.

## February

EG attends Lewes's lectures at the Manchester Athenaeum this month.



- 1 (Thurs.) J. J. Tayler, WG's colleague, writing in the *Prospective Review* praises the dialect of *Mary Barton*, has reservations about the presentation of Mary, but feels readers are the better for reading the novel.
- 1 The *British Foreign Quarterly* suggests the novel is one-sided, not a truthful reflection of working class feelings, but points out the relevance to it of the Ashton murder of 1831.
- 1 Charlotte Brontë feels that *Mary Barton* is a clever but upsetting story.
- 2 Maria Edgeworth sends *Mary Barton* to Madame Belloc.
- 10 EG meets Clough, who thought her features hard, somewhat Scottish in appearance.
- 13 Revealing letter to Unitarian George Hope thanking him for his considerateness in letting her have her mother's letters. Has no other memorials of her, emphasises how much she has longed to possess something her mother once had. Says how intense her wishes are, how they derive from the loss of her mother when she was so young (The sense of loss is one of the recurring themes in EG's fiction).
- 18 Dickens tells the poet Samuel Rogers he will send him a copy of *Mary Barton*.
- 24 Third edition of *Mary Barton*.
- 26 Matthew Arnold, *The Strayed Reveller and Other Poems*.
- 27 Publication of Froude's novel *The Nemesis of Faith*: the hero, a practising clergyman who loses his faith, determines to continue instructing morally but is forced out by his peers. The novel was burned at Oxford, Froude had to resign his fellowship. EG comes to know Froude: the theme connects somewhat with Mr Hale's decision to resign in *North and South*.
- 28 *Manchester Guardian* comments on the beautiful writing and good characterisation in *Mary Barton* but feels it is undermined because of factual inaccuracies, things beyond the authoress's experience or understanding. Attacks too inaccuracies in the rendering of the dialect in the novel: this may have prompted the inclusion of WG's Two Lectures on the Lancashire Dialect in the fifth edition.

## March

- 8(?) Thanks a correspondent who had warned her against being lionised, and says she wishes the novel could be 'annihilated

this next month' (GL 71) so she can do and see what she wants.

- 9 Refers humorously to G. H. Lewes's lectures at the Athenaeum being a failure in regard to attendances. At first disliked him, then changed her mind. Notes that he will play Shylock at the Theatre Royal the next day (10 March), but that she will be unable to go.
- 9 Letter of praise for *Mary Barton* from Samuel Bamford, remarking on the fearful truths displayed, mildly critical of EG's use of dialect, but begs 'Give us some more of your true and touching pictures' (Waller 7–8).

J. E. Bradford in the *Christian Examiner* on *Mary Barton* observes that it is written in the dominating spirit of Christianity throughout.

## April

Charles Kingsley's review of *Mary Barton* in *Fraser's Magazine* ('Recent Novels') in which he observes that it merits wide distribution and should be proclaimed in churches (Reiterates the word 'clemming' in his notice to emphasise widespread incidence of starvation.)

- 2 (Mon.) Returns Clough's 'Ambarvalia' to Geraldine Jewsbury, and tells her of the young Robert Clive's (Clive of India) exploits in the neighbourhood where her mother's family lived in Cheshire, i.e. his leaping from pillar to pillar in front of the house.
- 10 Chartist gathering and march in London to present the third petition.
- 11 Writes to Chapman saying she is going to London and telling him to address her at 11 Panton Square.
- 18(?) Asks Chapman if he has a copy of the last *Edinburgh Review* to send her since she wants to read W. R. Greg's strictures, when she will grin and bear them and get through them quickly.

W. R. Greg, Unitarian, considered by EG an old friend, reviews *Mary Barton* in the *Edinburgh Review*. Praises the literary merit which promises much to come but notes 'false philosophy' and inaccurate description. Considers John Barton a libel, in no way representative of Chartism or factory workers. Asserts the poor should look to themselves, not the rich, they should use their money responsibly, they need to acquire moral independence not just accept strikes: the sufferings of operatives are not ignored by employers, cites instances of rich helping poor, points out that employers too have suffered over the last few years.

(middle) Arrives in London with Anne Holland. Greatly drawn to Eliza Fox, meets author Anna Jameson, who becomes a friend. Spends an evening with Fox, MP for Oldham.

EG at height of her popularity, stays in London for a few weeks, often in company of Katie Winkworth. Writes to Jane Carlyle from Panton Square probably about this time, can't accept her invitation, letter full of apologies, regrets: refers to her own birth in Chelsea and says she has recently visited the area.

20 At St. James's Theatre for Auber and Scribe's *Fra Diavolo*, attended by the Queen and Prince Albert.

Precise dating of visit tricky (*FL* 42), but L&M i 178–88 conveys general pattern, which is given below.

EG's friend Emily Winkworth stays in Islington – she is by now engaged to William Shaen.

22 EG has breakfast with Crabb Robinson and her publisher Edward Chapman. The former found her unliterary but he liked her.

(?) writes to Carlyle(?) from Panton Square thanking him for some books (perhaps among them *Sartor Resartus*).

26(?) Thanks Chapman for Athenaeum tickets.

27 Visits Carlyle but he stays in the garden.

## May

1 (Tues.) Eliza Fox sends her the first number of *David Copperfield*, which appeared on that day, its monthly instalments continuing until November 1850.

5(?) Thanks Eliza Fox for *David Copperfield* and refers to the whirl of activity in which she, EG, is caught up – hopes to have dinner with her, then to Sadlers Wells afterwards on Wednesday (9 May). Has enjoyed the Proctors' that evening. Writing from 27 Woburn Square – going to Windsor next day Sunday (6 May).

(early?) Writes to Jane Loudon(?) indicating she is going to Forster's for dinner at 5 pm, then on to the play, and will see her after the play, after midnight.

8 Emily Winkworth observes ironically that 'Lily' (EG) is much in love with Forster.

8 Lord Shaftesbury tells Madame Bunsen, wife of the Chevalier Bunsen, whom EG was to know later, that he regrets he hasn't time to meet Mrs Gaskell, who must be an outstanding person.

- 8 Emily writes to her sister Katie about Rogers' breakfast the previous day (7 May). Lily is going to dine with Forster at his chambers in the Middle Temple – he will raise the faults in *Mary Barton* – and Henry Chorley has also given her some literary advice – 'So she is pursuing her studies you see as well as taking her degree' (L&M i 179).
- 12 Breakfast with the Monckton Milnes's (confirmed on 18 May by Emily Winkworth), met Guizot, Archdeacon Hare, William Whewell. Prison visit with Mrs Dickens. Dinner with Dickens – Rogers, Forster, Thackeray, the Carlyles and Douglas Jerrold, by whom EG is fascinated, present.
- 12 onwards – activities which include fireworks display, Hampton Court, dinner at the Whittington to honour Louis Blanc.
- 12 Emily Winkworth spent Friday (11 May) at Hampton Court with Lily, but today went with her and Mr Tom Taylor to the Academy: they afterwards went to see Carlyle (Emily grateful for being taken). Describes Carlyle as roundly criticising the state of England and the rest of the world. Reports that EG had long talks with F. D. Maurice and J. M. Ludlow.
- 12 Whewell points out similarity of a passage in Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* with one in *Mary Barton*. EG replies she did not know of any connection with the Goethe episode. She also mentions George Sand's *Mauprat*, which has an incident similar to one in *Mary Barton* of which she had also been ignorant.
- 12 Writes to Anna Jameson – hopes to see her but pressurised by time.
- 13 EG's account of the visit to the Milnes's described above, then meeting Whewell, visiting Stafford House and later dining with Dickens on the previous day (her cousin Anne Holland was with her). Detailed description of Dickens's study, and the company: since she sat between Jerrold and Dickens she was well entertained. Later she found Mrs Carlyle amusing, noted that Fanny Kemble called: EG obviously delighted to find herself in the company of these named and other notables, and in the evening various lords and ladies plus Thackeray appeared: they enjoyed a musical recital. The Dickens's children were very well behaved. The sheer capacity for enjoyment, the recall of witticisms and telling one-liners, the almost innocent

name-dropping, the quality of EG's observation, the narrative verve and vivacity, all suggest the developing maturity of the writer.

- 13 EG dines at Hensleigh Wedgwood's.
- 14 Dickens says he is taking 'Mary Barton' to the opera (Weber's *Der Freischutz*) and that he will dine with her beforehand. EG says goodbye to the Carlyles. She and Emily go to an exhibition of paintings, and it seems she went with Forster, the Dickenses and Emily to Tothill Fields prison. EG sat up talking in her lodgings until 2 a.m.
- 15 Said goodbye to Rogers with Emily. But perhaps had breakfast with him the next day before setting off for Shotton.
- 15 Writes to a Mrs Ogden from Woburn Square saying how pleased she is she likes her writing.
- 16 Leaves London and goes to Shotton near Stratford-upon-Avon to her cousins. Before the week is out, EG is back in Manchester.
- 17 From Stratford-upon-Avon. Thanks Meta and Marianne for telling her about their visit to Sandlebridge. More summary of some of her London experiences – breakfasted with the Howitts, heard F. D. Maurice preach, mentions Charles Kingsley's *The Saint's Tragedy*, which she liked very much, also went to hear Mr Scott (he was preaching in hired rooms), out to dinner some days, meeting with the Dickenses. Wednesday breakfast with Rogers.
- 17 Jane Carlyle gives an account of meeting EG at Dickenses the previous Saturday (12 May), saying she had already seen EG at their house (the Carlyles'), that she was natural and modest but was in danger of being too much lionised.
- 17 Visits Warwick Castle.
- 18 Emily Winkworth writes to Susanna about Rogers' breakfast, detailed description of the poet in his 87th year. Greatly praises Ludlow and F. D. Maurice who are 'just as good as one had fancied' (Shaen 42). Mentions the Whittington Club dinner, saying the Stansfields and Eliza Cook were also there (L&M i 187).
- 18 Visit to Compton Winyates.
- 20 Dines at Radford.
- 21 Back home to Manchester.
- 28 Death of Anne Brontë.

## June

- 8 (Fri.) Susanna Winkworth tells Emily 'Lily must repeat to you her grave talk with Mr Froude in the railway carriage.' She says that she has been staying 'all this week at Mrs Gaskell's' (L&M i 189). Saturday 2 June arrived, Sunday 3 June to Mrs Darbishire – met Froude. Monday 4 June EG to Liverpool 'to see Aspinall Turner's Mill'; Tuesday 5 June visited the Leislars with EG.

In this month Selina Winkworth stays with EG at Skelwith near Ambleside Wordsworth and the Arnolds found them lodgings, Froude is nearby with the Dukinfield Darbshires, whose sons he is tutoring. Extent of stay unclear, but much socialising. Specific dating difficult (lack of letter evidence), and note Meta Gaskell's letter below which adds a further complication. Perhaps there was more than one visit to the area around this time and through the following month.

## July

First part of 'Hand and Heart' in *The Sunday School Penny Magazine*, based on EG's practical experiences with the Lower Mosley street children: slight, 'a moralising children's story about an unbelievably virtuous boy' (Foster 32). EG commented on this and other stories that they were morally worthwhile and sensible in emphasis. Here Tom is accepted for his simple Christianity, his loving goodness 'which many of us may have if we try, the blessing of God lies in rich abundance'.

July 'The Last Generation in England' in *Sartain's Union Magazine* 5 (Philadelphia), as by the author of *Mary Barton*. Mix of story and article, particular details later recycled in *Cranford* and drawn from Knutsford memories. Direct reference to Lady Jane Stanley's bequest for the making of a pavement of flag-stones.

EG may have conceived 'Martha Preston' (see February 1850 below) during the Ambleside stay.

- 2 (Mon.) EG present at an evening gathering at Dr Davy's, Lesketh How, Ambleside.
- 4 Takes her daughters to tea with Edward Quillinan, correspondent of the diarist Crabb Robinson and now a widower (he was married to Wordsworth's daughter Dora who had died in July 1847).
- 14 Meta writes from Manchester to Barbara Fergusson in Edinburgh that they are going to the Lakes on Thursday 19 July, Mill-Brow in the village of Skelwith, Ambleside. WG not going, gives news of children – letter is from her

and Marianne and EG really. Deeply affectionate letter – tells her a poor riddle, almost in EG’s manner. (EG probably first met Mrs Fletcher, who was to become a close friend, at this time: she adapted her as the narrator Mrs Dawson in *Round the Sofa* ten years on.)

- 20 Wordsworth enters lines in EG’s autograph album at Lesketh How: ‘He that feels contempt/For any living thing, hath faculties/Which he hath never used’.

## August

‘Hand and Heart’ continues in *The Sunday School Penny Magazine*.

- 1 (Wed.) Lake District. The Gaskells walk across Loughrigg Fell.

- 4 EG reported exhausted after getting lost on walking tour, presumably on 1 August Stephen Winkworth staying there (Skelwith Bridge) with Selina. He says EG and others missed their way on Wednesday. EG was ‘quite done up’ (L&M i 193). The Gaskells left the next day (2 August).

- 21 From the ‘Drawing-room’ (presumably home in Manchester). Mentions *The Nemesis of Faith* (second edition published in July) and the influence of Froude on all around him, though EG resists his charismatic qualities while acknowledging them. He will be moving to Green Heys, Manchester, in October after he gets married. Generally gossipy letter to Katie asking her many questions about the Isle of Wight. Longs to tell her about the holiday in the Lakes – jokingly hopes Emily will break it off with Will Shaen so she can come to the Isle of Wight.

Often unwell around this time.

## September

- 1 (Sat.) Katie Winkworth writes most affectionately to ‘Lily’ from Ventnor: jocular tone asking if she feels she should come to the Isle of Wight to console her since Emily is occupied with Will Shaen.

- 16 Susanna Winkworth visits, finds Lily ill, nurses her, makes tea, WG carries Lily upstairs.

- 17 Lily much better.

- 18 Susanna helps Lily get ready for her dinner party at the Schwabes.

- 19 Lily arranges meeting between Chevalier Bunsen and Susanna.

- 20 The Chevalier Bunsen and Susanna Winkworth meet at the Gaskells'.
- 21 Emily Winkworth envies Lily her ability to relate long stories. Lily still busy on Susanna's account, but Murray (publisher) won't take the *Niehuhr* proposal.
- 22 Susanna Winkworth says of the Chevalier Bunsen that even EG finds it difficult to keep up with his conversation because he talks so quickly she cannot remember what he says.

## October

'Hand and Heart' continues in *The Sunday School Penny Magazine*.

- c8 (Mon.) Asks John Forster if he can get a copy of Tennyson's poems sent to Samuel Bamford, who loves them but has to recite them from memory in his old age. EG full of compassion and admiration for the simple integrity of Bamford – a moving, humane, genuinely trouble-taken letter.
- 10 John Seeley Hart, editor of *Sartain's Union Magazine*, sends EG his study of Spenser.
- 12 Thanks the popular poet W. C. Bennett for poems.
- 14 Crabb Robinson diary entry suggests he had arranged a meeting between Wordsworth and EG when she was at Mill Brow in the summer.
- 20 EG invited to contribute to *The Ladies' Companion* by Jane Loudon; she declines but later provides 'Mr Harrison's Confessions' anonymously (see February 1851).
- 26 Publication of Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, though it was anonymous.

Two brief letters probably in this month to Agnes Patterson thanking her for crochet work for the children and asking her to get copies of *Athenaeums*.

## November

'Hand and Heart' continues in *The Sunday School Penny Magazine*.

- 6 (Tues.) To Marianne and Meta from the Samuel Greys' at Bollington – wants update on WG's health. Lunching with Mrs Davenport at Capesthorpe that day.
- (early) Tells Tottie Fox she is determined to see the Hungarian revolutionary Kossuth on his visit to Manchester: inquisitive about Mrs Froude, who is convent educated, 'but instead of a nunnery she has chosen a marriage' (GL 86). Wants Tottie



to visit her, though she will have to endure Spartan conditions. Quotes from Thomas Campbell ('To a Rainbow') – further evidence of her love of poetry. Then parodies Marlowe's 'Come live with me and be my love'.

- 11 Charles Hallé begins 'a second series of Chamber Concerts' (L&M i 213–14).

Exclaims that Francis Newman is 'so holy!' (GL 87).

- 17(?) Charlotte Brontë finds in EG 'a remote affinity to my Sister Emily' (CBL ii: 286) and praises her essential goodness.

- 25 Has met and liked Macready, longs to read Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* but has difficulty getting books. Has seen Mrs Froude, observing tartly 'she's not a heroine of romance-looking woman' (GL 89).

- 25 Relates punning joke about Sunday school girls who refused to do callisthenics since it would be condemned as sinful according to the Bible injunction 'Do not thy alms before men' (GL 89).

- 29 To Tottie Fox – asks if she has read Southey's *Memoirs* (Vol I had been published on 14 November), pushes her to find out who wrote *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley*.

- 26 Thanks Forster for the Tennyson, which she will give to Bamford. Expresses concern about treatment of negroes taken to St Helena in British vessels. Tells Forster that she has talked to Geraldine Jewsbury, who is in awe of him.

- (late) Currer Bell has sent her *Shirley*.

- (late?) Tottie Fox's visit cancelled – she therefore won't see the Manchester manufactories. Great praise for the inviolable spirituality of Francis Newman.

- c.24(?) Charlotte Brontë tells W. S. Williams that 'Mrs Gaskell tells me she shall keep my works as a treasure for her daughters' (CBL ii 296–7).

## December

'Hand and Heart' concludes in *The Sunday School Penny Magazine*.

- 1 (Mon.) Visiting Mrs Davenport at Capesthorpe.

- 3 Dr Robert Allman, later visited in Edinburgh by EG, marries Louisa Shaen.

- 6 Hopes Mrs Froude is feeling better, invites her and Froude to tea on 14 December.

- 7 Tells Forster of her visit to Bamford, his self-absorption in the street, how moved he was by the Tennyson. Saw

Bamford approaching, but 'I kept my book back (like a child eating the paste before the preserve),' (GL 95). Thanks him for pleasure his action has given her. She visited Bamford at Blackley, six miles away, an indication of her capacity for walking at the time.

- 20(?) Asks Anne Shaen if she knows Harriet Martineau has sworn eternal friendship to Charlotte Brontë. Mutual delight of the pair (Charlotte Brontë and Harriet Martineau) in each other at the time (Charlotte visited Miss Martineau 10 December).

Forward plans – the Gaskell family may spend three months at Silverdale next summer while they have a new house built in Manchester.

## 1850

EG spends more and more time away from Manchester in the 1850s. Tottie Fox exhibits 'Study of a Factory Child' at the Royal Academy. The Free Library in Manchester opens under the Public Libraries Act. WG's borrowings from the Portico Library 1850–59 an important index to his and EG's reading (Foster 74–6, *passim*).

### January

- 8 (Tues.) Writes to Dickens asking advice about a seduced girl (Pasley): ironically, the girl was a dress-maker's apprentice (connects with *Mary Barton* and *Ruth*). EG has seen the girl in prison (via Thomas Wright, prison visitor mentioned in *Mary Barton*) and she has agreed to emigrate. Pasley recently met her seducer face to face – he is now assistant surgeon in the prison. Asks how Miss Burdett-Coutts gets suitable emigration passages for such girls Detailed letter, evidence of EG's strong Christian–socio-moral commitment.
- 12 Says Miss Burdett-Coutts has been most helpful about Pasley, whom EG is trying to cheer by visiting her. EG has been weeping for the deaths of three children, cousins who died of scarlet fever – overcome by her naturally compassionate nature and the recall of Willie's death in 1845.
- 12 Death of WG's mother Mrs Dimock.
- 22(?) (most probably or 24) Tells Tottie Fox Pasley will sail in February, again evidence of her own commitment and care in the arrangements. Is deeply upset by the sensational murder of

a local acquaintance, Mrs Novelli. Refers to Watts's painting of *The Good Samaritan* (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1850), and says it will be inscribed in reference to Thomas Wright. She will see Cobden at the end of the week, enlisting his help on behalf of Wright.

- 24 To Tottie – Still saddened by the deaths of the children – very affectionate letter.
- 25 To James Crossley about 'The Good Samaritan' and the ongoing efforts to help and reward Thomas Wright.
- 31 Letter from Dickens invites EG to contribute to his new periodical, the aim of which is 'the raising up of those that were down, and the general improvement of our social condition' (*Pilgrim* 6 21–2). There is no other contemporary English author he would rather have than EG, he was so greatly moved and impressed by *Mary Barton*. Contributions to *Household Words* (hereafter HW) would be anonymous – he would come to Manchester if necessary for a few hours' discussion.

## February

'Martha Preston' in *Sartain's Union Magazine* (later it became 'Half a Lifetime Ago' (see 6–20 October 1855). Anonymous. Story derives from EG's holiday location – she visited Loughrigg, Skelwith in July 1849, with Wordsworth, Grasmere mentioned in narrative. Set 'about two miles north of Mill Brow' (Foster 46). For 'Half a Lifetime Ago' EG made a number of changes, and more for the 1859 version in *Round the Sofa*.

(cFebruary) Important statement to Tottie about the divided lives of women. Home responsibilities and individual development form the dual crux of this letter: women must be free to enter 'the hidden world of Art' (*GL* 106) in order to cope with the demands of everyday life. This balance negates depression. She feels the tranquillity of being able to write, and guesses Tottie too has experienced this in art. A note added two days later is explicit about discovering what course each person has to follow in establishing God's Kingdom.

Hearn is away nursing her dying mother.

- 2 (Sat.) Concludes agreement with Dickens
- 5 Dickens acknowledges agreement with EG.
- 9 Cobden contacts EG about Thomas Wright: EG obviously trying to carry rewards/pension for Wright further.

- 20(?) Informs William Robson of the forthcoming series of pamphlets on Christian Socialism (Charles Kingsley, F. D. Maurice, etc.), urging him to circulate them among working men, a reflection of her own radical commitment.
- 27 Dickens writes to EG with high praise for 'Lizzie Leigh' (as yet unnamed) which moved him to tears. Suggests alterations but leaves them up to her.
- 28 Dickens tells Wills 'Lizzie Leigh' is long and will run to 3–4 numbers (in fact it was 3).
- (early) Tries to arrange a trip to Palestine for WG who is worn out by excessive work over the years but urges the recipient – almost certainly a colleague of WG's, perhaps John Relly Beard – to keep this quiet, hopes that he will encourage WG to accompany him if he approves, stresses benefits WG got from his journey to the continent about 9 or 10 years ago.

### March

- 2 (Sat.) Active in trying to get some money from the Literary Fund for a correspondent.
- 14 Dickens writes to EG (of 'Lizzie Leigh') that he believes since Lizzie will live she should place the child in the arms of Susan, and asks EG to make the alteration. The seduced girl motif is central to the story plus the reconciliatory Christian theme. EG listened to Dickens's advice about placing Lizzie's baby with Susan and her sending presents to help with its maintenance and upbringing. Keynote sentence – 'Goodness is not goodness unless there is mercy and tenderness in it' (The story was attributed to Dickens in reprints from *HW*, although contributions to that publication were anonymous.)
- 27 *HW* published, though its official date was Saturday (30 March). It contained the first part of 'Lizzie Leigh', given place of honour immediately after Dickens's 'Preliminary Word'.

### April

Froude expresses his hatred of Manchester and all manifestations of Manchester, particularly disliking the Unitarian element.

- 6 (Sat.) Second part of 'Lizzie Leigh' in *HW*.
- 13 Third part of 'Lizzie Leigh' in *HW*.

- (April?) Tells Tottie of new house in Plymouth Grove. Feels torn because others are in need of accommodation. It will cost them £150 a year which may spell ruin. They will move in six weeks' time, will have a greenhouse. Has not read Browning's new poem but has seen reviews (it was probably 'Christmas Eve and Easter-day' published 1 April). Warm friendship for Tottie evident, writes vivaciously about her own identities – defined as Christian (some say socialist and communist), wife and mother. Delighted with the prospect of the new house. Jokes about WG deciding everything for her, but allows 'I am sometimes coward enough to wish that we were back in the darkness where obedience was the only seen duty of women' (*GL* 109). Doesn't believe that WG would have ordered her about. Wants Tottie to 'handsel' their house, i.e. be the first visitor.
- 19 Letter from Tom Taylor supportive of the Thomas Wright subscriptions and saying he recognises EG's style in the lovely story 'Lizzie Leigh'.
- 23 Death of Wordsworth.
- 26 To Tottie talking of projected holidays, reprimands her for trying to lure her to 'Babylon' (London), everything put off until they move to the new house: here though she still thinks of her dead child, Willie. Remarkable mood swings, seeing herself ubiquitously as Figaro, full of work and energy as she prepares to leave a house replete with memories of Willie's brief life – it is almost five years since he died. Keenly anticipates having a garden. Lovely humour – she recently called on a bishop and found his wife inadequate – 'I should make a better Bishop's wife if the Unitarians ever come uppermost in my day' (*GL* 112). The Bishop showed them a painting of a dead child which stirs EG's personal associations and produces uncompromising criticism of it and its display. Records receiving her £20 for 'Lizzie Leigh', appropriated by WG though he said she could have some of it for her 'Refuge'. Excitement almost febrile, seen in lightness of mood and sequence of jokes, one a typical Gaskellian pun.
- 28 Tells John Seeley Hart, American admirer of *Mary Barton*, one of the effects of the uprisings in Europe has been to reveal to people the 'social evils, and the strange contrasts which exist in old nations' (*GL* 115). Conscious of loss when she finished *Mary Barton*, for her characters were so real to her that it was like saying goodbye to friends.

## May

- 11 (Sat.)(?) Gives an account of the arrival of Meta and Florence at Bollington. They will all be coming home on Wednesday morning.
- 14 Tells Lady Kay-Shuttleworth (hereafter Lady K-S) she is not feeling energetic at present, she disliked some plot aspects of *Shirley* but found much to praise for its courage and truthfulness. Her feelings about Charlotte Brontë are certainly growing – would indeed like to know her – Lady K-S feels EG could do Charlotte good. EG concerned for the single woman who finds life purposeless. Suggests guiding principle may be to observe the immediate duties and cites a sermon by F. D. Maurice. Expresses thankfulness to God she is married with children and is content to be so.
- 18 Fanny Lewald, German writer, interested in EG comes to England (she will later stay with Geraldine Jewsbury).
- 18(?) 1850(?) To Amelia Strutt from Upper Rumford Street. Left Capesthorpe a week ago – did not think they would meet again – met another friend of hers, Sam Greg (the failed industrialist), now so depressed he has contemplated emigration. Came home on Wednesday (15 May) – lovely welcome from the other children, Meta and Florence having been with her at Bollington. Has also received Thackeray's preface (as she calls it) to *Rebecca and Rowena* (published shortly before Christmas 1849).
- 25 Katie tells Susanna Winkworth about the plans for Thomas Wright and of her own involvement through Watts's picture of 'The Good Samaritan'.
- (Last week in May) Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

## June

Moved to Plymouth Grove, initially 42, later renumbered 84, leases field, acquires cow.

Meets C. E. Norton at Barry Cornwall's .

The Winkworths move to Alderley Edge (Susanna remains in Manchester with her brother Stephen until his marriage the following year.)

'Lizzie Leigh' reprinted in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (with attribution to Dickens).

- 3 (Mon.) EG writes to Octavian Blewitt from 121 Upper Rumford Street bringing to his notice the reduced circumstances of a Knutsford authoress Mrs Davenport (no relation to EG's

friend). EG's application in May resulted in an award of £30 from the Royal Literary Fund. Further evidence of EG's practical humanitarian and philanthropic activity.

- 13 Tennyson marries Emily Selwood after long courtship.
- 15 To unknown correspondent giving thanks for autograph and telling her of her success via Forster in getting money from literary fund for the impoverished authoress.
- (end) Goes to Silverdale, where the family stayed for five weeks.

## July

- 3 (Wed.) Dickens solicits more work from EG.
- 14 From Great Malvern Katie Winkworth tells Eliza Patterson that they have here the style of garden EG would appreciate, with little grass, but 'laid out in terraces with narrow gravel walks' (L&M i 234).

W. R. Greg's ground-breaking article on *Prostitution* in the *Westminster Review* – how easily girls become victims, exposing one standard for the male, one standard for the female – 'that harsh, savage, unjust, unchristian public opinion which has resolved to regard a whole life of indulgence on the part of one sex as venial and natural', whereas one slip on the woman's part is 'irretrievable and unpardonable'.

- 16–1850(?) From Silverdale to Lady K-S. Removal to Plymouth Grove has occasioned difficulty in keeping in touch. Fine description of Silverdale, a contrast to Lady K-S's London surroundings, then adverts to *Mary Barton*, claiming what she has said is true although it is not the complete truth. Hopes the novel will 'give a spur to inactive thought, and languid conscience' (GL 119). Declares interest in charitable institutions, still anxious to be in direct touch with Charlotte Brontë. Praises the efforts of Sam Greg as employer but says he has not made money, even suggests Sam could be presented heroically on the opposite side of the industrial problem (interesting connection with the conception of Thornton in *North and South*.) Mentions the Diaconesses in Paris and her interest in them, further evidence of her christian, humanitarian, philanthropic concerns. Asks for Charlotte Brontë's address.

## August

- 7 (Wed.) Dickens still interested in EG's work. The result was 'The Well of Pen-Morfa' (see below).

Fanny Lewald registers her detailed appreciation of *Mary Barton* ('seriousness of purpose', 'succinctness in her descriptive writing', 'the whole force of reality' (quoted by Peter Skrine, *The Gaskell Society Journal* 4 (1990), 53–4).

- 17 From Plymouth Grove thanks Mary Cowden Clark for her appreciation of 'The Sexton's Hero'. Sends her a copy together with 'Libbie Marsh'.
- 19 EG will see Lady K-S the next day, has to return to Manchester by Saturday. Thrilled to be meeting Charlotte Brontë at last.
- 20 EG to Briery Close, Windermere, to stay with the K-S's. She was there for three days (Details below.)
- 25 Tells Katie Winkworth that on the previous Monday (19 August) a note from Lady K-S invited her to meet Charlotte Brontë. Went on Tuesday (20 August); detailed description of Charlotte, with her large mouth, loss of teeth, plain appearance but attractive voice and expressive and appropriate conversation. Went to bed, describes view over Windermere. Wishes Katie were here. Called on the Tennysons at Coniston. Charlotte Brontë liked *Modern Painters* and the idea of *Seven Lamps*; detailed account of her life, the half-mad Patrick Brontë – the girls taught nothing – Cowan Bridge – this letter virtually a synopsis of the life of Charlotte Brontë and *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*: includes statements which reflect EG's impressionability and consequently her unconscious capacity for error. Feels that Charlotte has consumption.
- c25 Tells Charlotte Froude that although she and Charlotte Brontë quarrelled about EG's democratic leanings and that Charlotte disliked Tennyson they nonetheless were drawn to one another sincerely and would hopefully become friends (Further letters about this date give more description of Charlotte and register her nerves at Fox How, the widowed Mary Arnold's home near Windermere). EG records her own family stay at Silverdale – end of June for five weeks.
- 27 Tells Tottie that Charlotte Brontë is agreeable like her, Tottie, but without Tottie's light-heartedness. Is writing a story for Christmas, feels it is a foolish undertaking (*The Moorland Cottage*). Now has her own copy of *In Memoriam* (published anonymously in May). Everyone in the Lake



District talking about the *Prelude* (published in July). WG at Birmingham – preached there on the 25 August – has been reading *Modern Painters* – news that Susanna Winkworth is going to Germany. (She visited Bonn and the Bunsens, staying until May 1851, obviously working on Niebuhr.)

Kingsley visits EG in this month.

## September

- 5 (Thurs.) Fanny Lewald sees EG at a concert: 'Fairly tall, fully and strongly built, with black hair ... one would not hesitate to take her for Italian' (quoted by Peter Skrine, *The Gaskell Society Journal* 4 (1990), 56).
- 13(?) EG replies disarmingly to Leigh Hunt's being upset by the bird kept in the cage in 'Libbie Marsh's Three Eras'. She had also sent him 'The Sexton's Hero' and 'Christmas Storms and Sunshine'.
- 16 Hunt responds, saying warmly how much he respects her.
- 25 To Lady K-S from Poulton-le-Sands, near Lancaster, on holiday for health – has spinal discomfort – can't write much. Reveals that she parted with copyright of *Mary Barton* (£100). Just learned that a fourth edition is coming out, says she is never consulted. Refers to *The Moorland Cottage* in terms of its being merely a slight rural tale which will probably be published in November. Considers it will hardly be worth reading.
- 26 Warm letter from Charlotte Brontë indicative of their mutual sympathy and shared interests.
- (late) Fourth edition of *Mary Barton*.
- (end) WG makes EG go off again, this time to Boughton House near Worcester with cousin Charlotte Holland Isaacs. Then EG goes to London to find a school for Marianne: stays with the Shaens at Crix, returns home, having been away off and on for four months.
- 22 A. J. Scott becomes Principal of Owens College.
- 27 Jane Arnold records Matthew Arnold crying over a story of EG's (probably 'Lizzie Leigh').

## November

Charles Kingsley publishes *Alton Locke*.

- 6 (Wed.) Tennyson accepts offer to become Poet Laureate.
- 12 From The Cliff, near Warwick, to Lady K-S – again out of Manchester for health reasons. WG thinks she should stay

away for two months. Appreciates Sir James K-S's wish that she should be with them: refers to a story of hers in the next issue of *HW* ('The Well of Pen-Morfa'). Confides Marianne is to go to school in London for a year, and enquires about the new Charlotte Brontë book, a reference to the publication of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* with Charlotte's preface.

- 16 'The Well of Pen-Morfa' Part I in *HW*. (Pen Morfa = The Head of the Marsh.) Locations derive from Plas yn Penhryn, visits, honeymoon in Wales. Lovely autobiographical tone and intimacy of narrator. Tragic story of crippled Nest Gwynn. Nest's devotion to the mad Mary, who beats her, is deeply moving, but EG's theme of goodness and reconciliation enfolds Mary who, sent to the workhouse, will try to behave better.
- 17 Katie Winkworth tells Emma Shaen WG is to visit them the following Tuesday and stay overnight, but then has to get back for essential Home Missionary Board work.
- 23 'The Well of Pen-Morfa' Part II in *HW*.

## December

- (November–c) EG reported as saying she would not let Marianne go to a school which was 'so common – the very worst style of dogmatic hard Unitarianism, utilitarian to the backbone' (*GL* 136).
- 2 (Mon.) Staying at Boughton House near Worcester.
- 10 Publication of the second edition of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*.
- (late) Values Tottie's concern for Marianne, which mirrors WG's. EG will be in London with her in three weeks or so – could stay with Tottie.
- 12 To Lady K-S from Worcester, with discussion of Marianne's learning music in London. Going to London the following Tuesday (17 December) to stay with Mrs Wedgwood. Has (virtually) chosen Mrs Lalor's school at Hampstead for Marianne. Will be away from Manchester for some time (told she must not go back), hopes to see WG in Christmas week before going off to stay with the Shaens at Crix for January. Expresses great interest in the Governesses' Home. Has learned Charlotte Brontë is going to stay with Miss Martineau from the 16 December and would like a visit (obviously later) from her. Thanks Lady K-S for advice

about her health but her work and that of WG is in Manchester. Would prefer the country, the recent exposure to which has set her up: she is much changed from what she is in Manchester.

- 13 Elizabeth Barrett Browning tells Mary Russell Mitford that the style of *Mary Barton* is poor and that it has a certain vulgarity.

Geraldine Jewsbury asks Jane Carlyle how she got on with EG.

December(?) EG tells Chapman that the title of her story is *December Days*, rejecting his idea of *The Fagot* (it became *The Moorland Cottage*).

- 12 Dickens unhappy with the ending of 'The Heart of John Middleton' which he otherwise admired and for which he provided the title. Wishes her characters 'would keep a little firmer on their legs!' (*Pilgrim* 6.231)

- 14 Publication of *The Moorland Cottage*, illustrations by Birkett Foster. The basic plot line – interaction of brother and sister – anticipates the Tom/Maggie situation in George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) as Swinburne was to note later (1877), the heroine of EG's unchristmaslike story being called Maggie. Subtle psychological narrative of selfish brother and selfless sister, overall effect marred by melodramatic events towards the end.

- 17 Inscribes copy of *The Moorland Cottage* to WG.

EG arrives in London: stays with Hensleigh Wedgwood, obviously intent on arranging Marianne's education at Mrs Lalor's. Dickens still seeking alterations to 'The Heart of John Middleton' but decides to print it as it is.

- 20 Dickens praises 'The Heart of John Middleton' despite its ending, too late to alter since it is already at the press. He suggests her next story can have a pleasanter conclusion. This tale has a Lancashire setting, industrial, but religious in tone. Interestingly, Nelly protects John Middleton from the stone thrown by his rival, a mini-anticipation of the dramatically (and sexually) charged scene in *North and South* (chapter xxii) where Margaret shields Thornton.

- 24 The *Guardian* (Anglican, described by EG in the following month as 'Puseyite') praises *The Moorland Cottage*.

**Christmas** WG to London with Meta – after his return EG perhaps entertained by the Dickenses with Carlyle and Catherine Crowe, then spends a month at Crix with the Shaens.

- 28 'The Heart of John Middleton' in *HW*.

During this year EG reads *In Memoriam* and Southey's *Life and Correspondence*

(Some time in December). WG gives Selina Winkworth a copy of *The Moorland Cottage*: Emily Winkworth calls it 'a sweet, poetical, simple, sketchy story ... but almost *no* wit, and no very powerful writing in it' (L&M i 266).

## 1851

George Eliot effectively becomes the editor of the *Westminster Review*. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*.

Geraldine Jewsbury's *Marian Withers* published, parts of which 'pre-figures' *North and South* (Foster 111).

### January

- 1 (Wed.) Charlotte Brontë tells W. S. Williams (reader for George Smith) to send a copy of *Wuthering Heights* to EG, who had sent her *The Moorland Cottage*. Interestingly, the phantom child of chapter 3 in *Wuthering Heights* has an (inadvertent) equivalent in 'The Old Nurse's Story' (see below, Christmas 1852).
- 1 EG in London.
- Chartist conference held in Manchester early in 1851 poorly attended.
- 4(?) Charlotte Brontë thanks EG for *The Moorland Cottage*. She has only read the beginning but praises its sweetness, innocence, 'as fresh as an unopened morning daisy' (CBL ii 544).
- 12 EG writes publisher John Parker from Crix acknowledging Whewell's translation of Auerbach's story as *The Professor's Wife*.
- 12 From Chelsea Jane Carlyle tells her husband that EG and Charles Kingsley were recently there: she refers to them by their novel titles of Mary Barton and Alton Locke.
- 13 From Crix to Whewell saying she has received his translation and thanking him for his praise (in *Fraser's*) of *The Moorland Cottage*.
- 14 From Crix to Edward Chapman thanking him for £50 (presumably for *The Moorland Cottage*). Refers to Whewell's note but hopes *The Times* will ignore the story.
- 15 Katie Winkworth asks Emily Shaen to 'Tell Lily that I think "The Heart of John Middleton" one of the most beautiful things I ever read in my life' (L&M i 272).

- (?) To Robert Chambers asking for the name of the German newspaper in which Fanny Lewald is writing her account of English society. She and WG had met at Chambers' house in August 1850. EG did not meet her.
- 22 Charlotte Brontë, having finished *The Moorland Cottage*, considers it 'fresh, natural, religious' (CBL ii 560).
- (end) Finishes 'Mr Harrison's Confessions' at Crix.

## February

'Mr Harrison's Confessions' I in *The Ladies' Companion and Monthly Magazine* III. Anonymous. Biographical connections with Peter Holland, his son Sir Henry, great-uncle Peter Colthurst and brother-in-law Samuel Gaskell, the child's croup derived from Marianne's suffering in 1838. Loose structure, brief chapters, obvious (but often good) comedy, romance, pathos, casual but observational knowledge of medical practice, references to eminent medical men. Duncombe/Knutsford connections, happy ending: 'That is the charm in a little town, everybody is so sympathetically full of the same events' (ch. 14). Goes to London.

- 5 (Wed.) Visits Sisters of Mercy Convent in Bermondsey, poor part of London.
- 6 Sits for portrait to George Richmond.
- 7 Has breakfast with the Bunsens. Sees Clough, Furnival, Mrs Wedgwood, etc.
- 8 Came home, Tottie with her.
- 9 Racy letter to Marianne reporting events of last few days in London above.
- 17 Selina Winkworth records that Katie is on a visit to the Gaskells.
- 17(?) To Marianne containing very much on music, urging her to practise her singing: describes experience of train delay (boring but not serious), news crammed into the once-a-week rambling, affectionate letter. Macready's farewell performance in mind but doubts whether Marianne can get a ticket for 10s. Great detail on friends, visits, Emily and Ben Shaen the previous Friday 14 February(?). Has been to the theatre, her box was over the Queen's, then puts Marianne off from visiting the Tagarts, whose tone she does not like.
- 24 Account paid for Richmond's portrait of EG by WG (£31.10). She has happy memories of time spent in his studio.

- 26 Macready's farewell performance at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (he played Macbeth).

## March

'Mr Harrison's Confessions' II in *The Ladies' Companion*.

- c7 (Fri.) Thanks W. C. Bennett for another volume of his poems.
- 9 'Sunday afternoon', misdated 10 March to Marianne announcing she and Meta are going to stay at Capethorne the next day. They will return on Wednesday 12 March. As ever gives accounts of visitors, tea drinkings, reviews the last week, vegetable yields good, local gossip, Tottie staying with them and sketching. Is going to invite Miss Brontë to stay: switches to Marianne, wanting her to be interested in politics but to base her views on sound reasons 'or else you become a mere partizan' (GL 832).
- 17 Meta and Tottie return next day. Racy account of multiple visits and being visited. Says she will read to William Turner. Met Miss Fergusson, showed her Marianne's letter, bad news of Travers Madge's health, house will be full by 27 March with visitors (Charlotte Brontë expected but did not come until 27 June, see below). Still nagging Marianne about her singing.
- 18 Thanks John Ludlow for his lecture, says she appreciates distinction made between communism and socialism.
- 25 Katie Winkworth writes Emma Shaen she is fearful that Forster and themselves will spoil *Ruth* 'by talking it all over with Lily as it goes on' and then having to pronounce on it and advise (L&M i 285) (First mention of *Ruth* – a year elapses before an outline is sent to Charlotte Brontë.)
- c28 Lively account to Marianne of indoor games-cum-charades with Tottie and Meta prominent. Mrs Davenport to visit them on 14 April. Reprimands Marianne for not writing.

## April

'Mr Harrison's Confessions' III in *The Ladies' Companion*.

- 4 (Fri.) Has a tea party which includes the naturalist William Carpenter.
- 7 Suggests to Marianne she tries to become more politically aware and they read Adam Smith on the *Wealth of Nations* and Cobden's speeches on Free Trade together, reiterating earlier advice against partisanship of any kind. Says women

are often accused of taking up something (like politics) without being able to say why they have become interested in it. More crowded family activity described.

14–16 Mrs Davenport staying. Visit to a school with Mrs Davenport, praising herself for having the nerve to invite her. EG took her to a deaf and dumb asylum and the Schwabes' print works.

17 Tells Marianne of the above, then gossipy, news of friends, letter typical of EG's social commitment, everyday observation and capacity for retailing it at speed. Tottie still there. Going to Agnes Patterson's wedding on 22 April. They have so many engagements!

(late) Emily Winkworth to be married in August. Everyone going up to the (Great) Exhibition. Full of local news, family and friends.

## May

EG in London for more than a month.

1 (Thurs.) to 15 October, when it closed – The Great Exhibition opened in Hyde Park by Queen Victoria. Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace was its centrepiece.

13(?) Tells Marianne WG will take her to the Exhibition or she can go later. WG is to attend the British Association for the Advancement of Science on 1 July at Ipswich. Nagging her about holiday plans so that WG can make his arrangements about Ipswich. Hopes to collect Marianne last week in June.

(Sunday in May) Letter to Marianne saying Flossy is unwell – much on dress, much on the garden, Meta has her own plot and is devoted to it. Jokes with Marianne about her busy social life, recalling by contrast her own five years at Avonbank when she never paid social visits or went to the theatre. Adds WG does not wish anyone to know when he is in London. Meta at Bowden.

## June

7 (Sat.) 'Disappearances' in *Household Words* III. Incidents linked to a major EG theme – loss of her brother in life, reiterated with variants involving wish-fulfilment returns in her fiction. Anecdotes told to the narrator about people disappearing. Illustrates EG's penchant for the unusual – she is curious, loves mysteries, police involvement, social range.

- 17(?) Responds to Lady K-S who had obviously asked her about getting singing pupils for a teacher. If Mrs Davenport is with her, will she ask if a gardener she knows can see the gardens at Capesthorne? (Capesthorne, with its layout and glasshouses, provides some descriptive inspiration for Cumnor Towers in *Wives and Daughters*.)

Sunday letter to Marianne at Capesthorne – Meta, Flossy and Julia at Bowden with Hearn.

- 27 Visited by Charlotte Brontë, who left London 27 June for Manchester, returning to Haworth on 30 June.
- 30 EG goes to London, where she visits the Exhibition on three occasions and says she doesn't care if she never went again.

## July

- 1 (Tues.) WG attends British Association conference at Ipswich.
- 9 EG still in London, returns to Manchester on 12 July.
- 11 W. D. Arnold writes from India enclosing £10 for EG to allocate to the Manchester poor, saying that *Mary Barton* was much appreciated in India. He particularly praises the lessons of poverty and humanity which it endorses and which are so much needed there.
- 14 Goes to Holborn Hill on the coast of Cumberland.
- 24 Goes on to Skelwith.
- (late-mid-August) WG, EG, Marianne and Meta stay at their previous accommodation in the pleasant Skelwith farmhouse.

## August

- 16 (Sat.) Returns home.
- 21 Hearn has a holiday.
- 23 Beginning of the Winkworth wedding preparations – many callers.
- 28 Writes to Marianne in London, indicating what the girls are doing, for example, Meta is having a singing lesson: asks what Pergetti (music teacher) said about Marianne's voice. More description on eve of Emily Winkworth's marriage, crowded with information and friends, relations.

## September

- 1 (Mon.) To Maria James: returned to Manchester about a fortnight ago. Describes visit to Holborn Hill, happy there, stayed for



two weeks (but see above) then on to Skelwith for another two weeks, tells her Thackeray will be lecturing in Manchester (as he did in September and October). Mentions deaths of Wordsworth and Quillinan, an upset with Harriet Martineau, quotes from a hymn by Mrs Barbauld, reveals her own familiarity with Scott's *Waverley*. Ironic comments about an old novel she has read (*Santo Sebastiano, or The Young Protector*, 1806) finding it so incredible yet humorous that she can get through it. Says it is not meant to be funny but she knows an intelligent well-balanced woman who read it each time through her 14 confinements!

- 1 To Anne Robson conveying the excitement of the Winkworth-Shaen wedding the following day. Their own house is proving very expensive, with Marianne's education costly, they are not going to furnish all the rooms, stresses the importance of the garden for the children to play in. Tells her they went to London about the 30 June – then on 14 July to Holborn Hill, stayed ten days, then went to Skelwith until 16 August. Then all given over to wedding preparations. Marianne has been so good teaching her little sisters, Meta 'untidy, dreamy, and absent' (*GL* 161) but obviously has talent in art and music, Florence nervous and will need much support, Julia is 'witty, & wild, & clever and droll' (*GL* 161).
- 2 Emily Winkworth marries William Shaen. WG officiated at Dean Row Chapel, near Wilmslow (their best man was Travers Madge).
- 3 Geraldine Jewsbury invites the Gaskells to tea with Jane Carlyle.
- 4 Letter to Marianne (from Miss Jewsbury's) saying that the newly-weds will be at 8 Bedford Row on Tuesday week the 16 or 17 September. EG returned home in time for Julia's birthday. On Saturday (6 September) Miss Jewsbury and Mrs Carlyle will dine with them. On Monday 8 September they visit the Potters. EG is frightened of being ill, is feeling very tired .
- 12 Jane Carlyle tells Carlyle she and Geraldine Jewsbury were taken for a drive by Mrs Gaskell, who was kind and cheery at home. She expediently advises Carlyle to ask if he can stay with the Gaskells when he visits Manchester. She describes EG as having 'an atmosphere of moral dullness

about her, as about all Socinian women' (*Carlyle Letters* 26, 168–70).

- (Friday letter, probably 19) To Marianne saying Hearn was taken ill, Carlyle wanted to stay a night, Tuesday Carlyle arrived (16 September), and Wednesday (17 September) Mrs Carlyle to breakfast. Cook Mary is going to be married, Flossy unwell, Queen to visit Manchester 10 October.
- October Thackeray in Manchester to lecture on the English Humourists.

## October

- 10–11 (Fri.–Sat.) The Queen visits Manchester.
- 13 Kossuth, exiled from Hungary, arrives in England, welcomed at main centres during a tour which included Manchester.
- 17 To Marianne from Knutsford, says Fredrika Bremer, Swedish novelist, is to stay in the Buxtons' house while they are away in Norfolk. EG at Uncle Holland's until next Tuesday (21 October), then going on to Mrs Green's until the following Monday (27 October). Stayed at Heathfield, visited Sandlebridge. Many enquiries about Marianne's musical progress: EG always the concerned mother, nagging but intuiting waywardness in Marianne.
- 19 Letter from Fredrika Bremer, who commends EG's kindness and her sympathetic, friendly nature and observes 'When I am at home, I shall study *Mary Barton* and learn of her' (Waller 67).
- 23 To Marianne from Sandlebridge detailing her movements – to Capesthorpe, returning on Saturday 25 October, while the following Tuesday 28 October she and Meta are off to Mrs Green's, returning on 4 November. More enquiries about Marianne's musical progress. Might see Miss Bremer at Capesthorpe.
- 29 To Maria James congratulating her on the birth of a daughter and on her husband's promotion. Describes Miss Bremer as odd, funny, guesses she's about 60, kindly and good-natured though she annoyed friends by '*spitting* right and left, in the Exhibition, and not entirely sparing private houses' (*GL* 167). EG says Charlotte Brontë told her that writing should be natural and come from the heart. Thackeray is to publish a 3 volume novel (*Esmond*), as is Miss Mulock. Wishes Miss Mulock had some other income

apart from her writing, which depends on effort rather than being natural.

- 29 To Marianne from Heathfield saying their stay is exactly a week, 28 October–4 November (with Mrs Green in Knutsford).

## November

- (early?) Tells Anne Shaen she wants to be on her own, that this is good for her health. Has received note from Charlotte Brontë, oppressed by the loneliness and lack of any stimulus in her life – has only seen her father since the beginning of July. Praises tranquillity of Knutsford and privacy.

Sunday to Marianne – plans for pig-sty and cow, has ten new roses, then nags away at Marianne's music, wanting her to study real not ephemeral light society compositions.

- 7 (Fri.) Katie Winkworth calls and finds Lily 'with her feet on the fender, reading Beddoe's [*sic*] Poems and so enchanted with them that the first thing she did was to read one to me – a dirge, certainly of an exquisite wild beauty. Then we fell into the discourse of how Mr Gaskell was so enjoying their having the house quite to themselves, that he chuckled over it every morning at breakfast' (L&M i 299). But visitors were expected – Mrs Fletcher and Mrs Davy from Lancrigg and Ambleside for the Kossuth meeting; Lily had also had a depressing letter from a depressed Charlotte Brontë, so she had urged her to come to them in Manchester.

- 11 Kossuth speaks in Manchester.

- 12 WG goes to hear Kossuth, and is greatly moved by him.

- 13 Katie Winkworth heard Kossuth on the previous Tuesday and noticed that Lily was nearby in the audience with Mrs Fletcher and Mrs Davy.

*Ruth* put aside temporarily to accommodate the writing of the first number of *Cranford*.

- 17(?) Exclamatory praise for Kossuth, who is both clever and eloquent, though she has some doubts. Has written to a man in Liverpool who continued to print 'Libbie Marsh' without permission. Notes Sir John Franklin the explorer is still missing (he had, unknown, died 4 years earlier in 1847). Went to a concert, then a children's dance, recommended herself as an author to the 'Critic', works out she would

earn 3p a line! This incisive letter to Tottie reveals that WG is helping correct Susanna (Winkworth's) proofs of her *Niebuhr* (very near publication). Accuses Dickens of writing *her* story of the woman who was haunted by a man's face, adding 'I shall have nothing to talk about now at dull parties' (GL 172).

- 23 Emily Winkworth to Susanna from Bedford Row requesting her to 'Ask Lily if it was not Beaufort Street Chelsea, that she took me to, to show the house she lived in when she was a child, and if it was not the great corner house opposite Battersea Bridge, that she said she was born in' (L&M i 313).
- 25 Katie Winkworth reports that Lily has finished the first volume of *Ruth*.
- 25 Dickens writes 'My Dear Scheherazade, – For I am sure your powers of narrative cannot be exhausted in a single night, but must be good for at least a thousand nights and one.' Much garbled joking about the ghost story, and expressing the hope that he has not ruined the face motif. [EG had told him her story of the woman haunted by the face of a man unknown to her, used in part by Dickens in his 'To Be Read at Dusk' published late in the month (*Pilgrim* 6545–6 n1, 4)]

## December

- (early) – sends Dickens the first instalment of what was to become *Cranford*.
- 4 (Thurs.) Dickens writes to EG telling her that he has changed Captain Brown's reading to 'Hood's poems' not *Pickwick* when he was knocked down by the train (first number of *Cranford*, ch. 2). It is altered and must stand. It would be an 'impropriety' for Dickens to be mentioned in his own journal in this way. He says he was so delighted by the contribution that he has placed it first in the journal. Signs himself 'the unfortunate but innocent' (*Pilgrim* 6 548–9) (EG restored her original version in the book publication of *Cranford* in 1853.)
- (late) To Marianne on a Thursday. Pigsty finished, Travers Madge to tea, busy with arrangements including those for Christmas.
- 12 Dickens still anxious to propitiate EG – says he is prepared to do anything rather than cause her any worry.

- 13 'Our Society at Cranford' in *HW* IV. EG draws on her Knutsford recall, associations, family bases for originals like Miss Matty. Henry Green in his *Knutsford, Its Traditions and History* (1859) testifies via an old inhabitant to the veracity of the anecdote of the cow in the flannel waistcoat in this first part.
- 13 'The Golden Legend', a review of Longfellow's poem of that title in the *Athenaeum*, and the review of a novel called *Spiritual Alchemy; Or, Trials Turned to Gold* in the same Journal possibly by EG. (Easson)
- (December) Tells Tottie she has written some stories about Cranford in *HW* and quotes her own phrase 'Elegant economy'.
- 21 Dickens tells EG he is delighted with the next paper, which he has called 'A Love Affair at Cranford'.
- 29 Susanna Winkworth's *Niebuhr* published. It sold out quickly, and a new edition was printed in the Autumn of 1852 with additions.
- 30 Concert with Katie Winkworth. Taking Mrs Preston from Skelwith, staying with them, to the Exhibition of pictures and to see the Exchange. Meta and Marianne to Knutsford for a week. Tells of the Dickens's fine town house and jokes about their purchase of a gold-plated dinner service. Party at the Sidney Potters on 7 January. She and WG will do something big on 14 January. James Martineau's visit has had to be put off.
- 30(?) 1851 To unknown about a Mr Travers who left the Church of England and has failed to find other permanent work – she says later she knows a clergyman who left the church on principle. He was not accepted as a tutor to the Darbishes – Froude was (Perhaps relevant to conception of Mr Hale in *North and South*.)

## 1852

During this year Watts presents the picture ('The Good Samaritan') to the Royal Manchester Institution in honour of Thomas Wright, who was given the subscription money collected for him. He went full-time in his work for the rehabilitation of prisoners.

### January

- (early?) To Tottie. Has been busy writing for the *Sunday School Penny Magazine* ('Bessy's Troubles at Home') which is published

this month. So slight as to be almost completely forgettable, with 15-years-old Bessy assuming responsibility – her mother is ill in Southport – and inevitably making mistakes (See 18 February 1852 for EG's comment.)

- 1 (Thurs.) Katie Winkworth congratulates her sister Susanna on *Niehuhr* – 400 copies sold, and WG 'put it down long ago at the Portico Library' (L&M i 325).
- 2 A party at the Gaskells.
- 3 'A Love Affair at Cranford' in *HW* IV.
- 9 'a children's affair at the Gaskells' (L&M i 321).
- 24 Dickens sends EG £9.10s for her second *Cranford* paper plus 10/- balance from 'Disappearances'.

## February

Continuation in the *Sunday School Penny Magazine* of 'Bessy's Troubles at Home'.

- (? – on a Sunday) EG writes from Capesthorpe to Julie Schwabe announcing success in getting the memorial for Mr Wright. Gives news of Mrs Davenport's wedding on the 11 February.
- 6 (Fri.) Charlotte Brontë concerned at Julia Gaskell's illness.
- 11 Dickens's's amateurs perform at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Play by Bulwer Lytton (*Not So Bad as We Seem*) plus one-act farce by editor of *Punch*, Mark Lemon.
- 17 To Mrs Fletcher. Further efforts for Thomas Wright.
- 18(?) (though given as 11 in *FL* 61) (Wed.) Met a number of family guests, details on dress, etc., talks of her visit to Capesthorpe, where Mrs Davenport, shortly to be Lady Hatherton, showed them her marriage clothes and accessories. A Mrs Blore is on the receiving end of the Gaskellian satirical treatment. She hopes they don't meet again because she measured everything by its monetary value. EG had gone home on about 5 February after a visit to the Sam Greys (Sam was ill) on the 3rd and 4th, then returned to Capesthorpe to stay over the weekend (7–8) to meet Lord Hatherton. Tenants took their leave of Mrs Davenport, who was much moved (9th), EG went to Chelford with her on the 10th. Mrs Davenport was married on 11th. Thurs. 11th was the date of the marriage (*FL* 64). [In 1852 Thursday was the 12th.]
- 18 Hopes Marianne is getting on as well with her singing as Meta is with her drawing (with some suspicion between the lines that she is not). Fretting about her having no lessons from Pergetti. Mrs Davenport is now Lady Hatherton: EG

has had an account of the wedding from Lord Hatherton. Asks Marianne what history of the French Revolution she is reading and puts herself down by observing that 'Bessy's Troubles at Home' is absolutely poor.

Tells James Crossley of an old aristocratic lady in reduced circumstances in Knutsford – another Mrs Davenport – a Literary Fund request for help. (See 3 June 1850 for earlier help to this lady.)

19 To Cobden (MP for Stockport) enlisting his support for Wright to get the government to raise its offer from £50 – they were hoping for £200 but expecting £100. Fine testimony to the natural modesty, humility and essential goodness of Wright himself.

25 Dickens supports Thomas Wright and has sent his own contribution to the subscription.

26 Has so much to do her wrist has become swollen with writing on behalf of Mr Wright. Much news, but wants to know about Pergetti and the work he is setting Marianne. EG has had a bad sore throat and cold (the Manchester effect – cold, damp, foggy). Pleased that Marianne and Meta appear to be appreciating each other lately. Does not know how long Meta will stay in London. Went to a party the previous evening (25 February) and is going to one at the Potters the next day (27 February), the Shuttleworths on Tuesday (2 March). Had some work to do for the *Athenaeum* as well. Up-to-date comments on greenhouse and garden.

28 Serialisation of *Bleak House* begins (to September 1853)

## March

Continuation of 'Bessy's Troubles at Home'.

2 (Tues.) Recommends boracic treatment to Marianne for the skin on her head (ever the practical mother), must thank Mrs Lalor for inviting Meta to visit – Emily Shaen has invited them (Meta and Marianne) to stay on a Saturday and Sunday, then ranges over her admiration for Lamartine's *Voyage en l'Orient*, the progress of the Wright testimonial, a falling out with the Darbishires. Instructs Marianne – 'Don't call Shifts Chemises. Take the pretty simple *English* word whenever you can' (*GL* 181). Tells her how Flossy and Julia met Miss Fergusson in the street: she didn't recognise them at first. Then EG switches to the garden vegetables, plants and greenhouse yield.

- 2 Writes to the impoverished Knutsford authoress Mrs Davenport by way of reassurance.
- 13 'Memory at Cranford' in *HW* IV.
- 13 or 16 John Forster finds *Cranford* so far completely tranquil and charming. He thinks the instalments delightful and hopes if Peter dies he will have left Matty comfortably provided for.
- 15 James Martineau, brother of Harriet Martineau, leading and somewhat controversial Unitarian, lectures on 'The Christian View of Human Nature' at Cross Street Chapel.
- 17 EG to Octavian Blewitt asking for help for Mrs Davenport. Husband has recently died and she has only £10 per annum. She had opened a small shop, it survived for a while, and now she has two sick daughters to look after. Hopes to get a lodger if she can obtain some assistance (With variations this may have fed into *Cranford* – Miss Matty's 'shop' sequence is published 7 May 1853.)
- 20 Publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (It had been serialised 5 June 1851 to 1 April 1852.) Stowe, like EG in 1845, had lost her young son (1849).
- 22 Another letter on the subject of Mrs Davenport revealing that one of her daughters is likely to be an invalid for life.
- 22 To Cobden further urging the case of Wright (who recently collapsed) and also asking help for the wife of a French refugee who needs to earn money.
- 24 Cobden hopes to get something from the government to help Wright.
- 26 Goes to large dance, 300 people attended.
- 27 Goes to the Fairbairns to dinner, but since she'd been up until 3 am the previous night was exhausted.
- 28 Sunday letter to Meta – Uncle Sam wants to give her a box of paints, so she must tell EG whether she has one or not. Reiterates how pleased she is that she and Polly (Marianne) are getting on so well; news of visit to dance, then dinner. The Hathertons have invited her (EG) to visit next week (Teddesley Park, Staffs) but despite the distance decides to go, will leave there on the 6 March (see below). Will depart on Tuesday (30 March). WG is going to North Devon for a few days at Easter – she may accompany him to London at Whitsun.

Tottie Fox arrives and stays until May.



30–6 April at Lord Hatherton's, where she talked to the head gardener about his Persian experiences and observations – material to hand for 'The Shah's English Gardener'. (See 19 June below.)

## April

Conclusion of 'Bessy's Troubles at Home'.

3 (Sat.) 'Visiting at Cranford' in *HW* V (but no more episodes sent for nearly a year).

26 Letter from Charlotte Brontë to EG praising the *Cranford* pieces she has read and the outline of *Ruth* which EG had sent her but protesting about the heroine having to die. 'My heart fails me already at the thought of the pang it will have to undergo' (*CBL* iii 43).

(late?) Tells Marianne their Tower house (Silverdale) is not available until 16 July. Gives her news, asks her if she is attending concerts, tells her that Captain Holland has bought Ashbourne Hall.

29 Asks Salis Schwabe about some calico designs which have gone astray.

30 Tells Julie Shwabe that when she is in London she has no doubt Marianne would like to receive a call from her.

## May

4 (Tues.) The family will be going to the Tower house at Silverdale but they can't accommodate a certain Miss Banks (the house was not that large) since WG doesn't like anyone strange in their home during a holiday – he likes to indulge practical jokes, go cockling, and to feel free to do and say what he wants. Perhaps she could come on the 23 May before they go to Silverdale on the 29 May, or perhaps at Christmas. Meta returns on 11 May. Looks forward to Marianne helping her with the fowls, pleased that she is getting more appropriate songs.

Katie Winkworth reveals the Gaskells are to stay in Bedford Row from Whit-Monday until the Saturday and gives an amusing account of WG being glad to be left on his own, indicating how humorous and delighted he had been, saying that he would not permit any more eating of their eggs (he would see that Emily had them). He boasted that he could make his bed without the aid of a housemaid. EG will probably remain till the 24 June to bring Marianne home from school. Then they go to Silverdale.

- 13 Tells Marianne she has had to change the servants, one of whom was often drunk. So glad to have Meta back. WG very apprehensive about the British Association meeting in Whit week. Goes on to say how much he dislikes speech-making, public meetings which ostentatiously 'do good' but adds that WG is himself quietly doing good in his own manner. Still absorbed in her farm work, which she details. Has a snipe at Marianne's teacher Mrs Lalor – 'She would "testify" a la Mause Headrigg against me' (*GL* 188), a reference to the overbearing Covenanting woman in Scott's *Old Mortality* (1816).
- 19 To Marianne full of news, nagging her about Pergetti – went to Mary Robberds' marriage on 18 May – going to Emily Shaen's with WG on Monday (24 May) for three or four days. EG may stay on to bring Marianne back. Account of usual frenetic social activity.
- 21 Thanks Lord Hatherton for getting her details of a Cornish ballad which she wanted for Forster, who used it on 20 November 1852 in *HW*.
- 22 Charlotte Brontë finds 'Visiting at Cranford' gives 'that sort of pleasure which seems always too brief in its duration' (*CBL* iii 47).
- 23(?) Tells Mary Cowden Clarke they leave for London on Friday next (28 May?). Much on Mr Darbishire and his thinking money a substitute for action. Real good comes from personal action and interaction.
- 28 Presumably to London.
- 31 EG and WG to the Shaens for three or four days.
- (Wed. c. May 1852) Animated range of reference again – EG getting up dandelions, incessantly trying to persuade Tottie to come to Silverdale with them, asks if it is true that Mrs Ruskin is separated from her husband – then more on her farming – then on Susanna Winkworth and WG – Susanna snubs her and is obviously attracted to WG so that he says only EG being alive protects him from marriage with Susanna. 'I wish you could hear him speaking thus in a meek fatalist kind of way, and I believe she *would* too' (*GL* 190). Superb jocularity with Tottie, urging her to marry Susanna to Forster so that she, EG, can die peacefully knowing her husband is safe from harm. Meta is absorbed by politics and painting (Tottie did in fact go to Silverdale.)

## June

5 (Sat.) WG returns to Manchester for British Association meeting (?). EG writes to Marianne from Bedford Square making arrangements for them to see Lady Coltman – she herself will afterwards see Mr Maurice.

19 ‘The Shah’s English Gardener’ in *HW*. Reflects EG’s variety of interests and her ability to turn them into practical form. Based on EG’s stay at Lord Hatherton’s 30 March–6 April and talks with his head gardener.

**(July-August)** Holiday at their much-loved Silverdale.

## July

Katie Winkworth at Silverdale. Letter from Emily to Katie – ‘Tell Lily I never knew till I was here, one delicious thing I had to thank her for, – the ice everyday through all that suffocating weather, in Bedford Row, – it was such a comfort, and so nice of her to think of it’ (L&M i 351).

18–20 (Sun.–Tues.) Katie to Emily – the Gaskells have a pony carriage – WG drives them out towards Beetham Fells. Stephen Winkworth is made welcome by the Gaskells, who are probably returning to Manchester the following week. ‘Lily is well and writes at “Ruth” in the mornings up in the Tower. Mr Gaskell highly agreeable and looks very handsome in his country costume’ (L&M i 353).

## August

3 (Tues.) Katie to Emily from the Laund Farmhouse, Bolton Bridge, describing theirs and EG/WG’s movements the previous week – on Wednesday morning (28 July) they went from Silverdale to Borwick Hall near Wharton – Katie and Marianne were left to explore the area. Visited Clapham, ordered rooms for the whole party, who arrived late that evening. The next day (29 July) they explored Clapham, returning to find Lily ready with the pony chaise, Meta and WG had gone ahead walking, Lily drove by the longer road but got lost, was upset but rallied after porter and biscuits. Set off again, fortunately encountered WG and Meta. They went to Malham Cove while WG set off walking. Following day (30 July) they explored Gargrave, then on to Skipton, finally to Bolton Abbey (Saturday 31 July) (Landscape possibly inspired certain scenes in *Ruth*.)

5 Got back to Manchester.

- 16 Writes to Sir John Potter, recalling the murder of Thomas Ashton (1831) but says there were other murders which showed her how the hatred of angry workmen could boil over. Wishes to give *Mary Barton* to the Free Library. Not influenced by the Ashton murder in *Mary Barton*, expresses great regret for unintentional grief she may have caused the Ashton family (Potter's brother had married Mary Ashton, sister of the murdered man.)
- 23 Agreement with Chapman over *Ruth*: EG will receive £500 on the day it is published.
- 28 Tells Marianne that Julia has not been well, they sat up with her, but she went to Bowden with EG and WG the previous day. Packed with family news, visits and visitors. Emily Shaen very glad to hear from Marianne and thanks her for her kindness.
- 31 WG attends dinner at the Manchester Athenaeum which was held to honour the Guild of Literature and Art.

## September

- 1 (Wed.) Dickens invites EG to an amateur dramatic production: she goes behind the scenes to see the play.
- 2 Opening of the Free Library in Manchester: speeches by Dickens and Lord Shaftesbury, EG and Meta attend, EG reports Thackeray's caricature drawings and his breaking down when he speaks.
- 3 Sixth birthday party for Julia. Visit from Monckton Milnes.
- 4 Tells Marianne of visit by Dickens, Mrs Dickens and Miss Hogarth prior to 10 a.m. on the 1 September. Review of week as ever.
- 10 Birthday letter for Marianne (12 September) – the house is being painted, they have bought a new cow, an Alderney.
- 14 Death of the Duke of Wellington (Charlotte Brontë's hero from her early years).
- 21 Has heard Father Newman preach (on the 19 September) Reflexive domestic concerns, could not go to a schools' examination at Swinton on the 20 September – and the new cow's name is Daisy!
- 25 Tells Marianne that Thackeray's lecture dates are Tuesdays and Thursdays
- 28 WG attends Thackeray's lecture.
- 29 EG's 42nd birthday.
- 30 EG and friends attend Thackeray's lecture.

## October

- 1 (Fri.) WG obviously worried since Marianne seems not to be persevering – does not want her to cancel her lessons with Pergetti just when she is achieving something. Thackeray said he would call today but hasn't done so.
- 2 To Marianne reporting that they had dined with Thackeray at the Scotts' on Thursday (30 September) before the lecture, EG having obtained Dr Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* with which Thackeray was dealing. She enjoyed the lectures – Thackeray sails for America 30 October. She and WG have influenza. Invited by Mrs Fletcher to Loughrigg any day after the 15 October.
- (mid) staying in the Lake District – letter to Tottie. Writes 'The Old Nurse's Story'.
- (October?) to Marianne – loose itinerary – visit of two stimulating Trinity men – Windermere, Fox How (home of the Arnolds), without letters, longing for the dinner at Lancrigg. Wants to see Mrs Wordsworth, Miss Martineau. Of *Ruth* says she can't bear to think of it being published and may further delay it.
- (some time in October) *The History of Henry Esmond* published (Thackeray's preface dated 18 October).
- To Tottie from Lesketh How (the Davys' home). Bringing her up to date with her own news – the killing of the pig, how she had been too busy to put herself out for visitors (WG too occupied to pay them any attention) so that she had to get on with practical domestic concerns while carrying on aesthetic conversations. Disturbed since the company 'smashed into Ruth' (GL 205). Chapman invited her to Duke of Wellington's funeral. Forster gave Chapman the MS of *Ruth*: first two volumes are printed.
- 25 From Lancrigg to Mary Carpenter – warm commendation of Mrs Fletcher and her daughter Mrs Davy, though they have given up Harriet Martineau probably because of her irreligious views.
- 28 From Ambleside to Forster – dined with Mrs Wordsworth on Monday. Reminiscences of Wordsworth, story of his returning to Ambleside to alter a line. Though Mrs Wordsworth greatly respected Coleridge she remembers him waking them up early in the morning 'after her confinement, when quiet was particularly enjoined, to ask for eggs and bacon!' (GL 208).

## November

- 6 (Sat.) Dickens to EG suggesting changes for 'The Old Nurse's Story'. He will make the alterations if she agrees – or she can make them – or it can stand. He is trying to achieve an even greater climactic ending.
- 9 Dickens reiterates the need for the ending to be reconsidered.
- 12 Forster writes to EG about *Ruth*, saying he finds the forgery incident and the consequent situation with regard to Benson and the Bradshaws integral to the development of the plot.
- 15 To Marianne – much practical discussion of dress, particularly a cloak, telling her to try to find suitable coats for Flossy and Julia, on the same lines as the one which Mrs Carlyle bought for her in Chelsea last winter and which is very warm. She wants to hear something of the Duke's funeral and more about the Chapman family. Concerned about the forthcoming publication of *Ruth*, says she won't be giving away any copies: 'I hate publishing because of the talk people make' (GL 209). Doesn't know when the novel will come out. Mrs Arnold would be happy to have Marianne at Fox How in the future.
- 16 Tennyson's 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington' published.
- 17 Katie Winkworth at Plymouth Grove: spends pleasurable day with Lily.
- 18 Susanna Winkworth exclaims about the impressive funeral of the Duke of Wellington. The Shuttleworths visited EG.
- 19 List of dinner guests includes Geraldine Jewsbury, Stephen Winkworth, Taylers, Ewarts.
- 20(?) EG tells Mary Green Meta is enthralled with Thackeray, loves *Esmond*. Uncertain about *Ruth*, will it ever be written? Is going to think out what she needs to revise and say. Doubts whether Mary would really want *Ruth* in her family, is being panicked because Chapman says two volumes are printed. She and Meta enjoyed the Lake District though she was ill for part of the stay, obviously worrying about *Ruth*. Katie Winkworth staying with them and still there, spends evening with Lily going over *Ruth*.
- 20 Charlotte Brontë finishes *Villette*.
- 22 Feels Marianne has been cool about the Duke's funeral – pointing out the cost was to be preferred to expenditure on

the 1851 Great Exhibition from which Manchester is still suffering. Rosa Mitchell is leaving. EG says Marianne will teach her younger sisters for a period since they don't like having a governess in the house – it interferes with their privacy. Catalogues list of visitors. They are getting a piano at Broadwood's, they will be subscribing to Charles Hallé's concerts in the coming winter. Packing in of guests and social activities: is proud of WG's steady application in his habits of work.

- 22 Katie (from Plymouth Grove) tells Emily Shaen of all the good WG is doing – 'Lily is proud that he is appreciated by people whose appreciation she cares for' (L&M i 369). *Ruth* has yet to be completed, EG full of doubts, but gradually, hopefully, working things out in her own mind. They have been going through *Ruth* carefully taking out anything superfluous – all the corrections are Lily's own. EG read it aloud to Katie. Lily on the sofa today having hurt her leg at the Lakes, still reading *Ruth* closely. WG's fine committee work and the respect he is accorded are emphasised.
- 23 Katie goes home.
- 24 Visits the Sidney Potters. Katie Winkworth praises *Esmond* – she and Lily agree in thinking Thackeray the greatest novelist they know.
- 25 Winkworths to dinner – WG and Meta go with them to the concert.
- 26 Dinner party at the Shuttleworths.
- c27 Reveals Meta is going to school at Miss Martineau's (at Liverpool) in January (1853). This is in consequence of Rosa Mitchell's departure, perhaps allowing for the difficulty of Marianne teaching the younger children if Meta were still there. Crammed with news of visits and visitors.
- 29 To Lady Bell enquiring if the situation of governess with Lady Mounteagle's nieces is still vacant – has it in mind for Charlotte Winkworth (25) who can offer German, Music, French, Drawing.

## December

- 1 (Wed.) Dickens still nagging about the ending of 'The Old Nurse's Story'. At the end of his letter is the word 'Cranford???' , presumably Dickens's way of asking for more! (*Pilgrim* 6. 812).

- (December, a Tuesday) Taxing Marianne for not being anxious to come home, and recording WG's disapproval. EG is feeling poorly. Too many visitors plus the prospect of more.
- 4 Dickens gives way gracefully over the ending of 'The Old Nurse's Story' (he had wanted only the child to see the apparitions).
- 7 To Marianne. Stays with the Edward Wilmots at Hulme Walfield, Cheshire, their home being very close to Congleton. She arrived there previous day.
- 8 Goes to Capesthorpe.
- 9 Returns home. Prospect of more entertaining and dining out (Friday 10 December) and following week.
- (After 8th) Tells Elizabeth Holland she will have a quiet Christmas. Interestingly observes 'I wonder if odd bundles of old letters would amuse you in your confinement?' (*GL* 218). (Connects with *Cranford*, ch. 5.) Boasts lightly that she is now a poultry farmer. Has a premonition that something miserable will occur over Christmas period. Marianne to have music lessons from Charles Hallé.
- 11 1852(?) EG writes to an unknown correspondent that she would only write for *HW* – measure of her regard for Dickens – and in general she disapproves of writing for periodicals – a curious statement in view of how much she had done – and would continue to do.
- 15 Charlotte Brontë describes Nicholls's proposal of marriage to Ellen Nussey (it was on the 13 November).
- 17 Dickens still concerned about the ending (of 'The Old Nurse's Story') though accepting it as it is. Thanks EG for her praise of 'The Child's Story': he is indeed the author!
- 20 Tells Tottie Fox that *Ruth* is completed at last and has been sent to the printers. She fears Charlotte Brontë has been ill – would like to go and see how she is.
- 20 The printers have *Ruth* and according to the agreement it will be published within one month.
- 21 John Forster receives the final proofs of *Ruth*.
- 23 Beautiful concert by the Hallé.
- 24(?) To Marianne wishing her a happy Christmas, and that she was with them, but saying they will be quiet and will celebrate on New Year's Day.
- (December) Extra Christmas number of *HW* contains 'The Old Nurse's Story'. Again shows EG's talent for atmosphere, here Gothic



in a Northumberland manor, with organ music, bitter cold, child's footprints, strong sense of the macabre.

c25 To Mary Green about *Ruth* and the crowded nature of her own life. Would love to come to Knutsford. Thinks her book will be published shortly (in fact it was on 10 January 1853). Says they have many visitors for Christmas plus an inefficient servant.

c27(?) Adopts a jocular tone with Edward Chapman, calling him irritating because he has sent her *Ruth* which she's read and not 'Francis Croft' which she hasn't (shows EG trying to keep up with contemporary fiction, albeit of dubious merit).

EG's behaviour was recalled in this year by the prolific minor novelist Eliza Lynn Linton (in 1899) – she said that EG's treatment of her was perfection, and that she did not look down on her or condescend to her.

## 1853

WG borrows *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from the Portico.

Katie Winkworth publishes *Lyra Germanica*, which goes into five editions by 1857.

General build-up to the Russo-Turkish crisis which ultimately escalates into the Crimean War.

Nathaniel Hawthorne is appointed American Consul at Liverpool (to 1857).

### January

–June publication of 'Lizzie Leigh' in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*.

3 (Mon.) EG writes to Eliza Patterson asking her if she would come and help at their small dance on the 4 January and asking her advice about arrangements, cooking costs, etc.

8 'The Great Cranford Panic I' in *HW VI*.

10 *Ruth* published by Chapman and Hall, 3 vols, 31/6. EG got £500 for the copyright. Ecclestone may be derived in part from Macclesfield: Sharps points out the incidence of cholera in Newcastle in 1831 when ES was staying. But the Silverdale and North Wales locations are also present in the novel. One of Crabbe's 'Tales of the Hall' is called '*Ruth*' and in view of EG's familiarity with Crabbe this may be the source of the title. Great praise for the novel from Kingsley, from Florence Nightingale, who would observe later that it was beautiful and that she preferred it even more than when she first read it.

- 12 Charlotte Brontë writes to EG greatly praising Sally (the Bensons' servant) in *Ruth*. Reveals Smith will defer publication of *Villette* until 24 January (see 28 January below) which will give *Ruth* earlier notice in the reviews. She will arrange for the delay to be extended if necessary, adding generously that *Villette* should not take precedence. EG had apparently written imploringly that *Ruth* should not clash with *Villette*.
- 15 'The Great Cranford Panic 2' in *HW* VII.
- 15 *Sharpe's London Magazine* considers that *Ruth's* innocence and naïveté are not typical of her class, and that novel should not be read in families.
- 15 Unsigned notice (but by H. F. Chorley) in the *Athenaeum* qualifies its praise by asserting that the logic of the novel and its execution are poor, picking out Benson's conduct as impossible (the saving lie about *Ruth* being a widow).
- 15 Tells Monckton Milnes that she found she was unable to estimate whether she had been successful or had failed in *Ruth*.
- c16(?) Letter from EG to Eliza Patterson congratulating her on the birth of a son the day before to Agnes.
- 17 Forster considers *Ruth* beautifully conceived and written throughout.
- 19 Charlotte Brontë tells Ellen Nussey that she has held back *Villette* in response to a plea from EG that they should not be in conflict.
- 22 'Cumberland Sheep-Shearers' in *HW* VI. Keswick farm location probably derives from family visit there in 1848 or 1849 – there is a reference to '3 years ago'. Marvell, Wordsworth and *Emma* are mentioned, but evocation of field farming on a hot summer's day is sublimely anticipatory of *Cousin Phillis* ten years later. This atmospheric, factual, graphic re-creation is 'an informed account of farming methods and problems' (Sharps 171).
- 22 Forster's notice of *Ruth* in the *Examiner* notes its Wordsworthian influences.
- 22 After much praise George Henry Lewes in the radical *Leader* concludes that no one should fail to read *Ruth*.
- 23 Notice in the *Observer* commends *Ruth* for its essential goodness and humanity.
- c25 Thanks Mary Green for her response to *Ruth*, but says she fears the seduction plot will not be thought a suitable subject for fiction.

- (before 27) Tells Anne Robson that she has asked people not to write to her because she would be upset by dislike and condemnation of *Ruth*. Suffering much pain, though she is glad she wrote the novel: it is banned in her own home as in others, but she hopes to read it with Marianne when the time is right. 'I have spoken out my mind ... what was meant so earnestly *must* do some good ... I am in a quiver of pain about it... . crying all Saty night at the unkind things people were saying' (GL 221). But turns to news of Meta, who is going to Miss Martineau's on the 27 January. Need of support evident – wants Anne to come and stay with them. Won't admit comparisons between *Ruth* and *Mary Barton*.
- 26 *Nonconformist* praises the knowledge of human character, the true to life dialogue, the graphic descriptions of *Ruth*.
- 28 Publication of *Villette*.
- 29 *The Morning Post* registers the elevated treatment of ordinary events in *Ruth*.

## February

The *New Monthly Magazine* calls *Ruth* a most miserable, sad novel.

- 1 (Tues.) Marian Evans (George Eliot) writes a friend that *Ruth's* 'style was a great refreshment to me, from its finish and fulness', though she added that it would not 'be an enduring or classical fiction', since Mrs Gaskell 'is not contented with the subdued colouring – the half tints of real life'. She acknowledges that EG 'has certainly a charming mind, and one cannot help loving her as one reads her books' (*The George Eliot Letters* ii 86).
- 2 The *Guardian* finds the presentation of *Ruth* moving but suggests that her guilt is minimal given the situation she is in. Though dubious about Benson's role, the reviewer finds the story possess a rare beauty, noting its Wordsworthian associations.
- 2 The *Manchester Examiner and Times* defends Benson's action and praises the integrity of *Ruth*.
- 2 Writes to William Beaumont about the discovery of papers at Lyme Hall, and virtually requests access to them for Forster, who is revising his *Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth*.
- 3 The Chevalier Bunsen records his admiration of *Ruth* – especially observing that the 'inner side of Dissenting life

is very cleverly pourtrayed'. He admires EG's bravery: 'Ruth *must needs* perish, but atoned and glorified' (L&M i 380).

3 Reviewer in *Bentley's Miscellany* responds enthusiastically to *Ruth*, asserting that it is a very noble plea for charity and far exceeds any sermon in effect.

(before 14) Confides to Tottie Fox she has suffered from a 'Ruth' fever (medically influenza), observing 'I think I must be an improper woman without knowing it' (FL 81). She tells how two men have burnt the first volume of the novel, a third has banned his wife from reading it, and they attend the same chapel as EG. Gives news of Marianne's teaching and the fact that they are expecting a brood of chickens to be hatched. Otherwise somewhat depressing tone.

7 Crabb Robinson regards *Ruth* as a considerable advance on *Mary Barton*.

9 Katie Winkworth tells Eliza Patterson (of *Ruth*) 'One thing I admire very much is the reticence, the quiet, even tone of the whole work, the absence of anything like exaggeration.' Points out EG is suffering much just now, though Mrs J. J. Tayler and Mrs Tagart approve of the novel and have given it to their daughters. Mr Winkworth feels that *Ruth* had more 'real Christianity in it than in whole volumes of orthodox theology' (L&M i 382–3).

10 EG tells Monckton Milnes what great care she took in writing *Ruth* and thanks him for liking it.

12 The *Sun* praises the novel for conveying the true message of Christianity.

12 First American edition of *Ruth* published.

14 Katie Winkworth tells Eliza Patterson she has had two or three days with the Gaskells – gives news of Clough's forthcoming marriage to Blanche Smith.

c14 Letter to Geraldine Jewsbury hoping her cold is better, asking for a copy of the *Athenaeum* and if she has received the copy of *Villette* which EG sent her.

15–16 Crabb Robinson still gaining much pleasure from *Ruth* but could not finish it – has no doubt that *Ruth* and her son will die!

21 Letter from Dickens to EG rejecting the writings she has submitted to him on behalf of a woman writer.

## March

A comment on *Ruth* in *Eliza Cook's Journal* says that the heroine's sin was on account of her ignorance.

- 7 (Mon.)    Revealing letter to Anna Jameson saying women more than men disapprove of what she has written in *Ruth*. Believes she has helped by making more people discuss the subject than hitherto. Three or four men have written to her approving what she has said. Obviously still very upset by adverse criticism.
- 10        To Mary Rich – rambling, gossipy, concerned about chimney sweeps (the employment of under age labour), worried about Thomas Wright's health. She is going to visit a prison which has been commended for its organisation and cleanliness. Meta happy at Miss Martineau's. Records her own illness, laid up for five weeks with influenza.
- 12        EG treasures letter from Mrs Stanley, mother of Dean Stanley, who has given her various approving opinions of *Ruth* from men.
- 16        Katie Winkworth says Lily is in need of a change.
- 20        *The Times* notes the connection of *Ruth* with Hester Prynne in Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (published early in 1850).
- 21        Cobden tells Mrs Schwabe he has read *Ruth* and says that he was deeply moved by EG's bravery and concern, but felt that the novel would be thought unsuitable reading for single women.
- 23        Katie Winkworth observes to Emma Shaen that Lily is in low spirits, obviously much brought down by what has been said about *Ruth*. Cares particularly about adverse reactions in Knutsford, but records great praise from Mr Scott, Bunsen, F. D. Maurice, Archdeacon Hare, Hallam, Monckton Milnes.

Susanna Winkworth writes to Emily from W. R. Greg's at Windermere, describing among other things a cordial visit from Harriet Martineau, though she thought *Ruth* a very 'poor' book 'which she was sorry Mrs Gaskell should have published' ((L&M i 395).

## April

John Relly Beard (Home Mission colleague of WG's training working class men for the Ministry) in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* comments (re *Ruth*) on the outrageously distorted punishment for women as compared to that of men.

- 1 (Fri.) G. H. Lewes reviews *Ruth* and *Villette* in the *Westminster Review* praising the moral quality of *Ruth*, the latter being 'moonlight' to *Villette's* 'sunlight'.
- 2 'Stopped Payment at Cranford' in *HW* VII.
- 7 Letter to Lady K-S saying she would like to discuss *Ruth* and mentioning Hood's poem where he says that evil is often practised by 'want of thought' (*GL* 227). (The poem is 'The Lady's Dream'.) She will help the organisation for disabled gentlewomen if the responsibilities are not too demanding. Observes 'The difference between Miss Brontë and me is that she puts all her naughtiness into her books, and I put all my goodness' (*GL* 228), whereas her (EG's) own books are so much better than she is herself that she experiences a sense of shame at having written them. Praises *Villette* as being a proper record of one part of Charlotte's life, a somewhat naïve judgment in view of what she was to learn – and suppress – later. Some astute analysis by EG of Charlotte's suffering and already an interest – intensely subjective – in biographical detail.
- 10 Continuation to Lady K-S: EG indicates that she will probably go to Paris on 13 May, staying until the 23 May, have a little time in London on her return. Says that WG is working on facts for a report on the more effective control of places of amusement (this is in relation to children).
- 10 Dickens declines invitation from WG to speak on 18 April to help raise funds for the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association.
- 11 Harriet Martineau writes Fanny Wedgwood (of *Ruth*) noting its attractions, but feels it is wrong-headed and is critical of Benson. But she praises the latest *Cranford* episode (perhaps a reference to 'Stopped Payment at Cranford', see 2 April above).
- 13 Dickens writes EG offering encouragement and reassurance: telling her she can collect *Cranford* papers and publish as suits her. He is happy with the last received instalments of *Cranford* – tells her she can never write too much for *HW* – 'I receive you, ever (if Mr. Gaskell will allow me to say so) with open arms' (*Pilgrim* 7.62).
- 14 Charlotte Brontë writes to EG about her visit to the Gaskells on the 21 April.

- 19 Clough's initial reaction to *Ruth* is that it lacks courage in its views and is somewhat awkward.
- 20 Clough in partial revision of his previous day's judgment now considers that it is laudable though still feels it is not brave enough.
- 21–28 Charlotte Brontë staying at Plymouth Grove with the Gaskells, where she met among others Katie Winkworth. Charlotte went on to visit Ellen Nussey at Birstall.
- 22 Charlotte Brontë suffering from severe headache.
- 22–24 Tells a Miss Bell? she feels Charlotte Brontë would rather like to attend the play performance, 'at least such is her feeling in the quiet repose of today' (*FL* 85). (See 25 April below.)
- 25 Performance of a local society's *Twelfth Night* During her stay, Charlotte became very attached to EG's youngest daughter Julia

## May

- 2 (Mon.) To Ann Coltman (née Byerley) thanking her for her approval of *Ruth*. Evidence of EG's continuing to keep in touch with old friends and of her need for reassurance.
- 3 Tells Forster Charlotte Brontë resents Harriet Martineau's remarks on *Villette*, but is critical of the *Examiner's* on *Esmond*, which said that it was not an enduring work. Describes Charlotte's bitterness over some humiliations and also her sensitivity over her plain appearance. Praises Millais' painting at the Academy this year ('The Proscribed Royalist' or 'The Order of Release'). She did not know the title for the penultimate instalment of *Cranford* was 'Friends in Need at Cranford'. Says that the *HW* people choose her titles for her, she rarely sees the magazine, can't remember how many *Cranford* pieces she has written. Charlotte Brontë wishes to be remembered to Forster and obviously thinks of him warmly. (EG is really consulting Forster in this letter because she has misgivings about letting Chapman have *Cranford*: but Forster, as Chapman's literary editor, would almost certainly see that he took it for book publication.) Charlotte Brontë stayed the week from Thursday to Thursday (21–28 May) – but didn't care for Manchester. She was afraid of loving EG too much, feeling that she herself never stimulated love.
- 3 Dickens's letter about the serious subject of her (forthcoming) story, advising EG to go ahead and just send

what she writes to him. Says *Ruth* would not have called Bellingham 'Sir,' when they were at the hotel in North Wales (*Pilgrim* 7.76).

cMay Tells Katie Winkworth there is a delicious notice (of *Ruth*) in the *North British Review*. (This is by Ludlow but it does contain some criticism. Praises the complete simplicity and essential truth, but points out overuse of certain words like 'pretty' and 'beautiful' and says the love story of Jemima and Farquhar is too drawn out.)

6 Madame Mohl thanks EG for *Cranford*, which gave her great pleasure.

7 'Friends in Need at Cranford' in *HW VII*.

About this time Bell's Library withdraws *Ruth*.

The *Prospective Review* says EG's object in *Ruth* was to protest against current convention which treats sinner and victim alike and accepts lightly the crime of seduction.

13-23 EG and WG in Paris, stayed with the Schwabes but Mrs Schwabe ill: as a consequence saw much of Madame Mohl, 'Clarkey', whom she had met in England, probably some years previously. One result of the visit was 'My French Master'.

17 Madame Mohl greatly taken with EG, praising her talent, her common sense and her modesty.

21 'A Happy Return to Cranford' in *HW VII*.

26 From London, praises Marianne for looking after WG. EG visited Mr Nash's Westminster reform schools. Says she is going to Crix on the 28 May. Planning July visit to Beechwood, Southampton (to see the Duckworths). Writes a long letter to WG on the 26 May.

27 Goes to Covent Garden. Dinner that evening includes Monckton-Milneses, Milman, Trevelyan.

27(?) Dinner parties and crowded visits report to Emily Shaen – Macaulay, Hallam, Palgrave, Carlyle among those she will see or hopes to see.

27 (Mr Nicholls leaves Haworth.)

28 To Crix – coming back on 30 May.

29 Sunday evening. Describes the above social whirl to Marianne – says she is staying (in London) until 7-8 June. She is invited to visit Charlotte Brontë on 9 June (In fact she did not go.)

30 Another dinner party at Lady Coltman's.

31 Dines with the Milneses. Visits the zoo.



## June

- 1 (Wed.) The invitation from Charlotte Brontë to Haworth for 9 June – ‘you must come out to barbarism, loneliness, and liberty’ (CBL iii 172).
- 1 Emile Montégut (*Revue des Deux Mondes*) writes of *Mary Barton* and *Ruth*, saying of the first that it is not merely about the Bartons but about the city (Manchester). The novels support his theory of the power of feeling at the present time.
- June(?) 1853(?) Writes to Leopold Ranke commending Susanna Winkworth as the translator of Niebuhr and setting out her credentials as translator for Ranke.
- (early) reports meeting Thackeray at the Milmans, observing how considerate, sensitive and happy he is. He has been completely won over by the Americans and won’t hear any criticism of them.
- 3 Katie Winkworth to Alice Winkworth. from Bedford Row. Heard Maurice preach on 29 May.
- 4 Writes to Mrs Charlotte Holland from Wimpole Street – Saturday morning – either visiting Mrs F. D. Maurice that evening and perhaps going to see Rachel (celebrated French tragic actress, the Vashti of *Villette*) on Monday (6 June) or visiting Mrs Maurice on Monday. EG detained in London by an unforeseen business matter.
- 5 or 6(?) Patrick Brontë writes EG that Charlotte is ill.
- 7(?) To John F. M. Ludlow. EG acknowledges and expands upon his understanding of *Ruth* and the quality of his writing about the novel – delighted that what she had said was so fully appreciated and comprehended. She then repeats what she has said elsewhere about Charlotte Brontë’s life and situation. Tells him one of her children wrote her – ‘The chickens are quite well; they only want to see you, and then they would be hens’ (FL 91).
- 9(?) Writes to Ludlow again from Hyde Park. EG upset by anonymous review of *Ruth* in the *Spectator* of 15 January. Initiates discussion with him about the superiority of married women writers over single women which had been raised in the review. Mentions the French philosopher Victor Cousin whom she was to meet later (in February/March 1855) in Paris. From his written work on Madame de Sablé she was to evolve ‘Company Manners’. (See 20 May 1854 below.)

- 16(?) EG back in Manchester, writes to Ludlow from Plymouth Grove, apologising for not saying goodbye to him, and continuing to tell him about her friend Mrs Glover, mentioned in the letter of 9 June?, who is suffering from cancer and being operated on that day.
- 18 Publication of 1 volume edition of *Cranford* (7/6). WG gives receipt of £100 for the printing of 1500 copies.
- Charlotte Brontë puts off her visit to Manchester until the autumn.
- 19 1853(?) Tells Julie Schwabe she has met Mrs Stowe and likes her very much indeed, 'very true & simple & thoroughly unspoiled & unspoilable' (GL 237). Deals with various schemes of social help and reclamation which she has thoroughly investigated. Suggests she (EG) stays with Julie Schwabe bringing Julia and Florence on 2 July. WG to join them on Monday 4 July, stay on until 7 July (Thursday) Then pick up Meta and Marianne and make their little tour of Normandy.
- 20(?) To Mrs Anne Scott continuing the account of Mrs Glover, her operation, visited her at Barts, ideas of cure by mesmerism since ordinary medical practice can do nothing. Laying on of hands on the sick – she herself has unfortunately been rather cynical re mesmerism.
- Maurice's *Theological Essays* published, dedicated to Tennyson.
- 23 Kingsley writes to EG saying how much real *Ladies* have appreciated *Ruth*: among his acquaintances he has been aware of a unanimity about the elevated and sincerely religious nature of the novel.
- 25 To Ludlow – Mr Glover undecided what to do. The mesmerism debate continues.
- 25 H. F. Chorley in the *Athenaeum* calls *Cranford* already an established classic and thoroughly good in its effect.
- 29 Susanna to Katie Winkworth from Crix – she has been to Owens College for the prize-giving with WG, they met W. R. Greg, and she got Lily and Emily from Plymouth Grove to dine with them. EG and Greg got along very well, talked of their London visits, and were pleased to have met again.

## July

EG leaving home the next day perhaps for more than a month (to Wales then France).

- 1 (Fri.) Another bulletin on Mrs Glover to Ludlow – evidence of EG’s capacity for devoted friendship and practical commitment.
- 2 Mudie takes *Cranford* for his circulating library, an indicator of its coming popularity.
- (July) The *Gentleman’s Magazine* reviews *Ruth*, saying it brings out the malpractice of punishing the woman only, though the seducer is hardly welcomed by society either before or after the crime.
- 5 Staying near Holyhead, going to visit South Stack light-house but wishes there were fewer visitors – likes to move freely, to be out and contemplating views, not holding restricted conversations. This is 2–7 July visit to the Schwabes in their North Wales place at Glyn Garth, Anglesey. Tells Marianne to be in Bloomsbury following Saturday (9 July). Arrived here on Saturday (2 July), WG arrived on 4 July.
- 9 Charlotte Brontë praises *Cranford* for its penetration, tolerance, insight. Comments on busy social life of EG, asking if she can cut herself off from it ‘as to be quite *your own woman*’ (CBL iii 182).
- 13 From Beechwood near Southampton acknowledges Benjamin Brodie’s sending her a musical setting of Matthew Arnold’s ‘The Forsaken Mermaid’ – modestly saying that she likes the melody but has scant knowledge of music, so her appreciation counts for very little. (The poem is in *The Strayed Reveller and Other Poems*, 1849.)
- 16 Elizabeth Barrett Browning on *Ruth* expressing her gratitude to EG ‘as a woman’ for her treatment of such a subject. Echoes Charlotte Brontë’s comment though – ‘Was it quite impossible but that your Ruth should *die*?’ Hopes they can meet when she and Robert are in London next summer. Browning feels as she feels about *Ruth* (Waller 42–3).
- 18 1853(?) To F. J. Furnivall telling him she is about to leave for Normandy and giving him a breakdown of the various lecture halls in Manchester he might consider suitable for his visit.
- 19–onwards Little tour of Normandy. No definite information.

## August

- 5 (Fri.) First American edition of *Cranford*.
- 20(?) Second impression of *Cranford*.

- 31 Charlotte Brontë urges EG 'Come to Haworth as soon as you can: the heath is in bloom now ...' (CBL iii 191).

## September

- 3 (Sat.) Mudie takes 150 copies of *Cranford*.
- 15 Patrick Brontë invites EG to Haworth: the following day Charlotte asks her to come on the 19 September.
- 19 EG arrived in Haworth for 4 days (until 23 September)
- 19 Dickens intent on more contributions from EG – anything she writes is bound to be very good. She duly sends 'The Squire's Story'.
- 25 Charlotte Brontë tells EG that after her departure 'the house felt very much as if the shutters had been suddenly closed and the blinds let down' (CBL iii 194).
- 29 Approach from the publisher Bentley: EG in response takes on the role of relief pharmacist by recommending viratrin ointment to him for neuralgic tic, something from which she herself has suffered – the treatment she has been advised to follow by her cousin, the eminent Sir Henry Holland – another instance of EG's occasional name-dropping. Enigmatically says that at this time she doesn't think of writing for publication again. Asks him if he publishes *Christie Johnstone* (by Charles Reade) and tells him to put the price in since libraries will not buy it without. (WG borrowed it from the Portico this year and again in 1856.)
- c29 To Hall, Virtue acknowledging the fact that Fredrika Bremer is going to send her a copy of her travel book following the Swedish writer's extended visit to America (it was published in this year and translated by Mary Howitt as *Homes of the New World*).
- 29 Letter from Bremer, 'Dear Elizabeth, dear sister in spirit, if I may call you so, give me your hand in sympathy and in work for the oppressed and neglected of our own sex' (quoted Rubenius 41).

(almost certainly after 29) Describes to Forster(?) the Haworth visit, 'the pestiferous churchyard' (GL 242) and gives many details – the kind welcome, the love of household arrangements, Mr Brontë's dining alone, the loaded pistol incident, the old servant Tabby, Charlotte's wildness and imagination and much more which served as copy for and is included in *The Life*. Wishes to say little about Branwell, suggests that he didn't know Charlotte had written *Jane Eyre*.

## October

- 5 (Wed.) To Bentley hoping that the viratria is doing some good, commends Susanna Winkworth's *Niebuhr*, repeats need to put price of *Christie Johnstone* into the advertisements.
- 7 Long letter from Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Next summer she will be in London for a time: says EG has the power of bringing goodness into people's lives. Can never really talk about her past; but expresses delight in her child, and says enigmatically 'Imprudent marriages are the most prudent marriages according to my philosophy... . I congratulate you, dear Mrs Gaskell, from the bottom of my heart, on having made an imprudent marriage' (Waller 43–5).
- 22 'Bran' in *HW* VIII. Clearly not by EG, probably by WG (Sharps 173). In octosyllabic couplets, the story of a mother who sets out to recover her son by paying a ransom but finds out he is dead – derivation most likely from a Breton tale, perhaps even translation by WG.
- 27 F. D. Maurice dismissed from his post at King's College, London (Professor of Theology).
- 29 Conspires with Monckton Milnes how best they can help Mr Nicholls financially without offending Charlotte's pride. (Nicholls had proposed to Charlotte in December 1852). Suggests Patrick Brontë's opposition to Nicholls is because he is poor and has little prospect of advancement.

## November

- 9 (Wed.) Letter to Tottie Fox about the responsibility of buying some Dorkings (hens).
- 5 Maurice resigns from chaplaincy at Lincoln's Inn and from the Committee at Queen's College. (EG caught up in the controversy – there is a national debate for next few months.)
- 17 Dickens tells Wills that he is delighted with EG's contributions to *HW*.
- 18 Matthew Arnold writes of the great pleasure her books have given him and encloses a copy of his *Poems by Matthew Arnold, A New Edition*, 1853. He hopes she will find the first poem (which is *Sohrab and Rustum*) 'a very human one'. (The other 'new' poem in the collection was 'The Scholar-Gypsy') (Waller 35–6).

- 19 First part of 'Morton Hall' in *HW* VIII. Commonwealth-Restoration settings, first person narrative, the Hall five miles from the centre of Drumble (equivalent to Manchester in *Cranford*, ch i), evidence of EG's abiding interest in history (here through the generations) plus prophecy and the working out of the theme of a curse with her favoured emphasis of final reconciliation.
- 21 EG very concerned about F. D. Maurice, whose essays published in this year had condemned the doctrine of eternal punishment, his position at Queen's College and at King's untenable as a result. Maurice resigned from King's on 15 November.
- 21 Forster praises EG's combination of the comic/pathetic in 'Morton Hall'.
- 26 The second part of 'Morton Hall' in *HW* VIII.
- 27 Charlotte Brontë begins *Emma*

## December

- 3 (Sat.) Very ill with influenza for the last ten days. Although she does not agree with writing to the press (she herself is going to write to Maurice), she feels if signatures are admissible people should be made interested enough to sign. Will write to Dickens about Maurice's removal, and speaks of his (Maurice's) great influence over the thinking element of the English public.
- 4 Dickens very pleased with 'The Squire's Story'.
- 6 To Furnivall again – still concerned about Maurice.
- 10 'Traits and Stories of the Huguenots' in *HW* VIII. Reflects her love of unusual stories or telling anecdotes and her interest in French life. 'Fictional vignettes' (Foster 54). First person narration, compassion for the atrocities committed against the Huguenots, their escapes and sufferings, settlements in England and America. Historical awareness sharply focussed throughout.
- 13 Newsy letter to Marianne – pre-Christmas shopping, presents, great detail.
- 17 First part of 'My French Master' in *HW* VIII. Sweep of narrative is once again historical, from French revolutionary period to restoration of Bourbons with sympathetic identification with Monsieur Chalabre, his sufferings, family, character.

- 20 Susanna to Katie Winkworth from London describing dinner party with Maurice and other notables – discussing Maurice's expulsion/resignation from King's College and the refusal of the Lincoln's Inn benchers to accept his resignation as they wish him to continue his 'ministrations among them' (Shaen 108–9).
- 24 Second part of 'My French Master' in *HW VIII*. Extra Christmas Number of *HW: Another Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire* contains 'The Squire's Story'. Green's *Knutsford, Its Traditions and History* (1859) has an account of Higgins the Highwayman, one-time resident of Knutsford. Location in 'The Squire's Story' is Barford (1769), with Higgins integrated into the local community, his marriage, his talk of the murder in Bath and the resultant revelation Higgins himself is the murderer. Fact and fiction skilfully blended. (Higgins lived in the house next to Aunt Lumb's for eight years.) Represents EG's 'constant experimentation with different modes and angles of narration' (Foster 82). In the same number there is 'The Scholar's Story', translation of a Breton Ballad into octosyllabic verse. WG probably did the translation, EG perhaps the brief introduction.
- (Christmas) Staying in London with Marianne, joined by WG and Meta.
- 27 To Lady Hatherton referring to 'Morton Hall' and to a story of poverty, which she explains, told her by the old Brontë servant Tabitha Ackroyd.
- 27 Charlotte Brontë's response to a letter from EG is warmly supportive of Maurice, since she endorsed Maurice's belief in universal salvation.

Probably in this year there is a letter to Fanny Mayne, campaigner against popular sensation literature, essentially anti-radical and hence conservative. EG offers a stout defence of the Christian Socialists, their concern for working men, their spiritual condition, with specific praise for F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley. EG says she cannot contribute to Mayne's periodical, the *True Briton*.

## 1854

WG is involved in the formation of the Home Missionary Board at Cross Street Chapel. He is tutor in literature, history, and New Testament Greek.

Foundation of the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street by F. D. Maurice.

## January

- 2 (Mon.) Dickens wishes EG a happy new year and thanks her for contributions to *HW*. Refers to proposal being sent by Wills for serial from her (ultimately *North and South*).
- (early) Charlotte Brontë praises 'Morton Hall'.
- c9 To Furnival, continuing the Maurice testimonial theme, says she dislikes its vulgarity and further asserts her strong personal feelings for him (Maurice). Going to Paris for a fortnight with Marianne. (She will meet Emil Souvestre (author), Rosa Bonheur (artist). Will stay with the Schwabes).
- 16 Forster sees the beginning of EG's novel (subsequently *North and South*) and urges her to press on. This is before Dickens begins *Hard Times*.
- 30 Monckton Milnes writes EG that his wife has had a still-born child, and also that he has met Nicholls and found him worn down though he spoke sincerely and frankly about Charlotte Brontë.

## February

- 5 (Sun.) Dickens writes to WG again declining to speak (see 10 April 1853), saying he has worked out details of EG's coming serial and will let her have them if she wishes.
- 12 Asks Williams and Norgate (acting for Tauchnitz) to send a copy of the 1 vol edition of *Cranford* to Tauchnitz. EG has obviously returned from Paris.
- 18 Dickens writes to EG (while he is working on *Hard Times*) expressing his admiration for 'Modern Greek Songs'. Counsels her not to worry about how to divide her narrative into parts, but just to proceed as she feels. She can leave him to make/ suggest chapter divisions. This refers to *North and South*, and perhaps signals coming differences between EG and Dickens.
- 25 'Modern Greek Songs' in *HW* IX. Review of Fauriel, intimate friend of Madame Mohl, whose *Songs of Contemporary Greece* came out in 1824–25. An account of oral and written traditions, ranging from marriage songs to a moving and tender appraisal of death ceremonial. Also included is an anecdote stemming from one in WG's *Two Lectures on the*



*Lancashire Dialect* (in fifth edition of *Mary Barton* in May) involving the usage of the word 'clump' in a humorous death-bed story. Absorbing piece in which EG as narrator refers to the blind beggars as 'the novelists and historians of modern Greece'. Further evidence of her width of interests. (EG was apparently unaware of English verse translation of Fauriel by Sheridan in 1825, Sharps 195–7.)

(late) Returns to Plymouth Grove.

25(?) Still nagging Williams and Norgate to get that copy of *Cranford* to Tauchnitz.

### March

(early March? 1854?) Giving Marianne brief news of Meta and WG while suffering from a severe headache herself. Tells her that their black kitten has disappeared but she is to say nothing since the children have not noticed, and asks her to burn this letter. Marianne obviously tended to keep letters, unlike Meta.

4 (Sat.) To Lady K-S trying to help a Miss Harvey become a governess; spells out possibilities open to her in great detail – firm evidence of EG's unremitting efforts for others. Often hears from Charlotte Brontë – hopes for a visit from her.

7 To Miss Kay about her (EG's) cook's sister, who is in trouble, and indicating compassionately what practical steps might be taken to alleviate the girl's shame. More evidence of practical involvement and concern. EG almost enjoys the telling but is motivated by her strong sense of duty.

14 Another letter to Miss Kay making arrangements for Margaret (girl in trouble) to see her sister in London, safeguarded by sending her to the Shaens in Bedford Row, since Margaret knows Emily Shaen and will feel more secure there.

14 Witty exchange with Henry Bright about autographs – thanks him for those he has sent her, but admits she is apathetic about those of politicians. Has recently seen a number of historical letters, discusses some she might send him.

18 To Emil Souvestre introducing W. R. Greg, critic of *Mary Barton*, though EG says they are still friends. A flourish of Gaskellian French concludes her commendation of Greg – reflecting her gift for self-mockery.

F. D. Maurice sends EG his *Lectures on the Unity of the New Testament*. He also praises *Ruth* as being true to human experience, and feels that EG is noble and pure in motivation and writing.

27–28 France and England declare war on Russia – the Crimean conflict begins.

## April

1 (Sat., though published Wed.) to 12 August 1854, *Hard Times* appears weekly in *HW*.

6 Katie Winkworth reveals ‘Lily is plotting and planning to have me at Plymouth Grove for a few days with Emily, likewise Miss Brontë’ (L&M i 437).

11 Charlotte Brontë tells Ellen Nussey of Nicholls’ proposal of marriage, which she has accepted.

18 Forster prepared to say that EG’s industrial novel idea was prior to that of Dickens and was not influenced by him (a reference to possible overlap of *North and South* and *Hard Times*).

18(?) Charlotte Brontë reveals her engagement to Mr Nicholls to EG.

21 Letter to H. F. Chorley (see below) – begins about wanting to see his play *The Duchess Eleanor*, but is interrupted as WG has just told her about the death of colleague John Gooch Robberds.

21 Letter from Dickens about EG’s plans for *North and South*, assuring her that he does not intend to have a strike (in *Hard Times*).

23 Tells Forster how busy WG is, and deals with the printing of the lectures on the Lancashire dialect. Wants a few more copies for WG. Charlotte Brontë will marry Mr Nicholls, Patrick Brontë is to live with them. She feels that Nicholls won’t allow Charlotte to be ‘intimate with us, heretics’ (GL 280). Charlotte will visit her in May. EG plot-planning for *North and South* (here called *Margaret*), considering having Mrs Thornton’s companion in love with Thornton!

26 To Octavian Blewitt on behalf of Selina Davenport, the impoverished and well-descended Knutsford authoress, a very worthwhile case.

26 Charlotte Brontë confirms dates of visit to WG/EG as being 1–4 May.

- 30 WG preaches funeral service of John Gooch Robberds at Cross Street Chapel. (WG would feel the strain of resultant extra work until the appointment of a new minister).

## May

Thousands die from cholera in London.

1–4 (Mon.–Thurs.) Charlotte Brontë staying with WG and EG.

- 1 (Mon.) ? 1854 Letter from Monckton Milnes which mentions ‘despotism and war’ and seems to refer to the Crimea (Waller 57–8).
- 2 Mrs Shaen (née Emily Winkworth) meets Charlotte Brontë at the Gaskells.
- 3 5th edition of *Mary Barton* published, with WG’s lectures on the Lancashire dialect included.
- 4 Dickens tells Wills he finds ‘Company Manners’ self-centred and laboured.
- 4 Charlotte Brontë leaves the Gaskells.
- 8 Katie Winkworth describes Charlotte Brontë visiting the Gaskells in Manchester – goes to see her on 2 and 3 May: Lily is in and out, urging Katie to say something about Charlotte’s forthcoming marriage – Charlotte obviously very uncertain herself about being married. Lily endorses marriage, praising WG for being a fine sick nurse and so good too to the children. Katie reassures Charlotte about marriage; Charlotte says Nicholls is ‘a Puseyite and very stiff’. ‘But I guess the true love was Paul Emanuel after all, and is dead; but I don’t know, and don’t think that Lily knows’ (L&M i 437–40).
- 8–14(?) Tells Forster she fears Nicholls’ narrowness but believes Charlotte will continue to love her, EG. They have a houseful until the 20 May. Mrs Shaen has commented favourably on *North and South*, called M Hale here by EG. WG hasn’t time to look at the novel. Charlotte Brontë has told her of a Gradgrind (character in *Hard Times*) she knows, giving two examples of his obsession with the fact of death insensitively retailed to his young child. EG observes laconically, slily, that he is really a good man.
- 12(?) Gives all the social news to Marianne – crowded with engagements, casual family visitors and friends, WG getting away at last to Dumbleton on Monday.
- 15(?) To Julia – having an Angora or Persian cat, called ‘*Cranford*’, sent from Paris. Crowded activity, WG off to Dumbleton

today, hopes he will stay until Saturday, then on to Oxford, then London, then hopefully to Ashbourne Hall (WG presumably away while the chapel is being painted.)

- 17 To Forster – Jess Macfarlane's words running in her head (from a ballad which she later quotes in *Sylvia's Lovers*, ch. 8), complains Chapman has not given her extra copies (of *Mary Barton* containing WG's lectures). Speculates about Ruskin and Effie (his wife), noting current sensational and irresponsible rumours. Effie enjoyed having men propose to her before marriage, kept a list, and was engaged when she accepted Ruskin. On to Charlotte Brontë, the announcement of her marriage – 'It is quiet, quaint, & a little formal' (GL 289) and her standing up to her father. Mentions too the fine letters of her friend Madame Mohl. Quotes an old lady's 'Cranfordism', 'I have never been able to spell since I lost my teeth' (GL 290). Misses the girls. Has sent 76 pages of her novel to him, but fears that it is dull. Wants to see Rosa Bonheur's pictures since she likes her as a person.
- 17(?) Tells Mary Green of scarlet fever outbreak – scared for children of friends and her own, is scouring, white-washing and chimney-sweeping contentedly at home. Looking forward to visit of friends from Paris in June or July, who will bring the cat 'Cranford'. Seems unable to make real plans. Fears Cross Street Chapel may be purchased by the town administrators, with development in mind obviously. Longs for the countryside in July.
- 20 Sends W. S. Landor a copy of WG's lectures on the Lancashire dialect.
- 20 'Company Manners' in HW IX, influenced by Victor Cousin's work on Madame de Sablé in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1854). EG met Cousin through Madame Mohl, whose own conversation and stances are reflected in the article too. Acute observation, ironic touches of humour, examines the art of entertaining, calling it 'Sableing'; feels that this lost art must be rediscovered, waxes wittily on the fact that the success of any evening entertainment depends on the thoroughness of the morning's preparation. EG's interest in 17th century France apparent.
- 20 Unsigned notice in the *Examiner* of *Mary Barton* which praises WG's relevant and invaluable contribution to an exceptional book.

- 22 Thanks Landor for his letter to WG, which will give him great pleasure. Reverts to Warwickshire, her 5 years at school there, and takes up the use of a number of words: a good example is 'unked', where she cannot think of any other word which so exactly describes abject misery and suffering (see *Wives and Daughters*, ch. 15 where it is used to describe Molly's state), followed by further dialect discussion and quotation of the Cheshire verse – again – 'Long may they live/Happy may they be/And blessed with a numerous/Progeny', later used in *Sylvia's Lovers* (ch. 30).
- 29(?) To Ludlow wanting detail on 'Guyon, the great beautiful Hungarian Wolf-Hound'. Sympathetic enquiry about Ludlow's mother (*FL* 111).
- June Thinks about going to Poulton, though more likely she will go to London – conjures Marianne to get as much sea air as she can for her health – discusses with her about feeling 'more devotional in Church than in Chapel' (*GL* 860). EG raises her objections to parts of the Litany, which she would not wish to hear too often since it contradicts the words of Christ which affirm that prayer should be only to God. Advises her to attend morning Chapel, evening Church, only the Doxology then can go against the known truth. She says Christ was not God, to worship Christ as God is therefore wrong, disagrees with morning Church service. After this seriousness fears she forgot to tell Marianne that she could read *Jane Eyre*!
- May(?) To Julia – plenty of domestic news including the coming of 'Cranford' (the cat) and saying they may go to visit new friend, Miss Tollet, at Betley Hall, Staffs on 13 June. Much on the animals.

Nothing of her novel written for three weeks owing to headaches and dizziness

WG returns to Manchester during this month.

## June

(sometime in June) Visits Stevenson relations at Leighton Buzzard (see below).

- 1 (Thurs.) In London with the Shaens at Bedford Row. Letter to Flossie describing how tired she has been the last three weeks. WG came yesterday looking greatly improved. Racy but jumbled description of dinner party at Mr Fox's. (The Winkworths

suggest that WG was out of tune with much of the gaiety there, but talked to Forster, and though tired seemed pretty happy.)

(WG and EG at the Shaens 1–13 June).

3 Went to see French pictures with the Winkworths and French play, *La Joie fait peur*. The Queen and Prince Albert present, describes Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred.

5(?) am Complains to Marianne she came here for a rest, confirms they will be going to the Tollets on 13 June. Gives impression of not wanting to go anywhere much, but says WG is improving though he won't ever apply for long leave of absence.

5 pm to Julia describes an African wedding she was told about on Friday 2 June by a Mr Crisp. Sunday 4 June went to see the sick Annie Shaen. Beset by arrangements, visits, busy life. Wants *The Times* kept from 30 May onwards.

(early) Thanks Monckton Milnes for the help (a secret) over Mr Nicholls having extra money.

7 Katie Winkworth says that on the previous Thursday (1 June) Forster discussed 'Margaret Hale' with Lily (L&M i 443).

7(?) To Marianne indicating how pressurised she is by visits. Taking Meta to see St Paul's, next day (8 June?) beset by engagements, has to go to Leighton Buzzard and Betley, etc., but must return to Manchester by end of following week. Will probably go to Crystal Palace on Friday (9 June) with Selina and Katie. Hopes to write from Leighton Buzzard on Tuesday (13 June).

7–8(?) To Ludlow from Bedford Row – trying to arrange a date to visit him and his mother at Wimbledon.

Katie Winkworth to Alice from Bedford Row describes a visit to the Princeps (Val the artist) and Watts the painter with EG. On Saturday EG went to call on Hallam, Monday Forster, and others.

10 Queen Victoria at Sydenham to open the Crystal Palace, which had been moved there.

15 From Betley Hall, Newcastle, Staffs. Gossipy, will go home tomorrow (16 June), arriving Manchester 4.45 pm. Staying at charming place only 4 miles from Crewe; lyrical description – has never heard so many birds. Liked Mr Stevenson (at Leighton Buzzard) but didn't like his wife.

15–17 Dickens suggests the divisions he will make in the novel to be serialised in *HW* (*North and South*) which will help her

to see the story from a week-to-week perspective. He wants to know more of it in order to help with the title. Impressive detailed analysis of the narrative's structure as he sees it. Comments on 'difficult and dangerous subject' of Mr Hale leaving the Church (*Pilgrim* 7.356 and note(s)). Suggests cuts in dialogue here.

Summer 1854(?) famously tells Tottie 'Nature intended me for a gypsy-bachelor... Not an old maid for they are particular & fidgetty, and tidy, and punctual, – but a gypsy-bachelor' (*GL* 301). She eats while reading, rises early and feeds her animals, goes to bed with the windows open, and speaks of herself jokingly as a 'modern Boadicea' ready to defend her country 'if the Russians do land at Liverpool' (*GL* 302).

29 Marriage of Charlotte Brontë and Mr Nicholls.

## July

- 2 (Sun.) Letter from Dickens to EG trying to smooth things out re divisions of the novel now provisionally called *Margaret Hale*. Suggests it begins in *HW* on 2 September, wants more of story by 25 July.
- 15 Annulment of Ruskin-Effie Gray marriage. (She marries the painter Millais 3 July 1855.)
- 17 Dickens completes *Hard Times* – final part of novel on 12 August in *HW*.
- 21 Tells Geraldine Jewsbury Charlotte Brontë is married, wants to write to her but is worried about Nicholls seeing what she has written. 'Bridegrooms are always curious; husbands are not', perhaps a laconic comment on the habit-forming qualities of marriage (*GL* 303).
- 26 Dickens suggests that *North and South* is a better title than *Margaret Hale*. Confirms story in 20 weekly parts to begin on 2 September (in fact this means issued on Wednesday 30 August). He has MS for less than half the novel. There is therefore some five months for it to run to complete the serialisation.
- 27 Charlotte Nicholls writes to Katie Winkworth from Cork telling her that she has been married for a month. Of EG in her dealings with Dickens over *North and South* says she can't apportion any blame to EG.
- 31 Dickens asks EG to send MS to Wills (Dickens in Boulogne). This is the MS he had returned to her.

## August

- 2 (Wed.) Dickens has seen portions of *North and South*.
- 3 Dickens to Wills assuming that he has received some MS from EG and that dates will be kept, though is a little dubious about settling anything conclusively with her.
- 9 Dickens urges Wills to contact EG because he has not got the corrected MS from her.
- 17 EG's MS has gone to Wills
- 19 Dickens to Wills, expressing his alarm. He tells Wills that the cuts required from EG have not been made (also wants the Tennyson motto from EG). What he estimated per part of *North and South* in EG's handwriting was longer than the parts printed of *Hard Times* and he resents this. His printers, were wrong in their estimate too, thus fuelling more resentment on Dickens' part.
- 20 Dickens upbraids EG for failing to alter the scene between Margaret and her father Mr Hale on his giving up the Ministry, urging her to make it as brief as possible to satisfy herself. EG has not done yet what he requested.
- (about this time) Gets to know Florence Nightingale. EG stayed at Lea Hurst, Matlock (Nightingale family home), before Florence left for the Crimea.
- (late) Goes to Isle of Man intent on escaping to write.

## September

- 2 (Sat.) *North and South*. begins publication in *HW* X (through to 27 January 1855). (Motto from Tennyson's 'Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue' prefaced to the serial run). EG revises it for book publication in 1855, with two chapters added (significant expansion in the conclusion) and a terse preface. Further, the book edition adds chapter titles and mottoes which were not in the *HW* version. EG uses Manchester foreground – 'the centre is a combination of guide book accuracy seen through Margaret's perceptual filter of unfamiliarity' (Twinn 57) – and London visits to Holland relatives and friends, while Helstone seems a conflation of country settings again visited by EG (for example, the New Forest, Beechwood).
- 2 Birthday letter to Julia from Isle of Man with details of the houseful of people, a description of ugly Manx cats and of Meta's sketching activities. Newsy and gossipy as ever.



- 13 Exclaims to Marianne – ‘poor dear little Mimi is dead!’ (the cat) (*GL* 863). WG very upset, Jane and Hearn both wept. Announces death of Captain Duckworth from cholera. Meta very depressed. Papa thought the smells in London were awful so EG warns Marianne about going into the city: Julia’s birthday will be kept on Saturday (16 September). More cholera deaths. Asks her to write to Meta in view of her depression. The night before found Meta in tears and uttering the cat’s name.
- 13 Katie Winkworth notes Lily has just returned from the Isle of Man.
- 14 Allied armies land in the Crimea.
- 20 Battle of the Alma. Russians defeated. Cholera and accompanying diseases spread – inadequate preparations for military campaign now apparent.
- 22(?) To Marianne giving her family news, how the girls are progressing: WG returns from Liverpool next day, Mrs Jameson will visit on the 27 September. Party games (birthday?), cooking, domestic activities, all rather frantic and typical, names of friends and neighbours pour out. Worn out.
- 26 Telling Marianne news – WG off to Birmingham on 7 October, preaching there on 8 October.
- 29 Dickens reveals WG had sounded him about possible publication of *North and South* in America. Instructs Wills to tell EG that there must be no risk of the end of the story appearing/being known here before completion of serial in *HW*.
- 30 Charlotte Nicholls praises the ‘contrast and contact’ between the ‘Southern’ Margaret and the ‘Northern’ Thornton (*CBL* iii 292). Of Mr Hale’s scruples she says it is good material but may provoke criticism, hostility, in a novel.

## October

Marian Evans (George Eliot) writes ‘Woman in France: Madame de Sablé’ in the *Westminster Review*.

- 11–14 (Wed.–Sat.) Letter from Lea Hurst: went there to get peace for writing of *North and South*. Tells Katie Winkworth cholera is not infectious and that Florence Nightingale took over responsibility for the cholera patients at the Middlesex Hospital on 31 August. 1–3 September Florence attended

prostitutes brought in from their beats in Oxford Street, filthy, but general chances of recovery now good. Detailed description of Florence, who is graceful and attractive. Always fascinated by nursing from childhood – went to London – greatly admired – no end of offers – a perfect fine command of Greek and Latin scholar. Travelled for 18 months – her training – did not miss any operations – brilliant mimicry of poor governesses' talk – tells Katie to keep it all to herself. Florence as dedicated to God as Joan of Arc. (Resumes Saturday evening) – *North and South* is going well, Florence is thinking of becoming matron of a large London Hospital. Jokes, epigrams, gossip about Ruskin, Effie and Millais staying in a castle in the Highlands. Then back to *North and South*. Should she have a fire for Thornton's mills and his home, which could then be rebuilt by Margaret, who wouldn't need to live there after she and Thornton marry? Margaret has told the lie (Vol ii, chap ix, 'False and True') '& is gathering herself up after her dead faint; very meek & stunned & humble' (GL 310). EG has Florence's owl Athena for a companion. Racy narrative, observation, crowded with interest – first major sign (re Florence Nightingale) of biographical interest to come.

- 12 *The Times* reveals lack of medical supplies and general inefficiencies in the Crimea.
- 13(?) From Lea Hurst to Marianne – has written to a somewhat depressed Meta, the Nightingales leave the next day so she will be alone in the house, tells anecdote of Crimean wives washing their husbands' shirts, cooking, saying they had never been so happy. Gaskellian play-on-words joke already told to Katie Winkworth.
- 14 Dickens expresses concern at falling sales of *HW*; clear that he holds *North and South* at least partly responsible, and finds the novel 'so divided, wearisome' (*Pilgrim* 7.439).
- 16 Tells Anne Holland how beautiful she finds Derbyshire. Still upset about the death of Captain Duckworth. Will come to her for a couple of days at the end of following week.
- 16 (or 23?) Tells Eliza Patterson (from Lea Hurst) of being weary from her writing, comments on various press reports of the Crimean War, gives news of Florence's (Nightingale) departure for Scutari, asks if she, Eliza, can help with temporary

- replacement for Florence in Harley Street. Emphasises her own loneliness: obviously she is writing hard.
- 17 Writes to Parthenope Nightingale saying Sam Gaskell will do all he can to help Florence; wants Mrs Nightingale thanked for helping her, has been writing all the previous day.
- 17 Siege of Sebastopol begins.
- 18 Government authorises Florence Nightingale's departure for the Crimea.
- 20(?) Moving account (to Parthenope Nightingale) of finding Florence's owl Athena dead, and arranging with the housekeeper to have it stuffed. Concerned about Florence's situation and refers directly to Sidney Herbert's letter (presumably authorising Florence's mission) and to her imminent departure the next day.
- 21 Florence Nightingale leaves London with 24 nurses en route for the Crimea.
- 25 Letter to Anne Holland (EG is still at Lea Hurst), proposing to visit her at Ashbourne either on 27, 28 or 30 October.
- 25 Battle of Balaclava, Russians again defeated but very heavy allied casualties: 'The Light Brigade' fiasco.
- 27 To Emily Shaen from Lea Hurst – much praise for her goodness to EG, comparing it with that of Aunt Lumb and Rosa Mitchell. Much more on Florence Nightingale – she had a number of dolls to nurse as a child. Florence has love of God as a personal being and love of the race as distinct from individuals. Parthenope did all the necessary domestic things which would have interfered with her sister's development. Florence had many interests which absorbed her time – music, then Egyptian myths and hieroglyphs, now absorbed by her hospital plans, needs no friends. Parthe once said she was motivated by a greater presence than she could grasp. Tremendous exciting detail on Florence. EG has read *Wilhelm Meister* – it is imaginative, clever, unpleasant. Meta now interested in nursing but EG doubts her sustaining it. Plot summarises her achievements in her novel saying that if she 'could get over this next piece I could swim through the London life beautifully into the sunset glory of the last scene' (FL 117). Wants to keep Thornton's character consistent. Going to Captain Holland's at Ashbourne the following day.

- 29 WG probably gets the serial extended from 20 to 22 weeks – Dickens insists that faith be kept with the public. Obviously EG worried, Dickens put out but keeping the peace.
- 30 Writes to Parthenope from Ashbourne thanking her for her peaceful stay at Lea Hurst.
- Emily to Katie Winkworth from Bedford Row saying she has had a ‘delicious’ letter from Lily mainly about Florence Nightingale ‘not idealising descriptions such as come first – and *must* always come first – but facts and details, and the wrong side of the tapestry as well as the right’ (Shaen 122–3).
- 31 Goes home.

## November

- 4 (Sat.) Florence Nightingale, with nurses and equipment, reaches Scutari.
- 5 Allied victory at Inkerman.
- 15(?) Acknowledges a gift from Anna Jameson to her of *A Commonplace Book of Thoughts*, published in this year.
- 23 To Richard Cobden inviting him to join them for 4 o'clock dinner on Sunday 26 November with Macready and Mr Scott if he so wishes. WG has just arrived back from Glyn Garth.

## December

- 4(?) (Mon.) Tells Tottie she has been writing furiously and is saddened by the news from the Crimea – death through disease her emphasis. Reveals she has known Madame Mohl slightly for some years. Hopes to go to Paris with Meta in February to see her and thus escape reviews of *North and South*. She will go if she has completed her novel. Hopes that Tottie will stay with them in the first half of March when they return from Paris. Mention of *Oakfield* (William Arnold's novel) and his fear of returning to India. The Arnolds sent £10 for the poverty stricken of Manchester.
- 9 Tennyson's 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' published in *The Examiner*.
- 17(?) Sends portions of *North and South* to Dickens or Wills virtually inviting cuts from them to fit HW. This is for the 20 December; has nearly as much for the 27 December. 33 pages of her writing sent today. Wills already has material for the 13 January. EG feels 'Death & Variations'

- (GL 324) would have been a better title than *North and South*. Gives two examples of working men's patriotism, their enlisting and subscribing at Bolton and Bury for the war.
- 17 Katie Winkworth hopes that Lily won't be 'wiled' (seduced) by Dickens's blandishments. Lily writing furiously, about 30 pages a week, and should be finished in about 10 days' time. Has given her advice about her own writing (L&M i 472).
- 18(?) To Anne Holland wondering if WG could visit them at Ashbourne for a short time after Christmas day, when he wants peace and rest which he can't get at home since they are always busy.
- 24 The final pages of *North and South* (as serial) are written. Very worried by Crimean War.

## 1855

WG's biographical borrowings from the Portico 1855–56 include Lewes's *Life of Goethe*, Boswell's *Johnson*, and Lives of Milton, Burns and Southey among others (Foster 116).

EG wants Walckenaer's book on Madame de Sévigné, an indication of her later interest.

EG's reputation beginning to develop in France and America.

### January

(early?) To Anne Holland thanking her for having WG to stay, saying how sorry she was he came back ill. (He had influenza badly).

Trollope publishes *The Warden*.

1 (Mon.) tells Katie Winkworth she has had a fall, and is glad that Charlotte Nicholls likes *North and South*. Does not think Margaret (Hale) too good to be true. Expresses her deep faith in God, who is 'yet loving me with an individual love tenderer than any mother's' (GL 327). Thinks Florence Nightingale's intellect is greater than any she has met with in another woman.

Invites a Miss Yates to tea on the 12 January with other friends from the Congregation.

Tells Anna Jameson how *North and South* germinated: Dickens allowed her 20 numbers instead of 22, which meant compression and racing on, particularly in the successive deaths of Mr Hale and Mr Bell.

Ambivalent about the end as it now stands. Feels she was denied space and finally she had to make cuts in desperation. Wants her advice about changing, developing what she has already written. Will avoid reviewers: she and Meta leave for Paris on the 13 February.

- 10        Uncle Peter Holland dies at the age of 89.
  - 22        Tells Maria James she will be passing through London 8–13 February, asks advice on disposing of point-lace for a lady (a governess), hopefully to be valued and sold in London. Cites a case of social, moral deprivation of a child, friends would care for her but almost mad father refuses. Asks if the law can act, wonders if Mr James can help (he was a barrister). Again evidence of EG's intense moral/Christian commitment.
  - 23        Roebuck introduces motion for a select committee to investigate Crimean inadequacies: it was debated on 29 January and brought down the Aberdeen government.
  - 25(?)     Again to Mrs James thanking her for response: goes into great detail about the deranged Mr Cameron (see 22 January above), his treatment of his children, his refusal to let any of his wife's relatives care for them. Still concerned about *North and South* and its conclusion – 'my poor story is like a pantomime figure, with a great large head, and very small trunk' (FL 123). Says she will not write again for *HW*, though she did up to 1859 and thereafter for *ATYR*. Will certainly see her, but has booked for four nights in Bloomsbury. Will probably be in Paris for 'about three weeks' (see below)
  - 27        Letter from Dickens congratulating EG on the completion of *North and South*. He will miss the arrival of the sheets of the novel, but looks forward to more contributions from her. Wills encloses 200 guineas for the copyright. CD sent her an additional £50 despite her protests on 1 February.
- January Gossipy letter to Marianne about domestic affairs, travel arrangements for herself and Meta, a reference to the adjusted ending (presumably of *North and South*) and problems over tides for travel to Paris.
- 30        Again to Anna Jameson, thanking her for her advice and saying she will make alterations (she has written to have printing delayed), still complaining about the compression. Will see her on 12 February. Lodging where Steele lived, 36 Bloomsbury Square. (Mrs Jameson had advised her

against major alterations. The longest addition to *North and South* is 'Helstone Revisited' (Sharps 217).

## February

- 8 (Thurs.) Leaves for London. Some days there with Meta, may have been delayed by tides and weather from leaving for Paris.
- c12 Note to Frances Nightingale saying that she is sorry to miss seeing her on her way through London.
- c12(?) Letter to Marianne from London – very busy, but her first letter after their arrival in Paris will be to her.
- c12(?) To Lady Maxwell – trying to come and see her but very pressed by engagements. Has to dine with Mrs Stanley, who is going to read some of Mary Stanley's letters from the Crimea – she had taken 40 nurses out at the end of 1854, set up a hospital there in January 1855 but collapsed.
- 14 *North and South* published by Harpers with quotation on title page present in *HW* serialisation but not in first English book edition (Smith 89–91).
- 13(?)–15(?) or after leaves London for Paris – arrives before 20 February (see below) and remains there much longer than intended (see below).
- 15 Charlotte Brontë tells Laetitia Wheelwright of Nicholls's kindness and devoted nursing of her during her (final) illness.
- 20 Tells Tauchnitz that *North and South* has been issued in *HW*, she is adding more to the final section of the novel, which had been severely cut – feels there will be about one-sixth extra. (Tauchnitz's collection of British authors was published from 1842 onwards.)

## March

In Paris (certainly from 20 February onwards) with Meta. Sequence reasonably clear but particular dates hypothetical (see Philip Yarrow, *The Gaskell Society Journal* 7 (1993), 23–4, for dating which differs by about a week from that given below). *GL* 331–4 dates probably March not February.

- 6 (Tues.) Attends 'magnificent party' (*GL* 332).
- 8 At Mr Thierry's – EG comments on the political nature of the evening.
- 9 Letter to Marianne with Meta (noon) recounting these events and commenting on the closeness of the atmosphere ('*puthery*'), plans for Meta to see various sights, dance at

- Madame Mohl's later that day (Meta danced throughout the evening). Wants to know how WG is.
- 10 Dined at the Scheffers. Afterwards went on to the Geoffroi St Hilaire's.
- 11 Went to a concert; Mr Senior was waiting for them on their return.
- 12 Mrs Hollond to take portion of revised MS of *North and South* to England ('up to just before Mr Bell's death') (GL 332); met Mrs Scheffer and Hachette. Madame Mohl 'received' on that day; went to Lady Elgin's.
- 13 Company to dine at Madame Mohl's (relieved by getting Marianne's letter saying WG was recovered).
- 14 Visited Scheffer's studio and also went to the theatre.
- 15 To Hotel Cluny (on 9 March said Meta had not yet seen it).
- 16 Letter to Marianne retailing above information. Madame Mohl's 'open evening'. Hopes to leave on 26 March ('I think') (GL 334).
- c17 Letter to Louis Hachette about novels by *living* writers. Stresses her impartiality, is friends with only two of them, Charlotte Brontë and Geraldine Jewsbury. Elaborate explanation of Charlotte Brontë, then Emily, the other successful Brontë novelist (Anne is not mentioned). Insists on confidentiality! Compares *Wuthering Heights* to George Sand's *Mauprat*. Succinct, but subjective comments: Mrs Marsh – 30 novels – but she writes for financial reward and hence writes too quickly. Particularly commends Charlotte Brontë's preface to her sisters' work. Mrs Gore writes novels of society with minimal plots. Then cites the wonderful strength of *Christie Johnstone* (Charles Reade), summarises it, but doesn't know how it would be in French, since there would be a problem in translating the Scots dialect. Geraldine Jewsbury's *The Half-Sisters* is her best novel, Miss Mulock's novels appeal to women, praise for Mrs Margaret Maitland (strictly *The Life of Margaret Maitland* by Mrs Oliphant (1849). Singles out E. B. Hamley's *Lady Lee's Widowhood* (1853), [a novel also admired by George Eliot], though EG thinks a translator would have to be as witty as the author! Doesn't like Wilkie Collins, though some rate him highly. *Basil* is 'detestable' (FL 129). (Hachette published translations of English fiction,



issuing much of EG's, from 1854 onwards). Letter provides fascinating insight into EG's predilections and prejudices – and the width of her contemporary reading of fiction.

- 17 Madame de Staël's daughter-in-law to call: hospital visit – pressed for time.
- 22(?) To Hachette from 120 Rue du Bac – offers to write to Charlotte Brontë and Geraldine Jewsbury to further publishing arrangements – finds title page of translation of *Jane Eyre* offensive – 'Imités par Old-Nick' – translator's vulgar humour. If *Cranford* is to be done she advises Hachette to come to an agreement with Madame Belloc, who understands the finer points of English. Much praise for Miss Yonge (here called Young), particularly *The Heir of Redclyffe* and *Heartsease*, which are respectable books. Also mentions without comment Miss Kavanagh and Miss Sewell.
- 23 Madame Mohl gives another dance.
- 24 Tea with Prosper Mérimée.
- 26 Publication of book edition of *North and South*, two vols, 21s (Smith 95–6). EG got £260 for serial publication, £250 from Chapman and Hall for book publication, plus £100 for second edition (1855). Preface contains the revealing 'various short passages have been inserted, and several new chapters added': even here some overspill of bitterness traceable to the disagreements with Dickens.
- 26 Intends to leave Paris (but see below).
- 31 Death of Charlotte Nicholls (EG told by John Greenwood, Haworth stationer).

## April

- 1 (Sun.) Julius Mohl records EG and Meta staying with them and says they will leave on the 3 April. (Information from John Chapple.)
- 4 To John Greenwood from Regent's Park, there after arriving from Paris: overcome by death of Charlotte: says how much she loved her, that she will always be grateful for knowing her and will continue to mourn for her.
- 4 Charlotte Nicholls's funeral: she is buried in Haworth Church.
- 5 Patrick Brontë responds to EG's letter of sympathy.

- 6 Harriet Martineau pays tribute to Charlotte Brontë in the *Daily News*.
- 7 Chorley's review of *North and South* in the *Athenaeum*. Initial praise, but Margaret's lie is unconvincing and has no particular moral effect.
- 11 Matthew Arnold indicates he will be writing a poem about 'Haworth Churchyard'. (It was published under that title in *Fraser's Magazine* in May).
- 12 From Princes Terrace Hyde Park to John Greenwood telling him Charlotte said he was her only friend in the village. Wants to know how Patrick Brontë and Mr Nicholls are. Thinks she will visit Haworth in the summer to see Mr Brontë. Asks if he has seen the report in the *Daily News*.
- 12(?) To Mrs Jameson. Staying in London with Meta until the following Wednesday (the 18 April?). Has got Louvre catalogues for her. Itinerary – 13 April going to Bedford Row, 14 April breakfast with Lady Hatherton, 16 April to Mrs James, stays until the 18 April then goes home.
- (April) During her London stay above tells Marianne she wants to get WG an appropriate table for his study (if he hasn't got one yet), going to private view of Millais (perhaps *The Rescue*) before the Exhibition, hopes to see Ruskin, Chapman etc.
- 14 Sees Chapman on business.
- 14 Unsigned review of *North and South* in *The Leader* – lists the mistakes in the representation of Thornton, the cotton trade etc, suggesting that EG knows too little of manufacturing industry. Otherwise finds characterisation and style good.
- 14(?) 1855(?) To Mrs James from Bedford Row describing how WG got into the Crystal Palace and was introduced to things and people of note by a Manchester 'tobacconist' (*FL* 133). EG enjoying a quiet laugh at people's snobbery and observing that she herself will indulge in snuff in future out of gratitude.
- 14 *Manchester Weekly Advertiser* considers *North and South* EG's best novel, an advance on *Mary Barton*.
- 17 Receipt for £250 from WG to Chapman for 1st edition of *North and South* – mentions he will discuss the question of a *Cranford* edition with EG.
- 21 Praise for *North and South* in *The Examiner*.

- 25 Letter to Chapman saying WG agrees to the initial idea of a cheap issue of *Cranford* and some other tales (says airily she will ask Dickens's formal consent for those first printed in *HW*). Points out a double printing error in *North and South*. (Corrected in 2nd edition.)
- 26 To Hachette from Plymouth Grove. Approves translation of *Mary Barton*, writes off any translation interest for *The Moorland Cottage*, tells him *North and South* is now in its second edition, wonders which of her stories would interest French readers, naming her own favourites as 'The Sexton's Hero', 'Lizzie Leigh', 'The Heart of John Middleton', 'The Well of Pen-Morfa', 'The Old Nurse's Story' and 'Morton Hall'. Has acquainted Dickens and Geraldine Jewsbury with Hachette's intentions. He should contact Smith regarding the translation of any of Charlotte Brontë's works, but she adds revealing comments on Nicholls' grief and his dislike of his wife being an author.

## May

*Blackwood's* review of *North and South* (Mrs Oliphant). Attacks what it calls the Knight and the Lady concept (Margaret and Thornton) and considers that *Ruth* is artistically flawed.

- 1 (Tues.) Dickens gives EG permission to republish any of her stories and articles from *HW* separately.
- 5 To John Greenwood expressing her keenness already to have details of Charlotte Brontë. Thinks it was decline in her health that caused Charlotte to forget to thank him for the picture of Patrick Brontë. Mentions Arnold's poem is in this month's *Fraser's*, discusses the Marble Tablet (dates of Brontë deaths), underlines the primacy of Nicholls in discussions. Praises Charlotte's courage.
- (after 5) Again to Greenwood – more questions about Nicholls. Expresses surprise Thackeray did not write to Patrick Brontë, wants details about first visit to London of 'Currer Bell'. Has considered Mr Macarthey in *Shirley* and sees similarities to Nicholls.
- 8 Agreement with Chapman for the publication of *Cranford* (1 volume) and selected stories (1 volume).
- 15 Newsy letter to Tottie – Hearn has gone to Cornwall on holiday (first time in 12–13 years), lists the demands of

house, children lively, WG with so many Whitsun invitations he probably won't accept any. Joke time again, biblical with a pun on 'profit' and 'prophet'.

- 19(?) Tells Ann Scott that WG is in Wales, Hearn in Cornwall now (Whit week) – will see her after ten days or so when they return.

About this time there are cheap pamphlet issues of 'Libbie Marsh's Three Eras' (4d), 'The Sexton's Hero' and 'Christmas Storms and Sunshine' (3d) and 'Hand and Heart' and 'Bessy's Troubles at Home' (4d).

- 31 To George Smith – wants a copy of Richmond's portrait – or a daguerrotype (of Charlotte Brontë) – exclaims how much she loved and respected her. Already before any formal invitation she has the idea of writing – sometime – a memoir of Charlotte so that she could be honoured and respected as woman and author. EG hopes she has the time to write it and that no one will be hurt by it, an ironic emphasis in the light of particular reactions to *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (hereafter *The Life*).

## June

- 1 (Fri.) Letter from Matthew Arnold to EG in response to hers about his 'Haworth Churchyard', hoping she will live long and continue to give so much pleasure by her own writings.
- 4 EG to Smith enclosing a letter from John Greenwood (very compassionate about him) and saying how much her children loved Charlotte and that they would want her – EG – to write about her: later perhaps the unusual wildness, sadness and beauty of her life will be made known. Says she would have gone to Charlotte had she known she was ill. Has made copious notes on Charlotte, and is preparing the way with Smith for publication of *The Life*. Very keen but also apprehensive about Patrick's and Nicholls's response to anything she might decide to say.
- 5(?) Marianne's little adventures cause her to say that her letter today was as interesting as a story. Full of news, visits, projected visits. Going with Meta to Betley before end of June. Meta allowed to go to theatre with a friend after EG consulted WG.
- 5 Letter from Norton recalling a meeting with him she may have forgotten in June 1850. He now sends three volumes

of his father's work, and tells her that when he was dying (the father) in 1853 they read *Cranford* to him. Thanks her for *North and South* which he has read aloud to appreciative listeners.

- 6 Ellen Nussey writes to Nicholls complaining of an article she read about Charlotte, and wishing that Mrs Gaskell would respond to it, i.e. expose its inaccuracies. (This refers to the June piece, thought for some time as possibly by EG, in *Sharpe's London Magazine* ('A Few Words about "Jane Eyre"'), now ascribed to Frank Smedley.
- (after 12) Writes to Smith to say he was right in not requesting the portrait from Patrick Brontë, who would certainly not wish to part with it now.
- 16 Patrick Brontë invites EG to write about Charlotte – a short description of her life together with some commentary on her writings. He says that EG seems to be the most appropriate person to do what he wants done. He and Nicholls will cooperate.
- (mid) Publication of second edition of *North and South*.
- 18 Reporting Patrick Brontë's request and saying she realises this requires much more than just her recollections: she has agreed to undertake the fuller treatment demanded. Tells Smith she wants the Richmond daguerrotype – has some fear of forgetting what Charlotte looked like. Realises the constraints being put upon her.
- c19(?) Tells Marianne of her agreement to write the biography and also about the visit of Emily Shaen to them from 2 July onwards until 16 July. Both items are embedded in discussions of clothes and her coming visit with Meta to Miss Tollet's (Tuesday to Saturday 26–30 July?)
- 19(?) Curious letter to Marianne. EG has been through some kind of crisis (reassures Marianne it is not in their family) but won't reveal in what way and doesn't want it mentioned in reply; asks Marianne to tell her what people in London are saying about the awful reports of the war. Over-fatigued and has been in much pain. Hearn returning Tuesday or Wednesday. Reiterates plans for Betley visit.
- 20 Patrick Brontë provides EG with some biographical details.
- (Summer?) Thanks William Fairburn for his warm, incisive comments on *North and South*. 'Mr Hale is not a "sceptic"; he

has *doubts* ... but in the details of practice he is weak and vacillating' (GL 353).

## July

Tennyson publishes *Maud and Other Poems* (including 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', with some omissions).

8 (Sun.) Tells Tottie Meta was dancing too much with one of the officers, an indication of EG's possessiveness over her children. Regular unit stationed there. Indian regiment ordered to the Crimea.

8 Tells Marianne WG is to go to Switzerland 30 July, EG to Silverdale 27 or 28 July, Marianne can stay in London and follow them to Silverdale later, where Meta will join them. She left Meta at Teddesley on Thursday (5 July). Marianne may come home on the 25 July, and at some time she and EG will go to Glasgow. Crowding of arrangements – EG is going on the 9 July to the Shuttleworths, and other friends on 10 July. The Darbishes visit EG on 11 or 12 July.

11 Writes to Miss Kay (sister of Sir James K-S) about her brother's invitation to visit Gawthorp to learn more of Charlotte Brontë. She is not available until 23 or 24 July (Monday or Tuesday). If this would suit Sir James, good. WG may not be able to come.

12 To Marianne – date of Silverdale holiday probably now 3, 4, or 6 August. Visits will include Fox How – Lake District – Silverdale. Thinks WG will leave on 30 July, Selina Winkworth may accompany him as far as Boulogne. Had small party the previous evening.

16 Emily Shaen leaves, Meta comes home.

This month intent on seeking out Jane Thompson ('Miss Temple' in *Jane Eyre*) to learn more about Cowan Bridge.

July Arranges that Marianne will meet them at Carnforth (station for Silverdale?) on 3 or 4 August.

17(?) Tells a cousin of their itinerary – Monday (23 July) the visit to Yorkshire, returns, gets WG off to Switzerland, then Fox How, Lancaster, Silverdale, then Glasgow, where she will see her step-mother and step-sister for the first time in 25 years. Engaged fully at home 18–20 July.

21 Tells Parthenope Nightingale babies of industrial poor are being christened Florence. Florence herself has been very ill. Implies that working-class men feel the same as those

who cried at Florence's illness, and uses her favourite quotation 'for we have all of us one human heart'.

23–25 Visits Haworth, Keighley with Katie Winkworth, spends night at Skipton.

24 Writes to Ellen Nussey giving news of her visit to Haworth the previous day – Patrick Brontë told her 'No quailing Mrs Gaskell! no drawing back!' (*GL* 361). Nicholls against the writing but deferring to Patrick. Has got letters to Emily (1839–43). Appeals to Ellen to furnish more, invites her to Manchester 27 or 28 July. Nicholls suggested she, EG, should contact Ellen.

24 Patrick Brontë provides further relevant details following EG's visit.

25 Writes to John Greenwood apologising for not having been able to see him on her visit. Says she will be coming to Haworth again. Wants him to keep secret her commission to write the life of Charlotte. Praises his portrait of Patrick Brontë which she saw in the latter's study.

26 Letter from Ellen Nussey offering to meet EG in August.

27 Writes to Ellen Nussey from home – looking forward to reading any of Charlotte's letters which Ellen sees fit to trust her with. Is occupied 6–11 August, but asks if she can come over for a day, not Monday, to see her in the following week.

27 Retail news to Marianne – WG's home mission address to students was the previous Tuesday (24 July), EG frantically busy with preparations, full of the biography, tells Marianne about Haworth visit with Katie, returning to get WG organised, domestic news interwoven with news of writing to Ellen Nussey. Overall Haworth a most painful visit. Nicholls and Patrick Brontë cried. Even admits to liking Mr Nicholls! WG going to London 30 July, staying until 1 August.

July(?) Writes to George Smith about need for detail on Charlotte's friends, Miss Temple, the facts about Cowan Bridge, though recalls Charlotte's regret at the severity of her account in *Jane Eyre*. Wants an informant for the Brussels time. Will question Patrick Brontë and will be balanced and careful about her use of material. Needs to know much more before she makes a plan of *The Life*.

- 27 Writes to an unknown correspondent thanking him for liking her books, giving him details of those that are currently being published or republished, and says how pleased she is that working men and women respond to them. As ever curious about the writer – a preacher!
- July(?) Wants Smith to find address of the Taylor family for her.

### August

Visits Haworth with Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who overcame reluctance, obtained the manuscript of *The Professor* and the beginning of a fresh story. They even got Nicholls' consent to have Charlotte's portrait photographed. By now EG's reservations about Nicholls have deepened: she notices that he resents publication of Charlotte's letters and wanted those to Ellen Nussey and others destroyed.

- 1(?) (Wed.) To George Smith (from Fox How) – from now until 6 September at Lindeth Tower, and informing him that Madame Héger's pupils have left since the publication of *Villette*.
- 3 (Fri.) To Parthenope Nightingale from Fox How. Leaving for Lindeth Tower today.
- (August) Susanna Winkworth (at Lindeth Tower) tells Katie Lily has been most successful in her quest for materials for the *Life of Charlotte Brontë*. Susanna arrived the previous day and was welcomed affectionately by Lily, 'I really think that now she will make a capital thing of the "Life" and show people how lives ought to be written' (Shaen 132).
- (3–6 September) At Silverdale on holiday.
- c5 Tells John Greenwood she feels that some of Patrick Brontë's dates are wrong with regard to the deaths of Maria and Elizabeth. Would like a copy of the tablet over the Communion Table.
- c7–10 From Silverdale to Ellen Nussey. Has to go to Manchester on Monday 13 August and would like to come over and see her on the 14 August, possibly Miss Wooler too. Could come on Wednesday.
- 11 From same address to same recipient – is coming on Tuesday, will stay overnight with Miss Nussey if they do not conclude what they have to do, including seeing Miss Wooler.



- 13 Will be at Sir James K-S's from 16 August. Suggests to Mrs Alcock that she (EG) visits her on Saturday (18 August), spends Sunday (19 August) with her, and returns to Silverdale on Monday 20 August.
- 14 Breaks holiday at Silverdale to visit Ellen Nussey.
- 17(?) Writes to Mary Green from Gawthorpe about the tremendous pressure of copying 300 letters!
- c19 Writes from Silverdale to Maria Martineau with details of Charlotte Brontë from Ellen Nussey: been to see her – has been given 300 letters to look over. Reports Nicholls's assertion that Emily alienated people by her cold, sulky behaviour (this is not confirmed elsewhere). But EG is fascinated – she finds Emily the most unusual and enigmatic of the girls, and worshipped by Charlotte. EG is after Brussels' details about the Hégers and the death of Martha Taylor – getting her to pump Mary Dixon, who was a friend of Charlotte's in Brussels, particularly about what Emily was really like, and looking for originals in the novels. She will probably ask more later. Remaining at Silverdale until 4 September.
- 22 Note in *The Guardian* (unsigned) registers EG's expansions in the book issue of *North and South* and says that they greatly improve the story.
- 23 Fascinating letter to an unknown correspondent ranging over a number of details she would like with regard to Charlotte Brontë, including customs, traditions of the area in which she lived, families, places. Asks about local publications too. Same date informs an unknown correspondent that she cannot offer overnight accommodation since Miss Winkworth will be staying, but offers a room for private use during the day.
- 25 'An Accursed Race' appears in *HW XII* (later in *Round the Sofa*, 1859). A typically sympathetic account of the Cagots, their locations, the persecutions and prescriptions against them, their supposed evils damning them without proof. EG as narrator is castigating blind prejudice, her own broad Christian tolerance strong as ever. She details their proscribed nature as well as the superstitions attached to them. Anecdotal in method. Paris visits yielded material.
- (August) Katie Winkworth's *Lyra Germanica* (Hymns) published.

- (cAugust) Writes to ?Mary Taylor – says she is like *Oliver Twist*, asking for more – and here more Brussels detail – she is convinced that Monsieur Héger can be identified with Paul Emmanuel. Has Héger written anything? Staying at Silverdale until 4 September.

## September

- (early) Publication of *Lizzie Leigh and Other Tales* by Chapman and Hall brings EG's shorter previously published magazine pieces into volume form (title story, then 'The Well of Pen-Morfa', 'The Heart of John Middleton', 'Disappearances', 'The Old Nurse's Story', 'Traits and Stories of the Huguenots', 'Morton Hall', 'My French Master', 'The Squire's Story', 'Company Manners', 'Mr Harrison's Confessions', 'Libbie Marsh's Three Eras', 'The Sexton's Hero', 'Christmas Storms and Sunshine', 'Hand and Heart' and 'Bessy's Troubles at Home' (Smith 34–9).
- 6 (Thurs.) Still at Silverdale. Thanks Ellen Nussey for her letters, which have enabled her to get a fuller picture of Charlotte. She and Marianne going to Glasgow for about three weeks on the following day: hopes to see Miss Wooler at the end of this month, letters she has read are invaluable. She is suffering and headachy, been here ever since she saw her apart from a short trip to see Cowan's Bridge.
- 8–9 British and French troops take Sebastopol, having suffered heavy losses in preceding months.
- 11 Dickens's celebrated mini-outburst – 'Mrs Gaskell, fearful – fearful. If I were Mr. G. O Heaven how I would beat her!' (*Pilgrim* 7.700). 'Half a Lifetime Ago' would appear on 6 October (see below) and Dickens may well have been reacting to EG's inconsistency over length, time – or both.
- (late) Writes from Bath Crescent in Glasgow having obtained a copy of an account in dialect by a Rochdale man of his visit to the Great Exhibition, for her correspondent, Florence Nightingale's father.
- 25 Letter to Ellen Nussey from Dunoon, Argyleshire. Staying with her half sister, whom she has not seen for 24 years, probably until 5 or 6 October. Hopes to come over to see Ellen on 8 October. Must be at home on the 10 October since a servant is leaving on that day and she will have to instruct a new one. Has met Dr Scoresby, who was vicar of Bradford

and knew Patrick Brontë well then, and told her much that was strange and odd about the people in the neighbourhood of Haworth. (Scoresby's *An Account of the Arctic Regions ...* (1820) is one of EG's sources for *Sylvia's Lovers*.)

- 28 EG meets William Whewell and Monckton Milnes in Glasgow – they were there for a meeting for the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

## October

- 1 (Mon.) Montégut in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* compares EG to Harriet Beecher Stowe to EG's advantage, and gives Mr Hale as an example of EG's capacity to convincingly present a character beset by conscience.

*National Review* unsigned (identified as R. H. Hutton, distinguished critic influenced by F. D. Maurice, by Easson). Considers *North and South* disjointed, but praises the characterisation of Thornton, Henry Lennox and Mr and Mrs Hale.

- 3 To Parthenope Nightingale – too soon for her to visit now but hopes to be invited to Lea Hurst later, and would welcome any news however little from Scutari.

- 4 Will see Ellen Nussey Monday next (8 October), will stay overnight, hopes to see Miss Wooler.

- 6 First part of 'Half a Lifetime Ago' in *HW XII*. Wordsworthian type story involving the protection of a mentally ill boy Willie by his sister Susan, and her consequent sufferings at the hands of her lover Michael. Narration is retrospective, there is the favourite EG theme of reconciliation, with Susan finding Michael dead, telling his wife, by whom she is nursed, and taking the wife and children to her own farm, surrounded after her paralytic stroke by loving kindness. The reworking of 'Martha Preston', that perhaps original story here altered by changing of names, shift of location, third person narrative, adjustments in particular characters.

- 8 Visits Ellen Nussey.

- 10 Asks George Smith for more information about Charlotte Brontë.

- 13 Second part of 'Half a Lifetime Ago' in *HW XII*.

(Autumn) back home and working on *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*.

- 15(?) Monday night to Mary Green – just off to the Hallé, too tired to go really but WG is so busy he can't accompany them, so he stays at home. The last week has been very

stressful for her. Has seen Ellen Nussey, gleaned more information. Came back, found Monckton Milnes had called on the Monday, visited on Thursday/Friday, two of WG's busiest days, then on Saturday the anti-slavery campaigner Maria Chapman came, stayed until the Monday (anti-slavery meeting the previous evening). EG herself is apathetic about the slavery issue for she can't become interested in actions taken by people on the other side of the ocean, interesting stance in view of her later emotional involvement. Snow Wedgwood will come on Wednesday (17 October), every evening occupied.

- 20 Concluding part of 'Half a Lifetime Ago' in *HW* XII.
- 20 Continues to nag George Smith about his failure to produce more papers and letters which will help her with her work on *The Life*.
- c20 Thanking Ellen Nussey for the visit, very busy, glad to have met Miss Wooler although she did not gain much information from her. Will attempt to prise more material from Patrick Brontë and Nicholls.
- 22 To Hachette pointing out publication of 'Half-a Lifetime Ago' in *HW*. Inquires about translation of *North and South* (she has waited four months for a reply), asks if there is any money due to her for her translations, and if there is requests some books – Edmond About, Alfred de Musset, etc. – be sent her in the place of payment.
- 29 Hachette again. Commends some contemporary fiction – *Paul Ferroll* (Mrs Archer Clive); *Martha* (not known) and *A Lost Love* (Ashford Owen pseudonym), the last a delicate and pathetic story derived from common incidents but its narrative mode is reminiscent of *Eugenie Grandet* (Possibly connects with *Cousin Phillis*). Gives plot summaries.
- (late) Thanks Smith for sending her Brontë letters and tells him of the windfall of Ellen Nussey's letters – 350 from Charlotte Brontë to her. Nicholls will not let her see *The Professor*, because much of it was subsumed into *Villette*. Charlotte had 50 pages of another tale (*Emma*) written before she died.

## November

- 3 (Sat.) To Ellen Nussey about letters, hoping to get some more from Smith, is coming to London, half a mind to go on to

Brussels and see the Héggers. Smith has sent her letters about Charlotte's dealings with Newby and her subtle criticisms of Thackeray as man and author. Refers to Smith jocularly as 'the refractory Dr John' (GL 874) and keeps up the Brontë in-joke by flattering Ellen in a postscript, saying 'Are not *you* Caroline Helstone?' (GL 875).

- 12 Thanks Margaret Wooler for her letters re Charlotte, which she greatly liked and will find very useful. Will ask questions later.
- c17 Sends the publisher Robert Chambers a contribution by a friend which she hopes he will publish in his Journal.
- 23 Katie to Emily Winkworth – reading proof sheets for 2nd edition of *Lyra Germanica*, WG has discovered a number of errors for her.
- 24 To Hachette – received 500 francs for various translations. – also the books except for one – sends list of her stories published in *HW* – says Dickens is in Paris and she is trying to get him to publish a 'right of translation' statement for any of her future fiction published in *HW*.

## December

(late in this year) Sat. next to somebody on an omnibus who was reading *Little Dorrit* which she read over his shoulder, but they only got as far as the first two chapters. (*Little Dorrit* was published in monthly numbers beginning on 1 December – concluding June 1857). This was on a visit to Knutsford, family news, Crimean news, references to the attack on Sebastopol on 8 September, gossip, children downstairs singing 'The Ratcatcher's Daughter'. Typical EG frantic mix.

- 3 (Mon.) to Mrs James from Knutsford. Very busy looking over Brontë letters. Would like to have seen Elizabeth Barrett Browning who was in London recently. WG is in Switzerland. Visited Sir James K-S to talk about Patrick Brontë on her way back to Silverdale – but he was very weak, delicate, devoted to his two boys. His wife's health necessitated her living in the South so they were separated. (Lady K-S's health is cover for the separation). Came to Knutsford to her cousins last Friday (30 December) for a week.
- 15 Acknowledges receipt from W. S. Williams of some of Charlotte Brontë's very interesting letters.

- 16 Tells Monckton Milnes of the sufferings in Manchester – spring trade of course may pick up – but bemoans the fact that no one of note has come to tell the workpeople about the details of Florence Nightingale’s work in the war – this would lift the Nightingale Fund, which is languishing.
- 17 Transcription obviously by Marianne to Ellen Nussey conveying her mother’s thanks for the description of Anne Brontë’s death at Scarborough, which she hopes Ellen will let her use in the *Life*. Wants her to know that she has had letters from Smith and Williams, some an advance on any others she has had.
- c20 To Ellen Nussey. Inviting her after 11 January, has not yet written a line of the Memoir, hasn’t heard from Haworth since the end of August, hopes to go there in the Spring. Had hoped to get a quarter completed before the New Year. Charlotte’s letters to Williams are good and friendly, not so those to Smith. Wants to talk to her about Anne Brontë’s death.
- ‘The Half-Brothers’ is published in Fulcher’s Ladies’ Memorandum Book, and Poetical Miscellany (dated 1856 but sold near Xmas 1855) [Information from J. G. Sharps].
- 26 Katie Winkworth writes to Emily that on Friday evening (21 December) she went to see Lily and Mr and Mrs Nasmyth were there. Praise for Nasmyth. She describes Nasmyth as ‘uniting such force of character, and sharp hard cleverness, with such a splendid imagination and delicate fancy’ (L&M i 513).

## 1856

### January

- c1 (Tues.) Wittily to Eliza Fox saying WG asks Mr Fox to initiate a bill which would protect husbands against wives who spent all their money. Quotes from *Little Dorrit* (I vii, early, so she must be reading the numbers as they come out), but is weighed down by personal worries and griefs at the moment. Returns petition (which sought to amend the law on Married Women’s Property, hence the above wit) but is sceptical, while allowing that women are discriminated against legally. Enigmatically says if Tottie reminds her of

Xmas and New Year 1856 that she might confide a pathetic tale which only indirectly concerns her (EG).

(early January) EG has visited everywhere where Charlotte stayed and lived.

7(?) To Richard Monckton Milnes asking if he had received the pamphlet she sent him on Scott's *Guy Mannering*.

7 To Ellen Nussey saying she has to see a friend on the following Monday (the 14 January) and stay for a week: hopes this does not clash with time of Ellen's visit.

(January) Manchester Free Trade Hall finished.

9 Says she has everything ready in her mind for writing *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. She will see Ellen later, when she returns from the South.

About this time visits the Winkworths at Alderley Edge.

13 Writes again to Monckton Milnes, this time about the Nightingale Fund meeting to be held in Manchester on the 17 January. Sydney Herbert (Minister at War during Crimean campaign) has been invited to Manchester for the occasion. Milnes can stay in his usual room.

16(?) Writes to Marianne arranging for her and Meta to meet her at the station if they want to attend the meeting (see previous entry).

16 Writes to Henry Morley from Alderley for news of a Miss Clarke, who requires a position in Manchester. May help if she sees her. Jocular remarks about the difficulty of locating exactly where he, Morley, lives.

18 To Parthenope saying how well the Nightingale Fund meeting went off the previous day (17 January) particularly through support of working people for their idol. Muted praise for the speeches of Sydney Herbert and Lord Stanley, but was greatly warmed by personal recollections of Florence by Monckton Milnes. EG's own fervour for Florence Nightingale's achievements evident.

21 To Hachette praising the translations of *Cranford* and *Ruth*, of the latter observing she was very pleased to discover the sense of her writing so finely captured.

22 Thanks Lord Stanhope for his praise and honest criticism of *North and South* and for sending a gift of his speeches, one given at Birmingham on Rome particularly appreciated. Has only studied maps but waxes lyrical about the fascinations of Rome before actually experiencing them.

- (January) Mary Taylor's letter to EG, with one vitally important letter of Charlotte's. EG used both in *The Life*, Mary's comments being included in the final chapter.
- (January) EG and Meta reading Julia Kavanagh's *Rachel Gray*.

## February

- 9 (Sat.) Asking unknown correspondent who had agreed to contribute £5 annually for his payment towards helping Rosa Mitchell, their friend and ex-governess. EG very warm in her praise of Rosa, a thoroughly good but incapacitated woman whose only lodgers are the ageing William Turner (now 94) and his companion. When he dies she will have no means of subsistence. Typical of EG's compassionate involvement.
- 9 ?1856 Tells Mrs Archer Clive that Smith wishes to be put in touch with her: he is thinking of publishing a cheap edition of her novel *Paul Ferroll*.
- 22 Marianne tells Ellen Nussey EG has written 20 pages of her Memoir – thinks it will be ready for Autumn 1857 publication. Feels interest in it will not have waned, cites Arthur Stanley's *Life of Arnold* and Lady Holland's *Life of Sydney Smith* as contemporary examples written 8 or 10 years after the subject's death.
- 26 WG is paid just over £71 for the 1 volume *Cranford* and the 1 volume (*Lizzie Leigh and Other Tales*) as per agreement with Chapman.
- 28 Peace in the Crimea.

## March

- 8 (Sat.) To Elizabeth Barrett Browning asking if she and Robert could advise a friend of hers who will be staying in Italy for a few months, and also provide him with letters of introduction which would get him into the artists' circle.
- 12 To Patricroft with Katie Winkworth (see below).
- 13 Katie Winkworth describes the visit to Patricroft where Nasmyth showed them his 'room and models and gave us a lesson in geology, illustrated by impromptu diagrams drawn on the wall, alternately with a piece of white chalk and a sooty fore-finger' (L&M ii 17–18). They then visited the works. Selina is with Lily who has a large party that evening (Connects with Paul Manning's father in *Cousin Phillis*.)



- (Spring) Thanks James Nasmyth for a portfolio of drawings he has sent her.
- 13 From Kirkby Lonsdale – with friends and visiting Cowan Bridge and the Clergy Daughters' School – writes to Frances Holland – is preparing for a visit to Brussels (probably early May). Doesn't want to be bothered by civilities – just wants to learn all she can of Charlotte's two years there. Is bringing Flossy and Julia up to London for two weeks, will send them back and go on to Brussels. Asking Frances's practical help – covert literary and educational introductions re the Hégiers is what she wants. Hopefully week in London sightseeing with the girls – late April to 6 May.
- 14 Brief note to Ticknor & Fields saying she has already agreed to let Appleton and Co of New York have the early sheets of *The Life*, for which she will receive £75.
- 15 To Harriet Anderson (probably née Carr) from Burrow-Hall (Kirkby Lonsdale) – has peace and quiet to write. Returned from Scotland and before Christmas, at one time, had 19 people staying in the house. Praises friendship of Monckton Milnes, who stayed with them. Mentions bad headaches. Tells her of the Brontë commission, and is uncertain of herself as biographer since she has never written one. 'I have to be accurate and keep to facts; a most difficult thing for a writer of fiction' (*FL* 155). Has got to hit the right style but praises WG's taste and knowledge here, though she rallies him that sometimes he doesn't read books for content but for style. Gives account of her daughters – Meta is to stay with the Charles Darwins at Easter (Darwin the naturalist who voyaged round the globe in the *Beagle*), then of the others and the dead Willie, misquoting slightly – 'a child whom all who looked on, loved' – partly recalling the lines on Wordsworth's son's tombstone (Thomas Wordsworth died in 1812). This letter contains the only direct reference to EG's boy child who died as a baby, living just a week.
- French translation of *Ruth*, by Guizot's daughters, published about this time.
- 16 Petition to Lords and Commons (EG a signatory) protesting against the law which prohibited married women from owning property (see above c1 January).

## April

- 19 (Sat.) Mary Taylor from New Zealand to Ellen Nussey: 'Mrs Gaskell seems far too able a woman to put her head into such a wasp nest as she wd raise about her by speaking the truth of living people.' (Joan Stevens *Mary Taylor: Friend of Charlotte Brontë* ... (1972), p.126 and fn 2). EG's ability – and susceptibility – led her to errors of judgement in writing 'the truth'.

EG in London. WG takes Susanna and Alice Winkworth to a piano recital in Manchester – behaved very pleasantly and extremely attentive to them.

- 29(?) Tells Marianne she is trying to organize visit to Brussels and is being frustrated. Hasn't heard from WG, wonders whether he will let Meta go. EG will go to Windsor Friday (2 May), getting the Antwerp packet on Sunday (4 May). Next day (30 April) will visit Hampton Court.

From Chelsea advises George Smith of her Brussels visit. Is in London showing her girls the sights – they go home Friday or may stay with Lady Coltman until Monday (5 May), and she will go to Brussels.

- 30 Jane Carlyle records dining at the Wedgwoods in London and meeting EG, to whom she felt antipathetic.

- 30(?) Tells the Wheelwrights she is off to Brussels early the following week to research Charlotte Brontë's residence there – wishes to see them the next day.

From the Kings Road to Mrs Ludlow. Has had long day at the Crystal Palace (Sydenham). Would like to visit her after her return. Leaving London with Meta for a week or two, hopefully back in mid-May.

## May

- 4 (Sun.) National Thanksgiving Day to mark the end of war in the Crimea.

- 5(?) From Hyde Park Gardens acknowledging George Smith's gift of a translation of Chevalier Bunsen's *Signs of the Times: Letters on Religious Liberty* which the author sent her but which she could not read in the original. Will discuss Patrick Brontë with him when she returns.

- 6(?) To Marianne from Euston Square telling her they will be leaving for Brussels that night by her chosen route. Very upset, crying partly because she is overtired and because letters about the children staying in London had not

got through to WG. Gives Marianne her Brussels' address. Children went to children's party & Sir James Clark's the previous evening.

6 Leaves for Brussels that night.

In Brussels Madame Héger refuses to see her. Probably gets idea for 'The Poor Clare' (see below) during this visit. Obviously sees Héger and gets some detail.

22 Hears from Héger after her return to England – he sends samples of Charlotte's and Emily's work, but Charlotte's letters to him containing anything compromising will be suppressed. (EG's emphasis later is to blame Branwell for Charlotte's suffering though the latter's repressed love for Héger obviously contributed.)

24 Letter from Harriet Beecher Stowe. Commends the daughter of a 'fugitive slave' (Waller 65) and her husband to EG. Much praise for *North and South* – hopes to see her in England in the summer. *Mary Barton* made her cry.

31(?) Asks Monckton Milnes if Meta can see his 'Blakes' (manuscripts or books coloured and engraved by Blake) without inconveniencing him – EG always furthering Meta's interest in art.

## June

6 (Fri.) Has to decline the Milmans' invitation to breakfast on the 12 June as she is breakfasting at Lord Stanhope's.

13 Writes to George Smith saying she is breakfasting with the Milmans on 17 June – wants to see him afterwards to go to the Chapter Coffee House with its Brontë associations.

13(?) Thanks Miss Wheelwright for an important pencilled note, obviously connected with Charlotte.

17 (See entry 13 June.) Visits the Chapter Coffee House with Smith – a waiter, remembering the Brontës' visit there, gave her some information about them.

21 To John Greenwood pleading pressure of work for not replying to him but pleased to know that Patrick Brontë's health is somewhat better.

21 Likely date for John Palfrey's letter to EG saying he would send her details of witch trials – relevant to the conception of *Lois the Witch*.

## July

- June/July(?) Thinking of giving up visiting in August since she has a gardener coming on the 28 June. So busy she is even neglecting her work on Charlotte Brontë.
- 9(?) (Wed.) Upset over Nicholls' refusal to let George Smith have Charlotte Brontë's portrait for copying. She appreciates Patrick Brontë's note but is angry with Nicholls. Wants to show the note to WG. Fears that application for further letters and papers may be obstructed.
- 9 To Ellen Nussey – long letter. Recaps Mme Héger's refusal to see her, liked Héger. Visited the Chapter Coffee House in Paternoster Row with George Smith. Has been everywhere that Charlotte lived (complete commitment reflected in *The Life* itself) but must go to Haworth again, very apprehensive. Héger sure Charlotte kept his letters to her. Smith suggests that she looks at the MS of *The Professor*. Wants to see the fragment of the novel (Emma) which Charlotte had begun. Interesting observations on Smith himself, again with an in-built Brontë reference: Smith has 'a very pretty, Paulina-like little wife' (GL 395). Wants to see Charlotte's letters to her father from London. Then asks Ellen detailed questions, for example about Emily and Branwell. Had written 20 pages yesterday, but will be away throughout August. Smith tells her not to rush – it would be indelicate to publish too quickly.
- 15 Marianne on behalf of her mother asking Ellen about the advice Charlotte gave her on her reading (about 1835). Wants to visit Haworth shortly, asks how Charlotte obtained accepted classics. EG did not see many books at Haworth apart from new ones. Did the aunt (Miss Branwell) make favourites, what religious opinions did Emily have, what did they do at home between leaving Roe Head and becoming governesses? Did Charlotte write stories at Miss Wooler's? Did Miss Branwell ill-treat the children? – she thinks Charlotte told her their aunt's treatment of them was the same as Mrs Reed's treatment of Jane Eyre.
- 23 Goes to Haworth.
- 24 Says she will be coming home that day. Wants so much to see the children

- 25 Letter from Marianne to Ellen Nussey describing Haworth, Patrick Brontë not well but got up to see them, they lunched at the Inn, Mr Nicholls parted with *The Professor* and what was written of Charlotte's new novel. EG has returned from her visit pleased with its results. (See below.)
- 25(?) EG's account of the Haworth visit to George Smith – Sir J K-S in command – got *The Professor*, *Emma*, and the paper books of different sizes which, according to WG, would fill more than 50 volumes. – 'but they are the wildest & most incoherent things'... 'They give one the idea of creative power carried to the verge of insanity' (GL 398). If photographed would give some indication of the 'fineness' of the script. Sir J K-S virtually got permission for portrait to be photographed, but ultimate decision is to rest with Nicholls. EG uncomfortable about this. Future movements – Boughton until 5 August, to Dumbleton on 14 or 15 August, then Broad Leas, Devizes (EG enjoys sojourns in country houses!). Their own house almost shut up until start of September.
- 30 Suggests to Smith Nicholls should be consulted about publication of *The Professor*. Feels that Sir J K-S has ignored this.

## August

- (early) Katie and Susanna Winkworth go to Heidelberg.
- 1 (Fri.) From Boughton, Worcester to Smith objecting to the publication of any of Hégér's letters being published. Hasn't seen *The Professor* yet but fears that it is connected to Hégér. Worried because Sir J K-S is insensitive to others, she noticed that he swept everything aside at Haworth. Thinks W. S. Williams should undertake revision of Charlotte's material, Sir J K-S not to edit *The Professor*. (Presumably EG allowed Sir J K-S to take *The Professor*, which would be returned to her later).
- 4 Writes Jemima Quillinan about Branwell Brontë's letter to Wordsworth asking for comments on his poems. (Date was 19 January 1837 but he got no reply.) (FL 159 fn 3.)
- 6 Asks Parthenope Nightingale if she could have a copy of a letter from Florence Nightingale in which there is an oblique reference to her. Obviously treasuring her feelings for Florence: everything she can learn about her is heart-warming.

- 7 Florence Nightingale arrives back from the Crimea. Afterwards Parthenope writes a letter full of reverential praise for her sister's character to EG ('she is so calm so cheerful so simple') (Waller 22–3).
- 13 Thanks Jemima Quillinan for Branwell's letter (see 4 August). EG has been attending British Association Meetings (for the Advancement of Science) in previous week – she encloses note for Mrs Wordsworth.
- Tells Smith she has read *The Professor* (doesn't rate it highly), there should be no objection to its publication, though this rests with Nicholls. Thanks him for the photograph.
- 15 Believes publication of her Memoir and that of *The Professor* (with Nicholls' approval) will each command its own interest.
- 19 Thinks Charlotte's language is so good that wherever possible it should be retained – let her speak for herself. Nicholls will be in touch with Smith about *The Professor*, EG about to write her attack on Elizabeth Rigby (later Lady Eastlake) for her *Quarterly* strictures. Nicholls against letters being used – EG is being careful about her extracts – *The Life* will be ready by Christmas – a total of 240 pages now – probably about half way through. Going to Broad Leas the next day, 20 August. (She is at Dumbleton Hall.)
- 22 Asks Letitia Wheelwright how Charlotte spent her holidays in Brussels, and how she and Emily spent their school life there. Intent on factual detail.
- 27 To Chapman about royalties, trying to discover whether she is owed anything for *The Moorland Cottage* as nearly four years have passed since she was told anything about 'that unfortunate tale' (GL 407). (Points out that she was to have half profits on copies printed above 2000.)

## September

- 7–8 (Sun.–Mon.) Tells Emily Shaen she resumes her work on Charlotte the next day. Repeats details of Haworth visit, finds *Emma* fragment fascinating (it was published by George Smith in the first issue of his *Cornhill* Magazine in 1860). Has been suffering from indifferent health. Repeats reservations about Sir James K–S's idea of publishing *The Professor* (with his revisions) – fears it will involve H  ger, who might publish the letters he has. Gives detailed commentary on it. Stresses Nicholls' involvement in the situation. Accounts

given to others repeated, her recent holidays outlined. 120 new pages written while away. Expecting many guests in Autumn, October and November, but now must utilize her time for *The Life*. WG to the Lakes on the 12 September for ten days.

8 Thanks F. J. Furnivall(?) for sending her some light verses. Tells Anna Jameson work on *The Life* progressing slowly, mainly because she is constantly getting new material and having to revise.

10 Suggests to Smith that *The Life* should be delayed until after the publication of *The Professor*. Asks if he has been in touch with George Henry Lewes, who wrote to Emily and Charlotte, and also wants to know about a letter Charlotte wrote him (Lewes) after his article on *Shirley* in the *Edinburgh Review*.

10 Writes to the publisher Robert Chambers about his correspondence with Charlotte Brontë around 1845 which he had promised to send her.

11 From Marianne to Ellen Nussey – ‘Mama’ has reached 1846 in *The Life* but lacks detail about the Bells’ (Brontës’) poems published in that year. Does Ellen remember any facts about the publication? EG working very hard. Details of 1846 must be integrated into her work.

?September Gets Smith to thank Lewes for sending Charlotte’s letters. Doesn’t want to have personal dealings with Lewes or with minor poet Sidney Dobell with whom Charlotte corresponded. EG loves Charlotte’s priceless remark about being able to protect herself from her adversaries but invoking God to save her from her friends. Wants the *Athenaeum* which reviewed the Bells’ poems. Curious about the gender of the novelist ‘Holme Lee’ (Harriet Parr).

30 Pestors Smith about the publication of *The Professor* (has Nicholls made any alterations to it?). EG has been unwell – had a fainting fit.

(Autumn?) To Emelyn Story. Hopes to finish *The Life* by end of February (1857) and then get away and escape reviews.

## October

(early) In *Westminster Review* George Eliot refers to EG in ‘Silly Novels by Lady Novelists’. Of serious women novelists she asserts that ‘critical enthusiasm drops to the freezing point,

Harriet Martineau, Currer Bell, and Mrs Gaskell have been treated as cavalierly as if they had been men'.

- 2 (Thurs.) To George Smith – 300 of 600 pages written, still hopes to complete by February – will be in Rome for Holy Week in April in 1857. Stresses her sensitivity to reviews, depressed if they are bad. Interesting comments on *The Professor*, one outstanding female character but not an interesting story: wishes that Nicholls had taken more out, hates thought of Charlotte being misunderstood – 'her character as a woman was unusual to the point of being unique' (GL 417). Thinks he is right in wanting publication of her Memoir before *The Professor*. Grateful to Lewes for sending Charlotte's letters – and to Smith for arranging this. Wants to libel Lady Scott, the publisher Newby and Elizabeth Rigby. Does he mind? This statement fraught with consequences.
- October? To W. S. Williams – wants reviews from *Athenaeum* and *Examiner* (presumably of *Jane Eyre*).
- (October) EG to Williams. Has been ill, otherwise she would have acknowledged his letter before. Sends him copy of significant letter Charlotte wrote to Mary Taylor in New Zealand. ('Rose Yorke' in *Shirley* is thought to be based on Mary Taylor.)
- 31 Defines the fine qualities of women – they are tactful, sensitive, and have high abilities but lack judgment and 'are at best angelic geese as to matters requiring serious and long scientific consideration. I'm *not* a friend of Female Medical Education' (GL 419). (See 13 January.)

## November

- 3 (Mon.) Patrick Brontë wants to see her work on Charlotte published, but cautions her only to let WG and her publisher see it.
- (?early November ?1856) Writes to George Smith about the photographic reproduction for *The Life*, mentioning Mr Stewart the photographer (see 11 November below).
- 11 Thanks photographer for Richmond's Portrait of Charlotte which is engraved for the 1st edition frontispiece, though the glass in the frame of the photograph was broken.
- 13 1856(?) Letter from Charles Reade perhaps belongs to this year. Thanks the author of *Mary Barton* for having 'discovered a



touch of Nature in one of my works and encourages me to proceed' (Waller 59).

- c15 Tells Smith that once she has finished writing *The Life* she won't be undertaking another biography. Learns via Chorley that permission to publish letters rests with executors: Nicholls has final say and could prohibit publication. Nicholls and Patrick Brontë insist WG must be the only person to see her manuscript. EG feeling the pressures. Obviously irritated by Nicholls.
- 15(?) Publication of Mrs Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (though 1857 on title page).
- 17 Writes to Ludlow about the Land Scheme for the industrial poor which was a failure. Wants his advice for those who put their money into it previously and may be taken advantage of now.
- 22 Still annoyed over Nicholls – says Smith's idea of sending him (Nicholls) the requisite application form is the best one. If he won't agree to publication of the letters, she is in for a substantial re-write.
- 27 Ludlow again – the friend (poor) who invested in the scheme has but little chance of getting some of his money back. Has been in North Wales for a week 19–26 November staying with the Dukinfield Darbishires at Pendyffryn Hall.

## December

- 1 (Mon.) Nicholls agrees to allow EG to use his wife's MS writings but stresses to Smith his own suffering and disquiet about the writing of *The Life*, which he himself believes is something close to desecration.
- 6 Encloses note to Thackeray via Smith apologizing for taking the liberty of getting Mr Stewart this introduction to him. Pleased that Nicholls has agreed to give them permission. Stewart should photograph Haworth village and the churchyard which was Charlotte's daily view.
- 11 Asks Smith for publication date of *Jane Eyre* and of first review which signalled its success and how Charlotte received this success. Checking Charlotte's correspondence with Smith, says Patrick Brontë is jealous of Ellen Nussey, won't let EG show her her MS. Decides to circumvent this by reading it to her. Will send *The Life* by end of January.

Thackeray too ill to come to Manchester – EG feels he could have gone to see Patrick Brontë earlier.

- 11 Letter from Marianne to Ellen Nussey telling her EG thinks she recalls that Charlotte did not tell the seriously ill Branwell *Jane Eyre* had been written or that it was a success. Can Ellen confirm this? Invites her for 12 January (1857) when EG will read her what she has written.

December(?) Wants date of the 2nd edition of *Jane Eyre* with the dedication to Thackeray – this provides evidence of the great demand for the novel.

Asks Smith if he can print without the whole of the MS. She has 100 pages ready to send. Obsessed with fact her letters should be burned, unless they are business letters. Wants to leave England by 8–9 February. Thackeray lecturing in Manchester. Wanted to hear him but virtuously stuck to her task of writing on.

- 13 First part of 'The Poor Clare' in *HW XIV*. Somewhat complex story of a girl, victim of a seducer, with a mother's resultant curse which inadvertently falls on her granddaughter, the curse lifted by death. EG's Brussels' visit reflected here. Also Lancashire historical atmospheric narrative, Lindeth Tower associations, authenticity of period, delight in legends, again effects of curse, demoniac possession and use of the 'double', absolution.

18 Via Marianne hopes Ellen Nussey can come 10 January.

20 Second part of 'The Poor Clare' in *HW XIV*.

20 To George Smith discussing publication of *The Life* – format, etc. Asks him to tell her what he thinks she should be paid for it. Feels she should part with copyright, but also she should have a good price for it (WG would prefer that she kept the copyright.)

26 Marianne fixes date with Ellen Nussey for 12 January.

26 Contrasts Mrs Robinson's (later Lady Scott's) life with Branwell's death (Smith has obviously cautioned her about this and indicated his reservations). She will consider how to alter this, but worries about it and what she has said about rogue publisher Newby. Offers to consult lawyer friends, or perhaps Smith would prefer to edit out material that might prove troublesome. Feels sensitive about including one of Charlotte's letters – Smith obviously feels personal references to him and his family should have been removed. Reminds him she got £600 for *North and South*

and expected more for this biography. Her expenses have been at least £100. Wants to be out of the country when it is published, but has to be back in Manchester by beginning of May when the city's Art Exhibition opens, since they have many friends coming to stay.

27 The final part of 'The Poor Clare' in *HW*.

29 Smith has raised his offer from £600 to £800: here EG asks asks him to allow her to condemn Newby lawfully, and hopes his, Smith's lawyer, will save her from a libel suit, an ingenuous stance in view of what occurred. There follows long paragraph headed '*Private*'. In it EG goes into detail (without naming her) of Lady Scott's 'seduction' of Branwell, citing her sources. It symbolizes the sufferings the Brontës endured. She will consider Smith's objections but will not guarantee to alter anything. Explains her business relations with Appleton and Hachette, the latter having rights of translation. Raises the possibility of Tauchnitz taking *The Life*. Tells him of Ellen (Nussey's) coming visit. Wants to send Nicholls £100 for the parish of Haworth, probably for a pump since the village water supplies are poor.

## 1857

### January

(early)

Tells the Storys she has 200 pages to write – hopes to leave for Rome on the day of publication, arriving about 20 February. Tells Marianne of Meta's unhappiness. Adds poignantly that she couldn't endure it if the two girls did not love each other deeply. Concern evident after some kind of a falling out between them. Humorously – 'look after Julia's two ends, i.e. hair, & bowels' (*GL* 435). Miss Nussey coming on the 12 January – EG behindhand with her writing, which is very wearisome. Longed for tranquillity of Knutsford 17–20 January but it was not possible.

To George Smith – surprised she has had no proofs – is he going to publish *The Life* by 8 February? If not she will not overwork since it won't be scheduled until November.

7 (Wed.)

Still complaining about no proofs – asks Smith about a Charlotte Brontë letter (of 9 January 1851) – wants to copy extracts into *The Life* but will be guided by his judgment.

- 9 Has got MS from Smith but doesn't see what has to be altered. Will he explain?
- 12 Wants MS sent with proofs, spells out business arrangements re sheets and translations. Has received £50 via Williams and Norgate.
- 16 Katie Winkworth tells Emily on Saturday (10 January) she visited Lily who was unwell the previous week but hopes to resume writing shortly. Katie liked Ellen Nussey 'who must have been very pretty once' (Shaen 167), and who had read through *The Life* and seemed to approve it.
- 19(?) Probably to W.S. Williams(?) – more details which are really revisions. Ellen Nussey has been there reading MS: she commented how accurately life at Haworth had been presented.

## February

- (early) To an unknown correspondent seeking information/details about staying in Rome.
- 4 (Wed.) No proofs yet – wants to go to Rome on 14 February, requests £250 before that date if it is possible. Is he or is he not going to publish now? She will delay going abroad if he isn't (wants to be out of the country whenever the book appears). Has sent him Stewart's photographs, though she is a little disappointed with them. Everything depends on her knowing when he (Smith) is going to publish.
- 6 Writes to Smith enclosing her sepia drawing of Haworth, which she feels might be better than a photograph. (It was engraved and used as the frontispiece to Vol. ii of the 1st edition).
- 7 Tells Laetitia Wheelright that she has finished *The Life* today. Going to Rome next week. Returns letters, and will reserve her a copy of the book.
- 8 Returns proofs, MS of Charlotte's works etc to George Smith. Conclusion will arrive on Tuesday (10 February), glad he likes her sketch of Haworth. Encloses list of people to whom she wishes copies sent.
- 8 (strictly 9) To Hachette – leaving on 13 February, will be in Paris from the 15 February onwards and would like to see him and his wife on the Monday evening (16 February). Katie Winkworth (unnamed) is with them. They will stay until Tuesday 17 February as of course will Meta and Marianne.

- 9 Writes to Emelyn Story delightedly giving (provisional) dates. Leaves on 13 February, Paris Hotel 15–17 February, at Marseilles afternoon of 18 February, leaving on 19 February for Civita Vecchia, arriving 21 February Saturday morning in Rome (but see below). Hopes to stay with the Storys for a few days.
- 9 Writes to George Smith asking for £50 to be paid on her account to a Roman agent.
- 11 To George Smith telling him unlike Charlotte she dislikes reviews and the way reviewing is done in England. Thanks him for his kindnesses to her, asks for a copy of *The Life* to be sent to Mary Taylor in New Zealand, quoting the latter's celebrated 'nest of hornets' remark (see 19 April 1856).
- 11 Writes to Edward Hale. Mainly about the Spottiswoodes, their publishing/printing business, blue books, royal seal etc and the ritual of prayer – religious atmosphere of the place. His American parcel arrived on Saturday (5 minutes after she had completed *The Life*!). Announces trip to Rome on Friday (13 February) – has been therefore hurriedly reading Madame Ossoli (Margaret Fuller), which would be confiscated if she took it with her to read: she realised she could not take it into the Papal States. To EG America seems so far off, not to be reached in this life. Names Americans she knows in London, including a slave-owner whom despite herself she liked. (Hale favoured abolition). She is returning by 1 May – hopes he will like *The Life*. Much self-examination about the Roman trip, wishing she knew whether it was right to go or not, wondering whether it is self-indulgent or a much-needed holiday.
- 13 Sets off on journey via Paris.
- 15–17 Staying at hotel in the Rue du Bac in Paris.
- 16(?) 1857(?) Writes to Hachette re *The Moorland Cottage* and 'Mr Harrison's Confessions' (could belong to 1855).
- 18 Arrives at Marseilles.
- 19 Leaves for Civita Vecchia on the *Oran* – during journey boiler bursts, resultant delay (incident used as dramatic tension in 'A Dark Night's Work').
- 21 Arrives Civita Vecchia. (During this trip Meta grows closer to Captain Hill, a widower with two children, leading to their engagement.)
- 22 The *Oran* still at Civita Vecchia.

- 23 Reaches Rome according to Meta Gaskell (writing in 1910). EG and the girls stay with the Storys.
- 24 (Shrove Tuesday): 'there stood out the figure of a young man just below the balcony, smiling up at my mother, whom he knew he was to see there..' (Meta Gaskell (1910) quoted Whitehill (1932), Introduction xix.). This is Charles Eliot Norton. EG and daughters much feted in Rome – dinners, visits, parties. Dr (later Cardinal) Manning at the Storys (WG feared his influence on Marianne). Saw all the sights. EG told a number of stories. Mrs Stowe also there (see below). Much taken about by Norton, who later recalled EG's admiration for *Modern Painters*.
- cFebruary Gives Lady Hatherton an account of the germ of 'The Poor Clare'.

### March

- 12 (Thurs.) Katie Winkworth finds Mrs Stowe a commonplace person and just as unpopular in Rome as she was in England.
- 15 Writes to a Mrs Hozier apologising for not coming to see her on the previous evening but she and her daughters were too fatigued by sight-seeing.
- Norton somewhat critical of his outspoken compatriot Mrs Stowe. (Spring in Rome) Writes to Norton – thanking him for offering to take them for a drive, accepting now that her headache is better.
- 20 Katie Winkworth observes that the Gaskells are almost overcome by meeting so many people and attending so many parties.
- 25 Katie Winkworth says of EG and her daughters that they are being much feted by Embassy staff, and prominent Roman Catholics are visiting them.
- 25 Publication of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in two volumes. Smith paid EG £1000 for it plus £200 extra for the 3rd edition and its revisions.
- 30 Letter to Norton introducing a Mr Norris to him and suggesting they will enjoy compatibility of interests.
- 30 Patrick Brontë writes to Smith praising *The Life* but asks to see criticisms of it.

### April

Opening of the Manchester Art Exhibition in this month.

- 2 (Thurs.) Patrick Brontë writes of his pleasure in *The Life* but afterwards mounts objections. Notes some small errors which could be put right for the next edition.
- 4 *Spectator* Supplement says *The Life* reveals one of the deepest of contemporary tragedies.
- 4 Review in the *Athenaeum* of *The Life* by H. F. Chorley praises its exemplary execution and considers it to be a very fine biography of a woman by one of her own sex.
- 9 Speaking to Mrs Jameson of EG's forthcoming visit Elizabeth Barrett Browning observes that she knows that she will like her (EG) and feels very warmly towards her. She says that she is sure of this because of EG's letters and books, expressing great admiration for the latter.
- 10 EG and daughters attend Good Friday ceremonies in the Sistine Chapel.
- 11 *Examiner* (unsigned) praises *The Life* but underlines the danger of publishing private correspondence and admires the sympathetic warmth of EG's tone.
- 11 *Poems* by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell reissued by Smith, Elder.
- 12 *Observer* says of *The Life* that it will be held in affection.
- 15 EG and Marianne scheduled to go to Florence the previous day, continuing to Venice, then leaving for home. Stayed in Venice until 10 May.
- 15 G. H. Lewes writes to EG of the great pleasure he has experienced in reading *The Life*: he was deeply moved and tearful as he read on and on. He is convinced that the biography will have a lasting and profound effect, since it succeeds in conveying 'the psychological drama and the scenic accessories with so much vividness.' . . . 'The early part is a triumph for you; the rest a monument for your friend' (*The George Eliot Letters* ii 315–6). The next day he posted the final part of George Eliot's 'Mr Gilfil's Love-story' to John Blackwood.
- 15 WG writes to Ellen Nussey saying he has only seen favourable reviews of *The Life*, Patrick Brontë is pleased, and Nicholls will rejoice that Charlotte's Christianity will be celebrated.
- 18 *The Economist* appreciates the method in *The Life* of largely letting Charlotte Brontë tell her own story.
- 23 Publication of the 2nd edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*.

- 24 Carus Wilson's letter to the *Daily News*, on the misrepresentation of Cowan Bridge School in *The Life*, sets up controversy with Nicholls; provincial papers join the attack.
- 29 On Tuesday (28 April) evening Katie goes with EG and Meta to see the Brownings 'I really only saw Mrs Browning, for she scarcely spoke'. It wasn't a 'brilliant' occasion. 'Mrs Gaskell talked chiefly about Miss Brontë, in which I acted chorus' (L&M ii 140).
- 30 WG receives a copy of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* from Ludlow.

## May

Trollope, *Barchester Towers*.

- 4 (Mon.) Harriet Martineau to Snow Wedgwood from Ambleside – has sent WG a long letter about *The Life* and has only one point of disagreement with EG – WG promises immediately that when it is reprinted she, Harriet, will see that justice has been done to her. This seems to concern Harriet's criticism of *Villette* and EG's failure to present it accurately. Then says that EG had visited her and consulted her about *The Life*, was effusive and moved to tears when she went but didn't keep in touch and didn't send Harriet a copy when it was published. (*Harriet Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgwood*, ed., Elizabeth Sanders Arbuckle (1983), pp. 151–3). EG said Charlotte was upset by the review and letter: in the 3rd edition of *The Life* EG used Martineau's letter to make adjustments and corrections. (See 22 August below.)

While on holiday in Rome EG read Edmond About's novella of Roman Life, *Tolla* (1856).

- 5 Opening of the Manchester Exhibition of Art Treasures by Prince Albert.
- 6 Quibble from the *Guardian*: *The Life* is not really successful since one cannot form a mental picture as one can from Lockhart's *Life of Scott*.
- 9 Madame Mohl hears that Lady Scott is threatening libel action over *The Life*.
- 10 Indian Mutiny begins in Meerut (Meta's projected wedding affected by news).
- 10 First American edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* published (unrevised). (Smith 127 gives dates between 9–15 May, and lists one dated 10 May).



- 10 EG in Venice until this date. Perhaps saw Tauchnitz edition of *The Life* via Norton.
- 14 Kingsley's letter praising EG for doing her work so well that he himself has been converted to Charlotte Brontë, deploring his previous error of judgement and considering Charlotte to be way above himself.
- 22 George Eliot tells Sara Hennell she and Lewes had read *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* – they admired it, shed tears over it and were uplifted by it.
- 24 or 25 arrives in Paris and gets her mail (many letters, and more await her in England).
- 26 Unsold copies of *The Life* returned to the publishers at their request.
- 26 WG instructs William Shaen, who drew up the retraction for EG re Lady Scott. Shaen's letter says 'I am instructed to retract every statement contained in that work [*The Life*] which imputes to a widowed lady, referred to, but not named therein, any breach of her conjugal, of her maternal, or of her social duties, and more especially of the statements contained in chapter 13 of the first volume, and in chapter 2 of the second, which impute to the lady in question a guilty intercourse with the late Branwell Brontë'. He goes on to say he is authorised 'to express the deep regret of Mrs Gaskell that she should have been led to make them' [the statements] though at the time she believed that they were based upon reliable information.
- 28 EG arrives Plymouth Grove.
- 30 Retraction published in *The Times*, together with a note from Lady Scott's solicitors accepting the apology and accepting too EG's statement that she believed the information to be reliable.

## June

(sometime) writes to William Fairbairn thanking him for his appreciation of *The Life* since she has had many letters criticising her representation of Cowan Bridge School. Copies the preface (see below) for him to see. Invites him to tea: Ellen Nussey is staying with them.

Harriet Martineau tells Katie Winkworth that she appreciates EG's concern to put everything right as far as she is concerned: her wishes have been fully met.

- 1 (Mon.) Letter to Rev R. S. Oldham indicates what she has suffered over *The Life* for telling the truth, but thanking him for his praise. Only got back from Italian holiday on the 28 May. Quotes the 'hornet's nest' remark. Marianne will take up Mrs Oldham's invitation later.
- 3 To Smith – will do what he wishes in preparing 3rd edition – insertions as well as cuts – new letter from Mary Taylor, possible use of information about Cowan Bridge etc. – 'I hate the whole affair, & every thing connected with it' (GL 449). Consulting Mr Shaen about all this. Apologises to him for the trouble she has caused him.
- 3 Begins 'Home!' to Norton – she encountered trouble following publication of *The Life*, mostly settled in the best way for her. Mrs Stowe will stay overnight (3 June) then visit the Manchester Exhibition: lyrical description of Italian journey, but 100 letters to answer, wishes WG looked fitter, tells Norton she hopes he could persuade WG to go to America, but although he is in need of change he dislikes being away from his home. He would get leave of absence. Markedly upset by the furore over *The Life*. Asks him when he will come to visit them.
- 4 Goes to Exhibition with Mrs Stowe. Spare rooms full May to October.
- 5 Gives George Smith a breakdown of her movements, notes Carus Wilson has threatened action. Requests East Indian Army List (obviously intent on learning more about Captain Hill), wants copy of *Jane Eyre* with Charlotte's preface and her dedication to Thackeray. Mentions the Smiths perhaps visiting their Exhibition before it finishes.
- 6 To Kingsley thanking him for praise of *The Life* and saying he does not know what Charlotte had to endure and what she had to listen to.
- Christian Observer* attacks *The Life*.
- 6 The retraction published in *The Athenaeum*
- 6 The *Athenaeum* column 'Our Weekly Gossip' says 'biographers should be deterred from rushing into print with mere impressions in place of proofs, however eager and sincere those impressions be'. *The Life* must be modified, altered, 'ere it can be further circulated'. (As a result 2nd edition is withdrawn, copies of 1st edition called in though Mudie's apparently put their copies on the market.)

Siege of Cawnpore begins.

- 12 Publication of *The Professor*.
- 16 Gives Ellen Nussey news of controversy and praise (accepts that she is indeed in the hornet's nest), inviting her to visit that week (wants to show her letters praising Charlotte) – 'I am almost merry in my bitterness' (GL 454), reiterating how hard she had tried to be accurate, truthful in *The Life* and believes that she was as near as anybody could be to achieving it. Preparing a 3rd edition – has spent so much time crying 'and never needed kind words so much, – & no one gives me them' (GL 454). Promises her a visit to the Exhibition, has hardly had time to go herself.
- 16 Mme Mohl still thinks that *The Life* is a masterpiece, condemns those who criticise EG, loves her spirited anger on behalf of Charlotte Brontë.
- 17 Thanks Smith for books and India List. Requests insertion to 3rd edition, and suggests 'If anybody is displeased with any statement or words in the following pages I beg leave to with-draw it, and to express my deep regret for having offered so expensive an article as truth to the Public' (GL 455). She feels this is clever.
- 19 Marianne invites Ellen Nussey for Tuesday or Wednesday following week.
- 21 Would love to have Norton stay with them in July: she 'must stay here with as calm a face, and as brave a heart as I can' (GL 455) for the moment working on the revised edition of *The Life*.
- 23 Asks Greenwood to check the Brontë monument for Anne Brontë's age at death.
- 23 To an unknown correspondent regretting that she has no Brontë writings to give away but says that Patrick is still working at Haworth, occasionally helped by Nicholls.
- 25(?) Norton leaves for England.
- 26 Albert becomes Prince Consort.
- 27 Asks an unknown correspondent to get copies of the *Examiner* and *The Times* containing letters about Cowan Bridge School for her.
- 27 Cawnpore surrenders: troops massacred.
- 29–30 The Queen visits Exhibition.

## July

*Blackwood's* notice of *The Life* castigates EG for being gossipy and says that her sympathy is of a patronising and condescending nature. Further asserts that she doesn't do justice to Emily Brontë.

Unsigned notice in *Edinburgh Review* (actually by James Fitzjames Stephen – Easson) suggests EG has failed to eliminate her novelistic tendencies in order to write a biography. Attacks misrepresentations of Branwell Brontë and Mrs Robinson (now Lady Scott).

1 (Wed.) Regrets Norton won't see Flossy and Julia (his health caused delay in leaving), but will hear Ruskin lecture on 10 and 13 July. Captain Hill is with them.

1 *National Review* suggests too much on domestic side and Branwell in *The Life*, and that EG should have known better.

1 Harriet Martineau in the *Westminster Review* damns Branwell Brontë and says that EG can now eliminate her previously misguided statements.

2 Barbara Leigh Smith marries Dr Eugene Bodichon.

9 Caroline Fox finds *The Life* an impressive work.

10(?) Marianne to Ellen Nussey asking for a formal note of corrections which she wishes made since EG has put the revisions for the 3rd edition into other hands. Norton has arrived and is accompanying EG to the Exhibition.

11 Asks Martha Brown if she may borrow some letters from her which she will return later.

15 Women and children hostages slaughtered in Cawnpore, among them the Ewarts.

c16 Thanks Greenwood for flowers and his sympathy over her sufferings re *The Life*.

23 EG writes to Ellen Nussey about the revised edition. She is completely exhausted, is going to Skelwith next Saturday (25 July) for four or five days. Meta's proposed wedding put on hold at the insistence of WG. Captain Hill leaves 4 September for India. Busy revising, hence retreat to Skelwith. Letters from Patrick Brontë supportive.

25(?) Norton returns to America.

28 From Skelwith to Smith – wishes to get someone else to revise *The Life*, as she indicated through William Shaen. Summarises the Meta-Captain Hill situation. Upset by this, weary and oppressed by working on the 3rd edition.

- 30 Letter from Mary Taylor to EG – she has received the 2 volumes of *The Life* and considers it completely successful in its truthful representation of a sad existence.
- 30 Letter from Patrick Brontë asking EG to correct certain impressions of him for the Third edition. Eccentric, yes, but didn't burn hearth rugs, saw chairs or tear his wife's gown. Of *The Life* – 'it ought to stand, and will stand, in the first rank of Biographies, till the end of time' (Locke and Dixon, *A Man of Sorrow: the Life, Letters and Times of the Rev. Patrick Brontë* (1965), pp. 508–9).
- 31 1857(?) Again to Smith from Skelwith – queries on India, wants to learn more about it. (Captain Hill is in the Madras Engineers.) Returning to Manchester the following Monday.

## August

- (early?) From Plymouth Grove to Smith – goes over corrections, reports two servants telling Patrick Brontë they had been misrepresented in *The Life*. Asks for two copies of *The Life*, reveals invitation to write the life of Sir George Savile and asks who he is. Overriding concern is for Meta who is 'more like a sister to me than anything else' (GL 463). Likes Captain Hill but is worried by the engagement.
- 13 (Thurs.) Returning proofs, corrections, disturbing news from India has depressed Captain Hill. EG has bad headaches, wants a quiet life. More letters on *The Life* which means more work. Hopes Smith will visit soon.
- 13–23 Captain Hill on embarkation leave.
- (mid) reports abusive letter from a man in Ohio who says she has libelled his mother as Miss Scatcherd (in *Jane Eyre*). Would like the Smiths to visit. Madame Mohl is coming when the Worcester Festival is over – on 28 or 29 August – and will stay for about two weeks. Still wants practical advice about India, though Smith has in fact sent more books. WG has come back from the Lakes. They have time between visits – could welcome Smith 24–27 August.
- 22 3rd edition of *The Life* scheduled for publication in *Athenaeum* on this date but perhaps no public sale until September (Smith 112).
- 23 A letter to Maria Martineau praising her aunt Harriet. Oppressed by news of massacre at Cawnpore (two friends the Ewarts killed there) and by the fact that Captain Hill is

leaving for India that day. (Later says that he left on the 24 August). Has received a letter from Patrick Brontë and doesn't want him involved in the controversy about the attacks on her. EG is despairing generally. Completed more revisions to *The Life*. Wants Maria to look at two letters she has received from Patrick Brontë.

- 23 In despair about the cuts Nicholls wants her to make for the 3rd edition at the instigation of Patrick Brontë. Hopes for a quiet life, everyone crying (over Captain Hill), has consulted Smith about what to leave out in response to Nicholls' list. More charges made by a Bradford paper against her. Feels she is better than people say and that she really doesn't care about anything apart from the Indian situation.
- 25 Selina Winkworth marries John Collie. EG attends the wedding.
- 26 Arranging for Captain Hill's letters to be sent on to him via Smith. Mentions again their friends killed at Cawnpore. Could take the Smiths to the Exhibition. Rejects writing about Sir George Savile.
- c26 Writes to Tottie about their being inundated with visitors, but will keep a spare bed for her. 19 people occupying rooms before the Exhibition is over – but it will close on 15 October.

## September

- (early) 3rd edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* 'Revised and Corrected'. Carus Wilson apparently approved the changes EG had made.
- 3 (Thurs.) Writes to Martha Brown thanking her for sight of Charlotte's letters, which she used, and sending her a copy of the 3rd edition of *The Life*.
- 4 Patrick Brontë registers his approval of the 3rd edition of *The Life*.
- 9 To William Dearden returning the extract he sent because she doesn't read anything published about herself. (Dearden attacked EG in the *Bradford Observer* and Patrick Brontë was involved in a rumbling controversy with him).
- 13–14 To Marianne (her 23rd birthday was on the 12 September). EG at Chatsworth, has met Sir Joseph Paxton and Mrs Norton among others. She is in 'this wilderness of a palace of a house'

(GL 471) but recalling Marianne 23 years ago as a baby. She and Meta not dressed for the stay, had been overnight at Rowsley, then came on here at the Duke's invitation. Rooms already prepared, maid sent back to Rowsley. Went for a drive with Paxton and others. Private band played after dinner. Up today and went to church.

- 16 From Monckton Milnes conveying his complete sympathy with EG in her worries over *The Life*. He considers it one of the finest of biographies: goes on inadvertently to sound one of EG's main concerns by trusting that she has no one close to her in India at the moment.
- 17 To the Duke of Devonshire sending him a letter of Charlotte Brontë's (as an autograph) and the 3rd edition of *The Life*. Expresses the gratitude which she and Meta feel towards him after their stay at Chatsworth.
- 19 To Monckton Milnes about Sir John Potter, who has apparently been critically ill. She does not see him because he can't forgive *Mary Barton*, but she thinks if he were expecting to see Milnes he would be very upset at his non-arrival, thinking it was because of his illness. Retrospect on Captain Hill: he and Meta met in February on the journey to Rome, their engagement sanctioned by WG provided that Hill was prepared to get a position in England. WG upset by events. She sends Milnes a list of Hill's appointments to look over and advise her.
- 19 *Mabel Vaughan* published, edited by EG, who wrote the preface and made some alterations in the text; it cost 1/6. Author is the American Maria Susanna Cummins. EG's preface unironically praises these low-key fictions, blesses the Anglo-American interchange of novels as increasing mutual understanding and sympathy. Signs off with her favourite Wordsworthian phrase – we have – 'All of us one human heart'.
- 22 Asks William Stirling to give Meta permission to copy the Murillo at the Exhibition, 'Woman Drinking' for Lady Hatherton.
- 26 Asks if Meta may make the copy at the Exhibition on Sunday.
- 28–30 Gossipy family letter to Norton. WG away preaching at Cleator in Cumberland – he had had a month's holiday though in the Lakes and in Wiltshire. Meta got up early

to do her copying of the Murillo study. Feels that WG likes Manchester better than anywhere else 'and his study the best place in Manchester' (GL 474). Retrospect on Cawnpore, Meta and Captain Hill, Indian situation (now siege of Lucknow) heartbreaking. Their house has been overcrowded. Too much time taken up with showing visitors over Exhibition. Thanks him for the Bells' (Brontës') poems and for some of his own books.

(September) Tells the Storys (of time in Rome) 'They were the tip-top point of our lives' (GL 477).

## October

*North American Review* on *The Life* praises EG for her loving work, finely completed and supporting her castigation of baseless criticism.

1 (Thurs.) Lovely note probably to the authoress Mrs Archer Clive saying she has to be at the Exhibition but arranging to meet her by the Hertford Gallery: she will be wearing lilac silk and a white bonnet – 'just like a young lady answering a matrimonial advertisement' (GL 477).

2 Acknowledging £50 from Sampson Low – has been altering but not finished with 'The Doom of the Griffiths' which she will send on shortly.

2 Ruskin regrets not seeing her – has to leave the next day.

7 National Humiliation Day declared by the Queen – special prayers said in churches in the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny.

9(?) From Sea Scale near Whitehaven to Marianne – account of holiday, difficulties of accommodation, already hates the place, the noise of the sea is too much – detailed narrative really of the adventures there and nearby which have befallen her and Meta – hunting and hunting for accommodation in Silverdale.

10 Writes to William Stirling thanking him for allowing Meta to copy the Murillo.

10 Quotes words from F. D. Maurice about the use of the word 'Holy', which can only be interpreted by Scripture and not by the ideas or actions of people.

11 (or 15) Manchester Exhibition closes. (It was a follow-up to the Great Exhibition (1851).)

26 Finishes 'The Doom of the Griffiths'.



- 27 Sampson Low acknowledges receipt of 'The Doom of the Griffths'. The MS was sent to Harper's though EG had not agreed to this.
- 29 Writes to Ludlow. Praises *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (which WG had acknowledged on 30 April) and blesses Thomas Hughes. Another long retrospect since return from Italy in May. WG taken with *Tom Brown*, describes how she couldn't get her own copy back, which was too good to read casually and without full involvement. Started it in August, has only just finished it. In short loved it, counsels shutting Hughes up in a room until he has written his next and thinks mere verbal praise of a novel like this is inadequate.
- 30 Marianne to Norton telling him of 'The Doom of the Griffths' American edition – EG is suspicious of Harpers (it was published by them in their magazine in January 1858). Sampson Low has been unreliable in the past.

## November

Serialisation of Thackeray's *The Virginians* begins (completed September 1859).

- 8 (Sun.) Lord Hatherton urges EG to visit Oxford (see below).  
(early) Escapes Manchester, to Teddesley Park, Staffs, Lord Hatherton, a few days there, then visits relatives near Devizes, 3 days with the Brodies at Cowley House, Oxford. Many invitations, Meta with her. EG visits the Bodleian. Round of visits healthful.
- 9 (Mon.) Writes to Harriet Martineau from Wrotesley, Wolverhampton, conciliatory tone about disagreements involving Nicholls, of whom EG is critical. She reveals the 3rd edition of *The Life* is selling slowly. Nicholls told her he had destroyed Charlotte's 'papers' but appears to be quoting from a letter in front of him. Sorry for further irritation caused to Harriet. Address the Ewarts at Broad Leas, Devizes for the next ten days. [See Oxford itinerary below.]
- 13 Long letter to Lord Hatherton. Visited Oxford previous Tuesday (10 November), met Arthur Stanley and heard him lecture, (she has reservations), mentions Matthew Arnold, recently appointed Professor of Poetry. Happy and successful visit, went round Jesus and Exeter, enjoyed touring colleges and meeting dignitaries. Tired out – bed at 8.30. Wednesday (11 November) more meetings but had to leave

Oxford at 11.30. Invitation to the Brodies the following week on their return journey. Has obviously fallen in love with Oxford and thanks the Hathertons for pointing them in that direction. Has been to Bowood today.

17 Relief of Lucknow after a siege of six months.

24 Tells Maria Martineau of an acid letter from Nicholls, hopes she has explained everything to him and that it is acceptable to Harriet.

26 Tells Smith of friction between Harriet Martineau and Nicholls. Provides details of her copyrights and of her dealings with Chapman and Hall – thinks that *North and South* has not done well and indicates that she still owns some of the *HW* tales though doubtful whether there would be enough for a volume. Some account of her Oxford visit, and a meeting with a Mr Reeve, overpowering relative of Captain Hill.

? November Meta to Ellen Nussey apologising for losing Ellen's knife. She will hunt for it. Apologises for not sending copy of 3rd edition, but EG has not received one herself.

cNovember to Mary Green, really wanting Knutsford news. Hopes WG will go to Pendyffryn at Christmas for a week

## December

c3 (Thurs.) To Lord Hatherton. Thanks him for information about Captain Hill's appointment – command of the regiment of Sappers and Miners. Detailed retrospect on the Oxford visit. Refers to the typhoid in Manchester.

6 Cawnpore retaken.

7 Norton's letter of 24 November just arrived. Lovely account of family activities, asks him when Thanksgiving was set up, further wants a recipe for Thanksgiving pies, tells him about 'The Doom of the Griffts' in a self-deprecating manner, a poor story. Recognises that Norton has kept a watching brief for her re this. (Story probably written at Plas yn Penrhyn in the 1830s after Marianne's birth.) Tells Norton winter will be costly in England, so many poor people unemployed because of slump in American trade. Relaxed Gaskellian humour about the American way of life – making money quickly and losing it quickly. Says she would write much if she had the time, but domestic duties and responsibilities must be met. Saw his friend Mr Sumner at Lady Hatherton's, EG observing that slavery was very bad

and should be done away with. They 'esteemed' each other exceedingly, and 'don't care if we never see each other again' (GL 490). Racy description of Oxford visit, liked Arthur Stanley, and the anecdote he told of the Russian priest who had got his information about English dissenting ministers from *Ruth*. She met, though gives no opinions of, Jowett and Mark Pattison. 'I believe I *am* Mediaeval, – and *un* Manchester, and *un* American'. (GL 492). Asks him if he is getting married, urges him to read *Scenes of Clerical Life*, which she discovered for herself but has no idea of their author.

- 9 Responds to a Mr Anderson(?) who prefers *Wuthering Heights* to the other Brontë writings – she disagrees with him despite the fact that it begins so superbly.
- 12(?) Inviting Mary and Mr Green to stay for a week from the 21 December. Lists their own engagements, including a dance on the 23 December. Wants Knutsford, Paris and Indian news very much.
- 30 EG writes to Ellen Nussey condoling with her on the loss of her mother. Invites her to visit them again, doesn't much want to go out herself. WG in London with his brother for a week or ten days. Knows Captain Hill is getting good pay, but WG never speaks of him by name. Thanks Ellen for being such a good influence on Marianne.

## 1858

### January

(early) Trade depression in silk manufacturing districts.

In this year Hawthorne in Italy: result was *The Marble Faun* (English title originally *Transformation*, 1860), with Italian setting which would recommend itself to EG. Despite his consulship in Liverpool, then his being in Rome when EG was, they seem never to have met.

EG meets Sarah Gould Shaw, (EG says 1855) who was strongly in favour of abolition, in Paris. Her son Robert Gould Shaw joined the National Guard Unit. (See 1863 below.)

The Hallé takes up residence at the Manchester Free Trade Hall.

EG away from Manchester for over six months (see below).

'The Doom of the Griffths' in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Another story involving the effects of a curse on the family in which Owen's

father is responsible for the death of his (Owen's) child, is in turn killed accidentally by Owen, who puts out to sea with his wife and is never seen again. Powerful emotional atmosphere.

- 2 (Sun.) W. S. Landor writes to WG, who had published a sermon on Milton's death in the previous year, telling him of his adulation of Milton, whom he regards as perfect. And on 30 January, Landor's birthday, he will toast the great Commonwealth leaders, Cromwell, Ireton and Ludlow.
- 19 Writes to (John) Ludlow thanking him for his lectures on India. Tells him they have founded their own Working Men's College in Manchester. WG has large classes in English language and literature.
- 28 Mary Taylor writes from New Zealand to Ellen Nussey observing that regardless of whether it was libellous or not, the first edition of *The Life* was completely truthful.

## March

Ruskin apparently arranges for Meta to see Holman Hunt's unfinished 'Christ Disputing with the Doctors'.

- 15 (Mon.) Writes to ?David Masson mentioning the Burnley traditions about Spenser, who wrote his 'Shepherd's Calendar' there according to belief in the neighbourhood. Sends him WG's work on the Lancashire dialect and also his sermon (1857) on Milton's Death Day.
- 17 Touched by receiving cheque for £200 from Smith for the already published 3rd edition of *The Life*. Wonders if Charlotte's fragment (*Emma*) could be added as an appendix to the 1 vol edition forthcoming in 1858. Perhaps discuss with Nicholls, who disapproved of the story she feels. Tells him Mary Taylor suggested she had watered down the odd characteristics of the Brontë males.
- March(?) To F. J. Furnivall saying she has mislaid her first number of the pre-Raphaelite magazine *The Germ* and hopes that he will be able to help her get Meta in to see the paintings of Holman Hunt.

## April

- 5 (Mon.) To Monckton Milnes about a certain M. Meyer who gave a lecture course in Manchester, left suddenly (but paid what he owed) saying his wife was ill. EG asks if he is possibly a spy. She feels some responsibility since she introduced him

- to a number of people. Asks also for letters of introduction for her cousin Thurstan Holland, who is off to America.
- 7 To Norton commending Thurstan Holland, hoping Norton can furnish him with some introductions, but taxes him with having allowed the Unitarian Mr Nicholls to return from his visit to America in favour of slavery.
- 10 Copies out 8 lines from *In Memoriam* beginning 'Oh yet we trust that somehow good/Will be the final goal of ill' (liv).
- 13 To Lady Mary Feilding – copies out for her the poem 'Philip my King' by Dinah Mulock, though EG's responses to the poem are mixed. She turns to Newman's 'Lead Kindly Light' (from the *Lyra Apostolica*, 1836) which gives her positive tranquillity.
- 15 To another correspondent, whom she met in Rome, recommending Thurstan Holland who is about to visit America. Wants him to see all that is peculiarly American before he studies law at Cambridge.
- 20 Thanking Milnes for responding about Meyer – will see what she can do on his account – but reports that Charles Hallé had found him, Meyer, writing in his room without asking permission. This is one of several like offences in other people's houses which roused their suspicions against him.

## May

- 10 (Mon.) Writes to a Mr Coleridge saying she can get autographs, offering one of Louis Blanc or anything radical or republican ('I don't go down to assassins') (GL 502).
- 10 and 14 To Norton. Responding to his letter of 26–27 April. Much nostalgia for their time spent in Rome. Cannot write to order for the *Atlantic* after her exchanges with a Mr Underwood, who would prescribe her work. Describes terrain around Silverdale lovingly, lyrically: there 6 weeks from 17 June, some self-humour about its isolation. Hopes Thurstan Holland has arrived. Feels rather low. Would like to go abroad for three weeks or so, but WG has a great fear of foreign food though he has been gaining weight and is much better in health lately. Meta's engagement will be ended: she is not well (Captain Hill would later marry in April 1861). Conveys Meta's admiration for Holman Hunt and his unfinished work, but this year there were no Pre-Raphaelites

in the Academy Exhibition. Dislikes some American biographies she has read. Would like to persuade WG to take them abroad after Silverdale for three weeks – would like to visit the Rhine, Normandy.

- 13 1858(?) Letter to James Crossley(?) (antiquarian authority) asking him questions about local traditions to help Henry Green (who is not named) in his writing about Knutsford, and referring to Southey's view that a parish priest should perhaps record what he hears and discovers about his own flock.
- 16 Writes to Jacob Grimm (of the celebrated Grimm brothers) via a Mrs Curtis, who translates for her, thanking him for the portrait he had sent (he was a distinguished philologist) with a query about the meaning(s) of the word 'Knut'. (In May 1854 Grimm requested a copy of WG's lectures on the Lancashire dialect.)
- 20 Turns down offer to write serials for the *Atlantic Monthly*.
- 25 To Louis Hachette – more discussion of novels – a failure for the author of *Paul Ferroll* (Mrs Archer Clive) with her latest work, *Year by Year*. Tells him of the publication of Thackeray's *The Virginians*. Dickens is conducting reading tours in place of writing fiction. Some space is given to *Guy Livingstone*, which she finds clever and compelling (in fact G. A. Lawrence's novel was the hit of the year). Would like two copies of the translation of *North and South*, and thanks him for the gloves he sent, for which she owes him. Thanks him too for invitation to visit and says they are going abroad in the autumn.

## May

To H. A. Bright about giving him a note to meet Rossetti: the latter hopes to see her in London this year and is sad he could not get to the Manchester Exhibition.

## June

'An Incident at Niagara Falls' in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* XVII. Possible ascription. Sharps suggests EG sent this in response to Harper's soliciting more contributions, and calls it a story of 'unpretentious heroism' (Sharps 274). It is 'one of the additions she made to *Mabel Vaughan*' with Miss Cummins's agreement (Easson 205).

Severe distress in Macclesfield during this year.

- 12 (Sat.) Dickens issues his statement of separation from Mrs Dickens in *HW*.
- 12 Tells Furnivall that WG is going to London next Saturday (19 June) and staying until the 26 June. He will almost certainly call on him at The Working Men's College.
- 17 Going to Silverdale (without WG) for 6 weeks. Address Lindeth Tower, Silverdale, near Lancaster. Asks Furnivall to send the address of The Working Men's College to WG.
- 19 *My Lady Ludlow* begins in *HW* XVIII (continuing until 25 September, with one break in sequence on 21 August). Knutsford–Avonbank recall, originals for Lady Ludlow ranging from Lady Jane Stanley, Maria Byerley through to Lady Hatherton (Mrs Davenport), close friend of EG, who refers elsewhere to her grand-dame tendencies. Wider historical perspective reflected in the inset story of Clement-Virginie, EG's French interests, sympathies, associations, again evident. Pirated edition published by Harpers via Sampson Low, but EG continued to publish with both firms. See *Round the Sofa* (1859), which has *My Lady Ludlow* in prime position.
- 22 1858(?) Arranging with friend Harriette Bright for her to come to Silverdale, full of train times detail.
- 29 Has seen the *Psychological Magazine* is advertising an article on Charlotte Brontë and asks if she may be sent a copy.

## July

- (early) Pollution of the Thames reaches its height – Members of Parliament made ill by 'The Great Stink'.

Peace in India: Mutiny effectively over.

- 25 (Sun.) From Silverdale to Norton. Next Thursday (29 July) they go home. Despite not feeling well, she is determined to give Hearn a break after all her suffering (over her family, money worries), and has arranged for her to abroad (to Venice) with a friend. This will be from 11 August; later hopes to cheer Meta by touring the Rhine, Belgium, Heidelberg, after Hearn returns. So sorry to leave Silverdale, gives vivid account of boys' and girls' communal gathering there. Is corresponding with a Russian girl about Charlotte Brontë. Asks him all his news (has he

seen Thurstan Holland yet?), inquires after Lowell and Longfellow. More Roman nostalgia, even comparing Silverdale to the Campagna. Lovely wit, doesn't think 'a Republic agrees with your health; do try a little aristocracy, and as a step to it, try a visit to us, who are admirers of that "effete institution"' (GL 515).

26 Removal of Jewish disabilities – Rothschild finally enabled to sit in Parliament nine years after his election.

July(?) Warm note to the Storys again invoking the Roman time, asking them to remember her to various people, she longs for Italy to the point of feeling ill.

## August

16 (Mon.) To Hachette drawing his attention to the re-publication of some of her stories from *HW*, 'The Doom of the Griffths' (Harper's), and 'The Half-Brothers', obliquely offering him *Round the Sofa*.

16 Brief note to Tauchnitz saying she will arrange for *Round the Sofa* to be sent to him.

17 Invitation to Frances Wedgwood to visit Plymouth Grove in the next couple of days though she (EG) has spinal discomfort and is having treatment. WG is away.

## September

2 (Thurs.) ?1858 To Hachette warning him against the financial (mal)practices of some English publishers like Newby. EG and her two daughters are going to Germany next week, probably returning in November, may be passing through Paris, if so they would hope to see him and his family.

3 To Norton – Meta, Flossy and EG to Heidelberg on Tuesday next (7 September) until 15–20 October. Negotiations with American publishers for reprints – she is virtually throwing onto Norton's shoulders the business decisions to be taken and is still suspicious of Sampson Low. Postscript sadly reveals that Hearn did not get away.

4 Writes to Tottie saying they will be in Heidelberg for 3 weeks from 20 September, then c/o Tauchnitz in Leipzig Can provide Tottie with introductions to Roman friends, and particularly the Storeys.

27 Single volume 4th edition of *The Life* published (Smith 114).



**October**

In Heidelberg for nine weeks, leaving there on 6 December (see below).  
(For Marianne's movements see 9 March 1859.)

- 1 (Fri.) From Heidelberg to Marianne – working out expenses of Marianne's coming there – description of meeting with M. Mohl (brother of Julius) – EG took Flossy out for a walk, Meta later sketched view from the bedroom, complains of noise in street, describes quantities of food they ate. Great detail and account of what she and the children are doing. She began to read Lord Mahon's history, mentions the Verneys and the Bunsens – she herself still feels weak – Meta and Flossy gave her an attractive brooch as a birthday gift. Resumed Friday evening (1 October) – letter from papa and hers (Marianne's) forwarded from Cologne, worried about Julia, wants more reports of her. Resumed Saturday morning (2 October) – they have had the Bunsens to tea and the Chevalier was very well. Wants to know her impressions of Julia and sends her dearest love to WG and her thanks for his writing so frequently.
- 13 They packed for move to 106 Haupt Strasse.
- 14 EG reading Boswell aloud.
- 14 Publication of *My Lady Ludlow* by Harper's (Smith 137).
- 15 To Mannheim with Flossy.
- 16 Didn't do much, went to bed early.
- 17 Went to church: Mr Bosanquet talks to Meta, they tell him they are Unitarians, EG has interesting discussion with him about the Bible.
- 18 Walked about generally – nothing of note.  
(During this visit EG probably wrote 'The Sin of a Father' (finally 'Right at Last') and 'The Manchester Marriage'.)
- 19 Tells Marianne Meta's health is suffering, she has had a fit of hysterical crying (reaction to her broken engagement) but is improving. Recaps they went to see the Mohls, EG to Mannheim with Flossy (see above) – EG got a very bad headache, inadvertently took rum and peppermint which cured it. Mr Bosanquet approached them in the railway waiting room. EG embarrassed – he helps with the train timetable – she doesn't speak because of her contaminated breath. Bosanquet had seen Meta in the Cathedral but she ignored him. Amazing descriptive detail of friends and acquaintances ('observation') in this letter.

- 20 To Strasbourg to meet a friend.
- 21 Brings friend to Heidelberg.
- 26(?) Asks Charles Bosanquet if he wishes to accompany her by train to Carlsruhe the next day to see the Deaconesses, a religious order promoting hospital and educational work – one of EG's abiding interests – but he mustn't regard this as a binding engagement. (Florence Nightingale, the Winkworths and Fredrika Bremer all visited Kaisersworth).

## November

- 10 (Wed.) Writes out Keble's evening hymn from *The Christian Year*.
- 27 'Right at Last' first appears as a short story in *HW* XVIII called 'The Sin of a Father' (title probably supplied by Dickens). Cumberland setting – tale of two brothers, friction, but one saves the other and dies in the attempt. Deceit, blackmail, cover-up in this potboiling domestic melodrama. 'It is not a story one would wish to re-read' (Sharps 296).

## December

- 6 (Mon.) Leaves Heidelberg, later stays with Madame Mohl.
- 7 'The Manchester Marriage' in the Extra Christmas Number of *HW* – incorporated into *A House to Let*. Another return from loss at sea, tragic death of husband who has seen that his wife has remarried, but her second 'husband' behaves extremely well afterwards.
- 20 Arrived home and found the cookery books Norton had sent.
- 23 Gossipy Christmas well-wishing letter to Bosanquet, sending him a copy of *Lyra Germanica*. Always wanted him to have it. Can't remember what Mrs Stowe's negress is called. (It was Miss Remond – see February 1859 below.)
- 31 Writes to Florence Nightingale about her privately printed notes on the health, efficiency and hospital administration of the British army. There is much on the new respect accorded to soldiers and their sufferings to which Florence has drawn attention, for though EG lives in Manchester 'in the very midst of what was once called the Peace party' (*FL* 192) (John Bright, MP for Manchester, had been an opponent of the Crimean War), she is very conscious of the changed attitudes resulting from Florence's work.

(sometime this year) Writes to Smith about Hamilton Aidé, who wants an introduction to him. Urges Smith humorously to let him sing – ‘The passers by, even in Corn Hill would stop to listen, and think it was Wordsworth’s sky lark {she means ‘thrush’} at the corner of Wood St’ (GL 523).

## 1859

J. S. Mill publishes *On Liberty*.

WG’s borrowings for 1859 include periodicals, poetry, travel books, biographies and Scoresby’s book on the Arctic regions and the whaling trade (see above p. 10) plus Wright’s book on sorcery and magic (1851) which feeds into *Lois the Witch* (Foster 75).

### January

W. R. Greg’s unsigned article in the *National Review* (Unitarian) in which he says (of the woman novelist), that her views are limited because of necessity she cannot observe certain areas of people’s behaviour. (The piece is on *Ruth*, the eponymous heroine being considered too much of a saint to be convincing.)

7 (Fri.) 1859(?) Tells H. A. Bright(?) she does not wish to subscribe to a testimonial to Hawthorne.

8 Dickens publishes Henry Morley’s ‘Character Murder’ in the ‘Chips’ section of *HW*, making free and easy with EG’s treatment in ‘Disappearances’ (7 June 1851) which upset EG and made her disinclined to publish more with Dickens.

9 Asks Forster to have a copy of Working Men’s College speeches sent to a Lt Colonel Shadwell.

19(?) To Thurstan Holland – wants all his American gossip – asking him what Mrs Longfellow and Mrs Lowell are like – in fact, a series of questions. Feels, humanly, she would not like Mrs and Miss Nortons as much as ‘our own Mr Norton’ (GL 524).

Racy, sparky, with a wry mention of the piration of *My Lady Ludlow*.

19 Death of Lady Scott.

27 Meta tells Norton her mother has ceased to deal with Sampson Low and Harper Bros for good, but in fact this was not so. Asks if Ticknor/Fields will buy the copyright of a story EG is now writing and which will be published in *HW*. This looks like a reference to *Lois the Witch*, published in October 1859 in *ATYR* (which replaced *HW* on 30 April), but a strong case has been made out for its being

*A Dark Night's Work* (Sharps 579–85). The last chapters could coincide with publication in America: EG is seeking his judgment, advice. Wants him to visit. Much more on publication details. Gives news of mutual friends and promises to get a new portrait of EG for him (he had requested one).

## February

- 1 (Tues.) George Eliot's *Adam Bede* published.
- c4 Congratulates Smith on the birth of his son, hopes that he and his family will visit them in Manchester.
- 5 Letter to Thurstan Holland advising him Charles Bosanquet may call upon him and telling him what kind of person to expect. News of the publication of Aidé's *Rita: an Autobiography*.
- 10 To George Smith asking him to consider a novel by a Mrs Jenkin – glad to hear Mrs Smith and her baby are doing well: says jocularly she can't meet either 'Rita' or Hamilton Aidé at the moment, and ridicules Aidé kindly, implying that he is into everything. Expresses fear of war, and then asks if Thackeray is continuing his legal action about the Garrick Club. (EG wants to be up with literary gossip, here the Dickens–Thackeray controversy, Dickens having supported his friend Edmund Yates, who had lampooned Thackeray, with Dickens eventually resigning from the Garrick on 25 February.)
- 14 Self-mocking humour as she asks Smith for a copy of 'Charlotte Brontë's Memoirs, the prohibited 1st edition will do' (*GL* 529) which, as it is going to Hungary, will be safe 'where neither the Times nor my name nor Lady Anybody's has ever penetrated' (*GL* 529). Damns what she has read of *Rita* but rather likes Aidé in spite of herself.

## February

To Anne Robson. Objects to Miss Remond coming to kindle anti-slavery feelings – thinks practical actions mean more than words, and anyway she will be talking to the converted – her stance is strongly reinforced by that of WG. Going to have the interior of the house painted – Hearn off to Cornwall for two or three months. Has had £100 from Sampson Low – now needs it to take Meta abroad away from the gossiper about her broken engagement.

**March**

- 5 (Sat.) Writes to John Blackwood asking for *Adam Bede*, but is sarcastic about the savage review in *Blackwood's* of *The Life*. Tells him her father was one of the first contributors to *Blackwood's* and that a family member helped with her half-brother's education.
- 8 Thanks John Blackwood for *Adam Bede*.
- 9 Writes Blackwood again, still lyrical over *Adam Bede*, and is particularly taken with Mrs Poyser's language. EG was educated in Warwickshire and appreciates the descriptions. Reminisces about hers and WG's 'Sketches Among the Poor' but can't remember the title!
- 9 Marriage of Tottie Fox to Frederick Bridell, landscape painter, in Rome. (See 10th below.)
- 9 Mentions that Ruskin called a fortnight previously, praises him for being 'simple & noble' (GL 538). Tells Norton in a furious rush that in *HW* in January there was some lifting from her piece on 'Disappearances'. Is writing a story for *HW* (see above). Owes them a third story which she would like the *Atlantic* to have, the Dickens – Mrs Dickens separation causing EG to stop writing for *HW* (ATYR is Dickens's new periodical, see below). What could she expect to be paid? Praise of Meta, then family details. The following Sunday (13 March) she and Julia are going to see Flossy in Knutsford (she is at school at Mrs Green's). WG has declined Minister appointment in Essex St London. Has not seen Stowe's *The Minister's Wooing* (serialised in the *Atlantic* this year) yet. WG hates disturbance of his routine and travelling. Commends *Adam Bede* (asks if he has read *Scenes of Clerical Life* yet). Hint of the Thurstan – Marianne intimacy beginning, retrospect on Heidelberg visit. What will America do if there is a European conflict?
- 10 Tells William Fox 'I live in Manchester city sacred to Mammon' (GL 540). But the letter is a deliberately indulged mood of excitement as she comically wishes to know about Tottie's marriage announced in *The Times* of this date.
- (After 15) To Marianne asking her to give Herbert Grey EG's advice on the writing of fiction. 'The plot must grow, and culminate in a crisis' (GL 542), but suggests that in view of what he says, perhaps he ought to have written an essay, which is a good discipline anyway. Practical advice means employing

primary quality of observation, not introspection (which is unhealthy), instancing Defoe – ‘you will see the healthy way in which he sets *objects* not *feelings* before you’ (GL 541). He mustn’t project himself into his presentation and should choose the simpler of two words. All characters must be relevant, every scene and event must be just right, he must bring himself into contact with everyday experience and people. Grey’s faults – too much conversation, too much on feelings, too many references to books, etc.

19 Publication of *Round the Sofa and Other Tales* (2 vols), vol i *My Lady Ludlow*, vol ii stories already published plus ‘The Half-Brothers’ and the ‘frame’ of *Round the Sofa*.

21 To Tottie Fox on her marriage, marvelling that she has found her destiny in Rome! Craving for Roman details reflects her own love of the place and of relationships made there. Worry about Marianne, though she takes domestic responsibilities reasonably. Full of questions re friends in Rome. Asks to be remembered to the Brownings, wants her *Tolla*, which she left with the Storys – it is bound in vellum.

21 To Ellen Nussey – been abroad largely because of Meta’s suffering over Captain Hill. Bringing her up to date with news and the Heidelberg visit, where Meta sketched the castle.

28 Wants advice from Robert Chambers about staying by the sea near Edinburgh, not a fashionable watering-place, perhaps sometime in June? (Possibly had location in mind for fiction.)

(late?) Racy letter to Marianne taken up with clothes, she and Meta’s visit to Worleston by rail, description of their activities, the hunt, news from Tottie etc, a letter from her (Tottie) which EG has mislaid but which contains a description of her husband. Many visitors expected in April.

## April

(early?) Probably to sister-in-law Elizabeth Holland – Flossy was not sent to Mrs Lalor’s (school) because she and WG wanted her to be broadly tolerant of different people striving to do good.

16 (Sat.) To Mary Arnold from Plymouth Grove – condoling with her on the death of W. D. Arnold, early in April, at Gibraltar. He was a widower.

- 20 Writes to Bosanquet bemoaning William Arnold's death, a family tragedy, young children left, he was returning from India. Wife died two years ago. Bosanquet could come over to visit them at Ashbourne – they go late April, early May, Saturday 1 or 2 May, then on to Canterbury. Wants to take Flossy & Julia to the seaside – 18 June mentioned – considering possibility of Whitby.
- 20(?) Elated like Meta that Oxford beat Cambridge in the Boat Race.
- 24 Death of William Turner.
- 26 Asks Furnivall if he can find out discreetly whether the spinning wheel sent (10 days ago) to Ruskin has arrived.
- 28 £75 acknowledged as payment from Chapman for her permission to reprint 2500 copies of *North and South*.
- 30 Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* begins serial publication in *ATYR* (until 26 November). This was the first number of Dickens's new periodical.

## May

- 7 (Sat.) Second edition of *Round the Sofa*.
- 9 Meta writes to Norton from Ashbourne Hall, EG left for home a couple of days ago. Ticknor/Fields offer for story too small for her to accept. Has been offered £1000 by Sampson Low for a story hardly longer than the one Ticknor/Fields wanted. Meta expresses her own relief that her mother will no longer be publishing in America from then on but asks Norton to be discreetly silent (not to mention *The Life*, for instance, which would bring back unpleasant memories). EG upset by comments against *The Life* by certain acquaintances.
- 9 Brief letter to Tottie Fox saying she hasn't written because their plans are so uncertain. At one time hoped to be in Paris for Whitsun.
- 28 Last number of *HW* published.
- 31 Writes to Lord Stanhope saying she is in London for about ten days with her daughter and wants to take him up on his offer to accompany her to the National Portrait Gallery.

## June

- 2 (Thurs.) ?1859 from Regent's Park – Sampson Low have offered her £1000 for a three volume novel. Doesn't want to publish

with them, admits she was tempted by this offer but would prefer £800 from Smith to £1000 from them. Is being straightforward with him in the light of their friendship. She has written part of a story though she feels that she could never face reviewers' comments again

- 3 From Regent's Park to 'Gilbert Elliott' saying she has been thought to be the author of *Adam Bede*, but although her friends call her Mrs Gaskell, 'to you I will confess that I *am* the author of *Adam Bede*, and remain very respectfully & gratefully, Yours, Gilbert Elliot' (*GL* 559). Great praise for George Eliot in this letter and a superb whimsically humorous tone.
- 14 Tells James T Fields (American publisher) a meeting between them would be superfluous since she has accepted an offer from an English firm for a three volume novel which includes the American copyright if she decides to publish anything again.
- (14-27) Staying 11 Kildare Terrace, W London.
- 18 1859(?) Tells Duchess of Sutherland they have been at the Crystal Palace all day – thanks her for invitation to see Stafford House, to which they look forward.
- 20 Probably dines with George Smith at Greenwich.
- 21(?) Tells Smith of Fields' offer, encloses a note from him dated previous day. Her daughters are delighted with Smith, perhaps a response to their visit.
- 27 Travels to Scotland for a month's holiday in Kircudbrightshire.
- 29 From Auchencairn thanks Smith for Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality* (which she always liked) and for Mrs Jenkin's novel *Cousin Stella*. She is writing from Dumfries. 'But books are books here, – where potatoes have to be sent for from Castle Douglas, nine miles off – where we are uncertain what King or Queen reigns in England' (*GL* 562). Promises jocularly to do her best to produce a good novel for him. Left London Monday morning (27 June) arrived here in Dumfries (28 June).
- 29 From Dumfries to Monckton Milnes – they came here yesterday from London to the Scott terrain of *Guy Mannering*, etc. Amusing account of way post is delivered – old man whistles from nearby field if he has letters for them.



## July

- cJuly To a friend from Dumfries conveying the mix of isolation and enjoyment, they have eaten all the potatoes, will read (at last) *Eric, or Little by Little*, Dean Farrar's strongly Christian boys' story (1858).
- Tennyson publishes *Idylls of the King* (4 poems here, the *Idylls* expanded over the years).
- 14 (Thurs.) To John Stuart Mill regretting that she caused him pain by quoting Charlotte Brontë's strictures on his wife in *The Life*. Says previous letter she had received from him was unjust. Asks him not to go on thinking badly of her and does not wish for a reply. Mill did reply and persisted in his views.
- 18 D. G. Rossetti tells EG he feels somewhat trapped in London, has sent her Dante enclosures (see below). Has read 2 volumes of *Adam Bede* and is very impressed with it.
- 22 To Rossetti from Dumfries thanking him for the proof sheets (of Dante's *Vita Nuova*) which have arrived, and asking him if he knows Norton's translation. Tentatively suggests one or two alterations in his choice of words in some sonnets. Commends 'Janet's Repentance'. Glad he likes *Adam Bede*. Hasn't yet read *Idylls of the King*.
- (late) Returned from Scotland the previous evening: wants a ticket for one of Mr Scott's lectures.

## August

- 4 (Thurs.) Witty letter to George Smith shortly after their arrival home saying she doesn't know who we are fighting and asking about the identity of George Eliot and the authorship of *Adam Bede*. Hopes it is not Miss Evans, but refers to it as a fine book which seems out of keeping with Miss Evans's life. In Edinburgh Meta was told in Blackwood's shop that *Adam Bede* was not written by a lady. Katie Winkworth was told that it was by a Mr Liggins. Thinks she will become a Women's Rights activist and is going to read Lady Shelley's Memorials of her husband. Men have the *Quarterlies* at the Portico (Library) but women have to wait to see them. Hasn't even read a review of *Idylls of the King*. Wants to be reassured about Miss Evans and says that she refused to join 'the P. of Wales incognito party to the Trosachs' (GL 567) – Meta has not got over this decision!

- 4–20 Katie and Susanna Winkworth probably in Whitby – may have influenced EG's decision to go there later.
- 11 To John Stuart Mill continuing argument – thinks he has not been fair to her – he is the only one to remonstrate with her about publishing anything in Charlotte Brontë's correspondence. She would if writing now omit 'In short, J. S. Mill's head is, I dare say, very good, but I feel disposed to scorn his heart' (*The Life*, ch. 24).
- 29 To Charles Bosanquet – suggests he gets a convenient 'Excursion' and the part of De Quincey's *Miscellanies* which is about the Lake District, also recommends Harriet Martineau's guidebook and gives him an itinerary, the Wordsworth parts to visit in impressive detail. She and WG once thought of buying land there, building so that their daughters would have a home in the future, 'because there is a kind of old-fashioned chivalrous respect paid to women' (*GL* 571) though sadly the air there does not suit WG's asthma. Windermere is too built up for her. Gives him a note to Mrs Davy of Ambleside and emphasises Mrs Davy's associations with the Wordsworths. She is married to a brother of Sir Humphrey Davy.
- 30 Another letter to Bosanquet about the Lake District, mentioning friends, hoping he won't have a rainy stay there in September. EG seldom goes to the Lakes now – hankers for them nostalgically. Went to Auchencairn and had a tranquil holiday, though their pleasantest walk was patrolled by an aggressive bull. Says she has heard from Fanny Arnold, who will be pleased to receive him.
- (late) Writes to an unknown correspondent about placing a deserving boy from Silverdale in good employment.

## September

(During this month) W. W. Story writes hoping that he will see EG again and hear some of her delightful tales.

18 (Sun.) Death of John Nicholls (see 20 September below).

19 To George Smith commending the talents of W. W. Story, who writes articles on Italy, and who would like to be published in the *Cornhill* (first number in January 1860 – Story has published in the *Atlantic*). She has little time for Thackeray, who did not answer her letter to him in the

past. Does not want direct contact with him (he is to be the editor of the *Cornhill*).

- 20 To Smith again. Has to take Julia into the country. Funeral of a young friend on Friday 23 September. ( John Nicholls, mentioned above and below 5 October.) Asks him if he knows about Hawthorne's new work – she does, and thinks it will prove confusing to British readers (this is *The Marble Faun*). Still fretting that Miss Evans is assumed to be the author of *Adam Bede*.

## October

- 1 (Sat.) Again to Smith harping on about Thackeray, his failure to write to Patrick Brontë and reply to her earlier. Tells him she's going to write something for *ATYR* (it was 'The Ghost in the Garden Room', subsequently reprinted as 'The Crooked Branch'). Charlotte Brontë's *Emma* fragment should be published, though Nicholls may object if he thinks that she, EG, is associated with it. Will write an introduction if necessary but feels that Smith might be better advised to invite Nicholls to undertake it. A friend of a friend sat next to Liggins at dinner – he told her clearly that he was the author of *Scenes of Clerical Life*.
- 5 To John Rotherham about the death of John Nicholls: Rotherham had accompanied Nicholls on a visit to America. He was to have any of Nicholls's possessions. Mrs Nicholls had involved EG in this response – she had visited them constantly during Nicholls' illness. WG preached his funeral sermon, which was published.
- 7 Flossy's birthday.
- 8 First part of *Lois the Witch* appears in *ATYR* I (anonymous, as were all other contributions to this magazine). Setting – New England 1691. Obvious knowledge of Dr Cotton Mather and the Salem events (see Upham source reference 21 June 1856). Fine natural description, creation of claustrophobic religiosity atmosphere with superstition, hysteria, obsessions, sexual jealousy, manipulation, prophecy graphically present.
- 13 Pleased Thackeray will write the introduction to *Emma*. Has received a request from an officer in Gibraltar to make a selection of books and magazines for a reading room – wants to know if government grant for this is possible.

- 15 Second part of *Lois the Witch* in ATYR I.
- 22 Third part of *Lois the Witch* in ATYR I.
- 23 Dickens moved to extreme admiration by *Lois the Witch*.
- 25 Tells Marianne Bessy Parkes wants her advice, Thomas Wright hoping to get a boy into a Ragged school – EG affectionate but hard-pressed, never gets out, so tired.
- 25 and 30 To Norton. Chrysanthemums left out last night – she could weep but can't spare the time to and WG has a cold. Still obsessed with George Eliot, tells him Lewes's character has been bad. As usual, a review of the last six months – Smith's offer for a novel, humorous description of D. G. Rossetti – 'He is not as mad as a March hare, but hair-mad' (GL 580). Visited his studio three times, met Holman Hunt, saw his paintings. Had much conversation with Rossetti although it was interrupted 'when ladies with beautiful hair came in' (GL 580). May – house decorated, visited Canterbury for a week with Meta, had 3 weeks in London, then went to Auchencairn, WG joined them, leaving for two weeks' shooting. Feels she can't compete with books like *Scenes of Clerical Life*.
- 29 To Harriet Martineau praising *Adam Bede* and 'Janet's Repentance' – reviews evidence, sorry Miss Evans and Lewes met, yet likes his letter to Mr Bracebridge, formerly a confirmed Liggins supporter. EG's friend Mrs Sandars confirms Miss Evans is George Eliot.
- 31 Will go with Meta, Julia and Hearn to Whitby for a week or ten days.

## November

Hawthorne at Redcar (10 miles away from Whitby) completing *The Marble Faun*.

- 2 (Wed.) To George Smith from Whitby reprimanding him for being 'so curt about Madam Adam' (GL 586). Can he explain how she fell in love with Lewes, who is 'so soiled for a woman like her to fancy'? (GL 587). In Whitby until 12 November, wants to know exactly what George Eliot is like, physical description of her. (During stay gleaned much information from locals re press-gang, history etc. Walked around the town imbibing the atmosphere and topography for *Sylvia's Lovers*.)
- 2 Ruined Cistercian Abbey of St Hilda examined, providing inspiration for the Monkshaven ethos of *Sylvia's Lovers*.

- 4 To Maria Martineau from Whitby: still preoccupied with George Eliot.
- 7 From Whitby to Bosanquet discussing a valuable book she has been reading (*The Missing Link*, about the Bible-women in London). EG against journal-keeping, saying that sincere worship of God may be adversely influenced by it. News of Florence Nightingale, ill with heart complaint but bravely battling on, sense of humour still there. Florence has sent her many contributions for good causes.
- 'Sleepiness & Hunger are the characteristics of Whitby' (GL 590).
- 7 Tells Marianne of the scare the previous day about Julia. White, sick, faint, carried downstairs near fire, given pills, Meta gets the doctor. Today she is fine – goes for a walk – EG scared since WG had forecast something bad would happen if she left home. Re emphasises their worry, can't think what it was except perhaps 'those ticklish b-w-ls of hers got wrong' (GL 907).
- 8 From Whitby addressing Marianne as 'Cynthia', granting permission for 'Cherry' to come though WG likes to be free from visitors. Meta is going sketching.
- 10 From Whitby to George Eliot. Fulsome praise for *Scenes of Clerical Life* and *Adam Bede*. She had upheld Liggins's claim to their authorship but now knows she was wrong. Insists on being truthful and therefore says 'I wish you *were* Mrs Lewes' (GL 592).
- 10 To Marianne – domestic arrangements forthcoming in Manchester – the Hallé – Julia perhaps jealous of 'Cherry' coming. WG and EG invited to dinner at Mrs Roscoe's (Wednesday 16 November), only WG to go. Probably coming home on Monday 14 November.
- 11 George Eliot writes warmly to EG, cherishing the fact that EG gave her such encouragement – 'still more to think that you were the writer and I the receiver' (*The George Eliot Letters* iii, 198).
- 24 *The Origin of Species* published.
- 26 Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* begins serialisation in ATYR (finishes 25 August 1860).
- 30 Brings Smith's attention to the fact that the new (fifth) edition of *The Life* still contains part of the offensive statement about J. S. Mill. EG thinks Mill wrong but doesn't

want him to think she's a hypocrite. Asks Smith to explain it to Mill later. Still deeply concerned about George Eliot, who she feels must be good for there is nothing wrong in any way in her books. Offers him a package of letters about the Liggins' deception in confidence.

## December

- 4(?) (Sun.) EG, Marianne and Meta trying to get cloth to provide capes or cloaks for 10 elderly women on parish relief.
- 7 Letter to Harriet Martineau affirming her faith in George Eliot and asking her to thank Sara Hennell for thinking of her, EG.
- 20 Letter from Dickens to EG inviting her to write a story for *ATYR* by the end of the following June, running for 22 weeks at five pages per week (400 pages of her customary MS), offering 250 guineas for it and £50 for early sheets to the USA. Copyright hers, the book could be published as the story finishes in *ATYR*.
- 23 Discussing stories with Smith – happy with his terms – has begun three – one story right for Dickens (presumably *A Dark Night's Work*), then 'Curious if True' for him (Smith) (*Cornhill*, February 1860) and *The Specksioneer* (harpooner) but the title may be changed. Expresses her fondness for *Framley Parsonage* (Trollope's 'Barchester' novel began serialisation in the *Cornhill* in January 1860: Smith had obviously sent her an advance copy of the magazine, which began printing on 15 December). Finds *Lovel the Widower* (Thackeray) too discursive but likes the *Idle Boy* ('On a Lazy Idle Boy', also by Thackeray).
- 25–26 Letter from Norton begun on Christmas Day. Wishes EG and WG were with them in America. On Boxing Day tells how the previous day he had an animated discussion with friends about Darwin's latest book, acknowledging his single-mindedness and paying tribute to his integrity, saying his work will rid us of many superstitions. Norton himself somewhat oppressed by ignorance and doubt.
- 27 To Smith again promising a story for the *Cornhill* and the three volume novel by September. Recalls she was told the tale of the ghost in the garden room in 1849 by Mr Earle and Mr Tom Taylor. Tells him how four years earlier Leigh Hunt had gracefully refused the offer of

assistance from W. W. Story. Refers to Dickens's denial that Skimpole (in *Bleak House*) was drawn from Leigh Hunt (who died 28 August 1859).

30 Death of William Carus Wilson.

Extra Christmas Number of *ATYR* contains EG's 'The Ghost in the Garden Room', later altered to 'The Crooked Branch' when it appeared in *Right at Last and Other Tales* in 1860. Benjamin's betrayal of his parents and Bessy – melodramatic but moving nonetheless.

## 1860

### January

First number of the monthly *Cornhill* magazine published. It contained Charlotte Brontë's fragment of *Emma* and the first part Trollope's *Framley Parsonage* (concluded 1 April 1861).

Madame Mohl's article on Madame Récamier's *Souvenirs et Correspondence* published in the *National Review* and *Edinburgh Review*: it was later expanded into a book, *Madame Récamier: with a Sketch of the History of Society in France* (1862).

19 (Thurs.) Letter to Norton. Thanking him for Christmas letter and for photographs. Dreams of America but it always seems to be Rome. Wants to know about American working men's apartments. Encloses letter to Mr Hale. 3 February she and WG will go to Oxford (he will only be able to stay until the 14 February). Thereafter will go to Portsmouth, Eton and London till the end of February. Wishes Norton were here so that she could tell him her stories. Meta went to Edinburgh (returning 28 January). Her girls have not found husbands – perhaps bigotry among older generations against Unitarians. Thinks a single woman can be as happy as a married one eventually, but that it is wretched for those who want children.

28 *The Annual Register* (borrowed by WG from the Portico Library) shows EG beginning to authenticate the historical background to *Sylvia's Lovers*.

### February

(early) From Oxford to Smith tells him Madame Mohl wrote the review article on Madame Récamier in the *Edinburgh Review* and sending him the original of it. Says Madame Mohl ought to write a book. EG's French interest well to the fore.

'Curious If True' appears in the second number of the *Cornhill*, Smith apparently responsible for the title. It was anonymous, 'a fairy tale for adults' (Sharps 331)). Ward quotes EG as saying 'it just makes people have a notion that it *might* be true, which is what is wanted from the beginning' (*The Knutsford Edition* (1906), vol 7, xxv).

7 (Tues.) Letter from Norton, asking for dates of their birthdays. Describes the Model Lodging house in Boston, little done in New York – various schemes but no permanent achievement of accommodation for the honest poor. Postscript recalls that it is three years since they met one another in Rome.

25 From Winchester to Frederic Chapman – wanting autograph of Carlyle, and of either of the Brownings, and asks if some of her stories could be issued individually (and obviously cheaply) for the poorer classes. Wonders if a novel sent to her by Chapman (could be *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*) has gone astray in the post.

EG stuck in Winchester (ill-health), where the Cathedral Close may have suggested St Sepulchre, which derives from St Cross, the hospice outside the city in *Sylvia's Lovers*.

(late) tells Marianne she will be staying with Mrs Lyall in Winchester from 7–10 March. Writing from London, frantic social round, the Brodies (Oxford) liked WG.

## March

(post-February writes to Emelyn Story) Praise for Hawthorne, emphasises how she treasures any mention of Rome, and mentions her *Tolla* bound in vellum there (see earlier reference).

From Winchester to Marianne. Has looked into *The Annual Register* about the press-gang months ago. Many people in Yorkshire are helping her. Still not too well it seems. Letter packed with domestic instructions.

6 (Tues.) Norton provides detail on houses for working people in Boston, costing them, obviously stimulating EG's interest in practical implementation.

23 Asks Edward Chapman for best edition copies of *Mary Barton* and *Ruth*. Eagerly awaiting publication of *The Mill on the Floss* (4 April). Wants to know more about *Mademoiselle Mori* (Margaret Roberts) – recently published novel praised by Norton as written by someone knowing all about Italian life from living there.



- 23 From Cambridge Square asks George Smith about authorship of *Mademoiselle Mori*. EG has had bronchitis, Meta influenza. Sorry Mrs Smith is ill.
- 26(?) 1860 To Marianne. Dwells on death of a poor man, wonders what can be done to help his wife. Meta still ill with a cold, very run down herself though she has been out, tells Marianne she is hopeful of coming home on Thursday (29 March).

## April

Home again.

- 5 (Thurs.) George Smith sends her *The Mill on the Floss*, published the previous day. EG thinks Sir James K-S is cultivating him (Smith) because he has written a novel – Smith was to publish it (*Scarsdale*) this year. Attended concert in Holborn and encloses a sonnet to the leading singer – jokingly asks him if he'd like it for the *Cornhill*! Lovely, relaxed, funny letter.
- 5 Writes to Norton, saying her best idea of America is an oil painting by Barbara Bodichon: while disagreeing with the latter's extreme radicalism she admires her courage. She (Bodichon) and her husband spent their honeymoon lasting a year in America. Norton's *New Life of Dante, an Essay with Translations* (1859) has arrived. Thanks him for the practical advice about the model dwellings – how should she set about getting a superintendent? Retrospect includes Christmas, the trip to Oxford, aspects of ritual there, the arguments about Fellows perhaps being allowed to marry. Tremendous atmosphere of Oxford politics and debates conveyed. Got bronchitis, laid up for six weeks. Did see lodging houses in London, but they were poorly equipped. Tells him of Thurstan Holland's housing plans. Will get on with her story in May, hopes to complete by September, into country end of July.
- 8 Begins *Sylvia's Lovers*, the opening perhaps influenced by that of *The Mill on the Floss*, which she would be reading at this time.
- 23 Writes to Sampson Low wanting acknowledgement for her introduction to *Right at Last and Other Tales* (see below).
- 25 Acknowledges £100 from Sampson Low and £25 from Harper's for English copyright of *Right at Last and Other*

*Stories*, right of republication in America, arranges for copies to be sent with two free for herself.

- 27 1860(?) To Frederic Chapman(?) Recalls her agreement with him, the payments received, and believes she still has the copyright of *The Moorland Cottage*, which she is considering reprinting in a volume with some of her other stories. Deduces that he is not interested in reprinting *Cranford*. (In fact Chapman could still republish it as EG found out in 1863 via WG's discovery of the original agreement.)

- 30 Receives her two copies of *Right at Last and Other Stories*.

## May

- (early?) Writes to Marianne – her book is almost killing her, can't sleep but it is nearly a quarter done although she only began it on 8th April. Complains about incompetent gardener.

Tells Marianne 'It is hard work writing a novel all morning, spudding up dandelions all afternoon, & writing again at night' (GL 614). She has hurt her back but has completed 117 pages of her book. Letter full of visits, writing, gossip, activity, almost frenetic.

Tells Marianne so tired of her story she even dreams about it and is planning holiday. Gives her list of possible places – Versailles, Dieppe, Avranches, Bamborough, Skye, Stornaway. Marianne going to Eton on 2 June. WG goes to London about 20 June.

- 1 (Tues.) Letter from General Perronet Thompson (MP for Hull) to EG re country customs: he helped her with the background to *Sylvia's Lovers*.

- 3 Meta on sketching tour.

- 5 *Right at Last and Other Tales* published.

- 11 Garibaldi's Thousand land in Sicily, aiming to bring about the unification of Italy.

- 14 Thanks Henry Somerset for help in relieving the distress of a poor woman.

- 21 WG borrows Scoresby's book again from the Portico Library – presumably for EG's ongoing research on *Sylvia's Lovers*.

- 26(?) Going to Alderley (Winkworths) 28–31 May with Julia. Returned from Knutsford on 25 May. WG home from Warrington and very depressed. They have had a robbery and the dog Lion did not bark! Servants very upset – possibility of having a new cook – much discussed but little decided since WG is so withdrawn.

- c late To Mary Holland saying she will see a cook on Friday afternoon.
- 28(?) To a Mrs Fielden saying she hopes to engage her cook if she will come over. Compassion and doubt because Mr Fielden is an invalid and the cook may therefore have to be retained for him.

## June

- 2 (Sat.) Letter from Norton in Newport on holiday. Asks if she has she read *The Marble Faun*, which contains fine writing about Italy: he praises it for conveying the spirit of place and people. Much praise for Jowett, then *Mademoiselle Mori* again, 'a book that seems to me in its way as good as Hawthorne's, & which is full of such pictures of Rome and of the Romans as represent the city and the people with vivid fidelity' (Whitehill 59). Very pleased she is sending a photograph of herself.
- 6 Marianne (falsely) suspected of having small-pox. Nurses Marianne for ten days or so.
- 7 Madame Mohl consults EG about converting her work on Madame Récamier into a book.
- 9 From Eaton Place, tetchily castigates Chapman about payment requested for books from him which he had said she didn't have to pay for.
- 14(?) To Mary Green about her son Philip's departure for India in search of professional success. EG thinks he may be disadvantaged by being a Roman Catholic. Saturday (16 June) Marianne goes to Brighton for a week for sea air – EG goes to Cowley House, Oxford. Reiterates her love and Marianne's for Mary Green – warmly sympathetic letter.
- About this time EG attends the Christ Church Ball, apparently dancing well into the night.
- 28(?) From Cowley House Oxford to Marianne. Arranging to meet Marianne and travel on Saturday (30 June). They will stay with the Shaens. A week or so later to Heidelberg, Marianne, still weak, to Kreuznach with Hearn.
- 22 *Right at Last and Other Tales* published in America.
- 24 Opening of Florence Nightingale's Training School for Nurses at St Thomas's Hospital.
- 29 Panicky letter to Smith about her mislaid MS. Where did she ask him to send it? Going to Heidelberg, will be there

when the annual Miracle Play is given at the Ammergau (familiar version Oberammergau).

## July

- 3 (Tues.) WG borrows *Mademoiselle Mori* from the Portico.
- 8 From Müller's Hotel in Heidelberg to Mary Green – inviting two of her girls to join them there for a fortnight after 18 July (Wednesday) but the visit did not happen. EG provides great detail on prices, works out a complete travelling itinerary for them. EG is sad for them because of Philip's departure on 12 July.
- 25 WG writes to EG while she is staying at Müller's Hotel with Florence and Julia. Reports the death of Frederick Holland, dislikes idea of Hearn taking charge of Flossy and Julia (Hearn doesn't speak German), and is fretting about his own holidays. Marianne is at Kreuznach: he is very concerned about her health and her need to take the cure. Has told the Potters he will join them at the beginning of August, but fears many others have fixed the same time. Really wants them home, mentions EG's gout, criticises the children's spelling in their letters, has put EG's name forward for the committee to help Garibaldi's sick and wounded. Other gossip and news of his own doings.

## August

- 1(?) (Wed.) To Marianne from Heidelberg wants news. Big show on Friday (3 August) from Prussian Corps – illumination, music procession etc. Addition on same date tells her of new cook Ferguson arriving on Friday at home, but must write to Mary to tell her.
- (early) WG telegraphs from Manchester telling them to stay until they hear from him. EG concerned over Marianne's health, indigestion, etc. Went to see Ristori at last, afterwards got wet, arrived back late in Heidelberg, worried about girls' health, then writing in case Papa, Meta telegraphed, joined torchlight procession, home to bed, hopes to take Julia to see the castle. Friends met – worried about not hearing from Meta – ponders whether WG is in Scotland. Good weather, but worried about journeying to Cologne – went to Mannheim – they were not invited to a dance, came home by boat – wouldn't hurt Marianne to come –

stay overnight so that EG could assess how she is – waiting for letter from her.

- 21 To Chapman about financial arrangements with Smith to take the 2s edition of *Cranford* and *Lizzie Leigh* off their hands, Smith to pay her £44.13.9 for this. Not quite sure of Chapman though. Needs clarification of his proposal about *Cranford* and *Lizzie Leigh*.

- 22 Writes to Chapman again saying she has been out of England for three months and wants more literary news. Wants Trollope's autograph – much praise for *Framley Parsonage* – 'I never read anything in the way of fiction so true & deep!' (FL 214). Meta, travelling in Switzerland, thinks she saw the Leweses in a railway carriage – he was bearded and had an unpleasant face, looked clever, while his companion was older, jaded – he attended to her every need.

- 25 Asks Williams to send her all five volumes of *Modern Painters* since she wants to give them as a present to Meta – hopes to get a discount by buying from publishers.

- 27 To Norton – gives examples of philanthropic work for working men in Heidelberg and near Carlsruhe. Then an account of previous few months' activities: Marianne to London in May, Meta to Paris and Italy with Charles Darwin's sister, WG often away, quiet time (nearly finished first volume of her forthcoming book) until the small-pox panic over Marianne in London (6 June). Marianne to Brighton – EG waited at Oxford hoping Marianne would be well enough to go to Heidelberg – Meta on her own tour so did not join them. Marianne to Kreuznach – EG sends Hearn to her, then EG to Heidelberg for midsummer holidays – Marianne still at Kreuznach, hopefully will leave on 8 September – WG has gone to Scotland for his month's shooting holiday – tells Norton of Meta's artistic prowess and ambitions – divided between being an amateur and a dedicated artist. Relates the story of housemaid Mary and the machinery accident to her affianced – EG returned with Flossy and Julia 10 days ago (17 August?).

- 29 Writes to Williams thanking him for books, but saying that her novel is not progressing for a variety of reasons – busy, elder daughter far from well. Meta wants to send Ruskin some of her drawings. Visitors will make September a very busy month.

## September

- 10 (Mon.) Gossipy, newsy letter to Marianne. WG not well (liver). Chaos in the house. Mary the housemaid has been away for three weeks. Succession of visitors. Emma Shaen coming to stay. Counsels Marianne to keep tranquil, otherwise all the good of Kreuznach will be undone. 'Tell Hearn *all* her wits are wanted in this desolate, butterless, servantless, headless, washerwomanless, company full household' (GL 636).
- 28 Letter to EG from Florence Nightingale soliciting help, by EG urging others to give in order to assist an old friend (a soldier) clear a debt.

## October

- 1 (Mon.) Letter from Norton. Much discussion of Meta and art, which will have greatly pleased EG's pride in Meta – 'The one end of art is truth, – everything is worthless or worse than worthless in a picture that is not true' (Whitehill 68): expresses sympathy for (housemaid) Mary and Shaw (the injured man). Asks if his Notes on Italy have arrived.
- 4 To Tauchnitz (from a Yorkshire village) telling him *Lois the Witch* and 'The Crooked Branch' were later published in ATYR.
- 14 To Sampson Low – wants the volume containing 'The Manchester Marriage' sent to Emelyn Story.
- United Italy proclaimed by Garibaldi and Cavour.
- 27 Ruskin promises to look over some of Meta's drawings which she had sent him and apologises for his remissness (demands made by his mother) in not replying earlier.

## November

- 1 (Thurs.) Tells anonymous correspondent that she had been to Haworth the previous Saturday (she means Thursday 25 October, Juliet Barker, *The Brontës*, 818), and is sure Patrick Brontë, now bedridden, would appreciate hearing from him, particularly about Garibaldi's triumph. Or they could discuss Newcastle politics. Patrick's mental powers are good.
- 6 Abraham Lincoln becomes President of America.
- 28 Death of the Chevalier Bunsen.
- Dickens tells Georgina Hogarth that EG's contribution for his Christmas number is too long (probably 'The Grey Woman' rather

than *A Dark Night's Work* which would be unsuitable for a Christmas number certainly in terms of length).

(late?) Depressed over the writing of *Sylvia's Lovers*. Asks Marianne to borrow two of James Payn's novels and Clough's *Ambarvalia*. (She had borrowed and perhaps read Geraldine Jewsbury's copy of *Ambarvalia* in 1849.)

## December

1 (Sat.) *Great Expectations* begins serialisation in *ATYR* (finished 3 August 1861).

10 EG tells Norton what all the family are doing at that moment, how she worked with Florence Nightingale and another friend to set up a home for soldiers in Gibraltar. Return of housemaid Mary after 14 week absence – her lover's life saved but he is still confined to bed. WG to spend his Christmas holidays with an old friend in North Wales. Marianne much better – returned from Kreuznach on 14 September. Her book is about 25 per cent complete. Florence has left school – she is now 18 – they are reading together Macaulay's biographies and Milman's *Latin Christianity*. EG hopes to visit London in February. Has sent him *Rab and His Friends* by John Brown (1859). (Resumes 12 December) – has loved his book about Italy – sensible advice about Meta – has little time at all now that she has four daughters at home, has to keep herself on call to provide sympathy, advice.

11 Assures Tauchnitz his terms are acceptable for *Lois the Witch*. He went ahead. *Lois the Witch and Other Tales*, published 14 March 1861 (Smith 164).

14 Sends Edward Hale best wishes (though still hoping he can join them), gives him a resumé of the year – has looked after 25-year-old Mr Drummond, WG's colleague, who stayed with them. Worked away at her novel. Vividly brings alive details of her visits, worry over Marianne. Gives him news of lodging house building in London for working men.

20 To W. S. Williams. Has seen Lowes Dickenson. Visited Patrick Brontë six weeks ago, sat with him for an hour. Softened but irrational – confined to bed – recounts how Nicholls refused to christen Greenwood's last child when he learned it was to be called Brontë. He raged at Patrick

when he (Patrick) christened it privately. Nicholls disliked in the village. Ongoing bitterness between the two men obvious.

- c28 To H. A Bright saying she was away for Christmas – returning end of following week (may be Friday–Saturday, 4–5 January). WG needs complete rest and does not wish to correspond.

*Essays and Reviews* published this year and was castigated for its liberal stances with regard to contemporary scholarship and traditional faith (see below).

## 1861

### January

Rossetti considers sending sister Christina's *Goblin Market* to EG since he thinks her a warm, encouraging person who might help to get it into the *Cornhill* or another appropriate journal. (*Goblin Market and Other Poems* was published by Macmillan in April 1862.)

*Unitarian Herald* established by John Relly Beard and WG.

- 5 (Sat.) First 'portion' of 'The Grey Woman' in *ATYR* IV. 'The story I am going to relate is true as to it's (sic) main facts, and as to the consequence of those facts from which this tale takes its title' (Rubenius 279, quoting from MS). Gothic in emphasis, Heidelberg visits 1841, 1855, 1860 as source, first person framing narrative set 1840s, main action late 18th century. Involves murder, robbery, deception, flight, structured into portions, the abused wife remarries and when she sees her evil first husband much later she has become a 'grey woman'.

- 11 Tells unknown correspondent she has no writings by Charlotte Brontë.

- 12 Second portion of 'The Grey Woman' in *ATYR* IV.

- 19 Third portion of 'The Grey Woman' in *ATYR* IV.

- 26 Congratulates Mark Pattison on being made Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

### February

- 3 (Sun.) 1860 or 1861(?) Letter from General Perronet Thompson to Miss Thompson, later Mrs William Sidgewick, friend of EG's, referring to press-gang incidents – information relevant to *Sylvia's Lovers*.



- 28 1861(?) To Marianne from Portsmouth, Meta writing first part. EG takes over, describes trip to the docks in Portsmouth the previous day (Wednesday) – went to the *Victory* (Nelson's ship) – then the small Queen's yacht – lovely racy anecdote about Queen Victoria and one of her retainer's blunt exchanges with her – and much about the Royal family, then visiting yacht after yacht and other ships. To Osborne. Dines with Judges, etc. – meanwhile Manchester agog because of a murder.

### March

- 1 (Fri.) 1861(?) Tells Smith 'I wish Mr Trollope would go on writing Framley Parsonage for ever' (*GL* 602, dated 1860 but really 1861 likely) and observes everyone is dreading that it will come to an end (in fact the last number was in April).
- 2(?) From the Close, Winchester, to Marianne asking her to attend to details concerning friends. No news, arrived on Thursday, busy catching up with correspondence.
- (Friday in March) To Marianne from Regent's Park. Meta to have tonsils operation Monday at 1.30 and advised to take a glass of sherry at one o'clock. EG whimsically contemplates having one too. Yesterday they visited Rossetti who welcomed them and wished his wife was there to receive them. Gives instructions about seeds for the gardener. Asks her to arrange to stay at Liverpool – perhaps another visit to Kreuznach might do her good, in which case she (EG) and Meta would stay at home. Intent on making Marianne strong in herself.
- (March) Writes to Rossetti giving him address of the Comte de Circourt to whom he can send his work on *The Early Italian Poets*. Tells him of Meta's tonsils' operation and how she was comforted by his sketch (the triptych for Llandaff Castle).
- 13 In Salisbury, lunched at the deanery.
- 14 Tauchnitz publishes *Lois the Witch and Other Tales* ('The Doom of the Grifffths', 'The Half-Brothers', 'The Crooked Branch' and 'The Grey Woman', the last in book form for the first time).
- 24 Went to a special service at St Paul's in the evening.

- 25 To Marianne about dress but the Boat Race crops up – Cambridge finishing 100 yards behind Oxford – many visits planned for this day.

## April

- 2 (Tues.) George Eliot's *Silas Marner* published.
- 12 Southern troops signal the beginning of the American Civil War by attacking Fort Sumter.
- 16 Letter to Norton. WG making arrangements for meeting of British Association for the Advancement of Science in Manchester (4–10 September). They will visit Silverdale mid- July for six weeks, hoping for an improvement in Julia's health. WG will have his holiday separately, partly in London (June) and Scotland (August). Tells him what the girls are reading (Meta is in the 5th volume of *Modern Painters*). Marianne at Buxton for a fortnight. Went to see Rossetti, who is translating the early Italian poets: mentions his wife (Lizzie Siddall). Has greatly enjoyed re-reading Norton's *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* and her much loved *Vita Nuova*. Mentions the furore aroused by the publication of *Essays and Reviews* (Jowett & Pattison contributed, for example – see below). Goes on in this letter with retrospect on Bosanquet (Huguenot descent) whom they had met in Heidelberg. He is working for the poor in London, setting up a club, buying a number of houses in the worst part of Drury Lane. Wants introduction to Norton, goes to America in June, EG feels that he and Norton will become friends: says Norton will like him once he gets over Bosie's 'Sir – Charles-Grandeson (sic) manner' (*GL* 650).
- 21 1861(?) To unknown, remembers Bemerton which she had once visited and which she loved because of its associations with poet George Herbert. He was Vicar and is buried there. Bemerton is adjacent to Salisbury (see 13 March). Letter not sent until 25 April.
- 22 To Hale – refers to sad news about the Northerners soon being at war, doesn't understand American politics, still unwell but must finish her book, although after reading George Eliot she doesn't feel anything that she writes can be worth reading. More on *Essays and Reviews* (questioning

the authority of the Bible and citing historical and scientific objections) already, according to EG, in its 8th edition.

- 27 Wants to include *The Moorland Cottage* in the volume to be published by Sampson Low, who made her an offer. Still has the copyright but doesn't know if the first edition is sold out. (The volume is *My Lady Ludlow and Other Tales*; see 6 July 1861). *The Moorland Cottage* was not reprinted in EG's lifetime, though Chapman and Hall published new impressions in the 1850s (Smith 46).

- 27 Invites Henry Smith (Oxford professor) to stay with them on 4 September, when he will be in Manchester for the British Association meeting.

## May

- 5 (Sun.) Writes to Robert von Mohl introducing the Walkers to him (Walker is Professor of Natural Science at Oxford), hoping he will be able to give them introductions to people in Heidelberg, where Walker is going in order to recuperate.
- 23 Tells Marianne and Meta of her junketings (and Julia's) at Ludlow Castle. Detailed description of exhausting activities. Very impressed with a Col Shadwell (who kissed her) and who is going to take WG to the Cosmopolitan (men's club) when they are in London. Susanna Winkworth wants Meta to stay at Malvern until Saturday week (1 June) to look after Katie, but EG says she will come back Thursday week (30 May) unless absolutely needed. Selina's baby christened 24 May 1861.

## June

- (a Monday) (?June ?1861)). To Mary Robberds – WG has gone to London the previous day for two weeks – tells her to thank Mr Herford for his paper on pauper children and their education.
- 10 (Mon.) Letter to Norton tells him of discussion with Meta about possible trip to America, working out cost, time, and skipping Niagara because they would rather see friends. Puzzled by American politics and differences – what can be achieved by the war, the fact that they and their different races mean they are in daily contact so to speak whereas the British Empire is not – and in any case wishes the colonies would become self-governing and cut themselves

off amicably. Anti-Southern stance. What are the Northerners going to do when they win, as win they will? Coerce the South? In Lancashire, though, all sympathy on a private and financial level is with the Southern States. Has just been reading *Elsie Venner* (Oliver Wendell Holmes). Asks Norton to invite WG to America before 1 July. His congregation released him for all of July and August. Wishes Norton could be at Silverdale with them. More Roman nostalgia. Katie Winkworth has been very ill and Meta has spent two months at Malvern helping to look after her.

- 19 WG borrows *The Annual Registers* for 1796–97 from the Portico Library for EG's research on *Sylvia's Lovers*
- 21 Wants the Storeys to invite WG to Rome for his holiday, to Siena or Spezia.
- 23 To the Storeys – WG's holiday is for two months, not much after his thirty-three years' dedicated service. He has brightened at the thought of visiting them. Says WG is very shy, likes children, possesses a good sense of humour. Getting on with her new book, interested in but doesn't understand American politics.
- 24 Letter to Norton. Goes back to Ruskin breaking down at the Royal Institution lecture on 17 April when he saw Lady Eastlake and Mrs Millais (Ruskin's ex-wife) sitting in front of him and staring. WG wanting a companion on his holiday, but not one of the family because that would mean taking responsibility. Meta, Florence, Julia and EG to Silverdale the following week.
- 26 Letter to Bosanquet giving him introductions to Norton and Mr Hale, and warning him that 'Mrs Stowe is – Mrs Stowe' (GL 663).
- 29 Death of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

## July

- 6 (Sat.) First English edition of *My Lady Ludlow and Other Tales*.
- 19(?) 1861(?) To a Mrs Hall introducing a friend of hers, Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh professor) who will be spending time in Heidelberg.
- 21 Defeat of Northern forces at Bull Run.
- 26 1861(?) Writes to Antonio Panizzi (Sir Anthony, chief librarian at the British Museum) asking him if he can help her to locate

a translation (by Benjamin Wiffen) of the works of the Spanish religious mystic Juan de Valdes (whom she calls Valdez or Valdesso).

- 29 To Edward Holland from Silverdale thanking him for a cheque for £20 and describing the rural postman's itinerary and incompetence; she won't complain because he is dependent on this job and he and his wife are honest and work hard.

## August

- 12 (Mon.) From Norton in Newport. Expressing sorrow for Ruskin, also saying that he doesn't believe Ruskin wilfully ignored EG's note. Wishes that EG could look after Ruskin, since he needs all the devotion and sympathetic affection she would bestow on him. Records burning to death of Mrs Longfellow on a very hot day in July (detailed account of her lovely character) and Longfellow's suffering. The defeat at Bull Run (21 July) has only made the North more determined. The war is centrally now about the destruction of slavery.
- 27 Madame Mohl writes EG that she is struggling with her book on Madame Récamier.
- 28 Letter to Norton. Expresses grief and sympathy about the Longfellow tragedy. Has heard yesterday from Mrs Shaw. Now understands the Northern cause better. Asks him to explain the Bull Run fiasco. The English usually get their news from *The Times*, EG thinks 'Russell's [celebrated war correspondent] writing is Panorama painting' (GL 665). Tells him he can count on their sympathy with the North. Then review of holidays and into this month, expressing her compassion for the innocent animals shot from the 12 August onwards. WG went to Europe on 3 July, returning 3 September. He got in touch from Newhaven on 23 August. Last Saturday Meta, Hearn and Julia arrived home (24 August). EG and Florence returned on 22 August. Visitors for the British Association of Science arrive in September. She half wishes it were over. She is well on with her book which will probably be called 'Philip's Idol'. Exclaims about the sad death of Mrs Browning. Thanks him for more beautiful photographs.

## September

- 13 (Fri.) To Harriet Martineau explaining delay in replying – house full of people for the British Association conference (4–11 September). Invited to write for *Once a Week*, but has refused: in any case had been invited by Dickens to write quite a long story for *HW* (she means *ATYR*), which she also had to refuse.
- 29 To Henry Smith, fellow of Balliol, who sent EG a copy of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, just published.

## November

- (early?) Refuses permission for Marianne to go to a ball because they don't want her fatigued (she is shortly to set out for Rome).
- 8 (Fri.) 1861(?) EG to a Mrs Grundy (who may have been a supporter of Garibaldi) giving her an introduction to Mrs Henry Winkworth but pointing out that her husband and Katie Winkworth are in poor health.
- 8 Confederate (Southern) officers, Mason and Slidell, on their way to Europe aboard the British ship *Trent*, are seized by the Northern navy, thus provoking an Anglo-American crisis.
- 16 Marianne goes to Rome (expected back April 1862).
- 18 To Lady K-S quotes clichéd but true 'charity must begin at home'. The winter promises to be sad in South Lancashire and she hopes that employers who have made fortunes will give to poor workers in their suffering. Worried about Marianne's health – hence the Rome visit. EG very proud of her daughters, particularly Meta.

## December

Dickens visited Manchester this month to give readings from his works.

- 9 (Mon.) Tells George Smith two-thirds of her novel are complete, he can have the final volume when he requests it. Thanks him for what he has discovered about Captain Hill.
- 13 To Edward Hale – thanking him for a gift of apples, canvass-back ducks, etc. Florence asked her if they had to be returned if there was war with America! Gives him the reaction to the *Trent* incident and says that no one cares whether Slidell and Mason are hanged or not. Awaiting

with some dread the President's response (perhaps because this may lead to war). Very conscious of tensions between their countries.

- 14 Death of the Prince Consort, who had contracted typhoid. Sir Henry Holland is one of the doctors in attendance.
- 17 From Rossetti about the Italian poets and his poems. Hopes to see EG and her daughters when they are in London. Gives news of Christina's volume of poems (p. 203) (Macmillan, April 1862).
- 24 EG and Meta exhausted from searching for Christmas presents.
- 25 Walked to and from chapel.
- 26 Tried to get into the Cathedral on Monday to hear the Bishop preach the Prince Consort's funeral sermon (23 December). Asks Marianne to look out for a suitable place for herself and Meta in Rome, observing that people think war with America is unlikely. Records reactions to the death of Prince Albert. Deep mourning, and the initial hysteria of the suffering Queen. Everything here very quiet. Christmas presents cut back. EG visited Susanna Winkworth.
- 31 Letter to Norton. Hoping and hoping for a letter from him. Fears of war with America but is absorbed in the Queen's anguish. Critical of the influence of Seward on the movement towards war, saying she and Meta are devoted Northern supporters. They have been looking after the elder Winkworth sister for three months and have visited the Monckton Milneses.

(end) First two volumess of *Sylvia's Lovers* to Smith.

EG's interest in sensation fiction evident in her last stories. WG's borrowings from the Portico (1860–65) include Caroline Clive, Mrs Oliphant, Miss Braddon, Sheridan Le Fanu and Mrs Henry Wood (Foster 148–9).

## 1862

### January

- 22 (Wed.) Writes to Florence Nightingale thanking her for letting her see her letter to Captain Jackson. Expresses her fears for the cotton trade because of the American Civil War and the likelihood that the American cotton quota will dry up.

Implies that measures taken to avoid the slump have already led to difficulties within the trade.

Terrible suffering in Manchester.

## February

- (early) Has been ill: cautions Marianne to keep away from Dr Manning. 'I concentrate all my wish on that for the present, till I know more' (*GL* 921). Hears good reports of her, but regrets letting her go to Rome. EG's and WG's fears already apparent that Marianne will convert to Catholicism under the influence of Manning, later Archbishop and Cardinal.
- 1 (Sat.) 1862(?) To W. S. Williams(?) asking if he has read the first two volumes of her story: reflects her insecurity, feeling maybe he and Smith do not like it. Offers a sketch of the rest to show how it all works out, would not like Smith to feel he had to take it. Then mentions her articles on French Life for *ATYR*. She is worried about whether Julia Kavanagh has already done what she is doing, wants him to send her Kavanagh's book Her own book is on Madame de Sévigné and her times. She doesn't really want her work in *ATYR*, and asks Smith if he will have it. It is, as she says, a confused letter. Her own (projected) book is an explanatory memoir of Madame de Sévigné and the period in which she lived – gives him a breakdown of it.
- 6 Tells W. S. Williams about title – she has 'Philip's Idol' – feels that this would be suitable if she ever finishes the novel. Thanks him for candour, thinks he hasn't read the second volume yet: has received Kavanagh's book.
- 7 Turns down an invitation from the *Daily News* to write about the current state of the Manchester poor. Describes the attitude of the working people as 'passive' (*GL* 677) but praises their capacity for suffering. Recommends the Rev. Mr Beard and/or Travers Madge as possible contributors who might meet the paper's needs.
- 11 Death of Elizabeth Rossetti (née Siddall).
- 13 Sends Alexander Macmillan the preface to Col. Vecchj's Journal, urging that it be printed quickly.
- 14 1862(?) To John Wilson – wants to purchase a 17th century French book from his catalogue.
- 25 1862(?) Reminds Henry Bright he owes her a letter to Hawthorne for a Mr Dicey, who is going out to America, commissioned by



Macmillan, to evaluate Northern views. Florence is going to a ball on Thursday, EG asks if he could speak to her to give her confidence – ‘She is very small & little & looks younger than she is’ (*FL* 233).

## March

- 1 (Sat.) Publication of *Garibaldi at Caprera* (trans. Lucy and Mary Ellis) with EG’s preface.
- 6 Thackeray resigns as editor of the *Cornhill*.
- 18 To Smith with titles for *Sylvia’s Lovers*, including ‘Philip’s Idol’ which she says people will call ‘Philip’s idle’. WG will teach him (Smith) how to pronounce ‘Specksioneer’ (Harpooner), though other titles like ‘Monkshaven’ and ‘*Sylvia’s Lovers*’ are also mooted. Asks for proofs to be sent to a German lady in Vienna who needs employment, and who could translate one of EG’s books quickly for a little money. Reveals she is writing about Madame de Sévigné but is only in the first chapter – and offers to write him the best short story she can manage. (This could be ‘Six Weeks at Heppenheim’.)
- 28 Letter to Smith thanking him for a copy of Mr Aidé’s book – she loves it for its Italian atmosphere, which carries her out of ‘murky smoky Manchester’ (*GL* 679). (This is *Carr of Carlyon*, published this month.)
- 30 Norton reveals his engagement to Susan Sedgwick. She is 24: he hopes that she and EG will love one another for their own sakes and not just because of him.

## April

- 1 (Tues.) Letter to Henry Morley saying she is glad he likes the *Garibaldi*.
- 1 Thanks Vernon Lushington for offering to escort Florence to Manchester – EG does not like the idea of her travelling alone. He can stay with them.
- 4 Tells Vernon Lushington he left his copy of *Good Words* (monthly periodical) there.
- c9 Reports to Vernon Lushington how she intends to do good work among the poor as a result of his cheque.
- 9 To Vernon Lushington giving him an example of what his money has achieved by saying a poor old woman (given 8d a week) blessed him and said ‘*land him safe in heaven*’ (*FL* 236).

- 12(?) Reprimands Henry A. Bright for speaking badly of the Northerners. Tells him she has come to like Vernon Lushington, though she thinks it preferable to start with some dislike! Is going to Oxford end of month.
- 15(?) Tells Vernon Lushington about the distress, bad in Manchester, very bad in Preston and Blackburn – but in Manchester worse in 1857 (instability of American trade) and in 1847 (railway speculation). She fears that the cotton trade's slump will become more pronounced. Gives him the names of organisations and people (examples Charles Herford and Travers Madge) who would receive his contributions to relieve distress. Refers to letters to *The Times* about the distress (actually by one of WG's colleagues J. R. Beard) caused by the American War.
- 18 1862(?) Writes Godfrey Lushington thanking him for his engravings. Frederic Harrison has loaned her the MS of his tour of the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire. EG defends the character of the natural-born Lancastrian. She is listening to Bach, 'so exquisite now – like the music of heaven' (*GL* 681). Hopes to visit Oxford after 1 May. Obviously Lushington has sent music which Marianne and Meta are enjoying.
- 22 To Norton wanting detail on Susan and congratulating him, expressing her happiness at his being married 'almost as if you were my own son' (*GL* 682). Retrospect on the Manning/Marianne interaction, indicating that Marianne feels she has never been a Unitarian in belief but is now reading assiduously with WG.
- 24 Curious note to Henry Bright mentioning 'Forster's imposture' (*FL* 239).
- 25 To Florence Nightingale – will try to get her women who would make worthwhile nurses – even offers to help advertise in the papers and to distribute her request as widely as possible. Links this to the clergy expressing the need for trained nurses in the parishes.
- 25 To Vernon Lushington – will return Frederic Harrison's 'Diary' (see above 18 April 1862?).
- In Oxford on Wednesday (30 April) – beginning of May.

## May

- 1–2 (Thurs.–Fri.) From Cowley House to Marianne. Triumphant because she has found her mislaid story (it took from

Wednesday 23 April to Monday 28 April to be delivered): could be 'Six Weeks in Heppenheim', perhaps more likely *Cousin Phillis*. Gets £150 for the story, but hasn't yet been paid for 'Curious if True'. Gives news of the Winkworths, asks her to write to WG, met the Arnolds on 1 May. Discussion with Marianne of lodgings in London: EG provides a list of alternatives.

'Six Weeks at Heppenheim' in the *Cornhill*. First person narrative, Oxford graduate (based on Bosanquet) who is to become a lawyer, travelling, comfortable means, takes lodgings in Heppenheim, becomes ill, particularly notices the maid (Thekla), well nursed by her, visited after a month or so by doctor and landlord. Thekla's unhappy love-affair gives way to her marriage with landlord: 'the story's German-ness is integral to it' (Peter Skrine, *The Gaskell Society Journal* (1993), p. 45).

6 To Vernon Lushington from Cowley House. Refers to Frederic Harrison's Diary, returned by today's post, gives details of their Oxford itinerary, leaves Oxford on Monday (with regrets), followed by London and lodgings. Then abroad to Paris on business, Normandy and Brittany for a fortnight, sketching, etc. Has a friend who would like to visit Rossetti, but does not want to intrude on his suffering after his wife's death. Obviously intent on gathering material for her study of Madame de Sévigné which she later abandoned.

7(?) Tells Marianne she is coming to London Monday 12 May, goes into detail about her itinerary with Meta, who will rejoin her in London: they leave for Paris three days later (Thursday 15 May).

8 Will stay with Miss Behrens in Manchester Square (London) 12–15 May – makes arrangements for other girls – possible for Marianne to stay in London – news that Story and Dr Manning have fallen out, their friendship over. EG may stay with the Smiths at the beginning of June (3 or 4 days).

9 Writes to Story telling him that Meta has no tendencies towards Roman Catholicism. Marianne has always been influenced more by people outside her family than those in it. EG anxious initially to keep Marianne's supposed move towards Rome from WG, since he abhors Catholicism.

10 Has made arrangements with Ticknor & Fields to publish American edition of *Sylvia's Lovers*.

- 12 Opening of the Knutsford railway, ironically nearly a decade after *Cranford*, which features the railway (Captain Brown's death in Chapter 2). Perhaps mirrored too in *Cousin Phillis* and also in Uncle Holland's rail and building work in Wales.
- 16(?) Tells Marianne she is leaving for Paris the next day, Friday evening. Has engaged rooms in Pimlico for return 3 June. Must be back in town on 4 June because of *Elijah* (Mendelssohn's oratorio).
- 17 In France – week in Paris – visits St Germain then 10 days Brittany, Normandy, Chartres, Les Rochers, Vitré, Madame de Sévigné connections, with Meta and friend Isabel Thompson. 'French Life' (see below) gives dates from 10 May, using fictional licence (Sharps 458).
- 23 Letter from Guizot praising *Ruth* and *The Life*.
- 24 Touring around (see 17 May above).

## June

- 3 (Tues.) Returns to London. EG stays on for a few weeks.
- 4 Derby Day – Eton Day – *Oratorio*.
- 4 Marianne, Julia and Florence stay with George Smith and his wife for a week.
- 6 1862(?) From Eaton Place thanks Lord and Lady Stanhope for invitation to breakfast on following Thursday (12 June) which she will be pleased to accept.
- 7 To a Mr Bicknell reminding him of his promise to get them admission to the Crystal Palace on Tuesdays in the afternoon.
- 16 To William Shaen asking him whether Mudie has a branch library in Paris. She wants to know because Emil Souvestre's daughter wants English books soon after they appear to help her select those suitable for translation.
- 16 1862 (?) To Mrs Archer Clive declining an invitation to see her since she has a prior engagement with Miss Tollet (at Betley Hall, Staffordshire).
- 21 Has got tickets for the Lady Mayoress's Ball on Tuesday (24 June).

## July

- 1 (Tues.) George Eliot's *Romola* begins publication in *Cornhill* (completed in 14 monthly parts in August 1863).

- 23 1862(?) Describes French tour to Katie Winkworth(?) – retrospect – Chartres, Les Rochers, Fougères. She and Meta found Florence and Marianne awaiting them in lodgings as arranged on their return. Fine description of the Eton Day – spoiled in the evening by rain.

## August

- 14 (Thurs.) tells Edward Holland that WG is wandering on his holidays again, she doesn't know where he is or when he will return. He will make a contribution to the distress around them. Wants to keep their Catherine Dock Shares – this is not the time to sell despite losses. Signs receipts (for WG) for the dividends paid.
- 20 Tells W. S. Williams that she will send MS of the third volume of *Sylvia's Lovers* by end of January; yesterday sent corrected proofs of second volume. Hopes to complete by end of January but cannot be certain.
- 22 1862(?) To Williams – will send another chapter to add to 2nd volume.
- Post August(?) to Henry Bright from Plymouth Grove – she had asked him to stay during Vernon Harcourt's visit since WG was in Cornwall – she, Marianne and Meta troubled by etiquette. Vernon Lushington came instead.

## September

- 1 (Mon.) Serialisation of Trollope's *The Small House at Allington* begins in *Cornhill* (continues until 1 April 1864).
- 4 If Ticknor and Fields withdraw from their agreement because of her delays she will be glad to have the money concerned deducted from Smith's agreed payment to her (see 10 May above).
- 12 1862(?) Received Story's Cleopatra-poem which she liked: she believes it is the best he has written.
- 14 Letter to W. S. Williams(?) saying she and WG are puzzled by the request for some missing pages. Indicates she is going to the William Shaens at Eastbourne.
- 15 1862(?) Has brought three factory girls to London: their box with their clothes has been lost on the way. EG's social commitment again evident.
- 25 1862(?) Writes to unknown correspondent from Eastbourne giving practical advice – when she had small children she doesn't

believe she could have written fiction because she would have found her characters too absorbing and would consequently have neglected her children. Authors must be sympathetically involved in life and must be good housekeepers. She hasn't received the MS yet, but is obviously prescribing a health regimen for her correspondent in cooking, sewing, getting strong – all these are touched on. Doesn't think she herself cared for literary celebrity, nor should anyone, since it is ephemeral. Advises always have faith in God.

She and Meta stayed about a month in Eastborne. EG was suffering from overstrain because of her relief work.

(EG provided sewing-rooms and helped with the provision of dinners for the poor).

30 To unknown correspondent referring to 'A Night's Work' in *ATYR*, 10–12 numbers, querying whether they would like to publish in America – she has right of republishing here.

(late?) Asks Smith how many pages are required for the third volume of *Sylvia's Lovers*, since she wants to finish it before she completes 'A Night's Work' (she doesn't name it though!) for *ATYR*. Greatly concerned that the hostilities between North and South should end so that the suffering poor could once more get employment in the cotton trade. Doesn't want *Sylvia's Lovers* published before February. Obviously run down and depressed by local suffering.

## October

c2 (Thurs.) To printer re proofs of *Sylvia's Lovers*, asking him to make certain corrections and include enclosed insertion.

5 Writes ghost story fragment involving man and his dead brother who appears to others to still be with him.

14 Asks Tauchnitz to abstract *Cranford* from *HW* and publish it. After EG's death, it came out in the series in 1867.

16 To Lord Lansdowne giving him details of a Mr Birch who has set up sewing-schools to relieve the distress of girl workers in the area. He now has 17 schools.

## November

21 (Fri.) Dickens tells Wills that it is typical of EG to put the title at the end of the story (it should be at the beginning). Tells

Wills to add one word to the title, i.e. 'Dark' – to 'A Night's Work'.

## December

- (early) EG and Meta collapse and are sent to Worthing by WG (Uglow 503).
- 2 (Tues.) To Thomas Wright saying he can pick up bales of clothing left in her name at the Central Relief Office for use of the poor and needy – Poor Law provision having proved inadequate.
- 10 (c1862?) Acknowledges contribution in stamps for relief of poor.
- 16 Again thanks a Mrs Bostock and her husband for a contribution.

## 1863

### January

- (early) Sends 3rd volume of *Sylvia's Lovers* to Smith – 'the saddest story I ever wrote' – (quoted Ward, *Knutsford* 6, xii).
- 7 (Wed.) 1863(?) Writes to correspondent who had asked her to contribute a story to a collection in aid of the Lancashire Relief Fund; would not think of taking any remuneration but wants more detail, wants to show sympathy with the cause but confesses to being physically exhausted (demands of the sewing schools) – 'it takes an unfatigued *body*, as well as a willing *mind*, to write even a short story' (*FL* 249).
- 12 Katie Winkworth at the Gaskells to meet Miss Stanley, the sister of A. P. Stanley.
- 24 First part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in *ATYR* VIII. Story of deception, concealment, murder, discovery, with a (mutedly) happy ending. Atmospheric, narrative verve, mix of melodrama and acute psychological insights. Locations in Hamley, Chester, London and Rome. EG using her English and foreign travel to good effect in foregrounds. Plot somewhat convoluted, coincidences strained.
- 28 Acknowledges gift of counterpane for the poor from a Miss James.
- 31 Second part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in *ATYR* VIII.

### February

Article 'Shams' in *Fraser's Magazine* 67, initialled EG. Satirical piece about affectations, male pomposity (attribution dubious).

- 1 (Sun.) Dickens tells Wills that the heroine (Ellinor) of the story ('A Dark Night's Work') too much resembles EG herself.
- 4 To Vernon Lushington (but sent later) in a panic because Marianne told her the 'Merrie England' sails on the morning of the 10 February. Got a mother and daughter off – sending them to Australia – by dint of telegraphing, packing, etc.
- 7 More about the sailing and attendant panic.
- 7 Third part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in ATYR VIII.
- 12 1863(?) To Williams and Norgate nagging them to send a copy of *Cranford* to Baron Tauchnitz.
- 14 Fourth part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in ATYR VIII.
- 16 Exclaims happily about being in Paris once again.
- 20 *Sylvia's Lovers* published in 3 volumes by Smith, Elder. £1000 for copyright, dedication to WG – (different in American edition, see below) – 'To My Dear Husband by her who best knows his value'.
- 21 Fifth part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in ATYR VIII.
- c February) Picking up on an error because a letter has been forwarded to her saying that in Daniel Robson's trial (*Sylvia's Lovers*) the counsel could not make a speech in the prisoner's defence at that time but could only observe and then cross-question witnesses.
- 28 Sixth part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in ATYR IX.
- 28 Geraldine Jewsbury in the *Athenaeum* (unsigned) finds the dialect of *Sylvia's Lovers* a limitation but says that the novel is better than any of EG's previous works.
- 28 Madame Mohl records EG as suffering for six months in Manchester from headaches which disappeared during her Paris stay.

## March

- (early) Julia and EG staying with the Mohls in Paris. They would be joined by Florence and Meta later and go on to Italy.
- 1 (Sun.) *Observer* refers to the wearisome and pointless dialect of *Sylvia's Lovers*.
- 6 £200 receipt for the entire copyright of 'A (Dark) Night's Work'.
- 6 Receives £60 from Smith, complete payment for the copyright of *Cranford*.
- 7 Seventh part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in ATYR IX.



- 10 The Prince of Wales marries Princess Alexandra of Denmark.
- 14 Eighth part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in ATYR IX.
- 16 Meta, Florence, Julia to Italy with EG from Paris. At Versailles, then Avignon.

Florence becomes engaged to Charles Crompton, but the holiday continues despite the unexpectedness of her engagement.

- 17 First American edition of *Sylvia's Lovers* with the striking dedication: 'To all my Northern friends, with the truest sympathy of an English woman; and in an especial manner to my dear Friend Charles Eliot Norton, and to his wife, who, although personally unknown to me, is yet dear to me for his sake'.
- 18 From Avignon – letter to Mary Green– delayed by the Mistral – put out by the sudden event of Florence's attachment to Crompton – met him in Paris on Saturday (14 March) – now they are going on to Rome since WG was neutral on any change of plan, and Florence and Crompton urged them to do so. Crompton reminds EG of Mary Green 'in moral qualities' (FL 252).
- 21 Ninth part of 'A Dark Night's Work' in ATYR IX.
- 21 'An Italian Institution' in ATYR IX (based on Italian holiday of 1857 initially.) An analysis of La Camorra, a system of blackmail and financial extortion in Naples, thoroughly organised process of intimidation, its recruits having to undertake a course in assassination. It penetrated every part of the establishment – army, navy, government – a localised precursor of the Mafia (see 20 May below).
- 23 Probably arrived at Civita Vecchia. Holiday in Italy, itinerary Rome, Perugia, Assisi etc to Florence. Stayed until the end of May.

Met W. S. Landor in Rome.

## April

- (early) To W. W. Story from Rome, details about money, what to see, asks if he can recommend best events of following week – and if the French ambassador's reception is that evening.
- 1 (Wed.) 2nd edition of *Sylvia's Lovers*.
- 3 *Daily News* refers to the miserable and sad events dragged out in dialect in *Sylvia's Lovers*.
- 4 *Saturday Review* says EG does not reach her accustomed standard in *Sylvia's Lovers*.

- 14 Publication of 'A Dark Night's Work' in book form – the American edition being the first (Smith 184).
- 17 Meta's letter (from Rome) to Norton says the Storrs have moved into fine apartments there.
- 23 Norton hears of EG's visit to Rome: he longs for Italy, '& altogether I am passing a very delightful morning with you in Rome' (Whitehill 99). Busy with pamphlets about the war. Great praise for *Sylvia's Lovers*, which conveys realistic living experience. Then back to the war and the anti-slavery successes. Points out the enlisting of black troops is proving successful. One section commanded by Colonel Shaw.
- 24 Writes to Tauchnitz saying she is glad 'A Dark Night's Work' has reached him safely.
- 24 First English book edition of 'A Dark Night's Work' published by Smith Elder.
- 26 Leaves Rome for Florence.
- (April?) Letter to a Mrs Fane records an accident to one of the Gaskell girls (she was thrown off a donkey she was riding). About this time too has to put off a visit to Tivoli with this lady. Both from Hotel d'Allemagne, Rome.

## May

- May(?) 1863(?) from the Hotel d'Allemagne to a Mr Perkins about their Florence journey. She wants advice, asks him to do duty 'as Murray' (*GL* 932, a reference to the famous guidebooks) and help them resolve their difficulties.
- (May in Florence?) Invites Mr and Mrs T. A. Trollope to tea.
- 20 From Florence – worried about dress for Marianne – Marshall & Snelgrove's considered – they may go to Venice for a week. Name-dropping gossip about the Prince of Wales. Poste restante Florence for the rest of the month though. 'It is fearfully hot & we envy the (Sainted!!!) Bishop of Siena who made a gift to the Virgin of all his clothes' (*GL* 933). Meta fascinated by pictures. Asks Marianne if there is an article on La Camorra in the *Cornhill*: if so it is hers but wants it kept a secret. (It looks as if she had written another article on the subject (see 21 March above for *ATYR IX* article), had sent it to Smith who passed it on to Froude for Fraser's.)
- 22 To Hachette – agrees to his making *Sylvia's Lovers*, 'A Dark Night's Work', and 'The Sin of a Father' into one volume.

(The translation of *Sylvia's Lovers* was published separately in 1865.) They will be passing through Paris about 8 June. To Venice at end of May for a week. They left on 6 June.

## June

- 1 (Mon.) from Venice to Marianne making travel plans. EG very annoyed with Smith for sending Froude her article on the Camorra, and asks Marianne to get it back – she herself has written to Froude asking him to return MS to Smith. Also fretting about Marianne's movements. Urges her to come out via Folkestone and Boulogne with Crompton. They leave (hopefully) Saturday 6 June for Verona, Sunday 7 June for Milan: Monday night, inn at St Gothard (8 June), Tuesday night Lucerne (9 June), Wednesday night 10th via Bâle towards Paris, as far as possible on the Thursday 11 June, Mme Lamy's in Paris Friday afternoon 12 June (Marianne could perhaps go there). Hoping to meet Marianne in Paris on Saturday 13 June. More arrangements – at present enjoying Venice.
- 4 WG visits Katie Winkworth and stays for some time: 'He was so excessively genial and effusive as I have hardly ever seen him' (L&M ii 391).
- 14(?) 1863(?) To Augustus Vernon Harcourt – hopes he has got his gun back – full of the Polish insurrection against the Russians and fears the inevitability of a European conflict. Still interested in *Essays and Reviews* (Jowett prosecuted in February for his contribution, which was 'The Interpretation of Scripture') and Bishop Colenso's book (he had published *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* in 1862, doubting the authority of the Old Testament. because of its coming from different sources). Also enquiring on behalf of a friend (a French nobleman) if his son, suitably placed with a clergyman, could attend lectures in Oxford.
- 20 Harper's paid EG £100 for 'the early sheets' of *Sylvia's Lovers* (Smith 180, n.4).
- 25 The painter G. E. Watts invites EG to visit his studio at any time.

## July

Palmerston creates Monckton Milnes Lord Houghton.

- 1 (Wed.) Birth of a son to Norton. Propitious, he thinks, because that day saw the beginning of the defeats which will ultimately bring the end of the revolt.
- 1-3 Battle of Gettysburg – heavy defeat for Southern Army under General Lee.
- 7 To a Mrs Proby. EG has left a debt at Venice – it was paid by a friend – he doesn't want the money, but suggests she might recommend his hotel, which she does.
- 10 From Norton. Birth of his son and war news (see above 1 July).
- 13 To Norton – detail on Florence and her fiancé Mr Crompton, who is 30, a Fellow of Trinity. Probably they will live in London. He is not exactly a Unitarian, but of such strong sound principles as to be really religious. They will be married at Brook Street by WG. He is a lawyer on the Northern circuit. Account of last winter, the suffering and their work. Received pencil, which is lovely. Meta and EG oppressed by suffering and their incredibly long hours of relief work, but Marianne does not really feel it as deeply.
- 16 In praise of the T. A. Trollopes, who captivated them when they were in Florence.
- 28 To Norton – impossible to arrive at the truth of events in America. Congratulations on birth of boy, but reverts to opposition to conscription. Seems to have been a public expression of antipathy to the continuation of the conflict in New York. Wants a political letter and a family letter too.

## August

- 17 (Mon.) Florence Nightingale acknowledges the copy of *Sylvia's Lovers* sent to her by EG and says she will send her details about her Royal Commission brief on the state of the army in India.
- 22 Thanks Florence Nightingale for liking *Sylvia's Lovers*. Distress here in Manchester sharpens her feeling of the need to overcome evil wherever it exists. Welcomes Florence's report (on the sanitary conditions of the army in India). Tells her Captain Jackson's work has immeasurably improved his character.
- 26 Writes to a Mr Wilbraham facilitating the emigration of a good operative.

- (August) Death of Frederick Bridell, husband of Tottie Fox (he was 32).  
 29 To Mrs Shaw from Plymouth Grove commiserating with her on the death of her son, Robert Gould Shaw, telling here she would prefer to 'be the mother of your dead son, than the mother of any living man I know' (GL 710). EG herself knows what it is to lose a child. Shaw was the complete hero and Christian.

## September

- 8 (Tues.) Florence married to Charles Crompton QC.  
 Conspires with John Relly Beard to get WG to visit Rome, see the Storys in the winter and stay with them. He could not go to see them in August because of Florence's approaching marriage, but he would be welcomed by them later. Suggests he starts after the January Home Mission examination for his students, to whom he is dedicated.  
 17 Tells Florence Nightingale of Flossy's marriage: 'The parting from a child *stuns* one'. Flossy will never again be her 'own possession' (FL 258). Praises the pamphlet on the importance of sanitary matters.  
 20 Accepts offer of £50 from George Smith for the copyright of *Lizzie Leigh and Other Tales*. Mentions plans for stories including *Cousin Phillis*, and her work on Madame de Sévigné. She is preparing some notes on her travels, has 50 pages written on French and Italian visits.  
 24 Short note to Beard suggesting that their plot (re WG) is working.  
 24 £50 from Smith for *Lizzie Leigh and Other Tales* (receipt).

## October

- 10 (Sat.) Writes to Charles Bosanquet telling him of Florence's marriage and congratulating him on the birth of his little girl. Prospect of less hardship locally this winter than last.  
 20 Froude (editor of *Fraser's Magazine*) welcomes EG's article on *French Life*, which was published in the following year (see below)  
 (October) The Cromptons stay with WG/EG, and a sister of Lady Brodie's is with them for six weeks.  
 22 Writes to Mr Story of her plan to send WG to Rome for the winter, and asking where she should engage a room for him and how long beforehand. He will certainly look forward to being in touch with them – month of February plus a week

of March. Knows they will be very busy – asks them to forgive her.

## November

4 (Wed.) Sends a friend to be introduced to T. A. Trollope.

(November) First part of *Cousin Phillis* in the *Cornhill*. Sandlebridge Holland associations very strong. Manning's engineer father partly derived from James Nasmyth. The gentility of the apprentices of the *novella* echo Nasmyth's own remarks, as well as the use of the charred woodstick to demonstrate a cutting machine. Literary derivations Virgil, Dante, Wordsworth, plus contemporary awareness, railway, scientific progress, superb analysis of woman's position, strong, simple, suffering religious tone. Note alternative ending (see 10 December below).

4 Smith pays £250 for the complete copyright of *Cousin Phillis*, 'Six Weeks in Heppenheim', 'The Grey Woman' and 'Curious but True'.

14 Writes to a Mr Dixon and corrects an error in *Sylvia's Lovers* – tells him that Haytersbank came, she thinks, from her vaguely recalling a farm near Sunderland.

28 'The Cage at *Cranford*' in *ATYR* X. EG apparently disliked it. Humour based on the obvious mistake of birdcage for a wire cage gown. ('1856' an error in first sentence since the final episode of *Cranford* was published 1853).

## December

EG's obituary of 'Robert Gould Shaw' in *Macmillan's Magazine* ix 113–117. Shaw (1837–63) was the Colonel who commanded a black regiment in the Civil War. He was killed in the storming of Fort Wagner on 18 July. EG says when the Federals tried to claim his body the next day they were told 'we buried him below his niggers!'

Monckton Milnes calls on them.

Second part of *Cousin Phillis* in the *Cornhill*.

8 (Tues.) 1863? Tells George Smith they have wronged Chapman, and encloses £50 to offset Smith's costs. Has discovered the rights of *Cranford* belonged to Chapman when WG cleared his desk.

9 To Mr Perkins from Manchester thanking him for all his help on their Perugian journey.

10 (see 8 December 1863?) Tells Smith Shaen has all the correspondence and will write to Chapman. Gives plot ending summary for

*Cousin Phillis* which shows Phillis tending typhus victims in the village where she lives and adopting two of the children. This last scene long years after. Also gives the shorter alternative ending which Smith preferred and which was used. Praises illustrations for *Sylvia's Lovers* (by Du Maurier) in single vol. edition published this month. Still in the middle of *Cousin Phillis* at this date. Prefers her ending (see above) but feels she must accept what Smith wants.

12 Illustrated edition of *Sylvia's Lovers* just ready. Du Maurier, who provided five illustrations, was apparently given sketches of Whitby by a friend before he knew the setting of the novel.

14 Writes to Beard asking him to make arrangements for WG to be released. She has heard from the Storrs, who can accommodate him – WG will accede if all is prepared.

18 1863(?) Again to Beard, this time about getting a needy girl into a school.

24 Death of Thackeray.

Extra Christmas Number of *ATYR* ('Mrs Lirriper's Lodgings') had 'How the First Floor Went to Crowley Castle' perhaps influenced by EG's Eastbourne visit: she may have visited Pevensey Castle, possibly Hurstmonceaux. Story of corruption, evil, duplicity.

30 To Beard again asking for note granting WG six weeks' holiday from 21 January She wants to show this to WG.

Another letter, probably from December 1863, says that *Cranford* is out of print and very valuable. Then follow dress and Christmas arrangements, news of family and friends.

## 1864

### January

1 (Fri.) Trollope's *Can You Forgive Her?* begins serialisation in *Cornhill* (concluding 1 August 1865).

1 Expresses compassion for Thackeray's daughters on the death of their father. Thanks Smith for Richard Doyle's *Bird's-eye Views of Society*. Asks when he wants the conclusion of *Cousin Phillis* so that he can print.

Writing the last part of *Cousin Phillis*.

11 1864(?) Tells Ellen(?) Green she wants to visit her – plans thrown out by change of Florence's and Crompton's arrangements – but would love to come when convenient.

cJanuary Congratulates Mary Green on the birth of a grandson.

January – Third part of *Cousin Phillis* in the *Cornhill*.

## February

Final part of *Cousin Phillis* in the *Cornhill*.

- 1 (Mon.) From Dr Allman's, Professor of Natural History/Geology at Edinburgh since 1855. EG in Edinburgh tells Norton, 'one always fancies one ought to put on one's best clothes & one's diamond ring (like Addison, is it not?) before writing to America' (*GL* 724–5). Meta with her, staying in Edinburgh for two-three weeks. Anxious for war news from him, support for the North increasing in England. Usual review of past, asks him to get some books for herself and Allman. WG going to Rome 22 February – will be away for six weeks to two months. EG feels Crompton will spoil Florence.
- 6 Gives permission for her obituary of Colonel Shaw to be translated into German.
- 10 Tells Emelyn Story WG should arrive 28 or 29 February. Asks if she could she get him a comfortable bedroom at the Angleterre.
- 13 Humorous valentine sent EG by George Smith, which shows the publisher on his knees soliciting a manuscript from EG as dairywoman – doubtless referring to her domestic/agricultural responsibilities. There are some verses in the picture (Sharps, illustration before Epilogue 545).
- 26(?) To Marianne reporting a note from WG to Florence from Marseilles: EG herself waiting for a dividend from the Catherine Dock shares.

## March

- (early) Back to Plymouth Grove – worked on her French article for *Fraser's*.
- 5 (Sat.) Froude sends EG proofs of 'French Life'.
- 8 At Oxford Terrace, Hyde Park staying with Florence.
- 9 Commending a Mr Martin, who wants to use his knowledge of mechanics, to the engineer William Fairbairn. Detailed account of engineering manufactories given on same date to Martin, with Fairbairns' reputation and practice figuring prominently in her account. Martin is Madame Mohl's nephew. He would learn much by visiting the firms she mentions. If he calls she will assist him personally.



- 13 1864(?) Congratulates Rev R. S. Oldham on being appointed Headmaster of Salisbury, underlines the social, cultural, spiritual advantages of living in that area, visited by EG and Marianne for a day three years earlier.
- c16 Publication of the illustrated edition of 'A Dark Night's Work' (4 illustrations by Du Maurier).
- 20 Froude writes to ask if EG wants her name attached to 'French Life' and asks for more copy to be sent.

## April

–June 'French Life' in *Fraser's Magazine* (anonymous). Delight in travelling, rich in anecdotes (Voltaire, for example), the spectrum of French life which so attracted her and could have led to the book on Madame de Sévigné. From Paris to Chartres, on to Vitré, reasonably close to Madame de Sévigné's estate of Les Rochers which, so pleasantly for EG, had affinities with her beloved Silverdale. Method is that of a diary, the dates are merely equivalents to her journeyings, with an obvious degree of conflation, her companions May and Irene based on Meta and her friend Isabel Thompson. The sequences are a delight, full of observation, sure touches of humour, relaxed, informal, confiding happiness. Superb sense of history and culture.

Late April – early May – short holiday (details lacking).

## May

'French Life' continues in *Fraser's*.

*Our Mutual Friend* begins publication in 20 monthly parts (to November 1865).

3 (Tues.) EG tells Smith of her plan to write a novel of country life set 40 years back (subsequently *Wives and Daughters*). She has dropped the story of 'Two Mothers' because she felt his dissatisfaction with the idea. Asks him for guidance on number of *Cornhill* pages her 24 pages of writing makes. Mentions parallel between Roger Hamley and Charles Darwin. Tells him he may find a title for she can't. There follows the first plot summary of *Wives and Daughters*.

5(?) Thursday morning to George Smith – disheartened over his reception of 'Two Mothers' and wants him to talk over with

Meta her new proposal, a story of modern life, 40 years ago in a country town, mentioned on 3 May i.e. *Wives and Daughters*. Grateful to him for settling with Chapman.

## June

'French Life' concluded in *Fraser's*.

Death of W. J. Fox. He had sponsored the Married Women's Property Act which ultimately saw the demands of the 1856 petition achieved.

(June) Julia (aged 17) leaves school.

11 Publication of *Cousin Phillis* in book form by Harper's (Smith 195).

c25 Letter of condolence to a Mrs Wilmot (family friend of Hulme Walfield, Congleton) on the death of her husband – 'the older I grow the more sadness and the mystery deepen' (*FL* 264).

## July

3 (Sun.) From Oxford to Marianne, raining before church. On the following day (4 July) will visit Stanton-Harcourt, returning home on Tuesday (5 July).

4 Letter to Norton from Cowley House – off to Stanton-Harcourt – then Goldwin Smith comes to tea – will visit the Bodleian to see some recently found pictures before going home next day. Arrived here Saturday (2 July). WG returned from Rome looking much better for his holiday. EG has been away for nine days – had a week in London. Meta and Julia are keeping house for WG, Florence is still dominating her husband. Letter resumed 9 July and 15 July (but really 17 July) at Plymouth Grove – has been attacked by friends who say the government forced the war on the people – slavery is only a pretext – asks Norton for facts – New York riots still bothering her as well as the luxurious living there, but she is critical of the evil distortions printed in *The Times*, also ironically called 'the week-day bible' (*GL* 734).

7 To a Mrs Abigail Adams enclosing a number of 'autographs' which will be sold in aid of the Sanitary Commission. Among them are those of Florence Nightingale, Thackeray, Forster, William Howitt, Monckton Milnes and, most valuable, a letter of Charlotte Brontë's.

- (July?) From Hampstead, sympathetic letter to Frances Wedgwood about the death of her son from cancer. Refers to 'the solemn household of friends, whom we love so dearly' (*FL* 265).
- 25 Asking Smith for £100 advance on *Wives and Daughters*, wants to take Meta to Switzerland. Directly after the 12 August WG goes to Scotland (annual shooting). Thanks him for sending *Cousin Phillis* to Madame Mohl. Tells him of the Thurstan–Marianne love and his father's objections, says his son hasn't sufficient income to support them. Moreover they are cousins. She and Meta going to Pontresina (it is cheap. Meta is probably unwell).
- 30 Offering to entertain George Smith and cook for him – very jocular tone. Praises the paper and envelopes he chose, would like Plymouth Grove address on them.

## August

*Wives and Daughters* begins in *Cornhill*, opening the monthly number here and in October, reflective of her status and/or Smith's propitiation of her.

- (August) Tennyson publishes *Enoch Arden* (return motif has connections with and probably derivations from *Sylvia's Lovers* – the name Philip, the ship *Good Fortune*, though apparently written 1861–62).

In Switzerland with all her daughters at Pontresina near Lake Geneva. (Presumably working on at *Wives and Daughters*.) Meta often hysterical.

## September

*Wives and Daughters* continues in *Cornhill*.

- 12 (Mon.) To the artist Samuel Lawrence telling him she would rather like George Smith to have the portait of her which Lawrence did. Will give him another sitting in London.

## October

*Wives and Daughters* in *Cornhill*.

Meta in Brighton October–November.

## November

*Wives and Daughters* continues in *Cornhill*.

- 29 (Tues.) Writes out quotation from Wordsworth's *The Excursion* – 3 lines beginning 'The primal duties shine aloft, like stars... .' plus a four-line verse.

(late) Illustrated edition of *Cranford* published.

## December

*Wives and Daughters* continues in *Cornhill*.

6 (Tues.) Writes to George Smith commending John Addington Symonds's and his wife's poem on Christmas in Florence. Next letter (?) same date accepts offer of £100 for copyright of *North and South*: doesn't want the money yet. Intent on purchasing a house, reprimands herself for failing to get one at East Grinstead. Wants one printed copy of all she has written so far of *Wives and Daughters* she has forgotten her characters' names. Mentions idea of German translation of her works. Wants *Cornhill* containing *Wives and Daughters* so far sent to Madame Mohl. William Shaen has £600 towards the house held for her, but it is not worth investing since she may need it out at any time. Asks Smith to retain another £100 for her. Florence and Crompton arriving on Saturday (10 December).

22 To Florence Nightingale telling her of her illness throughout autumn, thanking her for sending letters about Pastor Fliedner's family.

24 The *Examiner* considers *Cranford* (republished late November) a book which will survive, that is, become a classic.

J. H. Newman publishes *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. It had been issued in eight pamphlets before appearing in book form.

28 Madame Mohl writes her appreciation of the latest part of *Wives and Daughters*, greatly praising the novel and particularly acclaiming Molly as EG's finest heroine, while advising her not to hasten the conclusion.

## 1865

Ruskin publishes *Sesame and Lilies*. This year sees the first number of Smith's evening paper the *Pall Mall Gazette* (the name derived from Thackeray's *Pendennis*) which contains some of EG's last writings (see below).

## January

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

2 (Mon.) Tells Anne Robson she went to Worcester for the New Year to Judge Crompton's – Florence and Marianne went

with her on Saturday 31 December. (Crompton and Florence were with them for three weeks before they all went). WG is about to give lectures on the Lancashire dialect at the Royal Institution. Marianne is engaged to Thurstan Holland – a long engagement is in prospect but she looks well on it. Meta is not so well – pain in the spine – and given to bouts of hysterical crying. Refers to the Swiss visit.

- 11 Congratulates Vernon Lushington on his engagement. The tone is rather like that of the letters to Norton about his wife – i.e. give me details of her.
- 16 Norton to EG. Has heard of her illness at Christmas and of Marianne's engagement. Resumes letter 8 February. Records military action against the 'Rebels', Sherman's march northwards to link up with Grant for what he hopes will be the ultimate phase of the war. Gives details of Free states and movement towards seeing the Union re-established. Full of questions about how things are with EG and family.
- 16 To George Smith thanking him for taking action on *Cranford* (which became his copyright 1860). Worried about *Wives and Daughters* – Sends him 119 pages now, asks him to put the Ball sequence (Ch. 26) into one number and, if he is able to, end another number just after the Squire's quarrel with Preston (Ch. 30). Worried about how many numbers have actually been allotted to her. Doesn't want to spoil the story but wishes the writing were completed. Fretting greatly about it.

## February

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

Matthew Arnold, *Essays in Criticism: First Series*, published.

- 5 (Sun.) To Norton from Plymouth Grove. Norton's daughter christened Elizabeth Gaskell. Retrospect on Marianne and the engagement. Meta still not well, Florence's husband marvellous, Florence very happy in her marriage. Hearn still with them after 22 years service. EG herself ill for three months in the autumn, despaired of ever getting out again. Meta's decline in part attributable to worry over Marianne's earlier involvement with Manning. EG brooding that when Ruskin visited Manchester he did not call on them, but

Meta has complete faith in him. Wants Norton to ask Lowell to give her his *Fireside Travels*, which she loves. Sometimes dreams she visits America, never goes, although her heart is there. Rejoices in Lincoln's re-election. Thanks him for books he has sent, recalling again their happy times in Rome which made her feel so warmly towards America. Talks of cotton famine, the visit to Switzerland, and Meta's staying in Brighton from November until Christmas.

20 Has read Charles Lever's *Tony Butler* and Lowell's *Fireside Travels*. Feels ill from pressures of writing – anti-book at the moment – 'I begin to think Heaven will be a place where all books/ & newspapers\ will be prohibited by St Peter' (GL 746).

21 Letter from Ruskin about *Cranford*, praising its complete fidelity to human nature and saying how much he regretted reaching the end of the book.

24 To Ruskin about *Cranford* saying it is the only one of her books that she can re-read, and emphasising its truthfulness. Wonderful anecdote about the two old ladies (friends of hers in her girlhood) who trained the housemaid to jump over the white spots on the carpet for fear of dirtying it. 'The beginning of *Cranford* was one paper in Household Words, – and I never meant to write more; so killed poor Capt Brown, – very much against my will' (FL 268). Pleased he likes it. Wants to do something for him.

February 1865(?) To Ruskin backing the application of a local architect Alfred Waterhouse to build the new law courts in London. Wants Ruskin to testify as to Waterhouse's ability. Invites herself and Meta to lunch with Ruskin at Denmark Hill.

20 1865(?) To Lord Houghton (Monckton Milnes that was) expressing pride in the Manchester Assize Courts and saying their friend, the architect Alfred Waterhouse, is not on the short list for the London Law courts. EG is trying to enlist Lord Houghton in his support.

## March

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

5 (Sun.) To George Smith. Going to Paris on the 10 March (Friday), wants to make corrections for *Wives and Daughters* – staying with Madame Mohl, where she will write on. Wants a printed copy of the MS she sent him sent to Hyde Park before she goes – gives him particularised corrections.

- 12–20 April Was away from Manchester for two months both in Paris (with Madame Mohl) and in London (with Florence). EG ill during the last fortnight, but was well during the first three weeks.
- 25 ‘A Column of Gossip from Paris’ in Smith’s recently founded *Pall Mall Gazette*.
- WG and Brooke Herford in charge of the *Unitarian Herald*.
- c26 To Emily Shaen. Describes life at the Mohls – 4th and 5th storeys of large hotel – no clocks in the house – has to guess the time by the ringing of bells and the singing of the monks. Books crammed all over the place. Routine and ritual – after breakfast gets on with *Wives and Daughters* till eleven, then second breakfast (a kind of lunch) – then more writing. Goes out for a walk by herself in the afternoon. Out to dinner often, meets Guizot (says he is angry about English attitudes towards Northerners in the American Civil War) and other lesser luminaries. Complains of sitting up half the night. Dinner is at 6 – then the Mohls go to sleep – as does EG occasionally! Goes on visits to other houses – gives an account of a Russian dinner.
- 28 ‘A Column of Gossip from Paris’ in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

## April

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

- 9 (Sun.) Surrender of Confederate forces in American Civil War.
- 11 Morning to Madame Schérer from Rue du Bac – overdone by heat and ill and worried that she will be thus unable to write on. Regrets cannot see her and her husband. Passy yesterday, the Lyrique yesterday evening, cannot manage Versailles today. (Increasing mention from now on of illness, fatigue, stress, all unconsciously anticipatory of her sudden death)
- 14 President Lincoln assassinated.
- April(?) To George Smith – broke down in Paris for the last fortnight – could not leave the house until she came back to London. Very weak.
- 24 (in London, Monday morning) dress discussion with Marianne, detailed examination of gowns, skirts, trimmings and what not to buy – again complains of feeling ill. Was well initially in Paris for three weeks, but complains of too much heat and inadequate food. Meta joins her today –

asks Marianne to keep eye open for suitable houses – Wallingford and Arundel are specifically mentioned.

- 25(?) Again to Marianne – domestic problems to be dealt with – cook–housemaid interaction/conflict. Coming home at the end of next week, 6 May (Saturday), tells of her own weakness, her bad nights, taking tonics, feeling a little better, would like some good sea air later in the year. Says she intended to be at home when the cook changeover happened. Obviously the cook has offended Marianne, who is advised to get rid of her on Thursday 27 April. Impression given is that really EG is glad to be out of it.
- 25 'A Letter of Gossip from Paris' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.
- 27 1865(?) Letter to unknown saying she is too busy to contribute to the Magazine Miss Parkes is setting up.
- 28 Letter to Norton from Hyde Park, the Cromptons' house. So upset by the assassination of Lincoln she is wakeful in the night. Asks him about Johnson's character and if he was indeed drunk when he made his acceptance speech. Staccato series of questions. EG has never experienced such a widespread reaction of shock and grief. Compassion for Lincoln's wife. Wants letter quickly.

## May

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

- 10 (Wed.) To Anne Robson telling her Marianne and Julia are going to London on 27 May. Trying to persuade WG to stay in London, has got him a ticket for the Handel Festival, hopes he will return after it on 1 July. WG's work load is very heavy. He writes letters slowly, neatly, correctly. Home Missions, Owens College commitments, the *Unitarian Herald* take up much of his time – 6–7 hours a week. Letter gives clear indication of his obstinacy. They only see him at mealtimes – detail on his thinness and ailments – but regardless of company he always makes for his study. He regularly goes to stay with the Edmund Potters unaccompanied. EG wants to go to a retired country place in autumn, but must be very close to a doctor. Care and concern for Hearn who is such a complete friend to them. WG 'does rather hate *facing* anxiety; he is so *very* anxious when he is anxious, that I think he always dislikes being made to acknowledge there is cause' (GL 760–1). EG does not



approve of biographies of living subjects. Says whimsically or ironically that she lets writers make up her life, and by this means has acquired strange facts about herself from what they have written. Wishes *Wives and Daughters* were finished – it is to go on after December and she has written up to August, but there is still much of the narrative to cram in

- 18 Madame Mohl, recalling EG's visit from 12 March to 20 April, says how much she enjoyed her stay but that in the last ten days EG became ill because of the oppressive heat and as a result was happy to leave.
- 20 Issues receipt for £100 for the copyright of *North and South* – money received from Smith.

## June

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

- 4 (Sun.) 1865(?) Writing to unknown correspondent, refuses biographical facts about herself and repeats disapproval of lives of living people – things said about her have been ludicrously wrong.
- June(?) Painters sacked for drinking – Lion the dog has been ill, as has the newly-calved cow. Another letter from the same time mentions the ongoing house-hunting.
- 14 Writes out two lines 'Be the day weary, or be the day long, / At length it ringeth to even-song', which she had quoted in *Sylvia's Lovers* (ch. 27).
- 16 To Lady Chatterton thanking her for her selections from *Plato* (published 3 years earlier) whom she has always loved. She sees these are excellent translations.

## July

*Wives and Daughters* opens the *Cornhill* right through to Greenwood's final words in the January (1866) number.

- 4 (Tues.) Publication of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*.

## August

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

- (?) Tells Marianne that she has been ill for the last three weeks and has been lying on the sofa.
- 11 (Fri.)–5 September, possibly by EG: 'A Parson's Holiday', five letters to the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* (Sharps 532–8 – argu-

ments for attribution are based on names, characters, locations) (see below 2 September.)

15 'A Parson's Holiday' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

17 'A Parson's Holiday' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

21 'A Parson's Holiday' in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

22 Thanks Lady Houghton for the pleasure of their visit to Fryston.

22 To Marianne – sorry she had the trouble of going to Alton yesterday, finding nobody there, is still not keeping up with her writing, had written to Thurstan on 10 August and hoped that everything would have been settled by 21 August. Had hoped to go down herself then. Regrets the delays and waste of time and obviously wants the dividends from their Catherine Dock shares. EG says the house is unlucky and she was misguided to want it. Must write on – aware of her financial commitment. They haven't heard from WG. Stayed until yesterday at Fryston. Five days of hard work in prospect for her – 2 days travelling, 1 day measuring up at Alton, two days buying in London. Meta supportive. Worried about Julia's health and the drains at Plymouth Grove. Sleepless nights, hot, met a number of people at Fryston, including F. D. Maurice and Swinburne.

23(?) To George Smith telling him Meta and Hearn going to London today, then down to Alton in Hampshire where EG has bought The Lawn, for which she wants a tenant. Behindhand with *Wives and Daughters*. They will be measuring up for furniture, choosing it and matching it with the awful furniture there. Mr White wants to leave the house by 29 September. Bad headaches before she went to Fryston. Tenant ought to pay for crops – WG is in Scotland.

25 Marianne and Hearn back in London.

29 Writes to Sampson Low thanking them for 'The Gayworthys' which she wants to read. Asks if he has heard anything of Mrs Stowe – always welcomes news of her.

31 Writes to Marianne telling her that she, Meta and Hearn have been buying furniture for the new house. Meta tenant chasing so far without success. Frustrating, exhausting, but they have accomplished much. Says Marianne should stay at Dumbleton (she did until 7 September). Hopes the drains being cleaned out will improve Plymouth Grove. Nags her to re-read her letters of 10 August. Goes home

tomorrow (1 September). WG returns end of next week – 8–9 September.

- 31 Arrangements with Thurstan Holland about EG and WG leaving The Lawn to their unmarried daughters. Smith Elder are settling the bills and expenses over Alton. (They also got EG discount on furniture, carpets, etc.)

## September

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

- 2 (Sat.) To Marianne – another account of frenetic shopping expedition and failure. Meta nearly crushed ‘between two immense lorries’ (*GL* 771). Greatly stressed herself but the end is in sight. EG somewhat upset that Smith gave Wilkie Collins £5000 (in fact it was guineas) for *Armada* (serialised in *Cornhill* November 1864–June 1866). Speaks of going to Switzerland for a month if the house is satisfactorily let: it would be cheaper than Scotland, where WG could not find anywhere to sleep one night. Could spend 3 weeks in Switzerland for £60. Feels her illness may have been caused by the drains. Still has much more to do on *Wives and Daughters*. Mentions Smith wanting another letter/article for *Pall Mall Gazette* by return of post (hence attribution of articles above).
- 3 To Marianne about the property, gardens, tenants etc. Two ladies – sisters – want Alton, Meta conducting correspondence – wants to get away for three weeks or a month and forget about the house, drains etc.
- 5 To Marianne – it would be good for her to go to Switzerland – can’t leave herself ‘with this house on my back’ (*GL* 940–1) – still worried by the drains – switch to Swiss air for Marianne which might set her up – beset by too much hospitality. Has rejected a number of invitations – still has not heard from WG.
- 5 ‘A Parson’s Holiday’ in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. This is the last of the five ironic/ comic accounts of a Minister having difficulties in getting away for a month each year. Signature (with one omission on 21 Aug) M. N.
- 8 To Norton and Susan – WG away for a month in Scotland with friends. Expecting him tomorrow (9 September). Marianne returned from Thurstan’s home on the 7th. Two Americans visited them on 4 and 5 September respectively, the second one had stayed with liberated slaves. Again men-

tions their happy stay in Rome in 1857. Received *Fireside Travels* and a photograph of Lincoln from Susan. Thanks him also for the lovely book on Dante's portraits. Retrospect on French/London visits in March (stayed away from Manchester for two months). Friend of theirs asked to preach a funeral sermon for President Lincoln at Staley Bridge – 30000 workmen turned up to hear it, all Lancashire men. WG had a fortnight's holiday in June. Tells him her secret – has bought a retirement home for WG and their unmarried daughters near Alton in Hampshire. Smith advanced her £1000 on an equitable mortgage. It must be kept secret from WG, now 60, unless his health breaks down. Furnishing it and hoping to let it for three years. Then WG will take it over, it is only one and three quarter hours from London. She thinks he will work part-time in London.

- 8 To J. R. Lowell thanking him for *Fireside Travels* – knew many of his poems and knew too of his stay in Rome. Thinks she could pass a Civil Service examination on *The Bigelow Papers*. Great praise and warmth for their American friends – and surely, surely, he is now one of them. Americans will be free to travel again, expresses her affection for them.

## October

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

Goes to Dieppe.

- 6 (Fri.) From Dieppe to Marianne – detailed explanation to her of the smell she (Marianne) is enduring – insists that it is the drains – Julia yearning for Switzerland. More detail to indicate the practicality she has but which WG may not have – all this is for Marianne to communicate to WG at the appropriate moment. Loves Dieppe – 'the house is as sweet as a nut' (*GL* 778).
- 12 To George Smith – French author has given her his works as a compliment to the author of *Ruth* – is leaving Dieppe beginning of next week, arriving at Alton about 23 October. Thanks him for the *Pall Mall Gazette*s. Mrs Crowe staying there – has obviously enjoyed talking to her.
- 21 Publication of *The Grey Woman and Other Tales* (Smith 207).
- 25 From Boulogne tells Edward Thurstan Holland she is hoping to see him at The Lawn on 28 October. Wants advice about the garden.

- 30 To Routledge and Warne thanking them for two books (by Mrs Catherine Crowe) which she wanted but asking them for a third one to be found and sent at once. Encloses stamps for 3s.6d to cover costs.
- 31(?) Giving Marianne detail on plans, what needs doing at the house. It is Tuesday afternoon in a little village on the borders of Hampshire. May have to drop their tenancy asking price – again somewhat obsessed about not making ends meet. But they like The Lawn (and the gardener) better and better – going to sell the apples.

## November

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

- ? To unknown – subject is funds for cotton relief. No more subscriptions needed at the moment for the suffering workers.
- 9 (Thurs.) From Holybourne to unknown thanking him for practical help but still fretting about the tenant.
- 11 William Shaen reports (in a letter to Katie Winkworth) EG wrote to him on this date saying she would see him on Wednesday (15 November). He says her letter was ‘full of life and spirits’ (L&M ii 428).
- 12 Afternoon tea at The Lawn – EG leans forward while speaking – dies. Suddenness greatly distresses Meta, Julia and Florence, who are with her. Despite warning signs of stress and overwork, it was completely unexpected, since she had for the past few days appeared in good health. Her last audible word, ironically, was ‘Rome’ (Uglow 610).
- 13 WG is told of EG’s death.
- 15 William Shaen tells Katie Winkworth (L&M ii 428–9) that Meta knew of her mother’s intentions and will add briefly the end of the story (*Wives and Daughters*).
- 16 Thurstan Holland takes EG’s coffin to Knutsford.
- 17 Meta says how well EG had been at Dieppe and Alton.

Initialled entry, perhaps by Mary Jane Herford (daughter of W. G. Robberds) in the *Unitarian Herald* records EG’s work among the poor, and particularly remarks how much time she gave up to teaching the girls of Lower Mosley Street Sunday School. Says that she was not a leader in congregational matters ‘but would serve, give time, thought and trouble wherever they were needed’.

Funeral of EG, Brook Street Chapel, Knutsford, where her remains were buried.

- 18 H. F. Chorley in the *Athenaeum*, still a little ungenerous, but says how she was loved in her family, and how she will be missed as a writer.

Thurstan Holland's sensitive and direct letter to Norton recaps the suddenness and unexpectedness of EG's death at 5.45 on Sunday afternoon 12 November. WG and Marianne were in Manchester – he came down on Monday 13 November. All returned to Manchester on the 16 December.

- 24 Meta's letter to Norton saying her mother had wanted a quick death.

Madame Mohl records that with the death of EG she has lost perhaps the closest of all her friends.

## December

*Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*.

- 2 (Sat.) *Cousin Phillis and Other Tales* Illustrated edition (first English edition in book form) with four illustrations by Du Maurier (Smith 200).

## 1866

### January

Frederick Greenwood sensibly indicates what readers could safely assume for the virtually complete *Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill*, probably supported by Meta's and/or Marianne's information: 'there the story is broken off, and it can never be finished. What promised to be the crowning work of a life is a memorial of death'. MS finishes page 918, with Mrs Gibson talking to Molly – 'And now cover me up close, and let me go to sleep and dream about my dear Cynthia and my new shawl'

- 22 (Mon.) Meta's letter to Ellen Nussey eulogising her mother.

### February

- 2 (Fri.) First American edition of *Wives and Daughters* (Illustrations by Du Maurier) (Smith 218).
- 12 First English edition (2 vols, 26s) (EG had received something in excess of £2000 for it). Illustrations by Du Maurier (Smith 222).
- 22 Henry James reviews *Wives and Daughters* in *The Nation* (II p. 247), calling it 'one of the books which will outlast the

duration of their novelty and continue for years to come to be read and relished for a higher order of merits'. He continues full of praise but says that the men are not as successfully presented as the women.

- 27 *Manchester Examiner and Times* calls EG 'one of the greatest female novelists of all time'.

### March

- 3 (Sat.) Chorley in the *Athenaeum* – draws parallels between *Wives and Daughters* and Fredrika Bremer's *My Diary* (1843, translated 1845) and his own *Pomfret* (1845). Greatly praises the conception of Cynthia and Mrs Kirkpatrick.

### August

- 14 (Tues.) Marianne Gaskell marries Thurstan Holland.

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- The relevant volumes of *The Letters of Charles Dickens* (1965–2002) and *The George Eliot Letters* (1954–78) have also been consulted, as well as the ongoing. *The Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle* (Duke University).

# Index

This index is divided into three sections:

- (1) the writings of Elizabeth Gaskell;
- (2) people – references to selected family, friends, contemporaries and others – with brief notes, where possible cross-referenced to
- (3) places – homes, selected visits/stays in British Isles/Europe, cross-referenced where appropriate to (2).

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