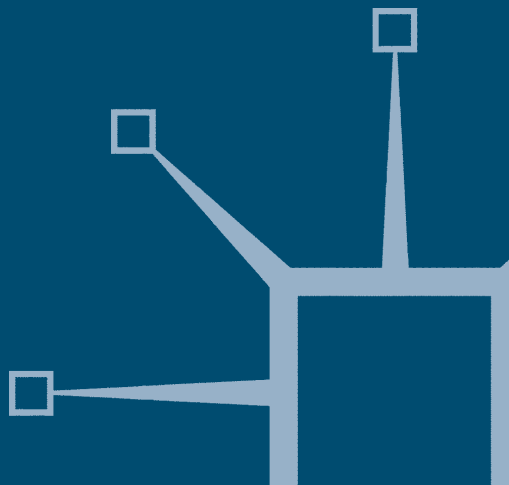


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A Brontë Family Chronology

Edward Chitham



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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

Acknowledgements

Many Brontë scholars have engaged in discussion with me over the years and modified my understanding of Brontë chronology, and to each of these I am most grateful.

In the preparation of this volume I have been most indebted for the receipt from Margaret Smith of some details of changes to the traditional chronology of a number of Brontë letters from 1852 onwards, which will appear in the final volume of *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë*. As always I am grateful to staff at the Brontë Parsonage, especially Rachel Terry and Ann Dinsdale.

I have made unsuccessful attempts to trace copyright in the drawing of Top Withens from Whiteley Turner's *A Spring-Time Saunter*. The Brontë Society kindly supplied a copy of the illustrations for Figures 1 and 6.

Table of Non-standard Abbreviations

The principle has been to use abbreviations for the names of members of the Brontë family and those with whom they came in very frequent contact for much of their lives. Details of abbreviations used for most source material can be found in the annotated bibliography.

AB – Anne Brontë

BPM – Brontë Parsonage Museum

CB – Charlotte Brontë, later Charlotte Brontë Nicholls (I retain the original abbreviation even after her marriage).

EB – Elizabeth Brontë

ECG – Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell

EJB – Emily Jane Brontë

EN – Ellen Nussey

MBB – Maria Branwell, later Brontë (I use this abbreviation even before her marriage).

MB – Maria Brontë

PB – Patrick Brontë

PBB – Patrick Branwell Brontë

WSW – William Scott Williams

Introduction

From the 1890s onwards the Brontë family has attracted copious biographical interest, and with reason. They have no precise parallel in the literary world. In the middle of the nineteenth century we have the writing and publication of novels and poetry by three sisters whose work shares a family resemblance, but in which each sees the world differently. The content of this work is in places startling and its impact elemental. Two of the novels at least have become the subject of tremendous popular affection and thorough scholarly comment alike. The initial literary interest speedily turned to a biographical one after the publication in 1857 of Mrs Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, whose gift was to paint in graphic terms the tragic isolation of this unconventional provincial family; the public soon learned of early disease and death, social exclusion, mystic attachment to nature, an allegedly tyrannous father (the tyranny much exaggerated), a drunken brother, childhood genius and adult poverty. How could the 'Brontë myth' fail to move the Victorian public?

As some of the primary associates of the family died, research became more insistent, and in the 1890s there issued a flurry of publications which fostered the legend. As we now know, there were those who found they could exploit Brontë biography for substantial monetary gain. For years Brontë biography was largely in the hands of a clique who had a vested interest in disseminating material in limited editions, even dividing manuscripts to increase their financial value, binding pieces expensively and selling in different areas of the world. The legacy of this procedure is not yet overcome.

Brontë chronologies began being composed from these early days. For example, Clement Shorter begins his *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle* with 'A Brontë Chronology' and Part V of *Brontë Society Publications* is

'A Chronology of the Principal Events in the Lives of the Brontë Family'. A major source was the series of letters Charlotte had written to her close friend Ellen Nussey, of which until the last few years no accurate edition has been available. In this situation perverse time-scales and unlikely identifications took hold of the popular imagination, and they persist; an example is the way the small ruin of Top Withens near Haworth is still considered to have some connection with *Wuthering Heights*. The primary source evidence for Brontë lives is still shaky and sparse; dates have to be fixed by external evidence or circumstantially. Of the three sisters, only Charlotte wrote many letters, and a substantial number of these are lost. Branwell, their brother, wrote a few and Patrick, their father, wrote a good many but often on matters which had nothing directly to do with his family. Constructing an accurate chronology therefore poses challenges.

This volume differs from others in the *Chronology* series because it deals with the lives of a whole family of writers. A decision had to be made about how far it was practicable to cover all the family, and if not, how wide the coverage should be. It has seemed best to try to include all events in the lives of the three sisters whose major novels were published in their own lifetime. Patrick himself published both prose and verse and Branwell wrote copiously, sending a number of his poems to newspapers, but this volume would have become much too large and easily overbalanced if all known events in their lives had been included, and it has been decided to concentrate principally on details of material which has or could be thought to have a bearing on the lives and works of Charlotte, Emily and Anne. In the case of Branwell it would be wrong to exclude all references to his published and unpublished work, but he seems, later in life, to have worked in isolation from his sisters (Victor Neufeldt notes that there is no indication that 'Charlotte or any other member of the family' knew that he had published both prose and verse [VN, in BST Vol. 21, Part 2 (1999), p. 146]). As it was through their father that the very idea of writing became a raging obsession with the three, and as Branwell shared this obsession and co-operated with his siblings in the early days, a large number of references to these two will be included, but coverage will not be primarily focused on them. Branwell did not write any of *Wuthering Heights*, nor was he a model for any of the sisters' characters, though his behaviour did have some influence on the books.

My work in editing poetry and writing biographies of Emily and Anne Brontë has involved inspecting all their available manuscripts or, if this was impossible, photocopies and photographs of the manu-

scripts. In contributing to books about Charlotte, I have also examined many of her manuscripts. In the research for *The Brontës' Irish Background*, I examined many primary sources, printed and manuscript, relating to the second half of the eighteenth century in the northern counties of Ireland. In *The Birth of Wuthering Heights* I have tried to construct a plausible chronology based partly on internal evidence for the production and rewriting of the novel. Nevertheless, it would have been impossible to produce this volume without the meticulous and exhaustive work of other scholars. Later in this Introduction I shall review some modern scholarship and explain how I have evaluated secondary sources for this book. Evaluative comments will also be found in the Bibliography.

There are certain Brontë cruxes which I think turn on chronology. One is the issue of Branwell's relations with Mrs Lydia Robinson, his employer and Anne's at Thorp Green, near York. There is external evidence, from Robinson account books and the local diarist George Whitehead, for events of the year 1845, when Branwell lost his position with the family. This evidence seems to disagree with Branwell's account of what happened. Under 1845, and in an appendix, I shall examine this material. More vitally, the major matter of the interpretation of Emily's and Anne's poetry, assigning it to the imaginary world of Gondal or to another world of imagination or experience, can only be tackled from a chronological base. A discussion of this will be found in Appendix A.

The problem with chronologies may be that they obscure the vitally important with a necessary welter of detail which is not in itself particularly significant. I have tried to signal importance by including comment on the more significant events in Brontë lives, included in the year headings or in monthly divisions. There are also many well-authenticated events which evade accurate chronology; for example, Charlotte Brontë's visit to Bridlington at the end of 1839. This lasted for a whole five weeks, but we do not know starting or finishing dates for it. There are many undatable artefacts, both writings and pictures, which I have tried to allocate approximately, using the guidance of the scholars mentioned above and others. Precise dates stubbornly elude us.

Major secondary sources

Any framework for Brontë chronology will largely be based on Charlotte's letters, particularly the series written to her close friend

Ellen Nussey, whom she first met when she went to school at Roe Head in 1831. Ellen preserved many of these, annotated them, and later tried to have them published in an authoritative edition. She did everything she could to present a fair, though rosy picture of her friend. Her aims were frustrated by almost all the entrepreneurs she encountered. Garbled editions emerged, sometimes with partial text. This situation has only just been set right for letters from 1829 to 1851 by the publication of the enormously scholarly and accurate edition of Margaret Smith (OUP, 1995 and 2000). All previous chronologies would need to be revised in the light of this edition. The current book would have been quite impossible without Margaret Smith's work. Juliet Barker's *The Brontës* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994) set a totally fresh standard for accuracy in Brontë biography. The author unearthed many previously unknown primary sources, especially in the field of local newspapers, diaries and journals. She had been librarian/curator at the Brontë Parsonage Museum, and had unrivalled knowledge of Brontë materials. She has added hugely to the chronological precision of writing on the Brontës. Though I have disagreed with her on interpretation and emphasis, I have nothing but admiration for her scholarly factual researches, without which many events in Brontë lives would remain obscure.

The Art Historian Jane Sellars, with her co-author Christine Alexander, clarified much about Brontë pictorial art in *The Art of the Brontës* (CUP, 1995). Their exploration of sources for Brontë art, and their thoroughness in tracing hitherto unknown artefacts, has made it possible to include authoritative details of these works in the present book. Christine Alexander had previously worked on the juvenilia of Charlotte and Branwell, again producing accurate dates from the manuscripts which I have been able to follow. In the 1960s John Lock and W. T. Dixon examined primary sources for the life and letters of Patrick Brontë, mainly for the period after he came to England. This they published in *A Man of Sorrow* (Nelson, 1965). Though some of their findings have been revised by Barker and others, they nevertheless discovered important primary material, for example in church records, which has been very useful to me in the current work. The work during the 1950s and 1960s of Winifred Gerin is still often relevant. She reopened the question of the value of the works of Anne Brontë, and wrote an insightful biography of Branwell. In doing so, she discovered many primary sources that had long been neglected. Though much of her factual material has been superseded by Barker, Alexander and Smith, some of her discoveries remain important. She went beyond

Mrs Gaskell and early biographers in looking at external sources; I have been able to adopt some of her chronological structure, though much has to be discarded.

Brontë works have also been competently edited since the 1970s. In providing chronological data for the poetry and novels of all the Brontës I have relied on editorial work by Margaret Smith and her collaborators (OUP Clarendon novels), Derek Roper (*The Poems of Emily Brontë*, OUP, 1995), Victor Neufeldt (publications on the poems of Charlotte and Branwell), and my own edition of Anne's poems (which, however, does need some updating). There have been a number of useful monographs, studying special areas of the Brontës' lives and environment, such as studies of the Brontës' home in Jocelyn Kellert's *Haworth Parsonage* and the lives of Charlotte and Emily in Belgium in *Charlotte Brontë's Promised Land* by Eric Ruijsenaars. Details of these will be found in the bibliography. I have also made use of the *Brontë Society Transactions* series, now continued as *Brontë Studies*.

Among previous chronologies which can claim to be fairly comprehensive I have carefully read Michael Steed's *A Brontë Diary* (Dalesman, 1990), which succeeds in establishing an outline but was produced before the publication of the works of Margaret Smith and Juliet Barker, and Geoffrey Palmer's *The Brontës Day by Day* (Brontë Society, 2002), which is an essay in writing Brontë biography in a totally chronological way. The current work differs considerably from Palmer's, since it is no part of my present purpose to construct a coherent biographical narrative, and the references given should enable readers to look up the relevant letters, etc, for much more detail than can be provided here.

In the following chronology events will normally be authenticated by a reference, mainly to one of the above recent authoritative sources. In a few cases multiple references are given, especially where there is a chronological discussion in the source being quoted, or where there is illustrative material bearing on the nature of the event or artefact being described. In general, the references will be to the most recent discussion or tabulating of the event chronicled, where details of primary sources will generally be available. I have also included a table of abbreviations. In the very few cases where authenticating references are not given, I am supplying information from my own knowledge of the evidence for the event or adding a detail that is universally accepted. Inevitably, some dates cannot be settled with certainty, and such words as 'probably' will be added when there is doubt.

I have not thought it desirable to provide many chronological markers of events which do not impinge on the Brontës themselves. Charlotte Brontë met many celebrated authors and other public figures when she had become famous after the publication of *Jane Eyre*. Patrick too, in his Cambridge days, met a range of illustrious people. I have not extended the chronology to take account of details in the life of, for example Thackeray, except insofar as he and others impinged on Charlotte Brontë. National events are in the same situation. Political and military matters fascinated the young Brontës, and it is necessary to give a few examples. In general, political events of the 1850s which attracted Charlotte Brontë's attention will be chronicled under the date of her comment. Patrick Brontë's strenuous efforts as a clergyman and citizen to ameliorate the condition of those around him often do find a place below (generally following Barker or Lock and Dixon) because his political and humanitarian work often found an echo in an attitude or literary reference in the world of the three Brontë sisters.

I have provided a few markers in the ambient weather, days of the week or Brontë anniversaries. Marking of days of the week is somewhat arbitrary and often based on the particular significance of an individual entry. It should not be forgotten that the family itself was very interested in the passing of time, though sometimes their attempts to chronicle it went wrong. Some of the most delightful and revealing productions are the so-called diary papers written by Emily and Anne to celebrate birthdays. Charlotte makes several references to her birthday in her letters. Many Brontë poems are dated, and there are even dates on a few of the surviving novel manuscripts. Implied dates in *Wuthering Heights* were worked out from an almanac, and *Wildfell Hall* provides a tight chronological structure. The imaginary worlds of Angria and Gondal had chronologies, and there is evidence of Emily and Anne changing Gondal narrative to fit a chronology which had been modified since the originals had been written. Though the Brontës were secretive about their lives, yet they did consciously provide a chronological element in their own writings and showed awareness, for example, of the passing of family birthdays. The notion of guiding chronology is often important in both Brontë fiction and Brontë poetry, and to some degree I consider this attempt to systematize a knowledge of their lives by chronology consistent with their own artistic practice.

Those unfamiliar with Brontë spelling habits may be surprised by the appearance of some quotations in this work. Where the Brontës did not edit poems or novels themselves and their work did not subse-

quently appear in print, it has become conventional to quote in the original. Thus, for example, in quotations taken from Derek Roper's *The Poems of Emily Brontë* original spelling has been retained as he retains it.

EDWARD CHITHAM
Harborne, 2003

A Brontë Family Chronology

There is some unclarity and mystery about Patrick Brontë's ancestry, the evidence for which largely derives from William Wright, *The Brontës in Ireland* (New York, 1893), together with statements by PB's Irish relatives, also mainly dating from the last decade of the nineteenth century.

It is absolutely certain that Hugh Prunty or Brunty (Irish Ó Pronntaigh) came to Co. Down from near Drogheda, working on his way at the limekilns at Faughart, near Dundalk. This origin is consistent with Wright's location of the Boyne valley, more specifically Brugh na Boinne. However, the name Ó Pronntaigh is native to South Ulster rather than to Co. Meath. An Irish poet, Padraig Ó Pronntaigh (variously spelt) was working near Dundalk during the early eighteenth century, and Irish scholars consider it possible that he was an ancestor of Hugh (see Katherine Constable, *A Stranger within the Gates*, New York, 2000). It seems likely that Hugh Prunty was born about 1750.

PB and Patrick Branwell Brontë were recognized as Irish at various times in their lives, Anne Brontë wished to go 'home' with one of her Irish uncles, and Charlotte spoke with an Irish accent when she first went to school. Emily Jane Brontë's work has been included in *The Oxford Book of Irish Verse*. Native Irish ancestry was deeply unfashionable in CB's time, and the whole family was very wary of this aspect of their lives. The comments made by CB when she visited Ireland on her honeymoon show amazement at the 'English' aspect of her new family.

The family of Maria Branwell can be traced in Penzance records and elsewhere to the seventeenth century, the surname being spelt in various ways before being standardized in its present form in the eighteenth. Her father, Thomas, was born in 1746. He was married

on 28 November 1768 to Anne Carne, and there were twelve children, some of whom died in infancy. Of these Maria (MBB) was the ninth, and Elizabeth ('Aunt Branwell') was the sixth, being born at an unknown date in 1776 (see below under 1768 for further details and references).

1768

November

- 28 Thomas Branwell, who had been born in 1746, grandfather of the Brontë sisters, marries Anne Carne at Madron Church, Cornwall [E & K.H., p. 3]. He was descended from a Martin Bramble, who married Jane Tremerner on 2 July 1705 in Penzance [BST, Vol. 27, March 2002; see also C. W. Hatfield's account in BST, Vol. 9, Part 49, pp. 245ff, where the lineage is traced to John Bromwell who married in Penzance in 1657/8].

1776

Hugh Prunty or Brunty (variously spelt), who has travelled from near Drogheda, is working at the limekilns at Mount Pleasant, Faughart, near Dundalk. He has been deeply influenced by the Presbyterians, including possibly a preacher from Co. Down, James Harshaw. He meets and is married to Alice or Eleanor McLory (the variation in the name stems from its Irish versions), probably at Magherally, Co. Down [BIB, p. 63].

December

- 2 Elizabeth Branwell, the Brontë sisters' aunt, is born at Penzance [Hatfield, BST, Vol. 9, Part 49, p. 249].

1777

March

- 17 Patrick Brunty (PB) was born at Imdel (also spelt Emdale), Co. Down. He is probably baptized some days later, but there may never have been any record of this, as Rev. Thomas Tighe, the incumbent, claimed that he had been the first to begin the registers in 1778. Hugh Prunty is

working as a corn roaster. There is evidence that he tells oral traditional sagas [BIB, p. 65].

In the same year David McKee, later father-in-law and informant of William Wright, is born in Co. Down, though some miles from the Brontë village.

By design or coincidence this is the year later chosen by EJB for some early scenes in *Wuthering Heights* [Sanger, 1929].

1778

(probably) Hugh and Eleanor Brunty move to Lisnacreevy, still in the parish of Drumballyroney [BIB, p. 66].

(possibly) Samuel McAlister, an informant of William Wright, first hears Hugh Brunty's stories.

During this year Haworth parsonage seems to have been completed [JK, p. 17].

1779

March

16 PB's next brother, William, baptized at Drumballyroney church by Rev. Thomas Tighe [Cannon, *The Road to Haworth*, Plate 5]. After this, the next five Brunty children were baptized at Drumballyroney [BIB, p. 65].

1780

June

30 Low Mill, Keighley, the first woollen mill in Yorkshire, opened. The children who were to work in it had to be sent to Sir Richard Arkwright's mill at Cromford, Derbyshire, to learn the process [Dewhirst, I., *A History of Keighley*, p. 9]. Without the arrival of the Industrial Revolution in the Keighley area and other parts of West Yorkshire (*Shirley* is set near Dewsbury), there would have been no setting for *Shirley*, and the Yorkshire background to the lives and works of the Brontës would have been totally different.

1781

May

- 27 Hugh Brunty baptized at Drumballyroney. He was later to visit Haworth and report on the Haworth Brontës to his neighbours [BIB, p. 75].

1783

April

- 15 Birth of Maria Branwell at Penzance, daughter of Thomas and Anne Branwell (Carne). Anne's father was a silversmith and clockmaker [E & K.H., p. 4].

November

- 3 James Brunty baptized at Drumballyroney [BIB, p. 75].

1790

Jane Branwell, Maria's aunt, marries John Fennell, headmaster of the Wesleyan Methodist school in Penzance [Barker, p. 49].

October

- 11 (probably) Elizabeth Branwell finishes her sampler [BPM].

1791

It is probable, but impossible to show conclusively, that PB becomes apprenticed to a weaver in Banbridge, Robert Donald; it is possible that his first preference was for the trade of blacksmith (MOS, p. 5, places this in 1789).

April

- 15 Maria Branwell finishes her sampler [BPM].

September

- 18 Charlotte Branwell, sister of Maria and Elizabeth, born at Penzance [Hatfield, *BST*, Vol. 9, Part 49, p. 250].

1792

(probably) The Brunty family move into 'the better House' at Ballynaskeagh. This is a much larger house than the Brontë kiln, and is later to be found on ordnance survey maps [BIB, p. 66].

The status of the McLory family is shown in Griffith's *Parish Valuation of Ireland* (1864).

There is an unconfirmed tradition that PB worked in Banbridge for a linen draper named Clibborn.

1793

France declares war on Britain.

(probably) PB becomes a teacher at the Presbyterian school in Glascar, Co. Down. This may have been through the influence of the Presbyterian Harshaw family. James Harshaw had been an early teacher of Hugh Brunty [BIB, p. 60]. There is an unconfirmed tradition that PB had been reading *Paradise Lost* on the local 'fort' when approached by Harshaw.

The building in which the school was located is not that which is often shown in illustrations of Glascar, but an earlier building [BIB, pp. 77–8]. It is possible that PB first wrote poems, later published, at this time. He may also have written or sung traditional style ballads such as 'Kitty's revenge' [BIB, p. 80].

From this period date stories of PB's interest in education and in children. These seem to be told to William Wright, ultimately deriving from PB's pupil Elizabeth Wilson.

In Haworth, Bridgehouse Mill was probably built in this year [KE, p. 27].

November

Receipt of money paid to 'Pat Prunty' for teaching David Lindsay of Bangrove, Hilltown, Co. Down [BIB, p. 78]. This also seems to be the spelling in a signature of PB on 'Instructions for Book-Keeping', the date of purchase of which is unknown [photograph in Wilks, *The Brontës*, p. 12].

1797

January

2 Birth of Elizabeth Firth at Kipping House, Thornton. She was to become an influential patron of PB and the rest of the family [MOS, p. 163].

1798

William Brunty is involved in the 1798 Irish rebellion. His grandson, John, later claimed that he had taken part in the Battle of Ballynahinch. William never visited England, and any information concerning his part in the uprising would have to be mediated to the young Brontës through their father and the two uncles who did visit Haworth [BIB, p. 27].

This year or in 1799 PB ceases to teach at Glascar school and the school is closed. William Wright considered that the reason for PB's dismissal was a liaison with a mature pupil; however, there seems some evidence that the Glascar school had come under the influence of more sectarian-minded clergy, and that this forced PB to leave. It is interesting that he goes abroad to England for a university education, and not, as most contemporaries did, to Dublin.

1799

From this year probably dates the portrait of Maria Branwell as a girl [Bentley, *The Brontës and Their World*, p. 10].

1800

(approx) PB goes to stay with Rev. Thomas Tighe and possibly teaches his children. However, this is later denied by one of them [BIB, pp. 89–91].

June

12 Anne Branwell, sister of Maria and Elizabeth, marries John Kingston, a Wesleyan minister, of Penzance [Hatfield, *BST*, Vol. 9, Part 49, p. 249].

1801

This date is inscribed on a plaque at Ponden Hall, as part of an inscription concerning rebuilding, which finishes with the words, 'R.H. 1801'. This date is the first word in the final published version of *Wuthering Heights*.

This is the birth year of Rev. William McAlister, a principal informant on PB's early life. He was brought up in Glascar, ordained in 1826, married in 1836 [Information from Ms M. McLean, a great great granddaughter, via Irish Brontë Society].

1802

September

PB leaves Ireland with 'seven pounds' only and goes to Cambridge. He is later sent £5, possibly by Andrew Harshaw [MOS, p. 18].

October

- 1 PB admitted to St John's College, Cambridge, as sizar. His name is first recorded as Patrick Branty [MOS, p. 14].
- 3 PB changes the spelling of his name to Brontë in the St John's register [MOS, p. 15]. This spelling is among many varieties found in Co. Down in the 1780s and 1790s.

1803

From this year dates the signature 'Hugh Brontë His Book' in a copy of Fresnoy's *Geography for Youth* (Dublin 1795). The signature seems genuine, but there is also a dubious signature of PB. The book was later the property of 'Walsh Brontë', presumably PB's brother of that name [A & S, p. 426].

February

PB wins a 'Hare' exhibition at St John's College. These were for 'the poorest and best-disposed scholars' [MOS, p. 17].

December

PB wins a Duchess of Suffolk exhibition at St John's College. These were for four poor but promising scholars [MOS, p. 17].

1804

February

- 14 Henry Martyn, the Cornish Wesleyan, writes to William Wilberforce on PB's behalf supporting his application for funds from the Church Missionary Society. The letter gives a very brief account of PB's career and remarks on the 'singularity' of his success in reaching Cambridge [MOS, p. 18].

1805

[Summer] PB is awarded a Dr Goodman exhibition at St John's College [MOS, p. 17]. During his studentship at Cambridge, PB meets many people, including Henry Kirke White, the poet, who seems to mention him in writing about his Cambridge experiences [MOS, p. 19].

At an unknown date during his time at Cambridge PB joins a volunteer force, together with Lord Palmerston, to counter the threat of invasion from France.

July

PB offers himself to the Bishop of London as a candidate for ordination [MOS, p. 20].

December

30 Rev. Thomas Tighe writes a certificate carefully worded to indicate that there is no record of PB's baptism, because there was no register book before Tighe's ministry, but that the record of the baptism of his brother William exists. This affidavit is in support of PB's candidature for ordination [MOS, p. 21].

1806

A copy of Walter Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, published this year, has an ink inscription 'P Brontë. B.A. / St Johns College, / Cambridge –' [A & S, p. 431]. From this year also apparently date the prize books owned by PB: Clarke's *Homeri Ilias Graece et Latine* and Bentley's edition of Horace [*Sixty Treasures*, 40].

March

22 Professor J. Fawcett writes a testimonial to the effect that PB has attended 47 divinity lectures [MOS, p. 21]. There are other testimonials dating from approximately this time.

April

26 (Wed) PB awarded his BA degree (then abbreviated AB) at St John's College [MOS, p. 20]. During his time at Cambridge he had won several book prizes, as noted above.

July

- 4 PB offers himself as a candidate for Holy Orders to the Bishop of London [MOS, p. 22].

August

- 10 PB ordained deacon at Fulham chapel [MOS, p. 23].
(late, probably) PB returns to Ireland to preach. The evidence for this is a comment by PB's youngest sister, Alice Brontë, to J. B. Lusk [BIB, p. 92].

September

- 25 An affidavit is signed by PB's father that he is over 28 years old [MOS, p. 25].

October

PB becomes a curate at Wethersfield, Essex [MOS, p. 26]. During his curacy he falls in love with Mary Burder, but she does not return his affection [Barker, pp. 19–22].

- 12 PB performs his first marriage ceremony [MOS, p. 27].

1807

March

- 13 William Brown is appointed sexton at Haworth. The Brown family were to provide servants for the Brontë family and companionship for PBB [MOS, p. 222].
17 PB's thirtieth birthday.

July

- 1 PB offers himself to be ordained as priest [MOS, p. 30].
20, 29 etc. PB sends his ordination papers to the Bishop of London [MOS, pp. 31–2].

1808

April

- 5 Death of MB's father, Thomas [E & KH, p. 8].
This year is also the highly conjectural date for the death of Hugh Brunty. Late in his life he had been a general labourer, recalled as repairing local fences. His stories were

heard and transmitted to William Wright through a neighbour, Hugh Norton [BIB, p. 20].

October

PB performs the office of curate at Glenfield, near Leicester, for a few weeks. He has heard that the curacy is vacant, but he does not accept it [MOS, p. 38].

November

- 12 PB writes to Rev. Campbell of Glenfield from Wethersfield affirming that he will not return to Glenfield [MOS, pp. 39–40]. The letter is postmarked from Braintree and the postmark dates 14 November [Princeton University Library].

1809

January

- 1 PB performs his last duty, conducting a funeral, at Wethersfield [MOS, p. 40].
- 7 PB leaves Wethersfield and goes to All Saints' Church, Wellington, Shropshire [MOS, pp. 40–1].

His fellow curate at Wellington is Rev. William Morgan, and through him PB meets Mary Fletcher of Madeley, who is regarded as an important supporter of the Evangelical cause [MOS, pp. 42–3]. He also meets Rev. John Fennell, who has worked in Penzance and is then head of a boarding school in Wellington.

December

- 4 PB leaves Shropshire to become curate at Dewsbury, Yorkshire, under the Rev. John Buckworth [MOS, p. 45]. This was PB's first encounter with the West Riding of Yorkshire, which was to become such an influence on Brontë writing. Clearly, it is impossible to stress this Yorkshire influence too much, but it is worth reflecting that PB was over thirty when he first set foot in the county.
- 11 PB officiates at his first wedding in Dewsbury [MOS, p. 52].

1810

During this year PB's first work is published. It is a poem called 'Winter Evening Thoughts' [Barker, pp. 41–3].

[Spring] PB saves a boy from drowning in the River Calder [MOS, pp. 58ff].

June

5 (Whit Tue) PB leads the annual Whitsun procession to Earlsheaton. The way is blocked by a drunk, whom PB fells [MOS, p. 64].

6 PB writes to York, seeking the curacy of Hartshead [MOS, p. 68].

12 John Buckworth signs PB's testimonial [MOS, p. 69].

28 PB writes again to York sending papers in support of the new curacy [MOS, p. 69].

July

19 John Buckworth sends his nomination of PB to Hartshead to the Archbishop of York [MOS, p. 69].

20 PB is licensed to Hartshead, but cannot leave Dewsbury because of the non-arrival of the new curate [MOS, p. 69].

September

20 William Nowell of Dawgreen, Dewsbury, is wrongly arrested for failing to enlist. PB becomes involved in securing his release over the next three months. Eventually this is arranged [MOS, pp. 71–5].

December

15 Henry Palmerston writes from the War Office to PB concerning William Nowell [Barker, p. 38].

15 Barker (p. 842) gives reasons for rejecting the view that it is PB who writes to the *Leeds Mercury* under the pseudonym 'Sydney'.

1811

Early in the year PB takes up residence at Hartshead-cum-Clifton, Yorkshire. His lodgings are at Thorn Bush Farm, nicknamed 'Lousy Thorn' (variously spelt). His landlord is a Mr Bedford, who had once

been lodgekeeper at the home of Sir John Armitage (also spelt Armytage) at Kirklees Hall, a major mansion nearby [MOS, p. 86]. Connections made here would influence the course of Brontë family history.

March

- 11 PB signs Dewsbury registers for the last time [MOS, p. 82].
 (end) PB signs the register of Hartshead-cum-Clifton for the first time [Barker, p. 40].

April

Rev. William Morgan moves to Bradford to be curate to the Rev. John Crosse [MOS, p. 89].

June

- 11 'Robin Tweed', a dog living in a kennel near Dewsbury Vicarage, writes a letter to his mistress. The real author is PB (PB was to write in the character of a dog much later, in 1853, to try to persuade CB against marrying Mr Nicholls) [Wilks, *The Brontës*, p. 16].

July

- 20 PB is officially inducted as minister of Hartshead-cum-Clifton [MOS, p. 90].
 31 PB writes to the secretary of the Archbishop of York to correct an error he has made in formalities concerning his tenure at Hartshead [MOS, p. 90]. He is securely relicensed by the end of August [Barker, pp. 45, 844].

August

- 25 PB conducts his first wedding at Hartshead [MOS, p. 91].
 In the latter part of 1811, PB is revising and sending to press twelve of his poems under the title *Cottage Poems*, which were printed by P. K. Holden at Halifax [MOS, pp. 92–9]. The mixture in the poems of autobiography, religion and Wordsworthian nature sets the tone for much Brontë poetry, though PB has no equivalent of Angria or Gondal. There are Irish references in some of the poems and they may well have been in the course of composition for a number of years.

1812

Early in the year Luddite protests spread towards Yorkshire, and by February there are disturbances at Huddersfield. Attacks continue during February and March, involving breaking new frames, both *in situ* and in transit [Barker, p. 45]. PB's sermons condemn these actions. Echoes of these events are to surface much later in CB's *Shirley*.

January

- 8 The Wesleyan Methodist school at Woodhouse Grove, Rawdon, near Bradford, opens with Rev. John Fennell as headmaster [Barker, p. 48, MOS, p. 116].

April

- 11 (Sat) A Luddite gathering including men from many Hartshead hamlets assembles in fields belonging to Sir George Armitage and marches towards Rawfold's Mill, Liversedge, the property of William Cartwright. Cartwright had been challenging the men to attack him, and was supported by Rev. Hammond Roberson [Barker, p. 46]. It is supposed to be at this time that PB forms the habit of carrying a loaded pistol with him, and discharging it nightly [Barker, pp. 46–7]. Dead protesters are buried in Hartshead churchyard [MOS, pp. 110–11].
- 18 The *Leeds Mercury* gives an account of the events at Rawfold's Mill [MOS, pp. 107–9].
- 18 An attempt is made to assassinate Mr Cartwright [MOS, p. 112].

July

PB is appointed examiner in Classics and other subjects at Woodhouse Grove [Barker, p. 48; MOS, p. 120, implies that it was slightly earlier that PB was appointed]. He meets his old friend Rev. William Morgan, who is engaged to Jane Fennell, the headmaster's daughter. He is introduced to Jane's cousin, MBB. It is suggested that during the next month PB walks from Hartshead to Woodhouse Grove on a number of occasions to meet MBB. Unfortunately, there is no precise evidence, though the theory seems likely.

- 20 About this time PB pays a visit to Ireland. The date is impossible to determine with certainty and the whole idea

of a return to Ireland at this time is sometimes disputed. There is a short gap in Hartshead registers, which could suggest the absence of PB, possibly between 12 July and 8 August. There is an unconfirmed report of PB in Ireland during the harvest in 1812 [BIB, p. 93].

August

- MBB agrees to marry PB [Barker, p. 51].
- 26 MBB writes her first letter to PB [MOS, pp. 124–5]. MOS considers that the engagement took place after this letter (p. 125). This and other letters were preserved by PB who later showed them to CB; ECG had some scruples about the series when she came to write CB's biography.

September

- 5 MBB writes again to PB, thanking him for a letter, recalling meeting with him, and giving details of her recent activities [MOS, pp. 126–7; Barker, pp. 52–3].
- 11 MBB writes again to PB discussing a walk with a party to Kirkstall Abbey, very much a romantic ruin [MOS, p. 130].
- 18 MBB writes again to PB discussing a visit to Woodhouse Grove of the Bedfords [MOS, pp. 131–2].
- 23 MBB writes again to PB, thanking him for a letter and discussing religious matters [MOS, pp. 132–4].

October

- 3 MBB writes to PB lamenting that she has not had a letter from him and asking for a poem for Jane Fennell for her twenty-first birthday [MOS, pp. 134–5].
- 21 MBB writes to PB discussing her nervousness at the prospect of leaving her own family and marrying PB [MOS, pp. 136–7].
- During October PB and MBB meet at a meeting of Bradford Auxiliary Bible Society [Barker, p. 55].

November

- 18 MBB writes to PB describing rather humorously a shipwreck in which all her property has been destroyed on the Devon coast on the way from Cornwall to Yorkshire; all her 'little property' has been swallowed up by the sea. She has been

asked by Mrs Fennell to invite PB to Woodhouse Grove the following Sunday [MOS, pp. 138–9].

December

- 5 MBB writes to PB concerning wedding arrangements and quoting ‘Advice to a Lady’ by Lord Lyttleton. The tone of her letter is humorous but serious, and may give some idea of one source of the tone employed by the Brontë sisters, especially AB [MOS, pp. 140–1].
- 29 PB marries MBB at Guiseley church [MOS, p. 141]. Rev. William Morgan and Jane Fennell, MBB’s cousin, married on the same occasion [Barker, p. 57].
- 29 Charlotte Branwell, sister of Maria and Elizabeth, marries her cousin Joseph Branwell at Penzance [Hatfield, *BST*, Vol. 9, Part 49, p. 250].

1813

PB moves, possibly on marriage or soon after, to Clough House, Hightown. On 26 December 1812 he had sold two trees standing near Clough House; this may be evidence that he intended to move to Hightown on his marriage [MOS, p. 145].

January

- 4 Report in the *Leeds Intelligencer* of the double wedding at Guiseley [Barker, p. 845].

March

- 17 PB’s thirty-sixth birthday.

April

- John Fennell informs the authorities at Woodhouse Grove that he intends to be ordained in the Church of England, and he is dismissed from his post [Barker, p. 59].
- 15 PB writes a poem for MBB’s thirtieth birthday [MOS, p. 147].

September

PB publishes *The Rural Minstrel*, printed by P. K. Holden of Halifax [Barker, p. 57, MOS, pp. 150–3].

1814

January

(probably) The Brontës' first child is born, Maria Brontë (MB). The date is uncertain, but on the analogy of the other siblings, it seems likely that she would be several weeks old at least when christened; but see note in Barker, p. 146.

March

17 PB's thirty-seventh birthday.

April

15 MBB's thirty-first birthday,
23 MB christened at Hartshead-cum-Clifton [MOS, p. 154].

July

2 Mrs Elizabeth Firth of Kipping House, Thornton, is thrown from her horse and killed. This leaves her daughter, also Elizabeth, motherless [MOS, p. 167].

Towards the end of 1814, PB agrees to exchange duties with Thomas Atkinson of Thornton, near Bradford. It is thought that Atkinson's reason was to be nearer to Frances Walker, third daughter of Samuel and Esther Walker of Lascelles Hall near Huddersfield, which CB would later visit with AB.

1815

During this year PB takes up residence at Thornton, near Bradford. The role of Thornton as the birthplace of all but two of the Brontë children is often forgotten, but it was here that PB formed alliances which were to be very influential, especially that with Elizabeth Firth at Kipping House. From this period date some early reminiscences of PB as a clergyman, mediated through Scruton's book *Thornton and the Brontës*. Though PB's beautified church, the Old Bell Chapel, is now a ruin, the original home of the six Brontë children and their parents still remains.

February

8 EB born at Clough House, Hartshead-cum-Clifton [MOS, p. 157]. Elizabeth Branwell is present to help her sister.

March

- 13 (Mon) PB signs a document agreeing to pay dues arising from Thornton to the Bishop of Bradford in conformity with practice at all the chapels of ease in Bradford parish [MOS, pp. 164–5].
- 17 PB's thirty-eighth birthday.
- 30 Rev. Thomas Atkinson, with whom PB was exchanging livings, preaches his last sermons at Thornton [MOS, p. 158].

May

- 15 PB performs his last wedding ceremony at Hartshead [MOS, p. 157].
- 18 PB carries out his final duties at Hartshead [Barker, p. 62].
- 19 PB and family move to Thornton, and take up residence in a house in Market Street. This had a plaque over the door recording its building or renovation in 1802 [MOS, p. 158]. PB takes over the incumbency at the 'Old Bell Chapel', currently in a poor state of repair.

June

- 6 Elizabeth Firth of Kipping House, Thornton, cousin of Frances Walker of Lascelles Hall, returns to Thornton after a visit to Lascelles Hall [MOS, p. 166].
- 7 Elizabeth Firth makes her first visit to the Brontës at Thornton [WGAB, p. 4].
- 11 Elizabeth Firth hears PB preach for the first time at Thornton [MOS, p. 168].
- 12 First mention in Elizabeth Firth's diary of Elizabeth Branwell (later 'Aunt Branwell') [Barker, p. 66].
- 18 The Battle of Waterloo takes place.
- 26 Elizabeth Firth and the Brontës walk 'to the top of Allerton'. During this period there are many mentions of visits to the Brontës in Elizabeth Firth's diary [MOS, p. 168].

August

- 26 EB is christened at Thornton by Rev. John Fennell. Mr Firth is godfather, and the godmothers are Elizabeth Firth and Elizabeth Branwell [MOS, p. 169].

Late in this year (date uncertain), PB publishes *The Cottage in the Wood*. It is printed by Inkersley of Bradford.

MBB also wrote a manuscript, 'The Advantages of Poverty' about this time [Barker, pp. 125, 847].

September

- 6 Elizabeth Firth's widower father marries Anne Graeme of Exley, Halifax [MOS, p. 169].

October

- 12 Rev. William Morgan takes part in the ceremony of opening Christ Church, Bradford, to which he is appointed incumbent [MOS, p. 172].

1816

During this year the Brontës seek household help via the Bradford School of Industry, and this is found in the person of Nancy Garrs, a 13-year-old, one of 12 children [MOS, p. 174]. Nancy Garrs continued as a servant with the Brontës for many years. There are many records in Elizabeth Firth's diary of visits paid by her to the Brontës, and of their visits, or visits by the children, to Kipping House. Scruton (pp. 75ff) records PB's 'occasional outbursts of temper' and describes a typical Sunday service of the day.

February

- 8 EB's first birthday.

April

- 21 CB born at Thornton [MOS, p. 173].

June

- 23 Rev. John Fennell, now curate at Bradford, preaches the funeral sermon for the vicar, Rev. John Crosse, who has died at the age of 77 [MOS, p. 174]. The new vicar is Mr Henry Heap, who is to be PB's superior for many years.
- 29 (Sat) CB is christened by Rev. William Morgan, described as curate of Christ Church, Bradford. Her godfather is Thomas Atkinson, and one godmother his fiancée Frances Walker. It is possible that Charlotte Branwell of Penzance is the other godmother [MOS, p. 173; Scruton, p. 61].

July

- 7 PB preaches a sermon in the newly consecrated Christ Church, Bradford, where the incumbent is his old friend, Rev. William Morgan [Scruton, p. 70].
- 25 Elizabeth Branwell pays her last visit to Kipping House [Barker, p. 71].
- 26 Elizabeth Branwell leaves Thornton to return to Cornwall [MOS, p. 175].

August

Rev. William Morgan reviews *The Cottage in the Wood* in *The Pastoral Visitor* [MOS, p. 171].

October

- 19 Elizabeth Firth comes to tea at the house of PB and MBB, and watches an eclipse of the sun [MOS, p. 175].

1817

February

- 8 EB's second birthday.

March

- 17 PB's fortieth birthday.

April

- 13 (Sun) Rev. John Fennell signs Bradford parish church registers for the last time. He later becomes minister of Cross-stone chapel, near Todmorden [see below, 1819].
- 21 CB's first birthday.

May

- 9 The Brontë family dine at Kipping House [MOS, p. 177].
- 13 PB goes with Mr Firth (father of Elizabeth Firth) to Wakefield to 'vote for Mr Scott' [Elizabeth Firth's diary, quoted Nussey, *BST*, Vol. 15, Part 79, p. 331].
- 14 PB and Mr Firth return to Thornton [as above].

June

The prose section of PB's *The Cottage in the Wood* is published in the *Cottage Magazine* [MOS, p. 171].

- 26 PBB is born at Thornton [MOS, p. 177].
 27 MB, EB and CB go to Kipping House [Barker, p. 75].

July

- 23 PBB is christened at Thornton by Rev. John Fennell, described as 'officiating minister' [Scruton, p. 61].

November

- 6 Death of Princess Charlotte of Wales.
 6 PB escorts Elizabeth Firth to Bradford for a missionary meeting [Barker, p. 75].
 12 An informal gathering of Evangelicals at Kipping House includes PB, Samuel Redhead, Rev. James Franks of Sowerby Bridge. His son James Clarke Franks would later marry Elizabeth Firth [Barker, p. 75].

December

- 23 Thomas Atkinson marries Frances Walker of Lascelles Hall and they set up house at Green House, Mirfield [Barker, p. 75].

1818

During this year at an unknown date, Inkersley of Bradford prints PB's novel *The Maid of Killarney*, which is interesting in many ways, including its apparent first-hand evidence of some Irish customs. A second edition of *The Cottage in the Wood* is also published [MOS, p. 171].

February

- 3 Bishop Blaize festivities begin in Bradford [Barker, p. 848].
 12 Elizabeth Firth notes that she has expected the Brontës to tea, but Maria is 'poorly' [Wilks, *The Brontës*, p. 26].

April

Blackwood's Magazine contains an advertisement for PB's *The Maid of Killarney* [Barker, p. 848].

- 4 Thomas Mayne Reid is born at Ballyrone, Co. Down, son of a Presbyterian minister [*Dictionary of Irish Biography*]. He is alleged by William Wright to have provided additional information about PB's younger days.
 21 CB's second birthday.

May

Elizabeth Firth buys a copy of *The Maid of Killarney* [Barker, p. 849].

June

26 PBB's first birthday.

26 A faculty is obtained for rebuilding the Old Bell Chapel at Thornton [MOS, p. 161].

July

30 EJB is born at Thornton.

August

20 EJB is christened at Thornton Bell chapel by Rev. William Morgan [Barker, p. 78; Scruton, p. 61]. The font in which she was christened still exists at Thornton. A christening mug said to be hers is at BPM [*Sixty Treasures*, p. 44].

About this time Nancy Garrs is promoted to the position of cook and her sister is employed as housemaid [Barker, p. 78].

This autumn PB begins a major refurbishment of the Old Bell Chapel [Barker, pp. 79, 849].

November

10 Elizabeth Firth pays a visit to the Old Bell Chapel to see the restored 'angel' (it is not clear what this sculpture or painting was) [Barker, pp. 79, 849].

December

6 Reopening of the refurbished Old Bell Chapel [Barker, p. 849]. A plaque reads 'repaired and beautified, the Rev. Patrick Brontë being then minister' [MOS, p. 164].

1819

Among others born this year are Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot), who would later comment favourably on *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*, and John Ruskin. Both are thus almost contemporary with EJB.

January

8 MB, EB and CB are invited to tea at Kipping House [Firth in Barker, pp. 79, 849; MOS, p. 181].

March

This month is usually associated with an incident in which PB takes 60 young people to Bradford to be confirmed by the Bishop. As they walk through Kirkgate a snowstorm breaks out. PB takes them to the Talbot Hotel and orders hot dinners for all [Scruton, p. 59, who heard this locally; Barker, p. 849, gives reasons for doubting the date].

It is impossible to date a further story in Scruton concerning PB shaving on a Sunday. This was severely criticized by an old lady in Thornton, who went to see PB. He denied he had shaved on a Sunday claiming, 'I never shaved in all my life ... I have so little beard that a little clipping every three months is all that is necessary' [Scruton, p. 58]. This story should be kept in mind when assessing the character of PB.

April

21 (Wed) CB's third birthday.

24 The *Leeds Mercury* reports the appointment of Rev. John Fennell to Cross-stone, near Todmorden [Barker, p. 849].

May

25 Death of Rev. James Charnock, incumbent of Haworth [MOS. p. 181].

June

1 Michael Stocks, a magistrate at Bradford, writes to Mr Greenwood, church trustee at Haworth, recommending PB as the new incumbent at Haworth church [MOS, p. 182].

2 Rev. Henry Heap of Bradford writes to the Archbishop of York requesting a licence for PB to Haworth [Barker, p. 850].

14 The *Leeds Intelligencer* carries a report that the chapelry of Haworth is resisting the nomination of PB as curate [Barker, p. 81].

26 PBB's second birthday.

July

8 PB writes to Stephen Taylor of Stanbury, in Haworth parish, discussing the current difficulties in his appointment [Barker, p. 850].

12 (Sun) (possibly) PB preaches at Haworth church [Barker, p. 850].

- 14 PB writes again to Stephen Taylor saying that he has changed his mind and is withdrawing from Haworth [Barker, pp. 82, 850].
- 21 PB writes to Stephen Taylor inviting Haworth residents to come and hear him preach at Thornton [MOS, pp. 189–90].
- 30 EJB's first birthday.

August

- 16 The Battle of Peterloo takes place in Manchester [Barker, p. 83].

October

- 4 The Brontë children all at Kipping House [MOS, p. 191].
- 8 The Archbishop of York writes to PB instructing him to preach at Haworth church the following Sunday [Barker, p. 83].
- 9 PB writes to the trustees of Haworth church informing them of the Archbishop's instruction [MOS, pp. 192–3].
- 10 (Sun) PB preaches at Haworth [Barker, p. 84]. His resignation from Haworth is accepted some days afterwards [Barker, p. 850].
- 15 A Bible Society meeting in Bradford hears speeches from PB and others concerning the crisis of the times [Barker, p. 83].
- 28 Rev. Samuel Redhead, who has taken services during the interregnum, is appointed to the perpetual curacy of Haworth [MOS, p. 192].
- 30 Report of Rev. Samuel Redhead being licensed to Haworth in the *Leeds Mercury* [Barker, pp. 84, 850].
- 31 Rev. Samuel Redhead goes to Haworth to take the service [Barker, pp. 84, 850, modifies ECG's account of this occasion].

November

- 17 and 28 PB takes two funerals at Haworth [Barker, p. 86].

1820

With the addition of AB in January, PB's family was now complete. From this year probably dates the incident recorded by Mrs Chadwick (p. 172) concerning CB going into AB's bedroom while she was a baby and seeing an angel standing by her cradle. However, when she went to look for it again, it had disappeared [WGAB, p. 13]. The wooden cradle still survives.

January

- 17 AB born at Thornton. The other Brontë children spend the day at Kipping House [Barker, p. 86].
- 27 PB writes to the governors of the Queen Anne's Bounty asking for a grant [MOS, pp. 197–8].
- 29 Death of King George III [Barker, p. 88].

February

- 4 PB writes to the Archbishop of York seeking support for his appeal to Queen Anne's Bounty [MOS, p. 198].
- 8 EB's fifth birthday.
- 9 Rev. Henry Heap writes to the Archbishop of York to say that a meeting has been arranged between PB and the Haworth trustees and the difficulty has been solved [MOS, p. 198].

Scruton understood that PB had actually taken up his duties on this date, and that the family stayed at Kipping House while the process of packing was going on. This may be a misunderstanding, though the date is also given in ECG [Scruton, p. 79].

March

- 25 AB is christened at Thornton. Elizabeth Firth and Fanny Outhwaite stand as godparents. Elizabeth Firth gives the young child £1 [Barker, p. 89; MOS, p. 201; WGAB, p. 8].
- 31 Good Friday.

April

- 5 (Wed) Final meeting between the Brontës and Elizabeth Firth before she leaves on a visit [MOS, p. 202].
- 10–20 (precise date uncertain) The Brontë family leave Thornton and move to Haworth [Barker, p. 89; MOS gives the traditional date of Thu 20 April; p. 204]. Barker (p. 851) discusses the evidence for the removal on eight carts and a 'light wagon' [Scruton, p. 79]. In *BST*, Vol. 20, Part 4 (1991), Bob Duckett reviews *The Story Tellers* by Joyce Eagleton, in which she quotes an ancestor, William Redman, who saw the Brontës move 'in two flat carts'.
- 21 CB's fourth birthday.
- 21 The first vestry meeting presided over by PB at Haworth [MOS, pp. 222–3].

May

- 1 Death of Mrs Richmal Mangnall of Crofton Hall school, also known for her school book *Historical Questions* [Barker, p. 117]. Her influence at Crofton Hall continues to the time when MB and EB are (almost certainly) sent there.

June

- 6 PB signs a petition to enable the poor to receive the benefits of the waters at Harrogate [Barker, pp. 101, 853]. He travels to Thornton to stay at Kipping House on his way to the diocesan visitation in Bradford [Barker, pp. 101–2].
- 26 PBB's third birthday.

July

- 24 On a typical occasion for baptisms at Haworth, PB baptizes 24 children [Barker, p. 853].
- 30 EJB's second birthday.

December

- 21 PB goes to Thornton to visit Mr Firth, Elizabeth Firth's father, who is ill [MOS, p. 226].
- 27 Death of Mr Firth [MOS, p. 226; Barker, p. 102].

1821

Evidence for the events of this year is sketchy and often based on reminiscences from much later. The death of Maria Brontë is clearly seminal in the lives and writings of the whole family. Less easy to evaluate are the reports of PB's behaviour during and before this year, and the exact character of Miss Elizabeth Branwell, the Brontë children's aunt, who came to look after them from this year on.

January

- 2 PB officiates at the funeral of Mr Firth [Barker, p. 102].
- 17 AB's first birthday.
- 29 PB arrives home to find his wife Maria dangerously ill [Barker, p. 102]. Various doctors, including possibly a surgeon, are called in [Barker, p. 854; MOS, p. 232]. The ineffectiveness of doctors in treating Maria Brontë has to be taken into account when considering, for example, EJB's attitude to doctors in her own final illness.

February

The evidence of the care for the Brontë family of Miss Elizabeth Firth deriving from her own diary and account book, in this and following months, is very strong; Miss Firth's own mother had died early. There is also a strong tradition that the two eldest Brontë children took care of the younger ones during MB's illness.

8 EB's sixth birthday.

9 Elizabeth Firth visits Maria Brontë and finds her 'very poorly' [MOS, p. 228].

21 Elizabeth Firth again visits Maria Brontë [MOS, p. 229].

It is not possible to determine exactly the date at which Elizabeth Branwell arrived to look after the young Brontë children. Reports of her character differ. ECG (chapter 4) considers her 'kindly and conscientious' but 'narrow'. Sarah Garrs calls her 'a bit of a tyke'. It is not clear whether she returns home after the death of MBB.

March

1(probably) Elizabeth Firth visits MBB again [MOS, p. 233, quoting Elizabeth Firth's account book].

April

21 (Sat) CB's fifth birthday. By this time she has successfully completed a linen chemise, with some help from Sarah Garrs [Barker, p. 110].

May

26 Elizabeth Firth, with Fanny Outhwaite, calls at Haworth and takes MB and EB in a post chaise to stay at Kipping House for a month [Barker, pp. 103, 854].

31 Robert Heaton junior succeeds to Ponden Hall, a probable haunt of the young Brontës during the following years [MAB, p. 17].

June

1 This is the notional date used by AB many years afterwards for the first part of Helen's diary in *Wildfell Hall*.

26 PBB's fourth birthday.

July

30 EJB's third birthday.

At about this time all six children contract scarlet fever. Perhaps as a result Elizabeth Branwell (generally 'Aunt Branwell' in Brontë biography) apparently arrives again from Penzance to help PB; however, she may have stayed from the time of the earlier visit. An unsatisfactory nurse is dismissed [MOS, p. 227]. It was from her that ECG eventually heard negative criticism of PB; Barker (p. 854) regards her testimony as unreliable. The evidence for this period of the Brontës' lives derives from the letter of PB to Rev. John Buckworth of 27 November 1821.

August

- 17 PB dines at Kipping House [MOS, p. 230].
- 21 or 25 Death in Ireland of Rev. Thomas Tighe, PB's former patron [MOS, p. 229].
- 25 Notional dates in AB's *Wildfell Hall* from this date on strongly suggest the use of an almanac by AB and EJB during the year 1847 when tight dating of their two novels is being organized.

Barker (p. 854) accepts the testimony of the dismissed nurse, supported by other servants, that MBB was extremely distressed at the prospect of her children being left motherless and would cry out 'Oh God, my poor children'.

September

- 14 PB calls in clergy help to substitute for him, Rev. William Anderton, who officiates for several days [MOS, p. 229].
- 15 Death of MBB [MOS, p. 229].
- 22 Funeral of MBB, performed by Rev. William Morgan [MOS, p. 229].
- 29 PB resumes his duties at Haworth church [Barker, p. 854].
- (unknown date) Elizabeth Firth joins in a subscription for PB, contributing £2.2s. [MOS, p. 233].

November

- 27 PB writes to Rev. John Buckworth describing his trials over the previous months [MOS, pp. 231–2].

December

- 8 PB stays at Kipping House [Barker, p. 106].

- 9 (possibly) PB writes to Elizabeth Firth to propose marriage [Barker, pp. 106, 854, where information about the proposal is described as 'a family tradition'].
- 14 Elizabeth Firth records 'I wrote my last letter to Mr Brontë' [MOS, p. 237]. On the same night she entertains James Clarke Franks to dinner [Barker, p. 855]. It is not clear when PB paid his debt to William Tetley the Bradford parish clerk, £50 incurred during the illness of MBB. MOS (p. 233) quotes PB's notebook mentioning 1821, but there is no evidence that the entry was written this year and Barker (p. 854) thinks this could have been as late as 1830.

1822

To this or the previous year we must probably date a series of stories about PB which first appeared in ECG and which have been debated since. They apparently originate from the dismissed nurse. It has been said that PB cut up a dress of Mrs Brontë's, put a burning hearthrug up the chimney, sawed the back off chairs and burnt the children's coloured boots. Barker (pp. 107–8) finds no reason to believe any except the cutting up of the dress, which she sees as a joke, while ECEB, pp. 19–22, suggests that these stories may not be inconsistent with PB's character.

From about this time date Sarah Garrs' reminiscences, given by Mrs Chadwick, of the children's walks across the moors, their instruction in geography and history, and their thoughtful contemplation of these matters in bed.

January

- 17 AB's second birthday.

February

- 8 EB's seventh birthday.

March

- 17 PB's forty-fifth birthday.

April

- 21 CB's sixth birthday.

May

- 2 or 4 Birth of Robert Heaton of Ponden Hall, sometimes thought to have been a model for Edgar Linton in *Wuthering Heights* [MAB, p. 17].
- 18 MB finishes her sampler. Her text is 'He that is slow of wrath is of great understanding but he that is of a hasty spirit exalteth folly' [BPM].

June

- 26 PBB's fifth birthday.

July

- 20 The *Leeds Mercury* reports a national effort to help the Irish poor [Barker, p. 855].
- 22 EB completes her sampler. Her text is 'Wisdom is the principal thing therefore get wisdom ...' [BPM].
- 25 CB completes her first sampler [BPM].
- 30 EJB's fourth birthday.

December

- 17(possibly) At a meeting of the Keighley Auxiliary Bible Society, PB meets Rev. William Carus Wilson of Cowan Bridge [Barker, p. 112].

1823

January

- 17 AB's third birthday.

February

- 8 The *Leeds Mercury* carries an article about the extreme wintry weather in the Pennines [Barker, pp. 112, 856].
- 8 EB's eighth birthday.
- 14 Isabella Drury of Keighley writes to Miss Marriner implying that PB has proposed to her [MOS, p. 237; Barker, p. 856].

April

- 11(Tue) PB is again asked to become an examiner at Woodhouse Grove School [Barker, p. 856].
- 21 CB's seventh birthday.

- 21 PB writes to Mrs Burder in Essex with the idea of renewing acquaintance with Mary Burder [Barker, pp. 113–14; MOS, pp. 238–9].

June

- 26 PBB's sixth birthday.

July

- Further request to PB to become an examiner at Woodhouse Grove school [Barker, p. 854].
- 28 PB writes to Mary Burder suggesting a visit to Essex and mentioning his 'small but sweet' family [MOS, pp. 239–41].
- 30 EJB's fifth birthday.

August

- 8 Mary Burder replies to PB in forceful terms rejecting a further acquaintanceship [MOS, pp. 241–3].

October

- (day uncertain) Elizabeth Firth gives AB a Bible, inscribing it with love and best wishes from her godmother [MOS, p. 264].
- 4 PB calls at Kipping House for the first time since his proposal to Elizabeth Firth was rejected, and stays two nights [Barker, p. 116].

It may have been after this visit that MB and EB were sent to Crofton Hall school near Wakefield. PB's information, not naming the school, is quoted in Barker, p. 118. It is impossible to prove completely that the school was Crofton (though there seems little doubt), or to show how long the children were there. The two girls suffered from whooping cough (Barker, p. 128, places this in Spring 1824); it is not clear from Mrs Chadwick, probably informed by one of the Garrs sisters, whether this was the reason for their return from school or whether they caught it later [Chadwick, p. 70]. The fact that they had whooping cough is recorded in the Cowan Bridge Entrance Book.

December

- 4 An advertisement appears in the *Leeds Mercury* for a new school 'for Clergymen's Daughters' at Cowan Bridge, near Kirkby Lonsdale [Barker, p. 118].

1824

From this year may date the well-known 'mask' story. In his letter to ECG of 30 July 1855, PB recalls an incident which he dates 'when ... the oldest was about ten years of age, and the youngest about four'. He claims to have used a mask to cover the face of each child, while asking questions of each of them. The questions and answers are given in many biographies, for example, WGAB, pp. 19–20; ECEB, pp. 28–9, but the story does present many problems of interpretation.

In this year, date unknown, railings were erected at the top of Haworth Main Street (not then so called) at the junction with Kirkgate to signify the entrance to St Michael's Church [KE, p. 50].

January

- 1 PB writes again to Mary Burder apologizing for his previous letters and again seeking an invitation to Wethersfield [MOS, pp. 243–5].
- 17 AB's fourth birthday.
- 30 Opening of the Clergy Daughters' School at Cowan Bridge.

February

- 8 EB's ninth birthday.

April

- 21 (Wed) CB's eighth birthday.

June

- 26 PBB's seventh birthday.

July

- 1 Mary Burder is married to Rev. Peter Sibree of Wethersfield Meeting House [MOS, p. 245].
- 21 MB and EB go to Cowan Bridge School [Cowan Bridge Entrance Book]. Two fellow pupils are Margaret Plummer, daughter of Rev. Thomas Plummer of Keighley, and Harriet Jenkins, daughter of Rev David Jenkins of Dewsbury. The Brontës may have been acquainted with both these pupils [Barker, p. 129].
- 26 MB and EB are each charged £7 for board and education and a £4 entrance fee at Cowan Bridge [Cowan Bridge Account Book].
- 30 EJB's sixth birthday.

August

It is possible, but not at all certain, that PB pays a visit to Ireland about this time. William Wright first makes this claim in *McClure's Magazine* for 1893, though he silently emends the date to 1812 in *The Brontës in Ireland* [BIB, p. 87].

- 10 CB goes to Cowan Bridge School [Cowan Bridge Entrance Book]. It is not quite certain that PB took her himself, Mrs Chadwick being a relatively early writer who thinks he did not. Barker (p. 129) thinks he did so. On the same day, CB is charged £7 for board and education and £4 entrance fee; she is also charged £1.14.8d for clothing [Cowan Bridge Account Book].
- 31 Visit to Haworth of the Archbishop of York, followed by a meal prepared by Nancy and Sarah Garrs [Barker, p. 130]. PBB, EJB and AB must have been present.

September

- 2 (Thu) The Crow Hill 'bogburst', 6 p.m. EJB and AB and perhaps PBB are out in the storm with Nancy and Sarah Garrs. They take shelter, possibly at Ponden Hall [MOS, pp. 248–9; MAB, p. 18].
- 3 Further eruption of water at Crow Hill [MOS, p. 249].
- 9 PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury* concerning the bogburst and its lessons [Barker, p. 858].
- 11 PB writes to the *Leeds Intelligencer* regarding the bogburst [Barker, p. 858].
- 12 (Sun) PB preaches a sermon on the bogburst [MOS, p. 249].
- 18 PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury*, defending his view that the Crow Hill bogburst was an earthquake [Barker, p. 858].
- (end) Elizabeth Firth calls at Cowan Bridge and probably gives the children pocket money [Barker, p. 859].
- 28 Mellaney Hayne enrolled at Cowan Bridge School. She was about 17, and was to become a confidante of CB, perhaps portrayed in 'Mary Ann Wilson' of *Jane Eyre* [Cowan Bridge Entrance Book; Sarah Fermi in *BST*, Vol. 27, Part 3, 2002 pp. 185–99].

October

- (probably) PB's sermon on the bogburst is printed by Inkersley of Bradford. The proofs are said to have been read by a daughter of PB. If the date is correct the child must have been EJB

[ECEB, p. 31; Scruton pp. 66–7]. The title page of the pamphlet includes the phrase ‘The Phenomenon ... Which took place on the 12th Day of September’, 1824, but the actual date was the 2nd, while PB’s sermon was given on 12 September.

November

- 10 PB writes to Mr Mariner, in whose savings bank he has invested money, stating his intention to withdraw about £20 in order to send EJB to school [Barker, pp. 133, 859].
- 25 EJB goes to Cowan Bridge School [Cowan Bridge Entrance Book]. Barker (p. 860) gives evidence to suggest that PB took her himself, while others read back the experience of Jane Eyre and suggest that she arrived alone by coach.
- 26 EJB is charged £11 for board, etc at Cowan Bridge. The entrance fee is included [Cowan Bridge Account Book].

December

(date unknown) Nancy Garrs leaves the parsonage, is married and goes to live in Bradford [MOS, p. 253].

1825

At the beginning of the year Tabitha Aykroyd (already described as ‘an elderly woman’) goes to work at the parsonage. She was to stay in the Brontës’ employ for many years and died just before CB herself.

From this year probably dates the early oil painting of PB, showing him with his silk scarf round his neck as in later years [Wilks, *The Brontës*, p. 49].

A tradition that PBB attended Haworth Grammar School for a short while seems to stem from a discussion in Leyland, *The Brontë Family*, Vol. I, pp. 72–3, and WGBB (p. 8) comments that this would be the most likely year for that event.

A number of incidents at Cowan Bridge cannot be precisely dated. These include wintry walks through fields and lanes to Tunstall church, a day when MB was ill and could not get out of bed, but was persecuted by a teacher, and an episode in which EB suffered from a cut on her head [ECEB, pp. 38–40].

It was from 1825 that the Brontës began to see *Blackwood’s* [CA, *Early Writings*, p. 20].

After the publication of *Jane Eyre* CB agreed that ‘Helen Burns’ was based on her sister Maria, saying ‘I have exaggerated nothing there’.

January

PB’s sermon on the Crow Hill bogburst appears in *The Cottage Magazine* [MOS, p. 252].

Cowan Bridge accounts record charges of £7 for MB’s board and education for a half-year, plus £1.10s for drawing and £1.10s for French. EB is charged £7 for board and education only [Cowan Bridge Account Book].

February

- 8 EB’s tenth birthday.
- 10 CB is charged for a half year’s board at Cowan Bridge [Cowan Bridge Account Book].
- 14 (Fri) PB collects MB, ill with tuberculosis, from Cowan Bridge, and takes her home to Haworth [ECEB, p. 46].
- 21 Cowan Bridge account book entry for a letter, presumably dating from before PB collects MB [Barker, p. 860, where this is not regarded as a threat to the traditional date of MB’s journey home]. Below this (date uncertain) is an entry for clothes for CB (18/7 and a halfpenny) [Cowan Bridge Account Book].

March

- (approx) Sarah Garrs leaves the parsonage, marries and becomes Mrs Newsome. She subsequently emigrates to America [MOS, p. 253].

April

- 21 CB’s ninth birthday.
- 26 Bill for EJB’s second half year (£7) entered in Cowan Bridge Account Book [ECEB, p. 47].

May

- 6 (Fri) Death of MB, aged 11 [ECEB, p. 46].
- 12 Funeral of MB, taken by Rev. William Morgan [MOS, p. 257]. EB, CB and EJB are still at school, and are unable to attend the funeral. WGBB (pp. 12ff) supports the view of Francis Leyland (*The Brontë Family*, Vol. I, chapter 14) in

the belief that PBB takes his inspiration for several poems about 'Caroline' from this funeral.

- 31 EB, ill with consumption, is taken to Keighley or Haworth by coach under the care of a Mrs Hardacre. Attempts to trace this woman have so far been unsuccessful [Chadwick, p. 76]. Cowan Bridge Account Book notes 13/- for 'fare home Guard & Coachman'.

The next line reads 'Mrs Hardacre to take E home 18.0'. The next three lines are also concerned with Mrs Hardacre's expenses.

- 31 Bill for clothes for EJB at Cowan Bridge [Cowan Bridge Account Book].

- 31 CB and EJB are sent to Silverdale, near Lancaster, perhaps to be away from the fever at Cowan Bridge. They stay at The Cove, Carus Wilson's residence [Chadwick, p. 78].

June

- 1 PB travels to Silverdale to collect CB and EJB and take them back to Haworth [ECEB, p. 47].

There is some mystery and controversy about exactly when CB and EJB left Cowan Bridge. The school account was not closed until 23 September 1825, though almost all traditional biographies consider that they left on 1 June. In *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 6 (1996), Sarah Fermi re-examined the Cowan Bridge ledger and other evidence, and produced a sound case for a date in August. Among points she raises are the possibility that PB did not consider the school unfit for his children, but that he considered CB and EJB unfit for the school. There is further discussion of this in Sarah Fermi's article 'Melanney Hayne; Charlotte Brontë's school friend' in *BST*, Vol. 27, Part 3 (2002), pp. 185–99.

- 15 Death of EB of 'affection of the lungs' [Barker, pp. 138, 861].
- 18 Funeral of EB, conducted by Rev. William Morgan [Barker, pp. 138, 861].
- 26 PBB's eighth birthday.

July

(possibly) CB and EJB return to Cowan Bridge [Fermi, 1996, p. 223 (see above)].

- 22 Eliza Rawlins Walwyn is enrolled at Cowan Bridge School. She was the daughter of Rev. John Walwyn of St Kitts, West Indies, and may have been confused in ECG's account with Mellaney Hayne [Fermi, S., in *BST*, Vol. 27, Part 3 (2002) pp. 185–99].
- 30 EJB's seventh birthday.

August

- 25 PB writes to Queen Anne's Bounty concerning his precarious financial position because of the powers of the trustees to require him to pay for repairs on church land, and other matters [Barker, pp. 142–3].
- 29 (possibly) Final date of removal of CB and EJB from Cowan Bridge. [Fermi, 1996, p. 223 (see above)]. In *BST*, Vol. 27, Part 3 (2002), pp. 185–99, Sarah Fermi provides supporting evidence for this date, quoting PBB's 'Introduction to the History of the Young Men'. In *BST*, Vol. 20, Part 4 (1991), Bob Duckett reviews *The Story Tellers* by Joyce Eagleton, who says it was a family tradition that CB was nursed back to health after the Cowan Bridge episode at Allerton Hall, near Thornton. This seems very unlikely, but visits by CB to Allerton are quite possible.

September

- 19 Second meeting of the Auxiliary Bible Society at Haworth church [Barker, p. 143].
- 23 PB's account at Cowan Bridge school closed. This late date gives the grounds for the suggestion that a return to school for CB and EJB after the summer is not to be ruled out [ECEJB, p. 47].

October

- 3 PB and his two church secretaries write to the British and Foreign Bible Society to complain about the inclusion of The Apocrypha in Bibles issued [Barker, p. 143].

December

- 1 PB again writes to Queen Anne's Bounty but is unsuccessful [MOS, pp. 268–9].

1826

PBB was probably being tutored by Thomas Plummer, master of Haworth Grammar School [Barker, p. 864].

January

17 AB's sixth birthday.

April

This is the notional date of the poem 'Alexander' by AB, written on 16 December 1844. It appears that after 1841 the two younger Brontës may have consulted almanacs to provide a coherent chronology for the Gondal saga (see Clarendon edition of *Wuthering Heights*).

21 CB's tenth birthday.

May

29 (probably) Re-enactment of Oak Apple Day by the Brontë children. A branch of a cherry tree is broken and Tabby has to try to conceal this from PB [ECEB, pp. 59–60]. Barker (p. 110) quotes Sarah Newsome [Garrs] in Harland, Marian, *Charlotte Brontë at Home* (New York, 1899) as claiming that she was the person who broke the cherry tree when involved in the children's game. No precise date is suggested.

June

5 (Mon) PB brings back toys for the children from Leeds apparently after attending a clerical conference: toy soldiers for PBB, ninepins for CB, a toy village for EJB and a dancing doll for AB. [For more details on the children's toys, see Barker, p. 864].

20 CB finishes her first sampler [BPM].

26 PBB's ninth birthday.

July

(possibly) PB gives CB her mother's copy of Thomas à Kempis [Barker does not date this event precisely; she describes the book on p. 862 with other books which were in the possession of MB. The possible date derives from Steed, *A Brontë Diary*].

30 EJB's eighth birthday.

There were many electric storms over Haworth this summer [Barker, p. 145].

September

This is the notional date of EJB's poem 114 (DR, pp. 162–4) also called 'A Death Scene', in which A.G.A. recalls the death of Elbe.

December

- 9 The funeral of the Heptonstall schoolmaster, Timothy Feather, is conducted by PB. His death had occurred in deep snow on the moors [Barker, p. 145].

1827

This is the first year for which there is clear evidence of imaginative writing activity by the Brontë children. PBB's small booklet is accompanied by a date and CB, writing in 1829, gives a dated account of how the children's plays evolved.

January

- 10 This is the notional date of EJB's poem No. 53 in which leaders who died resisting tyranny are commemorated by friends returning to the Palace of Instruction [DR, pp. 83–4, 303].
- 17 AB's seventh birthday

February

- 13 EJB is given a Bible by PB [MOS, p. 264].

March

- 12 (Mon) Date given on a small hand-sewn book by PBB, in which there are a number of paintings and drawings, including a map, battle scenes and pictures of castles [A & S, pp. 284–6; *Sixty Treasures*, p. 35; VN, I, p. 4].

April

- 21 CB's eleventh birthday.

June

- (possibly) The Brontë children establish the 'Young Men' plays [CB, 'The History of the Year' 12 March 1829; Barker, p. 151].
- 26 PBB's tenth birthday.

July

The Brontë children begin writing 'Our fellows' [CB, 'The History of the Year, Barker, p. 151].

(possibly) PBB buys a set of Turkish musicians in Halifax [CA, *Early Writings*, quoting PBB].

13 AB is given a prayerbook by Miss Outhwaite [WGAB, p. 54].

22 (Sun) There is a crowded scene at Haworth when Henry Heap, the Vicar of Bradford, preaches at the church in favour of the Sun school [Barker, p. 145; Haworth Sun School Hymn Sheet].

30 EJB's ninth birthday.

September

1-5 PBB writes Chapter I of 'Our Fellows' [VN, I, p. 2].

24 Death of Jane Branwell Morgan. She is buried at Cross-stone on 27 September [Barker, p. 862].

29 Jane Branwell Morgan's Greek *Testament* presented to PB by Rev. William Morgan [Barker, p. 862].

(autumn, precise date not provided) This is the notional date of the beginning of *Wildfell Hall*.

October

5-9 PBB writes Chapter II of 'Our Fellows' [VN, I, p. 2]. Internal dates in this writing have been altered, perhaps to accord with an agreed fictional chronology.

November

9-22 PBB writes Chapter III of 'Our Fellows' [VN, I, p. 2].

22 PBB finishes Chapter III and begins Chapter IV of 'Our Fellows' [VN, I, p. 5]. It is finished by 1 December.

December

The Brontë children begin the play called 'Islanders' [CB, 'The History of the Year', Barker, p. 151 and 'Tales of the Islanders', Barker, pp. 151-2, 864].

1 CB and EJB begin their 'bed plays', presumed to be stories made up after the two sisters had gone to bed [CB, 'The History of the Year; Barker, p. 151].

1828

During this year the Brontë children seem to have made progress both in illustration and writing. There is evidence from each of them that they are participating in imaginative creation in both modes. CB produces a number of small pictures which cannot be precisely dated, including a map in her manuscript beginning 'There was once a little girl and her name was Ane' [CA, p. 66; A & S, pp. 154–6]. (It is possible this might be dated to the end of 1827.)

At some time during the year PBB made his final purchase of soldiers, the 'last box', which was a band of Indians [CA, *Early Writings*, p. 29].

January

PBB draws his first extant drawing, a sleeping cat [A & S, p. 286].

17 AB's eighth birthday.

March

CB and EJB establish another series of plays. CB's announcement of this is vague and it is not possible to identify which plays are meant [CB, 'The History of the Year'; Barker p. 151].

21 PBB dates 'A Description of London' in the flyleaf and draws cattle, and so on, in it [*Sixty Treasures*, p. 33].

April

1 CB completes and dates a sampler, the texts taken from *Proverbs*, and headed 'A House divided against itself can't stand' [Photograph in Bentley, *The Brontës and Their World*, p. 28; BPM].

21 CB's twelfth birthday.

22 EJB completes and dates her first sampler [Wilks, *The Brontës*, p. 41; BPM].

June

8 PB baptizes Martha Brown, future Haworth servant [Whiteley Turner, *A Springtime Saunter*, p. 224].

26 PBB's eleventh birthday.

July

28 PBB draws a farmyard scene with dog and chickens [A & S, pp. 286–7].

30 EJB's tenth birthday.

August

- 16 The *Leeds Mercury* records a balloon flight from Keighley to Colne, which would have been witnessed by the Brontë children [Barker, p. 862].
- 29 AB draws her earliest extant drawing, a church tower [A & S, p. 396].

September

- PBB draws tiny sketches of a fort [A & S, pp. 287–8].
- 2 CB draws a ruined tower for Anne [A & S, pp. 157–8].
- 4 CB draws a thatched cottage for Anne [A & S, p. 158].

November

- 17 PBB draws a ruined tower and (probable date) another tower, with faces and a female figure [A & S, pp. 288–9].
- 28 (Fri) AB finishes her first sampler [BPM].

December

- 22 PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury* advocating a degree of liberalization for the criminal code [Barker, pp. 158, 865]. The letter was published on 10 January 1829.

1829

Barker (p. 158) makes a link between PB's recent appearance in print in the Leeds newspapers and the children's enthusiastic writing activity. Certainly 1829 was a most prolific year, especially for CB and PBB, whose illustrations and writing have survived. It is not possible to say how far the younger siblings joined in these efforts.

At an unknown date CB writes an untitled list of 13 painters whose work she wants to see [CA, p. 197].

During this year Ebor House was built at the junction of Ebor Lane and Mill Hey, Haworth [KE, p. 19].

January

PBB completes and dates a volume of [*Branwell's Blackwood's*] *Magazine* [CA, p. 4; VN, I, p. 7]. He also draws sketches in this volume [A & S, pp. 289–90].

- 5 CB paints a copy of 'Dulwich' from a drawing manual [A & S, p. 159].
- 15 The first in a series of letters from PB in favour of Catholic Emancipation is published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, p. 865].
- 19 (probably) EJB draws her earliest extant drawing, a mullioned window [A & S, p. 370].
- 24 CB draws a cormorant on a rocky coast [A & S, pp. 160–1].
- 29 PB's second letter in favour of Catholic Emancipation is published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, p. 865].

February

- 5 The last in the series of letters from PB in favour of Catholic Emancipation is published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, p. 865].
- 23 PBB draws a ruined building and (probable date) a seascape [A & S, p. 290].

March

- 1 EJB finishes her second sampler [BPM].
- 12 CB completes 'The History of the Year' [CA, p. 40]. This includes a description of the Haworth kitchen in which CB is writing and AB is kneeling on a chair 'looking at some cakes'. EJB is brushing the parlour and PB has taken PBB to Keighley [CA, *Early Writings*, p. 20].
- 12 CB completes and dates 'The Origin of the O'Dears' [CA, p. 52; Barker, p. 865 prefers this transcription, which is given as 'O Deans' in CA].
- 12 CB writes 'The Origin of the Islanders' [CA, p. 52].
- 31 PBB draws a pencil sketch 'After Bewick' [A & S, p. 290].

April

- 1 (Wed) EJB copies a picture of a whinchat from Bewick, and several incomplete birds' heads [A & S, pp. 370–1].
- 7 AB draws a cottage with trees [A & S, p. 396].
- 15 CB completes and dates 'A Romantic Tale' [The Twelve Adventurers] [CA, p. 12].
- 23 AB copies a magpie on a rock from Bewick [A & S, pp. 396–7].
- 25 EJB copies a farmer's wife from Bewick [A & S, p. 371].
- 27 PBB copies Hogarth's 'Idle Apprentices' [A & S, p. 291].

- 28 CB completes and dates 'An Adventure in Ireland' [CA, pp. 12, 22]. She draws some diminutive sketches at each end [A & S, pp. 161–2].

May

- 18 CB draws 'Boy and Dog' At about the same date she also draws sketches of a boy's head, and so on [A & S, p. 162].
- 20 CB draws 'the ruins of ?Caractacus Palace' [A & S, p. 163].
- 22 CB draws 'A Fancy Piece' [A & S, p. 164]. She also goes to PBB to show him a copy of the Poems of Ossian [VN, I, p. 14].
- 22 With great concentration EJB copies a picture of a ring ousel from Bewick [A & S, pp. 371–2].
- 26 CB draws 'Revenante Castle' [A & S, p. 164].
- 26 Death of Jane Branwell Fennell, the Brontës' great aunt, buried at Cross-stone, 29 May [Barker, pp. 867–8].

June

PBB completes a volume of *Branwell's Blackwood's Magazine*. This includes part of 'The Infant' (see July 1829) [CA, pp. 433; VN, I, p. 14].

- 2 PBB copies a rural scene by Bewick [A & S, p. 291].
Conservation work in 1998 revealed further drawings on the verso of this paper (see *BST*, Vol. 23 (1998), pp. 180ff).
- 30 CB completes and dates 'Tales of the Islanders, Vol. I' [CA, p. 63].
- 30 (but dated 31) CB completes and dates 'Tales of the Islanders, Vol. I' [CA, p. 12]. For a more detailed description of this manuscript and its contents see CA, p. 63.

July

PBB completes a volume of *Branwell's Blackwood's Magazine* [Barker, pp. 866–7; VN, I, p. 21]. This included 'REVIEW OF BUDS commentary on Ossian'.

- 8 CB writes and dates 'United Service Journal' for 'Anecdotes of the Duke of Wellington' [CA, p. 24].
- 13 CB writes and dates 'The Infant' [CA, p. 33].
- 13 CB draws a pencil sketch of 'The Keep of the Bridge' [A & S, p. 165].
- 14 PBB writes what may be a 'letter' to the Young Men's Magazine [VN, I, p. 32].

- 17 CB writes and dates 'Highminded Frenchman love not the ghost' [CA, p. 99].
- 24 CB writes and dates 'O when shall our brave land be free' [CA, p. 135].
- 28 CB begins and dates 'The Search after Hapiness' [CA, p. 57].
- 28 CB draws 'The Temple of Shamrocks' [A & S, p. 165].

August

CB completes and dates a volume of *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [CA, pp. 4, 48], including 'what is more glorious in nature or art' (by PBB) [CA, p. 167; VN, I, p. 35].

CB writes 'Review of the causes of the late war' [CA, p. 55].

- 8 CB writes and dates 'A Fragment August the 7 1829' [CA, p. 36].
- 8 CB writes and dates 'on the third day I came to a wide plain' [CA, p. 36].
- 17 CB completes and dates 'The sister' [CA, p. 37].
- 20 CB writes and dates 'A True Story' for *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [CA, pp. 66–7].
- 23 CB writes and dates 'O spirits in the sky were there' [CA, p. 14].

September

CB writes 'Scene on the Great Bridge' for *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine*, to which PBB makes contributions [CA, p. 57; VN, I, p. 40].

CB completes and dates this volume of *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* in co-operation with PBB [CA, pp. 4, 48]. The date 1 September appears in PBB's writing [VN, I, p. 49].

CB writes 'Malcolm's tales of flood and field' for 'Anecdotes [sic] of the duke of Wellington' [CA, p. 24] and 'Farewell O thou pleasant land' [CA, p. 151].

- 2 CB writes and dates 'see that golden goblet shine' [CA, p. 131].
- 6 PBB writes a contribution to *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [VN, I, p. 51].
- 6 (Sun) Rev. Henry Heap, Vicar of Bradford, gives the sermon at the Sunday School benefit services [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].
- 7 CB and PBB write a poem jointly ('Farewell O thou pleasant land') for the November issue of *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [VN, I, pp. 40–2].

- 8 CB writes 'A Scene in my Inn' for *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [CA, p. 57].
- 9 CB completes and dates 'An American Tale' for *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [CA, p. 24].
- 9 CB completes and dates 'How pleasant is the world' in collaboration with PBB [CA, p. 132; VN, I, p. 43].
- 23 CB writes to PB from the Parsonage, Cross-stone. The children were spending four days there, with Aunt Branwell, following the death of Jane Fennell [Smith, I, p. 105, Barker, p. 167].
- 25 CB writes and signs 'On September the 25 1829' recording a strange ritual in which she has placed a piece of burnt paper in the 'Life of the Duke of Wellington' [CA, 51, Barker, p. 167]. and ' 'tis sunset and the golden orb' [CA, p. 96].
- 28 CB writes and dates 'Thou art a sweet and lovely flower' in collaboration with PBB [CA, p. 93; VN, I, p. 46].
- 30 CB writes 'The character of the Duke of Wellington' [CA, p. 24].
- 30 PBB completes 'Young Soult's Poems (Vol. I)' and sketches a dog, and a warrior with a sword [A & S, pp. 292–3; VN, I, pp. 47, 62]. He also dates Volume II [VN, I, p. 63].

October

CB completes and dates a volume of *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [CA, p. 4].

- 2 CB writes a contribution to 'Anecdotes of the Duke of Wellington' [CA, p. 24].
- 7 CB writes and dates 'O thou great thou mighty tower' in collaboration with PBB [CA, p. 77; VN, I, p. 70].
- 8 CB writes and dates 'Beneath a shady tree I sat' [CA, p. 154].
- 9 CB writes and dates 'behold that silvery streak of light' and possibly some other work including the poem 'Sunset' [CA, p. 154]. On the same date she draws sketches of Glass Town characters [A & S, pp. 166–7].
- 23 CB draws a Fisherman sheltering against a tree [A & S, p. 167].

November

CB completes and dates a volume of *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [CA, p. 4]. CB and PBB together write 'as through tall trees' [VN, I, p. 72].

- 2 CB writes and dates ' 'tis pleasant on some evening fair'. This is signed 'UT', thought to stand for 'us two' [CA, p. 133].
- 13 PBB notes beginning Matthew's Gospel in Latin in his English New Testament [A & S, pp. 438–9].
- 14 Letter of PB against capital punishment published in the *Leeds Mercury* [Barker, p. 868].
- 20 CB writes and dates 'The Swiss Artist' [CA, p. 62].
- 20 Under the signature WT ['we two'], CB and PBB write and date 'All soberness is past and gone' [VN, I, p. 73].
- 21 Under the signature UT ['us two'], CB and PBB write and date 'Sweep the sounding harp string' [VN, I, pp. 74–5].

December

- CB writes 'Merry England, land of glory' [CA, p. 121].
- PBB sketches grotesque figures and buildings [A & S, pp. 293–4].
- 2 (Wed) CB completes and dates 'Tales of the Islanders, Volume II' [CA, pp. 12; VN, p. 71]. For more detailed information on this volume, see CA, p. 64.
- 4 (probably) CB completes and dates the second volume of *Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine* [CA, pp. 6, 29].
- 6 CB draws 'Lady Jephia Bud' [A & S, pp. 167–8].
- 6 PBB writes 'Harvest in Spain' [VN, I, p. 77].
- 9 CB writes and dates 'Review of the Chief Geni' [CA, p. 56], and 'Now all is joy and gladness' [CA, p. 97].
- 10 CB writes and dates 'The Swiss Artist Continued' [CA, p. 62].
- 12 CB writes Chapter I of 'Celebrated Men' [CA, p. 29].
- 14 CB writes and dates 'I've been wandering in the green-woods' [CA, p. 106].
- 16 CB writes a further chapter of 'Celebrated Men' [CA, p. 29].
- 17 CB completes and dates 'Rhymes, Sold by Nobody' [CA, p. 7].
- 17 CB completes and dates 'Characters of the Celebrated Men' [CA, p. 29].
- 18 PBB writes and dates 'Laussaine: A Dramatic Poem' (later spelt Lausanne) Act I [VN, I, pp. 78ff].
- 21 PBB writes and dates the second act of the above [VN, I, pp. 78ff].
- 23 PBB writes and dates a Latin fragment which could possibly have a Virgilian influence, but consists of jumbled fragments [VN, I, p. 91].

- 24 CB writes 'One night when silence reigned around' [CA, p. 85] and ' 'Twas one fair evening, when the closing day' [CA, p. 86].

1830

All the children were now well able to write and draw, and progress was being made with their musical talents. There is little evidence of any formal schooling, though it must seem that this year PB continued to teach PBB and to some extent the others. Tradition usually ascribes some of the teaching of the girls to Elizabeth ('Aunt') Branwell. However, it is clear by the large quantity of writing that CB and PBB were practising verbal composition both in prose and verse.

January

- 8 CB writes and dates 'The Splendid hall is blazing' [CA, p. 173].
 12 CB writes and dates 'How lonely is this spot' [CA, p. 173].
 14 CB writes and dates a different version of 'How lonely is this spot' [CA, p. 173].
 16 CB completes and dates 'description of the Duke of Wellington's small palace' [CA, pp. 31, 70].
 17 AB's tenth birthday.
 23 AB completes her second sampler, from *Proverbs*, Chapter 3 [*Sixty Treasures*, p. 27; BPM].

February

- 1 CB writes and dates 'Of the college I am tired I wish to be at home' [CA, p. 129] and 'A Wretch in Prison' [CA, p. 172].
 3 CB writes and dates 'Autumn has vanished with his train' [CA, p. 170].
 8 CB writes and dates 'True pleasure breathes not city air' [CA, p. 139].
 11 CB writes and dates 'Once more I view thy happy shores' [CA, p. 163].
 17 PBB draws 'The Angel and Joshua at Jericho' [A & S, p. 294].
 22 CB completes and dates a preface to 'The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack' [CA, p. 22].

March

- 11 CB draws 'The mountain sparrow' [A & S, pp. 168-9].

April

- 13 CB writes and dates 'The Vision' [CA, p. 164].
- 30 PBB draws 'Hermit' [A & S, p. 295].

May

- 5 (Wed) CB signs and dates Chapter I of 'Tales of the Islanders, Volume III' [CA, p. 64].
- 6 PBB draws a study of a solitary man [A & S, pp. 295–6].
- 6 PB's letter concerning capital punishment is published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, p. 868].
- 8 CB completes and dates 'Tales of the Islanders, Volume III' [CA, p. 12], including 'To the forest to the wilderness' [CA, p. 159] and 'Where has Arthur been this night' [CA, p. 168]. For more detail about this volume, see CA, p. 64.
- 11 PBB draws 'Terror' [A & S, p. 296].
- 25 CB completes and dates 'The Adventures of Ernest Alembert' [CA, p. 22], including 'Proudly the sun has sunk to rest' [CA, p. 141].
- 26 CB writes and dates 'Fair form of glistening marble' [CA, p. 92].
- 29 CB writes and dates 'Now rolls the sounding ocean' [CA, p. 94].
- 31 CB completes and dates a book of eight poems [CA, p. 8], including 'Now sweetly shines the golden sun' [CA, p. 129]. She draws two small sketches of heads [A & S, pp. 169–70].

June

- (probably) PBB draws a sketch of a dog's head and a man with distorted face [A & S, p. 297].
- 8 CB apparently dates the beginning of 'The Poetaster' [CA, p. 53].
- 17 CB begins and dates 'An Interesting Passage in the Lives of Some Eminent Men' [CA, p. 42]
- 18 PB carries out his last duty before falling ill [Barker, p. 868]. The illness seems to have been an inflammation of the lungs [MOS, p. 270].
- 18 CB completes and dates 'An Interesting Passage ...' [CA, p. 42].
- 19 PBB writes 'The Liar Detected', a response to CB [Barker, p. 866; VN, I, pp. 92ff].

- 22 CB writes and dates 'The following strange occurrence ...' recording an occasion when a stranger called at the door while PB was ill in bed, claiming to warn the parson of the end of the world. The stranger was later identified as an eccentric local farmer [Barker, pp. 168, 868; CA, p. 34].
- 26 PBB draws a sailing ship [A & S, pp. 296–7].
- 26 PBB dates the beginning of 'Caractacus', a dramatic poem [VN, I, pp. 98ff; p. 117]. This is completed and dated on 28 June.
- 28 CB writes and dates 'When August glowed with fervid summer pride' [CA, p. 92].
- 29 CB writes and dates part of 'Leisure Hours' [CA, p. 47].

July

- (probably) CB draws flower studies [A & S, p. 172].
- 3 CB writes the date inside the front cover of 'The Poetaster, Volume I' [CA, p. 53].
- 6 CB completes and dates 'The poetaster, Volume I' [CA, p. 53], including 'Silver moon how sweet thou shinest' [CA, p. 149].
- 12 CB completes and dates 'The Poetaster, Volume II' [CA, p. 53].
- 13 CB draws 'Wild Roses from Nature' [A & S, p. 170; *Sixty Treasures* 29].
- 14 CB signs and dates Chapter I of 'Tales of the Islanders, Volume IV' [CA, p. 65].
- 14 CB writes and dates 'Sir it is well known ...' [CA, p. 60]. There is some writing by AB on the verso of this manuscript [CA, p. 60].
- 15 CB draws a portrait of child with hat and basket [A & S, p. 174].
- 21 'Sicilian Mariners' Hymn' bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 30 CB completes and dates 'Tales of the Islanders, Volume IV' [CA, p. 12]. For more detailed information about this manuscript, see CA, p. 65.

August

- (no exact date) PB notes that Mr Tetley has given him a present of 'half a dozen of port' [PB's financial notebook].

- 3 CB completes and dates 'Catalogue of my books' [CA, p. 23].
- 11 CB translates and dates her translation of the first book of Voltaire's *Henriade* [CA, p. 160].
- 12 CB begins the second series of the *Young Men's Magazine* [CA, p. 16].
- 12 CB completes and dates 'Liffey Castle' [CA, p. 47].
- 13 CB completes and dates the *Young Men's Magazine, Second Series, No. 1* [CA, pp. 14, 30].
- 13 CB dates a section of 'A Frenchman's journal' [CA, pp. 36–7].
- 13 CB writes 'Lines to the Aragua' [CA, p. 113].
- 14–21 CB dates a section of 'A Frenchman's journal' [CA, p. 37] including 'A midnight song' [CA, p. 121].
- 22 CB completes and dates 'A Day at Parry's Palace' for the *Young Men's Magazine*, October 1830. This includes a satiric description of a town based on Haworth including the parsonage; EJB takes some part in this episode [CA, p. 31; WGEB, p. 14].
- 22 CB writes and dates 'Morning, by the Marquis of Douro' and possibly a variant version of the same poem [CA, p. 123].
- 23 CB completes and dates the *Young Men's Magazine, Second Series, No. 3* [CA, p. 14, 30].
- 26 CB completes and dates 'Silence' for the *Young Men's Magazine* [CA, p. 59].
- 27 CB writes and dates 'Some love sorrows dismal howls' [CA, p. 151].
- 28 CB completes and dates the *Young Men's Magazine, Second Series No. 4* [CA, p. 15].
- 28 CB continues and dates a section of 'A Frenchman's journal' [CA, p. 37] including poem 'Death is here' [CA, p. 88].
- 29 CB completes and dates 'Strange events' [CA, p. 62].
- 30 CB writes 'Dagger what heart hath quivered neath thy blow' [CA, p. 132].
- 31 CB writes and dates 'A Frenchman's journal continued' [CA, p. 39].

September

- (probably) CB completes the *Young Man's Magazine, Second Series, No. 2* [CA, p. 14].

- 1 CB completes and dates 'The Silver Cup' for the *Young Men's Magazine* [CA, p. 59].
- 1 CB completes and dates the *Young Men's Magazine, Second Series, No. 5* [CA, pp. 15, 30].
- 2 CB completes and dates 'An Extraordinary Dream' [CA, p. 33].
- 2 PBB dates a second letter from an Englishman; this could be a deliberate backdating from 6 September [VN, I, p. 124].
- 3 CB writes 'This wide world I have compassed round' [CA, p. 161].
- 4 CB completes and dates the *Young Men's Magazine, Second Series, No. 6* [CA, p. 16] and 'Haste bring us the wine cup' [CA, p. 97].
- 4 CB completes 'A Frenchman's journal' [CA, p. 37].
- 6 PBB draws a figure of 'Justice' [A & S, p. 298].
- 30 CB completes critical comment on three engravings [CA, p. 28].

October

CB apparently provides a date for the *Young Men's Magazine, Second Series No. 3* [CA, p. 14].

CB copies a portrait of Mrs Brontë [A & S, pp. 174–5].

- 1 PBB apparently begins a new letter from an Englishman [VN, I, p. 171]. Problems with the precise dating of some of PBB's writing here stem from his sometimes including fictional dates which are close to the real date of writing.
- 12 CB completes and dates 'Albion and Marina' [CA, p. 23] including 'I think of thee when the moonbeams play' [CA, p. 104].
- 14 CB writes and dates 'Murk was the night: nor star, nor moon' [CA, p. 174].

November

- 10 (Wed) CB writes and dates 'One eve as all the radiant west' and 'A gracious smile illumed her face' [CA, p. 164].
- 11 CB writes and dates 'I'll hang my lyre among these ancient trees' and possibly an alternative version of the same poem [CA, p. 163].
- 12 CB writes and dates 'Lady this worthless gift I send' [CA, p. 111].

- 12 CB writes 'Long hath earth lain ...' and 'Methinks I see thee sitting calm and lonely' [CA, p. 117]
- 13 CB writes and dates 'Mighty winds that sing on high' [CA, p. 142].
- 14 CB completes and dates manuscript of seven poems by The Marquis of Douro [CA, p. 13] including 'Awake! Awake! fair sleeper' [CA, p. 148].
- 23 PBB begins 'The Revenge: a Tradgedy in 3 Acts' [VN, *PBB*, pp. 62–71].
- 26 CB draws a woman with a lyre [A & S, pp. 175–6].

December

(probably) CB draws 'Forget me not' ('The disconsolate') and 'The Italian scene' [A & S, pp. 177–9].

PBB draws 'Queen Esther' [A & S, p. 298].

- 7 CB begins and dates the first volume of 'Visits in Verreopolis' [CA, p. 69].
- 11 CB completes and dates the first volume of 'Visits in Verreopolis' [CA, p. 69]. including 'Now fall the last drops of the shower' [CA, p. 128], 'The Pearl within the shell concealed' [CA, p. 138], and ' 'Tis eve. How that rich sunlight streameth through' [CA, p. 146].
- 15 CB draws 'Bessy Bell and Mary Gray' [A & S, pp. 176–7].
- 15 PBB begins the manuscript of *The History of the Young Men*, including drawings [A & S, pp. 299–300; VN, I, pp. 138ff]. The book was finished by 7 May 1831. The account also gives details of dates on which various stages of the production of the young Brontës' imaginative work had been initiated [CA, *Early Writings*, p. 29].
- 18 CB completes and dates the second volume of 'Visits in Verreopolis' [CA, p. 70], including 'Hearken O Mortal to the wail' [CA, p. 97].
- 18 PBB completes 'The Revenge: A Tradgedy' [VN, I, p. 125].

1831

Among CB's drawings which cannot be dated exactly, but are placed in this year, are: a laughing child; a crying child; a portrait of a classical head (described on purchase as 'Annie Brontë by C. Brontë', but not now regarded as a portrait of AB); study of a head; and a castle on a hill. These are untitled and the ascriptions are in A & S, pp. 185–9.

Early in the year CB goes to school at Roe Head near Mirfield, situated in a mansion on the edge of a coalfield, but also near a wooded valley. Here CB meets for the first time her lifelong friend Ellen Nussey (EN) and other friends, notably Mary Taylor. She will also produce an impression on Margaret Wooler, one of the sisters who own the school. As a result she will later become a teacher there, and towards the end of her life will confide in Margaret Wooler, who will be present at her wedding.

January

(probably) PBB makes a note that one of his 'Ashantees' (ninepins), bought from Leeds at the same time as the twelves, is still extant [VN, I, p. 153].

4 (possibly) CB draws the Wellington monument [A & S, p. 179].

17 CB writes 'On the bright scenes around them spread' inside the front cover of *Grammatical Exercises English and French* [CA, p. 132]. She also writes 21 words beginning 'like a vision' [CA, p. 195] and four lines beginning 'dreams, dreams are' on the back flyleaf, possibly at the same time [CA, p. 202].

17 CB goes to Roe Head as a pupil. Mary Taylor, a fellow pupil, records her appearance on arrival as a 'little old woman'. She mentions CB's short-sightedness and her strong 'Irish' accent [Barker, p. 172].

17 CB inscribes her name inside school books: Mangnall's *Historical and Miscellaneous Questions* and Tocquot's *A New and Easy Guide to the Pronunciation of the French Language* [A & S, p. 431].

25 Arrival at Roe Head of EN, who is to be CB's close friend throughout her life and one of our main informants about the Brontë family [Barker, p. 172].

29 CB draws studies of eyes [A & S, p. 180].

February

(probably) CB draws studies of noses [A & S, p. 181] and of mouths [A & S, p. 182]. She also draws a series of undated studies of small features of the face [A & S, pp. 182–3].

9 CB draws studies of ears [A & S, p. 181].

12 CB draws studies of the lower face [A & S, p. 181].

March

10 PBB dates a further letter from an Englishman in Vol. II of the series, but possibly writes this on 16 March [VN, I, p. 170].

- 17 CB, at Roe Head, draws Amelia Walker, a fellow pupil [A & S, p. 184].

April

- 6 CB draws the head and shoulders of a young woman [A & S, p. 184] (date uncertain) Mrs Franks sends gifts to CB at school at Roe Head. Smith (I, p. 109) suggests that these gifts, and similar from Miss Fanny Outhwaite, may have been for CB's fifteenth birthday on 21 April.
- 28 PB writes to Mrs Franks discussing 'Temperate reform' and other matters. He reveals himself as concerned to support moderate reformation of Church and State in order to head off more radical opposition [Smith, I, pp. 106–8].
- 29 PBB in 'The History of the Young Men' explains how the stands on which the soldiers were mounted have been turned imaginatively into footwear [VN, I, 159].

May

- (early) CB writes to thank Mrs Franks for the gifts she has sent, apparently signing her name with the diaeresis for the first time [Smith, I, pp. 108–9; Barker, p. 870] (unknown date this month). PB buys *The Gardens and Menagerie of the Zoological Society Delineated*, Vol. I [A & S, p. 422].
- 7 PBB draws a figure: 'Justice' [A & S, p. 300].
- 7 PBB finishes and dates his long prose work, 'The History of the Young Men' [Barker, p. 179; VN, I, p. 169].
- 11 CB writes to EN, her first known letter to her friend [Smith, I, pp. 109–10].

June

- CB draws 'Guwald Tower Haddington', presumably as an art exercise at Roe Head [A & S, p. 187].
- 8 PBB continues his series 'Letters from an Englishman', including this date on the title page, but mentioning a fictional date of 18 March [VN, I, p. 179]. 'O Mars who shakest thy fiery hair' is included in this volume [VN, I, p. 175]. There is a scornful note in French on the verso which Barker (pp. 179–80) suggests was written by EJB.
- 8 PBB draws a further figure: 'Justice' in the above manuscript [A & S, p. 300].
- 9 PBB dates the fifth 'letter from an Englishman' [VN, I, p. 181]. He includes fictional dates in May 1831. Some of

- this work purports to narrate adventures involving Ross, Parry and Sneaky.
- 11 PBB completes and dates 'letters from an Englishman, Vol III' [VN, I, p. 190].
- 11 PBB draws a further figure: 'Justice' on the title page of a fourth volume [A & S, p. 301; VN, I, p. 191].
- 12 CB draws a mermaid fountain and urn [A & S, p. 188].

July

It is impossible to date precisely the summer holidays at Roe Head. Barker (p. 870) uses evidence from later in the decade to suggest that they fell approximately from 17 June to the end of July. If this is so, this may indicate that CB when free at this time preferred verbal composition to pictorial.

CB writes 'He is gone, and all grandeur has fled from the mountain' [CA, p. 98].

- 11 CB finishes and dates 'Overcome with that delightful sensation of lassitude [CA, pp. 35–6], including 64 lines of a poem which is completed with 92 more lines and dated on a separate manuscript [CA, p. 116].

August

- 14 (Sun) Afternoon and Evening services at Haworth are taken by Rev. Edwin Smith of Keighley ('Intended Missionary to India') [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].

September

- 24 (Sat) (possibly) CB is confirmed by the Archbishop of York at Liversedge [Barker, p. 871].

November

During this month 'Fantasia' by Moscholes is bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].

- 1 PBB begins to write tunes in his manuscript flute book. During this month he copies the first six, including two psalms, 'Scots wha hae' and 'Auld Lang Syne' [Akiko Higuchi in *Anne Brontë's Song Book, ...* (2002) (see bibliography for details).]
- 16 CB inscribes her name again in Mangnall's *Historical and Miscellaneous Questions* [A & S, p. 428].

December

(probably) CB begins a prose fragment beginning 'About 9 months after my arrival' [CA, p. 18].

PBB copies three more tunes into his flute book [Akiko Higuchi, op. cit.].

11 CB writes 'The trumpet hath sounded, its voice hath gone forth' [CA, p. 162].

14 CB is awarded a prize for French at Roe Head. End of school term [Smith, I, p. 111].

15 CB draws 'Muccross Abbey, Lake of Killarney' [A & S, pp. 189–90].

15 CB draws 'Annual Lavertera' [A & S, p. 190].

25 CB writes 'O there is a land which the sun loves to lighten' [CA, p. 135].

1832

During the summer of 1832, the new Sunday School building, which is still standing, was opened and a plaque placed over the door [Barker, p. 183]. This was the year of the cholera outbreak, which reached London on 13 February and Leeds on 26 May [Smith, I, pp. 111–12].

January

PBB copies 11 (possibly 12) more tunes into his flute book. There is a strong emphasis on Scottish songs [Akiko Higuchi, *Anne Brontë's Song Book, ..., 2002*].

13 CB writes from Haworth to EN, acknowledging a letter and commenting on the spread of cholera in England [Smith, I, pp. 110–12].

17 CB writes her name inside Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* [A & S, p. 428].

April

19 PBB includes this date in 'Letters from an Englishman Volume IV'. He may have included this section in his later, edited version [VN, I, p. 201].

May

CB draws 'St. Martin's Parsonage, Birmingham' [A & S, pp. 200–1] (no precise day). PBB dates 'While round the battlements' [VN, I, p. 203].

- 17 CB writes from Roe Head school to PBB, mentioning that this is one in a series of weekly letters she sends to the family via PBB [Smith, I, pp. 112–14].

June

- (early) The Whig First Reform Bill passed. CB returns from Roe Head school [Barker, p. 182].
 CB draws a woman with a veil [A & S, pp. 201–2].
- 15 William Wood, the Haworth carpenter, charges for ‘two frames’ [JK, p. 77].
- 16 PBB dates at end ‘Letters from an Englishman, Vol V’ [VN, I, p. 221].
- 20 (probably) End of school term at Roe Head, at which EN is awarded a school prize. CB leaves the school [Smith, I, p. 115].
- 26 PBB writes a poem ‘Once again bright summer morn’ and ‘Lord of the Northern feilds of Heaven’ [VN, I, pp. 226–7].

July

- 14 CB completes and dates the poem ‘O! There is a wood’ and [The Bridal] [CA, pp. 27, 83].
- 21 CB writes from Haworth to EN [Smith, I, pp. 114–16].
- 24 CB draws a portrait of a lady with wreath [A & S, p. 2202].
- 24 (probably) ‘Purcell’s Ground’ bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 29 CB inscribes her name again in Lindley’s *English Grammar* [A & S, p. 428].

August

- 2 PBB begins a new volume of ‘Letters of an Englishman’ [VN, I, p. 230]. He draws a further figure, ‘Justice’, on the title page of this new volume, described in A & S as more animated than the previous ones [A & S, p. 301].
- 3 PBB includes a final date on the previous volume [VN, I, p. 191].
- 3 PBB draws two further figures: ‘Justice’ [A & S, p. 303; VN, I, p. 210].
- 20 CB completes and dates ‘In the Autumn of the year 1832 being weary of study’ [CA, p. 27].
- 20 CB writes ‘With a smiling blush she took a little ivory lyre’ [CA, p. 73, note erasure which may provide false implication], including a copy of ‘He is gone ...’ [CA, p. 98].

- 23 PB pays 10/- owing to William Wood, the carpenter [JK, p. 77].
- 29 CB inscribes her name once again in Lindley's *English Grammar* [A & S, p. 428].

September

- 3 A new window is put into Haworth parsonage [JK, p. 77].
- 5 CB writes from Haworth to EN acknowledging a letter and dealing with Roe Head gossip [Smith, I, pp. 116–18].
- 23 William Wood charges for repairing a window at the parsonage [JK, p. 77].

October

- (probably) CB draws a landscape with a tower and river [A & S, p. 203].
- CB draws Derwentwater, apparently copying from an engraving by Thomas Allom [A & S, pp. 204–5].
- 3 Three original waltzes for piano duets bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 10 CB draws Kirkstall Abbey with trees, apparently a copy [A & S, pp. 203–4].
- 18 CB writes to EN in French [Smith, I, pp. 118–20].

November

- (probably) CB draws sketches of a leaf and tiny face [A & S, pp. 205–6] and a bunch of wild flowers [A & S, p. 206].
- 3 CB draws a study of a heartsease [A & S, p. 205].
- 26 (probably) 'Gems of the Opera' bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 27 CB writes and dates 'The cloud of recent death is past away' [CA, p. 86].
- 29 A further replacement window is put in at the parsonage [JK, p. 77].

December

- EJB draws a picture of Roe Head [A & S, pp. 372–3].
- CB paints a Blue Convolvulus [A & S, p. 207].
- 8 (Sat) EJB draws Guwald Tower, Haddington [A & S, pp. 374–5].
- 13 PB pays 10/6d to William Wood for parsonage repairs [JK, p. 77].
- 17 William Wood mends chairs at the parsonage [JK, p. 77].
- 28 CB paints a pink begonia [A & S, p. 206].

1833

All the young Brontës are at home this year, with CB spending much of her time in drawing. It seems possible that her aim at the time was to become a miniaturist, but according to EN she was not satisfied with the results of her work. EJB and AB also drew, but only for pleasure.

The shyness of the two younger children is brought out clearly in EN's description of their journey to Bolton Abbey [Smith, I, p. 603]. This visit of EN's was the first time that EJB and AB had been closely involved with someone not of their own family. EN's account of both suggests that they did not feel comfortable in society, though later AB wrote warmly to EN.

Various pictures are dated this year, but cannot be accurately ascribed to precise days. Among them are PBB's 'Gos Hawk', in which Bewick's engraving is coloured according to his written description, and several pictures by CB, including a watercolour of AB (A & S, p. 211) which should not be confused with the two other portraits which CB made of her sister.

During this year the Three Graces Lodge of Freemasons moved to new premises in Newell Hill (Lodge Street), Haworth [KE, pp. 43–4].

January

(probably) CB draws 'Cockermouth' [A & S, pp. 209–10].

- 1 CB writes to EN, a correspondence which is to be on a monthly basis [Smith, I, pp. 120–2].
- 12 CB copies an engraving of a picture by Thomas Allom, Hartlepool Harbour [A & S, pp. 207–8].
- 17 AB's thirteenth birthday.
- 30 PBB begins 'The Pirate' [Barker, p. 873].

February

(probably) CB writes 'Justice upon thy silent tomb' [CA, p. 106].

- 8 PBB dates 'The Pirate' [VN, I, p. 239]. This contains the last mention of the 'geni' Talli, Emii and Annii in PBB's writing [Barker, p. 874].
- 12 CB completes and dates 'The African Queen's Lament' [CA, p. 23] including 'Last Branch of Murdered Royalty' [CA, p. 109].

March

- 4 EJB copies an engraving of St Simeon Stylites [A & S, p. 375].

- 27 PBB begins a four-page newspaper in which he once again draws a figure of 'Justice' [A & S, p. 303; *Sixty Treasures*, p. 69; VN, I, p. 250]. There are various internal dates in March and April 1833.

April

- 12 CB writes a note in the rear of the Latin New Testament [A & S, p. 429]. There are other scribbles in the book which cannot be dated.
- 17 CB draws a portrait of AB [A & S, pp. 210–11]. A watercolour of AB with similar features cannot be accurately dated, but is generally ascribed to this year [A & S, p. 211].
- 21 CB's seventeenth birthday.
- 26 PBB dates the poem 'Song: A cloud is rolling o'er us' [VN, I, pp. 264–5].
- 30 Elizabeth Branwell ('Aunt Branwell') makes her will, leaving some possessions to the three Haworth nieces, and money both to them and to Eliza Jane Kingston, her niece in Penzance [MOS, p. 312]. She was not to die for nine more years.

May

- 1 CB writes and dates 'Something about Arthur' under the pseudonym of Lord Charles Wellesley [CA, p. 60, Barker, p. 190], including 'Almighty hush the dying cries' [CA, pp. 77, 93] and 'Let us drive care away' [CA, p. 110].
- 14 CB draws a 'Portrait of a French Brunette'. This is a copy of an engraving, which may possibly be linked to CB's character, 'Lily Hart' [A & S, pp. 211–12].
- 22 A plait of AB's hair survives from this date. It is 'rich brown with a hint of auburn' and is authenticated with a note from PB [Barker, p. 195; *Sixty Treasures*, p. 47].
- 26 CB writes and dates 'Fair forms of glittering marble' [CA, p. 92].
- 31 CB begins 'The Foundling' [CA, pp. 34, 90].

June

- 20 CB writes to EN inviting her to Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 122–3].
- 27 CB signs and dates 'The Foundling' [CA, p. 34]. This shows close co-operation between CB and PBB, as exemplified in his work 'Real Life in Verdopolis' [Barker, pp. 192, 874].

July

- 1 PBB draws a view of a building, possibly The Parsonage [A & S, p. 304].
- 3 CB writes a short note to EN deferring her visit until the 19th [Smith, I, p. 123].
- 6 CB paints a Lake and Castle [A & S, pp. 212–13].
- 10 CB dates the preface to 'The Green Dwarf' [CA, p. 38].
- 19 (and following) EN pays her first visit to Haworth. Her description, written much later, is the first detailed account of the family that we have [Smith, I, pp. 596ff, printing The King's School manuscript]. It is not clear how long this visit lasted. The Brontë family and EN pay a visit to Bolton Abbey, breakfasting at The Devonshire Arms [Smith, I, pp. 602–3]. EN (Smith I, p. 602) states that this was 'at the close of this visit'; it is most likely that this was in August.
- 20 PB writes in reply to a letter from Charles Dudley of The Bible Society.
- 21 PBB draws moorland buildings [A & S, pp. 304–5].
- End of the month (approximately) EJB apparently suffers from erysipelas. Barker suggests that this may be linked to an episode in which she was bitten by a rabid dog [Barker, pp. 198, 875].
- 22 'Contre Danses' by H. Herz bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 22 (probably) Andrews' 'Manchester Quadrilles' bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].

August

- 17 PBB dates the end of Volume I of 'Real Life in Verdopolis' [VN, I, pp. 266–95]. There are internal dates in early May and August. He begins Volume II, and includes 'A sere-nade', 'The guardian is old' [VN, I, pp. 312–14].
- 20 PBB dates the start of Chapter II of Volume I of the above [VN, I, p. 305].

September

- 2 CB completes and dates 'The Green Dwarf' [CA, p. 38].
- 2 The 'Three Graces' Masonic lodge holds a procession in Haworth to celebrate acquisition of a room. PB gives sermon for them in the church [MOS, pp. 344–5].

- 3 PB writes a further letter to Charles Dudley of the Bible Society saying that he has not been able to 'raise a respectable meeting' for the society on 27 September.
- 11 CB writes to EN concerning arrangements for the previous journey to Bolton Abbey and about EJB's *erisypelas* [Smith, I, pp. 124–5].
- 18 PBB continues Volume II of 'Real Life in Verdopolis', including untitled verse [VN, I, pp. 317–19].
- 21 PBB continues the above (Chapter VI) [VN, I, pp. 327–32].
- 22 PBB puts a concluding date to 'Real Life in Verdopolis' [VN, I, p. 332].
- 23 CB draws 'Santa Maura' [A & S, pp. 213–14].
- 23 The 'Three Graces' Masonic lodge at Haworth holds its first meeting in the new room at Lodge Street [MOS, p. 345].
- 27 CB begins to write and dates 'Arthuriana' [CA, p. 53].

October

- (probably) PBB begins 'The Politics of Verdopolis' [VN, I, pp. 333ff].
- 1 CB signs and dates 'Brushwood Hall' [CA, p. 27].
- 2 (possibly) CB writes and dates 'Memory' [CA, p. 3].
- 6 CB completes and dates 'The Fresh Arrival', part of 'Arthuriana' [CA, p. 38]; for the same work she completes and dates 'The Tragedy' and 'The Essay' [CA, p. 66].
- 7 CB completes and dates 'The Tea Party', part of 'Arthuriana' [CA, p. 65].
- 9 (possibly) CB writes 'Everybody knows how fond Arthur is' [CA, p. 33].
- 14 CB draws 'The Honble Miss Janet' [A & S, p. 216].
- 15 CB draws 'Zenobia Marchioness Ellrington' [A & S, pp. 216–17], 'Arthur Adrian Marquis of Douro' [A & S, pp. 217–18], and 'Alexander Soult' [A & S, pp. 218–19].
- 23 PBB dates the start of Chapter II in 'The Politics of Verdopolis' [VN, I, p. 336].
- (late) CB writes 'The Vision' [CA, p. 69].

November

- 5 PBB dates the start of Chapter III in 'The Politics of Verdopolis' [VN, p. 343].
- 6 PBB dates the start of Chapter IV in the above [VN, I, p. 347].
- 7 CB completes and dates 'The Secret' and 'Lily Hart', including 'Dark is the Mansion of the Dead' [CA, pp. 11, 58, 87].

- 14 PBB dates the start of Chapter V and VI of 'The Politics of Verdopolis' [VN, I, p. 351].
- 15 PBB continues to write 'The Politics of Verdopolis', dating the start of Chapter VII and VIII on this day [VN, I, p. 358; CA, p. 84]. At the foot is a sketch of a tall building and bridge over the river [A & S, p. 305].
- 18 PBB begins and dates 'The War of Encroachment' [VN, I, pp. 365–405]. Within this, on an unknown date, he writes the poem 'I see through heaven with raven wings' [VN, I, p. 394].
- 20 CB completes and dates 'Arthuriana or Odds and Ends' including poems inspired by PBB's work of 15 November [CA, pp. 3, 84].
- 25 (probably) 'He gave them hailstones for rain' bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].

December

- 16 (Mon) CB draws 'Porath from the Harbour' [A & S, p. 222].
- 17 PBB concludes and dates Volume I of 'The War of Aggression' [VN, I, p. 405] and perhaps begins Volume II [VN, I, p. 406].
- 26 (probably, but may possibly be 1835) 'Hallelujah' from *Messiah* bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 27 PB writes an admonishment on CB's manuscript paper 'All that is written in this book, must be in a good, plain and legible hand. P.B.' [CA, p. 145; reproduced in T. J. Wise, *A Brontë Library*, p. 23].
- 27 CB writes 'Blondel's Song' ('The moonlight, sleeps low, on the hills of Provence') [CA, p. 83].
- (unknown date) PBB ascribes the first version of 'The Vision of Velino' to this month in his later index [VN, III, p. 37].

1834

During this year CB and PBB were writing on Angrian themes, working out new ideas and locations. Both of them worked with furious intensity at times. A number of these pieces cannot be accurately dated. The themes remain esoteric and distant from real life in Haworth. Both siblings were also deeply engaged in pictorial art, and PBB at least was hoping to make a career from painting. In 1834 or perhaps 1835 PBB and possibly CB began lessons with the Leeds painter William Robinson. It is generally considered that Branwell's talent was not

equal to his ambition, but it is also doubtful whether Robinson was a successful teacher. It appears that PBB gave up the idea of portrait painting after maintaining a studio in Bradford with patchy success until 1839.

Two group portraits of himself and the three sisters are usually ascribed to this year. One is the National Gallery portrait, the so-called 'pillar' portrait, in which the figure of PBB himself is roughly painted out, giving the appearance of a dark pillar separating the sitter on the right from the others. The other is the so-called 'gun group' (reproduced on this page), of which only the profile of Emily survives, together with tracings by the Haworth stationer, Greenwood, an engraving in Horsfall Turner's *Haworth Past and Present*, and a poor quality photograph. The identifications were first convincingly sorted out by Juliet Barker in *BST*, Vol. 20, Part I, pp. 3–11. Precise dates cannot be allocated to these portraits. It has been suggested that the 'gun group' follows the 'pillar portrait', since the landscape format is better able to accommodate the four sitters [Barker, p. 879]. The dead pheasant in the gun group suggests the shooting season. The Haworth stationer, John Greenwood, added to his tracings a possible year identification writing of AB 'in the 14th year of her age'. This would place the painting in the year 1833; the sitters, however, may seem too old for this to be correct.



- 1 The Brontë 'gun group', as printed in Horsfall Turner's *Haworth Past and Present*. Dr Juliet Barker showed in 1990 that it had been destroyed before 1879 and that the National Gallery profile of Emily was cut from it.

EJB and AB have left no writing from this period other than the single diary paper dated 26 November. Most opinion considers that they had begun their own invention of Gondal in 1831 or 1832, and this implies that there must have been some material written and stored by this time, but it has not survived. The portrait of AB painted by Charlotte on 17 April contains some of the same characteristics as the earlier 1833 portrait. It is interesting that CB did not produce portraits of EJB, or if she did they have not survived. The portraits by PBB, mentioned above, are not always regarded as being accurate, but certainly the figure of AB shows similarities with CB's two portraits of her.

CB's pictures which cannot be dated precisely, but which are ascribed to 1833–34 include 'Fairy Legend'; 'Mr Ph. Wood'; [Alexander Percy]; [Sketch of an emaciated woman]; and ['Learning to Draw']. Of these 'Mr Ph. Wood' may be drawn from life, while others are influenced by originals which can be traced, but on the whole this group are of fictional characters with composition by CB [Details and discussion in A & S, pp. 219–23].

In 1834 the Factory Commission, following the Factory Act of 1833, enquired into Haworth factories. Among the evidence given was that concerning Bridgehouse Mill, owned by John and James Greenwood.

During the year, PBB becomes secretary of the Haworth Temperance Society; PB was president [MOS, p. 344].

January

At an unknown date, probably about this time, PBB writes the first version of 'To the Horse Black Eagle' [VN, II, p. 1]. This has wrongly been ascribed to EJB.

CB's crayon drawing [a young lady] is dated 'January' [A & S p. 224].

CB's pencil drawing [a beautiful lady] is dated by reference to the poem manuscript on which it appears [A & S p. 227].

(No precise date) EJB's pencil drawing of the Haworth dog Grasper is dated simply 'January 1834' [A & S, pp. 375 6].

1 PBB places an internal date in 'The War of Aggression', Volume II [VN, I, p. 434].

5 CB's 'Last Will ... of Florence Marian Wellesley' dated [CA, p. 45].

7 PB writes to the *Leeds Intelligencer* defending the establishment of the Church of England [Barker, p. 879]. The letter is part of a controversy in which PB advances arguments against disestablishment, his firm but rationally expressed

opinions chiming in tone and authority with the kind of views expressed by CB in her letters throughout her life. Barker discusses the date of this letter and describes her search for others written by PB at this time [Barker, p. 879].

17 CB's *A Leaf from an Unopened Volume* (including poem 'The moon dawned slow ...') dated [CA pp. 46, 122–3].

19 A Vestry meeting is held at Haworth to discuss ways of attempting the 'final separation of Haworth from the Parish of Bradford' [MOS, p. 321].

February

- 1 PB writes to church trustees suggesting a change in the administration of sales and exchanges of land [Barker p. 880].
- 11 CB writes to EN after two months' silence noting anxiety for EN's health and commenting on the bad winter [Smith, I, pp. 125–6].
- 17 PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury* [Barker p. 879].
- 18 PBB's sketch of [sunset over seashore] dated. This appears at the end of two pages of Angrian prose [A & S p. 312]. The date is placed half way down the page [VN, II, pp. 17–23].
- 20 CB writes to EN, commenting on EN's recent visit to London [Smith, I, pp. 126–8]. She asks for information on the number of players in the 'kings Military Band'. This was once thought to be for PBB's benefit, but there is no trace of such an implication in the manuscript [Smith, I, p. 128].
- 22 PB's earlier letter (see above, 17 February), in answer to points made by Rev. John Winterbotham, minister of West Lane Baptist Chapel, Haworth, is published in the *Leeds Mercury* [Barker, p. 879].
- 25 PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury* aiming to close down correspondence with the minister of West Lane [Barker, pp. 879–80]. For publication date, see below.

March

- 1 A vestry meeting at Haworth adopts a resolution that a prison be opened in Haworth [MOS, p. 321].
- 3 PBB dates 'The Pass of Thermopylae' [VN, II, pp. 6–7].
- 8 PB's letter of 25 February published in the *Leeds Mercury*. As well as the controversy with Mr Winterbotham, this letter deals with penal reform [Barker, pp. 880–1].

- 20 CB finishes *High Life in Verdopolis*, begun on 20 February [CA, p. 39].
- 23 A new church organ is inaugurated at Haworth with a performance of Handel's *Messiah* [Barker, pp. 210 and 877].

May

During the month CB draws 'Bolton Abbey' and 'Kirkstall Abbey'. Both these are copies from engravings, but both show a personal interest in places known to CB [A & S, pp. 228–9].

During the month PBB probably begins a very long untitled prose work generally called 'Angria and the Angrians', and so headed in square brackets by VN throughout. The work runs through a number of sections which are not clearly identified by the author, and have been splendidly organized by VN.

- 1 (Thu) CB's poem 'For the green wood & lonely glen', an early version of the following, dated [CA, p. 89]
- 2 CB's poem 'The Death of Darius Codomanus' dated [CA p. 88].
- 5 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' from Handel's *Messiah* bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 11 (probably) Duet in D for four hands bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 20 (possibly) 'Unto us a Child is Born' bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 28 CB's 'Corner Dishes' begun [Barker, p. 877; CA, p. 7].
- 30 CB's 'A Peep into a Picture Book' dated [CA, p. 53].

June

(possibly) CB and PBB go to Leeds with Patrick to visit the exhibition at Leeds of the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. Their visit is reported originally by Leyland (Vol. I, p. 130) who suggests that PBB and CB drew inspiration from this supposed visit. It is possible that Leyland heard this from his brother, who knew PBB, but it cannot be firmly substantiated. However, there is support in A & S, (p. xxii) who say that CB exhibited two pencil drawings.

- (Date uncertain, possibly 1 or 15) 'Symphony', 'And the angel said', 'And suddenly there was with the angel', and 'Glory to God' from Handel's *Messiah* bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 15 CB's poem 'The tropic twilight falls' dated [CA, p. 153].
CB's story 'A Day Abroad' dated [CA, p. 30].

- 16 CB's 'Corner Dishes' finished [Barker, p. 877; CA, p. 7].
- 17 CB's watercolour of AB dated [A & S, p. 230].
- 19 CB writes to EN, praising EN's unenthusiastic reaction to London [Smith, pp. 128–9].
- 21 CB's poem 'The wave of Death's river' dated and included in the following [CA, p. 165]
- 21 CB begins *The Spell: An Extravaganza* [CA, p. 61].
- 26 PBB's ink drawing 'Justice' and story *The Wool is Rising* dated [A & S, p. 313]. This includes the poem 'Backward I look upon my life' [VN, II, p. 27].
- 26 PBB writes and dates 'I saw her in the Crowded hall' [VN, II, p. 38].

July

- 4 CB writes to EN, with a list of recommendations for EN's reading list. EN had asked CB for suggestions for improvement; on the personal side CB is reluctant to respond, but she is confident in her educational advice [Smith, I, pp. 129–32].
- 17 CB's poem 'The sun is on the Calabar' dated [CA, p. 127].
- 20 (Sun) Rev. William Morgan preaches at Haworth church [Barker, p. 879].
- 21 CB finishes and dates *The Spell* [CA, p. 61].

August

- 9 PBB finishes 'Thermopylae' [VN, PBB, pp. 90–5].
- 11 Patrick writes to Earl of Harewood, asking for a magistrate for Haworth in view of the populous and potentially turbulent nature of the district. This may have been partly in order to enforce the Factory Acts [Barker, p. 880].
- 18 Presentation by a group of Yorkshire clergymen to Rev. Hammond Roberson [MS, p. 46].
- 23 CB's copy of E. Finden's engraving of 'Geneva' dated [A & S, p. 234].

September

- 11 PB entertains George Bull at the parsonage. Bull defends himself against the charge of being a 'Tory demagogue', levelled by Rev. John Winterbotham, Baptist minister [Barker, p. 218].
- 12 PBB writes about a Reform Ministry in Verdopolis [Barker pp. 224, 881].

- 15 CB's speech by Zamorna from her volume *The Scrap Book* dated [CA, p. 21].
 - 16 Possible date of PBB's 'Speech to the people of Angria' in [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, p. 239].
- (This or the next month) PBB draws a profile of a man in the margin of a prose fragment [A & S, p. 313].

October

PBB's poem 'The Angrian Welcome' possibly written on the same paper as the above [VN, II, pp. 262–3].

- 7 CB's poem 'Neath the palms in Elah's valley' ('Saul') dated [CA, p. 147].
- 8 CB's poem 'The Crypt, the Nave, the Chancel past' dated and included in the following [CA, p. 86].
- 9 PBB completes and dates 'Thermopylae' [VN, II, pp. 10–16].
- 14 CB's story 'My Angria and the Angrians' (includes the poem 'Hurrah for the Gemini') dated [CA pp. 50 and 101]. It is in this work that CB gives a brief satiric picture of herself and her sisters, seen through the eyes of 'Benjamin Patrick Wiggins'. CB herself is 'a broad dumpy thing', EJB (called 'Jane') 'lean and scant' and AB 'nothing, absolutely nothing' [WGBB, p. 82; Barker, pp. 207–8].
- 15 CB's copy of W. Finden's engraving of an 'English Lady' dated [A & S, p. 237].
- 30 CB's 'A Brace of Characters' in her volume *The Scrap Book* dated [CA p. 26].

November

- 3 'All we like sheep' from Handel's *Messiah* bought for or by EJB and AB [Brontë Music].
- 10 CB receives a letter from Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 133–4].
- 10 CB writes to EN, a letter in which she discusses local gossip and writes severely about the 'sin of dancing' [Smith, I, pp. 133–4].
- 17 The inaugural meeting of Haworth Temperance Society takes place [Barker p. 880].
- 26 EB and AB write the first known 'diary paper' or 'journal' paper, which gives the names of some of their pets, and mentions Gondal on the first known occasion. The paper is in some ways charming, but does not say much for the standards of literacy of EJB in particular, who was the prime

mover in its composition. It has become the object of minute study by most Brontë biographers and is indeed a landmark from which deductions can be made concerning the sisters' attitudes to inventive writing and imagination. Unlike their other 'diary papers' it was not produced on one of their own birthdays. A & S (pp. 397–8) note the small drawing 'done by Anne', which may have been on the scrap of paper before it was used for the diary paper.

- 27 PB writes to Rev. Henry Heap, Vicar of Bradford, about the magistracy issue [Barker, p. 880].

December

- (probably) PBB writes 'History stood by her pillar of fame' [VN, II, pp. 276–7].
- 5 CB's piece 'Extracted from the ... Northern Review' is dated and other work is probable but undated [CA, pp. 33 and 71].
- 6 CB's 'Letter to [the] Marquis of Ardrah' (fictional) in *The Scrap Book* dated [CA, p. 47].
- 6 (approx.) PBB's poem 'Morn comes and with it all the stir of morn' was written [VN, II, pp. 287–8].
- 17 PBB's copying date for 'A Narrative of the First War' [VN, II, pp. 278ff].

1835

PBB now seemed ready to take his artistic training a stage further, entering a course at the Royal Academy, but in the first of his many major failures of confidence, he did not enrol, though even the most cautious biographer on this point, Juliet Barker (p. 881), agrees that he went to London at this time. CB began teaching, thus taking her first steps in a profession in which she never really felt happy. EJB was sent to school for the second time, but even with CB as guardian and mentor, she could not tolerate the situation and fell ill. AB took her place, though there is difficulty deciding the precise date. All the sisters continued their drawing and CB continued writing fiction, maintaining a warm relationship with her old schoolmate EN. There is no evidence to cover the writing of the two younger sisters, whose imaginary world of Gondal was certainly in existence.

A number of undated sketches by PBB are ascribed to this year by A & S (pp. 320–3).

January

A General Election takes place, resulting in the election of Robert Peel as prime minister.

- (early) PBB completes [The Massacre of Dongole], part of [Angria and the Angrians] echoing PB's views on the Church of England [Barker, pp. 880–1].
- 12 CB writes to EN enthusiastically accepting an invitation to visit, though she is not able to name a date [Smith, I, p. 135].
- 17 AB's fifteenth birthday.
- 24 CB's 'Duke of Z and E. Percy' is signed and dated [CA, p. 31].

February

(dates uncertain) CB visits EN at Rydings, Birstall, calling at The Bull's Head in Bradford and inadvertently leaving an umbrella there [Smith, I, p. 137]. She seems likely to have stayed a fortnight.

- 13 Death of the Haworth sexton, William Brown. His son John, who followed him, was a crony of PBB's [MOS, p. 321].
- 13 CB copies 'When the dead in their cold graves are lying' [CA, p. 120]. She also copies Heber's poem 'From Greenland's icy mountains' [CA, p. 204]. There is a series of internal dates in [Angria and the Angrians] by PBB, showing the progress of the work. These include 19 and 24 January, 21 March and 9 April.

March

- 4 CB paints and dates 'Lycidas', a copy of a Fuseli painting [A & S, p. 238]. In *BST*, Vol. 22, 1997, pp. 145–7, Dr D.H. Weinglass suggests that this was after a vignette version of Fuseli's 'Lycidas' published in *The Penny Magazine* for 14 July 1832.
- 11 There is a Haworth Vestry meeting with PB in the chair to consider provision for ten poor children to benefit from the revenues from land at Withens [MOS, p. 321].
- 13 CB writes to EN and discusses the political situation fiercely [Smith, I, pp. 136–7].
- 16 CB completes and dates an extract from 'the Verdopolitan Intelligencer' [CA, p. 38].

April

- 1 EN writes to CB but CB does not receive the letter, as it was tucked inside an umbrella which had been left at the Bull's Head, Bradford [Smith, I, p. 137].
- 2 Death of Rev. John Buckworth, friend of Patrick Brontë and Vicar of Dewsbury during Patrick's curacy there [Smith, I, p. 135].
- 11 An address to Sir Robert Peel, instigated by PB, is published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, p. 880].
- 17 (probably) Quadrilles by Henry Smith bought for or by EJB and possibly AB [Brontë Music].
- 17 (probably) R. Andrews' 'Variations on Jennie's Bawbee' bought for or by EJB [Brontë Music].
- 19 Easter Sunday.
- 21 CB's nineteenth birthday.
- (end) Lord Morpeth, the Whig candidate, appears at an election rally at Haworth. CB is not impressed [Smith, I, p. 138].

May

- 3 (Mon) CB finally receives the delayed letter from EN [Smith, I, p. 137].
- 7 CB writes to Mary Taylor; the letter is not extant [Smith, I, p. 138].
- 8 CB writes to EN discussing politics further during the election campaign for the West Riding seat [Smith, I, pp. 137–9].
- 10 PBB's character 'Northangerland' is recorded by the author as writing from 'Alnwick Castle' [VN, II, p. 379].
- 30 PBB visits Liverpool and buys a copy of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* [A & S, p. xxii].

June

- 3 PBB begins 'The Life of Alexander Percy', Vol. II [Barker, p. 882; VN, II, pp. 148–85].
- 17 The election fever at Haworth is transposed to Verdopolis in 'posters' by PBB [WGBB, p. 89].
- 26 PBB's eighteenth birthday.

July

- 2 CB writes to EN and she says the family is to 'break up' and be placed in various situations, including the suggestion

- that PBB might be 'placed at the Royal Academy' [Smith, I, pp. 139–41].
- 6 PB writes to his old friend Mrs Franks (Elizabeth Firth) and asks her to keep a watchful eye on CB and EJB at Roe Head and also states that he intends to send PBB to the Royal Academy [Smith, I, pp. 141–3].
- 21 (probably, or 1838) Overtures arranged for piano, including *Così fan Tutte*, *Don Giovanni*, *Marriage of Figaro* (Mozart) and *Prometheus* (Beethoven) bought for or by EJB [Brontë Music].
- 25 PBB is still engaged in his long Angrian narrative [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, p. 411].
- 29 CB goes to Roe Head to teach and EJB accompanies her as a pupil [Smith, I, p. 140].

August

- (probably) PBB writes a rough copy of a note to the Secretary of the Royal Academy asking for details of admission procedure [Barker, p. 226].
- 2 CB copies 'When the dead in their cold graves are lying' [CA, p. 120].

September

- 3 CB copies and dates a picture of a 'Scene on the Rhine' [A & S, p. 239].
- 7 PB writes to William Robinson, artist, promising that PBB will return to his studies the following week [MOS, p. 285, quoting letter at BPM].
- (possibly) PBB visits London. All authorities are agreed that Leyland's account (Vol. I, p. 144ff) cannot be totally set aside, and that the purpose of his visit was artistic ('to draw from the Elgin marbles, and to study the pictures at the Royal Academy and other galleries'). There is considerable discussion of this in Barker, (pp. 227–31), whose suggested date I am following. WGBB (Chapter 9) is less sceptical about PBB's reason for being in London.

October

- PBB writes 'Son of Heaven, in heavenly musing' (in 'The Life of Alexander Percy') [VN, II, pp. 164–5] and 'Life is a passing sleep' [VN, II, p. 180].

- 2 CB copies 'When the dead in their cold graves are lying'
[CA, p. 119].
- 3 PBB dates an untitled story by Henry Hastings [Barker,
p. 882].
- 6 PB writes to the Earl of Harewood concerning the vacant
magistracy, and distancing himself from the originators of a
petition he has signed [Barker, p. 884].
- 20 PB writes and dates 'On Halley's Comet in 1835' [MOS,
p. 352]. It seems that the practice of dating poetry at the
time of writing may have been adopted by the young
Brontës from their father.
- 23 EJB draws and dates two sketches of cows in a field.
Alexander and Sellars consider these were 'from life' [A & S,
pp. 376–7]. Barker, p. 883, considers these drawings possi-
ble evidence that EJB was at Haworth by this date.
- 27 AB sketches and dates an 'Oak Tree', probably a copy
[A & S, p. 398]. (See below for discussion of the significance
of this dated drawing).
- 29 (approx) EJB returns to Haworth from school. [ECG Chapter
VIII gives three months as the period she was at Roe Head].
(precise date uncertain) CB states in her [Roe Head Journal] 'About a
week since I got a letter from Branwell'. CA (p. 21) dates
this 1837, but Barker (p. 884) gives reasons to suggest that it
was probably written in autumn 1835.

It is impossible to date precisely AB's arrival at Roe Head as substitute for EJB. Barker (p. 883) proposes the 'Oak Tree' drawing as evidence that she was there by 27 October, and this is the view of Smith (I, p. 143). ECG (Chapter VIII) gives no date. Most biographers (including ECAB) seem to assume that the substitution would be immediate, though there is no firm evidence for this. However, if fees had been paid, it would seem wasteful to keep the school place unoccupied. On the basis of discussion in A & S (pp. 398–9) it seems that this drawing and the 'Elm Tree' (below) are from the same source. The Elm Tree drawing emanates from the family of Miss Wooler, the family who owned Roe Head. It does therefore seem probable that both these drawings were done at Roe Head, and this would be evidence that AB was there by 27 October.

November

PBB writes 'Thou art gone, but I am here', and 'Frozen fast is my heart at last' [VN, II, p. 183].

- 10 (probably) PBB writes 'Blow ye wild winds wilder blow' [VN, II, p. 199].
- 13 AB sketches and dates an 'Elm Tree', probably a copy [A & S, p. 399].
- 16 PBB writes to William Robinson apologizing for delay in completing the current picture, and enquiring about a course of lessons the following winter. The letter is followed by a note from PB indicating that he wishes PBB to go to London during the summer of 1836 [Margaret Smith in *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 7 (1996)].
- 17 PBB finishes and dates 'The Life of Alexander Percy, Volume II' [Barker, p. 882; VN, II, p. 185].
- 23 (probably) Sykes' 'Favourite Waltzes' for Piano bought for or by EJB [Brontë Music].
- 28 This is the last internal date in [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, p. 443].

December

- 8 PBB writes to *Blackwood's* seeking employment. He suggests that he might be taken on to replace James Hogg [Barker, p. 882].
- 14 CB draws a female head, possibly before the end of term at Roe Head [A & S, p. 239].
- 17 PBB writes 'Now then I am alone' [VN, II, p. 444].
- 18 PBB completes the poem 'How fast that Courser fled by' [Barker, p. 882; VN, II, pp. 445–53].
- 19 CB copies and dates (from Haworth) 'We wove a web in childhood' [CA, p. 166] and its prose continuation, 'I now heard the clatter of hoofs on the hard milk-white road' [CA, p. 42].
- 28 Last internal date in [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, p. 443].
- 29 CB copies and dates a view of 'Aldborough, Suffolk' [A & S, p. 242].

1836

This is the year from which we have the first extant examples of the poetry of EJB and AB. The manuscripts appear to be copies and it is impossible to assert that these were the first poems that these younger sisters wrote. The current dates have been accepted since at least

Hatfield (1941). He does place an undated fragment beginning 'Cold, clear and blue' [DR, p. 206] before the first dated poem. However, this appears in an early copy manuscript, and there is absolutely no way of dating the original. It seems very improbable that the earliest poems dated in DR's edition were actually the first (this point is taken up in Barker, p. 259).

A & S (p. 243) consider that it was either in 1835 or 1836 that CB made a watercolour copy of 'The Atheist viewing the body of his wife', a lithograph by A. B. Clayton. The painting is discussed as contributory evidence for the close co-operation between CB and PBB during 1836 in Alexander, C., *Early Writings*, pp. 154–5.

WGGB refers to an article in the *Bradford Observer* of 17 February 1894, in which the behaviour of PBB as a Sunday School teacher is described. It seems likely that he was teaching in Sunday School during 1836. His methods may throw light on his subsequent experiences teaching at Broughton and Thorp Green. The article also emphasizes that PBB was thought of as Irish.

CB's manuscript poem 'Turn not now for comfort here' is possibly to be ascribed to this year [CA p. 162].

At an unknown date in 1836 PB's 'A Brief Treatise on the Best Time and Mode of Baptism' is printed by R. Aked of Keighley. The pamphlet was in answer to The Rev. Moses Saunders of Hall Green Strict Baptist Church, Haworth. The tone is bantering and humorous. One issue jocularly dealt with is PB's Irish origin [MOS, pp. 353–5]. During this year the Mill Hey Primitive Methodist Chapel was built at Haworth Brow Side. [KE, p. 18].

January

During the vacation from Roe Head, CB writes poems in a volume called 'The Wounded Stag and other poems' [CA, pp. 114, 141, 172].

- 1 PBB begins [A New Year's Day story] concerning his new hero, Henry Hastings [WGGB, p. 120]. He also writes 'Storms are waking to inspire us' [VN, II, p. 462].
- 7 PBB completes and dates 'A New Year Story', adding some words in Greek and the opening line of Homer's *Iliad*, and sketches male heads [A & S, p. 324; VN, II, p. 454].
- 19 The final poem in CB's series written and dated, including 'But once again, but once again I'll bid the strings awake' [VN CB, p. 191].
- 20 CB and AB return to Roe Head [Smith, I, p. 144 on the evidence of the 'Farewell to Haworth' of the previous entry].

After 20 Charlotte begins her [Roe Head Journal], earliest date given 4 February, but apparently begun before this [CA, p. 71; Barker p. 886]. She writes at 7 in the evening at a time when the pupils are doing lessons in the schoolroom. Her thoughts quickly switch to Angria. The 'Roe Head Journal' consists of a series of small autobiographical fragments written between January 1836 and early 1837. CA (p. 21) prefers a later date for a final section; the whole question of dating is difficult in view of the fragmentation of the manuscripts.

February

- 1 PBB is proposed as a freemason at the Three Graces Lodge [Barker, p. 245, WGBB, p. 120, referring to Hustwick, W., 'Branwell Brontë and Freemasonry' in *BST*, Vol. 13, Part 66 (1956), pp. 19–23]. During this year spent at home PBB was much involved with the Masonic order, attending almost every meeting in 1836 and 1837 [Hustwick, p. 21]. The status of the members of the lodge is discussed in WGBB, pp. 121–2.
- 4 (afternoon) CB writes Angrian material in her 'Roe Head Journal' [Barker, p. 886].
- 8 John Brown and Joseph Redman of the Three Graces Lodge write to appeal against a decision by the Provincial Lodge at Wakefield to refuse admission to PBB. They mention a claim by PBB that he intends to visit the Continent during the year. There is no way of evaluating this claim, but it shows that the young Brontës understood the value of a Continental visit some years before they went to Belgium.
- 10 AB draws and dates a ruined church. This is the first of a series of five drawings which have survived from this year, four of which are dated precisely with dates which could fall within Roe Head terms [A & S, p. 401].
- 10 PBB sketches three heads, with some poetry, 'The moon in glory mounts above'. (These are trial lines for a longer poem, VN, II, p. 476 [A & S, p. 324].) He also writes and dates several lines of writing later abandoned [VN, II, p. 479].
- 18 'O ma chère Augustine', air for piano by H. Hertz bought for or by either EJB or AB [Brontë Music].
- 29 PBB is initiated as a freemason [WGBB, p. 120].

March

- 2 PBB finishes his narrative poem 'Misery', which he was to send to *Blackwood's* [Barker, p. 246; VN, II, pp. 487–95].
- 6 PB joins the committee of the Keighley Mechanics' Institute [MS].
- 22 AB draws and dates a landscape 'with castles' [A & S, p. 402].
- 23 PBB continues and dates a further part of [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 496–9].
- 28 PBB passed as a freemason [WGGB, p. 120].

April

During the month PBB writes a fragment beginning 'more sorrowing over the dreams' [VN, II, pp. 518–20] and a further piece beginning 'O Lord God Creator of Heaven and Earth' [Barker, p. 886; VN, II, pp. 521ff].

- 3 Easter Sun: CB and AB are probably home for a short vacation. Barker (p. 249) considers 'Passing Events', begun on 21 April, to have been written during the Easter holiday. PBB is engaged on similar material.
- 8 PBB writes for a second time to *Blackwood's* seeking employment. On this occasion he encloses parts of his poem 'Misery'. This is the first known occasion on which PBB sought publication [Barker, pp. 246–7].
- 20 PBB is promoted to the degree of 'Fellowcraft' in the Masonic order [Barker, p. 247].
- 21 (possibly) CB writes the first part of 'Passing Events' [CA, pp. 52, 105. However, note Bemelmans, J., in *BST*, Vol. 20, Part III, where reasons are given for suggesting that this could have been a day or two earlier].
- 21 CB's twentieth birthday.
- 22 CB writes Section II–IV of 'Passing Events' [Bemelmans, *BST*, Vol. 20, Part III, p. 122].
- 23 CB writes Section V of 'Passing Events' [Bemelmans, loc. cit].
- 25 (Mon) PBB becomes 'Master Mason' after which he acts as secretary at the Three Graces Lodge [Barker, p. 247; WGGB, p. 120].
- 29 (possibly) CB completes the first part and writes the second part of 'Passing Events' including the poem 'The chapelle stood and watched the way' [CA, p. 52, but see Bemelmans,

loc. cit.]. CA (p. 85) divides the manuscript into three sections, the third undated.

May

- 4 (Wed) PBB writes 'Before Jehovah's awful throne' ('Ashworth's hymn') [VN, II, p. 522]. He writes a continuation of his work [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 523ff].
- 10 CB writes to EN apologizing for not replying to a letter received and commenting on her own 'goodness' and imagination [Smith, I, p. 144].
- 17 PBB writes 'The sunshine of a summer sun' [VN, II, pp. 562–3].
- 22 (Whit Sunday) CB and AB remain at Roe Head (inference from CB's letter to EN ?28.5.36 [Smith, I, p. 145]).
- 28 (probably) CB writes to EN mentioning the oral tests at the school and responding to an invitation to visit [Smith, I, p. 145].
- 28 PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 536ff].
- 30 AB draws and dates a scene with man, dog and villa [A & S, p. 403].

June

- 2 (Thu) CB writes to Mrs Franks accepting an invitation to visit, but allotting only three days for it, presumably because she prefers to be at home with time to write [Smith, I, p. 146].
- 3 (probably) CB goes to visit Mary Taylor at Gomersall [Smith, I, p. 145].
- 4 PBB is continuing [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, p. 543].
- 5 (Sun) CB goes to stay with EN at Rydings overnight [Smith, I, p. 145].
- 6 (Mon) CB returns to Roe Head [Smith, I, p. 145].
- 13 PB writes to Mrs Franks countermanding CB's proposal and extending the proposed visit to Huddersfield [Smith, I, p. 147].
- 17 (Fri) End of term at Roe Head. CB and AB leave for Huddersfield where they stay at the vicarage for the next week. The church itself is in the process of being rebuilt [Barker p. 252; ECAB, pp. 48–9].
- 17–24 (possibly) Report by John Firth Franks that during this visit CB did not speak to him but AB brought toys to him in the

nursery [Barker, p. 886 discusses the possible date for this account].

- 21 (Tue) CB and AB visit Lascelles Old Hall, the home of Amelia Walker, her school friend [Smith, I, p. 149].
- 22 (possibly) CB and AB return from Huddersfield to Haworth. See below.
- 22 PBB writes 'Star of the West, whose beams arise' [VN, II, pp. 556–7]. He continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 555ff].
- 23 CB copies 'The Cross of Rivaulx', from a drawing by Rev. John Gilpin [A & S, p. 244]. She had already been influenced by this drawing, which suggests it was not at Huddersfield Vicarage, and casts doubt on the traditional dating.
- 24 (traditional date) CB and AB return from Huddersfield to Haworth. [However, Bemelmans (loc. cit.) suggests 22 June as the date of return from Huddersfield, citing the internal date (24 June) to imply that the second part of the 'Passing Events' manuscript was written between 24 and 29 June 1836].
- 28 Joseph Greenwood is appointed a magistrate after campaigning by PB and others [Smith, I, p. 150].
- 30 PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 569–79].

June/July

Earlier chronologies record a possible visit to Haworth by Ellen Nussey in early July (for example, MS, p. 51). Although in her letter to EN c. 7 July CB writes of a visit to come, there seems to be no clear evidence that the visit ever took place.

July

PBB writes 'My Ancient Ship upon my Ancient Sea' and 'Hours and days my heart has lain' [VN, II, pp. 580–1].

- 7 (Tue) (probably) CB writes to EN concerning a possible visit and giving details of the Lascelles Hall visit [Smith, I, pp. 148–9]
- 12 EJB writes and dates 'Will the day be bright or cloudy?' [There is no reason to believe that this was the first poem EJB had ever written. DR, p. 31].
- 13 PBB finishes and dates 'Still and bright in twilight shining' [VN, II, pp. 588–96].
- 19 CB completes and dates 'And when you left me what thoughts I had then ...' [CA, pp. 78–9]

- 22 CB writes to Miss Ann Greenwood, daughter of Joseph Greenwood, proposing a visit [Smith, I, p. 149].
- 22 PBB writes a section of Angrian history, the death of Mary Percy. This was still of interest to CB at Roe Head, as she writes in her [Roe Head Journal] in October [Barker, pp. 260, 887].
- PBB completes and dates 'Through the hoarse howling of the storm' [VN, II, pp. 597–601]. He then continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 601–4].

August

By this time Ellen Nussey has moved from Rydings to Brookroyd. The evidence for the date of the move is slight: CB's letter to EN beginning 'Dear Ellen when your note arrived' and addressed to 'Brook-royd' is undated and hard to place, though it is clear that it must have been written about this time [Smith, I, pp. 150–1].

- 8–13 PBB continues work on [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 605–9]. 11 (Thu) CB, now returned to Roe Head, begins the the next phase of the 'Roe Head Journal' with this date. She records this bright summer day during which she has been teaching grammar (parsing) to three unreceptive pupils. She hears the bells of Huddersfield parish church, but is not able to shut out her imaginary world and sees dew 'not yet dried off the field', 'grand old oaks' and thorn trees [CA, p. 23; Barker, p. 255]. Later, she is able to retire to her room and it is then that the 'detached thoughts' of Angria overtake her.
- 20 Date of Chapter IV in the current part of [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, p. 655].

September

- 3 (Sat) PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 609ff].
- 13 PBB acts as secretary at a Masonic meeting [WGBB, p. 121]
- 19 PBB writes and dates a further episode in [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, pp. 613ff].
- 24 (Sat) CB writes a draft letter to EN but does not send it [Smith, I, p. 151].
- 26 (Mon) CB writes to EN mentioning the unsent letter, and that she had been aware of EN's brother George at Mirfield Church the previous Sunday because of his cough. It is not clear which Sunday she refers to [Smith, I, p. 152].

- 29 A report is published in the *Bradford Observer* of a meeting about Church Rates at Haworth. The issue was to recur for many months [Barker, p. 887].

October

- (probably) CB writes her short poem 'Look into thought' [VN CB, p. 209]. This follows a prose fragment which may be dated to about the same time, beginning 'I am just going to write because I cannot help it', which describes windy weather, and recalls that PBB and EJB, at Haworth, can feel the same wind [CA, p. 41].
- 4 (Tue) PBB writes 'Behold the waste of waving sea' [VN, II, pp. 670–4].
- 14 CB finishes the 'Roe Head diary', recording the nature of her pupils and the 'stupidity' of the atmosphere, and dates it [CA, p. 23; Barker, p. 255].
- 14 (approx.) (probably) CB writes to EN, describing weather similar to that in the Diary [Smith, I, p. 153].
- after 14 (probably) CB writes to EN, mentioning her concern that if Calvinism were to be true she would be an 'outcast' [Smith, I, pp. 154–5]. The letter has formed the basis of a discussion about CB's theological attitudes, and there is no agreement about where the 'Calvinist' influence originated. One possibility is the poems of William Cowper. It is not now generally believed that Elizabeth ('Aunt') Branwell could have held such views.

November

- 5 (Sat) PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury* re church rates. His letter is pragmatic [Barker, pp. 258, 887].
- 11 PBB regards himself as sad about the death of Mary Percy in a fragment beginning 'Thus then has departed from among us' [Barker, p. 887]. He ends the current section of [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, II, p. 624].
- 20 A new Primitive Methodist chapel is opened at Mill Hey, Haworth [Barker, p. 257; KE, p. 18]. The building was to remain until 1870. It is possible that this chapel is one cause for the anti-Methodist stance in some of CB's and PBB's works during the rest of this year.
- 29 PBB begins a further section of [Angria and the Angrians]. This includes the poem 'Sing Hey for Cock Robin' [VN, II, pp. 630ff].

December

Before AB begins to write in her manuscript book, PB writes a note 'See all that is written in this Book, must be in a good, plain and legible hand. P.B.' The implication is that AB too has been writing in 'Brontë small script', though we have no poem manuscripts before this date. (However, the source of our knowledge of this manuscript is only a twentieth-century transcript).

AB writes 'Verses by lady Geralda, a Gondal poem [EC, pp. 49–51].

5 (Mon) and 6 CB writes to EN once again returning to a religious theme [Smith, I, pp. 155–7].

9 CB is involved in finishing the half year's lessons at Roe Head, and in processing 'Geographical Problems' [Smith, I, p. 157].

10 PBB writes 'Queen Mary's Grave' [VN, II, pp. 675–7].

13 EJB writes 'high waveing heather' on a day when a very strong wind is recorded in the area of Haworth. This is early evidence for EJB's poetic stimulus [DR, p. 31].

14 CB writes to EN, and mentions that this is the day the school breaks up. Miss Wooler gives a good conduct prize to AB, inscribing it with the date [Smith, I, 157–8]. Little is known of AB's life at Roe Head in 1836. She draws or copies a drawing of the house itself, possibly in 1836, and apparently makes some friends, but no subsequent letters to these friends have come to light to compare with CB's series to EN [A & S, pp. 399–400].

15 AB draws and dates a landscape with hay wagon [A & S, p. 404. However, if they are correct in their suggestion that this must have been done at Roe Head, the date may be incorrect. This drawing, like the others in the series, is thought to be from a copy-book. If this was at Roe Head, AB may have copied most of the picture from the book, then finished and dated it at Haworth: this would preserve the suggested dating]. A further drawing by AB, showing a landscape with castle, bridge and female figure, is dated only to '1836'.

15 (probably) The Brontë servant, Tabby, falls in the street in snow on Haworth Main Street and dislocates her leg [EC & TW *Problems*, p. 30; Smith, I, p. 158]

16 PBB writes part of an Angrian episode, called 'from an interview between Greville and Percy'; this is a continuation of [Angria and the Angrians] [Barker, p. 887; VN, II, pp. 646ff].

- 17 PBB writes a further part of [Angria and the Angrians]: 'The war which for a space did fail'. The final parts seem to have been written between 17 December 1836 and 6 January 1837 [Barker, p. 887; VN, III, pp. 1–5].
- 20 PBB acts as Junior Warden in a Masonic Meeting at Haworth [WGBB, p. 121].
- 24 CB begins an Angrian story commencing 'Reader I'll tell you what – my heart is like to break' [CA, p. 55].
- 29 CB writes to EN with the news of Tabby's fall. The accident is given by CB as the reason for not inviting EN to stay at Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 158–9].
- 29 CB writes to Robert Southey asking for comment on her literary talent. The letter is lost and its contents can only be deduced from Southey's reply [Smith, I, p. 160].

1837

Firm chronology for 1837 has been very difficult to establish, and several traditional dates have been overturned by modern scholarship. Two events which are often ascribed to 1837 but which did not in fact occur until 1838 are the move by Miss Wooler's school from Roe Head to Dewsbury Moor and the departure of EJB to teach at Law Hill near Halifax. These are both important dates for Brontë biography, and the latter is crucial for the understanding of EJB's poetry, since it establishes clearly that poems of late 1838 which appear to be autobiographical actually are so. This issue will be discussed further in Appendix C.

During this year PBB is engaged in putting together three manuscript volumes of his existing poetry. These have all been included in VN.

January

CB writes 'Arranging in long lost drawers' [CA, p. 118].

CB writes 'Charge on the enemy' [CA, p. 85] and completes ['The Return of Zamorna'] [Barker, p. 887]. She writes 'Lady-bird! lady-bird! fly away home' [CA, p. 107, Barker, p. 887].

CB writes warmly to EN from Roe Head concerning religion [Smith, I, pp. 162–3 where there is discussion of the dating].

4 (Wed) PBB writes to *Blackwood's* in ranting tones pressing for a personal interview [Smith, I, p. 162].

6 PBB finishes his Angrian episode begun on 16 December 1836 [Barker, p. 887; VN, III, pp. 5ff].

- 9 CB writes and dates 'Well the day's toils are over, with success' [CA, p. 166].
- 10 PBB sends 'The Struggles of the Flesh with Spirit Scene I – Infancy' with a letter to Wordsworth [Smith, I, pp. 160–1].
- 13 PBB writes part of 'Sleep, mourner, sleep!' [VN, III, pp. 14–16].
- 17 CB pencils two poems 'On the bright scenes around them spread' and '& few have felt the avenging steel' inside the front cover of her copy of *Grammatical Exercises, English and French* [Barker, p. 887].
- 19 (approx.) PBB draws a sketch map and writes part of his poem 'Sleep mourner sleep' [A & S, p. 326].
- 21 The *Leeds Intelligencer* publishes a poem thought to be by PB, 'Ode to that Unruly Member, the Tongue'. The piece is signed Jan. 14th 1837 [Barker, pp. 265, 888]
- 23 PBB continues his [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, III, pp. 17ff].
- 27 (Fri) PBB minutes a meeting of the Haworth Operative Conservative Society [Barker, p. 88; *Sixty Treasures*, p. 38; VN, III, p. 21].

February

- EJB writes and dates 'Redbreast early in the morning' [DR, p. 32].
PB attends a public meeting and attacks the New Poor Law [reported in *The Times* 27 February, Barker, p. 888].
- 9 (Thu) PBB writes 'Well! I will lift up my eyes once more' [VN, III, pp. 24–30].
 - 12 PBB minutes a further meeting of Haworth Operative Conservative Society [Barker, p. 888; VN, III, p. 22].
 - 20 (possibly) CB writes to EN concerning EN's departure for a visit to London [Smith, I, pp. 164–5; date originates from ECG].
 - 22 PB chairs a meeting to protest against the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 [Barker, pp. 265–6].
 - 27 A meeting at Hall Green chapel concerning Church Rates is attended by PB [Barker, p. 266].

March

- During this month CB continues the 'Roe Head Journal' [CA, p. 50].
- 1 (Wed) PBB writes and dates 'Alone she paced her ancient hall' [VN, III, pp. 31–6].

- 6 EJB writes and dates 'There shines the moon' (probably first stanzas only) [DR, 32].
- 9 PBB changes the use of the Conservative Society minute book to a poetry note book. He corrects and dates poems 'I see through Heaven'; 'By the still streams of Babylon'; 'I saw her in the Crowded hall'; 'Sail fast, sail fast, my gallant ship' [Barker, p. 888; VN, III, pp. 39–44].
- 10 PBB transcribes and corrects 'Augusta! though I'm far away'; 'Shine on us, God of Angria, shine'; 'History sat by her pillar of fame'; 'Morn comes and with it all the stir of morn'; 'We leave our bodies in the Tomb' [VN, III, pp. 46–58, 156–7].
- 12 Southey, in Keswick, replies to CB's letter [Smith, I, pp. 162, 165–8].
- 16 CB writes to Southey again [Smith, I, pp. 168–70].
- 21 EJB receives and readdresses the second letter from Southey to CB [Barker, p. 888].
- 22 Southey's second reply is received by CB [Smith, I, pp. 162, 170].

April

- (possibly) CA writes 'Dream of the West' [CA, p. 89].
- 14 (Fri) PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, III, pp. 59ff].
- 29 CB writes and dates an early version of 'Apostacy' [CA, p. 80].

May

- (Probably) CB writes 'She was alone that evening', 'He could not sleep', 'I scarce would let her restless eyes', 'I thought in childhood', 'No harp on earth can breathe a tone', 'This ring of gold', 'When thou sleepest, lulled in night' [CA, pp. 98, 103, 125, 127, 149, 158, 167].
- 2 (Tue) PBB corrects and dates 'Blow ye wild winds, wilder blow' ('An hour's musing') [VN, III, pp. 61–8].
- 4 PBB begins 'Calm and clear the day declining' [TW, p. 285].
- 11 The Haworth curate, William Hodgson, signs the register for the last time before moving to Colne [Barker, p. 269].
- 12 CB writes and dates ' 'Tis not the air I wished to play (part of 'The Teacher's monologue') [CA, p. 156].
- 14 CB writes and dates 'If thou be in a lonely place' [CA, p. 153].

- 14 PBB corrects and copies 'Thermopylae's tremendous Height'; 'Son of Heaven, in heavenly musing'; 'Life is a passing sleep'; 'Thou art gone, but I am here'; 'Frozen fast is my heart at last'; 'Now then I am alone' [VN, III, pp. 71–7]. These poems were mainly composed in 1835.
- 15 CB writes and dates 'The room is quiet thoughts alone' [CA, p. 156].
- 16 PBB corrects and dates 'List to the sound that swells alone' [VN, III, pp. 76–7].
- 26 PBB corrects and copies 'Storms are waking to inspire us'; 'Alone upon Zamorna's plain'; 'Before Jehovah's awful Throne' ('Ashworth's Hymn'); [VN, III, pp. 78–84].
- 27 PBB corrects and dates 'Star of the West, whose beams arise'; 'Now heavily in clouds comes on the day' [VN, III, pp. 85–7].
- 30 PBB corrects and transcribes 'Through the hoarse howling of the storm' [VN, III, p. 89].
- 30 CB writes and dates 'Long ago I wished to leave' [CA, p. 144].

June

CB writes 'What is she writing?' [CA, p. 109]. She writes to EN, not from Dewsbury Moor as suggested in earlier editions of CB's letters, but from Roe Head, concerning various books, including the 'Memoir of Wilberforce' [Smith, I, pp. 171–2].

It is possible that it is during this month that James Brontë, PB's brother, visits Haworth from Ireland, but this authenticated visit is hard to date [BIB, p. 107].

- 4 (Sun) CB writes 'Is this my tomb, this humble stone?' [CA, p. 104].
- 8 CB writes to EN, who is probably still in London [Smith, I, p. 173].
- 10 EJB writes and dates 'The night of storms has passed' [DR, p. 34].
- 16 PBB completes and dates 'The Clouds are rolled away – the light' having apparently started it on 4 May [VN, III, p. 99].
- 16 PBB transcribes a version of [The Death of Nelson] apparently written on 4 May [VN, III, pp. 95–8].
- 20 Accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of Great Britain.
- 26 PBB's twentieth birthday. EJB and AB write their diary paper. This is unusual in being written on PBB's birthday, while later ones are written on EJB's.

- 29 CB finishes and dates her fiction MS 'Julia' [CA, p. 45].
 29 CB finishes and dates 'Why should we ever mourn?' [CA, p. 168].

July

This month was traditionally associated with the move of Miss Wooler's school from Roe Head to Dewsbury Moor, but modern research has shown this to be incorrect.

CB draws 'Sketches of two women' [A & S, pp. 46–7].

PBB is traditionally still acting as secretary to the Masonic Lodge.

PBB dates (month only) 'Remember me when Death's dark wing' [VN, III, p. 107].

EJB writes 'I saw thee child one summers day' [DR, p. 36].

- 1 (Sat) AB writes and dates 'Fair was the evening and brightly the sun' [EC, pp. 52–9].
 9 'Contre Danses' by H. Herz bought for or by EJB [Brontë Music].
 11 (probably) CB writes 'Sister, you've sat there all day' [CA, p. 141].
 13 PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, III, pp. 117–18].
 19 PB writes to Mrs Taylor of Stanbury putting off a tea engagement because of the forthcoming visit of Lord Morpeth [Barker, p. 888].
 20 The Brontë family attend a meeting addressed by Lord Morpeth, the Whig candidate in the election. PB asks questions, while PBB intervenes excitedly. After the meeting PBB's effigy is carried round the streets, 'bearing a herring in one hand and a potato in the other' [Barker, p. 270].
 21 CB completes and dates a 28-page manuscript of 15,000 words including three poems [CA, pp. 35, 83, 136, 143].
 23 (Sun) Rev. W. M. Gilmor of Halifax gives two sermons at Haworth church [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].
 24 Henry Nussey, EN's brother, leaves his curacy in Dewsbury [Barker, p. 890].
 27 CB writes 'Stanzas in the death of a Christian' [CA, p. 153].
 28 PB writes a poem in the album of Miss Thomas of Haworth [MOS, p. 343].

August

EJB writes 'Alone I sat' [DR, p. 41] and 'The battle had passed from the height [DR, pp. 41–2]. CB and AB return to school at Roe Head.

- 7 (Mon) EJB writes and dates 'O God of Heaven! the dream of horror [DR, 38].
- 8 (probably) Nicolai's Sonata No. 3 bought for or by EJB [Brontë Music].
- 19 EJB writes and dates 'Lord of Elbe, on Elbe hill' [DR, p. 40].
- 27 PBB writes and dates a version of 'How Edenlike seem Palace Halls [VN, III, pp. 120–6].
- 31 AB draws and dates a child's head [A & S, p. 404].

September

- 9 (Sat) EJB draws and dates geometric figures [A & S, p. 378].
- 9 (probably) EJB draws sketches of buildings [A & S, p. 379].
- 11 Death of Elizabeth Franks (Firth), the Brontës' old friend and patron from Thornton.
- 21 Marriage of Miss Maria Patchett of Law Hill to Titus Senior Brooke of Dewsbury at Halifax Parish church. This may have caused a gap in the staffing of Law Hill school, and is an apparent reason for crediting the earlier date for EJB's employment there; however, it is not now obvious that there can be a connection between these events.

October

- AB writes 'A voice from the dungeon' [ECAB, pp. 60–1].
 (possibly) PBB applies for the post of usher at a school near Halifax. Leyland (Vol. I, p. 254) says that he obtained this post and retained it for a few months.
- EJB writes and dates 'Far away is the land of rest' and 'The old Church Tower' [DR, p. 44].
 (probably) CB continues with the 'Roe Head Journal' [CA, p. 21].
- 14 (Sat) EJB writes and dates 'A sudden chasm of ghastly light' [DR, p. 42].
 - 20 PBB writes a piece beginning 'I have lately remarked' [Barker, p. 890]. About this date he completes a poem, 'Cease, mourner, cease thy sorrowing for the dead' [VN, III, p. 168].
 - 22 William Wood, the Haworth carpenter, makes a frame for one of the parsonage pictures [JK, p. 77]. During the year (dates unknown) he has mended a window and door in the parsonage.
 - 31 PBB writes prose and poetry including 'of her who almost forty years ago' and 'Cease mourner cease' [Barker, p. 889, VNPBB, pp. 459–60; VN, III, p. 161].

November

(possibly) CB writes 'Gods of the old Mythology' [CA, p. 96].

EJB writes and dates 'Now trust a breast that trusts in you,' 'Sleep brings no joy to me', 'The night is darkening round me' [DR, pp. 45–6].

9 (Thu) PBB writes 'Song by Percy: Should old acquaintance be forgot' and so on, [VN, III, pp. 126–31].

15 AB draws and dates a second child's head [A & S, p. 405]. A further head, undated, may have been drawn at this time.

17 CB writes and dates 'A single word – a magic spring' [CA, p. 150].

December

EJB writes and dates 'O transient voyager of heaven', 'I die but when the grave shall press', and 'Awake! awake! how loud the stormy morning' [DR, pp. 49–51].

(probably) AB is ill at Roe Head. She is visited by James la Trobe, a Moravian minister. There is a great deal of controversy about this event. While La Trobe reports the trouble to have been gastric, CB sees it as similar to asthma. CB and AB return to Haworth for holidays and AB does not return.

13 (Wed) PBB writes and dates an early version of 'Why hold young eyes the fullest fount of tears [VN, III, p. 180].

14 EJB writes and dates 'O mother I am not regretting' [DR, p. 47].

15 (probably) PBB writes an early version of 'Upon that dreary winter's night' and 'The present day's sorrow' [VN, III, pp. 178–81].

18 PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, III, pp. 185ff].

25 PBB is the organist at a Masonic Christmas Day service.

30 PBB writes 'Among all the descriptions I have read' [Barker, p. 889; VN, III, pp. 186–93].

1838

During 1838 both CB and EJB encountered seminal experiences. CB, never happy with teaching, was left in charge of Dewsbury Moor school entirely alone for six weeks. This deepened her hypochondria, the onset of which may perhaps be dated to before Easter. Such depressions recurred through CB's life and would ultimately find expression in *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*. It is curious that although CB was given what

seems to be a final leaving present in May, nevertheless she returns to Dewsbury Moor in the autumn term. Miss Wooler remains the tenant of Roe Head at the 1838 valuation of Mirfield; she was rated for the house and homestead, plantation and 'New Wood'.

In the autumn EJB took up the only serious teaching post of her life, at Law Hill near Halifax. Though she may have been there for only three months (though a maximum of six months is possible), her encounter with the Patchett family and life outside Haworth affected her radically. She returned aware that poetry could be her medium. She had also met women who were acutely oriented towards thought and culture, and it is impossible that she would not have heard of Anne Lister, the intense and unconventional lesbian who lived at Shibden, the house on which EJB later modelled Thrushcross Grange in *Wuthering Heights*.

January

CB writes ' "O let me be alone," he said' [CA, p. 130] and 'The Voice of Lowood speaks' [CA, p. 165].

Earlier chronologies suggest that PBB is still taking lessons at this time from William Robinson, but this seems unlikely. Barker (p. 247), suggests that he had finished his pupillage with Robinson well before this time.

About this time PBB writes or revises 'An Analogy', 'Of earth below', 'Brothers and men' [VN, III, pp. 194ff].

- 4 (Thu) CB writes to EN regarding AB's illness and consequent disagreement with Miss Wooler [Smith, I, pp. 173–5].
- 4 William Wood, the Haworth carpenter, repairs a chair at the parsonage [JK, p. 77].
- 7 CB completes and dates 'Mina Laury' [Barker, p. 891], including 'Holy St Cyprian! thy waters stray [CA, p. 100].
- 17 AB's eighteenth birthday.
- 23 (probably) PBB writes 'There's many a grief', printed by Leyland, Vol. I, p. 204 [VN, II, p. 195].
- 24 AB writes and dates 'The Captive's Dream' [EC, p. 62].
- 26 AB writes and dates 'The North Wind' [EC, p. 63].
- 29 CB writes and dates 'There's no use in weeping' [Barker, p. 891; CA, p. 137].
- 30 CB leaves Haworth to return to her teaching post. The weather is extremely severe.

Barker discusses whether the school might have been moved to Heald's House, Dewsbury Moor. On balance, this seems probable [Barker, pp. 187–8].

February

(or late January) CB writes to EN consoling her for the death of her brother, William. Unfortunately there is no integral date or place of origin on the manuscript which might have helped to determine when exactly Miss Wooler's school moved from Roe Head [Smith, I, pp. 175–6].

23 (Fri) PB writes to John Driver of Chapel Street, Liverpool, requesting his influence to secure PBB a place in a bank [Margaret Smith in *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 7, 1996].

March

EJB writes and dates 'The wide cathedral Isles are lone' [DR, p. 52].

8 (Thu) PBB writes a continuation of 'The Life of Warner Howard Warner' begun in February [Barker, p. 891; VN, III, pp. 208ff].

13 EJB translates part of Virgil's *Aeneid*, dating her translation [BWH, p. 17]. This may perhaps be plausibly linked to the undated poem 'All day long but not with pain'. The poem occurs in a single leaf manuscript in the Taylor collection at Princeton University Library; a precise dating is at present impossible. See below, under June 1839, for comments on a possible link between EJB's Latin learning and that of PBB.

April

15 (Easter Sun) CB at home for the Easter holiday [Smith, I, p. 178].

21 CB's twenty-second birthday. About this date she is recalled to Dewsbury Moor [Barker, p. 288].

24 EJB paints and dates her painting of the dog, Keeper [A & S p. 380].

25 PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, III, pp. 215ff].

May

On her return to Dewsbury Moor, if not before Easter, CB is increasingly overcome with hypochondria. She is left by herself for 16 days in charge of the school [Barker, p. 288; Smith, I, p. 177].

EJB writes and dates 'This shall be thy lullaby' and 'Darkness was over Gondall' [DR, p. 57].

- 5 (Sat) CB writes to EN (at Cleveland Row, London) after a fruitless journey to Brookroyd to seek news of her friend. The Dewsbury postmark provides a *terminus ante quem* for the school move [Smith, I, p. 178].
- 9 EJB writes and dates 'Why do I hate that lone green dell?' [DR, p. 53].
- 12 PBB revises and completes and dates 'Even God – Lost Ship – is thy despair' [VN, III, p. 219].
- 14 PBB writes and dates 'At dead of midnight, drearily' [VN, III, pp. 223–31].
- 20 (Sun) EJB writes and dates 'O wander not so far away' [DR, p. 54].
- 21 EJB writes and dates 'Tell me, whacher, is it winter?' ('Gleneden's Dream') [DR, p. 55].
- 23 CB leaves Miss Wooler's school and is presented with Scott's *The Vision of Don Roderick* [Smith, I, p. 179]. It is not quite clear whether this was intended to mark the end of her employment at Miss Wooler's school, but she returns after the summer.
- (no precise date) PBB writes and dates 'Oh! on this bright Mayday morn' [VN, III, p. 232].

June

- EJB writes and dates 'None of my kindred now can tell' [DR, p. 58].
- 6 (probably) to 9 Mary and Martha Taylor visit the parsonage [Smith, I, p. 178]. CB is recovering from her depression.
- 7 (Thu) EN's brother, William, commits suicide [Smith, I, p. 176].
- 9 CB writes to EN concerning the Taylors' visit [Smith, I, pp. 178–9].
- 26 PBB's twenty-first birthday.
- 28 CB finishes and dates a further story of Charles Townshend; the manuscript consists of about 19,000 words and suggests that it had been an occupation of CB's since she returned from Miss Wooler's [CA, p. 61]. It includes also 'The Rumour of Invaders' [CA, p. 147] and 'Deep the Cirhala flows' [CA, p. 160].
- 28 Coronation of Queen Victoria.

July

- 7 (Sat) CB writes and dates 'All the summer plains of Angria were asleep in perfect peace' [CA, p. 144] and 'Tis the Siesta's languid hour' [CA, p. 159].

- 9 AB writes and dates 'The Parting' [EC, pp. 64–6].
- 10 AB writes 'The Lady of Alzerno's hall' [EC, pp. 66–8].
- 11 (Wed) EJB writes 'Well, narrower draw the circle round' [DR, p. 59].
- 21 CB completes and dates a 13-chapter manuscript on the Duke of Zamorna [CA, p. 32]; this includes 'Why do you linger ...?' [CA, p. 168] and 'Your mama's in the diary' [CA, p. 174].
- 22 William Morgan pays a visit to Haworth to preach an afternoon sermon. Barker suggests that PBB returned to Bradford with him and it was at this time that PBB first set up his studio there [Barker, p. 291]. The evening sermon was preached by Rev. William Hodgson, now of Christ Church, Colne [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].
- 31 PBB writes and dates 'Sir Henry Tunstall', beginning 'Tis only afternoon [Barker, p. 892; VN, III, pp. 233–45]. Earlier chronologies suggest that EJB was at Bradford at this time copying PBB's manuscripts. This is based on a misidentification of PBB's handwriting. Following this, PBB painted several portraits, which cannot be dated, including those of Mr and Mrs Isaac Kirby and Margaret Hartley [Barker, p. 292, A & S, pp. 327–36 giving dates 1838–39].

August

- 12 William Wood repairs the parsonage piano and provides gun rods for PB [JK, p. 77].
- 21 (Tue) AB writes and dates 'Verses to a child' [EC, pp. 69–71].
- 23 and following (approx) Edward Carter (aged 3) and Susan Carter (aged 1) stay at Dewsbury Moor [Smith, I, p. 181].
- 24 CB is visited at Dewsbury Moor by Ann Cook, about whom she writes in the following letter [Smith, I, p. 181].
- 24 CB writes to EN, who is at Batheaston, near Bath, from Dewsbury Moor describing her duty of 'teach – teach – teach' and saying that there will be changes at Dewsbury Moor next Christmas (when in fact CB leaves the school) [Smith, I, pp. 180–1].
- 30 (Thu) EJB writes and dates 'For him who struck thy foreign string' [DR, p. 61].

September

There is now general agreement that EJB went to Law Hill school somewhat before 2 October 1838, when CB's letter, now redated,

describes her duties there as if they were fairly fresh. This dating is quite crucial to a major Brontë concern, the status of EJB's and AB's poems with a Gondal background and their relation to more personal poetry written by each of them. Barker (p. 893) cites an advertisement in the *Leeds Mercury* dated 11 August which suggests that a school in Halifax required a teacher, but this may or may not be relevant.

23 (Sun) EJB writes and dates 'The evening sun was sinking down' [DR, p. 62].

(end) CB walks to Brookroyd from Dewsbury Moor to see relatives of EN [Smith, I, p. 182].

October

EJB writes and dates 'Where were you all?' [DR, p. 64]. Unlike the previous poem, this has a strong Gondal reference and suggests that EJB initially found some relief in turning to Gondal in the hard regime 'from six till eleven at night' mentioned by CB in the letter of 2 October.

2 (Tue) CB writes to EN at Batheaston concerning the Taylors' tour of Wales, and including details of the work regime of EJB at Law Hill [Smith, I, pp. 182–3].



2 Top Withens ('Wuthering Heights'), in Whiteley Turner's *A Springtime Saunter* (1913). At the time little was known of High Sunderland or Emily's stay at Law Hill.

- 9 PB writes to John Milligan concerning his dyspepsia and thanking him for a prescription received for it. PB shows himself careful in submitting to medical authority, and wishful to guard against any imputation of drinking immoderately [MOS, p. 373; Barker, pp. 297, 894].
- 17 (Wed) EJB writes and dates 'Geraldine, the moon is shining' [DR, p. 62] and 'I knew not 'twas so dire a crime' [DR, p. 63].

November

- 1 (Thu) EJB writes and dates 'Light up thy halls' [DR, p. 64].
- 5 EJB writes and dates 'O Dream, where art thou now?' [DR, p. 66].
- 11 (probably) EJB writes and dates 'Loud without the wind was roaring' [DR, p. 66]. There may be doubt as to the precise day of composition, since the earlier manuscript (E) does not include a precise date.
- (late) Anne Lister of Shibden arrives back home. Jill Liddington (*BST*, Vol. 26, Part I, April 2001, pp. 46ff), discusses whether Anne Lister could ever have met EJB. She makes it clear that even if time had been available, Miss Lister would have felt herself altogether of a different social class. Liddington also notes that this part of the Lister diary is extremely full and would have given details of any meeting there might, implausibly, have been.

December

It is impossible to date exactly a number of events experienced by EJB at Law Hill. Clearly substantiated ones are:

- (a) Daily walks with the pupils, towards Sladen Beck, near Shibden and probably further afield [Chadwick, pp. 123–8];
- (b) The presence of about twenty pupils, some of whom are presumably those appearing on the 1841 census;
- (c) That EJB was not disliked by the children, but had once stated she preferred the housedog [Chadwick, pp. 123–8].

Less easy to substantiate are:

- (a) That EJB was fascinated by High Sunderland Hall. It is quite probable that this could be seen from an upper window at Law Hill, but *Wuthering Heights* seems to show knowledge of the internal arrangements. High Sunderland was divided into nine tenancies in the 1841 census; the chief tenant seems to have been a farmer, James Ward.

- (b) That EJB could have attended concerts or other cultural events in Halifax. It is known that Elizabeth Patchett did so, and seems likely that her under-teacher might also attend. For other undatable matters at Law Hill see ECEJB, pp. 100ff.

For the suggestion in traditional chronologies that CB visits EN at Brookroyd this month, see note under 20 January 1839.

- 1 A fresh door is put on one of the cupboards at the parsonage by William Wood [JK, p. 77].
- 4 (Tue) EJB writes and dates 'A little while, a little while' [DR, p. 69]. The poem is agreed to have personal reference.
- 7 EJB writes and dates 'How still, how happy ...' [DR, p. 70].
- 15 PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, III, pp. 246–8].
- 18 EJB writes and dates 'The bluebell is the sweetest flower' [DR, p. 71].
- 22 CB leaves Dewsbury Moor school. The school would in future be run by Miss Eliza Wooler [Smith, I, 184].
- 22 PBB paints Thomas Parker of Haworth [A & S, pp. 327–8, and various other portraits, including that of John Feather reproduced in *The Brontë Society Gazette*, No. 30 (2002), p. 6].

1839

The year is dominated by the search to establish financially viable futures. CB and AB both find teaching posts, but both are unprepared for the difficulties of struggling with the education of unruly children. The circumstances in which AB leaves Blake Hall are unclear, and it is far from certain how long EJB stayed in her post at Law Hill. Despite early assertions and a small piece of evidence which might be taken to suggest that she is still there in early 1839, the production of poetry and the copying exercise which appears to have taken place in the early months seems to suggest that she did not return after Christmas [ECEJB, pp. 117–18].

CB initially rests after her final departure from Dewsbury Moor, but is eventually stirred to apply for a post, intended to be a temporary expedient.

This is also the year when PBB gives up his work as a portrait painter. Many of the portraits he produced in his Bradford studio cannot be dated. It is not clear quite why he decides to end this attempt at a career, and opinions will be divided on the quality and viability of his portrait painting. At the very end of the year he will follow his sisters

into teaching. Barker (p. 900) mentions the possibility that he had illegitimate children, including Mary Ann Judson of Buckley Farm, Stanbury, born in 1839. In view of his later alleged relations with Mrs Lydia Robinson, this is a rumour worth recording. The year is also notable for the appointment to a curacy at Haworth of William Weightman, who will figure in CB's letters and elsewhere for the next two or three years.

A portrait, dated only 1839, by PBB, of Robert Taylor of Stanbury, was donated to the Brontë Society in 1996 and is described in an article by Rachel Terry in *BST*, Vol. 26, Part 1 (2001), details of which will be found in the bibliography.

January

- (probably) EJB spends part of this month copying her poems and beginning to classify them. Small symbols appear on the manuscripts which may indicate different contexts. For a full discussion of the chronology of EJB's poem manuscripts, see Appendix D.
- 7 'A terrible great wind' in Yorkshire [VO, p. 1].
- 10 PB writes to Rev James Clarke Franks seeking help to find a clerical assistant. He does not want a Calvinist who might preach 'the appalling doctrines of personal Election and Reprobation' [MOS, pp. 292–3].
- 12 (Sat) EJB writes and dates 'The night was dark' [DR, p. 73].
- 17 Death of Rev. Henry Heap, Vicar of Bradford. It was thought possible at this point to separate Haworth from the parish of Bradford, and negotiations were begun [Barker, p. 297].
- 17 AB's nineteenth birthday
- 20 CB writes to EN declining an invitation to Brookroyd and inviting EN to Haworth. She alludes to Brookroyd as being in the same neighbourhood as Dewsbury Moor and this has given rise to an unfounded suggestion that she has visited Brookroyd late in 1838 [Smith, I, p. 184].
- 21 CB visits Amelia Walker and her family at Lascelles Hall near Huddersfield [Smith, I, p. 184].

February

- (possibly) Mary and Martha Taylor visit Haworth [Barker, p. 299].
- (before or about the third week) PBB gives up his studio in Bradford and returns to Haworth. This closes his career as a portrait

painter [Barker, pp. 302–3 discusses the probable date of this event giving reasons to support the date given; see also PBB's continuation of {Angria and the Angrians} in VN, III, pp. 249–59, which might possibly throw light on this issue]. During his stay in Bradford he had certainly been visited by CB, but it is impossible to discover any date for this [Barker, p. 305].

- 4 (Mon) (possibly) PBB writes 'drink to me only with thine eyes' [VN, III, p. 253].
- 21–23 PBB continues [Angria and the Angrians] [VN, III, pp. 259–72]. He continues this further in April.
- 24 CB begins to write 'a young man of captivating exterior' ('Captain Henry Hastings') [Smith, I, p. 186, Barker, pp. 299, 844].

March

Possibly EJB left Law Hill this month. A. M. F. Robinson in *Emily Brontë* (p. 60) states positively that she returned from Haworth after Christmas, but this is by no means certain; she may have taught her last lesson at Law Hill in December 1838. Barker (p. 895) has a brief discussion and (note 77) suggests that the lack of poetry between 12 January and 27 March 1839 may be due to EJB still teaching at Law Hill. This may be the case, but it is also possible that the time was taken up by the suggested copying exercise.

- 1 (Fri) Henry Nussey, EN's brother, decides to ask CB to marry him [Smith, I, p. 186, quoting Henry Nussey's diary].
- 5 CB writes to Henry Nussey turning down his proposal of marriage [Smith, I, pp. 185–6].
- 7 Henry Nussey comments on the influence of Calvinism in his diary [TWRR, p. 21 quoting Nussey's diary, British Library, Egerton MSS 32684].
- 9 Henry Nussey records the refusal in his diary. It is thought that his character may have provided some elements of St. John Rivers in *Jane Eyre* [Barker, pp. 302, 894; Smith, I, p. 186]. There has also been some discussion on whether Henry Nussey might have contributed to the Brontë dislike of Calvinism (see 9 March above, and TWRR, loc. cit.)
- 12 CB writes to EN telling her that she has turned down Henry's proposal and giving the news that Anne is to go to Blake Hall as a governess [Smith, I, pp. 189–90].

- 17 PB's sixty-second birthday
- 26 CB writes and dates 'Life believe is not a scene'. This is the first draft of the poem, which would be copied up in Brussels [CA, pp. 110–11].
- 26 CB finishes and dates 'a young man of captivating exterior' [Henry Hastings], begun on 24 February [Smith, I, p. 186].
- 27 (Wed) EJB writes and dates 'What winter floods what showers of spring' [DR, p. 75].

April

- 8 (Mon) AB goes to Blake Hall, near Mirfield, as governess to the children of Joshua Ingham [Smith, I, pp. 187, 189]. Gerin considers it likely that the post was obtained through personal recommendation, the Inghams being known to Margaret Wooler [WGAB, p. 120]. However, John Nussey, in *BST*, Vol. 15, p. 333, notes that the Inghams were related to Ellen Nussey through the Taylors of Purlwell Hall, Batley.
- 8–14 (approx) AB writes a letter to Haworth (not extant) concerning the character of her employers and their children summarized by CB in her next letter to EN [Smith, I, p. 189].
- 15 CB writes to EN describing AB's departure for Blake Hall and the contents of her letter from there. She discusses a possible invitation to visit the Taylors at Gomersall [Smith, I, pp. 189–90].
- 17 (Wed) EJB writes and dates 'From our evening fireside now' [DR, p. 75]. This poem is typical of those poems of EJB (especially) and AB which have a Haworth beginning but modulate to Gondal.
- 20 EJB writes and dates 'King Julius left the south country' [DR, p. 76].
- 28 EJB writes and dates 'The soft unclouded blue of air' [DR, p. 77].
- 30 and 1 May PBB translates Horace Odes XIV and XV [Barker, p. 897].

May

CB becomes a governess with the Sidgwick family at Stonegappe, between Colne and Skipton. Barker (p. 895) gives reasons for considering that this was a temporary post.

- 9 (Thu) EJB writes and dates 'Sacred whacher, wave thy bells!' [DR, p. 79].

- 11 An advertisement in the *Leeds Intelligencer* for a tutorial post may possibly be by PBB [Barker, p. 897].
- 17 EJB writes and dates 'I am the only being whose doom' [DR, p. 80].
- 24 CB draws the Remains of the Temple of Venus at Rome [A & S, p. 351, noting the difference in style of this drawing].
- 25 EJB writes and dates 'May flowers are opening' [DR, p. 81].
- 28 EJB writes and dates 'I did not sleep' [DR, p. 82].
- 30 PB nominates William Weightman as curate of Haworth [EC, p. 17].

June

There is a transcription in MOS (pp. 274–5) of a note in PB's *Concordance* concerning his agreement with PBB that they would systematically study Latin and probably Greek Classics together. This study would begin with the first six books of the *Aeneid* and continue with parts of the *Iliad*. They would then continue to Horace's *Odes* and *Ars Poetica*. If this date is correct, it confirms that EJB's study of the *Aeneid* was not linked to study by PBB. EJB's translation from *Ars Poetica* may possibly date from this time [BWH, p. 24]; however, a slightly later date is possible.

CB is a governess at Stonegappe. Contrary to her view of her life there, a later tradition says that she often 'went to bed all day', leaving Mrs Sidgwick to look after the children [Smith, I, p. 195].

- 7 Rev. Edward Nicholls Carter goes to see Anne at Blake Hall [Smith, I, pp. 191–2].

External evidence of AB's time at Blake Hall is provided by Susan Brooke in *BST*, Vol. 13, Part 3 (1958) though the incidents cannot be precisely dated. Brooke describes the morning on which South American cloaks were delivered to the house and the children went off flapping the cloaks into the garden. AB could not get them back and went in tears to Mrs Ingham. There is also the report that on one occasion she had tied the children to the table leg 'in order to get on with her own writing'.

- 8 (Sat) CB writes to EJB describing her duties as governess at Stonegappe [Smith, I, pp. 190–1].
- 8 EJB writes and dates 'I know not how it falls on me' [DR, p. 83].
- 14 EJB writes and dates 'The buissy day has hurried by' [DR, p. 83].

- 14 (approx) CB goes with her employers from Stonegappe to Swarcliffe near Harrogate [Barker, p. 311].
- 15 William Weightman gives notice in St Mary-le-Bow church, Durham, that he intends to seek ordination [EC, p. 18].
- 18 EJB writes and dates 'Month after month year after year' [DR, p. 85].
- 19 Wiliam Weightman is granted his licence as curate [EC, p. 18].
- 29 Date of a fictional letter included in CB's 'Caroline Vernon' which includes a large dog perhaps modelled on a dog belonging to Mr Sidgwick [Smith, I, p. 192]. This suggests that 'Caroline Vernon' may have been begun at this time.
- 30 CB writes to EN describing Swarcliffe [Smith, I, pp. 1983–4].

July

During intervals in her work CB was probably continuing to write 'Caroline Vernon' [CA, p. 40].

(date uncertain) CB writes to EJB concerning life at Swarcliffe [Smith, I, p. 195].

- 11 Notice in the *Bradford Observer* of the appointment of Rev. Dr Scoresby as Vicar of Bradford [Barker, p. 896].
- 12 (Fri) EJB writes and dates 'I've seen this dell in July's shine' [DR, p. 85].
- 12 EJB writes and dates 'And now the housedog stretched once more' [DR, p. 86].
- 13 (or shortly afterwards) CB leaves Stonegappe at the end of her employment [Smith, I, p. 196].
- 19 EJB writes and dates 'Come hither child' [DR, p. 88].
- 23 John Frobisher of Halifax conducts a concert in Haworth church [Barker, p. 312].
- 20 or 26 CB writes to EN from Haworth discussing a possible holiday in Cleethorpes and mentioning a proposal that the Brontës should go to Liverpool [Smith, I, pp. 195–6].
- 26 EJB writes and dates 'Shed no tears o'er that tomb' [DR, p. 89].
- 27 EJB writes and dates 'Mild the mist upon the hill' [DR, p. 90].
- (end) Rev. William Hodgson and his curate Rev. David Price or Pryce (also known as Bryce) visit Haworth. Later Mr Pryce proposes to CB by letter [Smith, I, pp. 198–9]. A rumour that there was correspondence between the two is not generally accepted.

August

- 4 (Sun) CB writes to EN further discussing a proposal to visit Liverpool and suggesting a possible visit to Bridlington [Smith, I, p. 197].
- (about this time) PBB visits Liverpool without the rest of the family but in the company of Michael Merrall. The dates of this visit are not certain, Francis Leyland attributing it to the time of the Haworth rushbearing (July). Leyland also says that PBB took notes of a sermon by H. McNeile, an evangelical preacher, at St Jude's church, Liverpool, and that he first took opium there 'as an anodyne' [Leyland, Vol. I, pp. 238–9; Barker, p. 313]. From this time also dates an account of PB rehearsing his Sunday sermon aloud in his study [Leyland, Vol. I, p. 240].
- 9 CB writes to EN describing the difficulties in implementing the plan for the two to meet [Smith, I, pp. 199–200].
- 12 EJB writes and dates 'How long will you remain' and draws sketches in the margin [DR, p. 91, A & S, p. 382].
- 13 (Tue) EJB writes and dates 'The starry night shall tidings bring' [DR, p. 92].
- 14 CB writes to EN changing their plan to meet and inviting her to visit Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 200–1].
- 19 William Weightman performs his first duty in Haworth church [Smith, I, p. 197].
- 21 EJB writes a list of Gondal characters on her poem manuscript D 8 [ECEB, p. 129].
- 24 PBB writes to J.H. Thompson of Bradford describing briefly his Liverpool visit and mentioning that he has incurred debts which his family knows nothing of [WGGB, p. 148].
- (about this time) PBB paints a picture of Hartley Merrall with the names of Bach, Mozart, Haydn and Handel at the corners of the picture. The three sisters are invited to view the painting on Merrall's visit [Leyland, Vol. I, pp. 239–40].
- 30 EJB writes and dates 'Fair sinks the summer evening now' [DR, pp. 92–3].

September

- 4 or 11 CB writes to Maria Taylor of Stanbury mentioning her intention of being away from Haworth for a while [Smith, I, p. 201].

- 6 (Fri) EJB writes and dates 'Alcona in its changing mood' [DR, p. 93].
- (precise date uncertain) CB goes to Bridlington with EN, travelling via Leeds and for the first time by railway [Barker, p. 315]. They stay at Easton Farm near Bridlington for 'a whole month' [Barker, p. 315] and Bridlington Quay for a week [Barker, pp. 315–16].
- CB paints 'Easton House' at Bridlington [A & S, pp. 251–2].
- 30 EJB writes and dates 'The organ swells the trumpets sound' [DR, p. 95].

October

- EJB writes and dates 'There was a time when my cheek burned' [DR, p. 97].
- CB returns to Haworth after her visit to Bridlington about mid-month [Barker, p. 316].
- CB paints 'Woman in a Leopard Fur' [A & S, pp. 253–4].
- 4 Rev. Dr Scoresby takes up residence as Vicar of Bradford. This initiates a new confrontational tone in the Bradford parish (which includes Haworth) [Barker, pp. 317, 896].
- 15 (Tue) EJB writes and dates 'O between distress and pleasure' [DR, p. 95].
- 24 CB writes to EN reviewing their holiday at Bridlington [Smith, I, pp. 202–3].
- 28 CB writes to Henry Nussey with some account of her visit to Bridlington and mentioning an intention to seek employment again [Smith, I, pp. 204–5].
- 29 EJB writes and dates 'The wind I hear it sighing' [DR, pp. 96–7].

November

- 13 (Wed) AB draws ['Sunrise over Sea'] [A & S, p. 406].
- 14 EJB writes and dates 'Well, some may hate and some may scorn' [DR, p. 98].
- 23 EJB writes and dates 'The wind was rough which tore' [DR, p. 99]. The poem is, unusually, written in EJB's cursive, not Brontë small script. This may give a clue to the date of EJB's copying into the transcript book C, the Ashley Manuscript [DR, pp. 17–18], which is also in cursive and which on

other grounds may be dated to 1839. The last poem copied into it was that written on 15 October 1839.

28 EJB writes and dates 'That wind I used to hear it swelling' [DR, p. 99].

(end) Tabitha Aykroyd ('Tabby') leaves the parsonage with an ulcerated leg [Barker, p. 318].

December

AB leaves her employment at Blake Hall. There is no clear evidence about the date of this departure, which is usually thought to be a dismissal. In her letter to EN of 24 January 1840 CB says tersely 'Anne is not to return' [Smith, I, p. 210].

CB completes 'Caroline Vernon' [CA, p. 28].

1 Birth of Mary Ann Judson at Buckley, Stanbury. In *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 7, (1996) Phyllis Cheney presented a case for the theory that she was an illegitimate daughter of PBB.

16 (Mon) PBB attends a Masonic meeting at the Three Graces Lodge [Barker, p. 320].

19 EJB writes and dates 'Heavens glory shone where he was laid' [DR, p. 99].

21 CB writes to EN mentioning Tabby's ulcer. She is still hoping that Tabby will return and meanwhile CB and EJB are doing most of the domestic work with the help of Martha Brown, the sexton's daughter [Smith, I, pp. 206–7, Barker, p. 318].

23 CB writes and dates[?] 'Not many years but long enough to see' [CA, p. 128].

23 Six new chairs are supplied for the parsonage by William Wood [JK, p. 77].

28 CB writes to EN with details of a proposed visit by EN to Haworth [Smith, I, p. 207].

31 (probably) PBB goes to Broughton-in-Furness as a tutor to children of Mr Postlethwaite (see next month for discussion of this date).

1840

PBB obtained his first serious teaching post early in the year, and AB was engaged at Thorp Green by the Robinson family. This was to be crucial in her life; it was here and in Scarborough, where the Robinsons took their holidays, that she was able to observe the gentry

and aristocracy whom she portrayed in *Wildfell Hall*. PBB soon lost his post at Broughton, for reasons not clearly understood.

Early in the year EN paid a visit to the parsonage, and all the young women were sent valentines by William Weightman, about whose character there is still disagreement among Brontë biographers. It is almost certain that he was the inspiration of some of AB's poems, though not the original of Mr Weston in *Agnes Grey*. Modern Brontë scholars sometimes seem to gloss over his flippant infidelity and perhaps exaggerate his scholarship; however he was certainly a brightening influence during this year.

January

The precise date in January on which PBB arrived at Broughton as tutor to the two sons of Robert Postlethwaite is not clear. WGBB and MS suggest that he set out on 31 December 1839 and arrived on 1 January 1840, but the party he attended at Kendal and described in his letter of 13 March 1840 [Barker, p. 897] could also be consistent with Burns Night.

- 1 AB writes and dates 'A Fragment' ('Maiden thou wert thoughtless once') [EC, pp. 71–3]. This poem can be interpreted as a personal reflection and might be indicative of AB's feeling towards William Weightman [ECAB, pp. 63–4].
- 4 Rev. John Collins is ordained priest and licensed to Keighley. He is later to be present at the Church Rate meeting and by 1847 he has turned out to be intemperate and unfaithful [Smith, I, p. 215].
- 6 (Mon) EJB writes and dates 'Thy sun is near meridian height' [DR, pp. 100–2].
- 10 Introduction of the pre-paid penny post service [Smith, I, p. 209].
- 12 CB writes to EN mentioning the death of a girl, probably Ann Cook. She is searching for a teaching post, considering taking employment with a Mrs Halliley [Smith, I, pp. 208–9].
- 17 Death of Rev. David Pryce (sometimes called Bryce) [Smith, I, pp. 210–11].
- 17 AB's twentieth birthday.
- 24 CB writes to EN giving family news including the information that AB will not be returning to Blake Hall [Smith, I, pp. 210–11].

February

During this month EN visits the parsonage, staying for about three weeks.

(early) William Weightman gives a lecture on Classics at Keighley, attended by the three Brontë sisters and EN [Barker, pp. 324–5]. CB draws William Weightman, see Barker in *BST*, Vol. 19, Part 4, pp. 175–6 and Smith, I, p. 212.

14 (Fri) Valentines are received by CB, EJB and AB, and EN, from William Weightman.

CB writes 'A Roland for your Oliver' [CA, p. 146]. For the view that it was CB, not AB, who was in love with Weightman, see Barker, p. 326.

March

EJB writes and dates 'Far away is mirth withdrawn' [DR, pp. 102–3].

2 (Mon) PBB draws and dates 'Broughton Church' [A & S, p. 336].

(dates uncertain before 17th) William Morgan visits PB at Haworth, staying three days. CB attributes the success of his visit to the intervention of William Weightman [Smith, I, p. 213].

13 PBB writes to John Brown giving details of his employment at Broughton and his journey there [Barker, pp. 897ff].

17 CB writes to EN discussing William Weightman [Smith, I, pp. 211–12].

26 (Thu) Church Rates meeting at Haworth, attended by CB and chaired by PB; Rev. John Collins is also present [Smith, I, p. 215].

April

EJB writes and dates 'It is too late to call thee now.' This is unlikely to be a Gondal poem (see Chitham, E. and Winniffrith, T., *Brontë Facts and Brontë Problems*, Chapter 6) [DR, p. 103].

PB lectures at Keighley Mechanics' Institute, and William Weightman gives another lecture there [Smith, I, p. 214].

7 (Tue) (probably) CB writes to EN about the church rate controversy and discusses William Weightman [Smith, I, pp. 213–14].

15 PBB re-edits and transcribes 'Sir Henry Tunstall' and translations of some of Horace's *Odes*, which he sends to De Quincey [Barker, pp. 331–2; VN, III, pp. 279–290].

- 20 PBB sends the Horace *Odes* MS [VN, III, pp. 299–335, see also above] and ‘at dead of midnight – drearily’ [VN, III, pp. 291–8] to Hartley Coleridge [Barker, p. 899].
- 30 CB writes to EN acknowledging gifts for herself and Aunt Branwell [Smith, I, pp. 216–17].

May

- 1 PBB visits Hartley Coleridge at Nab Cottage, Rydal Water. The house had belonged to Thomas De Quincey; Hartley Coleridge was to die here in 1849 [Barker, p. 333].
- 4 (Mon) EJB writes and dates ‘I’ll not weep that thou art going to leave me’ [DR, p. 104].
- 6 EJB writes the first part of ‘At such a time in such a spot’ [DR, p. 104].
- 6 Beginning of the sale of penny adhesive stamps [Smith, I, p. 220].
- 8 AB goes to Thorp Green to be governess to the children of Rev. Edmund Robinson. The date is deduced from the remaining Robinson account book, for 1845 [ECAB, p. 71, EC, p. 10].
- 15 CB writes to EN concerning love and marriage and other topics [Smith, I, pp. 217–18].
- 18 EJB writes and dates ‘If greif for greif can touch thee’ [DR, p. 106].
- 19 EJB writes and dates ‘’Tis moonlight summer moonlight’ [DR, p. 106].
- 20 York Minster on fire. A small picture of this is in BPM [VO, p. 2].
- 26 CB writes to Henry Nussey in reply to his letter of February [Smith, I, pp. 219–20].
- 29 CB writes to EN concerning a proposed visit by the Taylors [Smith, I, pp. 220–1].

June

This month PBB is dismissed from his post at Broughton. For the possibility that this was because he was the father of an illegitimate child, see Barker, pp. 333–5, 899–900.

- 10 (Wed) (probably) CB walks to Keighley to begin her visit to the Taylors at Gomersal. She continues the journey by coach and walks from Bradford [Smith, I, p. 221].

10–16 approx. CB visits the Taylors at Gomersall and Birstall [Smith, I, p. 222].

18 approx. Mary Taylor visits Haworth, playing chess with William Weightman. Her behaviour is later described as ‘mad’ [Smith, I, p. 222–3, 234].

(near end) CB writes to EN concerning Mary Taylor’s visit. William Weightman is seen as ‘fickle’. He has sent back letters to a girl in Swansea and is currently in love with Caroline Dury of Keighley [Smith, I, pp. 222–3].

27 PBB again writes to Hartley Coleridge seeking his opinion on the *Odes* translations, which accompany his letter (Coleridge began an encouraging reply, but did not send it, see VN PBB, pp. 522–4) [Barker, p. 900].

About this time, EJB is also translating Horace, but in her case *Ars Poetica*. It is impossible to fix the date with any accuracy [BWH, Chapter 2].

July

CB writes to William Wordsworth for advice.

14 (Tue) William Weightman leaves for Ripon for his ordination [Smith, I, p. 223].

14 CB writes to EN enclosing a letter for Martha Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 223–4].

18 William Weightman ordained priest by Bishop Longley of Ripon [Smith, I, p. 224]. After the ceremony, Weightman leaves for Appleby, his home town [Barker, p. 339].

19 Afternoon sermon at Haworth is preached by Rev. James Cheadle of Bingley; and the evening sermon preached by Rev. G.R. Anstey of Wilsden [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].

25 AB, at Scarborough, draws and paints ‘What you please’ [A & S, pp. 407–8].

August

(beginning) John Branwell Williams, MBB’s cousin, visits Haworth with his wife and daughter Eliza; they stay for the day only [Smith, I, pp. 224, 226].

14 (Fri) (probably) CB writes to EN discussing the visit of John Branwell Williams [Smith, I, pp. 224–5].

20 CB writes to EN concerning William Weightman. She records that he is now in Appleby and PBB has received a

letter from him. She doubts that he should have been ordained. She also discusses John Branwell Williams [Smith, I, pp. 226–7].

22 AB writes and dates ‘The Bluebell’ [EC, pp. 73–5].

28 AB writes and dates ‘Lines written at Thorp Green’ [EC, pp. 75–6].

31 PBB is appointed assistant clerk-in-charge at Sowerby Bridge railway station [Barker, p. 346].

September

11 (Fri) EJB writes and dates ‘In summers mellow midnight’ [DR, pp. 106–7].

13 William Weightman signs the register for the first time since 12 July [Smith, I, p. 227].

(before 29) CB writes to a Mrs Brooke in Huddersfield to seek employment. Smith suggests a possible identification [Smith, I, p. 230].

17 EJB writes and dates ‘Companions all day long we’ve stood’ [DR, pp. 108–10].

(Mon, late in the month) CB goes to visit the Sunday school scholar, Susan Bland, reported by William Weightman to be dying [Smith, I, pp. 228–9].

29 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning a variety of matters including William Weightman and his recent visit to Westmorland [Smith, I, pp. 228–9].

October

5 (Mon) Opening of the Leeds and Manchester Railway including Sowerby Bridge station [Barker, p. 346].

November

(early) CB and Mrs Brooke discuss a possible governess post, but CB cannot teach music and so is ineligible [Smith, I, p. 231].
Visit of Mrs Collins to ask PB for advice about her profligate husband Rev. John Collins [Smith, I, p. 231].

11 (Wed) Concert of Sacred Music at the Old Assembly Rooms, Talbot Inn, Halifax, possibly attended by PBB. The programme included Haydn’s *The Creation* [Barker, p. 368].

12 CB writes to EN concerning Mr and Mrs Collins and including a comment on him by Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 230–2].

- 20 CB writes to EN concerning Mr Vincent who had proposed to EN [Smith, I, pp. 232–5].

December

- (before 10) Draft of a letter CB to Hartley Coleridge in reply to his return of her manuscripts [Smith, I, pp. 236–9].
- 10 (Thu) CB writes to Hartley Coleridge [Smith, I, pp. 239–42].
- 13 AB writes and dates 'Retirement' [EC, p. 77].
- 28 Death of Joshua Taylor of the Red House, Gomersall, father of Mary and Martha [Smith, I, p. 243].
- (probably) CB begins 'Ashworth' [CA, p. 25].

1841

CB decides that she must earn money and (at a date which cannot be determined precisely) she engages herself to Mrs White of Upperwood House, Rawdon, five miles from Bradford. As often with CB, her initial impression was favourable, but she found the children 'wild and unbroken' and was not happy teaching them. As on other occasions when CB went to work in a paid capacity, she felt injustice keenly.

PBB had changed tack in summer 1840 and begun to work for the railways, a post which might well seem to be at the cutting edge of modernity at that time. His life at Luddenden Foot is not well documented, and rumours concerning his associates and life style there are very hard to check. EJB writes some excellent poems during the year, though we have no remains of her Gondal work, mentioned in the 'Diary paper' of 30 July. AB continued to struggle with the children at Thorp Green.

1841 is the year in which the first detailed census, giving names, was taken. This throws more light on various places associated with the Brontë family, such as Roe Head, High Sunderland, Thorp Green and Haworth. Further details will be found in Appendix B.

January

EJB begins 'Were they shepherds ...?' [DR, pp. 110–19]. She probably writes about 130 lines, and leaves the poem to be completed in May 1844.

- 1 (Fri) AB writes and dates 'An Orphan's Lament' [EC, pp. 78–9].
- 1 PB at a meeting in Bradford concerning Church Rates [Barker, p. 355].

- 3 CB writes to EN discussing Mr Vincent and the death of Mary Taylor's father Joshua, of the Red House, Gomersall [Smith, I, p. 243].
- 11 CB writes to Henry Nussey discussing Mr Vincent's proposal to EN, and thanking him for poetry he has sent to her. She concedes that she once wrote poetry herself but misdates the period when this happened [Smith, I, pp. 244–5].
- 17 AB's twenty-first birthday.
- 20 (approx) AB returns to Thorp Green.

February

- 6 PB is part of a campaign to ensure that local orphans are found local apprenticeships [MOS, p. 322].
- 10 Severe weather is reported in northern parts of England [*Derby Mercury*].
- 14 (probably) CB and perhaps EN again receive valentines from William Weightman [Smith, I, pp. 247–8]. (Precise date of this is unclear; in the letter of 3 March, CB says she received the valentine 'a few days before I left home' – on 2 March according to Barker).
- 27 (Sat) EJB writes 'And like myself lone wholely lone' [DR, p. 120]. On the verso of this poem (MS E9) is a fragment of the Latin New Testament (St John's Gospel, Chapter I) in EJB's cursive hand, undated. It had been written on the scrap of paper before its use for the poem and it should not be assumed that the copy was recent.

March

CB, at Rawdon, draws a doodle of a face on the last page of 'Ashworth' [CA, p. 257]. She is much involved in sewing and looking after the 'overindulged' children of Mrs White (see below) [Smith, I, p. 248]. Mary Taylor announces her intention to emigrate to New Zealand.

March was the month wrongly given in traditional chronologies for AB's departure to Thorp Green.

- 1 (Mon) EJB writes and dates 'Riches I hold in light esteem' [DR, p. 120].
- 2 CB goes to Upperwood House, Rawdon, as a governess for Mrs White. She meets her two pupils, Sarah Louisa and Jasper Leavens, whom she describes as 'wild and unbroken'. A third child, Arthur, is still in the nursery. While at

- Upperwood, CB notes an unfavourable contrast in managing unruly children between herself and the 'phlegmatic' nursery maid [Smith, I, pp. 246–8; Barker, pp. 351–2].
- 3 CB writes to EN giving her news of her arrival at Rawdon and asking EN to visit her [Smith, I, pp. 246–8].
- 5–24 Warm dry weather reported in England [*Derby Mercury*].
- 13 PB writes to the *Leeds Intelligencer* suggesting further legislation concerning Church Rates [Barker, pp. 355–6].
- 15 Death from whooping cough of the baby Georgiana Jane Robinson, the youngest child of the Robinsons, AB's employers [ECAB, p. 84; *Derby Mercury*].
- 17 PB's sixty-fourth birthday.
- 21 (probably) CB writes to EN with further news about her situation at Rawdon and enclosing William Weightman's valentine [Smith, I, pp. 248–9].
- 21 Death of Mrs Wooler, mother of Margaret Wooler and of William Wooler, a doctor in Derby [*Derby Mercury*].

April

During this month Martha Taylor, Mary's sister, goes to school in Belgium.

- 1 (Thu) PBB is transferred to Luddenden Foot station [Smith, I, p. 252; Barker, p. 367].
- 1 (probably) CB writes to EN accepting an invitation to visit and discussing Mary Taylor's decision to emigrate [Smith, I, pp. 249–50].
- 1 (probably) CB receives a letter from AB at Thorp Green saying that she is well [Smith, I, p. 251].
- 2 CB writes to EJB concerning Mary Taylor's decision to go to New Zealand and mentioning the letter from AB [Smith, I, pp. 251–2].
- 9 (possibly) CB writes to Henry Nussey concerning invitations to Brookroyd. Barker (p. 903) discusses whether this letter implies two visits to Brookroyd by CB this month.
- 10 (probably) (Easter Sat) CB goes to visit EN during a short holiday for the White children [Smith, I, p. 250]. On her return, she does not invite George Nussey into the house, and this causes vexation on the part of Mrs White [Smith, I, p. 252].

During the last three weeks in April, there is a thorough spring-clean at Upperwood, during which CB becomes

nurse to the baby, Arthur Robson White [Smith, I, pp. 252–4].

21 CB's twenty-fifth birthday.

May

2 (Sun) PBB places this date by line 174 in 'At dead of Midnight' [TW, p. 289].

4 (probably) CB writes to EN describing the events of the last three weeks at Rawdon and mentioning that PB has been invited to Rawdon [Smith, I, pp. 252–4].

9 (Sun) CB writes to Henry Nussey apologizing for writing on a Sunday, concerning life at Upperwood, and giving details of the occupations of PBB, EJB and AB [Smith, I, pp. 255–7].

13 PB writes further to the *Bradford Observer* concerning Church Rates [Barker, p. 903].

16 EJB writes and dates 'Shall earth no more inspire thee ...' [DR, pp. 121–2].

June

2 (Wed) (probably, but possibly 9) AB returns from Thorp Green for three weeks' holiday [Smith, I, p. 257]. Neither EJB nor AB writes or dates any poems during this period, and it seems from the content of the diary papers (30 July) that they are engaged on Gondal works in prose.

5 PBB's poem 'Heaven and Earth' published in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 905; VN, III, p. 335]. This was PBB's first published poem, the first of twelve in the newspaper during the next six years.

10 CB writes to EN, mentioning that the Whites are on holiday and have left CB in charge of the children; also giving details of AB's return from holiday at Thorp Green [Smith, I, pp. 257–8].

26 PBB's twenty-fourth birthday.

30 CB returns to Haworth for her holiday. AB has already gone back to the Robinsons who go to Scarborough for the summer. They stay at 2 The Cliff [Smith, I, pp. 258–9].

July

It is generally supposed that discussions take place this month about the possibility of the Brontës setting up their own school, but there is no time when all three sisters meet together. There is a general election, during

which Lord Morpeth and Lord Milton visit Haworth for the Liberals, and Mr Wortley and Mr Denison for the Tories [Barker, p. 357].

- 1 (Thu) CB writes to EN from Haworth mentioning the death of the cat 'Black Tom' and the return of AB to Scarborough [Smith, I, pp. 258–9].
- 3 (Sat) (probably) CB writes to EN changing arrangements for a visit by EN to Haworth and mentioning that Miss Branwell is to go to visit 'Uncle Fennell' at Cross-stone [Smith, I, pp. 259–60].
- 6 EJB writes and dates 'Aye there it is! It wakes to night' [DR, p. 122].
- 8 (probably) Miss Elizabeth Branwell goes to Cross-stone [Smith, I, p. 260].
- 8 or 15 (Thu) EN expected to visit Haworth. CB and EJB watch 'anxiously' but she has had to change the plan [Smith, I, p. 260].
- 17 EJB writes and dates 'I see around me tombstones grey' [DR, p. 123].
- 19 CB writes to EN discussing EN's change of plan and giving information about the Brontës' idea of starting a school [Smith, I, pp. 260–1].
- 30 EJB writes her 'diary paper' at Haworth. She is twenty-three [Barker, p. 358].
- 30 AB writes her 'diary paper' at Scarborough. [No recent transcript available. Editions are usually based on CBC, pp. 148–9.]
PBB writes 'The Shepherd's Chief Mourner' about this time in the Luddenden Foot Notebook [VN, III, p. 337].

August

Early in August or late in July, CB receives a letter from Mary Taylor describing Brussels.

- 7 (Sat) CB writes to EN at Earnley, near Chichester, describing the black silk scarf and kid gloves she has received from Mary Taylor in Brussels. She is again in charge at Rawdon. She describes AB as a 'patient, persecuted stranger' [Smith, I, pp. 265–7].
- 8 (Sun) PBB writes and dates 'Oh thou whose beams were most withdrawn' from Brearley Hill, near Luddenden [Luddenden Foot Notebook, VN, III, p. 338].

- 9 The death takes place of Rev. Hammond Roberson, thought to be CB's later model for Mr Helstone [MS].
- 14 PBB publishes an eight-line 'squib' in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 372; VN, III, p. 340].
- 17 (Tue) EJB writes and dates ' 'Twas night, her comrades gathered all' [DR, pp. 124–5].
- 19 AB writes and dates 'Lines written at Thorp Green' [EC, pp. 79–80]. Miss Wooler has offered to sell her school to CB and initially CB agrees [Smith, I, pp. 268–9].

September

- (probably) PBB writes and dates 'Lord Nelson' [Barker, p. 906].
- 1 (Wed) EJB writes and dates 'Weeks of wild delirium past' [DR, pp. 126–8].
- 3 PBB writes and dates 'Man thinks too often that his earth-born cares' [Luddenden Foot Notebook; VN, III, p. 341].
- 11 PBB writes and dates 'Amid the worlds wide din around' [Luddenden Foot Notebook; VN, III, pp. 342–3].
- 29 CB writes to Miss Elizabeth Branwell asking for help to attend school in Brussels. She mentions the stay of Martha Taylor at 'Kockleberg' [Smith, I, pp. 268–70].

October

- 5 (Tue) A post office opens at Little Ouseburn. It is likely that AB begins to post her letters here [VO, p. 2].
- 6 EJB sketches and dates a woman's head with a tiara [A & S, p. 384].
- 13 Death of Rev. John Fennell at Cross-stone [MOS, p. 270].
- 17 CB writes to EN concerning Brussels and Miss Wooler's offer to sell Dewsbury Moor, which she is not accepting, since Dewsbury Moor is a 'poisoned place' to her [Smith, I, pp. 270–1].
- 27 EJB paints and dates the hawk 'Nero' [A & S, pp. 384–5].

During this period PBB works at Luddenden Foot, but there is no evidence at all that there were drunken Irish labourers there, and in fact Barker, pp. 369, 904–5, shows there is convincing evidence that there were no such inhabitants. She provides further detail about this period and argues that PBB's life at Luddenden has been misrepresented. However, PBB does himself describe his life there as one of 'malignant yet cold debauchery' [Smith, I, p. 276]. A number of other

excursions by PBB are recorded at this time in Leyland, Vol. I, pp. 287ff, but they cannot be precisely dated. During this employment he is able to write a considerable amount of poetry, found in the 'Luddenden Foot Notebook' [VN, *BST*, Vol. 24, Part II, p. 156]. He also visits Manchester Parish Church on one occasion [Leyland, Vol. I, pp. 289–90].

November

- 2 (Tue) CB writes to EN. She has given notice to Mrs White and gives details of possible replacements. She has chosen EJB as a likely companion to Brussels and has turned down the Dewsbury Moor school proposal [Smith, I, pp. 271–3].
- 7 (approx) CB writes to EJB concerning the Belgian proposal [Smith, I, pp. 273–4].
- 19 and 29 PB writes to the Ordnance Office offering advice on possible modifications to the musket [MOS, pp. 303–6].

December

- 9 (Thu) (probably) CB writes to EN concerning illness in the Nussey family and expressing the hope that she will see EN during the Christmas period [Smith, I, pp. 274–5].
- 15 PBB writes and dates 'The desolate earth – The Wintry Sky' [Barker, p. 906; *Sixty Treasures*, 36; Luddenden Foot Notebook, VN, III, pp. 346–9].
- 17 (probably) CB writes to EN inviting her to Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 275–6].
- 17 CB writes to Mercy Nussey thanking her for an invitation to Brookroyd, but declining [Smith, I, pp. 276–7].
- 19 (Sun) EJB writes and dates 'I do not weep, I would not weep' [DR, pp. 128–9].
- 19 PBB writes and dates 'O God! while I in pleasures whiles' [Barker, p. 906; VN, III, p. 350].
- 20 AB writes and dates 'Despondency' [ECAB, pp. 80–1].
- 24 CB leaves Rawdon and arrives back at Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 275].
- 25 EJB and AB begin the process of systematizing the 'Gondal Chronicles' [inference from 1845 diary paper of AB].
- (date uncertain) PBB writes 'The Man that will not know another' [VN III, p. 351].

1842

This is one of the most momentous years in the lives of the young Brontës. CB and EJB travel abroad to Belgium where CB meets the man with whom she would fall in love and whose character would be incorporated in that of her most famous male lead, Rochester. EJB progresses with her music and learns French and German. AB does not join her sisters, but produces more poetry, and visits Scarborough once again. It is a year of significant deaths, those of Aunt Elizabeth Branwell, which leaves the Brontës without even a substitute mother, of William Weightman the enticing curate who provided life and variety at the parsonage, and of Martha Taylor, Mary's younger sister, with whom the whole family were well acquainted. PBB leaves his post on the railway, after irregularities are found in accounting which may seem to implicate him not in fraud but in carelessness. He responds by writing and successfully publishing poems in local papers, but is not successful in national publishing. PB continues to be engaged in controversy over church rates and in other political areas.

During her stay in Belgium, EJB draws a study of a fir tree which cannot be dated and is given to a young pupil, Louise Bassompierre. This is taken as evidence of EJB's capacity to make friends. Either there or earlier she also copied and painted 'The North Wind' based on an illustration by Finden [A & S, pp. 385–7].

There is external evidence for PB's interest in firearms in William Wood's account for a 'Pistol stock' (undated but this year) [JK, p. 77].

January

- 10 (Mon) CB writes to EN concerning her departure from her previous employment and informing her that AB would be returning to Thorp Green. The family is still without an adult domestic servant, and is relying on the 13-year old Martha Brown. CB invites EN to Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 277–8].
- 13 The *Bradford Observer* carries a report of a church rate meeting which PB has chaired, and in which he strongly refutes the need for compulsory church rates in Haworth [Barker, p. 906].
- 17 AB's twenty-second birthday.
- 20 CB writes to EN concerning her voyage to the continent, and her current intention to go to Lille rather than Brussels. Smith (I, p. 279) suggests that this was because of a recommendation through the Branwell Williams family. The same letter

records the behaviour of William Weightman and AB in church, which could possibly be interpreted to mean that they had an interest in one another [Smith, I, pp. 278–9].

February

- 1 (Wed) CB gives EJB a prayerbook [MS].
- 2 The ordnance office rejects PB's suggestion regarding guns [MOS, p. 306]
- 3 A letter from PB concerning church rates and criticizing the long-standing arrangement whereby Haworth lay within the Bradford parish is published in the *Bradford Observer* [Barker, p. 906].
- 8 CB and EJB set out for the continent with PB. They are met in Leeds by Mary and Joe Taylor. They arrive in London staying at the Chapter Coffee House [ER, p. 3; Barker, p. 377].
- 9–11 CB and EJB, with the other members of the party, spend time in London visiting among other places St Paul's Cathedral, the British Museum and Westminster Abbey [ER, p. 3; Barker, p. 378].
- 12 (Sat) They set out for Ostend from London Bridge wharf, and arrive that evening [ER, p. 3].
- 13 (Sun) CB and EJB in Ostend with PB and the Taylors [ER, p. 3].
- 14 CB, EJB and the others travel from Ostend to Brussels, alight at the diligence terminus and stay at the Hôtel d'Hollande at 1 Rue de la Putterie [ER, p. 3].
- (perhaps about 14/15) AB writes the first part of 'In Memory of a Happy Day in February' [EC, p. 82].
- 15 (Tue) Introduced by Mrs Jenkins, the wife of Rev. Evan Jenkins, the British Chaplain in Brussels, CB and EJB present themselves at the school of Mme Heger [ECEB, p. 142, ER p. 3]. PB is able to visit the school but does not meet M. Heger [Smith, I, p. 301]. PB and Joe Taylor go to the Hôtel de Ville to register [ER, p. 3].
PB stays longer in Belgium to visit the field of Waterloo [Barker, p. 381]. Later, he records the visit in his notebook, 'I went to Brussels, Lille, Dunkirk and Calais' [MOS, p. 303].

March

- 4 (Fri) (possibly) PBB is dismissed from Luddenden Foot Station, because of his failure to note or check a porter who was defrauding

the railway [Barker, pp. 375, 906]. Smith, I, p. 279, gives reasons for dating this at the end of March.

16 CB writes the French Devoir 'L'Ingratitude' [CA, p. 186].

17 PB's sixty-fifth birthday.

26 (Easter Sat) CB and EJB spend the day (described by CB as 'such a happy day') with the Taylors at Koekelberg. During this visit, Mary and Martha Taylor write to EN. CB adds a postscript including comment on the change from Lille to Brussels, which is due to advice from Mrs Jenkins [Smith, I, pp. 280–2].

26 CB writes the French Devoir 'La Prière du Soir dans un camp' [CA, p. 190].

28 (Easter Mon) AB begins a new manuscript book for her poems [ECAB, p. 90]. Mme Heger gives birth to her first son [Smith, I, p. 312; WGCB, p. 203].

April

5 (Tue) Mary and Martha Taylor add further postscripts to their letter, and it is sent [Smith, I, p. 282].

17 CB writes the French Devoir 'Sacrifice d'une Veuve Indienne' [CA, p. 191].

18 CB writes the French Devoir 'La Jeune fille malade' [CA, p. 186].

20 New rollers for the parsonage clothes mangle are provided by William Wood [JK, p. 77].

21 CB's twenty-sixth birthday [Smith, I, pp. 283, 285].

25 PBB writes 'When side by side at twilight sitting' in his Luddenden Foot notebook [Barker, p. 911; VN, III, pp. 352–3].

28 PBB's poem 'On Landseer's Painting' printed in the *Bradford Herald* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 906; VN, III, p. 365].

30 CB writes the French Devoir 'Le Nid' [CA, p. 189].

30 Death of Thomas Andrew, the Haworth surgeon for twenty-four years [Barker, p. 911].

May

(precise date unsure, discussed in Smith, I, p. 285) CB writes to EN giving news of the school in Brussels. She compares Mme Heger to Miss Catherine Wooler, describes the work at the school and comments about EJB's difficulties with

- M. Heger, whom she describes for the first time [Smith, I, pp. 283–6].
- 3 (Tue) The funeral of Thomas Andrew is taken by PB [Barker, p. 396].
- 4 M. Heger returns 'Le Nid' with firm comment on style, advising CB to sacrifice everything which does not contribute to clarity, verisimilitude and effect [Barker, p. 391].
- 5 PBB's poem 'On the callousness produced by cares' is printed in the *Bradford Herald* [VN, III, p. 366]. His poems at this time are printed under the pseudonym 'Northangerland'.
- 7 PBB's poem 'On the callousness produced by cares' is printed in the *Halifax Guardian* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 905].
- 7 PBB's poem 'The Afghan War' is printed in the *Leeds Intelligencer* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 906; VN, III, p. 367].
- 8 Martha Taylor returns from Belgium for a visit in England [Smith, I, p. 290].
- 14 PBB's poem 'On Peaceful death and Painful Life' is printed in the *Halifax Guardian* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 905]. About now he is revising various poems including 'Why hold young tears ...?', 'Peaceful death and happy life' and 'Lord Nelson' [VN, III, pp. 354–69].
- 15 EJB writes 'Le Chat' [WGEB, p. 266].
- 15 PBB writes to Joseph (J. B.) Leyland to offer him the task of sculpting a memorial to Thomas Andrew [Barker, p. 911].
- 17 EJB writes and dates 'In the same place, when Nature wore' [DR, p. 129].
- 20 Joseph Leyland visits the parsonage, followed by a meeting of the monument committee to discuss the proposed memorial to Thomas Andrew [WGEB, p. 208].
- 22 PBB writes to Francis Grundy asking for help in finding a new railway post [Barker, pp. 397, 906. She comments on the tone of the letter 'exaggerating his situation as usual'].

June

EJB writes the French Devoir 'Portrait: Le Roi Harold avant la Bataille de Hastings' [WGEB, p. 266].

- 2 (Thu) CB writes the French Devoir 'Anne Askew' [CA, p. 179].
- 4 PBB's poem 'Caroline's Prayer' is printed in the *Halifax Guardian* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 905; VN, III, p. 370].
- 9 PBB's poem below is printed in the *Bradford Herald* [VN, III, p. 371]
- 11 PBB's poem 'Song' is printed in the *Halifax Guardian* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 905; VN, III, p. 371].
- 22 Mary Taylor is in Leeds, where she writes a letter to EN [Smith, I, p. 290].
- 23 CB writes the French Devoir 'Portrait Pierre l'Hermite' [CA, p. 190].
- 24 AB draws a portrait of a young woman, possibly a self-portrait. She was probably at Haworth for her fortnight's summer holiday [A & S, pp. 411–12, ECAB, p. 90].
- 29 PBB writes to J. B. Leyland concerning the memorial to Thomas Andrew [Barker, pp. 396, 911].

July

- (probably) CB writes to EN concerning the girls at the Heger school, and is unsure whether she will come home in September, as she and Emily have been offered teaching hours by Mme Heger. She concedes that she has been happy in Belgium and that EJB's abilities are beginning to be recognized [Smith, I, pp. 289–90].
- (probably at the end of the month or early August) PBB meets his friend William Dearden at the Cross Roads Inn between Haworth and Keighley and reads extracts from a work of fiction. This later gave rise to the rumour that he had written parts of *Wuthering Heights*. The date of this may also have affected opinions of the date of composition of EJB's novel [Barker, pp. 399, 911]. He also reads his poem 'Azrael' [Barker, p. 911].

Mary Taylor writes to EN, perhaps at the same time as CB's letter. One of her phrases is the strangely Heathcliffian 'I'll knock its teeth down its throat' [Smith, I, pp. 291–2].

Three daughters of Dr Thomas Wheelwright (Frances, Sarah and Julia) begin to attend Mme Heger's school and

- are taught the piano by EJB [Smith, I, p. 301]. The Wheelwrights dislike EJB [Barker, p. 395].
- 7 (Thu) The Robinsons' party, presumably including AB, arrives at The Cliff, Scarborough, for their summer stay [Barker, p. 911, ECAB, p. 94].
- 7 PBB's poem below is printed in the *Bradford Observer* [VN, III, p. 372].
- 9 PBB's poem 'An Epicurean's Song' is printed in the *Halifax Guardian* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 905; VN, III, p. 372].
- 12 PBB writes to Joseph Leyland to make arrangements for the delivery of Thomas Andrew's memorial tablet [WGGB, pp. 208–9].
- 12 PBB's poem 'On Caroline' is printed in the *Bradford Herald* [VN, III, p. 374].
- 14 PBB's poem, above, is printed in the *Halifax Observer* [VN, III, p. 274].
- 21 CB writes the French Devoir 'Lettre d'invitation à un Ecclésiastique' [CA, p. 187].
- 22 At Brussels the actress Rachel begins a series of twelve dramatic performances. CB visits the Théâtre de la Monnaie to see one of these performances, but which one is not sure (see below, 5 August) [ER, p. 40].
- 26 EJB writes the French Devoir 'Lettre: Ma Chère Maman' [WGEB, p. 266, Barker, p. 908].
- 26 A gala concert is held in Brussels to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Belgian independence. The programme includes Beethoven's seventh symphony, a work which EJB subsequently played in a piano transcription. Liszt himself plays his Don Juan Fantasy.
- It is argued by Robert Wallace in *BST*, Vol. 18, Part 92, 1982, p. 139, that EJB may have attended this concert, but even if this is not so, the fame of this musical event may have led EJB to an interest in this music [ER, p. 40].
- 28 EJB writes and dates 'Had there been falshood in my breast' [DR, p. 130].
- 31 CB writes the French Devoir 'Imitation Portrait de Pierre l'Hermite' [CA, p. 186].

August

- (probably) CB draws a landscape with fallen trees, from life. [A & S, p. 259].

- (probably) CB draws a watermill [A & S, p. 260].
- (probably) CB draws a picturesque landscape with tower and cottage [A & S, p. 260].
- On her return from Scarborough, AB would find Little Ouseburn church newly painted [VO, p. 3].
- 4 (Thu) CB draws a river scene with trees [A & S, p. 258].
- 5 EJB writes and dates the French Devoir 'L'Amour Filial' [WGEB, p. 266].
- 5 (possibly) CB visits the Théâtre de la Monnaie to see the actress Rachel perform. The incident influences CB's description of 'Vashti' in *Villette*, Chapter 23 [ER, p. 40].
- 6 CB draws a study of a tree and cottage [A & S, p. 258].
- 10 PBB writes to Joseph Leyland commenting favourably on the reception of the memorial to Thomas Andrew [WGEB, p. 209].
- 11 CB writes the French Devoir 'La Chenille' [CA, p. 180].
- 11 EJB writes and dates the French Devoir 'Le Papillon' [WGEB, p. 266].
- 15 'Grandes vacances' in Brussels (Feast of the Assumption). CB and EJB remain at the Pensionnat [WGCB, p. 208].
- 20 EJB writes the first part of 'Written in Aspin Castle' [DR, p. 131].
- 24 CB writes the French Devoir 'Le But de la Vie' [CA, p. 180].
- 25 PBB's poem 'Noah's warning over Methuselah's grave' is printed in the *Bradford Herald* under the pseudonym 'Northangerland' [Barker, p. 906; VN, III, p. 375].

September

- 6 (Tue) Death of William Weightman from cholera, aged 28 [Smith, I, p. 294].
- 6 PBB writes again to *Blackwood's* enclosing a poem for publication [Barker, p. 911; VN, III, pp. 377ff]. (He also wrote to Caroline Bowles, Leigh Hunt, and James and Harriet Martineau enclosing copies of his work about this time) [VN, BST, Vol. 24, 2, 1999].
- 10 Funeral of William Weightman [Smith, I, p. 294].
- (Before 24) Mary Taylor writes to EN giving the news that CB and EJB are well in health [Smith, I, pp. 292–3].

October

During this month (probably) CB and possibly EJB visit the 'Salon' in Brussels where CB sees paintings she later describes in *Villette*: 'La Vie

d'une Femme' and 'Cleopatra' [ER, p. 40; further discussion and references WGCB, p. 209].

- 1 (Sat) PBB publishes an article on Thomas Bewick in the *Halifax Guardian* [Neufeldt, V, in *BST*, Vol, 24, Part 1, 1999].
- 2 PB delivers William Weightman's funeral sermon. Unusually, he reads the sermon from a script, intending to publish this. It is later printed by J. U. Walker of Halifax [Smith, I, pp. 294–5; MOS, pp. 308–10].
- 6 CB writes the French Devoir 'La Justice Humaine' [CA, p. 187].
- 10 PB writes on behalf of Mr Greenwood of Spring Head to Mrs Cannan of Clitheroe to inform her of the death of her husband [MOS, p. 338].
- 12 Martha Taylor dies in Belgium, probably of cholera [Smith, I, p. 297].
- 13 CB goes to visit Martha Taylor, but too late [WGBB, p. 211].
- 14 Martha Taylor's funeral at the Chapel Royal is conducted by a Protestant pastor of the Reformed Church [WGCB, p. 212].
- 16 CB writes the French devoir 'Le Palais de la Mort' [CA, p. 190].
- 18 EJB writes and dates the French devoir 'Le Palais de la Mort' [WGEB, p. 266].
- 19 CB writes to EN in a letter which has not survived [Smith, I, p. 302].
- 23 EJB writes the first part of 'Self-interrogation' [DR, p. 134].
- 25 PBB writes to his friend F. H. Grundy concerning the death of William Weightman and the final illness of Elizabeth Branwell. He also refers to help in commenting on his poems by Rev. James Martineau, a Unitarian minister and brother of Harriet Martineau [Smith, I, pp. 294–5; WGBB, p. 211].
- 29 Death of Aunt Elizabeth Branwell, aged 66, from 'internal obstruction' [Smith, I, p. 295].
- 29 PBB writes to F.H. Grundy concerning the death of Elizabeth Branwell [Smith, I, pp. 295–6].
- 30 Mary Taylor begins a letter to EN with details of Martha's last illness [Smith, I, pp. 296–7].
- 30 Mary Taylor meets CB and EJB to walk to the Protestant cemetery, and they all return to the Dixon residence where EJB talks very little [Smith, I, pp. 296–7].

November

- 1 (Tue) Mary Taylor finishes the letter to EN begun on 30 October [Smith, I, p. 296].
- 2 CB and EJB receive news of Elizabeth Branwell's illness and prepare to return home [Smith, I, p. 302].
- 3 Elizabeth Branwell's funeral is conducted by Rev. James Bradley of Oakworth [MOS, p. 312].
- 3 (probably) CB receives the news of Elizabeth Branwell's death [Smith, I, p. 301].
- 5 Constantin Heger writes to PB in condolence on the death of Elizabeth Branwell and also to discuss possible future plans for CB and EJB. He mentions that EJB was about to begin piano lessons with 'le meilleur professeur que nous avons en Belgique'. This teacher has been identified as M. Chapelle, brother-in-law of M. Heger's first wife [Smith, I, pp. 299–302].
- 6 (Sun) CB and EJB catch the steamer at Antwerp, taking with them M. Heger's letter [Smith, I, p. 302].
- 7 CB and EJB arrive in England on the ship *Wilberforce* [Smith, I, p. 302].
- 8 (Tue) CB and EJB arrive home [Smith, I, p. 302].
- 10 AB finishes and dates 'In Memory of a Happy Day in February' [EC, pp. 82–3] and 'To Cowper' [EC, pp. 84–6].
- 10 CB writes to EN from Haworth concerning the deaths of Elizabeth Branwell, Martha Taylor and William Weightman [Smith, I, p. 302].
- 22 CB writes to EN inviting her to Haworth, possibly on 25 November. However, the plan was changed, and CB visited Brookroyd [Smith, I, p. 303].
- 25 CB writes to EN concerning a proposed visit to Brookroyd [Smith, I, p. 304].
- 28 Original date planned for AB to leave Haworth again [Smith, I, p. 303].
- 29 (Tue) AB returns to Thorp Green from Haworth after the funeral. The change of plan from Monday to Tuesday was perhaps so that AB could travel with her sister on her way to visit EN. They went via the Bowling Green inn in Bradford [Smith, I, pp. 303–5].
- 29 CB begins her stay with EN possibly for a week [Smith, I, p. 304].
- 30 A woman called Frances Jane Eyre applies for membership of Fulneck Moravian Church, Pudsey. Though this seems a

remote event from CB or AB, it needs to be remembered that they both formed links with this Christian denomination, though exactly how much they were influenced by it is unclear. [See Margaret Connor, 'Jane Eyre – The Moravian Connection' in *BST*, Vol. 22, 1997, pp. 37ff.]

December

- (probably) CB writes to Mrs Taylor of Stanbury accepting an invitation to visit. Smith discusses reasons for this proposed date and seeks to identify the recipient [Smith, I, p. 305].
- (probably) CB writes again to Mrs Taylor of Stanbury cancelling the acceptance, but accepting on behalf of PBB [Smith, I, pp. 305–6].
- (early) CB leaves Brookroyd to return to Haworth. She gives EN's sister, Mercy, Mrs Hemans' *Songs of the Affections* [Smith, I, p. 304].
- (end of month, dates unsure) EN visits Haworth [Smith, I, p. 306].
AB writes 'I will not mourn thee, lovely one' [EC, pp. 87–8; Barker, p. 408 discusses the poem].
- 25 (Sun) (possibly) It has been traditionally assumed that AB returned to Haworth for the Christmas holidays, but the composition of a Thorp Green poem later this month may suggest otherwise. It is possible that AB's leave on the death of her aunt may have been in substitution for the usual Christmas break.
- 26 PBB attends his last Masonic meeting [MOS, p. 345].
- 28 Elizabeth Branwell's will is proved at the prerogative court of York by PB and George Taylor. £1500 is divided equally between CB, EJB, AB and Elizabeth Kingston of Penzance, their cousin. The will had been drawn up in 1833 and made no provision for PBB on the grounds that as a male he would be gainfully employed [Barker, p. 913].
- 30 AB writes 'my soul is awakened' [EC p. 88; however, see ECAB, p. 97 for an identification of 'The Long Plantation' and see note above under 25 December for the possibility that AB did not return to Haworth this year for Christmas].

1843

Early this year PBB joined AB at Thorp Green as a tutor. EJB was at home in Haworth, and it is now that she develops a deeper note in her

poetry. She is also certainly involved in many domestic tasks, and during the summer she is much relied on by PB, who perhaps teaches her to fire a pistol. (It is also interesting that a number of improvements are made to the parsonage, including decorating a room.) From this time also probably date the reports of EJB working in the kitchen while learning German. There is unfortunately no evidence of what German works she may have read; thus theories of German influence on *Wuthering Heights* cannot be substantiated from external sources. There is evidence of German study by AB this year, and CB is receiving professional tuition in German in Belgium.

CB returned to Brussels in January, where she became increasingly involved emotionally with M. Constantin Heger, whose wife owned and ran the Pensionnat. Many of CB's letters and other productions show depressive tendencies. She remains in Brussels in the summer during the absence of most of the pupils, and at this point seems to suffer a significant psychological crisis which will be reflected in *Villette*.

January

EN visits Haworth, perhaps beginning her visit about Christmas 1842 [Smith, I, p. 307].

Though traditional biographies say that AB returns with PBB after Christmas, it seems possible that she had stayed with the Robinsons and PBB would join her there.

(before 7) CB writes to EN concerning a possible association between EN and Joe Taylor. There is some banter about PBB, who pretends to be affronted because EN has not sent him greetings [Smith, I, pp. 306–7].

It is possible that, as ECG says, at this time CB and EJB made visits to a library in Keighley. It has traditionally been assumed that this was the Keighley Mechanics' Institute Library, of which PB was a member. More recently it has been suggested that the library in question was that at 32 High Street, run by Thomas Duckett Hudson [Smith, I, p. 307].

7 (Sat) Mrs Robinson's mother, Mary Gisborne, dies at Yoxall Lodge, Staffordshire [SRO, 820/4/2].

14 (probably) CB writes a further letter to EN concerning a possible marriage [Smith, I, pp. 307–8].

(unknown date, probably about 20) PBB joins AB at Thorp Green. His brief was probably to teach Edmund Robinson junior. He

- possibly took up residence in 'The Monks' Lodgings' [WGBB, pp. 217–18].
- 27 CB returns to Brussels without EJB, leaving at 9 a.m., traveling via Normanton, Derby and Rugby. She arrives two hours late at 10 p.m. and goes straight to London Bridge Wharf to embark [Smith, I, p. 309].
- 28 (Sat) CB sails on the *Earl of Liverpool*; later she described to Mrs Gaskell the excitement of the dark trip across the river to join the ship [Smith, I, p. 309].
- 29 CB arrives in Brussels after probably staying overnight at Ostend [Smith, I, p. 309].
- 30 Mary Dixon, a cousin of Mary Taylor, whose family are living not far from the pensionnat, calls on CB in Brussels [Smith, I, p. 309].

February

CB writes 'The Orphans. The summer days are passed away', a translation from French [CA, p. 134].

It is impossible to date precisely the purchase by CB of Noel, M. and Chapsal, M., *Nouveau Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* inscribed 'Bruxelles, 1843' [A & S, p. 429].

- 5 (Sun) CB visits Mary Dixon at the Dixons' Brussels home in Rue de la Régence [Smith, I, p. 309].
- 6 EJB completes and dates 'Self-Interrogation' [DR, p. 134].
- 6 First day's ploughing at Little Ouseburn [VO, p. 3].
- CB writes to Mary Dixon about this time, presumably after her visit on 5 February, negotiating further possible dates for visits. She mentions a portrait produced by Mary. This may be the one reproduced in the *Brontë Society Gazette*, No. 30, September 2002, p. 7.
- 16 Mary Taylor writes to EN saying that she has received a letter from CB, who seems content; but Mary wonders whether the absence of EJB will be bad for CB [Smith, I, p. 310].
- 24 EJB writes and dates 'On the fall of Zalona' [DR, pp. 135–8].
- (final week) CB visits the carnival in Brussels [Smith, I, p. 312].

March

CB writes 'Napoleon O Corsican! thou of the stern contour' [CA, p. 126].

- 1 (Ash Wed) Lent begins, following the yearly carnival in Brussels [Smith, I, p. 312].

- 6 CB writes to EN concerning the pre-Lent carnival and letters from Mary Taylor; she also mentions her recent visit to the Dixons. She says she is giving English lessons to M. Heger and his brother-in-law M. Chapelle, the piano teacher with whom EJB was to have studied. She says she is improving her German [Smith, I, pp. 311–12].
- 7 William Wood supplies a ‘haster’ to reflect heat when spit-roasting in the Haworth kitchen [JK, p. 77].
- 11 The feast of St Constantin, M. Heger’s patronal day. Echoes of this appear in *Villette* [WGCB, p. 228].
- 11 and 20 PB attends York assizes as a witness. Sarah Fermi and Dorinda Kinghorn suggest that it was during this time that he visited the Robinsons at Thorp Green, as evidenced in the letter of CB to PBB of 1 May [Smith, p. 316; *BST*, Vol. 21, 1 and 2 pp. 15–24 and Smith, p. 318].
- 12 Rev. James William Smith takes up his duties as curate at Haworth [Barker, pp. 427, 918].
- 14 PB attends the consecration of the new St John’s church, Keighley [Barker, p. 428].
- 16 William Wood supplies a new clothes horse for the Haworth kitchen [JK, p. 78].
- 30 CB writes the exercise ‘La Chute des Feuilles’. This leads to a paper discussion of the source of genius [Barker, p. 914, CA, p. 180].

April

- 13 (Thu) EJB writes and dates ‘How Clear She Shines’ [DR, pp. 138–9].
- 14 Good Friday.
- 21 CB’s twenty-seventh birthday.
- 24 AB buys a copy of *Sacred Harmony* [MS, p. 65].
- 25 CB dates a notebook she intended to use for German translation [Smith, p. 312, Barker, p. 914, CA, p. 184]. There are some marginal sketches of hands in the booklet [A & S, p. 262].
- (either April or May) CB writes to EN concerning her life in Brussels and mentioning Mary Taylor. The letter was previously (W & S) dated 1 April, but Smith can find no evidence for this precise date [Smith, I, pp. 314–16].

May

CB begins an exercise book ‘A l’usage des maisons d’éducation’ [CA, p. 185]. This booklet (BPM B118) contains notes for a story, under

heading 'Scheme of a mag tale', reproduced in WGCB, p. 317. However, she is probably wrong about the date. It is much more likely that CB used this notebook for this piece of story planning after her return from Belgium. I would guess (though there is no firm evidence) that this might be about the end of 1844 or beginning of 1845. There are brief notes which may relate to the same story at the rear of the notebook. She dates a second German exercise book 'May 1843' [Smith, I, p. 312]. During this month at Haworth a room (it is not known which) is repapered and sized [JK, p. 78].

- 1 (Mon) CB writes to PBB mentioning the gift of a 'little German testament' by M. Heger. This book, *Das Neue Testament* (published by the British and Foreign Bible Society) is at BPM and has a German inscription by CB [Smith, I, pp. 316–18]. CB encloses a single line to AB.
- 1 EJB writes and dates 'To A S. 1830' [DR, pp. 139–40].
- 1 (approx) CB makes notes for a novel inside the cover of a notebook (see above).
- 4 EJB writes and dates 'E.G. to M.R'. [DR, pp. 140–1].
- 20 PB writes to the *Leeds Intelligencer* deploring rebellion in Ireland, and considering that this is partly due to the decline of the Church of Ireland [Barker, p. 918].
- 22 (probably) EJB writes to EN from Haworth, claiming never to have written a proper letter [Smith, I, pp. 318–19].
- 27 PB writes to the *Leeds Intelligencer* concerning the current situation in Ireland [Barker, p. 918].
- 28 AB writes and dates 'A Word to the Calvinists' [EC, pp. 89–90].
- 29 CB writes to EJB from Brussels lightheartedly, describing some of the personalities. She sends her love to Tabby and to 'old asthma'. Smith comments that there is no other mention of EJB's tendency to asthma, but possibly this may be a reference to AB. She also mentions a servant, Hannah, who cannot be identified [Smith, I, pp. 319–21].
- 31 CB writes 'La Mort de Napoléon' [CA, p. 189] and variant 'Sur la Mort de Napoléon' [CA, p. 191].

June

AB buys a music manuscript book now at BPM and dates it with the month only. She begins to copy songs and hymns into it, simplifying harmonies as she copies, perhaps in such a way as to ensure that she, as an amateur, could play the music without difficulty.

To this summer almost certainly belong the reminiscences of John Greenwood of PB teaching EJB to fire at a target. She is alleged to have become very proficient under his tutelage and to have rarely been far from the mark [MOS, p. 370].

- 2 CB writes to PB, mentioning the departure from the parsonage of the unidentified servant, Hannah, also mentioned in the previous letter. She notes that this will result in extra domestic work for EJB, this being one of the few clues we have to the occupations of EJB at this time [Smith, I, pp. 321–2]. The letter, which is defective, probably returned to the matter of extra money needed for CB's German lessons.
- 4 (Whit Sun) CB goes for a walk and picnic with a colleague and pupils. They return in the evening via the Allée Verte [Smith, I, p. 323].
- 5 (Whit Mon) CB has a cold and does not go out [Smith, I, p. 323].
- 6 (Tue, despite date at head) CB writes a German exercise to 'Meine lieber Freundinn' [Smith, I, pp. 322–3].
- 16 Death of Sarah Walker Nussey (EN's sister) [Smith, I, p. 325].
- (probably late in the month) CB writes to EN from Brussels. She has received a portrait of Henry Nussey, who is thinking about becoming a missionary. (It is sometimes considered that he contributes characteristics to St John Rivers in *Jane Eyre*.) She mentions gloomy weather and has a cold [Smith, I, pp. 324–5].
- (unknown date about now) CB writes a draft of 'At first I did attention give'. A transcription is given in the Clarendon edition of *The Professor*, pp. 297–300.
- (late) AB returns to Haworth for the holidays, bringing Flossy with her. Flossy may be the dog that appears in a drawing by AB made at Thorp Green at about this time. It is possible that the distant mansion seen in the drawing is Kirby Hall [A & S, p. 408].

July

- 6 (Thu) PB becomes a founder member of the Bradford Church Institution, which aimed to set up Anglican schools in the area [Barker, p. 430].
- 7 (approx) AB and PBB go with the Robinsons to Scarborough. PBB's description of the small circular museum containing

- geological specimens presumably reflects visits made this year and in 1844 [WGBB, p. 229].
- 14 Rev. E. Jenkins is taken ill with a brain fever after returning to Belgium from a visit to London [Smith, I, p. 328].
- 15 PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury* commenting on a recent case of duelling in London, and opposing the practice [Barker, p. 918].
- 18 A cupboard at the parsonage is repaired by William Wood [JK, p. 78].
- 23 (Sun) Rev. T. Crowther preaches two sermons at Haworth in aid of the Sunday School [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].
- 27 (probably) CB writes the Devoir 'La Mort de Moïse' [CA, p. 188].
- 29 PB writes to the *Halifax Guardian* opposing the repeal of the Union [Barker, p. 428].

August

- 1 (Tue) The Robinsons, and presumably AB and PBB, return from Scarborough. The early return this year may be linked to the impending wedding at Kirby Hall [VO, p. 6].
- 4 PB writes to the National Society emphasizing the need for help for Church schools in Yorkshire [Wilks, B., 'Schools and Schooling in the Life and Literature of the Brontë Family' in *BST*, Vol. 18, Part 95 (1985), p. 355].
- 6 CB writes to EN from Brussels. She mentions a visit made by Rev. Jenkins whom she has heard preach at the Chapel Royal that day, and writes about her loneliness and wish to return home. Later Rev. Jenkins has called to see her [Smith, I, pp. 326–8].
- 14 Henry Thompson of Kirby Hall, adjacent to Thorp Green, is married. It is likely that AB and PBB would be present or would be in some way involved in the 'great stir'. Such experiences of the gentry and aristocracy later feature in *Wildfell Hall* [VO, p. 7].
- 15 M. Heger gives CB a two-volume edition of the works of Bernadin S. Pierre. On the same day M. Heger gives the address at the Athénée Royale and the Hegers leave for holiday [Smith, I, p. 318; WGCB, p. 237].
- 15 (Feast of the Assumption) (possibly, but this is disputed) CB attends a concert to mark the festival. Details of this are in Higuchi, 'Concert at the Fête in *Villette*', *BST*, Vol. 20, Part 5 (1992).

- 29 AB buys a sketching block ('Tablettes à Dessin') [A & S, p. 412].
- 29 A new picture frame is made for the parsonage by William Wood [JK, p. 78].

September

CB begins a further exercise book 'A l'usage des maisons d'Education' [CA, p. 185].

- 1 (Fri) CB visits the Protestant cemetery at Brussels and later goes to St Gudule's cathedral where on 'an odd whim' she wishes to make a confession (see below).
- 2 CB writes to EJB recording the events of 1 September [Smith, I, 329–31].
- 6 EJB writes and dates 'In the earth, the earth thou shalt be laid' [DR, pp. 141–2].
- 10 AB writes and dates 'A Hymn' [ECAB, pp. 91–2].
- 12 AB paints and dates a small girl with a posy. A & S consider that this is likely to be a copy [A & S, p. 415].
- 13 M. Heger inscribes a copy of a 'Discours' to EJB and sends it to Haworth (via CB?) [Barker, p. 916].
- 14 AB buys Rabenhorst's German dictionary. This suggests a journey to York in the company of the Robinson family [ECAB, p. 105]. It seems likely that only the youngest Robinson girl (Mary) would have remained in Anne's charge at this stage, and AB may have been trying to follow the lead given by EJB at Haworth in learning German.
- 18 (probably) CB sees Queen Victoria on her tour of Brussels to celebrate Belgian independence [WGCB, p. 243; Smith, I, p. 331].
- 26 Finale of the Belgian independence celebrations. These contributed to CB's picture of summer nights in Belgium in *Villette* [WGCB, 244].

This month CB uses a 'Cahier d'Arithmétique' [Barker, p. 917].

October

CB attends a music concert in Brussels [R. K. Wallace, *BST*, 18, p. 138]. PB makes a note in *Modern Domestic Medicine* concerning a chemical preparation useful as an eye ointment [MOS, p. 379].

- 1 (Sun) CB writes to EJB from Brussels saying that the Belgians were at their 'idolatrous messe', describing her sight of Queen Victoria and wishing to be back at Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 331–2].

- 4 PB writes to an unknown correspondent locally denying a rumour, possibly that he had been drinking [Smith, I, p. 333].
- 6 CB writes the Devoir 'Athènes sauvée par la Poésie' [Barker, p. 917; C & A, p. 179].
- 13 CB writes to EN commiserating over the death of Sarah, one of EN's sisters, commenting on the severe illness of George, her brother, and hinting at 'odd things queer and puzzling' which have been happening at the Pensionnat. She has tried to give in her notice, but M. Heger has dissuaded her. Since Mary Dixon and the Wheelwrights have left, Brussels is desolate [Smith, I, pp. 333–5].
- 14 CB writes and dates an autobiographical fragment inside the back cover of *Russell's General Atlas of Modern Geography*, wishing she were back at Haworth and mentioning an unnamed person who is the only one in the house worthy of being liked [CA, p. 195; WGCB, p. 247]. She also writes a list of names on the flyleaf [CA, p. 201; A & S, pp. 263, 430–1].
- 14 (approx) CB paints a stone cross on moorland in watercolour over pencil [A & S, p. 263].
- 16 CB writes to Mary Dixon concerning the trials of the Nussey family and her own depression. She also comments on the good nature of Mary Taylor, who has offered to share her teaching in Germany with CB. She thinks she may remain in Brussels until the spring [Smith, I, pp. 336–7].
- 17 CB writes the exercise 'Lettre d'un pauvre Peintre à un grand Seigneur'. Once again, CB is using the exercise to explore her own feeling of difference from her contemporaries during her schooldays, and to discover the meaning of genius [CA, p. 188].
- 19 A great deal of snow falls at Thorp Green [VO, p. 7].
- 19 (Thu) AB, at Thorp Green, draws a study of a man under a tree. This is considered to be (at least partly) a copy; the size of the human figure seems disproportionately short compared with the tree [A & S, p. 416].
- 26 Dr Scoresby of Bradford's visit to Haworth to seek a site for a new church school is reported in the *Bradford Observer* [Barker, p. 918].
- 31 (Tue) AB, at Thorp Green, writes 'The Captive Dove' [EC, pp. 92–3].

November

AB buys Valpy's *Delectus Sententiarum et Historiarum* [Barker, p. 920].

7 (Tue) AB writes and dates 'The Consolation' [ECAB, pp. 94–5].

15 Mme Heger gives birth to her fifth child, Julie [WGCB, p. 248].

20 PB writes to his brother Hugh in Ireland asking for news of the religious position there and giving advice to Protestants on taking up arms [MOS, p. 334].

21 (Tue) AB writes "'Tis strange to think' [EC, pp. 95–6].

December

CB writes a short note in Dutch (Flemish) to Letitia Wainwright [Barker, p. 917].

10 (Sun) (possibly) CB attends a concert at la Salle de la Grande Harmonie. There appears to be no external evidence for CB attending this concert, which included music by Mozart and Bellini. Her attendance is inferred from *Villette*, Chapter 20 [WGCB, p. 249].

16 AB draws a landscape with trees [A & S, p. 416].

17 CB finally decides to return home and is given a gift by a fellow teacher, Sophie. Sophie's covering letter is dated 'le 17 décembre 1843' [Smith, I, pp. 337–8].

18 EJB writes and dates 'Hope' [DR, pp. 142–3].

18 EJB writes and dates 'Rodric Lesley. 1830 Lie down and rest – the fight is done' [DR, p. 143].

19 CB writes to EJB to say she is returning home [Smith, I, pp. 339–40].

19 EJB writes and dates 'M G – for the U.S. T' was yesterday at early dawn' [DR, pp. 144–5].

22 CB makes a copy of 'Athènes sauvée par la Poésie' [CA, p. 179].

25 CB spends Christmas with Mr and Mrs Jenkins and says farewell to Abraham Dixon (Mary's father) and others she has known in Belgium [Smith, I, p. 339; Barker, p. 427].

25 (probably) AB writes 'Music on Christmas Morning' [EC, pp. 96–7].

29 M. Heger presents CB with a diploma reported in ECG's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. The diploma itself is not extant, but an envelope which once contained it is at BPM [Smith, I, p. 342].

1844

This year was an anxious one for CB, who was now equipped to teach, but who was not really keen to do so, and had no base to convert into a school, since PB's health, especially his eyes (as evidenced by the use of the eye lotion which smelt like whisky), necessitated attention from his daughters. EJB seems to have been taking her poetry ever more seriously, and once more decided on systematically copying out her work, this time classifying Gondal and non-Gondal works rigidly. There is some slight evidence that AB was not happy with PBB's behaviour at Thorp Green, and whatever Mrs Robinson's attitude to him, it seems likely that he was not observing the conventional distinction between employer and employed which AB might have expected. The fruits of CB's anxiety, EJB's poetic confidence, and AB's concern, would be seen the following year.

PBB's 'Thorp Green notebook', which may have been similar to his Luddenden Foot notebook, is mentioned in Barker (pp. 462–3), and used by VN in VN, III, pp. 401ff, and VNBB pp. 261–2. Two poems which cannot be dated 'O'er Grafton Hill the blue heaven smiled serene' and 'I saw a picture yesterday' may come from summer 1843 or 1844. See Barker, p. 979, for a reference to an article by Eddie Flintoff in *Durham University Journal* in which he reconstructs the mainly missing notebook.

January

- (approx) EJB begins copying out poems into two manuscript booklets and classifies one as a Gondal booklet; (see February, below); the other has no title, but contains no Gondal names, initials or scenes.
- 1 (Mon) CB leaves Brussels, accompanied by M. Heger to Ostend. She receives a copy of *Les Fleurs de la Poésie Française* from M. Heger, and inscribes the date in it [Smith, I, p. 340].
- 2 CB sails from Ostend, travelling by *The Earl of Liverpool* [Smith, I, p. 340].
- 3 CB arrives in Haworth [WGCB, p. 257].
- (About this time) CB writes to EN asking about her welfare [Smith, I, p. 340].
- 7 There are small repairs at the parsonage, in William Wood's accounts [JK, p. 78].
- 20 (approx) AB and PBB return to Thorp Green. AB is copying music into her manuscript book and may have reached about

p. 20 by this time, when she copies Thomas Hood's 'I remember, I remember, the house where I was born'. It is possible that she makes her own additions. The date of return to Thorp Green is inferred from AB's short poem 'A Fragment' [ECAB, p. 106, revised].

- 23 CB writes to EN with details of her last days in Brussels. She discusses the idea of setting up a school, and gives as her reason for not doing so PB's poor sight which requires her to be with him. There is an implication that the school would be set up elsewhere than Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 340–2].
- 26 AB writes and dates 'A Fragment', probably at Thorp Green [EC pp. 97–8].

February

- EJB begins to copy into a MS book headed 'Gondal Poems' and dates it. The significance of this new copy book and its evident differentiation from the other, non-Gondal copy book, should not be minimized (see Appendix C). AB writes and dates 'The Student's Serenade' [EC, pp. 98–9].
- 2 (Fri) EJB writes and dates 'A S castle wood' [sic] [DR, pp. 145–6].
- 10 EJB writes and dates 'My Comforter' [DR, pp. 146–7].
- 29 PB writes to George Taylor of Stanbury concerning the 'disordered' mind of a churchwarden, Enoch Thomas [MOS, p. 340].

March

- 2 (Sat) EJB writes and dates 'This summer wind' [DR, pp. 147–8].
- 4 (probably) CB writes to EN to make an arrangement to visit her, meeting at the Talbot Inn in Bradford [Smith, I, p. 343].
- 5 EJB writes and dates 'A Day Dream' [DR, pp. 148–50].
- 7 AB buys *Deutsches Leserbuch* [Barker, p. 920].
- 7 CB writes a short note to EN confirming arrangements for the visit to Brookroyd [Smith, I, pp. 343–4].
- 11–23 or 24 CB visits EN at Brookroyd [Smith, I, p. 345].
- 23 or 24 CB returns from Brookroyd, bringing sweetpea and poppy seeds for EJB [Smith, I, p. 344].
- 11 EJB writes and dates E.W. to A.G.A. 'How few, of all the hearts that loved' [DR, pp. 150–2].
- 25 (probably) The cat 'Tiger' dies [Smith, I, p. 345].
- 25 CB writes to EN confirming her arrival home and mentioning that she has received a letter from PBB saying that he and AB are well [Smith, I, pp. 344–5].

- 16 PB writes to the *Leeds Mercury* concerning fire precautions in the home, and mentioning that he has performed funerals for 'ninety or a hundred' children killed by fire [MOS, pp. 364–5].

April

AB writes and dates 'Yes, thou art gone and never more' [EC pp. 100–1].

- 7 CB writes to EN about Mary Taylor's return from Germany and mentioning that she and EJB frequently walk out on the moors [Smith, I, p. 345].

8 (Easter Mon) Closure of the Haworth circulating library is recorded in the *Bradford Observer* [Barker, p. 920].

- 12 Mary Taylor writes to EN from Birmingham, where she is staying with the Dixons, mentioning that she hopes to see CB when she returns home [Smith, I, p. 346].

23 CB draws 'The Summer House on the lawn of Bolwell House'. The drawing appears to be 'from life' and suggests a visit to a house during CB's stay with the Taylors. However, the site has not yet been identified. A series of dubiously attributed drawings appear to date from the same period. One is entitled 'Bridge near Wrottle', but this may possibly be 'Writtle'. This might suggest provenance from Essex, but there is no certainty that these drawings are by CB, and in any case it seems most improbable that she could have visited Essex at this time [A & S, pp. 263–4; 278–81].

May

EJB completes and dates 'The death of A.G.A.' ('Were they shepherds ...?') [DR, pp. 110–19].

(unknown date) CB writes to M. Heger in Brussels. The letter is lost [Barker, p. 921].

- 1 (Wed) CB stays a few days with Mary Taylor [Smith, I, p. 349].

1 EJB writes and dates 'E W Song The linnet in the rocky dells' [DR, pp. 152–3].

- 18 CB writes to Victoire Dubois, an ex-pupil in Belgium, acknowledging a parcel of letters from her ex-pupils [Smith, I, pp. 346–7].

21 EN writes to Mary Gorham near Chichester with details of CB's visit to Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 347–8].

- 29 AB writes and dates 'Memory' [EC, pp. 101–3].

June

- 8 (Sat) Small repairs are carried out to the parsonage: mending a door, a threshold and three chairs. These are entered in William Wood's accounts [JK, p. 78].
- 20 (approx) AB and PBB return from Thorp Green to Haworth [Smith, p. 350].
- 20 (Thu) EJB probably goes to Bolton Bridge with CB and EN and witnesses someone falling into the river [Barker, p. 920].
- 23 CB writes to EN arranging a visit for EN to Haworth [Smith, I, p. 350].

July

- (Probably) CB receives a letter from 'Mathilde' (so far unidentified) in Belgium. The letter was evidently valued by CB as she kept it in her writing desk [Smith, I, pp. 352–4].
- 1 (Mon) EN goes to Haworth where she sees all the family [EN diary 1844 quoted in Smith, I, p. 350].
While there, she is apparently courted by the curate Rev. James William Smith [Smith, I, p. 361].
CB is offered a position in a school in Manchester at £100 p.a. but declines [Smith, I, p. 358].
- 8 CB and EN walk to Ponden Kirk, and have 'fun and fatigue' [EN Diary, quoted Whitehead, p. 110].
- 10 CB and EN walk to Oxenhope, where they walk in a garden under umbrellas because of the rain [EN Diary, quoted in Whitehead, p. 110].
- 11 The Robinsons, with AB and PBB are at Scarborough [Barker, p. 921]
- 13 CB and EN go to Bradford [EN Diary, quoted in Whitehead, p. 110].
- 16 CB, EJB and EN walk to Spinster Bridge [EN Diary, quoted in Whitehead, p. 110].
- 17 (probably) CB writes to Mrs Taylor of Stanbury inviting her to tea on the following Fri [Smith, I, p. 351, Barker, p. 920]. Rainy weather causes CB and EN to turn back from their proposed walk to the reservoir [EN Diary, quoted in Whitehead, p. 110].
- 19 There is a Public Examination of National School children at Haworth, at which CB may have given tea to Mrs Taylor of Stanbury and the schoolmaster's party [Smith, I, p. 351 (acknowledging Dr Juliet Barker)].

- 21 (Sun) Rev. Samuel Redhead preaches at Haworth and is given a good reception [Barker, pp. 920–1]. EN records hearing the children singing at this festival [EN Diary quoted in Whitehead, p. 110].
- 22 EN leaves Haworth, apparently after a game of ‘High Water’ [EN Diary quoted in Whitehead, p. 110 where there are comments about this game; Smith, I, p. 362].
- 23 CB and EJB are engaged in making shirts. The fact that AB is not mentioned in the letter of 29 July confirms the view that she is with the Robinsons at Scarborough [Smith, I, p. 361].
- 24 CB writes to M. Heger telling of her school plans [Smith, I, pp. 355–60].
- 25 The *Bradford Observer* reports the visit of Samuel Redhead to Haworth [Barker, p. 920]. There is also a report of a meeting which PB chaired, and meetings to discuss the possibility of a railway line from Keighley to Haworth [Barker, p. 920].
- 29 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning EN’s return to Birstall on 22 July bringing one of Flossy’s (or ‘Flossie’s’) puppies home [Smith, I, pp. 361–2].

August

AB and PBB in Scarborough. It is impossible to discover how far they attended concerts and drama. This summer the Roxby family presented *King Richard II* at the Theatre Royal. Lydia Robinson, the eldest Robinson girl, presumably attended, as she was later to form an attachment to Henry Roxby, a principal actor [ECAB, p. 111].

- 2 (Fri) AB writes and dates ‘What though the sun had left my sky’ [EC pp. 103–4].
- 10 CB writes to EN with information about her proposal to set up a school at the parsonage. She has already contacted a number of women whose daughters might attend [Smith, I, pp. 362–4].
- 11 EN’s diary records that she has heard from CB [Barker, p. 921].
- (between 10 and 22) CB goes to Keighley to call on ‘Mrs Busfield’ whom Smith (p. 364) identifies as the wife of Rev. William Busfeild [Smith, I, p. 366].
- 15 Robinsons (with AB and PBB) have left Scarborough by this date [Barker, p. 921].
- 21 Harvesting begins at Ouseburn. AB would see this when she returned from Scarborough [VO, p. 11].

- 22 CB writes to EN with some cards containing prospectuses for the proposed school [Smith, I, pp. 364–6].
- 24 Henry Nussey's preferment to the vicarage at Hathersage [Smith, I, p. 349].
- 25 PBB draws and dates 'the Old Hall' [Monks' House or Lodgings] at Thorp Green [A & S, p. 346]. On the verso are calculations which may relate to the numbers of lines of poetry (Neufeldt) and several small figures in pencil involved in 'decadent' behaviour [A & S, pp. 346–7].

September

- (probably) Mary Taylor writes to EN in a letter now damaged, requesting news of CB [Smith, I, pp. 366–7].
- 3 (Tue) EJB writes and dates 'To Imagination' [DR, pp. 153–4].

October

- 2 (Wed) (probably) CB writes to EN saying that she, EJB and AB are finding difficulty in pursuing the school plan [Smith, I, p. 368].
- 2 EJB writes and dates 'D G C to J A Come the wind may never again' [DR pp. 154–5].
- 13 Rev. James William Smith's last entry in the Haworth registers for 1844 [Smith, I, p. 368]. He is replaced by Rev. Joseph Brett Grant, who is to become a model for 'Mr Donne' in *Shirley* [Smith, I, p. 373].
- 13 AB writes and dates 'A Prayer' [EC, p. 105].
- 14 EJB writes and dates 'Plead for Me' [DR, pp. 155–6].
- 24 CB writes again to M. Heger, sending her letter via Joe Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 369–71].
- 26 (Sat) (probably) CB writes to EN with news of the curates and of Mary Taylor's proposed departure for New Zealand [Smith, I, pp. 372–3].

November

- Rev. Edward Greenhow is appointed to the living of Nun Monkton, neighbouring village to Thorp Green. AB seems to have taught his children [VO, p. 12; ECAB, p. 116].
- 6 (Wed) EJB writes and dates 'I.M. to I.G. Faith and Despondency' [DR, pp. 156–8].
- 10 Rev. Joseph Brett Grant signs Haworth registers for the first time [Smith, I, p. 373].

- 11 EJB writes and dates 'From a Dungeon Wall in the Southern College', J B Sept 1825 [DR, pp. 158–60].
- (before 14) CB receives French newspapers via the Taylor brothers [Smith, I, p. 375].
- 14 CB writes to EN concerning her brother Henry's proposed marriage and his appointment as clergyman at Hathersage, Derbyshire. She also thanks EN for trying to find pupils for the proposed school [Smith, I, pp. 373–5].
- 19 AB buys piano music: 'Vocal Beauties of Caledonia' and 'Britannia's brave music' Solfeggio for young pupils [Brontë Music].
- 21 EJB writes and dates 'M. Douglas to E. R. Gleneden Honour's Martyr' [DR, pp. 160–2].

December

- AB buys piano music: 'Happy Land Tyrolienne' [Brontë Music].
- 2 (Mon) EJB writes and dates 'From a D.W. in the N C. A.G.A. Sept. 1826. A Death Scene' [DR, pp. 162–4].
- 14 (probably) AB buys music 'Come chase that starting tear away' [Brontë Music]. There is no precise evidence about the date on which AB and PBB return from Thorp Green this year. It is likely that this music was brought in York, and the next poem written at Haworth, but these are conjectures.
- 16 AB writes and dates 'Lines inscribed on the wall of a dungeon in the Southern P of I' [EC, pp. 106–7].
- 30 CB writes to EN saying that Mary Taylor is currently visiting the parsonage. She also mentions the illness of George Nussey [Smith, I, pp. 375–7].

1845

From the start of the year a difference in tone can be discerned in EJB's poetry, and it is highly probable that she begins to construct [*Wuthering Heights*]. By mid-year AB has made progress with a book generally supposed to be a draft of *Agnes Grey*, and there must be a presumption that the two at least, and perhaps CB also, planned to begin literary careers. Although this is not consistent with the account CB later gave in the 'Biographical Notice', the abandonment of the school plan must have been discussed this Christmas, and it is reasonable to think that the three sisters planned their venture into fiction at this point. It is possible that the notes for a plot outline in BPM B 118 (see

May 1843) may date from about this time. Neither CB nor EJB was in employment, and AB left her post at midsummer. This is sometimes thought to be wholly unplanned, but a case can be made for this move being a deliberate strategy to replace the idea of running a joint school in Haworth and to see whether literature could provide a living.

PBB reached a crisis in his life. The nature of this, involving his relations with Mrs Lydia Robinson, the wife of his employer, is hard to discern. From this year dates his uncompleted novel, 'And the weary are at rest'. PBB's actions frequently influenced his sisters (though in diverse ways) and sometimes his behaviour at Thorp Green is seen as the reason why AB decided to leave, and influential on her portrayal of adultery in *Wildfell Hall*. The chronology is important, but cannot be settled with total confidence. By the end of the year all three sisters are engaged in selecting and revising poems for the publication which CB has suggested. They are about to appear on the national literary stage.

January

George Nussey continues to be mentally ill. During the year this illness will intensify, and he has to be institutionalized [Smith, I, p. 376].

(first few days) Mary Taylor visits Haworth. She probably left on the 4th [Smith, I, p. 377].

CB writes 'At first I did attention give' [Barker, pp. 445, 922 quoting VNCB, p. 274].

8 (Wed) CB writes to M. Heger, describing her emotional state while apologizing for troubling him [Smith, I, pp. 377–80].

13 CB writes to EN discussing George's illness and possible ways she might meet with EN again [Smith, I, pp. 380–2].

18 AB and PBB return to Thorp Green [likely date given in Smith above]. They find alterations in the area, with hedges being grubbed up to provide straighter and wider lanes [VO, p. 13].

18 (probably) CB goes to Hunsworth to stay with Mary Taylor prior to Mary's departure for New Zealand [Smith, I, p. 381].

24 AB writes and dates 'Call me away' [EC, pp. 107–9].

February

3 (Mon) EJB writes 'Enough of Thought, Philosopher' [DR, p. 164].

10 AB is paid her quarter's salary by Mr Robinson [Robinson account book].

20 (Thu) (possibly) CB writes to EN with news of her visit to Hunsworth to see Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 382–3].

- 24 PB writes to B. Terry in support of Dr Scoresby, Vicar of Bradford [Barker, pp. 442, 922].

March

- 3 (Mon) EJB writes 'Cold in the earth and the deep snow piled above thee' [DR, pp. 166–7].
- 4 CB writes to EN, who is staying at Easton near Bridlington, concerning George Nussey's health and Mary Taylor's emigration [Smith, I, pp. 383–4].
- 10 EJB writes 'Death, that struck when I was most confiding' [DR, pp. 167–8].
- 12 (probably) Mary Taylor sets sail from Gravesend for New Zealand to join her brother William Waring Taylor [Smith, I, p. 383].
- 12 The cover on the parsonage well is replaced [JK, p. 78].
- 24 CB writes to EN concerning various matters: George's health, Mary Taylor, and her own dull life at Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 384–7].
- 27 (possibly) CB writes a short note to EN sending on letters from Mary Taylor to her relations [Smith, I, p. 387].
- 28 Gales and squally weather reported in the English Channel [Smith, I, p. 389]. CB considers whether Mary Taylor will be out of their reach.

April

- 2 (Wed) CB writes to EN sending her a French newspaper [Smith, I, pp. 388–9].
- 14 EJB writes 'Stars Ah! why, because the dazzling sun' [DR, pp. 169–70].
- 21 PB writes to Joseph Rushworth concerning new bells for Haworth church [Smith, I, p. 443; Barker, p. 922].
- 21 PBB is paid his quarter's salary by Mr Robinson [Robinson account book].
- 22 EJB writes 'A thousand sounds of happiness' [DR, pp. 170–1].
- 23 CB writes to Margaret Wooler concerning insurance and railway shares. She describes the way in which EJB has learned about railway investment [Smith, I, pp. 389–90].
- 24 CB writes to EN at Hathersage commenting on EN's railway journey and other matters. She sends belated good wishes for EN's birthday on 20 April [Smith, I, pp. 391–3].
- 29 A meeting is held in the church vestry between PB and Joseph Rushworth to discuss the proposed new bells for Haworth church [Barker, p. 443].

May

- (probably, but precise date unknown) AB writes and dates ('Spring') 'While on my lonely couch I lie' [EC, p. 113].
- 9 (Fri) AB is paid her quarterly salary by Mr Robinson [Robinson account book].
- 10 Two poems by PBB are published in the *Yorkshire Gazette* ('On Landseer's Picture' and 'Black Combe') [VN, III, p. 407].
- 20 AB writes and dates 'O God! if this indeed be all' [EC, pp. 111–12].
- 22 Henry Nussey marries Miss Emily Prescott of Everton, Liverpool, at St George's Church, Everton [Smith, I, p. 396].
- 25 (Sun) Arthur Bell Nicholls comes to Haworth and takes up a position as curate [Smith, I, p. 393].
- 26 CB writes to Mrs Rand, wife of the one-time teacher at Haworth school, mentioning the arrival of Mr Nicholls [Smith, I, pp. 393–5].
- 26 PBB writes 'The Emigrant' [VN, III, p. 405].
- 28 EJB writes 'heavy hangs the raindrop' [DR pp. 171–3].
- 28 Arthur Nicholls signs Haworth marriage register for the first time [Smith, I, p. 394].
- 29 Arthur Nicholls signs Haworth burials register for the first time [Smith, I, p. 394].
- 29 William Wood repairs two chairs at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].

June

- 1 (Sun) CB writes to EN giving details of a letter from Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 395–7].
- 1 AB writes and dates 'Confidence' [EC, p. 114].
- (date uncertain) AB writes the first part of 'When sinks my heart in hopeless gloom' [EC, pp. 115–19].
- 2 EJB writes 'Anticipation' [DR, pp. 173–5].
- 3 PBB writes and sends off a list of books he wishes to borrow from Mr Bellerby's library. These include the *Quarterly* and *Fraser's Magazine* for 1844, and copies of *Blackwood's* [Barker, p. 926].
- 3 William Wood repairs bedsteads at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 5 PB writes to inform Mr Rand, former Haworth school-master, that the £230 has been raised for new bells for

- Haworth church. These would not be finally installed and ringing until 1846 [Smith, I, p. 443; MOS, pp. 338–9].
- 7 PBB's poems 'The Emigrant – Two Sonnets' published in the *Yorkshire Gazette* [VN, III, p. 406].
- 9 Arthur Bell Nicholls is licensed to the curacy [MOS, p. 393].
- 11 Mr Robinson pays AB her final salary, £3.10s., one month only, though she was normally paid quarterly. He pays PBB £20, mentioning that it is due on 21 July; this represents a quarter's salary for PBB [Robinson account book].
- 12 (approx) AB and PBB leave Thorp Green, AB finally, PBB apparently for a holiday. The evidence for this date is the entry in Mr Robinson's account book, together with the dates for 1842, which show the Robinsons at Scarborough by 7 July, and therefore suggests (if AB were to have a month at home) that she was at home by about 10 June. However, in view of CB's letter of 13 June, which does not mention AB or PBB, the return may have been a few days later. For a full discussion of the significance of chronology this summer, see Appendix A.
- 13 CB writes to EN discussing EN's visit to Hathersage and saying she herself cannot visit there at the moment. She does not mention AB or PBB [Smith, I, pp. 397–8].
- 18 CB writes to EN changing her mind about accepting the invitation to Hathersage, and giving the news that AB and PB are back home, and AB has decided not to return to Thorp Green [Smith, I, pp. 399–400].
- 19 or 20 (approx) PBB returns to Thorp Green alone [Smith, I, p. 402]. We have, of course, only PB's word given to CB that he was returning to Thorp Green. She may have seen him leave the parsonage, but her information given to EN was what she was told.
- 19 William Wood repairs a chair and an armchair at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 21 CB writes to EN, a short note concerning future arrangements [Smith, I, p. 401].
- 27 (probably) CB writes to EN, with further plans to visit Hathersage. She mentions the departure of PBB for Thorp Green, and also that he is to return when the Robinsons go on holiday to Scarborough. This would be a change of routine from previous years [Smith, I, pp. 402–3].

- 30–2 July EJB and AB leave home for their visit to York [Smith, I, p. 408]. They travel from Keighley to Leeds by rail but it is uncertain whether they spend two nights or only one in York [EJB's largely destroyed account book].
- 31 (Mon) EJB and AB are in York, sleeping there overnight [Smith, I, p. 408].

July

- 1 (Tue) EJB and AB return to Keighley via Bradford, where they bought wine [Smith, I, p. 408; EJB's largely destroyed account book].
- 2 EJB and AB walk home from Keighley after their visit to York [Smith, I, p. 408].
- 3 CB goes to Hathersage, Derbyshire to help EN prepare for the induction of her brother Henry. It is sometimes thought that her seeing the Eyre memorials in the church may have been influential in her choice of name in *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, p. 403].
- 4 (Fri) The Robinsons leave Thorp Green for their annual holiday at Scarborough. The cost of the journey, £4.12.0d. is entered in the Robinson account book for 4 July [VO, p. 15; Robinson account book].
- 5 The Robinsons are in Scarborough, purchasing bridge tickets and a whip for Edmund [Robinson account book].
- 15 William Wood repairs a sash window at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 16 EJB writes to EN, a short note encouraging CB to stay at Hathersage longer [Smith, I, p. 403].
- 17 It has been traditionally thought that Edmund Robinson joins his parents at Scarborough on this date, but this is doubtful. Barker (pp. 466–7) argues convincingly that he had gone to Scarborough on 4 July with the rest of the family.
- 20 Rev. P. Eggleston of Heptonstall gives the afternoon sermon at the annual Sunday School anniversary in Haworth, and Dr Scoresby of Bradford gives the sermon in the evening [Barker, p. 922; Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].
- 22 EN writes to Mary Gorham giving details of places visited by CB while staying at Hathersage. These include Thorp Cottage and the blue rock mines at Castleton, but it is impossible to give precise dates for any of the outings in

Derbyshire [Smith, I, pp. 404–6]. It is often considered that CB used impressions gathered in Hathersage and district in composing *Jane Eyre*; Whitehead (pp. 118–22) discusses some of these.

- 24 (possibly) PBB receives a letter from the Robinsons dismissing him. However, Smith (I, p. 413) gives reasons why 17 July cannot be ruled out. It should be pointed out that no one has ever seen this letter, and CB does not claim to have seen it.
- 26 CB returns from Hathersage, accompanied by EN as far as Sheffield, to find PBB 'ill' [Smith, I, pp. 403, 417].
- 28 CB writes to Mrs Nussey concerning an invitation to Brookroyd [Smith, I, pp. 406–7].
- 28 Mr Robinson pays a further £12.3s.6d. for bills at Scarborough [Robinson account book].
- 29 (Tue) PBB leaves for Liverpool with John Brown the sexton [Smith, I p. 413; EJB and AB's diary papers].
- 30 EJB's twenty-seventh birthday. A very fine morning [Smith, I, p. 408].
- 31 (but dated 30) EJB writes her 'diary paper', a day late.
- 31 (Thu) AB writes her diary paper, apparently dating it 31 July. She mentions that she has begun the third volume of 'passages in the life of an Individual', which is often taken to be *Agnes Grey*. She indicates that the 'Gondal chronicles' begun 'three and a half years ago' have still not been finished [Smith, I, p. 410].
- 31 CB writes to EN giving news about PBB's health and his poor behaviour since returning from Thorp Green. He has been drinking to stun his distress [Smith, I, pp. 411–14].
- 31 Henry Nussey and his bride return to Hathersage [Smith, I, p. 415].

August

EJB writes and dates 'I know that tonight the wind is sighing' [DR, pp. 175–6]. CB draws and dates 'Ashburnham Church on the Valley-Land'. This is a pencil copy and was sent to Constantin Heger [A & S, p. 264].

- 1, 2 PBB, travelling with John Brown (see above), draws 'Penmaenmawr' [A & S, p. 347]. He also writes the poems 'Penmaenmawr' and 'Lydia Gisborne' about this time, but no precise date is available [VN, III, pp. 467, 470].

- 1 (Fri) Mr Robinson, in Scarborough, pays for a further bridge ticket [Robinson account book].
- 3 PBB returns to Haworth [A & S., p. 347].
- 4 (Mon) PBB writes to J. B. Leyland recording his return from Liverpool and North Wales and using imagery suggesting that marriage is on his mind [Smith, I, pp. 414–15].
- 4 Mr Robinson pays further Scarborough bills [Robinson account book].
- 6 EN writes to Mary Gorham with further detail about CB's visit to North Derbyshire [Smith, I, pp. 415–17].
- 7 Mr Robinson pays the Scarborough ostler for five weeks, and further Scarborough bills [Robinson account book].
- 8 (Fri) The Robinsons return from Scarborough [VO, p. 15].
- 18 CB writes to EN concerning PBB's decline and recording that she has recently sent a letter to Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 418–19].
- (later this month) CB writes to EN once again commenting on PBB and his drinking habits. She also writes guardedly to advise EN to tell Amelia Ringrose tactfully about the mental health of George Nussey, whom Amelia hopes to marry [Smith, I, pp. 419–20].
- 26 Death of Samuel Redhead, who had been the clergyman involved at Haworth during the dispute over PB's appointment [MS].
- 30 CB copies and dates 'If thou be in a lonely place' [CA, p. 152].
- (possibly this month) PBB writes 'Real Rest' [VN, III, p. 471].

September

- 3 (Wed) AB writes and dates 'Song We know where deepest lies the snow' [EC, p. 121].
- 4 AB writes and dates 'Song Come to the banquet – triumph in your songs [EC, pp. 121–2]
- (unknown date) AB writes and dates (merely '1845') 'I mourn with thee and yet rejoice', which may possibly be seen as a comment on PBB [EC, pp. 124–5].
- 4 AB writes and dates 'Vanitas Vanitatis' [EC, pp. 123–4]
- 8 CB writes to EN concerning Henry Nussey and his new wife and considering what to do about Amelia Ringrose [Smith, I, pp. 420–1].
- 10 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning EN's brother George [Smith, I, pp. 421–2].

- 10 PBB writes to J. B. Leyland claiming to have written a three-volume novel. This is generally thought to be the incomplete work 'And the weary are at rest'. At the end of the letter he draws 'Bendigo "taking a sight."/'Alas! poor Caunt!' [A & S, pp. 347–8]. As part of the same letter he also draws 'A Cast – cast down but not castaway [A & S, pp. 348–9].
- There have been suggestions that the novel could have been *Wuthering Heights*; Smith (I, p. 424) rehearses some of the arguments which have been offered in support of the theory that PBB could have been involved.
- 18 CB writes to EN discussing Mary Taylor's 'devil-may-care' tone in her letters [Smith, I, p. 425].
- 21 William Wood repairs parsonage windows [JK, p. 78].

October

- 1 (Wed) AB writes and dates 'Parting Address from Z.Z. to A.E.' [EC, pp. 125–6].
- 7 CB writes to EN concerning possible financial difficulties for the Nussey family [Smith, I, pp. 426–7]
- 9 This is the date heading EJB's poem 'Julian M---- and A. G. Rochelle-- Silent is the House – all are laid asleep' (this is EJB's own date suggesting a completion date) [DR, pp. 176–81].
- 10 (approx, possibly) CB discovers Emily's recent poetry and is impressed by it. It is suggested that on the same day she is shown poems by Anne. This account of the initiative for publishing the poems originates from CB, and should be treated with some caution.
- (unknown date) PBB writes to Francis Grundy and explains his version of the alleged 'Robinson affair' [Smith, I, p. 428].
- (later this month) PBB sends a further letter to Grundy, hoping to meet him at the Devonshire Hotel in Skipton [Smith, I, p. 430].
- 14 William Wood repairs windows at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 20 (Mon) Lydia Robinson elopes with an actor, Henry Roxby, whom she had presumably met at Scarborough. They are married at Gretna Green the same night [VO, p. 16].
- 23 (probably) PBB writes to the Manchester, Hebden Bridge and Carlisle Junction railway to seek a post as secretary [Smith, I, p. 431].

November

- 4 (Tue) CB writes to EN concerning George Nussey's possible wedding prospects and mentioning Flossy the dog and her puppies. She also explains why she cannot invite EN to Haworth. She mentions PBB's unsuccessful efforts to become Secretary to the Railway company [Smith, I, pp. 432–3].
- 8 PBB's poem 'Real Rest' published in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 927].
- 18 CB writes to M. Heger for the last time. This was the final one in a series of desperate letters which CB wrote in French to her ex-teacher in Belgium. She adds a postscript in English [Smith, I, pp. 435–8].
- 20 CB writes to EN., a short note thanking EN for a note she has sent [Smith, I, p. 438].
- 24 William Wood repairs a chair at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 25 PBB sends the poem 'Penmaenmawr' to Leyland to be inserted in *The Halifax Guardian* [Smith, I, pp. 439–40; VN, III, pp. 473ff].

December

- EJB writes in her mainly destroyed account book 'I exceeded my income by [£]12-0-0, besides being answerable for [£] 163-13-10d.' JK (p. 62) thinks that this and the next entry might have to do with alterations to the parsonage [ECEB, p. 271].
- 14 (Sun) CB writes to EN discussing whether she will be able to visit Brookroyd though she would very much like to see her friend [Smith, I, pp. 440–1].
- 20 PBB's poem 'Penmaenmawr' is published in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 927]. This is the second of two poems by PBB published during this period.
- 25 (approx) EN sends CB a pair of slippers, possibly as a Christmas present [Smith, I, p. 441].
- 25 (possibly) CB writes and dates 'This is Thy Natal Day, O Saviour Dear' [CA, p. 158, where grounds are given for believing this to be a forgery].
- 28 CB receives a note from Ellen Taylor (Mary's cousin) [Smith, I, pp. 441–2].
- 30 CB writes to EN thanking her for the slippers and recording that Ellen Taylor, Mary's cousin, has received letters from New Zealand [Smith, I, pp. 441–2].

1846

This year was a vital one for the publishing career of the three Brontë sisters. Some of the events leading up to the submission and publication of their first novels can be dated accurately, while others must remain conjectural. It is clear that three novels were submitted to various publishers in the middle of the year, and that they were rejected as a package. I have argued in *The Birth of Wuthering Heights* that *Agnes Grey* was accepted with little or no change, *Wuthering Heights* rejected in its current form, and Charlotte's novel rejected completely. This thesis cannot be proved unequivocally, and in the following chronology the dates of events will continue to be accompanied by 'possibly' or 'probably' according to their degree of authentication. Many drawings and sketches of PBB can be dated to this year but the dating is not totally clear. They were drawn during PBB's autumn stay at The Ovenden Cross, a hotel near Halifax, in a commonplace book belonging to Mary Pearson, the eldest daughter of the landlord. These drawings are described and discussed in A & S, pp. 355–9 and Barker, pp. 512–13, 932–3.

January

- (unknown date) EJB makes an entry in her now mainly destroyed account book, giving a total of £20 expenses, but only the tops of the remaining letters are still in the book [ECEB, p. 270].
- 2 (Fri) EJB writes and dates 'No coward soul is mine'. This was copied into the non-Gondal manuscript, and represents the height of EJB's poetic powers [DR, p. 183].
- 18 Martha Brown, the Haworth servant, has her 2/3d weekly pay increased to 2/6d [PB's financial notebook].
- 22 CB writes to Mr Rand on behalf of PB whose sight is 'very bad', and mentions the new Haworth bells. They were already hung and ringing though they would not be officially inaugurated until March [Smith, I, pp. 442–3].
- 23 CB writes to EN concerning the Nussey family and an interesting letter from Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 443–5].
- 28 CB writes to Aylott and Jones concerning the possible publication of the poems by the three 'Bells' and asking whether the firm would publish 'on the Author's account' [Smith, I, pp. 445–6].
- 30 CB writes to Margaret Wooler, staying in Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, assuring her among other things that the

Brontë investment in railways had survived the 'railway panic' which had shaken investor confidence [Smith, I, pp. 447–9].

February

- 5 (probably) CB writes to EN, a short note concerning Mary Taylor's letter which was to circulate among her various friends in England [Smith, I, pp. 450–1].
- 6 CB writes a letter to accompany the poem manuscript to Aylott and Jones and to make it clear that there are three authors [Smith, I, pp. 451–2].
- 7 CB posts the letter and poem manuscript in two parcels. It is not sure whether CB wrote out the poems of all three sisters or whether the contributions of EJB and AB went forward in their own writing. The issue is important, since it is linked to the matter of whether and how far CB influenced the final texts of EJB's poems in this edition [Smith, I, p. 452].
- 13 CB writes a short note to EN about arrangements for a proposed visit to Brookroyd [Smith, I, p. 452].
- 15 CB writes to Aylott and Jones confirming that she has sent the manuscript [Smith, I, p. 452].
- 16 CB writes to Aylott and Jones discussing 'type and size' of the poem edition. At a later stage CB bought a 'small volume' (ECG) on preparing work for the press [Smith, I, p. 453].
- 18 (probably) CB goes to visit EN at Brookroyd [Smith, I, p. 454].
- 21 CB writes to Aylott and Jones making a decision on the type-face and quality of paper to be used for the poems. [Smith, I, pp. 453–4].
- 25 EJB writes to EN with permission for CB to stay a little longer at Brookroyd [Smith, I, p. 454].

March

- 2 CB returns from Brookroyd. She walks from Keighley by the old road, and therefore misses EJB and AB, who have set out to meet her travelling by the new road. There is a heavy shower in the afternoon which drenches the two younger sisters [Smith, I, p. 455].
- 2 PBB writes a notice for a shooting match for a case of stuffed birds [JK, p. 68].

- 3 CB writes to EN concerning her journey back from Brookroyd and PBB's current state. She reports that he has been drunk ('stupified') and that EJB has called him a 'hopeless being' [Smith, I, pp. 455–6].
- 3 CB sends a letter to Aylott and Jones discussing possible printing errors [Smith, I, pp. 455–6].
- 3 (probably) CB writes to her cousin, Eliza Jane Kingston, in Penzance. She has received a letter from Joseph Branwell, a cousin of Aunt Elizabeth Branwell, concerning the death at sea of Joseph Branwell junior [Smith, I, pp. 456–7].
- 10 Haworth's new peal of six bells is officially opened [Smith, I, p. 443; Barker, p. 505; inscription in bell tower of church].
- 11 CB writes to Aylott and Jones returning the first proofs of the Brontë poems [Smith, I, pp. 457–8].
- 13 CB writes to Aylott and Jones returning the second proofs [Smith, I, pp. 458–9].
- 21 PB writes to John Frobisher, leader of Halifax Choral Society, concerning a poem he wishes to set to music by Gluck [Barker, pp. 489, 929].
- 28 CB writes to Aylott and Jones changing the style of address to which they should send letters. A 'little mistake' has occurred. This is sometimes taken to suggest that PBB had seen evidence of his sisters' dealings with publishers [Smith, I, p. 459].
- 28 Mrs Robinson's father, Thomas Gisborne, dies at Yoxall Lodge, Staffordshire [Staffs Record Office SRO, 820/4/2].
- 31 CB writes to EN asking for news of the Nussey family and mentioning a 'fit' that the old servant Tabitha Aykroyd has suffered. The young Martha Brown is also ill [Smith, I, pp. 459–60].
- (no precise date in March) PBB probably writes 'An echo from the Indian Canton' [VN, III, pp. 476–7].

April

- 3 PBB writes 'Letter from a Father on Earth to a Child in her Grave' [Barker, p. 489].
- 6 CB writes to Aylott and Jones asking them to consider three 'unconnected tales', which the authors do not intend to subsidize [Smith, I, pp. 461–2]. This is the first known reference to the first three Brontë novels.

PBB goes to Halifax for three days [Barker, p. 489].

- 11 CB writes to Aylott and Jones thanking them for an offer of advice about the publication of the Brontë novels and asking some preliminary questions [Smith, I, pp. 462–3].
- 14 CB writes to EN describing the discomforts they suffer through PBB, who is degenerating ‘instead of improving’. There is a reference to his ‘staying at home’, which suggests that pressure put on him may have been one reason for his migration to Ovenden later in the year [Smith, I, pp. 463–4].
- 15 CB writes to Aylott and Jones thanking them for advice [Smith, I, p. 464].
- 18 PBB’s poem ‘Letter from a Father, etc.,’ is published in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 929, VNBB p. 280; VN, III, pp. 479–80].
- 20 CB writes to Aylott and Jones asking for three copies of the *Poems* and mentioning possible advertising plans [Smith, I, pp. 464–5].
- 25 (Sun) CB writes to EN concerning the Taylors of Gomersall and Amelia Ringrose; she also mentions a drawing done by AB for EN [Smith, I, pp. 466–7]. This would be much later than the last piece of pictorial art known to be done by AB.
- 28 (probably) PBB writes to Leyland requesting material for a poem about Morley Hall near Leigh, Lancashire [Smith, I, pp. 467–9; Barker, p. 929]. He adds a poem ‘Home thoughts are not with me.’

He encloses a sketch of a female figure entitled ‘Our Lady of greif’, generally accepted to be Mrs Robinson, dated [by Leyland?] 28 April, and a poem [A & S, pp. 350–1; VN, III, p. 481].

May

- 6 (Wed) Probable date in AB’s advance copy of the poem edition [Barker, p. 930]. A.M.F. Robinson claims (*Emily Brontë*, p. 128) to be using EJB’s autographed and annotated copy to be arranging the poems chronologically for her work on the biography.

No trace of this copy has been discovered; it is possible that Robinson is using the A and B manuscripts.

- 7 CB writes to Aylott and Jones concerning presentation and advertising of the poem edition [Smith, I, pp. 470–1].

- 8 CB writes to Eliza Jane Kingston discussing shares, including some 'new' railway shares. She considers that both she and AB share the Branwell physical constitution which makes them prefer serene, mild, weather [Smith, I, pp. 472–3].
- 11 CB writes to Aylott and Jones discussing the final appearance of the poem edition and the list of periodicals to which review copies will be sent [Smith, I, pp. 473–4].
- 11 AB writes and dates 'Domestic Peace' [EC, pp. 128–9]. (The implication of this non-Gondal poem is that there was discord between Brontë family members.)
- 18 The final entry in his account book by Rev. Edmund Robinson of Thorp Green [ECAB, p. 137].
- 22 Review copies of *Poems* by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell sent out. Smith considers sale to the public to have been on or soon after this date [Smith, I, p. 474].
- 25 CB writes to Aylott and Jones sending a further £5 in expenses [Smith, I, pp. 474–5].
- 26 Death of Rev. Edmund Robinson of Thorp Green [ECAB, p. 137].
- 28 PBB sends his sonnet 'When all our cheerful hours seem gone forever' to J. B. Leyland [Barker, p. 513].
- 29 Death of Joseph Nussey, one of EN's brothers [Smith, I, p. 475].

June

- 1 (Sun) PBB draws a sketch entitled 'Lydia Gisborne' in Greek letters, and writes his poem 'On Ouses grassy banks last Whitsuntide' [A & S, p. 352; VN, III, p. 482].
- 2 (probably) Possible visit of Thorp Green coachman to Haworth to see PBB and warn him of the situation at Thorp Green. However, the Thorp Green coachman was William Allison, not George Gooch as suggested in earlier chronologies.
- PBB writes to Leyland concerning his Morley Hall poem and recording the visit of Mrs Robinson's coachman to him at Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 475–7]. He encloses a drawing entitled 'Myself' [A & S, pp. 351–2].
- (probably about the same date) PBB writes to Francis Grundy with news of the death of Rev. Edmund Robinson. There is considerable difficulty in interpreting this letter, which is highly dramatic in tone, and insinuates that Mrs Robinson

- is shocked at the very mention of PBB's name [Smith, I, pp. 479–80].
- (later) PBB writes to Leyland again with news of a letter from John Crosby, Mr Robinson's doctor [Smith, I, pp. 480–1].
- 3 (probably, or a little later) CB writes to EN in condolence for the death of her brother Joseph [Smith, I, pp. 475–6].
- 5 Rev. Edmund Robinson is buried at Thorp Green. His funeral is attended by Mrs Robinson, Elizabeth, Mary and young Edmund [VO, p. 20].
- 17 CB writes to EN concerning PBB's state of mind and the situation with the Robinsons [Smith, I, pp. 477–9].
- 27 CB completes the fair copy of *The Master* [Clarendon, *The Professor*, ed. Margaret Smith and Herbert Rosengarten, p. xxix].

July

An episode concerning PBB cannot be dated, but may be placed approximately at this point. One night AB discovered PBB in bed with the curtains ablaze. She ran to call EJB, who moved him from the bed and put out the fire with a bucket of water. [Greenwood's 'Diary', quoted verbatim in MOS, pp. 402–3, where he regards this as more probably an episode from 1848.]

- 4 Unsigned notice of *Poems* in *The Athenaeum* [Allott, pp. 61–2].
- 4 Unsigned notice of *Poems* in the *Critic* [Allott, pp. 59–60].
- 4 CB writes to Henry Colburn, publisher, concerning the three Brontë novels. It is not totally clear from the letter whether she has sent the manuscripts with it [Smith, I, pp. 481–2].
- 10 CB writes to EN mentioning a rumour that she might marry Mr Nicholls [Smith, I, pp. 482–4].
- 10 CB writes to Aylott and Jones concerning reviews received and authorizing more advertising [Smith, I, pp. 484–5].
- 14 Mrs Robinson and her children go on their annual holidays to Whitby, Hartlepool and Redcar instead of Scarborough [VO, p. 20].
- 15 CB writes to Aylott and Jones requesting a further copy of the *Critic* review [Smith, I, p. 486].
- 15 AB writes and dates 'Mirth and Mourning' [EC, pp. 130–1].
- 18 CB writes to Aylott and Jones agreeing that further advertising of *Poems* be deferred [Smith, I, pp. 486–7].

- 19 (Sun) Annual Sunday School services are held at Haworth. Rev. T. Crowther of Halifax gives two sermons [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].
- 20 Performance at Haworth of an oratorio, which PB attends though 'totally blind' [Barker, p. 506].
- 21 Annual examination of Sunday School scholars at Haworth [Barker, p. 506].
- 23 CB writes to Aylott and Jones acknowledging receipt of a request for autographs and sending them. The request was made by Frederick Enoch of Warwick [Smith, I, pp. 487–8]. The autographs 'Currer Bell, Ellis Bell and Acton Bell' constitute the only occasion on which the three sisters signed one sheet of paper with their pseudonyms [*Sixty Treasures* 31].
- 23 CB writes to EN concerning her toothache and Nussey family matters [Smith, I, pp. 488–9].
- 25 Mrs Robinson rents out most of the Thorp Green estate and district [VO., p. 21].
- 28 (Sun) AB writes and dates 'Weep not too much, my darling' [EC pp. 132–3].
- (July/August) PBB writes to Francis Grundy a further letter concerning the health of Mrs Robinson and PB's blindness [Smith, I, pp. 490–1].

August

Early August (probably) CB goes with EJB to take PB to Manchester to consult about his eyesight [Smith, I, p. 491]. As a result, a decision is made that he should undergo an operation.

- 1 Mrs Robinson pays off her farm labourers [VO, p. 21].
- 9 CB writes to EN concerning her proposed visit to Manchester with PB to have his eye operation [Smith, I, pp. 491–2].
- 13 AB writes and dates 'Power of Love' [EC, pp. 134–5].
- 19 CB goes with PB to Manchester for the cataract operation by Dr William Wilson. They take lodgings at No. 83, Mount Pleasant, Boundary Street, Oxford Road [Smith, I, pp. 492–3; MOS, pp. 386–8].
CB starts writing *Jane Eyre* [WGCB, p. 328].
- 20 Arthur Bell Nicholls ordained priest by Bishop of Ripon [MOS, p. 393].
- 21 (Fri) CB writes to EN from 83 Mount Pleasant to give her details of her current address [Smith, I, pp. 492–3].

- 24 (probably) The Brontë novels are returned to Haworth. It is uncertain which publisher returned them, and WGCB (p. 327) presumes this was Henry Colburn. However, a case can be made out for the rejection being by Newby, the subsequent publisher of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*. The differing reactions of the three sisters suggest what had probably been written in the covering letter [BWH, pp. 178–9].
- 25 PB's eye operation [Smith, I, p. 494]. On the same day, CB receives her first novel back, via Haworth. ECG (Chapter 15) describes the rejection as being done 'curtly'. If this was CB's own word for it – and there is no other likely informant – this may strengthen the case for this publisher being Newby, and explain CB's lasting dislike of him.
- PB later wrote an account of his operation in his copy of *Modern Domestic Medicine* [MOS, p. 389].
- 26 CB writes to EN from Manchester describing the eye operation. She mentions that she has had a letter from Mary Taylor [Smith, I, pp. 494–5].
- 31 CB writes to EN from Manchester stating that PB was lying in a dark room awaiting recovery from the operation, and thanking her for sending on her letter from Mary Taylor, which has a later date than CB's own [Smith, I, p. 496].

September

About this time PB's brother James ('Jamie') pays a visit to Haworth, though it is impossible to be precise about the date. However, there can be no doubt that the visit was made, and that he recalled CB, PBB and AB well. The visit surely made a considerable impression on the Brontë writers and it may be that this is evidenced in the subject matter of EJB's poem begun on 14 September [BIB, pp. 107–9]. This September was remarkably fine for the time of year. See BWH, p. 180, for a suggestion that this influenced the second version of *Wuthering Heights*.

- 13 CB writes to EN concerning PB's progress and the Nussey family [Smith, I, pp. 496–7].
- 14 EJB writes and dates the first part of 'Why ask to know the date – the clime?' [DR, pp. 184ff].
- 14 AB writes and dates 'Z's dream' [EC, pp. 136–40].
- Barker (p. 512) suggests that AB was engaged in a Gondal prose narrative to which this poem belongs. This is an

interesting possibility, but there is thus far nothing to substantiate it, and if *Agnes Grey* had been accepted in principle (and there is admittedly only circumstantial evidence for this), it seems more likely that AB went back to Gondal as she often seems to do, to provide company for EJB. (See the discussion regarding acceptance and rejection of the three novels in BWH, pp. 144ff.)

- 21 CB writes to EN concerning further progress in recovery from the eye operation [Smith, I, pp. 498–9].

(Late September) CB writes to Aylott and Jones [Smith, I, p. 499].

- 25 (approx) CB writes again to Aylott and Jones possibly acknowledging gift copies of the poems [Smith, I, pp. 499–500].

- 29 CB writes to EN after returning to Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 500–1].

October

AB writes and dates ‘Gloomily the clouds are sailing’ [EC, pp. 140–1]. PBB draws sketches entitled ‘Paradise’ and ‘Purgatory’ and of himself entitled ‘Augustus Caesar’ [A & S, pp. 353–4]. To this period, though not necessarily this month, may also be ascribed PBB’s six other sketches in Mary Pearson’s commonplace book. These were drawn while PBB was living at Ovenden Cross, near Halifax. PBB also drew ‘an old Maid’s Squeamish Cat’ and a picture of a man at the gallows on the same letter to J. B. Leyland as ‘Augustus Caesar’ [A & S, pp. 354–5].

Neufeldt (*BST*, Vol. 24, Part II, p. 157) points out that PBB produced six poems after the death of Rev. Edmund Robinson, and suggests that he had not yet given up hope of a poetic career [see also VN III, pp. 483ff]

EJB breaks off writing her long narrative poem with Gondal overtones. It seems possible that this is the point at which AB begins *Wildfell Hall* and EJB her reorganization of *Wuthering Heights*. For a suggestion that this involved careful consultation of almanacs and a systematization of the time frame of both novels, see BWH, p. 158.

- 6 CB writes to the *Dublin University Magazine* to thank the editor for a positive review of the poems. She describes herself in the colophon as a ‘constant’ reader, and this seems to imply that someone in the parsonage took the magazine regularly. Smith suggests that this was Mr Nicholls [Smith, I, pp. 501–2].

- 10 The *Halifax Guardian* prints EJB’s poem ‘A Death Scene’ from the poem edition [Barker, pp. 498, 931].

- 14 CB writes to EN gently suggesting that any school EN might open would not need help from CB. She emphasizes the issue of family loyalty, hinting that she is crucially needed at Haworth. Smith (p. 504) discusses whether this is on PB's account and remarks that both EN and Mr Nicholls hint at excessive drinking by him. These rumours are generally regarded as groundless [Smith, I, pp. 502–4].
- 18 Martha Brown's wages further raised by PB [PB's financial notebook].

November

Mr Nicholls returns to Ireland for a holiday [Smith, I, p. 504].

Unsigned notice of *Poems* in the *Spectator* [Allott, pp. 64–6].

Depression in the woollen industry this year led to strikes. It is about this time that PB is said to have supported the workers against the wool manufacturers [Barker, p. 517].

- 16 The Misses Robinson go to visit relations and are away from home until early next year [VO, p. 24].
- 17 CB writes to EN saying that her father has resumed his pastoral duties; she also mentions Nussey family matters and a forthcoming visit by EN to a brother in Oundle [Smith, I, pp. 504–5].
- (Date uncertain – about November/December) CB writes to Margaret Wooler admitting to feeling 'hypochondria' especially at Dewsbury Moor [Smith, I, pp. 505–6].

December

AB suffers from asthma including two very painful nights [Barker, p. 517; Smith, I, p. 507].

- 6 (approx) A sheriff officer visits PBB threatening him with prison at York if his debts remain unpaid. They are paid off by the family [Smith, I, p. 508].
- 13 CB writes to EN in Oundle, Northamptonshire, mentioning the very cold weather and AB's asthma [Smith, I, pp. 506–8].
- 13 Shackleton, the Keighley weatherman, records clear weather with a very hard frost [Smith, I, p. 508].
- 22–28 Shackleton records 'much snow' [Smith, I, p. 510].
- 28 CB writes to EN in Oundle, though she has little news. PB is still suffering from flu, and is depressed [Smith, I, pp. 508–10].
- During 1846, PBB wrote a beginning to a poem 'Morley Hall' and several other part poems [VN, III, pp. 492ff].

1847

This year saw the publication of the major Brontë novels, *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights*, by different publishers and as the result of very different processes. At last the sisters seemed to be on the brink of successful literary careers. For CB, this astonishing work was the result of thousands of hours of apprenticeship, telling and retelling imaginative and often bizarre stories. EJB's juvenile work had been equally remote from reality so far as we can tell. Both sisters now brought their narrative skill back home, setting their books in Northern England. Both tapped sources of intense feeling inside themselves, turning away from poetry, which had been a major creative outlet. But it was the literary (though not commercial) success of their poetry which had given them the confidence to write the novels. AB's success was less astounding; she had to wait for her second novel to reach classic status. *Agnes Grey* had probably been finished for some time, and AB was working on *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* during the early part of the year. This was a different category of novel: social, overtly moral, feminist, and with romance in parts dampened down. As EJB worked at the revised version of *Wuthering Heights*, AB was producing a critique of her sister's book. It is unsure how much poetry PBB was writing in 1847: 'Say Dr Wheelhouse is a jewel' may be from this year [TW, p. 331], and see 5 June for a publication (of an old poem) in a local newspaper.

January

(probably) PBB draws cartoons on the end of a letter to J.B. Leyland [A & S, pp. 360–1 and Barker, p. 933]. In the letter PBB claims to have written to Mrs Robinson, but had his note returned unopened, and that the matter is now in the hands of William Evans, MP for North Derbyshire.

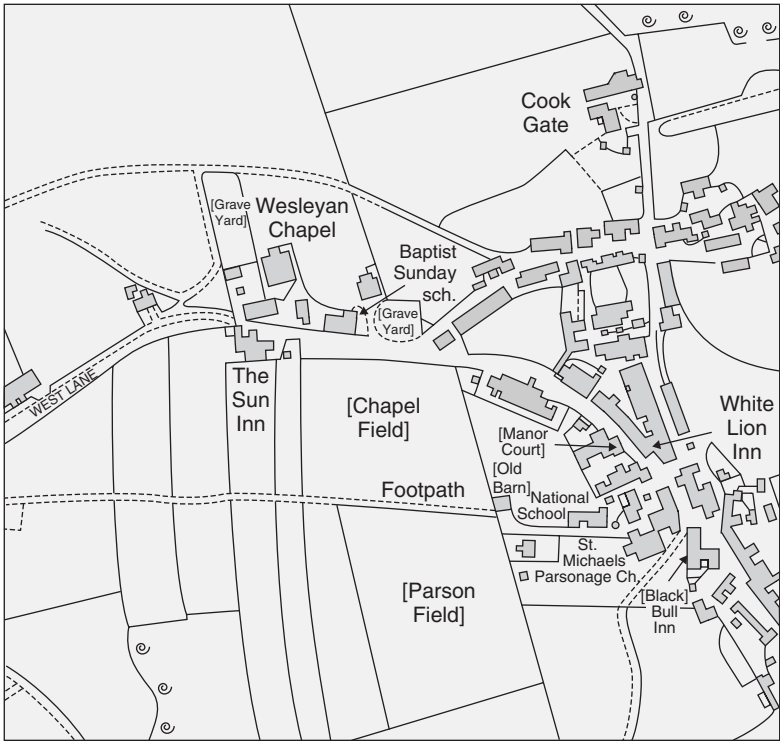
EJB records in her mainly destroyed notebook receipts of ?£5 and the expense of 1/- on a tin [ECEB, p. 271].

19 (probably) CB writes to EN touching on her prospects for marriage [Smith, I, pp. 510–11].

24 PBB writes to J. B. Leyland concerning the supposed ill health of Mrs Robinson and other matters [Smith, I, pp. 512–14].

At an unknown date CB receives a letter from EN opened in transit and containing some cuffs [Smith, I, p. 515].

28 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning the opened letter [Smith, I, pp. 515–16].



3 Plan of Haworth in 1847, the date of the publication of *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights* (redrawn from an Ordnance Survey map).

February

- 14 CB writes to EN mentioning the recent bitterly cold weather [Smith, I, pp. 516–17].

March

- 1 CB writes to EN telling her of the letters that AB has received from her former pupils [Smith, I, pp. 517–19]. These letters have been lost, as have AB's replies. CB says that the young Robinsons do not mention the 'errors' of their mother, and speak highly of AB.
- 16 CB begins to make a fair copy of the earlier chapters of *Jane Eyre* [Clarendon, *Jane Eyre*, p. xii].
- 23 PB writes to the *Leeds Intelligencer* supporting a government plan for compulsory national education [Barker, p. 518].

- 24 CB writes to EN, a short letter with French newspaper enclosed [Smith, I, pp. 519–20].

April

AB writes 'Severed and gone' [EC, pp. 141–2]. She is probably by now nearing the end of *Wildfell Hall*.

- 3 The wife of a former curate of Keighley, Mrs Collins, visits CB in Haworth. She had apparently met her in Manchester. Mrs Collins had been abandoned by her husband [Smith, I, pp. 520–2].
- 4 (Sun) CB writes to EN detailing the visit of Mrs Collins [Smith, I, pp. 520–2].
- 17 Mrs Robinson pays a bill to Rev. J. Eade, near Darlington, for tuition of Edmund [Robinson deeds 93/3].
- (probably) CB writes to EN thanking her for a birthday gift. She is still trying to make arrangements for EN to visit Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 523–4].
- 21 CB forgets her own birthday and that of EN [MS].

May

- 4 CB sends EN a note on an envelope, which may have contained a letter from Mary Taylor [Smith, I, p. 524].
- 12 CB writes to EN confirming details of a proposed visit on 20 or 21 May and mentioning sums of money which Branwell has received and expended [Smith, I, pp. 524–5 and Barker, p. 933]. Barker considers that this money was from Mrs Robinson and mentions ECG's view that he was in the habit of receiving £20 a time from her. There is no Robinson account book for 1847, though there is a cheque book, the stubs of which remain, beginning on 3 April 1847. From these can be reconstructed much detail about Mrs Robinson's expenditure: £26 for wine and sherry to Volans of St Martin's Lane, York; £33.19s.6d. to the chemist Joseph Spence, and so on [Robinson deeds 93/3]. It could be maintained that any money Mrs Robinson sent to PBB antedated this, and that this is why there is no record on the cheque stubs. Detailed accounts could conceivably have been deliberately destroyed; however, I remain sceptical about the allegation that any money PBB received this spring was from Mrs Robinson.

- 14 CB writes to EN with a possible change of plan for the visit and further details of the railway route to Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 525–6].
- 17 CB writes a further short note to EN concerning her visit [Smith, I, p. 526].
- 20 (Thu) CB writes a short almost bitter note to EN after the visit has been postponed [Smith, I, p. 527].
- 25 (probably) CB writes again to EN apologizing for the tone of her previous letter and insisting that EN must come to Haworth before CB goes to Brookroyd [Smith, I, pp. 527–8].

June

- 5 (Sat) CB writes to EN mentioning the current sunny weather and returning a letter of Mary Taylor's [Smith, I, pp. 528–9].
- 5 PBB's poem, 'The End of All', written in 1837, is published in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 524; VN, III, pp. 504ff]. At this time he is looking back on his earlier poetry and making amendments [Barker, p. 934]. (See also VN in *BST*, Vol. 24, Part 2, p. 149.)
- 10 Final date at the end of *Wildfell Hall*. This may be AB's completion date for the manuscript of her novel [ECAB, p. 152, though I have now suggested a slightly extended period for the rewriting of *Wuthering Heights*].
- 10 William Wood, carpenter, sends in a bill for repairing two doors at the parsonage together with a repair of the clock case and a cover for the sough [JK, p. 78].
- 16 CB writes to Thomas De Quincey and Hartley Coleridge enclosing copies of the Bells' poem edition. Letters to Tennyson and J. G. Lockhart are almost identical, and there is evidence also that copies were sent to Wordsworth and Ebenezer Elliott [Smith, I, pp. 529–32].
- 29 CB writes to EN returning a letter of Amelia Ringrose whose character CB praises, and mentioning that Mr Nicholls would soon be moving from Haworth. (He did not in fact move until 1853) [Smith, I, pp. 532–3].

July

- (or late June) T.C. Newby agrees to publish *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*. This is deduced from the date of the proofs, August 1847 [BWH, p. 181].

- 14 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning a visit to Haworth using the new railway [Smith, I, p. 533, explaining that only the envelope remains].
- 15 CB sends *The Professor* to Smith, Elder using the pseudonym Currer Bell [Smith, I, pp. 533–4].
- 18 CB writes to EN concerning the proposed visit [Smith, I, p. 534]. It is possible that a visit by J. B. Leyland to PBB at Haworth may be dated about this time.
- 18 Martha Brown, the Haworth servant, has her quarterly wage raised to £1.15s. [PB's financial notebook]. He adds in Latin that it would be best not to say anything to the children.
- 20 (approx) EN stays at Haworth [Smith, I, p. 537]. It is probably during this visit that the three sisters walked on the moor with EN and saw 'parhelions', as recorded by A.M.F. Robinson [ECEB, pp. 222–3].
- 25 (Sun) Rev. W. Gilmore of Illingworth gives two sermons at Haworth in aid of the Sun School [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].

August

- 2 CB writes again to Smith, Elder enquiring whether they have received the manuscript of the novel [Smith, I, pp. 534–5].
- 6 CB receives a letter from Smith, Elder, sent the previous day, indicating that though they will not accept *The Professor*, they might accept another novel [Smith, I, pp. 535–6].
- 7 CB replies to the offer by Smith, Elder, saying that she has nearly completed [*Jane Eyre*] [Smith, I, pp. 535–6].
- 11 AB writes and dates 'The Three Guides' [EC, pp. 144–52].
- 12 CB writes to EN concerning a 'carriage accident' which had happened on her return from Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 536–7].
- 14 Start of visit to Brookroyd by Amelia Ringrose [Smith, I, p. 539].
- 19 Date of final folio of manuscript of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, p. 538].
- 23 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning a visit to Brookroyd and reporting fine warm weather [Smith, I, pp. 538–9].
- 24 CB sends *Jane Eyre* to Smith, Elder [Smith, I, pp. 537–8].
- 28 CB writes further to EN, probably about the visit [Smith, I, p. 539].

September

The parsonage well is cleared out and eight decomposed rusty tins are found in it [JK, p. 64]. It is tempting to speculate (but only speculation) that this was the Gondal saga.

During the month EJB enters 2/3d paid for two and a half yards of lace in her mainly destroyed account book [ECEB, p. 272].

- 2 End of a visit by Amelia Ringrose to Brookroyd [Smith, I, p. 539].
- 9 CB visits EN at Brookroyd, where Smith, Elder's letter is sent on to her [Smith, I, p. 540].
- 12 CB writes to Smith, Elder from Brookroyd concerning details about *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 539–41].
- 18 CB, still at Brookroyd, writes to Smith, Elder, returning proofs of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 541–2].
- 18 William Wood sends in a bill for repairing a sieve at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 21 Amelia Ringrose's younger sister, Rosetta, writes to EN [Smith, I, p. 557].
- 23 CB leaves Brookroyd for her journey back to Haworth [Smith, I, p. 543].
- 24 CB writes to Smith, Elder, commenting on the difficulty of punctuating her work [Smith, I, p. 542].
- 24 (probably) CB writes to EN from Haworth after returning from Brookroyd, mentioning that EJB has sent off a letter to Brookroyd the previous day [Smith, I, pp. 542–3]. As EJB is such a sparse letter writer the matter is of some interest.
- 29 CB writes to Smith, Elder asking for proofs of the second and third volumes of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, p. 544].

October

- 4 AB writes to EN mentioning that Mr Nicholls is in Ireland [Smith, I, pp. 544–5]. She ends with a postscript sending 'the Major's' compliments; this was a nickname for EJB.
- 4 CB writes to WSW warning him not to expect too much of her as a novelist [Smith, I, pp. 546–7].
- 7 CB writes to EN mentioning that Mr Nicholls is still away. She notes that Haworth villagers would not be sorry if he did not return, and compares him unfavourably with William Weightman [Smith, I, pp. 547–8].
- 8 CB writes to Smith, Elder, confirming that there will not be a preface to *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, p. 549].

- 9 CB writes to WSW suggesting that a copy of *Jane Eyre* be sent to the *Dublin University Magazine* [Smith, I, pp. 549–50].
- 15 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose's illness and mentioning that she considers Mr Nicholls 'narrow-minded' [Smith, I, pp. 550–1].
- 19 *Jane Eyre* is published under the nom de plume Currer Bell. CB receives six complimentary copies and writes to Smith, Elder acknowledging their receipt. [Smith, I, p. 552].
- 23 Thackeray sends a letter to Smith, Elder praising *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, p. 554].
- 23 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Athenaeum* [Allott, p. 71; TWRR, p. 211].
- 23 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Atlas* [Allott, p. 67; TWRR, p. 211].
- 23 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Literary Gazette* [TWRR, p. 214].
- 23 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Tablet* [TWRR, p. 216].
- 23 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Weekly Chronicle* [TWRR, p. 216].
- 26 CB writes to Smith, Elder about the appearance of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 552–3].
- 28 CB writes to WSW thanking him for a letter which mentioned Thackeray's response to *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 554–5].
- 28 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Morning Advertiser* [TWRR, p. 217].
- 29 (or early November) CB writes to EN further about Amelia Ringrose [Smith, I, pp. 556–7].
- 31 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Critic* [Allott, p. 73; TWRR, p. 212].

November

AB begins to write 'Self-Communion' The poem was to be completed by April 1848, but it is impossible to say how much was written in 1847 [EC, pp. 152–61].

Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *New Monthly Magazine* [TWRR, p. 214].

Keighley becomes a separate postal district [MOS, p. 376].

- 1 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Observer* [TWRR, p. 215].
- 6 CB writes to WSW concerning the letter to G. H. Lewes which she wishes to be posted in London [Smith, I, pp. 557–8].
- 6 CB writes to G. H. Lewes discussing the validity of the faculty of imagination [Smith, I, pp. 559–61].
- 6 Review of *Jane Eyre* in *Britannia* [TWRR, p. 211].

- 6 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Spectator* [Allott, p. 74; TWRR, p. 215].
- 6 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Sun* [TWRR, p. 216].
- 10 CB writes to WSW concerning reviews of *Jane Eyre* and mentioning the imminent publication of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* [Smith, I, pp. 561–3].
- 12 Henry Nussey, who had once proposed marriage to CB, begins a memorandum book in which he proposes to describe his travels in Europe. He goes to Nice, and for an unknown reason does not renew his duties as a clergyman [Smith, I, p. 557].
- 13 CB writes to Smith, Elder concerning further reviews of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 563–4].
- 13 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *People's Journal* [Allott, p. 80; TWRR, p. 215].
- 17 CB writes to WSW concerning reviews and conveying thanks from EJB and AB, for offering to help negotiate with T. C. Newby [Smith, I, pp. 564–5].
- 19 Very positive review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Nottingham Mercury* [Smith, I, p. 566].
- 20 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Bath Herald* [TWRR, p. 211].
- 20 Review of *Jane Eyre* in *Howitt's Journal* [TWRR, p. 214].
- 22 CB writes to WSW enclosing a further letter for G.H. Lewes [Smith, I, pp. 565–6].
- 22 CB writes to G. H. Lewes concerning *Ranthorpe* [Smith, I., pp. 566–7].
- 27 CB writes to W.S.W. concerning her postal address [Smith, I, pp. 567–8].
- 27 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Economist* [TWRR, p. 213].
- 27 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Examiner* [Allott, p. 76; TWRR, p. 213].
- 27 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Glasgow Examiner* [TWRR, p. 217].
- 30 CB writes to Smith, Elder concerning reviews of *Jane Eyre* and mentioning *Wuthering Heights* [Smith, I, p. 568].

December

CB apparently begins to rewrite *The Professor* under various possible titles [Smith, I, p. 541].

- (early) *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* are published by Newby [BWH, p. 181]. Review of *Jane Eyre* in *Douglas Jerrold's Magazine* (Issue for July–December 1847). This is to be

distinguished from *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper* [TWRR, p. 212].

Review (by G. H. Lewes, but unsigned) of *Jane Eyre* in *Fraser's Magazine* [Allott, p. 83; TWRR, p. 213].

Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Mirror*, Vol. 2 [TWRR, p. 214].

1 CB writes to Smith, Elder suggesting that they leave 'Currer Bell' off communications addressed to her at Haworth [Smith, I, pp. 568–9].

1 Review of *Jane Eyre* in *The Guardian* [Smith, I, p. 573].

2 CB writes to EN who is staying in Hull with Amelia Ringrose [Smith, I, pp. 569–70].

2 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Bradford Observer* [Smith, I, p. 573].

4 Positive review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Newcastle Guardian* [Smith, I, p. 573].

5 Somewhat negative review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Sunday Times* [Smith, I, p. 573].

10 CB writes to Smith, Elder acknowledging the first payment of £100 for *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 570–1].

11 CB writes to WSW concerning further reviews of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 571–4].

14 (approx) EJB and AB receive six copies of their novels [Smith, I, p. 568].

14 CB writes to WSW concerning the publication of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* and mentioning the arrival of six copies, but complaining of the presentation [Smith, I, pp. 574–6].

15 CB writes to WSW concerning reviews of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 576–7].

15 CB writes to R. H. Horne, author of a poem 'Orion' which CB had read [Smith, I, pp. 577–8].

16 Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Church of England Journal* [Smith, I, p. 582; see also TWRR, p. 218].

18 CB drafts a letter to WSW, and sends off a final version to him [Smith, I, pp. 578–80].

18 Review of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* in the *Spectator* [TWRR, p. 215].

21 CB writes to WSW concerning a new preface to *Jane Eyre*, enclosing a revised version, and discussing the characters of 'Acton' and 'Ellis Bell' [Smith, I, pp. 580–1].

22 Review of *Jane Eyre* in *The Scotsman* [Smith, I, p. 588].

- 23 CB writes to WSW concerning her new preface [Smith I, pp. 582–3].
- 24 CB writes to EN with good wishes for Christmas and mentioning that she has had a letter from Mary Taylor. She also compliments Rosie Ringrose [Smith, I, pp. 583–4].
- 24 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose hoping her health will improve [Smith, I, p. 585].
- 25 CB writes to Smith, Elder thanking them for a gift and returning the preface to the second edition [Smith, I, p. 586].
- 25 Review of *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre* in the *Athenaeum* [TWRR, p. 211].
- 31 CB writes to WSW (probably) concerning the title page of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, I, pp. 587–8].
- 31 Review of *Jane Eyre* in *The Scotsman* [TWRR, p. 218].

1848

The year opened ominously, with bad weather and serious concerns over the health of PBB. Despite the success of *Wuthering Heights* EJB would never publish again. The letter from Newby which she received under cover of one to 'Acton Bell' implies very strongly that she had made progress with a second novel, but her return to Gondal of 13 May suggests that it had been abandoned. The year was to be a crucial one in the lives of the Brontës. For CB and AB, as they visited London in July (AB for the first and only time), new worlds seemed to open. But the health, physical and psychological, of PBB was failing, and as the autumn began, he succumbed to what he felt to be the unbearable nature of his life. It was said that at his funeral EJB caught her terminal illness, a cold leading to phthisis. The bright hope that these new bestselling authors had felt in 1847 was not being realized, and by the end of the year the quartet was reduced to two.

January

A second edition of *Jane Eyre* is published [Smith, II, p. 13].

PBB visits Halifax; he is now having occasional fainting fits. Barker discusses the nature of PBB's illness, and the possibility that he may have been epileptic [Barker, pp. 544–5].

G. H. Lewes reviews *Jane Eyre* in the *Westminster Review* [Allott, pp. 87–8].

Wuthering Heights and *Agnes Grey* are reviewed in the *New Monthly Magazine* [Allott, p. 229].

- (probably) CB decides to tell PB that she has written *Jane Eyre* [Barker, pp. 545–6].
- 1 *Jane Eyre* reviewed in the *Courier* and *Oxford Chronicle* [Smith, II, pp. 5–6].
- 4 CB writes to WSW mentioning that *Jane Eyre* is being read in Yorkshire [Smith, II, pp. 3–6].
- 4 First American edition of *Jane Eyre* published by Harper & Brothers [Smith, II, p. xxxvii].
- 7 William Wood, the carpenter, mends a chair in the parsonage at the cost of 1/6d [HP, p. 78].
- 8 Review of *Wuthering Heights* in the *Examiner* [TWRR, p. 213; Allott, p. 220–2].
- 9 (approx) PBB writes to J. B. Leyland enclosing macabre drawings and requesting the return of his poem ‘Caroline’, which, however, JBL did not return [Smith, II, pp. 6–8].
- 11 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose, who is staying with EN, and other matters including PBB’s health. She records that Amelia and EN could not attend a party at Oakwell Hall, a mansion which was to contribute characteristics to Fieldhead, in *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 8–9].
- 12 CB writes to G. H. Lewes concerning his review of *Jane Eyre*, and including comments on Jane Austen, whose *Pride and Prejudice* she has just read. She includes thoughts on her own principles of writing [Smith, II, pp. 9–12].
- 13 CB writes to WSW concerning the second edition of *Jane Eyre* and a letter from Julia Kavanagh [Smith, II, pp. 12–13].
- 15 *Britannia* review of *Jane Eyre* [Allott, pp. 224–8].
- 15 *Douglas Jerrold’s Weekly Newspaper* review of *Wuthering Heights* [Allott, pp. 227–8].
- 17 AB’s twenty-eighth birthday.
- 18 CB writes to G. H. Lewes concerning Jane Austen and other matters. She hopes to read more works of this author but has no access to a circulating library [Smith, II, pp. 13–15].
- 22 *Atlas* review of *Wuthering Heights* [Allott, pp. 230–3].
- 22 CB writes to WSW concerning reviews of *Jane Eyre* and the advertising practices of Mr Newby [Smith, II, pp. 16–17].
- 22 The *Morning Herald* gives a favourable review of *Jane Eyre* [TWRR, p. 218].
- 26 AB writes to EN thanking her and Amelia Ringrose for a letter with a gift of watch guards, and mentioning influenza

or a 'bad cold' suffered by the family at Haworth [Smith, II, pp. 19–20].

- 28 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose and the imminent death of Lady Scott, wife of Sir Edward Dolman Scott and a family friend of the Robinsons. She mentions that the Robinson girls write frequently to AB [Smith, II, pp. 20–2].
- 28 CB writes to WSW concerning Thackeray's reaction to *Jane Eyre*. She has received a letter from him, enclosed with one from WSW, and is very upset that she has inadvertently appeared to allude to Thackeray's personal situation in that his wife had become insane [Smith, II, pp. 22–4].
- 28 Lydia Robinson of Thorp Green writes to her agent concerning her daughters [Smith, II, p. 93].
- 29 An advertisement placed by Newby in the *Examiner* confuses the authors of the three Brontë novels [Smith, II, p. 18].
- 29 Review of *Wuthering Heights* in *The Economist* [TWRR, p. 213].
- 31 (Mon) A stage version of *Jane Eyre* is performed at the Victoria Theatre, London [Smith, II, p. 25].

February

- Review of *Wuthering Heights* in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* [TWRR, p. 216].
- 2 CB writes a short note to Julia Kavanagh to accompany a copy of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, II, p. 24].
- 5 A further advertisement placed by Newby, this time in *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, confuses the authors of the Brontë novels [Smith, II, p. 18].
- 5 CB writes to WSW concerning a theatrical version of *Jane Eyre*, presumably that enacted on 31 January [Smith, II, pp. 25–6].
- 15 Newby writes to 'Ellis Bell', in a letter probably enclosed in one to 'Acton Bell'. The letter and its interpretation are important in deciding whether or not EJB was writing a second novel [BWH, pp. 194–5]. An earlier letter is implied in CB's letter to WSW of 5 February 1848 [Smith, II, pp. 25–6].
- 15 CB writes to WSW. She has received his letter giving more details of the adaptation of *Jane Eyre*; she says that her next

- book is making slow progress thus far and discusses the character of 'Ellis Bell' as one who does not agree that 'the proper study of mankind is man' [Smith, II, pp. 27–8].
- 17 CB receives a further £100 for *Jane Eyre* and writes to George Smith to thank him for the cheque. She mentions EJB's and AB's commitment to Newby as publisher [Smith, II, pp. 28–9].
- 19 A further advertisement by Newby, in the *Examiner*, confuses the three Brontë authors [Smith, II, p. 18].
- 25 CB writes to WSW concerning the French situation in the 'Year of Revolutions' and informing him of an approach from a French woman 'Mdle. B---' who proposes to translate *Jane Eyre* into French [Smith, II, pp. 29–31].
- 26 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose, who is still at Brookroyd [Smith, II, pp. 31–3].
- 26 CB writes to EN concerning Miss Wooler and mentioning the former Haworth curate, James William Smith [Smith, II, pp. 33–4].
- 28 CB writes to WSW about politics and thanks him for trying to send a copy of the *Examiner*, which had apparently been lost in the post [Smith, II, pp. 35–7].

March

Repairs are carried out to the staircase at the parsonage [JK, p. 78].

- 6 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose, to whom she does not propose to write despite the suggestion by EN [Smith, II, pp. 37–9].
- 11 CB writes to EN acknowledging a letter from Amelia Ringrose, but saying that she will not reply to it [Smith, II, p. 39].
- 11 CB writes to WSW concerning her preface to the third edition of *Jane Eyre* and declining to make her own illustrations for the book [Smith, II, pp. 40–2].
- 13 CB writes to WSW enclosing the *errata* for the third edition of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, II, pp. 42–3].
- 17 PB's seventy-first birthday.
- 28 CB writes to EN concerning letters she has received from Margaret Wooler and from an ex-pupil, Miss Caris [Smith, II, pp. 43–4].
- 29 CB writes to WSW on various literary topics and revolution in France [Smith, II, pp. 44–7].

- 31 CB writes to Margaret Wooller concerning political and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 47–9].

April

Third edition of *Jane Eyre* published. There are quotations from favourable reviews in *The Guardian*, *Liverpool Standard*, *Morning Post*, *Nottingham Mercury* and *Sheffield Isis* [TWRR, p. 218].

Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Christian Remembrancer* [Allott, pp. 88–92].

Review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Church of England Quarterly Review*, Vol. 23 [Smith, II, p. 46].

Unsigned notice of *Wuthering Heights* in the *Literary World* [Allott, pp. 233–4].

PB pays rates of £3.11s.6d. [JK, p. 60].

3 (probably) CB writes to WSW concerning a review in the *Christian Remembrancer* [Smith, II, pp. 49–51].

4 (Tue) The Woodd family, new occupants of Thorp Green Hall, take up residence [VO, p. 32].

6 William Wood supplies a new clothes pole for the parsonage [JK, p. 78].

12 Lydia Robinson of Thorp Green writes to her agent Mr Seaton about the expensive tastes of her children [Smith, II, p. 93].

15 Third edition of *Jane Eyre* is published [Smith, II, p. 41].

17 AB completes and dates 'Self-communion' [EC, p. 152].

20 CB writes to WSW concerning the Chartists and confirming that she wishes her pseudonym to be retained at present [Smith, II, pp. 51–2]. Barker (p. 555) comments that CB must have been aware of the current slump in the textile trade and its effect on the inhabitants of Haworth, which she would see all around her.

20 CB receives a parcel of complimentary books from Smith, Elder and writes to thank the firm [Smith, II, pp. 52–3].

21 CB's thirty-second birthday.

22 CB writes to EN mentioning that she has forgotten EN's birthday (on 20 April) and her own [Smith, II, pp. 53–4].

24 AB writes and dates 'Believe not those who say' [EC, pp. 161–2].

26 CB writes to WSW concerning Lewes's novel *Rose, Blanche and Violet* [Smith, II, pp. 54–6].

28 CB writes to EN objecting to an unspecified rumour about herself [presumably as the author of *Jane Eyre*; Smith, II, pp. 56–7].

May

The *Dublin University Magazine* includes comment on *Jane Eyre* in 'An Evening's Gossip on New Novels' [Smith, II, p. 61].

Review of *Jane Eyre* in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* [TWRR, p. 216].

- 1 CB writes to WSW concerning Lewes's book and other literary matters [Smith, II, pp. 57–61].
- 3 CB writes to EN giving her instructions to deny that she is the author of *Jane Eyre* [Smith, II, pp. 62–3].
- 12 CB writes to WSW concerning an article in the *Morning Chronicle* about governesses and discussing various issues including the status of governesses and speculation about the real identity of the writers of the Brontë novels [Smith, II, pp 63–7].
- 13 EJB begins a new version of 'Why ask to know the date ...?' [DR, pp. 192–3].
- 24 CB writes to EN concerning various mutual acquaintances [Smith, II, pp. 68–9].

June

Review of *Wuthering Heights* in the *American Review*, by G. H. Peck [Allott, pp. 235–42].

- (early) PBB writes from the Old Cock at Halifax to J. B. Leyland asking him to come to see him [Smith, II, p. 76].
- 2 CB writes to WSW with references to his children and to a proposed letter to the *Morning Chronicle* [Smith, II, pp. 70–1].
- 11 George Eliot writes to Charles Bray with her comments on *Jane Eyre* [Allott, p. 92].
- 13 CB writes to (probably) Susan Bland, a former Sunday School scholar [Smith, II, p. 71].
- 15 CB writes to WSW concerning his daughter, who was about to go out as a governess, and concerning Carlyle and other issues [Smith, II, pp. 72–5].
- 15 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging the gift of the first volume of *The Life of Mirabeau* [Smith, II, pp. 75–6].
- 17 (probably) PBB writes from Haworth to J. B. Leyland referring to a court summons and to the prospect of more money reaching him via Dr Crosby. He describes his recent ill health and mental torment [Smith, II, pp. 76–7].
- (about this time) Joe Taylor and others, including Miss Mossman, visit CB at Haworth in pouring rain [Smith, II, p. 81].

- 22 CB writes to WSW concerning among other matters an American printing of *Jane Eyre*. She also notes that Newby has issued an advertisement which allegedly blurs the distinction between the 'Bells' [Smith, II, pp. 77–81].
- 26 CB writes to EN alluding obliquely to *Jane Eyre* [Smith, II, pp. 81–3].
- 26 PBB's thirty-first birthday.
- 27 (approx) Publication of *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* [Smith, II, p. xxxvii].

July

PBB is now deteriorating badly, sleeping much of the day and awake at night. Precise dates are unavailable, but there is a discussion and detail in WGBB, pp. 281ff.

Unsigned notice of *Wuthering Heights* in *Graham's Magazine* [Allott, pp. 242–3].

- 1 WSW writes an article in *John Bull* on older and modern methods of painting, which CB subsequently reads [Smith, II, p. 85].
- 4 PB writes to the Ordnance Department with suggestions for improvements in the design of a mortar [MOS, p. 414].
- 7 (Fri) CB and AB start for London with the aim of meeting their publishers and clearing up confusion about the various 'Bells'. They catch an overnight train and are allowed to remain in it on arrival until 7 a.m. [ECAB, pp. 161–2].
- 8 CB and AB visit Smith, Elder and introduce themselves to George Smith. In the evening they go to see Rossini's *Barber of Seville* at Covent Garden [ECAB, pp. 163–4].
- 8 CB writes a note to WSW accepting an invitation to meet Mrs Williams, though she does not actually meet her [Smith, II, pp. 83–4].
- 8 Unsigned review of *Wildfell Hall* in the *Spectator* [Allott, pp. 249–50].
- 8 Unsigned review of *Wildfell Hall* in the *Athenaeum* [Allott, p. 251].
- 9 (Sun) After a late evening at the opera in London, CB and AB wish to attend church, and go to St Stephens, Wallbrook, to hear preaching by Dr Croly, who is unfortunately not there. After lunch they go to dinner with George Smith at his home, 4 Westbourne Place, Paddington [ECAB, p. 165, Barker, p. 561].

- 10 CB and AB visit the National Gallery and the Royal Academy and buy books for EJB and for Tabby and Martha. It is almost certain that this is the day on which they visit T. C. Newby [ECAB, p. 165].
- 11 CB and AB leave London to return home, reaching Leeds by nightfall [ECAB, pp. 166–7].
- 12 (Wed) CB and AB leave Leeds and return to Keighley by rail, from where they walk home [ECAB, p. 167].
- 13 CB writes to WSW thanking him for the entertainment in London [Smith, II, pp. 84–6].
- 13 CB writes to George Smith, thanking him for entertainment in London and for a parcel of books, including Ruskin's *Modern Painters* [Smith, II, p. 85].
- 14, 15 Stormy weather reported [*Derby Mercury*].
- 18 William Wood fits a new hinge to a cupboard in the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 18 Final publication of the single-volume edition of *Vanity Fair* [Smith, II, p. 102].
- 18 PB pays 18/- to John Hudson for painting the outside of the parsonage [MOS, p. 482].
- 18 Date inside a copy of *Vanity Fair* given to CB by Thackeray and inscribed 'with the grateful regards of W. M. Thackeray' [Shorter, *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*].
- 22 PB receives a letter from Tom Watson of the Old Cock inn, Halifax, threatening to summons PBB for debt. He writes to Leyland expressing the hope that he will be able to repay the debt [WGBB, pp. 285–6].
- 22 Date of AB's preface to the second edition of *Wildfell Hall*.
- 24 Mary Taylor, in Wellington, New Zealand, completes a letter to CB, which had been started in June, and sends it [Smith, II, pp. 87–92].
- 24 A 'fearful storm' reported, with much loss of life at Scarborough [*Derby Mercury*].
- 28 CB writes to EN mentioning AB's frequent receipt of letters from the Robinsons, Mrs Robinson's character, and PBB's poor condition [Smith, II, pp. 92–3].
- 29 *Examiner* review of *Wildfell Hall* [Smith, II, p. 97; Allott pp. 254–7].
- 31 CB writes to WSW discussing Ruskin's *Modern Painters* and the reaction to *Wildfell Hall*; she also comments on EJB's character [Smith, II, pp. 94–8].

August

Unsigned review of *Wildfell Hall* in *Sharpe's London Magazine* [Allott, pp. 263–5].

- 2 Ordnance Dept reply to PB with the information that the proposed mortar is already in use [MOS, p. 414].
- 2 or 3 (probably) Death of Lady Scott, the wife of Sir Edward Dolman Scott [WGBB, p. 277; her family relationships are given in Smith, II, p. 105].
- 12 *Atlas* review of *Wildfell Hall* including negative comments on *Agnes Grey* [Smith, II, p. 101].
- 12 *Literary World* review of *Wildfell Hall* [Allott, pp. 257–61].
- 14 CB writes to WSW commenting on his appraisal of *Wildfell Hall* and some aspects of *Wuthering Heights* [Smith, II, pp. 98–101].
- 17 CB writes to George Smith thanking him for books including *Vanity Fair* [Smith, II, pp. 101–2].
- 18 CB writes to WSW wishing him a pleasant holiday [Smith, II, pp. 102–3].
- 18 CB writes to EN concerning the Robinsons and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 103–6].
- 23 William Wood supplies a new picture frame for the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 28 CB writes to Margaret Wooler mentioning a letter from Mary Taylor received in June [Smith, II, pp. 106–9].
- 28 William Wood repairs a cupboard in the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- (late) PBB's final note to John Brown, asking for fivepence worth of gin, may date from about this time [Barker, p. 565; Smith, II, pp. 110–11].

September

Unsigned review of *Wildfell Hall* in the *Rambler* [Allott, pp. 266–73].

- 4 CB writes to Mary Taylor giving details of the London visit [Smith, II, pp. 107–17].
- 7 CB writes to George Smith concerning the remainder of the poem edition [Smith, II, pp. 117–18].
- (early September) CB writes to WSW mentioning the preface to the second edition of *Wildfell Hall* [Smith, II, pp. 118–21].
- 21 William Wood is engaged on mending windows in the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 22 PBB visits John Brown in Parsonage Lane [MOS, p. 415].

- 22 PBB goes to meet Francis Grundy in The Black Bull at Haworth. Before this, PB has been down to the public house to prepare Grundy for the change he will see in PBB [Barker, p. 565].
- 23 (evening) PBB visited by Dr John Wheelhouse, who can hold out no hope. During the evening PB talks and prays with PBB, who acknowledges his faults [Barker, p. 567].
- 24 Death of PBB at about 9 a.m. with the family round him, of 'chronic bronchitis and marasmus' [Barker, p. 567; Smith, II, p. xxxiv].
- 24 William Wood sends an account for new sashcord for the parsonage [JK, p. 78].
- 28 Funeral of PBB conducted by William Morgan [Barker, p. 569].
- 28 The *Bradford Observer* reports the death of PBB [Barker, p. 940].
- 29 AB writes to WSW on CB's behalf because of her 'severe domestic affliction' [Smith, II, pp. 121–2].
- 30 PBB's funeral reported in the *Leeds Mercury* [Barker, p. 940].

October

John Eagles reviews *Jane Eyre* in *Blackwood's Magazine* [Allott, pp. 95–6]. 'E.P.' reviews *Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights* and *Wildfell Hall* in the *North American Review* [Allott, pp. 97–8, 247–8 and 261–2].

- 1 PBB's funeral sermon in Haworth church by Rev. A. B. Nicholls [MOS, p. 418].
- 2 CB writes to WSW concerning the death of PBB [Smith, II, pp. 122–3].
- 6 CB writes to WSW further about PBB and her feelings about him as she looked on his 'noble' face in death [Smith, II, pp. 123–5].
- 9 CB writes to EN concerning the death of PBB and her own illness and headaches. EJB has an obstinate cough and cold and AB is delicate [Smith, II, pp. 125–6].
- 14 CB writes to Ann Nussey thanking her for a condolence letter [Smith, II, pp. 127–8].
- 18 CB writes to WSW mentioning that she has had to lay aside the work on her new novel (later *Shirley*) because of ill health [Smith, II, pp. 128–30].
- 19 AB's ex-pupil, Mary Robinson, marries Henry Clapham at Allestree, near Derby, and they take up residence at Ayreworth House, Keighley [Smith, II, p. 105].

- 29 CB writes to EN expressing worry about EJB's health [Smith, II, pp. 130–2].
- 31 Eugene Forçade reviews *Jane Eyre* in *Revue des deux mondes* [Allott, pp. 100–4].

November

- 2 CB writes to WSW mentioning EJB's illness [Smith, II, pp. 132–5].
- 5 CB writes to WSW consoling him for depression and agreeing to a short 'prefix' to the new issue of the *Poems* [Smith, II, pp. 135–7].
- 7 CB writes to George Smith thanking him for a remittance of £100 and saying that EJB is too ill to write [Smith, II, pp. 137–9].
- 8 Mrs Robinson marries Sir Edward Dolman Scott [Smith, II, p. 105]. The wedding took place at Bath and was conducted by Rev. Henry Harding, Rector of Aldridge (the mother parish of Great Barr) [*Derby Mercury*].
- 11 The *Spectator* review of the Bells' *Poems* [Allott, pp. 64–6].
- 12 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging a parcel of books [Smith, II, pp. 139–40].
- 16 CB writes to WSW acknowledging receipt of the review of *Poems* from the *Spectator* [Smith, II, pp. 140–2].
- 22 CB writes to WSW mentioning EJB's response to the review in the *North American Review* [Smith, II, pp. 142–5].
- 23 CB writes to EN saying that EJB is very ill but refuses to see a doctor. She also mentions the intention of AB's ex-pupils to visit her [Smith, II, pp. 145–6].
- 27 CB writes to EN concerning EJB and a possible visit by EN [Smith, II, pp. 146–7].

December

- Elizabeth Rigby reviews *Jane Eyre* in the *Quarterly Review* [Allott, pp. 105–12].
- 3 (approx) AB's ex-pupils Elizabeth and Mary Robinson visit AB at Haworth [Smith, II, pp. 152–3].
- 7 CB writes to WSW commenting on EJB's illness and Newby the publisher [Smith, II, pp. 147–9].
- 7 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging receipt of money paid for the transfer of the *Poems* to Smith, Elder [Smith, II, pp. 149–50].

- 9 CB sends a statement to Dr Epps giving details of EJB's symptoms, enclosing this in a note to WSW [Smith, II, pp. 150–2].
- 10 CB writes to EN concerning the health of EJB and AB and giving details of the Robinsons' visit to AB [Smith, II, pp. 152–3].
- 18 EJB collapses while feeding the dogs but still will not see the doctor [Barker, p. 576].
- 19 CB sends a short note to EN describing EJB's weakness [Smith, II, pp. 154–5].
- 19 (Tue) EJB agrees to see a doctor, but dies before he can arrive. [An incident concerning her attempt to comb her hair and the comb being burnt on the fire is referenced in Barker, p. 941].
- 20 CB writes to WSW giving the news of EJB's death [Smith, II, p. 155].
- 21 WSW replies to CB's letter [Smith, II, pp. 156–7].
- 22 EJB is buried; her funeral is conducted by Rev. A. B. Nicholls [Smith, II, p. xxxiv].
- 23 CB writes to EN concerning EJB's death [Smith, II, pp. 157–8].
- 24 CB writes and dates 'My darling, thou wilt never know' [CA, p. 124].
- 25 CB writes to WSW concerning EJB's death and AB's ill health [Smith, II, pp. 159–60].
- 28 EN arrives at the parsonage [EN *Diary* in Smith, II, p. 158].
- 30 AB writes to Rev. David Thom concerning Universalism [Smith, II, pp. 160–1].
- (final days and into January 1849) PB and AB both ill with flu [Smith, II, p. 165].

1849

CB had suffered her most serious blow with the death of EJB. AB had always been of weak physical constitution, and though CB was devastated by her death in May, it was not unexpected. AB's own view of forthcoming death is set out in her poem, later called 'Last Lines'. The way in which she met it is described in detail by EN in her diary and in accounts given to ECG. Her place of burial sets her apart from the other Brontës and emphasizes a difference in authorial intention, and perhaps personal character, between her and her

sisters. The deaths of EJB and AB occurred while CB was writing *Shirley*, with Volume I finished, but Volumes II and III to be written after their deaths. The changes in direction and detail of the novel are described in the Clarendon edition (ed. Herbert Rosengarten and Margaret Smith, Oxford, 1979). CB wrote energetically during the summer of 1849 and in doing so assuaged some of her anguish at her sisters' deaths.

January

- 2 CB writes to WSW concerning the review in the *Quarterly* and the death of EJB [Smith, II, pp. 165–6].
- 5 (approx) Mr T. Pridgin Teale, the Leeds surgeon, visits AB. After the examination he consults with PB, while EN and CB walk round the room impatiently. At the end of the discussion PB enters the room and draws AB towards him saying, 'My dear little Anne ...' and the rest is understood [Smith, II, p. 169; Smith, II, p. xxxviii dates this about 7 January; Barker, p. 581].
- 7 AB writes and dates the first part of 'A dreadful darkness closes in' [EC pp. 163–4].
- 8 EN is given a present of 'Jane Eyre, Wild-fell Hall, Agnes Grey &c' (presumably including *Wuthering Heights*) [EN *Diary* in Smith, II, p. 158].
- 9 It is not certain on which day EN returns home, but it was certainly by the 9th [Barker, p. 942].
- 10 CB writes to EN mentioning that AB is being treated with blisters and cod liver oil [Smith, II, pp. 166–7].
- 13 (probably) CB writes to WSW giving details of the visit of Dr Teale to AB. She indicates serious problems in continuing with *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 167–9].
- 14 William Wood repairs a bed at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 15 CB writes to EN giving details of AB's illness and indicates that PB is now recovered from his flu [Smith, II, pp. 169–70].
- 20 William Wood works on a door in the parsonage, refitting locks, bolt, door plates and door handle [JK, p. 79].
- 22 CB writes to George Smith asking for John Forbes's advice on AB's illness and giving details of Mr Teale's diagnosis [Smith, II, pp. 170–1].
- 22 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning AB's illness [Smith, II, pp. 171–2].

- 28 AB completes and dates the poem later known as 'Last lines' [EC pp. 163–4].
- 29 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning AB's health [Smith, II, pp. 172–3].

February

- 1 CB writes to WSW thanking him for books, including *Mary Barton*. She records that PB is reading Macaulay's *History of England* and AB is reading a story by Fredrika Bremer (it is not sure which one) [Smith, II, pp. 174–6].
- 4 CB writes to WSW enclosing the first volume of the manuscript of *Shirley*, which she has not revised. The manuscript is neatly written with few errors [Smith, II, pp. 176–8].
- 5 Administration of EJB's estate [MS].
- 9 Mary Taylor writes to EN from New Zealand [Smith, II, pp. 178–81].
- 10 (probably) CB writes to WSW commenting on the review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Quarterly*, and on other matters [Smith, II, pp. 181–3].
- 14 Death of Fanny Outhwaite, AB's godmother [Barker, pp. 942–3].
- 16 CB writes to EN concerning AB's health (in which there is no change), Amelia Ringrose, and other matters. She mentions that PB is now much better in health [Smith, II, pp. 183–4].
- 26 PB writes to Mr Rand at Dukinfield concerning the deaths of PBB and EJB [Smith, II, pp. 184–5].

March

- 1 (probably) CB writes to WSW concerning literary matters including an invitation from Mary Howitt to write for 'an American periodical'. She rebuffs criticism of the characters of the curates in *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 185–7].
- 1 (probably) CB writes to James Taylor thanking him for a parcel of books and defending her treatment of Wesleyans in the 'Briar-chapel' episode in *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 187–8].
- 7 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning AB's health [Smith, II, p. 189].
- 11 (probably) CB writes to WSW concerning AB's health in the recent cold weather [Smith, II, pp. 189–90].
- 12 EN writes to CB, a letter which is acknowledged on 16 March [Smith, II, p. 192].
- 15 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright concerning the deaths of PBB and EJB and AB's present illness [Smith, II, pp. 190–1].

- 16 (Fri) (probably) CB writes to EN concerning AB's health and acknowledging a letter (untraced) from EN to AB [Smith, II, pp. 1191–2].
- 24 CB writes to Margaret Wooler concerning EJB's death and the present illness of AB, which she considers terminal [Smith, II, pp. 192–3].
- 29 CB writes to EN concerning an invitation to Brookroyd, and AB's wish to go to the seaside in EN's company [Smith, II, pp. 193–4].

April

- 5 AB writes to EN thanking her for her letter and explaining her doubt about going to Brookroyd. She urges that EN should accompany her to the seaside; and if she should die hopes EN will be a sister to CB instead of her [Smith, II, pp. 194–6].
Review of *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* in *Fraser's Magazine* [TWR, p. 213].
- 5 CB writes to WSW discussing some books which had been in the parcel of 24 February: Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Harris's *The Emigrant Family* (which has been read by AB) and comparing the latter with *The Testimony to the Truth* [Smith, II, pp. 200–1].
- 10 Mary Taylor writes to CB acknowledging the letter of CB in which she gave details of the London visit of July 1848 [Smith, II, pp. 198–200].
- 12 CB writes to EN about AB's health and plans for a seaside holiday. She has consulted Mr Teale, who does not object to AB's choice of Scarborough as a destination [Smith, II, pp. 200–1].
- 16 CB writes to WSW concerning possible cures for AB and mentioning books that she has read (Leigh Hunt's *The Town*, Ruskin's *Modern Painters*), and asking for a book by William Godwin [Smith, II, pp. 201–4].
- 18 Martha Brown refuses to take her £1.15s wages from PB, putting it off until July, presumably because of the illness of AB [MOS, p. 482].

May

During spring and summer bad sanitation causes many deaths at Haworth [MOS, p. 432]. It is possible that it was about now that PB recorded in his copy of Graham's *Modern Domestic Medicine* that change of place and climate could prove beneficial in the early stages of

consumption [Barker, pp. 589, 942, though she does not pin this comment to this period; see also MOS, p. 382].

- 1 CB writes to EN concerning the proposed visit to Scarborough [Smith, II, pp. 204–5].
- 8 CB writes to WSW concerning comparisons made between her and other major authors [Smith, II, pp. 206–8].
- 12–14 (approx.) CB writes to EN concerning arrangements for Scarborough [Smith, II, pp. 208–10].
- (early May) AB is left £200 in Fanny Outhwaite's will [Smith, II, p. 208]
- 16 CB writes to Margaret Wooler giving details of the proposed visit to Scarborough [Smith, II, pp. 210–11].
- 16 CB writes to EN further concerning arrangements for the visit to Scarborough [Smith, II, pp. 211–12].
- 21 CB writes to EN possibly concerning further arrangements for Scarborough [the letter is lost, Smith, II, p. 213.]
- 23 CB and EN intend to take Anne to Scarborough, but she is too ill to travel [Smith, II, p. xxxviii].
- 24 CB, AB and EN go to York on their way to Scarborough and stay at the George Hotel [Smith, II, p. 739].
- 25 CB, AB and EN arrive at Scarborough [Smith, II, p. 739].
- 26 AB objects to the way a donkey driver is controlling his animal, protests and drives the donkey herself [Smith, II, p. 739].
- 27 CB writes to WSW from 2 The Cliff, Scarborough [Smith, II, pp. 213–14]. AB wishes to go to church, but is dissuaded. After a short walk in the afternoon she allows CB and EN to go on by themselves while she rests on a bench. There is a glorious sunset [Smith, II, pp. 739–40].
- 28 (Mon) After a morning in which she has risen at 7 a.m. AB feels a change at about 11 and considers she has not long to live. She dies at Wood's Lodgings, Scarborough at 2 p.m. [Manuscript additions by EN to a copy of her *Diary*, Smith, II, pp. 214–15; 740].
- 29 CB writes to PB telling him that AB has died and that she will be buried at Scarborough [Smith, II, p. 217 note].
- 30 Funeral of AB at Scarborough, who is buried in St Mary's churchyard. EN registers the death, giving AB's age as 28 instead of 29. CB and EN stay on at Scarborough [Smith, II, pp. xxxviii].
- 30 CB writes to WSW concerning the death of AB [Smith, II, pp. 214–15].

- 31 Notice of the death of AB in the *Scarborough Gazette* giving her address as Brookroyd [Barker, p. 943].
- 31 William Wood carries out repairs to a door at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].

June

- 2 Notices of AB's death in the *Leeds Intelligencer* and the *Leeds Mercury* [Barker, p. 943].
- 4 CB writes to WSW concerning the death of AB and her own health [Smith, II, pp. 215–17].
- 5 (probably) CB writes to PB possibly with comments on the funeral [Smith, II, p. 217].
- 5 CB writes to Martha Brown acknowledging a note from her and saying that she will not be returning to Haworth immediately [Smith, II, pp. 217–18].
- 5 Notice of the death of AB in the *Bradford Observer* [Barker, p. 943].
- 7 CB and EN go to Cliff House, Filey to stay [Smith, II, p. 219 note].
- 8 CB and EN walk 'to the end of Filey Bridge' [Smith, II, p. 219].
- 9 CB writes to PB concerning her visit to Filey [Smith, II, pp. 218–19].
- 9 Notice of the death of AB in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 943].
- 10 (Sun) CB and EN go to church at Muston, about a mile from Filey [Smith, II, p. 219].
- 12 First case of cholera in Leeds occurs [Smith, II, p. 239].
- 13 CB writes to WSW concerning AB's death and giving her address in Easton, near Bridlington [Smith, II, pp. 220–1].
- 14 CB and EN leave Filey and go to Bridlington to stay with the Hudsons at Easton [Smith, II, p. 221].
- 14–20 CB is writing *Shirley* in the summerhouse in the garden at Easton. The information depends on half-remembered material from Mr Hudson, the occupier, who died in 1878. ECG (Chapter 18) says that the first chapter written after the death of AB was 'The valley of the shadow of death' (Vol. III, Chapter 1). There seems no reason to disbelieve this evidence [WGCB, p. 389].
- 16 CB and EN visit Boynton village [Smith, II, p. 222].
- 17 CB and EN visit Bridlington Church at Bridlington Quay [Smith, II, p. 222].

- 18 CB writes to Martha Brown [Barker, p. 944]. They spend the day at Bridlington Quay, but the visit to Bridlington is not happy and CB wishes to shorten it [Barker, p. 597; EN Diary in Whitehead, p. 152].
- 19 CB and EN visit Boynton Hall [EN Diary in Whitehead, p. 152].
- 19 CB writes to PB probably concerning her return to Haworth [Smith, II, pp. 221–2].
- 21 (Thu) CB arrives home just before 8 p.m., probably after a train journey [Smith, II, pp. 222–3].
- 21 CB begins and dates ‘There’s Little joy in life for me’ [CA, p. 157].
- 23 (Sat) CB writes to EN concerning her return to the parsonage [Smith, II, pp. 222–3].
- 25 CB writes to WSW concerning her homecoming [Smith, II, pp. 223–5].

July

- 3 CB writes to WSW about his daughters, advising him to advance their education and let them follow teaching as a profession rather than remain at home [Smith, II, pp. 226–7].
- 4 CB writes to EN discussing financial arrangements of the Nussey family and mentioning her letter from Mary Taylor [Smith, II, pp. 228–9].
- 7 William Wood provides a door staple and eye for a door (presumably a kitchen or outside door) at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 14 CB writes to EN further commenting on the Nussey family finances and concerning her own loneliness [Smith, II, pp. 230–1].
- 18 Martha Brown receives her deferred wages [MOS, p. 482].
- 26 CB writes to WSW saying that she finds solace in work rather than in society [Smith, II, pp. 231–2].
- 27 (probably) CB writes to EN sending money so that she can buy bath shower, fur boa and some cuffs for her. She also mentions positively Amelia Ringrose’s sister, Rosy [Smith, II, pp. 233–4].

August

James Lorimer writes an unsigned review of *Jane Eyre* in the *North British Review*; the rest of the article reviews books by Mrs Stirling and Anne Marsh [Allott, pp. 113–16; see also TWRR, p. 215].

- 3 (probably) CB writes to EN confirming that she has received the furs and returning a letter from EN's friend Mary Gorham concerning the death of her father [Smith, II, pp. 234–5].
- 4 William Wood repairs the 'peggy stick' for washing clothes [JK, p. 79].
- 16 CB writes to WSW about progress on *Shirley*, which she hopes to finish in a few weeks, and about reviews both in the *North British Review* and the *Quarterly* [Smith, II, pp. 235–7].
- 21 CB writes to WSW giving a final decision on the title of *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 237–8].
- 23 CB writes to EN concerning PB's bronchitis and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 238–9].
- 24 CB writes to WSW concerning the title of *Shirley* and arrangements for delivery of the manuscript [Smith, II, pp. 239–41].
- 28 PB and others send a petition to the General Board of Health for water pipes to provide clean water to the people of Haworth [MOS, p. 432].
- 29 CB writes to WSW informing him that she has now finished *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 241].
- 29 CB writes and dates her preface subtitled 'A Word to the "Quarterly"' [Smith, II, pp. 242–5].
- 31 (probably) CB writes to WSW concerning the preface. She refuses to change it to include some reference to the deaths of EJB and AB, and it is as a result of this that *Shirley* is published without a preface [Smith, II, pp. 245–6].
- 31 CB writes to George Smith concerning James Taylor's visit to Haworth to collect the manuscript of *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 246–7].

September

- 3 CB writes to James Taylor concerning his proposed visit on 8 September [Smith, II, p. 247].
- 4 CB writes to WSW acknowledging the return of the preface [Smith, II, p. 248].
- 5 Administration papers on AB taken out by William Morgan on behalf of PB [MOS, pp. 440–1].
- 6 William Morgan sends the administration bill to PB [MOS, pp. 440–1].
- 8 (Sat) James Taylor of Smith, Elder, comes to Haworth to collect the manuscript of *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 246–8].

- (about this date) Tabitha Aykroyd and Martha Brown become ill; Tabitha Brown and Mrs Brown come to help at the parsonage [MOS, p. 441].
- 10 CB writes to EN inviting her to Haworth and mentioning that PB is now better after his cold and that she has recovered from a bilious attack [Smith, II, pp. 248–9].
- 11 (probably) CB receives a note from Amelia Ringrose, written at the same time that Amelia wrote to EN [Smith, II, p. 250].
- 13 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning EN's current family burdens [Smith, II, pp. 249–51].
- 13 CB writes to WSW concerning the relation of Shirley to EJB, especially in passages in the chapter 'Phoebe'. She also describes her recent reading, including works by J. C. Hare and Mrs Whateley [Smith, II, pp. 251–3].
- 13 (Thu) CB receives a note from James Taylor [Smith, II, p. 259].
- 14 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging receipt of payment (£500) for *Shirley* and asking for advice in investing the money she has received [Smith, II, pp. 253–4].
- 15 (probably) CB writes to WSW discussing the 'literary coteries' and giving a brief opinion on Goethe, among other matters [Smith, II, pp. 254–5].
- 16 (Sun) Rev. Thomas Crowther of Cragg Vale preaches in Haworth church in aid of an appeal to install gas lighting in the church [Smith, II, p. 259].
- 17 CB writes to WSW returning proof sheets of *Shirley* and hoping the French will not all be printed in italics [Smith, II, pp. 255–6].
- 19 CB writes, probably to WSW, saying that Mr Newby would know her real name and wishing he did not [Smith, II, 256–7].
- 20 (probably) CB writes to WSW concerning the French in *Shirley* and offering to translate it [Smith, II, pp. 257].
- 20 CB writes to George Smith concerning investment [Smith, II, p. 258].
- 20 CB writes to James Taylor in answer to a note she has received from him [Smith, II, pp. 258–60].
- 21 CB writes to WSW (probably) concerning characters in *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp 260–2].
- 22 CB writes to George Smith concerning finances [Smith, II, p. 262].

- 24 (probably) CB writes to EN mentioning illnesses of Tabby and Martha Brown, and that one of Martha's younger sisters is helping out at the parsonage [Smith, II, pp. 263–4].
- 27 CB writes to George Smith concerning railway shares [Smith, II, p. 264].
- 28 CB writes to EN concerning the arrival of the bath shower and saying that Tabby is better and Martha nearly well [Smith, II, p. 265].

October

- 1 (probably) CB writes to WSW concerning her work, possibly including the proofs of *Shirley* [Smith, II, p. 266].
- 4 CB writes to George Smith concerning the fall in value of railway shares [Smith, II, p. 267].
- 9 A further petition concerning Haworth water supply, this time with the signatures of more than a tenth of the ratepayers, is sent to the General Board of Health under the auspices of PB [MOS, p. 432].
- 11 (probably) CB writes to EN commenting on the supposition that there was an estrangement between Miss Wooler and CB [Smith, II, p. 268].
- 12 William Wood mends a bed at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 13 CB writes to Mrs Clapham at Brookroyd [Smith, II, pp. 268–9].
- 18 PB pays Martha Brown her wages and a deposit with interest [MOS, p. 482].
- 19 William Wood provides a bed-head for the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 20 (probably) CB writes to EN with arrangements for a visit to Brookroyd [Smith, II, pp. 269–70].
- 20 William Wood provides knobs for the shower-bath at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 23 CB in Leeds: visits the dentist, meets EN and they go to Brookroyd [EN's *Diary* in Smith, II, p. 270; CB cash book quoted in Smith loc. cit. and Barker p. 945].
- 24 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging a Banker's receipt [Smith, II, p. 270].
- 26 CB meets Miss Wooler and Joe Taylor at Brookroyd [EN's *Diary* in Smith, II, p. 270].
- 26 *Shirley: A Tale* published in three volumes by Smith, Elder [Smith, II, p. 270].

- 27 CB and EN visit Leeds [EN's *Diary* in Smith, II, p. 270].
- 29 (Mon) CB, at Brookroyd, receives a letter from Mary Taylor [EN's *Diary* in Smith, II, p. 270].
- 29 (probably) CB writes to Martha Brown concerning her return home [Smith, II, p. 271].
- 31 CB returns home from Brookroyd via Leeds [EN's *Diary* in Smith, II, p. 270].
- 31 Unsigned review of *Shirley* in the *Daily News* [Allott, pp. 117–19].

November

An article appears in a Liverpool paper by an ex-resident of Haworth suggesting that 'Currer Bell' might be Charlotte Brontë [ECG, Chapter XVIII].

- 1 CB writes to WSW mentioning that *Jane Eyre* has been read widely in the district she has just visited [Smith, II, pp. 271–4].
- 1 (probably) CB writes to EN describing her homecoming [Smith, II, pp. 274–5].
- 1 CB writes to G. H. Lewes [Smith, II, pp. 275–6].
- 3 Review in the *Atlas* [Allott, pp. 119–21].
- 3 Unsigned review of *Shirley* in the *Athenaeum* [Allott, pp. 122–4].
- 3 Albany Fonblanque reviews *Shirley* in an unsigned review in the *Examiner* [Allott, pp. 125–9].
- 3 Unsigned review of *Shirley* in the *Spectator* [Allott, pp. 130–2].
- 4 Review of *Shirley* in the *Observer* [TWRR, p. 215].
- 5 CB receives her complimentary copies of *Shirley* [MS].
- 5 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose [Smith, II, pp. 276–7].
- 5 CB writes to EN concerning railway station staff and their forwarding of parcels [Smith, II, pp. 277–8].
- 5 (probably) CB writes to WSW commenting on recent reviews [Smith, II, pp. 278–80].
- 6 CB writes to James Taylor concerning *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 280–1].
- 9 (probably) CB writes to WSW in a letter which is not traced [Smith, II, p. 281].
- 9 Review of *Shirley* in the *Globe* [TWRR, p. 213].
- 10 William Howitt reviews *Shirley* in an unsigned review in the *Standard of Freedom* [Allott, pp. 133–5].

- 10 Unsigned review of *Shirley* in the *Weekly Chronicle* [Allott, pp. 136–7].
- 10 Unsigned review of *Shirley* in *Britannia* [Allott, pp. 138–9].
- 10 Review of *Shirley* in *The Economist* [TWRR, p. 213].
- 14 Review of *Shirley* in the *Sun* [TWRR, p. 216].
- 15 CB writes to WSW concerning reviews [Smith, II, pp. 282–4].
- 15 Eugene Forçade writes an article including comment on *Shirley* in *Revue des deux mondes* [Allott, pp. 142–6].
- 15 Review of *Shirley* in the *Critic* [TWRR, p. 212].
- 16 (probably) CB writes to Amelia Ringrose [Smith, II, p. 284].
- 16 CB writes to EN concerning the personalities in *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 285–6].
- 16 Review of *Shirley* in the *Morning Herald* [TWRR, p. 213].
- 16 William Wood provides ‘rosewood frames’ for Arthur Nicholls at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 17 (probably) CB writes to WSW asking for a copy of *Shirley* to be sent to Harriet Martineau and acknowledging receipt of a letter from ECG [Smith, II, pp. 286–7].
- 17 CB writes to Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, pp. 287–8].
- 17 CB writes to ECG for the first time [Smith, II, pp. 288–9].
- 19 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging an invitation to London [Smith, II, pp. 289–90].
- 22 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose and about *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 293–4].
- 22 CB writes to WSW about letters from readers of *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 294–6].
- 24 (probably) CB writes to WSW enclosing two short letters to be posted [Smith, II, pp. 296–7].
- 26 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose [Smith, II, p. 297].
- 26 CB writes to EN mentioning that she will be visiting London [Smith, II, p. 298].
- 29 (Thu) CB goes to London to stay with the Smiths [Smith, II, p. 298].

December

- Unsigned review of *Shirley* in *Fraser’s Magazine* [Allott, pp. 152–5].
- Review of *Shirley* in the *Dublin University Magazine*. A further review of *Shirley* is in the *Eclectic Review* [TWRR, p. 213].
- 4 (Mon) CB meets Thackeray at a dinner at the Smiths’ house in London [Smith, II, p. 300 note].

- 5 (probably) CB writes to EN giving some news about London [Smith, II, pp. 299–301].
- 5 CB writes to PB with news of her London visit [Smith, II, pp. 301–2].
- 5 Catherine Winkworth writes to Eliza Paterson mentioning that CB and her family are called Brontë and alleging that they are connected to Nelson's family [Smith, II, p. 303].
- 5 CB writes to Harriet Martineau with an invitation to call [Smith, II, p. 304].
- 7 Unsigned review of *Shirley* in the *Times* [Allott, pp. 148–51].
- 9 CB writes to Harriet Martineau confirming arrangements for her visit [Smith, II, pp. 304–5].
- 9 (Sun) CB visits Harriet Martineau and finally reveals that 'Curren Bell' is Charlotte Brontë [Smith, II, pp. 304–5 reproducing a letter of 10 December 1849 from Lucy Martineau to her son John].
- 9 CB writes to EN concerning her London visit [Smith, II, pp. 305–7].
- 13 (Thu) CB visits the Wheelwrights [Smith, II, pp. 309–10].
- 14 CB dines with the literary critics of the *Times*, *Athenaeum*, *Examiner*, *Spectator* and *Atlas* and other literary gentlemen [Smith, II, pp. 309–10].
- 14 CB begins a return to Haworth staying overnight at an inn in Derby [Smith, II, p. 307].
- 15 CB arrives back in Haworth [Smith, II, p. 308].
- 17 CB writes to Mrs Smith to thank her for the visit to London [Smith, II, pp. 307–8].
- 17 CB writes to George Smith thanking him, too, for the visit [Smith, II, pp. 308–9].
- 17 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright thanking her for entertainment in London [Smith, II, pp. 309–10].
- 18 PB writes a hymn for the Haworth Sunday School, 'Our Church, it is pure and unstain'd' [MOS, pp. 358–9].
- 19 CB writes to EN concerning her London visit [Smith, II, pp. 310–11].
- 19 CB writes to WSW concerning her London visit [Smith, II, pp. 312–14].
- 19 (possibly) CB writes to James Taylor concerning some books she has read [Smith, II, pp. 314–16].

- 20 (probably) ECG writes to Anne Shaen about a rumoured friendship between CB and Harriet Martineau [C & P, pp. 96–7].
- 21 Joe Taylor, Mary's brother, visits Haworth Parsonage and invites CB to stay with the Dixons at Hay Hall, Birmingham, but CB declines [Smith, II, pp. 316–17].
- 22 CB writes to EN concerning Joe Taylor's visit [Smith, II, pp. 316–17].
- 25 A review of *Shirley* in the *Morning Chronicle* gives a very positive account [Smith, II, pp. 323–4].
- 26 CB writes to George Smith [Smith, II, pp. 317–19].
- 27 (probably) EN comes to stay at the parsonage [Smith, II, p. 334].

1850

During 1850 CB had the opportunity to ensure the memory of her sisters especially EJB, through the transfer of their works to Smith, Elder (see below, September and following). She revised *Wuthering Heights* completely, to modify aspects of the novel which had appeared unacceptable to critics and public. She added selected poems by both EJB and AB. In the case of EJB these were extracted from among the unpublished remainder of poems in the A and B manuscripts. CB's pencil alterations can be seen in MS A, though it is impossible to put a precise date to this process. CB also made major structural alterations to two Gondal poems, presumably to make them more accessible and hide the Gondal reference. She included a poem for which there is no manuscript, 'Often rebuked, yet always back returning ...', the authenticity of which has been doubted. In *BST*, Vol. 18 (1983) I gave reasons for considering it wholly or partly EJB's. Dating both the original and CB's revision of this poem is impossible. For a discussion of CB's processes in revising these poems for the 1850 edition, see DR, pp. 24–5, 277.

January

Unsigned notice of *Shirley* in the *Church of England Quarterly Review* [Allott, pp. 156–7].

Unsigned notice of *Shirley* in the *Westminster Review* [Allott, pp. 158–9].

Unsigned review of *Shirley* by G. H. Lewes in the *Edinburgh Review* [Allott, pp. 160–70].

- 3 CB writes to WSW acknowledging 'good' reviews in the *Morning Chronicle*. She has received a letter from Harriet Martineau inviting her to Ambleside [Smith, II, pp. 323–4].
- 8 Rev. William Margetson Heald writes to EN at Haworth identifying some of the characters in *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 324–6].
- 9 CB writes to Mrs Smith at Westbourne Place concerning Thackeray, H. F. Chorley and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 327–8].
- 10 CB writes to WSW about literary matters [Smith II, pp. 328–30].
- 10 (approx.) CB writes to G. H. Lewes, a bitter note about his review of *Shirley* [Smith, II, p. 330].
- 15 CB writes to George Smith concerning Thackeray and other literary figures, and agreeing with him that the fourth edition of *Jane Eyre* needed no additional introductory material [Smith, II, pp. 331–2].
- 16 William Wood provides a brush handle at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 17 EN returns home from her visit to Haworth [Smith, II, p. 334, quoting entry in EN's *Diary*].
- 19 CB writes to G. H. Lewes commenting in more detail on his review of *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 332–4].
- 19 CB writes to EN mentioning that Mr Nicholl[s] has read *Jane Eyre* [Smith, II, pp. 334–5, where there is discussion of the spelling of Nicholls' name].
- 23 CB writes a fragment which may be an early draft for *Villette* [CA, p. 68; Clarendon *The Professor*, p. xxii].
- 25 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose thanking her for a present and commenting on EN's visit to Haworth [Smith, II, pp. 335–6].
- 25 (probably) CB writes to EN describing letters she has received from Thackeray and others and enclosing some of them for EN to read [Smith, II, pp. 336–7].
- 28 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose and her intended marriage to Joe Taylor and mentioning that Mr Nicholls has finished reading *Shirley*; she also mentions that she has received a note from a Miss Alexander of Lupset, Wakefield [Smith, II, pp. 337–8].
- 31 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning EN's mother's health, and saying that she has had a note from Joe Taylor [Smith, II, pp. 338–9].

February

- 1 A one-sentence commendation of *Agnes Grey* appears in the *Boston Museum* [see next entry].
- 2 A 'factory boy', J. Berry, writes to the *Boston Weekly Museum*, Massachusetts, recording his memories of CB and her sisters at Haworth [Burton R. Pollin in *BST*, Vol. 16, No. 83, Part III, p. 206].
- 5 PB writes to the Secretary of the General Board of Health about the Haworth water supply [MOS, p. 433].
- 5 (but this may be 5 March) CB writes to Mr Lovejoy concerning the use of her pseudonym [Smith, II, pp. 339–40].
- 5 (probably) CB writes to EN saying that Martha Brown has just heard she has written two books [Smith, II, pp. 340–1].
- 7 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose [Smith, II, pp. 341–2].
- 14 CB writes to Margaret Wooler concerning *Jane Eyre* and visits to London [Smith, II, pp. 342–6].
- 10/11 (approx) PB gives CB her mother's love letters to read. CB is much moved by them [Smith, II, p. 347].
- 15 PB writes a note to John Greenwood asking him to order 'South's hints on emergencies, or household surgery' [Whiteley Turner, *A Springtime Saunter*, p. 218].
- 16 (probably) CB writes to EN about her mother's letters [Smith, II, pp. 346–9].
- 22 CB writes to WSW returning books she has now read [Smith, II, pp. 349–51].

March

- CB writes to John Greenwood, the Haworth bookseller, asking for the fourteenth part of Thackeray's *Pendennis* [Smith, II, pp. 351–2].
- 5 CB writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth concerning a visit to Haworth [Smith, II, p. 352].
 - 6 CB writes to John Stores Smith, author of *Mirabeau*, acknowledging a parcel of books [Smith, II, pp. 352–3].
 - 6 William Wood repairs a door, window and mirror at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
 - 8 (Fri) Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth visits the parsonage to ask CB to stay with him. She has already turned down two written invitations [Smith, II, p. 354].
 - 11 CB writes to EN concerning the Kay-Shuttleworths [Smith, II, pp. 353–4].

- 11 William Wood provides a lock for a door at the parsonage [JK, p. 79].
- 12–15 or 16 CB goes to stay with Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth and Lady Shuttleworth at Gawthorpe Hall, Padiham [Smith, II, p. 356].
- 16 CB writes to WSW mentioning her visit to the Kay-Shuttleworths [Smith, II, pp. 354–6].
- 16 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose [Smith, II, pp. 357–8].
- 16 CB writes to George Smith concerning differences between the North and South [Smith, II, pp. 358–60].
- 16 CB writes to Thornton Hunt, eldest son of Leigh Hunt [Smith, II, pp. 360–1].
- 18 CB writes a list of books she has received from Smith, Elder [Smith, II, pp. 361–3].
- 18 CB writes to Miss Harriet Alexander [Smith, II, pp. 363–4].
- 19 CB writes to WSW concerning a box of books she has received from him [Smith, II, pp. 364–6].
- 19 CB writes to EN concerning the Kay-Shuttleworths and others [Smith, II, pp. 266–8].
- 22 CB writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth concerning a possible visit to London [Smith, II, pp. 368–9].
- 25 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright adverting to her authorship [Smith, II, pp. 369–70].
- 30 CB writes to EN concerning a letter from Amelia Ringrose received the day before; she also sends EN an ‘opinion’ of *Jane Eyre* written by ‘a working man’ identified as John Greenwood, the Haworth bookseller and stationer [Smith, II, pp. 370–2].
- 31 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose in condolence on the death of Amelia’s mother [Smith, II, pp. 372–4].

April

- 3 CB writes to EN concerning EN’s health [Smith, II, p. 374].
- 3 CB writes to WSW concerning some reviews and enclosing Greenwood’s ‘opinion’ [Smith, II, pp. 375–7].
- 4 Partly at the instigation of PB, Benjamin Herschel Babbage begins enquiries in Haworth concerning the state of the water supply and sewage. He finds that there are no sewers, and refuse is being thrown into Kirkgate. Offal from the slaughterhouse is being piled in the inn yard at the end of Parsonage Lane, and middens are overflowing [MOS, p. 433].

- 5 Mary Taylor writes to CB from Wellington, New Zealand [Smith, II, pp. 378–81].
- 6 CB writes to Amelia Ringrose amplifying her advice concerning Amelia's engagement to Joe Taylor [Smith, II, pp. 381–2].
- 12 CB writes to WSW concerning Southey and Jane Austen [Smith, II, pp. 382–3].
- 12 (probably) CB writes to EN, who is not well, concerning a visit to London with the Kay-Shuttleworths [Smith, II, pp. 384–5].
- 15 (Mon) (probably) CB writes to EN about EN's health and a proposed visit [Smith, II, pp. 385–6].
- 18 CB writes to George Smith concerning a dream he has had [Smith, II, pp. 386–7].
- 18 (Thu) CB goes to Brookroyd to stay with EN who is still not well [Smith, II, p. 386].
- 21 CB's thirty-fourth birthday
- 21 and 22 CB stays at Brookroyd with EN. She returns to Haworth on the evening of Mon 22nd [Smith, II, p. 388].
- 23 Death of William Wordsworth [WGCB, p. 449].
- 23 (probably) Joe Taylor visits CB at Haworth but talks abusively of Mr Ringrose, his intended father-in-law [Smith, II, p. 387].
- 24 (Wed) CB writes to EN mentioning PB's bad cold [Smith, II, pp. 387–8].
- 25 CB writes to WSW concerning John Greenwood's agency with Smith, Elder [Smith, II, pp. 388–90].
- 28 (probably) CB writes to Amelia Ringrose describing briefly her visit to Brookroyd [Smith, II, p. 390].
- 29 (probably) PB writes to John Greenwood refusing to provide a certificate of character in the present circumstance, but offering to do so on another occasion [Smith, II, p. 391].
- 29 (approx) Mary Taylor writes to CB from Wellington [Smith, II, pp. 391–4].
- 29 CB writes to EN mentioning illness at the parsonage: her father is far from well and Martha has sickness and fever; she herself has a bad cold [Smith, II, pp. 394–5].

May

- 6 (Mon) CB writes to WSW concerning a proposal for John Greenwood to sell cheap copies of Smith, Elder publications. She mentions cold weather and PB's illness [Smith, II, p. 396].

- 11 CB writes to EN concerning cancellation of a proposed visit to London with the Kay-Shuttleworths on account of the illness of PB, though he is now better [Smith, II, pp. 396–8].
- 14 ECG tells Lady Kay-Shuttleworth that she would like to hear a great deal more about CB, not only for her literary ability, but also for the glimpses of herself and her modes of thought [Chapple, J. A. V., and Smith, Margaret in *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 5 (1995)].
- 16 CB writes to John Driver [Smith, II, pp. 398–9; Barker, p. 948].
- 18 CB writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth hoping to see them on the following Thursday [Smith, II, p. 399].
- 20 CB writes to WSW about her forthcoming visit to London [Smith, II, p. 400].
- 20 CB writes to EN concerning PB's health and her proposed visit to London [Smith, II, pp. 400–1].
- 21 CB writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth concerning the postponement of the visit because of Sir James's ill health [Smith, II, pp. 401–2].
- 22 CB writes to WSW (probably) and thanks the recipient for a letter received [Smith, II, pp. 402–4].
- 23 CB writes to an unknown young writer [Smith, II, pp. 404–5].
- 24 CB writes to EN concerning her proposed visit to London [Smith, II, pp. 405–6].
- 25 CB writes to Mrs Elizabeth Smith [Smith, II, pp. 406–7].
- 28 CB writes again to Mrs Elizabeth Smith [Smith, II, p. 407].
- 29 CB writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth saying she hopes to come to London [Smith, II, p. 408].
- 30 CB arrives in London to stay with George Smith and his mother [Smith, II, pp. 409].

June

Review of *Shirley* in *Sharpe's London Magazine* [TWRR, p. 215].

- 3 CB writes to EN mentioning that she has been to the Royal Academy, the Opera and the zoo [Smith, II, pp. 408–9].
- 3 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright hoping to call upon her [Smith, II, p. 410].
- 4 CB writes to PB concerning her visit to the Royal Academy, the Opera and Zoo. She has seen Landseer's portrait of the Duke of Wellington [Smith, II, pp. 410–13].

- 6 Thackeray writes to Mrs Smith saying he hopes to call and see CB soon [Smith, II, pp. 413–14].
- 12 CB writes to EN concerning visits to the Chapel Royal, where she sees the Duke of Wellington, to the House of Commons and a visit by Thackeray [Smith, II, pp. 414–16].
- 12 CB at dinner at Thackeray's house [Smith, II, p. xxxviii].
- 12 CB writes to Martha Brown mentioning a letter from PB and the re-roofing of the parsonage [Smith, II, pp. 417–18].
- 13 CB writes to James Hogg [Smith, II, p. 418].
- 13 CB goes to her first sitting for a portrait with George Richmond at York Street near Regent's Park [Smith, II, p. 430].
- 15 CB again goes to York Street for a sitting for a portrait [Smith, II, p. 430].
- 15 William Wood, the Haworth carpenter, bills PB for 'furniture removing' as part of the process of re-roofing the parsonage [JK, p. 45].
- 21 CB writes to EN concerning arrangements to leave London and call on EN [Smith, II, pp. 419–20].
- 23–25 (probably) CB stays with the Wheelwrights in London [Smith, II, p. xxxix].
- 24 CB has her last sitting with portrait painter, George Richmond [Smith, II, pp. 420, 430; on pp. 430–1 she discusses the suggestion that Arthur Nicholls was there at this time].
- 24 CB writes to Martha Brown with instructions about her luggage [Smith, II, p. 420].
- 25 CB leaves London after bidding 'good-bye' to Thackeray and goes to stay with EN at Brookroyd [Smith, II, pp. 420–1].
- 27 CB writes to George Smith from Brookroyd concerning a proposed visit to Scotland [Smith, II, pp. 420–1].
- 28 CB writes to Mrs Elizabeth Smith concerning the proposed visit to Scotland [Smith, II, pp. 421–2].

July

- 3 CB goes to Edinburgh for a visit with George Smith and his family [Smith, II, p. 422].
- 4 and 5 CB is sightseeing in and near Edinburgh [Smith, II, p. xxxix].
- 5 CB writes to EN from Edinburgh [Smith, II, pp. 422–3].
- 6 CB returns from Edinburgh [Smith, II, p. 422]. She stays with EN at Brookroyd [Barker, p. 647].

- 12 PB writes to EN concerning CB's illness after her travels. Repairs to the parsonage are now completed [Smith, II, pp. 423–4].
- 13 (or more probably 15) CB returns to Haworth [Smith, II, p. 469 note 1].
- 15 CB writes to EN on her return from Brookroyd, having been driven the last half-mile by John Greenwood [Smith, II, pp. 424–6].
- 20 CB writes to WSW concerning London and Edinburgh [Smith, II, pp. 427–8].
- 25 CB writes to John Stores Smith [Smith, II, pp. 428–9].
- 27 CB writes to George Smith concerning the Richmond portrait [Smith, II, pp. 430–1].
- 30 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright [Smith, II, pp. 431–2].
- (end) George Smith sends the Richmond portrait and a portrait of the Duke of Wellington to Haworth as a present for CB [Barker, p. 649; Smith, II, pp. 432–3].

August

- 1 CB writes to EN concerning the portraits and her recent illness [Smith, II, pp. 432–3].
- 1 CB writes to George Smith concerning the portraits [Smith, II, pp. 433–4].
- 1 PB writes to the *Bradford Observer* concerning Catholicism [Barker, p. 951].
- 2 PB writes to George Smith concerning the two portraits [Smith, II, pp. 435–6].
- 5 CB writes to George Smith concerning the Highlands of Scotland and a business matter which is not clear [Smith, II, pp. 436–7].
- 7 CB writes to EN, again rather solemnly and referring obliquely to the threat of tuberculosis [Smith, II, pp. 437–8].
- 12 (approx.) CB receives an invitation to visit William Busfield Ferrand at Harden Grange near Bingley, but declines [Smith, II, pp. 451–3].
- 13 Mary and Ellen Taylor write to CB from New Zealand [Smith, II, pp. 438–41].
- 15 Mary Taylor writes to EN mentioning CB [Smith, II, pp. 441–3].

- 16 CB writes to EN concerning her proposed visit to the Lake District to stay with Sir James and Lady Kay-Shuttleworth [Smith, II, pp. 444–5].
- (before 19) Mrs Ferrand and others call on CB at Haworth [Smith, II, p. 451].
- 19 CB travels to Windermere by train. She was arriving at Windermere (Briery Close) just four months after the death of Wordsworth, one of the most influential poets with the Brontës [Smith, II, p. 445; WGCB, p. 449].
- 20 (Tue) CB writes to PB from ‘The Briery, Windermere’ [Smith, II, pp. 445–6].
- 20 ECG arrives at The Briery. In a letter of 25 July she calls the house Briery Close. [Smith, II, pp. 445, 446].
- 22 or 23 CB goes to Fox How, Under Loughrigg, to visit the Arnold family. Dr Thomas Arnold had bought the house as a summer residence; he had died in 1842 [Smith, II, p. 452].
- 25 ECG writes to Catherine Winkworth concerning her meeting with CB [Smith, II, pp. 446–50].
- 25 (approx.) ECG writes a passage (possibly a letter) about the three days she has spent in CB’s company, much of which was spent driving around Westmorland scenery [C & P, pp. 126–7].
- 26 CB, having returned to Haworth (possibly on the 24th) writes to EN concerning ECG and the Kay-Shuttleworths [Smith, II, pp. 450–1].
- (late, date unknown) CB writes to George Smith (probably) concerning the Lake District [Smith, II, pp. 453–4].
- 26 CB writes to Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey [Smith, II, pp. 454–5].
- 27 CB writes to Mrs Gore [Smith, II, pp. 455–6].
- 27 CB writes to ECG inviting further correspondence [Smith, II, pp. 456–8].
- 27 ECG writes to Eliza Fox mentioning CB’s interest in ‘The Prelude’ [C & P, p. 130].

September

Review of CB’s novels and *Wuthering Heights* in the *Palladium* [TWRR, p. 215]. This is the date (or 3 October) sometimes given for a visit by William and Jane Forster to CB at Haworth, but Smith suggests a later date (see below, January 1851).

- 2 CB writes to EN concerning a visit by Joe Taylor and other matters including the Polish governess at Gawthorpe [Smith, II, pp. 459–60].
- 5 CB writes to James Taylor concerning her visit to Scotland and reviews of *Shirley* and *Wuthering Heights* [Smith, II, pp. 460–2].
- 5 CB writes to WSW describing her stay in the Lake District and discussing a possible reprint of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*. She is concerned about a claim by T. C. Newby [Smith, II, pp. 462–4].
- 10 CB writes to WSW further regarding reprints of EJB's and AB's novels, and giving details of the contract for *Wildfell Hall* [Smith, II, pp. 464–5].
- 13 CB writes to WSW concerning the publication of *Wuthering Heights* and offering to produce introductory material [Smith, II, pp. 465–6].
- 13 CB writes to a Miss Hudson (possibly 'Ellen' Hudson) enclosing a poem (not her own) for the recipient's album [Smith, II, pp. 467–8].
- 14 CB writes to EN concerning rumours of a possible marriage, and mentions that PB is still bronchitic [Smith, II, pp. 468–9].
- 18 CB writes to George Smith further concerning business with Newby and discussing Ruskin's new fairy tale (*The King of the Golden River*) [Smith, II, pp. 470–2].
- 18 CB writes a statement concerning business arrangements over the novels of EJB and AB [Smith, II, p. 473].
- 20 CB writes to WSW enclosing a 'notice' or 'memoir' of EJB and AB and recalling a conversation with ECG about publishers [Smith, II, pp. 473–5].
- 26 CB writes to ECG sending a copy of *Poems* and commenting on *Mary Barton* [Smith, II, pp. 475–6].
- 27 CB writes to Margaret Wooler concerning her recent visits to the Lake District (once again calling the Kay-Shuttleworth's house 'The Briery'), and to London; she also discusses their mutual acquaintances in Yorkshire [Smith, II, pp. 477–8].
- 27 CB writes to WSW concerning her proposed preface to the new edition of *Wuthering Heights* and some changes CB wishes to make [Smith, II, pp. 479–80; Clarendon *Wuthering Heights*, Appendix II].

(date uncertain) John Stores Smith, ('Turpentine Smith'), a member of the Manchester literary circle, visits CB at Haworth [BST, Vol. 16 (1981) pp. 22–30].

October

(early) CB writes to Harriet Martineau mentioning a story in the *Arabian Nights* [Smith, II, pp. 480–1].

It is sometimes thought that CB destroyed the early and Gondal work of EJB and AB. There is absolutely no evidence for this, and I would argue against it; but if it was so, this is the most likely date for this process.

3 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning her work on the proposed edition of EJB's and AB's unpublished poems [Smith, II, pp. 481–2].

14 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose's forthcoming marriage [Smith, II, pp. 482–3].

16 CB writes to WSW concerning the preface to *Wuthering Heights*, particularly a paragraph which was omitted from the final version and which is not extant [Smith, II, pp. 483–4].

17 CB writes to G. H. Lewes concerning books he has lent her, including works by George Sand [Smith, II, pp. 484–6].

19 PB publishes 'A Tract for the Times' in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Smith, II, p. 493, referring to Dr Juliet Barker].

21 (Mon) CB writes to WSW (probably) returning G. H. Lewes's books [Smith, II, p. 486].

23 CB writes to EN concerning members of the Nussey family and describing her sadness on reading over papers of EJB and AB [Smith, II, pp. 487–8].

25 CB writes to WSW thanking him for a box of books and expecting proof-sheets of the new edition of *Wuthering Heights* [Smith, II, pp. 488–91].

31 CB writes to George Smith including concern about Newby's business methods and satiric comment on the Catholic Cardinal Wiseman [Smith, II, pp. 491–5].

November

6 CB writes to James Taylor mentioning her visit in August to Fox How [Smith, II, pp. 495–7].

8 (approx.) 'KT' (unidentified) writes to CB comparing her with Shakespeare [Smith, II, pp. 497–500].

- 9 CB writes back to 'KT' seeking further opinion about *Jane Eyre* [Smith, II, pp. 500–1].
- 9 CB writes to WSW concerning the current situation of Catholicism in England [Smith, II, pp. 501–3].
- 13 'KT' writes to CB again disclaiming literary expertise and comparing *Shirley* unfavourably with *Jane Eyre* [Smith, II, pp. 503–12].
- 16 or 23 (probably) CB writes to EN mentioning a spate of illnesses at the parsonage [Smith, II, pp. 512–13].
- 16 Review in the *Athenaeum* of Julia Kavanagh's *Natalie: A Tale* sees Currer Bell's 'daughter' as her ancestress [Smith, II, p. 559].
- 19 (approx) CB writes to WSW concerning her editing of EJB's and AB's 'Remains' [Smith, II, pp. 513–14].
- 21 CB writes again to 'KT', thanking the writer for clarifying her own view of *Shirley* [Smith, II, pp. 515–16].
- 23 CB writes to G. H. Lewes in an ironic tone concerning religious matters [Smith, II, pp. 516–18].
- 23 PB writes to the *Halifax Guardian* concerning Catholicism in England [Barker, p. 951].
- 25 'KT' writes again to CB giving some details of the writer as an 'artist' [Smith, II, pp. 519–21].
- 26 CB writes to EN concerning pressure on her to visit various people [Smith, II, pp. 521–2].

December

- 3 CB writes to George Smith concerning T.C. Newby and explaining that she has been rereading some of Newby's earlier correspondence to the Brontë sisters [Smith, II, pp. 522–4].
- 6 CB drafts a final letter to 'KT' and writes a fair copy [Smith, II, pp. 525–6].
- 7 CB's edition of *Wuthering Heights*, and so on, with the 'Biographical Notice' is published in one volume by Smith, Elder. The volume includes selections from poems by EJB and AB hitherto unpublished [Smith, II, p. xxxix].
- 8 CB writes to Sydney Dobell enclosing a copy of the new edition of *Wuthering Heights*, etc. [Smith, II, pp. 526–7].
- 10 Harriet Martineau writes to G. H. Lewes concerning CB's attitude to Catholicism and mentioning that CB will visit her on Monday 16 December [Smith, II, pp. 527–8].

- 11 'KT' writes again to CB on various matters but disclaiming
authority in the critical comments about *Shirley* [Smith, II,
pp. 529–32].
- 12 ECG writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth mentioning CB's visit
to Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, p. 532; C & P, pp. 137–40].
- 13 CB writes to ECG declining an invitation to stay with her at
Crix, near Chelmsford, Essex [Smith, II, pp. 532–3].
- 15 Harriet Martineau writes to G. H. Lewes (probably) hoping
for a 'yellow glow' in the weather when CB is with her the
following day [Smith, II, pp. 534–5]
- 16 (Mon) CB goes to stay with Harriet Martineau at The Knoll,
Ambleside [Smith, II, p. 536].
- 18 CB writes to EN from Ambleside, saying that she will be
staying there for a week [Smith, II, pp. 535–6].
- 19 (Thu) Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth visits The Knoll and is present
at dinner with CB [Smith, II, p. 536].
- 20 Review of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* in the
Athenaeum [TWRR, p. 211].
- 21 CB is at the house of Edward Quillinan. Here she meets
Matthew Arnold, of whom she is later to give an account
to James Taylor [Smith, II, pp. 537, 555]. After her visit,
proofs of Harriet Martineau's book *Letters on the Laws of
Man's Social Nature and Development* had arrived, and it
was thus possible for CB to discuss Harriet Martineau's
atheistic standpoint with her [Smith, II, p. 550; WGCB,
p. 459].
- 21 CB writes to EN describing people she has met on her visit
[Smith, II, pp. 536–7].
- 21 CB writes to PB about her return to Haworth [Smith, II,
pp. 537–8].
- 21 Unsigned review of the new one-volume edition in the
Examiner [Allott, pp. 288–91].
- 23 CB leaves Ambleside and goes to stay at Brookroyd with EN
[Smith, II, p. 536].
- 28 G. H. Lewes reviews the new edition of *Wuthering Heights*
etc., with the additional poems and 'Biographical Notice' in
the *Leader* [Allott, pp. 291–3].
- 28 Unsigned review of the new edition in the *Athenaeum*
[Allott, pp. 294–5].
- 31 CB returns from Brookroyd, arriving soon after 2 p.m. and
finding PB well [Smith, II, p. 541].

1851

During this year CB continued personal correspondence with George Smith, though she refuted any idea that she might marry him. A suggestion was made that she should join him and his mother on a trip up the Rhine; Smith later denied he was ever 'in love' with CB. Meanwhile she had not forgotten James Taylor, Smith, Elder's managing clerk. However, she found it impossible to write anything literary, though she had begun a new novel tentatively in January. She was feeling rather depressed for considerable periods. The early part of the year thus passed in expanding friendships of various kinds, while her old friends in Yorkshire were not forgotten.

CB paid her first visit to ECG this year, and it is thought Paulina in *Villette* may be based in part on ECG's daughter Julia. Nevertheless, CB could not settle to her new novel and providing any chronology of its genesis seems hazardous.

January

- 1 CB writes to EN concerning her return home. She notes that she has a headache [Smith, II, pp. 541–2].
- 1 CB writes to WSW asking that a copy of *Wuthering Heights* be sent to ECG. She comments on her visit to Harriet Martineau and speaks highly of her hostess despite their differences of viewpoint [Smith, II, pp. 542–3].
- 1 CB writes to James Taylor commenting on her recent visit to Harriet Martineau. The tone of her comments on her hostess is similar to that in the letter to WSW [Smith, II, pp. 543–4].
- 4 (possibly) CB writes to ECG concerning 'The Moorland Cottage' [Smith, II, pp. 544–5]. (She also probably writes again, perhaps in early January, concerning Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, p. 545]).
- 7 CB writes to George Smith, concerning various literary matters including positive comment on Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* and *The Stones of Venice*, Part I of which had just been published [Smith, II, pp. 545–9].
- (early) CB writes to Harriet Martineau in a letter of which only a short quotation survives [Smith, II, pp. 549–50].
- 8 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning her publishers and Thackeray [Smith, II, pp. 550–1].
- 11 Charles Anderson Dana writes to CB proposing a serialization of a novel in the *New York Tribune* [Smith, II, pp. 551–2].

- 12 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright, commenting on her description of the Crystal Palace [Smith, II, pp. 552–3].
- 15 CB writes to James Taylor concerning Matthew Arnold and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 553–7].
- 18 Martha Brown's quarter day: she is paid only five shillings for the quarter, but the shortfall is settled soon afterwards [MOS, p. 482].
- 20 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning a proposed visit to the Rhine valley [Smith, II, pp. 557–8].
- 21 CB writes to Julia Kavanagh concerning *Nathalie* [Smith, II, pp. 558–60].
- 22 CB writes to ECG concerning Thackeray and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 560–3].
- 24 Harriet Martineau writes to Thornton Hunt (probably) concerning alleged 'sarcasm' in CB's writing [Smith, II, pp. 564–6].
- 28 J. B. Leyland dies a bankrupt in the Manor Gaol.
- 30 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Ringrose's miscarriage and about the ex-Roe Head pupil, Amelia Walker [Smith, II, pp. 566–7].

There is controversy over the date of a visit by William and Jane Forster to Haworth to see CB. The report stems from an untraced letter generally supposed to be from Jane Forster to ECG in ECG, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Chapter XXII. CB reminded her of the fictitious Jane Eyre [Dating discussed in Smith, II, pp. 568–70].

February

Unsigned Review of *Wuthering Heights* in the *Eclectic Review* [Allott, pp. 296–8].

- 1 CB writes to WSW concerning prospects for writing a further novel [Smith, II, pp. 570–1].
- (early) (probably) CB writes to Harriet Martineau with comment on her new book [Smith, II, pp. 571–2].
- 5 CB writes to George Smith concerning the possible publication of *The Professor* and declines to think yet about an invitation to London for summer [Smith, II, pp. 572–4].
- 11 CB writes to James Taylor concerning Harriet Martineau's new book, the title of which she slightly misquotes [Smith, II, pp. 574–6].
- 22 Rev. Joseph Abbott writes to CB concerning the Luddites and his time at Woodhouse Grove when he had been

acquainted with CB's mother and father [Smith, II, pp. 576–9].

26 (Wed) CB writes to EN mentioning that she has had a letter from Mary Taylor [Barker, p. 666; Smith, II, pp. 579–80].

(late, probably) 'A Mountaineer of the Wild West' writes to CB writing very positively about *Wildfell Hall* and strongly urging that it should be republished [Smith, II, pp. 580–1]. No reply by CB to this letter is extant.

March

(mid to late) EN stays at Haworth. Precise dates of this visit cannot be determined; the evidence for it rests on CB's letter to ECG of 25 March. Smith (II, p. xxix) gives probable dates as about 24 March to 3 April.

8 and 11 CB writes to George Smith concerning Ruskin, Thackeray and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 582–5].

11 Mary Taylor writes to EN concerning CB and other matter [Smith, II, pp. 585–7].

(mid-March, probably) CB writes to ECG concerning 'running away' [Smith, II, pp. 587–8].

22 CB writes to James Taylor concerning his proposed departure for Inida [Smith, II, p. 588].

24 (Mon) CB writes to James Taylor concerning atheism and Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, p. 589].

25 CB writes to ECG concerning an invitation to Manchester and mentioning that EN is staying at Haworth at that time [Smith, II, pp. 590–1].

28 CB writes to ECG further concerning her proposed visit to Manchester and promising to bring Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*; also about Harriet Martineau's atheism [Smith, II, pp. 591–3].

31 (Mon) CB writes to George Smith concerning Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* and other matters including the character of James Taylor [Smith, II, pp. 593–4].

April

(early) Sydney Dobell writes to CB concerning his hope that CB will visit [Smith, II, pp. 595–7].

(early, or at end of March; while EN is still staying with CB). An unidentified man, out of work, calls at Haworth parsonage to ask for a pair of boots. He recites 'Young Lochinvar' and

- some Shakespeare extracts and receives a lecture from CB on idleness [the *Reporter*, 21 July 1877, via Mr Frank Peel].
- (early, unknown date) EN leaves Haworth to return to Brookroyd [Smith, II, p. 598].
- 4 (Fri) and 5 (Sat) CB writes to EN concerning a visit (his second) by James Taylor and his likeness to PBB. It is possible that he has proposed marriage [Smith, II, pp. 597–9].
- 9 CB writes to EN apparently hinting that James Taylor had expressed an interest in marrying CB. She also mentions PB's ill health [Smith, II, pp. 599–600].
- 12 CB writes to Amelia Taylor (née Ringrose) declining an invitation partly because of her own 'low spirits' [Smith, II pp. 600–1].
- 12 CB writes to EN suggesting that she might buy her some clothes from Leeds, and mentioning another note from Amelia Walker [Smith, II, pp. 601–2].
- 14 (approx) CB writes to Sydney Dobell replying to his offer of friendship [Smith, II, p. 603].
- 17 CB writes to Mrs Smith concerning a proposed visit to London in June [Smith, II, pp. 603–4].
- 17 Sydney Dobell writes to CB in answer to her letter of earlier that month [Smith, II, pp. 605–6].
- 19 CB writes to George Smith concerning various publishers and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 606–8].
- 20 (Easter Sun)(approx.) James Taylor leaves England for Bombay to set up an Indian branch of Smith, Elder [Smith, II, pp. xxxix].
- 21 CB's thirty-fifth birthday. Smith (p. 609) suggests that a missing letter here may have been one written shortly before this anniversary, which was almost shared with EN, whose birthday was on 20 April.
- 23 (Wed) CB writes to EN concerning James Taylor's departure and stating that she could never marry him [Smith, II, pp. 608–10].
- 24 CB begins to write a letter to 'Dear Sir', but the letter is never continued [Smith, II, pp. 610–11].

May

- 1 (Thu) CB writes to Sydney Dobell, thanking him for a letter [Smith, II, p. 610].
- 5 CB writes to EN concerning James Taylor and PB's liking for him [Smith, II, pp. 610–11].

- 5 PB pays his taxes to Mr Whalley (£11.6s.0d.) [MOS, p. 482].
- 6 CB goes to Leeds to buy a bonnet at Hunt & Hall's [Smith, II, p. 613].
- 10 CB writes to EN concerning the death of EN's dog, Flossy junior, mentioning her shopping expedition to Leeds the previous Wednesday, and commenting on Joe and Amelia Taylor's visit to the Lake District [Smith, II, 612–14].
- 10 CB writes to ECG concerning PB's recent ill-health and wishing to defer her visit to Manchester [Smith, II, p. 614].
- 12 CB writes to George Smith in a rather depressed mood concerning Ruskin and Thackeray [Smith, II, pp. 614–17].
- 20 CB writes to Mrs Smith concerning her proposed visit to London [Smith, II, pp. 617–18].
- 21 Sydney Dobell writes to CB describing his Cotswold home near Cheltenham [Smith, II, pp. 619–20].
- 22 (Thu) CB writes to EN concerning the proposed visit to London and commenting that she would not be expected to come to Brookroyd before this [Smith, II, pp. 620–1].
- 24 (probably) CB writes to EN saying she cannot possibly visit at the moment and mentioning that PB says that if CB marries and leaves him, he will go into lodgings [Smith, II, pp. 621–2].
- 24 (probably) CB writes to Sydney Dobell replying to his recent letter [Smith, II, pp. 622–3].
- 27 CB writes to George Smith concerning her time of arrival in London [Smith, II, p. 623].
- 28 (Wed) CB arrives in London by train at 10 p.m. to stay with George Smith [Smith, II, p. 624].
- 29 CB writes to PB to say she has arrived safely in London [Smith, II, pp. 623–4].
- 29 (Thu) CB attends a lecture by Thackeray. Later, he introduces her to his mother, and calls her 'Jane Eyre'. After the lecture The Earl of Carlisle comes to talk to CB and wishes to be remembered to PB (they had met at an election meeting when the Earl was Lord Morpeth) [Smith, II, p. 625–6].
- 30 CB goes to Crystal Palace to visit the Great Exhibition, opened by Queen Victoria on 1 May; she will visit four more times [Smith, II, p. 625].
- 31 CB writes to PB describing her attendance at Thackeray's lecture on 29 May and her visit to the Great Exhibition [Smith, II, pp. 625–7].

- 31 CB visits an art exhibition at Somerset House [Smith, II, p. 629, note].

June

During this month William Wood bills PB for recovering eight chairs, supplying a bookcase, wash-hand stand and a towel stand [JK, p. 79].

- 1 (Sun) CB hears d'Aubigny, the French Protestant, preach [Smith, II, p. 628].
- 2 CB writes to EN describing visits in London [Smith, II, pp. 627–30].
- 6 CB visits the Great Exhibition again and is very impressed [Smith, II, p. 630].
- 7 CB writes to PB mentioning a letter from Mary Taylor and concerning visits in London [Smith, II, pp. 630–2].
- 7 CB writes to Amelia Taylor (née Ringrose) asking for permission to pass on a cushion which Amelia had given her. It would be much esteemed as the work of 'young Mrs Martin Yorke' [Smith, II, pp. 633–4].
- 7 CB goes to St James' theatre to see Rachel, the French actress, in *Adrienne Lecouvreur* [Smith, II, p. 634].
- 8 (probably) CB hears Rev. F. D. J. Maurice preach [Marion J. Phillips, 'Charlotte Brontë's favourite preacher: Frederick Denison John Maurice 1805–1872' in BST, Vol. 20, Part 2, 1990, pp. 77ff].
- 10 (Tue) (probably) CB hears Henry Melvill preach at one of his Tuesday morning services [Marion J. Phillips, loc. cit., p. 87].
- 11 CB writes to Amelia Taylor (née Ringrose) mentioning that she has seen the French actress Rachel [Smith, II, pp. 634–5].
- 11 CB writes to EN in a rather depressed mood mentioning her headache and sickness of the previous evening [Smith, II, pp. 635–6].
- 13 CB visits the Great Exhibition again and sees the French aristocracy. Thackeray comes to dinner at Gloucester Terrace [Smith, II, pp. 636–7].
- 14 CB writes to PB concerning the sights of the previous day [Smith, II, pp. 636–8].
- 14 (probably) CB writes to ECG concerning a visit to Manchester on her way home from London [Smith, II, pp. 638–9].
- 16 CB goes to hear Cardinal Wiseman preach [Smith, II, pp. 640–1].

- 17 CB writes to Richard Monkton Milnes declining an invitation [Smith, II, pp. 639–40].
- 17 CB writes to PB concerning Cardinal Wiseman's preaching and comparing him to a 'canting Methodist' [Smith, II, pp. 640–1].
- 18 CB writes to ECG concerning arrangements for her visit to Manchester [Smith, II, pp. 641–2].
- 18 (possibly) CB attends a performance of Bulwer's play *Not So Bad As We Seem* at the Hanover Square Rooms [Smith, II, p. 642].
- 19 CB writes to EN declining an invitation to Brookroyd [Smith, II, pp. 642–3].
- (date uncertain) CB visits the Grosvenor Gallery and much enjoys it [Smith, II, pp. 645–6].
- 20 CB writes to ECG deferring her visit for two days [Smith, II, p. 644].
- 20 CB writes from Gloucester Terrace to the novelist, Mrs Gore [Smith, II, pp. 644–5].
- 20 (evening) CB meets Richard Monkton Milnes and Caroline Davenport at the home of the Kay-Shuttleworths [Smith, II, pp. xl, 645].
- 21 CB again goes to see Rachel, this time in *Les Horaces* by Corneille [Smith, II, p. 649].
- 22 (probably) CB writes to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth [Smith, II, p. 645].
- 22 CB attends a confirmation at the Spanish Chapel, at which Cardinal Wiseman officiates [Smith, II, p. 648].
- 23 CB attends a breakfast given by Samuel Rogers and visits the picture gallery at Grosvenor House [Smith, II, p. xl].
- 23 CB writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth mentioning her visit to the Grosvenor Gallery [Smith, II, 645–7].
- 24 (Tue) CB writes to Mrs Gore declining an invitation [Smith, II, p. 647].
- 24 (probably) CB visits the picture gallery at Bridgwater House [Smith, II, p. xi].
- 24 CB writes to EN giving an account of her activities in London [Smith, II, pp. 648–9].
- 26 CB goes with George Smith to Richmond [Smith, II, pp. 648–9].
- 26 (probably) CB visits the phrenologist Dr J. P. Browne [Smith, II, p. 649, Barker, p. 954].
- 26 CB writes to PB concerning her visits in London [Smith, II, pp. 649–51].

- 26 CB hears a further lecture by Thackeray in which he seems to condone the kind of indulgences which had destroyed PBB [Smith, II, p. 652].
- 27 CB leaves London and spends three days in Manchester with ECG [Smith, II, pp. 651ff].
- 28 CB writes from Plymouth Grove, Manchester, to Sydney Dobell concerning her views on Thackeray and the actress, Rachel [Smith, II, pp. 651–2].
- 28 CB writes to Mrs Gore concerning an invitation to meet [Smith, II, p. 653].
- 29 (Sun) CB attends an (Anglican) church in Manchester and on her return receives a note from George Smith [Smith, II, p. 655].
- 29 (probably) Date of Dr J. P. Browne's phrenological report on CB [Smith, II, pp. 657–60].
- 30 CB returns to Haworth [Smith, II, p. 653].

July

- 1 (probably) CB writes to EN suggesting that she should come to the parsonage to rest after her illness [Smith, II, p. 653].
- 1 (Tue) CB writes to Mrs Smith concerning her journey home from London, including her stay in Manchester with ECG [Smith, II, p. 654].
- 1 CB writes to George Smith concerning her visit to ECG [Smith, II, pp. 655–6].
- 2 CB writes to George Smith enclosing the reports from the phrenologist, Dr J. P. Browne [Smith, II, pp. 656–62].
- (early, date unknown) EN comes to stay at Haworth [Smith, II, p. 672].
- 8 CB writes to George Smith concerning the International Copyright Meeting and commenting further on the reports from Dr Browne [Smith, II, pp. 662–5].
- 14 CB writes to Margaret Wooler who has declined an invitation to Haworth [Smith, II, pp. 665–6].
- 20 Rev. Thomas Crowther of Cragg Vale preaches Sunday school sermons at Haworth [Barker, p. 683].
- 21 CB writes to WSW concerning a parcel of engravings and the topic of friendship [Smith, II, pp. 667–8].
- EN stays at the parsonage; it is a 'quiet' time [Barker, p. 683].
- 23 Henry Robinson, a Keighley manufacturer, who called to enlist PB's support over an epitaph for his brother, but

- also told CB he knew where she had got the name 'Jane Eyre', sends a note to CB [Barker, p. 683; Smith, II, p. 672].
- 23 (probably) EN leaves Haworth after her visit to recuperate [Smith, II, p. 672].
- 26 CB writes to George Smith enclosing part of a letter from Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, pp. 670–1].
- 27 (probably) CB has tea with Mr Nicholls before he goes to Ireland. His demeanour is 'mild and uncontentious' [Smith, II, p. 671; Barker, pp. 683, 954].
- 28 (probably) CB writes to EN after her visit hoping she did not catch cold on the return journey [Smith, II, pp. 671–2].
- 31 CB writes to George Smith enclosing a note from ECG [Smith, II, pp. 672–3].

August

- 3 or 10 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning Joe and Amelia Taylor (née Ringrose) [Smith, II, pp. 673–4].
- 4 CB writes to George Smith enclosing a further note from Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, pp. 674–6].
- 6 CB writes to ECG concerning a number of literary matters: Kingsley's novels, Thackeray and his lectures, and so on. [Smith, II, pp. 676–9].
- 9 (Sat) CB writes to George Smith forwarding another letter from Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, pp. 679–82].
- 18 CB writes to EN concerning Birstal gossip and family matters [Smith, II, pp. 682–3].
- (late) (probably) CB writes to George Smith concerning Harriet Martineau and her own 'Quakerlike' spirit [Smith, II, pp. 683–4].
- 25 (Mon) (probably) Rev. William Morgan, PB's old friend from Bradford, now about to move to Buckinghamshire, visits the parsonage for breakfast [Smith, II, p. 686].

September

- 1 CB writes to EN concerning the visit of Mr Morgan, the return of Mr Nicholls and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 685–6].
- 7 (probably) Mr Nicholls returns from a visit to Ireland [Smith, II, p. 686].

- 8 CB writes to George Smith including a comment on the possibility of writing a 'serial' novel [Smith, II, pp. 686–8].
- 10 CB writes to EN concerning variable weather at Haworth [Smith, II, pp. 688–9].
- 13 (probably) CB writes to Margaret Wooler inviting her to Haworth [Smith, II, pp. 689–90].
- 15 CB writes to George Smith again referring to the matter of 'serials' and returning to phrenology [Smith, II, pp. 690–2].
- 17 CB writes to EN concerning EN's mother's illness [Smith, II, p. 692].
- 18 CB writes to John White at Upperwood House, Rawdon, near Leeds, her previous employer [Smith, II, pp. 693–4].
- 20 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning EN's relatives [Smith, II, pp. 694–5].
- 20 CB writes to ECG concerning various literary matters and enclosing Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*; among other points she compares Charles Dickens's attitude to his lecture audience with Thackeray's [Smith, II, pp. 696–9].
- 22 CB writes to George Smith again returning to the discussion of a 'Serial' [Smith, II, pp. 699–70].
- 22 (probably) CB writes to Margaret Wooler saying that the current visitor to the parsonage has left and that it is now possible for her to visit. The visitor is identified as Thomas Brontë Branwell, Charlotte's cousin, by Wise and Symington [Smith, II, pp. 700–1; see also Barker, p. 685].
- 26 CB writes to WSW concerning the topic of emigration [Smith, II, pp. 701–2].
- 29 (Mon) Margaret Wooler arrives at the parsonage to stay for ten days [Smith, II, p. 703].

October

Although there are many references in CB's correspondence at this time to works of fiction, and she seems to be cautiously probing, with George Smith and others, the material for her new novel, there is no evidence to show how far *Villette* had progressed by now. WGCB, p. 495) that its true subject is not love but loneliness. Lyndall Gordon, *Charlotte Brontë: A Passionate Life*, pp. 230–1, also stresses the loneliness evinced in the novel. It seems likely that progress would have been made in the writing after the departure of Margaret Wooler, but there is nothing to substantiate this.

- 3 CB writes to EN concerning visits by Thomas Branwell and Margaret Wooler [Smith II, p. 703].
- 8 or 9 Margaret Wooler leaves the parsonage [Smith, II, p. 703].
- 20 (probably) CB writes to EN, but says she cannot come to Brookroyd at the moment [Smith, II, pp. 703–4].
- 21 CB writes to Margaret Wooler concerning her recent visit [Smith, II, pp. 704–6].
- 26 PB collects 10/- for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel [MOS, pp. 482–3].
- 28 CB writes to Jane Forster declining an invitation [Smith, II, p. 706].
- 29 (Wed) ECG writes to Mrs W. M. James mentioning a comment of CB's about writing fiction [Smith, II, pp. 706–7].
- 31 CB writes to WSW returning a box of books [Smith, II, pp. 707–8].

November

- 2 (Sun) PB preaches in church and records the collection in his financial notebook [MOS, p. 483].
- 3 (probably) CB writes to ECG concerning the *Prospective Review* and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 708–9].
- 6 CB writes to WSW enclosing a letter of introduction [Smith, II, pp. 709–10].
- 6 CB writes to ECG concerning the letter of introduction and other matters; she has been ill and dejected remembering the time of the deaths of her siblings [Smith, II, pp. 710–11].
- 6 or 7 (probably) CB writes to EN declining an invitation to Brookroyd because of the illness of various members of the household [Smith, II, pp. 711–12].
- 7 CB writes to George Smith concerning Harriet Martineau and acknowledging the receipt of an unexpected royalty [Smith, II, pp. 712–13; WGCB, p. 499].
- 10 CB writes to WSW concerning *The Fair Carew* by Miss Biggar [Smith, II, pp. 713–14].
- 10 (probably) CB writes again to WSW concerning a letter from James Taylor [Smith, II, pp. 714–15].
- 11 (probably) CB writes to EN concerning illness at Haworth and enclosing James Taylor's letter [Smith, II, pp. 715–16].
- 15 CB writes to James Taylor concerning her latest visit to London [Smith, II, pp. 716–19].

- 19 CB writes to EN concerning letters from Margaret Wooller and James Taylor [Smith, II, pp. 719–20].
- 20 CB writes to George Smith concerning Harriet Martineau, Thackeray and others; she says she has been able to work [on *Villette*] a little, but will not be publishing yet [Smith, II, pp. 720–2].
- 25 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Taylor and other matters [Smith, II, pp. 722–3].
- 28 CB writes to George Smith concerning various matters including the progress of *Villette*, which is dependent on her health and mood [Smith, II, pp. 723–6].
- (end) CB suffering from cold and influenza [Smith, II, p. 726].

December

- 1 ‘Keeper’, formerly EJB’s dog, dies [Smith, II, p. 726].
- 4 Minor change of weather in the Keighley area from frosty to ‘small rain’ [Smith, II, p. 727, quoting Shackleton].
- 8 CB writes to EN returning a letter from Rosy Ringrose, and concerning her own ill health (improving slightly) and the death of Keeper [Smith, II, pp. 726–8].
- 10 CB writes to Harriet Martineau concerning possible pseudonyms [Smith, II, pp. 728–9].
- 16 (probably) CB writes to EN asking her to visit; she mentions her own illnesses and is depressed [Smith, II, p. 730].
- 18 (probably) CB writes to EN with final arrangements for her visit [Smith, II, p. 731].
- 19 (Fri) CB writes to George Smith enclosing a manuscript of Harriet Martineau’s and again adverting to her own poor health, which prevents her from writing [Smith, II, pp. 731–2].
- 19 The third anniversary of EJB’s death.
- 20 (Sat) EN arrives at Haworth. [Smith, II, p. 731]. She is to stay over Christmas.
- 27 Death of Mary Taylor’s cousin, Ellen. The news is conveyed to CB in a letter received the following year [Barker, p. 696].
- 29 By this date EN has returned home from Haworth [Barker, p. 955].
- 31 CB writes to George Smith concerning Harriet Martineau [Smith, II, pp. 732–4].

- 31 CB writes to EN concerning her health problems which included mercury poisoning consequent on taking pills designed to help her depression [Smith, II, pp. 734–5].

1852

During 1852 CB spends much time rather laboriously working on *Villette*. She is a constant prey to minor ill health and depression, and it is not until the autumn that she seems able to work speedily. In her search for support and friendship she frequently returns to EN, but tries also to maintain her correspondence with George Smith and James Taylor (in India).

There is an apparently unexpected development towards the end of the year, when Mr Nicholls asks CB to marry him. The proposal evokes contempt from PB, but after her initial shock CB feels pity rather than indifference. The event is the beginning of a process which led eventually to CB's marriage with Nicholls, and perhaps to her early death.

January

William Forster writes to Richard Monkton Milnes about CB's health and citing PB as the reason why she could not leave Haworth at this time [Barker, pp. 691, 955].

- 1 CB writes to George Smith [Barker, p. 956 note].
- 6 (probably) CB writes to EN referring to her headaches and concerning Ellen Taylor [SHB, Vol. III, p. 305 (736) corrected by Smith].
- 14 CB writes to EN [Barker, p. 955]. She has taken mercury as a cure on medical advice, but this has proved harmful to her teeth and tongue [Barker, pp. 690–1].
- 16 CB writes to EN assuring her she will come to Brookroyd as soon as she feels well [Barker, p. 955].
- 16 PB writes to Richard Monkton Milnes mentioning CB's current ill health but expressing the wish that she should stay at home [Barker, p. 691].
- 19 CB writes to George Smith, sending a manuscript to him [SHB, Vol. III, p. 307 (740)].
- 20 CB writes to Margaret Wooler. She is still ill and unable to take solid food [Barker, p. 955].
- 22 CB writes to EN saying that she is in better health and hoping to come to Brookroyd the following week [SHB, Vol. III, p. 309 (742)].

- 24 CB writes to EN and makes preparations to come to Brookroyd [Barker, p. 692].
- 27 CB goes to stay with EN to recuperate from her illness, travelling by train to Bradford and then by gig to Brookroyd [Barker, p. 692].
- 29 (approx) George Smith goes to Haworth on his way to Scotland, to discuss the progress of CB's book but misses her because she is with EN [Barker, p. 692].
- 29 CB writes to George Smith concerning her need to feel she has earned her visit to London [Barker, p. 693].
- 29 CB writes to Mrs Smith thanking her for her invitation to London, and describing her recent illness [SHB, Vol. III, p. 311 (745); Barker, p. 956].

February

Throughout the month there is evidence of CB's low spirits, emerging as a physical as well as a mental burden.

- 6 CB writes to ECG describing her illness from which she is now recovering, and EN's kindness [Barker, p. 692].
- 7 CB writes to George Smith, acknowledging a manuscript of Volume I of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* [SHB, Vol. III, p. 313 (747)].
- 11 CB returns to Haworth [Barker, p. 692].
- 12 CB writes to EN concerning her return and the fact that she has brought home a pencil case of EN's [SHB, Vol. III, p. 313 (748)].
- 14 CB writes to George Smith concerning the manuscript of the first volume of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* [Barker p. 693].
- 16 CB writes to EN concerning the Haworth doctor, Mr Ruddock, who has been over-assiduous [Barker, p. 694].
- 17 CB writes to Margaret Wooller saying she has been visited by Eliza Wooller [Barker, p. 692].
- 17 CB writes to George Smith, discussing further Thackeray's book [SHB, Vol. III, pp. 316–17 (751)].
- 24 CB writes to EN returning Mary Gorham's letter [SHB, Vol. III, p. 318 (753)].

March

- 4 CB writes to EN concerning the death of Ellen Taylor [SHB, Vol. III, pp. 319–40 (754)].

- 5 CB writes to EN commenting on Amelia Taylor's baby [Barker, p. 700].
- 10 (probably) CN writes to EN concerning Mary Gorham's recent letter and further concerning Ellen Taylor [SHB, Vol. III, p. 305 (737), corrected by Smith].
- 11 CB writes to George Smith discussing Thackeray, and Dickens's *Bleak House* [SHB, Vol. III, pp. 321–3 (757)].
- 12 CB writes to Margaret Wooler excusing herself from a visit to her, and lamenting that she was slow in producing the next book because of illness and depression [Barker, p. 956]. However, she spends this month hard at work on *Villette*.
PB has been well during this winter [MOS, p. 450].
- 21 CB writes to George Smith returning the second volume of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* [SHB, Vol. III, p. 324 (759)].
- 23 CB writes to EN including comments on current politicians, with whom she is now disillusioned [Barker, p. 957].
- 23 Death of the Haworth doctor, John Wheelhouse. Details of his life are in an article by Ann Dinsdale [BST, Vol. 23, Part 2, (1998)].
- 25 CB writes to WSW sending *errata* for the second printing of *Shirley* [SHB, Vol. III, p. 326 (761)].
- 29 CB has completed the draft of the first volume of *Villette*. She had been battling against depression and an inability to concentrate on her work [Barker, p. 695].

April

- 3 CB writes to WSW acknowledging a box of books and commenting on *The School for Fathers* by Josepha Gulston [SHB, Vol. III, p. 327 (762)].
- 7 CB writes to EN declining an invitation to go with her to Sussex to visit Mary Gorham, EN's friend [Barker, p. 956 corrected by Smith].
- 12 (Easter Monday) CB writes to Laetitia Wainwright concerning her illness the previous winter and the loneliness which she has felt since the death of EJB [Barker, p. 691].
- 17 The *Leeds Intelligencer* gives details of Haworth Easter events [Barker, pp. 696, 956].
- 21 CB's thirty-sixth birthday
- 22 CB writes to EN on her birthday, saying that PB is 'pretty well' [Barker, p. 957; SHB, Vol. III, pp. 332–3 (765)].

- 26 CB writes to ECG praising three of ECG's articles in *Household Words* for 1851 [SHB, Vol. III, p. 332 (766)].
- 29 PB pays tax assessed at just over £1.8s. [MOS, p. 483].

May

- 4 CB writes to EN. She has received a letter from Mary Taylor in New Zealand giving details of the death of Mary's cousin Ellen the previous December [Barker, pp. 696, 956; this is SHB, Vol. III, pp. 319–20 (754), corrected by Barker and Smith].
- 11 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Taylor's obsession with the couple's young baby. She mentions that she has had many notes from Amelia on this topic, but does not answer them all [Barker, pp. 699, 957].
- 18 CB writes to EN sending on the letter from Mary Taylor and discussing Ann Nussey's health [Barker, p. 956].
- 22 CB writes to George Smith, telling him she would be staying at Cliff House, Filey [WGCB, p. 506].
- 22 CB writes to ECG mentioning that Mrs Gore had written to hope she would visit her in London [Barker, p. 956].
- (precise date unknown) CB goes to Filey for a short holiday. She stays in the same house as she and EN had occupied after AB's death [WGCB, p. 506].
- 28 CB replies to Mrs Gore, who has asked whether she is coming to London this summer, dating the letter from Filey [Barker, p. 956].
- (end) EN leaves Brookroyd for an extended stay in Sussex with Mary Gorham.

June

- 2 CB writes to PB describing her life at Filey and a small church she has visited. She also comments on a Haworth industrial dispute involving weavers at a local mill [Barker, p. 698].
- 4 CB goes to Scarborough to see AB's grave [Barker, p. 698]. Throughout her stay at Filey she suffers from pains and headaches.
- 6 CB writes to EN from Filey, afraid that she may become harsh and selfish. She has visited AB's grave in Scarborough and found five errors in the headstone; she has given instructions for them to be set right [Barker, p. 696; SHB, Vol. III, pp. 336–7 (773)].

- 16 CB writes to EN from Filey saying that the holiday is doing her good [SHB, Vol. III, pp. 337–8 (774)].
- 16 (possibly, but possibly 23) CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright from Filey describing her stay there and commenting on a letter from Maria Miller [SHB, Vol. III, pp. 338–9 (775)].
- 23 CB writes to Margaret Wooler describing the cold weather at Filey, saying that she is weatherbeaten, and still cannot write [Barker, p. 698; WGCB, p. 507].
- (end, date uncertain) CB returns from Filey to find the house spring-cleaned [Barker, p. 699].

July

William Wood, the Haworth carpenter, repairs a door at the parsonage [JK, p. 79]. There is also an entry in his accounts for a chest of mahogany drawers apparently supplied by Wood.

- 1 CB writes to EN from Haworth, describing some of the symptoms of her illness and a visit Joe Taylor has made to Harriet Martineau at Ambleside. She also says she has not heard from James Taylor in India [Barker, pp. 698, 956; WGCB, p. 507].
- (mid-month) PB suffers a minor stroke, involving inflammation of the eye [Barker, p. 700]. MOS (p. 450) describes this as a seizure. Mr Ruddock comments on PB's strong constitution.

Review of *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley* in the *New Monthly Magazine* [TWRR, p. 214]. There is also a review of the Brontë novels in *The Westminster Review* [TWRR, p. 216].

- 19 The parsonage is painted outside for £1.1s.0d. [MOS, p. 483].
- 26 CB writes to EN concerning PB's health and the attendance of Mr Ruddock [Barker, p. 957].
- 28 CB writes to WSW concerning a new edition of *Shirley* [Barker, p. 957].
- 30 A meeting is held under William Ranger to discuss the water supply at Haworth.
PB's ill health prevents him from playing a full part [MOS, pp. 437–8].

August

During this month Mr Nicholls takes almost all the services at Haworth church because of PB's illness.

- 3 CB writes to EN; PB's eye inflammation continues, though he has recovered from the initial paralysis of the stroke [Barker, p. 957].

- 12 CB writes to EN [Barker, p. 957].
- 13 (possibly) CB writes to EN about the variation in PB's health and the receipt of a letter from Mary Taylor [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 4 (781)].
- 19 CB writes to George Smith mentioning the new edition of *Shirley* and other matters [Barker, pp. 956, 701].
- 25 CB, who has received a letter from EN, writes in reply concerning her own ill health and continuing to work under stress; she writes passionately about her loneliness [Barker, p. 701].

September

- 2 CB writes to Margaret Wooler at Scarborough regretting that she could not be there [Barker, p. 957].
- 14 Death of the Duke of Wellington, aged 83 [Barker, pp. 957].
- 24 (Fri) (the fourth anniversary of the death of PBB) CB writes to EN concerning the death of Wellington and her own tiredness [Barker, pp. 701, 957].

October

PB records paying his tax for the year [MOS, p. 483].

- 5 CB writes to EN about a recent visit of William Forster inviting her to Rawdon, which she had refused [Barker, p. 957].
- 9 CB writes to EN hoping she might visit the parsonage [Barker, p. 702].
- 11 CB writes to EN putting off her visit until Friday at 3.43 p.m. [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 11 (789)].
- 15 (Fri) EN arrives in Haworth to spend a week at the parsonage [Barker, p. 702].
- 18 PB again raises Martha Brown's wages, this time to £2 per quarter [MOS, p. 483].
- 21 CB writes to Margaret Wooler concerning the benefits of EN's visit [Barker, p. 702].
- 22 EN leaves Haworth after her week's stay [Barker, p. 702].
- 26 CB writes an 'inconsequential' letter to EN; she notes the tiredness in her eyes from 'scribbling' [Barker, p. 702].
- 26 CB writes to WSW returning books to Cornhill and sending the first two volumes of *Villette*; she claims that the third volume is near completion [Barker, pp. 702–3].
- 27 CB receives a letter from Mary Taylor postmarked on arrival at Keighley 18 Oct 1852 [Barker, p. 956].

- 28 Date inside the copy of *Henry Esmond* sent to CB by Thackeray [Shorter, *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*].
- 30 CB writes to George Smith discussing the possibility of issuing *Villette* anonymously [Barker, p. 703].
- 31 CB writes to EN concerning a letter from Mrs Upjohn, a distant relation of EN's [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 14–15 (793)].

November

- 3 CB writes to George Smith discussing the plot of *Villette* [Barker, p. 705].
- 6 CB writes to WSW, who has made criticisms of the characters, discussing the surname change for Lucy whom she first called 'Snowe', then changed to 'Frost', then back to Snowe again [Barker, pp. 705–6].
- 10 CB writes to George Smith concerning the remaining part of *Villette*, which she is just about to write [Barker, p. 707].
- 20 CB sends the final part of *Villette* to George Smith for publication with a note in which she says she has tried to do her best [Barker, p. 707].
- 22 (Mon) CB writes to EN concerning a visit to Brookroyd and saying that she has finished *Villette* [Barker, p. 707; WGCB, p. 512].
- 23 CB writes to George Smith saying that she will be going to Brookroyd and may go on to Ambleside [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 21 (801)].
- 24 CB goes to stay with EN [Barker, p. 707].
- 25 CB writes to Mrs Smith declining an invitation [Barker, p. 707].

December

- 1 CB writes to George Smith for news about the reception of the third volume of *Villette*; up to that point she has heard nothing [Barker, p. 708].
- 1 CB leaves Haworth to stay with EN for a week [WGCB, p. 513].
- (date uncertain) CB receives a £500 cheque for *Villette* but no covering letter [Barker, p. 708].
- 6 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging a letter and regretting the concern which had been caused by his delay in commenting on the last part of *Villette* [Barker, p. 708].
- 6 Review of *Shirley* in the *Globe* [TWRR, p. 213].

- 7 CB writes to Margaret Wooller concerning her proposed visit and complaining about payment for *Villette* [Barker, pp. 958, 962].
- 8 CB returns from Brookroyd after a week's stay with EN [Barker, p. 709].
- 9 (Thu) CB writes to EN concerning her return from Brookroyd and a character in *Villette*; George Smith had criticized the character of Paulina [Barker, pp. 709, 958].
- 10 CB writes to Mrs Smith accepting an invitation to London [Barker, p. 710].
- 13 (Mon) Arthur Nicholls proposes to CB, who has not yet departed for London. PB is violently opposed to the idea [Barker, p. 710].
- 14 CB writes to Arthur Nicholls refusing him [Barker, p. 710].
- 15 CB writes to EN with details of Mr Nicholls's proposal and the consequences: '[PB's] veins on his temple started up like a whipcord – and his eyes became suddenly bloodshot' [Barker, pp. 710–11].
- 15 Review of *Shirley* in the *Nonconformist* [TWRR, p. 214].
- 18 CB writes to EN concerning PB's treatment of Mr Nicholls; she describes his attitude as 'hard' and a note he has written as 'cruel'. However, his incipient eye inflammation is receding. Mr Nicholls offers to resign his curacy, but is allowed to stay provided no mention is ever made of marriage [Barker, p. 712; WGCB, p. 517; MOS, p. 453].
- 20 ECG writes to Eliza Fox, having heard that CB has been ill, and wondering if she could go to visit CB at Haworth [C & P, pp. 218–19; SHB, Vol. IV, p. 31 (809)].
- 30 CB writes to Mrs Smith concerning her visit to London, which would begin on 5 January 1853 [Barker, p. 712].

1853

With *Villette* published this January and the reception very positive, CB could relax. She had begun the year by fleeing from the tense atmosphere in Haworth to visit London. The conflict between the wishes of PB and Mr Nicholls was irreconcilable, and it seems as though CB could not face either of them; she was also uncertain of her own feelings. A change begins about late May, when CB writes to EN about her sympathy for Mr Nicholls's hesitations and her own agitation as he gives her the sacrament on Whit Sunday. After he had gone away, CB

wrote to him secretly, though she did not yet love him. During this period, with the exception of a short fragment which might have turned into a novel, she gave up literature. She was never again to resume consistent composition.

Later in the year CB became even more desolate as she fell out with various friends. Notably, she appears to have quarrelled with EN, and she seems to have been anguished on hearing of the engagement of George Smith. She cancelled all future loans of books from the firm, and ended the year in a state of loneliness.

January

- 2 CB writes to EN concerning Mr Nicholls and his restlessness and illness [SHB, IV, pp. 32–3 (811)].
- 2 Review of *Shirley* in the *Sunday Times* [TWRR, p. 216].
- 5 CB goes to London to stay with the Smiths [Barker, p. 712].
- 11 CB, in London, writes to EN lamenting the alteration she has seen in George Smith due to overwork [Barker, p. 712].
- 12 CB writes to ECG indicating that she does not wish *Villette* to clash with her *Ruth* [Barker, p. 714–15].
- (11–19 approx) PB writes two letters to CB bitterly criticizing Mr Nicholls, the second in the character of ‘Old Flossy’, the dog [Barker, pp. 715–16, 958].
- 19 CB writes to EN telling of her visits to sights in London including Bedlam. She sends her the letter from ‘Flossy’ [Barker, p. 714].
- (precise date unclear) Publication of *Villette*. CB sends complimentary copies to ECG, EN, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth and John Forbes, the physician [Barker, p. 715].
- 20 PB sends a copy of the single-volume edition of *Jane Eyre* to Hugh Brontë in Ballynaskeagh, Co. Down, adding a proud note about CB’s success. He asks that his note (and presumably the book) may be read by the rest of the family in Ireland [Barker, p. 722].
- 21 CB writes to Harriet Martineau concerning the idea of ‘Truth’ [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 38 (815)].
- 27 (possibly) CB writes to Margaret Wooler about publication of *Villette* (‘tomorrow’) and Harriet Martineau [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 38–40 (816)].
- 28 CB writes to EN asking to be met at Keighley on her return from London [Barker, p. 715].

- 28 CB writes to Martha Brown with details of her proposed return to Haworth, next Wed [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 41 (818)].
- 28 Mr Nicholls writes to offer himself to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as a missionary [Barker, pp. 716, 958].

Harriet Martineau writes an unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Daily News* [Allott, pp. 171–4].

- 31 PB writes a reference for Mr Nicholls to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel [MOS, p. 456]. Further references are written by Rev. Sutcliffe Sowden, the Rev. William Cartman, and the Vicar of Bradford [MOS, p. 457].

February

- 1 CB pays a visit to 4 Cleveland Row (Mrs Smith) [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 40 (817)].
- 2 CB returns to Haworth, meeting EN at Keighley railway station [SHB, IV, p. 40 (817)].
- 3 Review of *Villette* in the *Daily News* [TWRR, p. 212].
- 4 Review of *Villette* in the *Morning Advertiser* [TWRR, p. 214].
- 5 Unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Examiner* [Allott, pp. 175–7].
- 5 Unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Literary Gazette* [Allott, pp. 178–81].
- 6 Review of *Villette* in the *Globe* [TWRR, p. 213].
- 7 PB writes to George Smith suggesting that a copy of *Villette* should be sent for review to the *Leeds Mercury*. He also writes to the editor, Edward Baines, to let him know this [MOS, p. 458].
- 7 CB writes to George Smith concerning reviews of *Villette* [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 44 (821)].
- 11 CB sends Margaret Wooler reviews of *Villette* [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 45 (823)].
- 12 Unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Spectator* [Allott, pp. 181–4].
- 12 G. H. Lewes writes an unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Leader* [Allott, pp. 184–6].
- 12 Unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Athenaeum* [Allott, pp. 187–90].
- 12 Review of *Villette* in the *Atlas* [TWRR, p. 211].
- 12 Review of *Villette* in *Bell's Weekly Messenger* [TWRR, p. 211].
- 12 Review of *Villette* in the *Weekly Chronicle* [TWRR, p. 216].

- 15 Unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Critic* [Allott, pp. 190–2]
 15 George Eliot comments very favourably on *Villette* in a
 letter to Mrs Bray [Allott, p. 192].
- 15 CB writes to EN saying that she is pleased with the recep-
 tion of *Villette* [Barker, p. 721].
- 16 CB writes to George Smith in a spirited letter concerning
Villette [Barker, p. 959].
- 19 Extracts from *Villette* published in the *Leeds Intelligencer*
 [Barker, p. 959].
- 21 CB writes to EN forwarding a letter which had erroneously
 been delivered at Hainsworth Vicarage [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 47
 (823)].
- 23 Unsigned notice of *Villette* in *The Guardian* [Allott,
 pp. 193–4].
- 23 CB writes to WSW mentioning a letter she has received
 from a lady who wishes to marry Paul Emmanuel [Barker,
 pp. 723, 959].
- 23 Mr Nicholls writes again (and on 26 February) concerning
 his application to be appointed to the Society for the
 Propagation of the Gospel [MOS, pp. 459–60].
- 24 CB writes to ECG concerning the cold weather which this
 year has not been such a trial to her [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 48
 (829); Barker, p. 958].
- 26 CB writes to George Smith acknowledging receipt of a
 portrait of Thackeray which hung (and still hangs) in the
 parsonage dining room [Barker, pp. 723, 959].
- 28 Review of *Villette* in the *Magnet* [TWRR, p. 214].
- (unknown date) CB writes to ECG about *Ruth* [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 48–9
 (830)].

March

- Unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Eclectic Review* [Allott, pp. 195–7].
- 4 CB writes to EN describing the visit to Haworth of
 Charles Longley, diocesan bishop, and commenting on
 Mr Nicholls's 'dark gloom'. During the Bishop's visit he has
 been morose and has been watched anxiously by Martha
 Brown. After his departure CB suffers from 'headache and
 biliousness' [Barker, p. 725].
- 6 CB writes to EN [Barker, p. 960].
- 9 CB writes to WSW renewing her former friendly tone,
 thanking him for forwarding a review of *Villette* and

- commenting on *Daisy Burns*, by Miss Kavanagh [Barker, p. 959; SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 50–1 (832)].
- 10 CB writes to EN concerning reviews of *Villette* [Barker, p. 959].
- 11 Thackeray writes to Lucy Baxter commenting on *Villette* [Allott, pp. 197–8].
- 13 Review of *Villette* in the *Sunday Times* [TWRR, p. 216].
- 15 Eugene Forçade writes a review of *Villette* in *Revue des deux mondes* [Allott, pp. 199–200].
- 16 Review of *Villette* in the *Nonconformist* [TWRR, p. 214].
- 17 The *Bradford Observer* records a visit by William Morgan to preach in Bradford, but he did not come to Haworth despite CB's apprehension [Barker, p. 725].
- 18 CB writes to EN mentioning William Morgan's possible visit [Barker, p. 960].
- 22 CB writes to EN thanking her for letters from Amelia Taylor and mentioning details of the Easter services [Barker, p. 960; SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 52–3 (834)].
- 23 CB writes to WSW jokingly mentioning a letter received from a lady who wished to marry the fictional Paul Emmanuel. She also says that a letter from William Morgan mentions a visit by him to Smith, Elder [Barker, p. 960].
- 25–28 Thackeray writes to Mrs Carmichael-Smyth mentioning *Villette* [Allott, p. 198].
- 26 CB writes to George Smith concerning irreconcilable differences between her and Harriet Martineau [Barker, p. 720].
- 29 CB writes to WSW concerning the reception of *Villette* and claiming that Smith, Elder send only the good reviews to her [Barker, pp. 722, 959].

April

Ann Mozley writes an unsigned review of *Villette* in the *Christian Remembrancer* [Allott, pp. 202–8]. There is also a review in the *Edinburgh Review* [TWRR, p. 213]. G. H. Lewes writes a review of *Ruth* and *Villette* in the *Westminster Review* [Allott, pp. 208–11].

- 1 Mr Nicholls writes to withdraw his candidacy as missionary citing his rheumatism, and seeks another curacy instead [MOS, p. 460].
- 2 The *Leeds Intelligencer* records Easter services at Haworth, including comments that the town has long been famous for its music [Barker, p. 960].

- 4 Thackeray writes to Mrs Bryan Proctor, mentioning *Villette* [Allott, p. 198].
- 6 CB writes to EN partly concerning the antipathy between PB and Mr Nicholls and saying that a proposed visit to Manchester has had to be postponed [Barker, pp. 725–6, 960; SHB, Vol. III, pp. 56–7 (838)].
- 8 (Easter Sun) William Cartman comes to Haworth to preach the Easter sermons. CB is too busy to go to Brookroyd [Barker, p. 725].
- 9 (Easter Mon) The annual soirée of the Haworth Mechanics' Institute. Entertainment by the Haworth Choral Society and a speech by PB [Barker, p. 725].
- 13 CB writes to Margaret Wooler saying that she has severed connection with Harriet Martineau [Barker, pp. 720, 959].
- 14 CB writes to ECG suggesting that she might come to Manchester on Thursday 21 April [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 59 (841)].
- 14 Matthew Arnold writes to Mrs Forster commenting on *Villette* [Allott, p. 201].
- 18 CB writes to EN concerning Amelia Taylor's trouble over her child's illness and saying that she hopes to visit Manchester this week [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 60 (842)].
- 22 CB travels to Manchester to visit ECG, travelling by train and arriving in the evening [Barker, p. 726].
- 23 CB writes to EN from Plymouth Grove, Manchester, wondering if EN is 'low spirited' [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 64 (843)].
- (unknown date during the Manchester visit) The Winkworth sisters sing ballads at ECG's house, and CB is overcome [Barker, pp. 726, 960]. She is invited to visit the Winkworths the following morning, but feels unable to do so [Barker, pp. 726–7].
- On another occasion she joins in the discussion about Thackeray's view of Henry Fielding's character.
- 25 CB goes to the Theatre Royal, Manchester, to see *Twelfth Night* [Barker, p. 727].
- 26 CB writes to EN about arrangements for her visit to Brookroyd, beginning on Thursday [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 64 (844)].
- 29 CB returns from Manchester, staying with EN for a few days at Brookroyd. It is uncertain on which day she returns from Brookroyd [Barker, p. 728].
- (April, precise date unknown) CB writes to ECG thanking her for the visit [Barker, pp. 728, 960].
- (Late April, date unknown) ECG writes to John Forster (probably) concerning CB's visit and the way in which Harriet

Martineau's review of *Villette* has preyed on her mind [C & P, pp. 230–1].

May

Unsigned review of *Ruth* and *Villette* in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* [Allott, pp. 212–15].

CB writes to George Smith [Barker, p. 960].

5 (probably, approx) CB writes to EN in a friendly tone, and mentions PB's good health [SHB, Vol. IV, No. 870, corrected by Smith].

15 (Whit Sun) Mr Nicholls stutters and falters while administering the sacrament [Barker, p. 729].

16 CB writes to EN concerning Mr Nicholls's breakdown the previous day [Barker, p. 729; SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 64–5 (846)].

19 CB writes to EN concerning Mr Nicholls's interrogation by the churchwardens, his treatment by PB and his desire to leave [Barker, p. 960].

25 Mr Nicholls presented with a gold watch at a ceremony in the Haworth National School room [Barker, p. 730].

26 Mr Nicholls goes to the parsonage to say good-bye, giving over to PB the deeds of the National School. CB does not intend to see him, but she relents and finds him by the garden door, in deep grief [WGCB, pp. 526–7].

27 CB writes to EN describing her farewell to Mr Nicholls, who has left Haworth early in the morning on that day [Barker, p. 730].

27 A box of books arrives for CB from Smith, Elder [Barker, p. 731].

28 CB writes to WSW concerning ways in which *Villette* might be morally valuable [Barker, p. 731].

29 The new curate at Haworth, George de Renzy, performs his first duties [Barker, p. 730].

CB writes a fragment of [Willie Ellen] beginning 'I will not deny that I took a pleasure' [CA, p. 72].

29 ECG writes to Marianne Gaskell from Crix, concerning an invitation she has to visit CB at Haworth, and planning to go via Kings Cross and Leeds [C & P, pp. 232–3].

(Date unknown, May) CB writes to WSW acknowledging receipt of books including Thackeray's *Lectures on the English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century* [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 66–7 (848)].

June

- 1 CB writes to ECG inviting her to Haworth and comparing it to the American backwoods [Barker, p. 731].
- 1 (approx.) CB becomes ill with flu and headaches [Barker, p. 731].
- 6 CB writes to EN saying that she is 'miserably sick' with a bad influenza cold [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 70 (852)].
- Between 6 and 12 PB writes to ECG on CB's behalf concerning her ill health. Earlier chronologies have suggested the 7th as a likely date [Barker, p. 731; MOS, pp. 462–3].
- 12 CB writes a short note to George Smith, concerning her head pain, having recovered somewhat. PB has also been unwell [Barker, p. 731].
- 13 CB writes to EN concerning her head pain. PB has also been unwell [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 71 (853); Barker, p. 960].
- 16 CB writes to EN again concerning PB's recent stroke and eye problems [Barker, p. 960; MOS, p. 463].
- 20 CB writes to EN to make arrangements for a visit. At some point after this, a coolness sprang up between her and EN, and developed into a quarrel; it is not certain whether the proposed visit took place [Barker, pp. 737–8, 961].
- 22 CB writes a fragment of [Willie Ellen] beginning 'In other countries and in distant times' [CA, p. 72].
- (about this date) CB writes a fragment of [Willie Ellen] beginning "'Stop" – said the expectant victim earnestly' [CA, p. 72].

July

- 3 CB writes to George Smith, mentioning PB's desire to stay in London [Barker, p. 732].
- 9 CB writes to ECG thanking her for a letter and the receipt of *Cranford* [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 76–7 (859)].
- 14 CB writes to George Smith concerning her father's recent stroke, hoping his sight will still be spared [Barker, p. 732].
- 18 CB writes to the reviewer of the *Christian Remembrancer* explaining a little of her circumstances, including PB's poor sight [Barker, p. 734; MOS, p. 463].
- (end) CB as hostess to Rev. W. R. Smith at Haworth and Rev. Busfeild, Vicar of Keighley [Barker, p. 735].
- 24 Rev. W.R. Smith of Christ's Church [*sic*] Bradford gives two sermons at Haworth in aid of the Sunday school [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM].

(unknown date) Mr Nicholls returns to Haworth and stays at Oxenhope. He persuades CB to let him correspond with her [Barker, pp. 735, 961].

August

CB goes to Scotland with the Taylors. She travels by stagecoach from Dumfries to Kirkudbright through wooded terrain [Barker, p. 737]. She returns and stays at Ilkley for a few days [Barker, p. 737].

PB receives a present of game from William Busfeild Ferrand, squire of Bingley [MOS, p. 463].

- 11 Mr Nicholls takes up his post as curate at Kirk Smeaton, near Pontefract [WGCB, p. 527].
- 12 EN writes to Mary Taylor about the possibility of CB's becoming involved with Mr Nicholls [Barker, pp. 735, 961].
- 23 PB writes to thank William Ferrand for the present of game and comment on the current coalition government [MOS, p. 464].
- 30 CB writes to Margaret Wooler to thank her for an invitation to visit, which she cannot accept immediately because of PB's ill health [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 81–3 (863)].
- 31 CB writes to ECG asking her to come to Haworth as soon as possible [BST, Vol. 27, Part 1 (2002)].

September

- 8 CB writes to Margaret Wooler thanking her for pressing her invitation, which she still cannot accept [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 84–5 (866)].
- 13 or 14 CB goes to Ilkley to stay with Margaret Wooler for 'two or three' days Barker, p. 738; WGCB, p. 528].
- 15 PB writes to ECG in CB's absence, to answer a letter to CB which he has opened in her absence and to confirm an invitation to Haworth [Barker, p. 738].
- 16 (Fri) CB returns from Ilkley and writes to ECG herself confirming the arrangement and promising a cab at Keighley station for 19 September [WGCB, p. 528, Barker, p. 962].
- 19 ECG duly arrives at Keighley and is brought by cab to Haworth [Barker, pp. 738–9]. She later writes to an unidentified correspondent about the visit with a 'polished' account [Barker, p. 962].

- 19 Francis Bennoch, a putative patron for CB, visits Haworth; he meets ECG on the steps of the parsonage. He had spent some time with PB and a reluctant CB [Barker, p. 742].
- 19 ECG sleeps in Aunt Elizabeth Branwell's old bedroom [Barker, p. 739]. She shares in the Brontë routine: breakfast, walks, family prayers. She talks to the servant Martha Brown, who takes her to see the Brontë memorial tablet in the church [Barker, p. 740].
- 23 ECG leaves Haworth [Barker, p. 739]. She takes the gift of a book for Julia [WGCB, p. 529].
- 25 CB writes to ECG reviewing the visit [Barker, p. 742, WGCB, p. 529].
- (date doubtful) ECG writes to an unknown correspondent, possibly John Forster, with details of her Haworth visit. The letter shows that she had formed some negative impressions, particularly of PB [Barker, p. 962; C & P, pp. 242–7]. She also writes to another unknown correspondent in the same vein [C & P, pp. 248–50].
- 29 CB writes to Francis Bennoch declining an invitation to London [Barker, p. 742].
- 30 CB writes to Margaret Wooler, declining an invitation to stay at Hornsea with her, and concerning her Scottish journey [Barker, p. 962].
- (Sun following) CB entertains Rev. John Burnett and Rev. William Cartman, visiting preachers [Barker, p. 742].

October

The *Christian Remembrancer* carries a notice from the editor softening the paper's stance on CB's seclusion [Barker, p. 734].

7–13 (approx.) CB spends a week at Hornsea with Margaret Wooler [Barker, p. 742].

13 (possibly) CB meets EN in Leeds as part of an attempt to repair their friendship [Smith, quoted in Barker, p. 961].

13 (possibly) CB writes to EN. There is considerable doubt about the date of this letter, which Barker considers may have been written months before [Barker, pp. 961–2].

15–18 Rev. William Fawcett stays at the parsonage [Barker, p. 962].

18 CB writes to Margaret Wooler concerning the recent visit, and about a little girl who was sick in the coach on CB's journey home [Barker, pp. 742, 962].

- 29 ECG writes to Richard Monkton Milnes suggesting a possible pension for PB [Barker, p. 742; C & P, pp. 252–3].

November

Review of *Villette* in the *Dublin University Magazine* [TWRR, p. 212].

- 15 CB writes to ECG telling her she intends to go to London on a matter unconnected with literature. It is possible that CB wished to take back the management of her financial affairs from George Smith [Barker, p. 742].
- 21 CB writes to Mrs Shaen (Emily Winkworth) asking her to book rooms in London for her [Barker, p. 743, WGCB, p. 529].
- 21 CB receives a letter from George Smith throwing her into confusion [Barker, p. 743].
- 21 CB writes to Mrs Smith asking for further details about George Smith's situation, clearly being concerned by the suggestion that he was soon to be married. The letter is couched in words which suggest unease. CB's affection for George Smith is evident in the tone of some of her letters, though no idea of closer relationship is ever mooted [Barker, p. 743].
- 22–23 (approx) Mrs Smith writes to CB announcing George Smith's engagement to Miss Blakeway [Barker, pp. 743, 962].
- 24 CB receives the letter from Mrs Smith concerning George's engagement [Barker, p. 962].
- 24 CB writes immediately to Mrs Shaen to cancel the booking of her lodgings in London [Barker, p. 744].

December

- 6 CB writes sadly to WSW saying that she has sent back a box of books to Cornhill and that he need send no more. This ended her friendships with the leading figures in Smith, Elder [Barker, p. 744, WGCB, p. 530].
- 10 CB writes a brief note of congratulation to George Smith, hiding her own pain [Barker, p. 744].
- 12 CB writes gloomily to Margaret Wooler mentioning her loneliness [Barker, p. 744].
- 27 CB writes to ECG sadly concerning the receipt and writing of letters, which she considers depend on the emotional health of the writer to be interesting [Barker, p. 744].

1854

This is an extraordinary year in which PB becomes reconciled to Mr Nicholls, allowing him to approach CB and propose marriage. The wedding duly takes place on a June morning with a tiny congregation and without PB who has refused to give CB away. There is a most successful honeymoon journey to Ireland, during which CB meets Mr Nicholls's relatives and is surprised at the 'English' nature of the establishment at Banagher. She soon comes to love her husband and her letters are enthusiastic about her new status. She seems to be better in health, but in late November walks to a waterfall on Haworth moor and catches a serious chill. At an unknown date late in the year she reads aloud to Arthur Nicholls her manuscript *Emma* (see Clarendon, *The Professor*, p. 304). So far as is known this is the only reference to literary composition after CB's marriage.

January

CB tells her father that she has been corresponding with Mr Nicholls for six months and after discussion is allowed to continue the acquaintance [Barker, p. 745]. (Lyndall Gordon, pp. 298–9, gives a lightly fictionalized version of the conversation). Mr Nicholls spends ten days at Oxenhope, staying with his friends the Grants in order to further this aim.

There are strikes and civil unrest in Haworth [Barker, p. 746; WGCB p. 530].

7 Reports of severe weather in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, p. 962].

7 and 14 Reports in the *Halifax Guardian* of an end to the strike at Merrall's mill in Haworth [Barker, p. 963].

(unknown dates) CB and Mr Nicholls meet amidst the snow. Winifred Gerin says this was in 'Charlotte's Lane' between Haworth and Oxenhope [WGCB, p. 530].

27 PB writes to Rev. William Cartman thanking him for providing a pair of heel spikes to prevent him slipping in the snow [Barker, p. 963].

27 CB writes to Francis Bennoch accepting an invitation to stay in London with him and his wife [Barker, p. 746].

30 Richard Monkton Milnes writes to ECG describing Mr Nicholls and detailing his own efforts to help him [Barker, pp. 746, 963].

February

- 3 CB writes to Sydney Dobell acknowledging the receipt of his dramatic poem *Balder* [Barker, p. 747].
- 11 Marriage of George Smith, CB's publisher, to Elizabeth Blakeway [Lyndall Gordon, *A Passionate Life*, p. 299].
- 21 CB writes to the Rev. James Caspar concerning an invitation to PB to attend a Church Pastoral Aid Society Meeting in Bradford [Barker, p. 963].
- 22 CB writes to Henry Garrs, a brother of Nancy and Sarah Garrs, who had been nurserymaids to the Brontë children, about publication [Barker, p. 963].
- 22 CB receives an unexpected cheque from Thomas Cautley Newby owed to EJB and AB [Barker, p. 747].

March

- 1 CB writes to EN apparently breaking for the first time her silence and beginning a reconciliation [Barker, pp. 747, 963].
- 4 ECG writes to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth saying that she often hears from CB, and mentioning her visit to Haworth [C & P, p. 269].
- 7 CB writes to EN mainly on family matters and generalities [Barker, p. 963].
- 8 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright concerning the health of PB. He has been able to preach twice every Sun and retains a strong interest in politics [MOS, p. 467].
- 17 CB writes further to Henry Garrs about publication [Barker, p. 963].
- 18 CB writes to Thomas Cautley Newby acknowledging receipt of money owing to EJB and AB [Barker, p. 963].
- 22 CB writes to EN with some details of Mr Nicholls and his reception by PB, and proposing a visit to Haworth by EN. Mr Nicholls would also be coming to stay, but this would probably be at the Grants' in Oxenhope [Barker, pp. 745, 963; MOS, p. 467].

April

- (unknown date) CB writes to James Alexander Simpson [BST, Vol. 21, Part 3, 1994, p. 92].
- 1 CB writes to EN again concerning Mr Nicholls and plans for EN to visit. She mentions PB's attack of bronchitis [Barker, p. 963].

- 3 CB writes to ECG [Barker, p. 963].
- 3 (Mon) Mr Nicholls comes to stay and during the visit proposes to CB. PB accepts the forthcoming marriage and the return of Mr Nicholls as curate of Haworth [Barker, p. 748; BW, pp. 148–9].
- 7 Mr Nicholls returns to Kirk Smeaton [Barker, p. 749].
- 9 Palm Sunday.
- 11 CB writes to EN giving her details of the clandestine correspondence with Mr Nicholls, their subsequent meetings despite PB's bitter hostility and ending with the words, 'In fact, dear Ellen, I am engaged' [Barker, pp. 744–5; WGCB, p. 531; BW, p. 149].
- 11 CB writes to Francis Bennoch cancelling her proposed visit to London [Barker, p. 964].
- 12 CB writes to Margaret Wooler announcing her engagement. She admits that PB would still not be happy with the marriage, since his fatherly pride would remain unsatisfied [Barker, pp. 750, 963].
- 15 CB writes to EN seeing 'some real germs of happiness' in her situation and about PB's improving health [Barker, pp. 750, 963; MOS, p. 468].
- 17 Despite this, PB is still too unwell to attend a meeting of the Haworth Mechanics' Institute [Barker, p. 751].
- 18 CB writes to ECG announcing her engagement and lamenting her inability to fulfil her father's expectations for her, but recording that PB has admitted previous injustice [Barker, pp. 760, 963].
- 18 PB writes to Rev. James Cheadle to reject a proposed meeting with the Bishop of Ripon because of ill health [Barker, pp. 751, 964].
- 18 CB writes to George Smith in distant terms cancelling her previous financial arrangements with him [Barker, p. 751, Lyndall Gordon, *A Passionate Life*, p. 386].
- 21 CB's thirty-eighth birthday.
- 22 The *Leeds Intelligencer* reports PB's inability to attend the Haworth Mechanics' Institute annual meeting because of ill health – in fact, bronchitis [Barker, pp. 750–1, 963–4].
- 22 CB makes a note in her account book concerning alterations at the parsonage [Barker, p. 964].
- 23 ECG writes to John Forster with the news that CB is to be married to Mr Nicholls. She expresses some doubt over his

religious views while mentioning that the poor and old in Haworth are pleased that he is returning [C & P, pp. 279–81].

- 25 (Tue) CB writes to George Smith acknowledging receipt of a friendly letter and wishing him well in his marriage, but also implying that she has lost interest in her relationship with Smith, Elder [Barker, p. 752].
- 26 CB writes to ECG expressing some concern over how Mr Nicholls's high church views would mesh with those of the Unitarians. She admits she will have to restrain her latitudinarian opinions when they are married [Barker, p. 752].
- 28 CB writes to EN again concerning her engagement and Mr Nicholls [Barker, pp. 750, 963].

May

- 1 CB goes to Manchester to visit ECG at Plymouth Grove [Barker, p. 752]. During the visit, CB gives ECG an account of how her father had received her request to marry Mr Nicholls. She apparently mentions the intervention of Tabitha Aykroyd, the Haworth servant; the evidence for this conversation is in a letter from ECG to John Forster [Barker, p. 964]. She also meets Catherine Winkworth again.
- 2 (Tue) Catherine Winkworth goes to Plymouth Grove and has a short talk with CB [WGCB, p. 535].
- 3 Catherine Winkworth again goes to see CB and there is a friendly conversation in which CB tells Catherine about some considerations she has concerning her marriage to Mr Nicholls [WGCB, pp. 535–6; Lyndall Gordon, pp. 303–4, gives a fictionalized account of the conversation and highlights what she considers it shows about CB's feelings as she contemplated her marriage to Mr Nicholls].
- 5 CB leaves Manchester to go to Hunsworth to stay with Joe and Amelia Taylor [Barker, pp. 753–4]. During her visit she forms a good relationship with the Taylors' daughter 'Tim'.
- 6 CB writes to EN from Hunsworth about her proposed visit to Brookroyd [Barker, p. 964].
- 8 Catherine Winkworth writes to Emma Shaen describing the conversations she has had during CB's short stay in Manchester in which CB describes Mr Nicholls as 'not

- intellectual', and in the same letter guesses that CB's real love was 'Paul Emmanuel' [Barker, p. 964].
- 8 (Mon) CB goes to Brookroyd for what will be her last visit [Barker, p. 964].
She is shown particular kindness by the Nusseys [WGCB, p. 538].
Some time is spent in Leeds and, apparently, Halifax buying wedding clothes [Barker, pp. 754, 964].
- 8 to 14 (approx) ECG writes to John Forster with some concern over whether CB might become more of a religious bigot after her marriage. She also retells a story told by CB about a cruel father who caught a robin in a trap and roasted it for his two-year old daughter [C & P, pp. 282–3].
- 11 End of Mr Nicholls's curacy at Kirk Smeaton [WGCB, p. 538].
- 13 (evening) CB returns to Haworth and finds PB quite well [Barker, p. 754; WGCB, p. 538].
- 14 CB writes to EN concerning the difficulties put in the way of the wedding by Mr de Renzy, the current Haworth curate [Barker, p. 754].
- 17 ECG writes to John Forster, enclosing a copy of CB's announcement of her forthcoming marriage, 'quiet, quaint and a little formal'. She also describes a discussion between CB and PB concerning reasons why she would marry Mr Nicholls [C & P, pp. 286–91].
- 22 CB writes to EN concerning Mr Nicholls's rheumatism [Barker, p. 755].
- 22 (Mon) Mr Nicholls comes to stay at Haworth. He does not appear well, and claims to be dying, but CB's wholesome treatment helps him to recover [Barker, p. 755].
- 22 CB writes to Mr Carr, solicitor [Barker, p. 965; *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 3, 1994].
- 24 CB's marriage settlement is drawn up by Keighley solicitor Richard Metcalfe, appointing Joe Taylor sole trustee. On her death, her estate would revert to PB [Barker, pp. 755–6, 964–5, where she discusses motivation, modifying her original position in her *BST* article].
- 27 (Sat) Mr Nicholls leaves Haworth after his visit to CB [BW, p. 164].
- 27 CB writes to EN concerning Mr Nicholls's minor illness and 'wilful nonsense' [Barker, p. 755; BW, p. 164].

June

- (unknown date, May/June 1854) CB writes to an unknown correspondent concerning her choice of three wedding dresses [BST, Vol. 27, Part I (2002), p. 81].
- 7 CB writes to EN concerning PB's deafness and the way in which Mr de Renzy is still causing trouble [MOS, p. 469].
- 11 (Sun) PB is once again able to preach twice on a Sunday 'as strongly as ever' [MOS, p. 469].
- 11 CB writes to EN mentioning that the peat room has been turned into a study for Mr Nicholls and that there are new, attractive curtains [Barker, pp. 754, 756–7; MOS p. 469].
- 16 CB writes to Margaret Wooler showing that at this stage the precise date of the wedding has not been decided; she says that only EN, Mr Sowden – friend of Mr Nicholls, who was to perform the ceremony – and Miss Wooler herself would be present, but others would be invited to the wedding breakfast [BW, pp. 161–2; WGCB, p. 538].
- 16 (Fri) CB writes to EN concerning the wedding arrangements; she had hoped to have the wedding in the second week in July but this was not now possible because of Mr de Renzy's holiday, and the fact that he will leave on 25 June. She invites EN to come to Haworth on 21 June [MOS, pp. 469–70]. During the next few days CB sends out wedding cards, working from a wedding list which begins with Rev. W. Morgan [MOS, p. 470].
- 28 (afternoon) EN and Margaret Wooler come to stay at the parsonage for the wedding. Mr Nicholls is staying with the Grants at Oxenhope [BW, p. 166].
- 29 (Thu) CB's wedding day. The wedding takes place at 8 a.m. PB does not attend and CB is given away by Margaret Wooler. (WGCB p. 540 says that PB had recently refused to take weddings at Haworth and had a dislike of the service) [Barker, pp. 757–8; BW, p. 169]. Her wedding dress survives [*Sixty Treasures*, 53].
- 29 CB and Mr Nicholls travel to Conway (Conwy), North Wales, on the first stage of their honeymoon journey. CB writes to EN describing their inn as 'comfortable' [Barker, pp. 758–9; BW p. 174].
- 30 CB and Mr Nicholls travel to Bangor [WGCB, p. 541]. A dress worn by CB on this journey survives [*Sixty Treasures*, 51].

At an unknown date during the honeymoon a photograph is taken of CB which has been known as the 'carte de visite' photograph [*Sixty Treasures*, 55].

July

- 1 and 2 The married couple make several excursions from Bangor, though the weather is bad. They see Beddgelert and Llanberis [WGCB, p. 541].
- 3 CB and Mr Nicholls leave Bangor and go to Anglesey [WGCB, p. 541].
- 4 (Tue) CB crosses Anglesey to Holyhead and sails to Dublin [Barker, p. 758].
- 4–6 CB shown Trinity College, Dublin, and other sights of the city by relatives of Mr Nicholls. CB says that the relatives were 'a brother and two cousins' and WGCB identifies them as Joseph Bell, later Canon of St Patrick's Cathedral, Alan Nicholls, and another cousin, Mary Anne Bell. After the death of CB she was to become Mr Nicholls's second wife [WGCB, pp. 542–4]. CB is suffering from a bad cold.
- 7 CB arrives at Cuba House in Banagher, Co. Offaly, the home of Mr Nicholls [WGCB, p. 544].
- 7 PB writes to EN thanking her for a letter in which she had expressed understanding of his reaction to the present changes [MOS, p. 472].
- 10 CB writes to Margaret Wooler describing the calm voyage, the visit to Dublin and the regime at Cuba House [Barker, p. 965; BW, p. 177].
- 14 (approx) CB leaves Cuba House for a tour of the west of Ireland [WGCB, p. 548].
- 14–18 CB travels by the banks of the Shannon to Limerick, then to Kilkee, Co. Clare [Barker, p. 759]. It is possible that she went by boat on the Shannon part of the way to Limerick, then possibly by train [BW, p. 181].
- 18 CB writes to Margaret Wooler and to Catherine Wooler [Barker, p. 965]. She is staying at the West End Hotel, Kilkee, and writes lightheartedly about the beauty of the coast, and so on. While at Kilkee she receives a parcel of letters from correspondents in England [BW, p. 182].
- (next few days) The married couple travel to Killarney and then to Glengarriff, returning to Cork [WGCB, p. 550].
- 27 CB and Mr Nicholls arrive at Cork [WGCB, p. 549].

- 27 CB writes to Catherine Winkworth mentioning the beauty of Kilkee and her husband's tolerance of her wish for solitude. She says there has been a frightening incident when she has been thrown from a horse at the gap of Dunloe despite Mr Nicholls's efforts to hold the horse's head [Barker, pp. 760, 965; BW, p. 184].
- 28 The honeymoon tour reaches Dublin again [WGCB, p. 550].
- 28 CB writes to Martha Brown concerning her return home [Barker, p. 965].
- 28 CB writes to EN describing her travels in Ireland, but wishing to be home. From the tone of her letter it seems likely that she is homesick, and also concerned about the apparent ill health of PB [BW, p. 186].

August

- (unknown date) Mr Nicholls writes to George Sowden concerning the cliffs at Kilkee, where he and CB had sat to look out on 'the broad Atlantic' [WGCB, p. 549].
- 1 (Tue) CB arrives home in Haworth after her honeymoon. She finds PB unwell [Barker, p. 761; WGCB, p. 551].
- 8 CB entertains Mr Sowden and Mr and Mrs Grant [SHB, Vol. IV, pp. 145–67 (910)].
- 9 CB writes to EN about her new status as a married woman; she says Mr Nicholls has gained 12 pounds in weight during his stay in Ireland [Barker, pp. 761, 965; WGCB, p. 552].
- (mid-month) CB and Mr Nicholls give a tea party at the church school for five hundred residents of Haworth and district [Barker, p. 761].
- 20 There is a letter signed 'C. B. Nicholls' to Rev. William Cartman of this date; it is possibly a copy, but may be a forgery [BST, Vol. 21, Part 3 (1994) p. 96].
- 22 CB writes to Margaret Wooler mentioning local tributes to Mr Nicholls [Barker, p. 762].
- 29 CB writes to EN inviting her to stay at the parsonage [Barker, p. 763].

September

During September, Arthur Nicholls spends every weekday morning teaching at the National School. During the afternoons he visits the poor [Barker, pp. 761–2].

- 7 CB writes to EN concerning her proposed visit to Haworth and about the busy life of a married woman [Barker, p. 966].
- 14 CB writes to EN further concerning her proposed visit [Barker, p. 966].
- 17 (Sun) Rev. R. Burnett of Bradford preaches a sermon ('for the Jews') at Haworth church; he tells CB that PB is looking no different from when he last saw him a year previously [WGCB, p. 550].
- 18 PB sends £2.10s to the Jews Society; five shillings is his own contribution [MOS, p. 482].
- 19 CB writes to Margaret Wooler about her visitors since her return from Ireland [Barker, p. 762].
- 19 PB orders second-hand copies of *The Times* [MOS, p. 482].
- 21 EN comes to Haworth for a visit. During the visit EN and Mr Nicholls come to know each other better, but do not react favourably [Barker, p. 763; WGCB, p. 558].
- 21 Mr Nicholls is officially licensed to Haworth church again [MOS, p. 472].
- 30 CB writes to ECG inviting her to stay at Haworth. She does not take up the offer because of her preoccupation with Florence Nightingale and her slight fear of Mr Nicholls [Barker, pp. 763, 966].

October

- 4 or 5 (approx) EN leaves Haworth to return home [Barker, p. 763].
- 10 Joe and Amelia Taylor visit the parsonage during the day in order to arrange a longer stay [Barker, p. 763].
- 11 CB writes to EN concerning the visit of the Taylors, during which Mr Nicholls has seemed to find Amelia uncongenial [Barker, p. 763].
- 20 CB writes to EN mentioning Mr Nicholls's advice that letters can be dangerous and asking her to burn this one [Barker, pp. 763–4].
- 31 CB writes to EN further insisting on the burning of letters and requesting that she write out a formal pledge to do so [Barker, p. 764].

November

EN writes out a formal promise to 'destroy' CB's letters for Mr Nicholls [Barker, p. 764]. Later she agreed that she had failed to keep this promise, giving various reasons [Barker, pp. 764, 966].

- 6 (probably) Visit of Rev. Sutcliffe Sowden with his brother George to Haworth, staying overnight [Barker, p. 765; WGCB, p. 556].
- 7 CB writes to EN concerning Mr Nicholls's requirement that her letters should be burnt, and the visit of the Sowdens [Barker, pp. 764, 966; WGCB, p. 556].
- 11 (Sat) Visit to Haworth of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth [WGCB, p. 556].
- 13 Departure of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth [WGCB, p. 556].
- 14 CB writes to EN and mentions Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's visit. He hopes to attract Mr Nicholls to Padiham where a new church has just been opened [Barker, p. 765].
- 14 A proposed visit by CB to Hunsworth and Brookroyd is postponed because of the illness of Joe Taylor [Barker, p. 765].
- 15 CB writes to Margaret Wooler saying that her health is now much better and she is no longer suffering from headaches and indigestion [Barker, p. 765].
- 21 CB writes to EN, including positive comments about PB's health. She discusses the possibility that George Sowden might take up the post at Padiham [WGCB, p. 551].
- 28 Mr Nicholls and CB walk to the waterfalls on Haworth Moor, after the melting of recent snow. The weather is very rainy and CB catches a severe chill [MOS, p. 473, WGCB, p. 558].
- 29 CB writes again to EN giving details of the walk she and Mr Nicholls have taken to the waterfalls. She has enjoyed the walk 'inexpressibly' [SHB, Vol, IV, pp. 161–2 (927); Barker, p. 967].

December

It is impossible to determine exactly when CB read to her husband the fragment from *Emma*. It may be presumed that this was not during a time when there were visitors, of whom there were a number towards the end of 1854, but this exclusion leaves a number of clear periods when the incident could have taken place. Mr Nicholls later described the time as 'One Evening at the close of 1854'.

After receiving several letters from her, CB writes to Amelia Taylor at unknown dates in December concerning Joe's illness and praising Amelia [Barker, pp. 765–6].

She writes a second letter to Amelia Taylor as Joe's life is despaired of [Barker, p. 967].

- 6 CB writes to Margaret Wooller, thanking her for her information that Mercy Nussey, EN's sister, has typhus. Such an illness would certainly make it impossible for CB to go to Brookroyd. She also discusses the current news from the Crimea, condemning the war [Barker, pp. 766, 967].
- 7 CB writes to EN, including the news that Flossy, AB's dog, has died, and she also mentions the good health of Mr Nicholls [Barker, p. 967; MOS, p. 473; WGCB, p. 552].
- 13 CB writes in PB's name to an unidentified correspondent concerning a meeting proposed for the 16th [Barker, p. 967].
- 13 Mr Nicholls writes in PB's name to Messrs Heaton concerning the same meeting [Barker, p. 967].
- 16 A meeting of the Patriotic Fund is convened by PB whose sight is so bad that CB and Mr Nicholls write out the invitations [Barker, p. 767].
- (unknown date) CB receives a letter from EN, enclosing one from Mary Gorham, who tells of the birth of her first child [WGCB, p. 557].
- 26 CB writes to EN cheerfully, wishing her a happy Christmas and in terms similar to other married women [Barker, p. 768; WGCB, p. 552].
- 28 CB writes to Ann Clapham, EN's married sister, mentioning that she hopes to visit Brookroyd in February [WGCB, p. 560].
- 28 Charles Dickens visits Bradford to give a reading from *A Christmas Carol* [Barker, p. 768].
- (Tue, unknown date) CB writes to the local doctor, Mr Ingham, (who is himself ill) to ask for medicine for Tabitha Aykroyd [SHB, Vol. IV, (937); I am indebted to Margaret Smith for the information that this is annotated in an unknown hand 'Written Decr 1854'].

1855

Early in 1855, CB suspects that she is pregnant and that her poorer health may be due to this. However, she does not improve and is soon requiring daily medication. Concern changes to alarm and this is proved justified as she rapidly declines and dies just before Easter and

her thirty-ninth birthday. PB is seventy-eight. EN arrives in time for the funeral and views CB's body. The funeral is attended by many Haworth residents and ex-Sunday school pupils of CB. As soon as she is buried, there is discussion on how best to commemorate her, and ECG offers the idea of a memoir. The resultant process exposes divisions between CB's various friends and acquaintances.

January

- 1 ECG writes to Catherine Winkworth about a letter from CB which she has shown her; ECG mentions that the last time she wrote to CB she explained how she saw the Church of England (for Mr Nicholls's benefit), but the letter was not answered [C & P, p. 327].
- (second week, possibly between 6 and 16) CB and her husband are invited to Gawthorpe Hall to stay with the Kay-Shuttleworths [Barker, pp. 768 and 967, where she reports that the parish registers are blank between 6 and 16 January]. During the visit, Sir James reads aloud to CB from the manuscript of a novel he is writing [WGCB, p. 561].
- (on returning from Gawthorpe) Visit of James Addison Bell, Arthur Nicholls's second cousin whom CB has met in Banagher, to the parsonage [Barker, p. 769].
- (uncertain date) CB writes to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth mentioning that she intends to travel to Gawthorpe on 9 January [I am indebted to Margaret Smith for this reference].
- 11 The Earl of Carlisle visits Bradford to give a lecture on the poetry of Thomas Gray [Barker, p. 768, speculating on the possibility that CB might have attended either this, or the lecture by Dickens, or both. It seems unlikely that she could have been at the January event, when she was almost certainly in Gawthorpe].
- 19 CB writes to EN concerning her recent visit to the Kay-Shuttleworths and hinting that she might be pregnant [Barker, p. 769].
- 21 CB writes to Amelia Taylor recording the visit to Haworth by James Addison Bell, and noting how well Nicholls and PB now get on together [Barker, pp. 769, 967–8]. She plans to visit Brookroyd and Hunsworth, but ill health prevents this [Barker, pp. 769, 967].
- 23 Since CB is too ill to write, Mr Nicholls writes to EN concerning her health and her proposed visit [Barker, pp. 769, 967].

29 Mr Nicholls writes a further letter to EN, alarmed at CB's poor health and mentioning that he has called in Dr McTurk from Bradford [Barker, p. 967].

30 (probably) Dr McTurk calls and confirms CB's view that she is pregnant [WGCB, p. 562].

During the next few weeks CB is frequently attended by Crawshaw Dugdale, a local doctor [MOS, p. 474].

February

CB writes several pencilled notes to Amelia Taylor, whose husband Joe is mortally ill [WGCB, p. 562].

1 Mr Nicholls writes a further letter to EN [Barker, p. 967].

3 PB writes to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth concerning CB's current illness but considers that her health will 'again return' soon. She is receiving daily visits from the local doctor [Barker, p. 770].

5 William Wood's account book notes the fitting of a new privy seat at the parsonage and the purchase of a clothes pole [JK, p. 80].

14 Mr Nicholls writes to EN giving a sad report on CB's 'weakness and sickness' [Barker, p. 770].

15 CB writes to Laetitia Wheelwright about her present illness and the excellence of her husband in this situation [WGCB, p. 563].

17 (Sat) CB makes her will, leaving all her property to her husband. Witnesses are PB and Martha Brown [Barker, p. 770].

17 The old Haworth servant, Tabitha Aykroyd, dies, aged 84 [Barker, p. 770].

21 CB writes to EN telling her how excellent Mr Nicholls is as a nurse [Barker, p. 967].

21 (Wed) Tabitha Aykroyd is buried by Mr Nicholls [Barker, p. 967; MOS, p. 475].

(final week, or perhaps early March [Smith]) CB writes to EN describing symptoms of her current illness [Barker, p. 967].

(late; perhaps early March) CB writes to Amelia Taylor mentioning that she has given up medicines, and praising Arthur Nicholls's care for her [Barker, p. 967; date cautiously retarded by Margaret Smith]. At this stage CB is lying alone in the large bed and is likened by the servants to a small bird [WGCB, p. 564].

March

A period when CB seems to rally. WGCB (p. 564) places this in early March. PB has his watch and the clock cleaned [MOS, p. 483].

- 10 PB makes an agreement with John Brown for clothes from the parsonage to be put in his field to dry [MOS, p. 483].
- 15 Mr Nicholls writes to EN in condolence on the death of EN's brother-in-law Robert Clapham, and concerning CB's health [Barker, pp. 771, 967].
- 17 PB's seventy-eighth birthday.
- 21 Mr Nicholls takes the services on a Day of National Humiliation and Prayer [Barker, p. 771].
- 29 William Wood's account book notes the fitting of a sash window at the parsonage [JK, p. 80].
- 30 PB writes to EN saying that CB is 'on the verge of the grave' [Barker, p. 771].
- 31 (Sat) Death of CB. The death is certified as 'of phthisis'. There has been much controversy since about the precise cause of death, with a view often expressed that the pregnancy had hastened her end [Barker, p. 772].
- 31 Mr Nicholls writes to inform EN of CB's death 'of exhaustion'. In *BST*, Vol. 18, Part 95 (1985), pp. 363–70, H. W. Gallagher, a consultant surgeon, discusses the various theories [Barker, pp. 772, 967]

April

EN comes to Haworth and sees CB's dead body [Barker, p. 773].

A letter of unknown date in April from Harriet Martineau (who writes CB's obituary in the *Daily News*) to John Greenwood describes CB as 'noble' [Barker, p. 775].

Notice of CB's death is published in the *Belfast Mercury* [C & P, p. 347].

- 3 Rev. Sutcliffe Sowden takes over some of PB's and Mr Nicholls's duties at Haworth church [Barker, p. 968].
- 4 CB is buried in the family vault at Haworth. The service is conducted by Rev. Sutcliffe Sowden. The funeral procession is reported to be the largest seen there for many years [Barker, p. 773; MOS, p. 477].
- 4 ECG, who has been informed of CB's death by John Greenwood, writes a letter of condolence to PB [Barker, pp. 774, 968]. She also writes to John Greenwood [C & P, pp. 335–6].

- 5 PB writes stoically to ECG, who is in London, in reply to her letter [MOS, p. 479].
- 6 Obituary of CB by Harriet Martineau in the *Daily News* [Barker, p. 968].
- 7 Obituary of CB in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, p. 969].
- 8 (Sun) Rev. Dr Cartman from Skipton takes CB's memorial service [MOS, p. 480].
- 11 Mr Nicholls writes to Mary Hewitt describing CB's last illness [Barker, pp. 772, 967].
- 12 ECG writes to John Greenwood regretting that she had not known about CB's pregnancy and wondering whether to come over to Haworth to see PB [C & P, p. 337].
- 13 PB buys a new dog, Cato, for £3. This may partly reflect CB's 'admiration' for the dog [Barker, p. 785; MOS, p. 479].
- 14 Obituary of CB in the *Literary Gazette* including an untrue allegation that the Bishop of Bradford has offered the living to Mr Nicholls [Barker, pp. 779, 969].
- 14 The *Leeds Mercury* reports the speech by Michael Merrall at the Haworth Mechanics' Institute paying tribute to CB [Barker, p. 777].
- 16 (probably) Mr Nicholls writes to EN thanking her for enquiring after the health of PB and himself [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 179 (952)].
- 18 PB raises the wages of Martha Brown to £9 a year [MOS, p. 483]. About this time she becomes ill and is sent to Leeds for rest. Her sister Eliza Brown helps at the parsonage.
- 20 PB writes to George Smith thanking him for a letter of condolence [Barker, p. 968; MOS, p. 480].
- 21 Obituary of CB in the *Westmorland Gazette* and the *Halifax Courier* [Barker, p. 969].
- 30 PB writes to George Smith thanking him for a letter of condolence [Barker, pp. 778, 968].
- 30 Margaret Wooler writes to Mr Nicholls concerning letters of CB's she has retained [Barker, pp. 779–80, 969].

May

Matthew Arnold's poem 'Haworth Churchyard' is published in *Fraser's Magazine* [Allott, pp. 306–10]. The poem records the evening when CB met Harriet Martineau at Loughrigg.

Margaret Oliphant writes an unsigned article in *Blackwood's* on 'Modern Novelists' in which she deals with *Jane Eyre* and *Villette* among other works [Allott, pp. 311–14].

- 5 ECG writes to John Greenwood mentioning Matthew Arnold's poem and concerning a possible memorial tablet to CB in Haworth church [C & P, pp. 342–3]. She writes again on an unknown date during the same month asking John Greenwood for information on the early life of CB, and regretting that Thackeray has not written a letter of condolence [C & P, pp. 343–4].
- 10 The *Bradford Observer* carries the story about the Bishop offering Mr Nicholls the incumbency of Haworth [Barker, p. 969].
- 12 The *Leeds Intelligencer* and *Halifax Guardian* repeat the story of the Bishop of Bradford [Barker, p. 969].
- 31 ECG writes to George Smith mentioning that she would like to put on record some of her memories of CB and asking for a copy of the Richmond portrait of CB [C & P, p. 345; WGCB, p. 569].
- 31 ECG writes a further letter to John Greenwood, about now but precise date unknown [C & P, pp. 343–4].

June

Sharpe's London Magazine contains scandalous stories about CB and her family [Barker, pp. 780, 969; see also TWRR, p. 217]. The source of these was ECG herself, based on information from the Kay-Shuttleworths and a dismissed former servant [Barker, p. 780].

- 1 Matthew Arnold writes to ECG regretting that he had been told of the precise location of the grave of CB, whom he thought to have been buried in the churchyard while she was in fact interred in the church itself [Barker, p. 968; Allott, p. 306].
- 4 ECG writes to George Smith concerning the possibility that there might be a memoir of CB [Barker, pp. 782, 969; C & P, pp. 345–8].
- 6 EN writes to Mr Nicholls mentioning a suggestion that ECG might reply to the scandalous allegations in *Sharpe's* and reinforcing her claim to be the main confidante of CB [Barker, pp. 780, 969].
- 9 PB writes to Martha Brown, ill in Leeds, wishing her a speedy recovery [MOS, pp. 480–1].
- 11 Mr Nicholls writes to EN rejecting the idea of replying to the allegations in *Sharpe's* and mentioning the desolation felt both by PB and himself [Barker, pp. 781, 969].

- 12 PB writes to Sarah Newsome concerning the death of CB and the successes of the three sisters [Barker, pp. 785, 969].
- 12 ECG writes again to George Smith concerning some letters about CB's death [C & P, p. 348]. She writes again at an unknown date in the same month before the 18th [C & P, pp. 348–9].
- 16 PB writes to ECG proposing that she should write a 'brief account' of CB's life in order to counteract the rumours being circulated after the articles in *Sharpe's* and elsewhere [Barker, pp. 781–2, 969].
- 18 ECG writes to George Smith concerning the possibility of writing a memoir, and indicating that the topic of the character of PB would have to be avoided [Barker, pp. 782, 969]. This letter follows one of unknown date to George Smith [C & P, pp. 348–9].
- 20 PB makes his will. Barker briefly discusses the implications of this, noting that its provisions included his brother Hugh, and Martha Brown [Barker, pp. 786, 969].

July

- 22 Rev. Dr Burnett of Bradford preaches two sermons at Haworth in aid of the Sunday school [Haworth Hymn Sheet, BPM]. The hymn sheet is printed by John Greenwood.
- 23 ECG, who has been unable to release herself from engagements in Manchester and elsewhere, finally visits Haworth in a heatwave with Catherine Winkworth and finds both PB and Mr Nicholls still overcome with grief [Barker, p. 783].
- 24 ECG writes to EN requesting help with the proposed memoir, including access to the letters of CB to EN. She has been lent about twelve letters from CB to members of the family, mostly EJB [Barker, p. 969; WGCB, p. 570].
- 24 Mr Nicholls writes to EN concerning ECG's request to see letters of CB [Barker, pp. 783–4, 969].
- 24 PB writes to ECG sending details of his children's early compositions [Barker, p. 970; MOS, pp. 498–9].
- 25 ECG writes to John Greenwood concerning CB's memorial inscription [Barker, pp. 784, 969].
- 26 EN writes to ECG concerning the proposed memoir. At this time there are differing attitudes on the part of EN and Margaret Wooler to ECG's memoir. Margaret Wooler takes

a more cautious approach, while EN collaborates very openly with ECG [Barker, pp. 784, 969].

- 30 PB writes again to ECG concerning the proposed memoir. It is in this letter that the 'mask' story is enclosed, but PB also describes CB's delight in the natural world and scenes of 'the sublime and the beautiful' [Barker, p. 970; MOS, p. 498].

(July, probably) ECG writes to George Smith seeking contact with the Taylor family [C & P, pp. 359–60].

August

- 1 (possibly) ECG writes a short note to George Smith giving a new address at Lindeth Tower, Silverdale [C & P, p. 366].
- 5 (approx) ECG writes to John Greenwood, who has been eager to give information regarding the Brontë family, asking him to copy the Brontë memorial tablet [C & P, p. 368].
- 10 Death of John Brown, the Haworth sexton, aged 51 [MOS, p. 481].
- 11 ECG writes to EN concerning the biography [Barker, p. 969].
- 13 ECG visits EN at Brookroyd and takes receipt of about 350 letters of CB. These have been selected by EN, allegedly from 500 that she possesses [Barker, p. 784. See also T. J. Winnifrith, *The Brontës and their Background*, pp. 7ff, for a discussion of how many letters EN had and how many she gave to ECG].
- 13 Mr Nicholls takes the funeral service of John Brown [Barker, pp. 786, 970].
- 17 ECG, staying at Gawthorpe, writes to Mary Green describing the '300' letters of CB which she is trying to read and copy [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 656].
- 23 ECG writes to unknown correspondent concerning CB and asking for any information the correspondent has, particularly with regard to the Gomersall district [C & P, p. 369].
- 27 PB writes to ECG concerning the tributes paid to CB at her funeral [Barker, p. 970].

September

- 6 ECG writes to EN denying that he had met opposition on his first appointment to Haworth, and concerning the view

of CB presented by her letters to EN [Barker, pp. 784, 969; C & P, p. 370; MOS, p. 499].

- 25 ECG writes to EN further to CB's letters and Miss Wooler's letters from CB [Barker, p. 969].

October

- (early) ECG visits Brookroyd, where EN has arranged for Miss Wooler to be staying. ECG is able to obtain little direct information from her. It is probably at this time that EN copies out an account of the death of AB at Scarborough in 1849 [Barker, p. 786].
- 10 ECG writes to George Smith concerning CB's letters [C & P, p. 371].
- 20 ECG writes again to George Smith, with the intention that she should see CB's letters [C & P, p. 371]. She writes a further short letter on an unknown date in October noting that she has available '350' letters to [EN] [C & P, p. 372].
- 20 (approx) ECG writes to EN concerning letters of MBB to PB [Barker, p. 970].

November

- 3 ECG writes to EN [Barker, p. 969].
- 12 ECG writes to Margaret Wooler praising the series of letters that CB wrote to her [Barker, pp. 784, 969].

December

- 15 ECG writes once again to WSW thanking him for a packet of PB's letters [C & P, pp. 375–6].
- 20 (approx) ECG writes to EN hoping to see PB before spring [C & P, p. 378].
- 24 Mr Nicholls writes to EN concerning ECG's progress with the memoir [Barker, pp. 786, 970].
- (date unknown) George Smith finally sends some letters and parts of others to ECG [Barker, p. 784].

1856

ECG continues her gathering of information about CB and her family. She has already many preconceptions about the life of her friend, and will not be persuaded to modify her story in the face of adverse comment. She is not able to accept PB's unusual character, and (like more recent

commentators) wishes to paint a partisan picture of him. She has been deeply affected by Cowan Bridge as portrayed in *Jane Eyre* and has heard gossip about Mrs Robinson (Lady Scott) which predisposes her to accept PBB's version of his encounter with her at Thorp Green, as retailed by CB. She sets the fashion to see PBB as a major fictionalized player in the Brontë novels. During this year she overcomes reticence on the part of PB, Mr Nicholls and others and is able to collect physical material in the shape of letters and early Brontë writings. By December the work is complete, and proofs begin to appear shortly afterwards.

January

- 18 Mary Taylor writes to ECG concerning letters from CB. She regrets that she has destroyed them [Barker, pp. 787, 970].
- 23 PB writes to ECG sending her a letter he has received from a lady he does not know, and concerning the biography. He also suggests that she write a commentary on the works as well [Barker, pp. 786–7, 970].

February

ECG begins to write the biography of CB [Barker, p. 787].

March

- 13 ECG is apparently making arrangements to go to Brussels [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 656].

April

- 2 PB writes to Henry Garrs, who has sent verses to him in praise of CB, thanking him and describing his own resignation to God's will [MOS, p. 487].
- 19 Mary Taylor writes to ECG, agreeing with ECG's opinion of PB ('that selfish old man') and wondering how ECG will survive in the 'wasp's nest' surrounding CB [SHB, Vol. IV, p. 198].
- 29 (probably) ECG writes to George Smith describing her search in Brussels for the Wheelwrights [C & P, pp. 387–8].
- 30 (probably) ECG writes to Laetitia Wheelwright as part of her search for information on CB's time in Belgium [Barker, p. 970].

May

- 4 National Thanksgiving Day on the end of war with Russia [MOS, p. 501].

- 6 ECG begins her journey to Brussels by taking the night boat from Dover to Ostend [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 398].
- (Dates uncertain) ECG stays in Brussels and visits M. Heger. She is not received by Mme Heger, but M. Heger reads over to her parts of CB's letters [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 657].
- 22 Constantin Heger writes to ECG sending her examples of CB's and EJB's work in French [Barker, p. 970]. Uglow (p. 400) calls these 'cautious, anodyne extracts'.

June

An unsigned article in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* compares Thackeray and CB [Allott, pp. 315–17].

- 13 ECG writes to George Smith hoping to meet him at Cornhill [C & P, p. 390].
- 21 ECG writes to John Greenwood a short note mentioning PB's improving health [C & P, pp. 391–2].

July

By this time ECG has written a large section of her memoir of CB [Barker, p. 787].

- 9 ECG writes to EN concerning her need for materials from Haworth for the biography and her mixed reception on a visit to M. Heger in Brussels [WGCB, p. 571; Barker, pp. 788, 970]. EN replies to ECG defending PB and trying to mediate between the closer circle of CB's relatives and ECG [Barker, pp. 788, 970].
- 18 PB places a note in Martha Brown's savings box explaining the source of the money [MOS, p. 484].
- 23 PB writes to William Gaskell acknowledging a copy of one of his sermons, preached on the National Day of Thanksgiving [Barker, pp. 788, 970; MOS, pp. 501–2].
- 24 ECG and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth go to Haworth and Sir James demands material for the biography [Barker, pp. 788, 970].
- 25 (probably) ECG writes to George Smith describing the visit to Haworth, and mentioning a photograph of the portrait of CB. She sees the little books as 'the wildest & most incoherent things'. An alleged resemblance between Brontë manuscripts and those of William Blake is also mentioned [C & P, pp. 398–9].
- 30 ECG writes to George Smith enclosing a letter from Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth [C & P, p. 400].

August

- 1 ECG writes to George Smith saying that she has not yet seen *The Professor* [Barker, p. 970; C & P, p. 400].
- 4 ECG writes to Jemima Quillinan in an attempt to find CB's letter(s) to Wordsworth [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 657].
- 13 ECG writes to George Smith discussing the content of *The Professor*, which she has now read [C & P, p. 403].
- 15 ECG writes to George Smith referring to a decision by Mr Nicholls [C & P, p. 404].
- 19 ECG writes to George Smith concerning Lady Eastlake's view of CB [C & P, pp. 404–5].
- 21 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith concerning *The Professor*, the manuscript of which Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was wishing to edit before publication [Barker, p. 790].
- 22 ECG writes to Laetitia Wheelwright to ask further questions about CB [C & P, pp. 405–6].

September

- 7 and 8 ECG writes to Emily Shaen collecting material for the biography. She records the collection of much early Brontë writing and other manuscripts, including *The Professor* and the start of 'Emma', which she ascribes to the end of 1854 [Barker, p. 970; WGCB, p. 579; C & P, pp. 409–10].
- 20 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith concerning the publication of *The Professor*, which he has been reading over to PB [Barker, pp. 790, 970].
- 22 Mr Nicholls dates his short addition to *The Professor* [Barker, p. 973; WGCB, p. 582].
 ECG has been revising the biography, writing 120 sheets while staying at Dumbleton in Worcestershire [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 401].

October

- 1 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith concerning payment for *The Professor* [Barker, pp. 791, 970].
- 2 ECG writes to George Smith concerning Mr Nicholls's editorial policy in *The Professor* and names Lady Scott, Thomas Newby and Lady Eastlake as people she wants 'to libel' [C & P, pp. 416–18; Barker, pp. 791, 800, 970].

- 4 Mr Nicholls writes to ECG concerning publication dates for the biography and *The Professor* [Barker, pp. 791, 970].

November

- 3 PB writes to ECG enclosing a pamphlet claiming to give details of CB's life, but 'a strange compound of truth and error'. He comments on his own character and implies that he has read *North and South* [Barker, pp. 792, 970; MOS, pp. 502–4].
- 11 ECG writes to George Smith suggesting that there was a degree of jealousy between PB and EN [Barker, p. 793].
- 15 (probably) ECG writes to George Smith concerned about possible copyright in CB's letters, after having been alerted to this possibility by H. F. Chorley. Chorley's suggestion seems to have caused considerable panic for ECG and George Smith [C & P, pp. 420–1; Barker, p. 970].
- 22 ECG writes to George Smith concerning an approach to Mr Nicholls [C & P, p. 422; Barker, p. 971].
- 28 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith pointing out that the letters he had handed over to ECG had not been intended to become her property [Barker, p. 971].

December

- 1 Mr Nicholls writes again to George Smith [Barker, p. 971].
- 3 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith denying that he had authorized ECG to publish any extracts from CB's letters [Barker, p. 971].
- 11 ECG writes to George Smith, explaining that PB did not wish EN to see the biography manuscript [Barker, pp. 793, 970].
- 20 ECG writes to George Smith concerning the layout of the biography [C & P, pp. 426–7].
- 26 ECG writes to George Smith, regarding a point of 'delicacy of feeling' [Barker, p. 971].
- 29 ECG writes again to George Smith further concerning the treatment of Lady Scott in the *Life* [Barker, p. 800].

1857

The proofs of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* appear in January, and the first edition is printed in March. Even before this happens, ECG leaves for a

long holiday, but there are a number of persons and interests that feel themselves to be injured by her portrayal of CB's life, and these speedily react, contacting the representatives (as they see it) of ECG. Mr Nicholls is dubious about aspects of the book, and PB wishes to change some details. Cowan Bridge school and the Robinson family are major complainants.

January

Proofs of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* begin to appear [Barker, p. 795]. At this point ECG hopes the book will be completed in February, but still has 200 pages to write [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 405].

- 9 ECG writes to George Smith wondering why he has sent back the manuscript of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* for alteration [C & P, p. 437].
- 19 (probably) ECG writes to George Smith about her puzzlement concerning the substitution of AB for EJB at Roe Head [C & P, pp. 438–9].

February

- 4 ECG writes to George Smith complaining about the slowness of proofs of the biography, and saying she had hoped to set out for Rome the following week [Barker, p. 971; C & P, p. 442].
- 6 ECG checks the illustrations for the biography and sends her sketch of Haworth parsonage to George Smith [Barker, p. 971; Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 406].
- 7 Completion of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. ECG writes to Laetitia Wheelwright offering her a copy [C & P, pp. 443].
- 8 ECG writes to George Smith promising more copy and discussing her sketch of Haworth [C & P, p. 444].
- 11 (probably) ECG writes to George Smith, feeling she is now 'done' with the book she does not wish to recollect again [Barker, p. 795].
- 13 ECG leaves for Italy [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 415].

March

- 25 *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* published by Smith, Elder, in a two-volume set [Barker, pp. 795–6].
- 27 A letter from Rev. H. Shephard concerning Cowan Bridge is printed in *The Times* [C & P, p. 459].
- 30 PB writes to George Smith concerning the 'truth and life' of ECG's portrait of the family, but noting also the 'few trifling mistakes' [Barker, p. 798].

April

- 2 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith commenting on the sketch of Haworth by ECG [Barker, p. 971]. The sketch is reprinted in many biographies; comparison with contemporary photographs shows how ECG wished to romanticize Haworth.
- 7 PB writes to William Gaskell, acting in his wife's interests during her absence abroad, to request changes in the second edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [Barker, pp. 799, 971].
- 9 The *Bradford Observer* quotes the *Spectator* concerning the 'tragedy' of the life of CB and her family [Barker, pp. 798, 971].
- 15 G. H. Lewes writes to ECG congratulating her on *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [Allott, pp. 329–30].
- 15 William Gaskell writes to EN concerning CB and her reputation [Barker, p. 971].
- 15 Review in the *Critic* of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [TWRR, p. 217].
- 22 The second edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* published [Barker, p. 799].
- 30 The *Bradford Observer* highlights the story of Nicholls's proposal and CB's unenthusiastic receipt of it [Barker, pp. 799, 971]. In the same issue a reporter describes the parsonage as 'grim ... and wretched looking' [Barker, pp. 799, 971].

May

- (date uncertain) Review in *Fraser's Magazine* of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [Allott, pp. 331–42].
- 2 Review of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in the *Leeds Intelligencer* [Barker, pp. 799, 971].
- 6 Sir James Stephen writes to his colleague Edward Backus Eastwick, concerning PBB's dismissal from Thorp Green [BST, Vol. 21, Part 3 (1994), pp. 72–5].
- 9 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith about *The Professor* [Barker, p. 973].
- 9 A second edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* is announced [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 426].
- 14 Charles Kingsley writes to ECG concerning the life and work of CB, including the poetry [Allott, p. 343].

- 16 Letter from W. Carus Wilson replying to criticisms of Cowan Bridge in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* published in the *Leeds Mercury*.
- 23 Mr Nicholls writes to the *Leeds Mercury* answering comments by W. Carus Wilson concerning Cowan Bridge
- 23 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith about the references in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* to Cowan Bridge School [Barker, pp. 801, 971].
- 26 and 27 ECG writes to *The Times* and the *Athenaeum* to retract statements made in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* about Mrs Robinson's alleged relations with PBB [Barker, pp. 801, 971]. Her retractions are printed on 30 May and 6 June respectively [Barker, p. 971].
- 28 Further letter from Mr Nicholls to the *Leeds Mercury* concerning Cowan Bridge.

June

- Article on 'Currer Bell' in *Blackwood's Magazine* [TWRR, p. 217].
The parsonage is again painted outside [MOS, p. 483].
- 1 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith concerning allegations about Cowan Bridge [Barker, pp. 801, 971].
- 3 ECG writes to George Smith expressing weariness at the controversies surrounding the biography [C & P, pp. 449–50; Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 428].
- 5 ECG writes to George Smith concerning an action threatened by Carus Wilson [C & P, p. 431]
- 6 Mr Nicholls writes further to George Smith in support of the allegations in *Jane Eyre* about Cowan Bridge [Barker, pp. 802, 971].
- 6 Letter to the *Halifax Guardian* by Mr Nicholls concerning the Cowan Bridge controversy.
- 9 PB writes to George Smith concerning corrections to *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [Barker, pp. 802, 972].
- 13 Unsigned review of *The Professor* in the *Athenaeum* [Allott, pp. 344–5]. Review by W. C. Roscoe, in the *National Review*, of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [Allott, pp. 346–57].
- 13 Letter from Sarah Baldwin to the *Halifax Guardian* concerning conditions at Cowan Bridge. It later turns out that she was not a contemporary of the young Brontës at the school.

- 15 PB writes to George Smith concerning the issues raised about Cowan Bridge [Barker, pp. 802, 971].
- 16 ECG writes to EN commenting on letters which have appeared in *The Times* concerning *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* during ECG's absence in Rome [C & P, pp. 453–4].
- 16 ECG's friend, Mary Mohl, writes to a friend that Mayfair gossip says "'She's capable of anything (the Scott); she'll get the uppermost'" [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 428].
- 21 ECG writes to William Shaen (probably) concerning the report of Casterton school in 1845 [C & P, p. 456].
- 23 ECG writes to an unknown correspondent apologizing that she cannot send the correspondent any scrap of CB's writing [C & P, p. 457].
- 27 Nicholls writes to George Smith concerning *The Professor* [Barker, p. 973].
- 27 ECG writes to an unknown correspondent concerning the Cowan Bridge controversy [C & P, p. 459].

July

E. S. Dallas writes an unsigned review of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in *Blackwood's Magazine* [Allott, pp. 358–63].

Unsigned review of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in the *Christian Remembrancer* [Allott, pp. 364–71].

Article in the *Edinburgh Review*: 'The Licence of Modern Novelists' [TWRR, p. 217]. 25,000 copies of *Jane Eyre* printed [Barker, p. 810].

- 1 Emile Montegut writes an article about CB in the *Revue des deux mondes* [Allott, pp. 372–8].
- 4 Letter from Mr Nicholls to the *Halifax Guardian* answering the allegations of Sarah Baldwin about Cowan Bridge.
- 9 Caroline Fox notes in her journal that she is reading *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [Allott, p. 371].

Margaret Sweat writes an unsigned review of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* in the *North American Review* [Allott, pp. 379–85].

- 11 Sarah Baldwin replies to the previous letter to the *Halifax Guardian* by Mr Nicholls.
- 11 ECG writes a short note to Martha Brown seeking letters the Brontës had written to her [C & P, p. 460].
- 16 (approx) ECG writes a short note to John Greenwood thanking him for flowers [C & P, p. 460].

- 18 Letter from W. Carus Wilson concerning Cowan Bridge is printed in the *Halifax Guardian*.
- 18 A further letter of Mr Nicholls concerning Cowan Bridge is printed in the *Halifax Guardian*.
- 22 PB writes to the editor of the *Halifax Guardian* consenting to the ending of the public controversy concerning Cowan Bridge [Barker, pp. 802, 971].
- 30 PB writes to ECG [Barker, pp. 808, 972].
- 31 ECG writes to George Smith concerning corrections to the biography [C & P, p. 462].

August

- 1 Letter by Sarah Baldwin concerning Cowan Bridge is printed in the *Halifax Guardian* [Barker, p. 972].
- (early August) ECG writes to George Smith concerning changes in the biography [C & P, pp. 462–3].
- 8 A letter of Mr Nicholls to the *Halifax Guardian* ends his interventions concerning Cowan Bridge.
- 13 Letter of William Dearden to the *Bradford Observer* concerning ECG's references to PB in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [Barker, p. 804].
- 13 ECG writes to George Smith on the spelling of Cowan Bridge [C & P, p. 464]. She also writes at a later unknown date about changes in the sections of the biography relating to Lady Scott and other matters [C & P, pp. 464–6].
- 20 Second letter of William Dearden to the *Bradford Observer* [Barker, pp. 804, 972].
- 23 (Sun) (or possibly 24) ECG writes to Maria Martineau concerning various changes in the new edition of the biography [C & P, pp. 466–7].
- 23 ECG writes to George Smith concerning William Dearden and other issues connected with the biography [C & P, pp. 467–8].
- 27 The *Bradford Observer* quotes a letter by Harriet Martineau concerning CB, published in the *Daily News* [Barker, p. 804].
- 27 The Duke of Devonshire invites Mr Nicholls and PB to visit him at Bolton Abbey [Barker, pp. 811, 973].
- 29 PB writes to Rev. James Cheadle [Barker, p. 973; *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 2 (1994), p. 95].

- 31 PB writes to ECG dissociating himself from the interventions of 'friends' in the current controversies and mentioning the crowds of people who visit Haworth [Barker, pp. 804, 811, 972].
- 31 PB writes to William Dearden in defence of ECG's portrayal of him in the *Life* [Barker, p. 805].

September

20,000 copies of *Shirley* printed [Barker, p. 810].

During the summer ECG revises *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. One reference she removes is that to the 'Religious' family [Greenwoods of Bridge House] whose disgrace might have influenced part of the plot of *Wuthering Heights* [Sarah Fermi, in *BST*, Vol. 20, Part 5 (1992)].

- 3 William Dearden writes again to the *Bradford Observer* to vindicate PB, and calling in aid Francis Leyland of Halifax [Barker, pp. 804, 972].
- 3 The *Bradford Observer* reprints an article from the *Spectator* concerning CB's attitude to fact and fiction [Barker, pp. 804, 972].
- 3 ECG writes to Martha Brown thanking her for letters of CB [C & P, p. 470].
- 4 PB writes to George Smith acknowledging a gift of books both to himself and Mr Nicholls [MOS, p. 488].
- 9 PB writes to ECG concerning the third edition of the *Life*, and adds comments on Harriet Martineau [MOS, p. 514; Barker, p. 906].

November

- 5 PB writes to Harriet Martineau attempting to calm her objections to CB's account of her [Barker, pp. 806, 972].
- 5 Harriet Martineau replies dismissively [Barker, pp. 806, 972].
- 6 Mr Nicholls writes to Harriet Martineau to counter her arguments [Barker, pp. 806, 972].
- 7 (probably) Harriet Martineau replies to Mr Nicholls [Barker, p. 972].
- 9 Mr Nicholls replies to Harriet Martineau continuing the discussion about CB's relationship with her [Barker, pp. 806, 972].
- 9 ECG writes to Harriet Martineau concerning her friendship with CB [C & P, pp. 478–9].
- 10 Harriet Martineau writes again to Mr Nicholls [Barker, p. 972].

- 11 Mr Nicholls writes again to Harriet Martineau [Barker, p. 972].
- 12 John Greenwood writes to Mr Nicholls concerning various matters regarding CB [Barker, pp. 807, 972].
- 13, 14 Further correspondence between Harriet Martineau and Mr Nicholls [Barker, p. 972].
- 16 and 23 Harriet Martineau writes to Rev. Robert Perceval Graves concerning the current controversy [Margaret Smith in *BST*, Vol. 18, Part 95 (1985), pp. 392–7].
- 19 The *Bradford Observer* publishes ‘A Day at Haworth’ [Barker, p. 973].
- 24 ECG writes to Maria Martineau concerning letters thought to have been destroyed [C & P, p. 482].
- 26 ECG writes to George Smith concerning a correspondence between Harriet Martineau and Mr Nicholls [C & P, pp. 483–4].

December

- 15,000 copies of *Villette* printed [Barker, p. 810].
- (Date unknown) *A Vindication of the Clergy Daughters’ School*, by Carus Wilson’s son-in-law, Rev. H. Shepherd, is published. It gives a detailed criticism of the points made by ECG about Cowan Bridge.

1858

During the year there were improvements to the amenities of Haworth, a gas company being established and further steps being taken towards a clean water supply.

January

- Edward White Benson visits Haworth [Barker, pp. 812, 973].
- 16 PB writes to Sir Joseph Paxton who had been an intermediary seeking financial help from the Duke of Devonshire for financial aid for Haworth church and schools, but without PB’s knowledge and against his wishes [Barker, p. 973].
- 28 Mary Taylor writes to EN endorsing the version of the first edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* concerning CB’s life [Ugnow, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, p. 432].

February

- 1 PB writes to Mrs Nunn, wife of his old colleague at Cambridge, in reply to a letter [Barker, p. 973].
- 4 PB writes to a local correspondent to acknowledge an invitation to an evening party, which he cannot accept [MOS, p. 489].

March

- 15,000 copies of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* printed [Barker, p. 810].
- 18 PB writes to Rev. Robinson Pool who had been a dissenting minister at Thornton [Barker, pp. 812, 973].
- 30 Death of William Morgan, PB's closest friend [Barker, pp. 813, 973].

April

- 1 A new memorial tablet made by Mr Greaves of Halifax for the Brontë family in Haworth church [Barker, pp. 813, 973].
(about this time) An American visitor, James Hoppin, was invited to the parsonage. His book was published in 1867; extracts are printed in *BST*, Vol. 15 (1969), pp. 327–30. Barker (p. 973) provides arguments for this date.

July

- 15 PB gives copies of four books by CB and EJB to Martha Brown, and inscribes the copy of *Shirley* [MOS, p. 522].

October

Tabitha Brown is given a copy of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* by PB [MOS, p. 523].

- 26 PB performs his last burial in Haworth church [MOS, p. 518].

November

- 10 PB encloses a scrap of a letter by CB to a souvenir hunter [Barker, p. 973].

December

- 22 PB again encloses a scrap of one of CB's letters to a souvenir hunter [Barker, p. 974].

1859

January

- 4 Gerald Massey, Chartist poet, gives a lecture on 'Charlotte Brontë' at Bradford Mechanics' Institute [Barker, pp. 815, 974].
- 25 PB writes to John Milligan, the Keighley surgeon, to thank him for the gift of a book on anatomy [Barker, p. 815].

March

- 12 Birth of the Greenwood child whom his father wished to be christened 'Brontë' [MOS, p. 521].

June

- 19 Death of the former Mrs Lydia Robinson (Lady Scott), aged 59 [MOS, p. 515].

July

- 16 PB encloses another scrap of a letter by CB to a souvenir hunter [Barker, p. 974].

August

PB's *The Cottage in the Wood* is reprinted by Abraham Holroyd of Bradford [Barker, p. 819].

- 10 PB writes to Holroyd, thanking him for the receipt of eight copies of *The Cottage in the Wood* and mentioning that he has been busy preserving fruit [MOS, p. 484].

October

- 11 Mr Nicholls writes to George Smith concerning the publication of CB's fragment *Emma* in the new *Cornhill* magazine [Barker, p. 974].
- 26 PB writes to Mrs Nunn in Suffolk, sending a picture of his house and Haworth church [MOS, p. 491].
- 29 PB writes to Mr Rand in Ipswich, congratulating him on the return of his sight [MOS, p. 491].

November

- 14 PB performs his last baptism in Haworth church [Barker, p. 817]. This was the child of John Greenwood, whom he

wished to call Brontë Greenwood; Mr Nicholls refused to carry out the baptism.

- 30 PB gives his last sermon in Haworth church [Barker, p. 818].

December

- 30 Death of William Carus Wilson, aged 68 [MOS, p. 515].

1860

January

The winter of 1860–61 is very severe and has a bad effect on PB's bronchial complaint.

However, by January he is said by Mr Nicholls to be 'wonderfully well' [Barker, p. 818].

February

- 17 PB writes to Rev. John Rand [BST, Vol. 21. Part 3 (1994), p. 92].

March

- 26 PB writes to George Smith concerning Thackeray's work [MOS, pp. 491–2].

August

- 7 *The Times* copies an article from the *Halifax Courier* noting PB's retirement from active duty, mentioning that he had given his last sermon on 22 July. It forecast that Mr Nicholls would become the next incumbent of Haworth. This did not happen [MOS, p. 519].

September

- 30 Report in the *Bradford Observer* that PB might soon be well enough to preach again [Barker, p. 818].

October

- 2 PB writes to ECG thanking her for a portrait, perhaps that of her husband [MOS, p. 515].
- 25 (Thu) ECG and her daughter Meta visit PB at Haworth; he is now confined to bed [Barker, p. 818].

December

- 20 ECG writes to W. S. Williams giving details of her visit to PB at Haworth [MOS, p. 522].

1861

A further severe winter, during which PB's health declines, but rallies again. PB's death in June precipitates a sudden end to the Brontë connection at Haworth: Arthur Nicholls, who might have been expected to step into his shoes, is thwarted by the trustees, and John Wade, the new incumbent, appears hostile to the Brontë memory. Nicholls retires very hastily to Ireland, and Wade rebuilds the church and alters the parsonage. It is impossible not to see traces of what Barker calls Yorkshire 'bloody-mindedness' in this reaction.

Early part of year

PB is confined to bed, suffering from bronchitis and very weak. Nicholls takes services in the church [MOS, p. 523]. PB records paying Martha Brown's wages on her quarter day, 18 January, in a shaky hand [MOS, p. 483].

February

- 1 PB records hiring Eliza Brown at £10 a year [MOS, p. 484].

June

- 7 Death of PB aged 84, just after 2 p.m. [MOS, p. 524].
 10 Announcement of PB's death in *The Times* [MOS, p. 526].
 12 Funeral of PB [MOS, p. 527].
 18 Mr Nicholls writes to EN briefly, with meagre details of PB's death [MOS, p. 525].
 28 PB's will is proved at Wakefield. He left £40 to be distributed among his Irish relatives, £30 to Martha Brown and the rest to Mr Nicholls [MOS, p. 525].

August

- 4 Mr Nicholls reverts to signing himself 'Curate' in the registers, suggesting that he has been informed that he will not be acceptable to the trustees as incumbent [Barker, p. 824].

September

- 1 Notice of PB's death in the *Bradfordian* [MOS, p. 526].
- 21 The *Halifax Courier* carries an announcement of the appointment of Rev. John Wade to the incumbency at Haworth [Barker, p. 976].

October

- 1 and 2 There is a sale of the contents of Haworth parsonage. The sale catalogues survive and from this we learn much about Brontë possessions.
- 18 Mr Nicholls, not having been offered the incumbency of Haworth by the trustees, resigns from his post at Haworth, returns to Ireland, and becomes a farmer at Banagher. He takes with him many Brontë manuscripts and other memorabilia. He also takes PB's dog, Plato.

November

- 8 The American, Charles Hale, visits Haworth and provides some first-hand impressions of the situation immediately after the departure of Mr Nicholls. He talks to William Brown the sexton and William Wood the carpenter, John Greenwood, and other Haworth residents. He describes some of the features of the old Haworth church [BST, Vol. 15, Part 77 (1967) pp. 126 ff].
- 25 Mr Nicholls writes from Banagher to John Greenwood acknowledging receipt of news from Haworth, and saying that Martha Brown is well. He hopes to visit Haworth the following year [MOS, p. 530].

1862

August

Mr Nicholls returns to Haworth for a visit, leaving Martha Brown in charge at Banagher [MOS, p. 535]. In subsequent years Martha Brown was to pay a number of visits to Ireland, and would act as housekeeper during these times.

Later chronology of Brontë matters and Brontë scholarship up to the death of the last associates of CB

1863

March

- 25 Death of John Greenwood, the Haworth stationer. He left a number of memorials of the family, including a so-called diary and tracings of the gun group portraits.

1864

Haworth churchyard is planted with trees.

August

- 25 Arthur Nicholls marries his cousin, whom CB had met, Mary Bell.

1865

November

- 12 (Sun) Sudden death of ECG while taking tea surrounded by her family.

1867

June

- 8 An anonymous review of *Wuthering Heights* in *The People's Mirror* highlights the female gender of the author. This causes William Dearden to write in the *Halifax Guardian* of 15 June a suggestion that PBB had written the book. WGBB (pp. 307 ff.) discusses and dismisses this claim.

August

- 6 Haworth becomes a Rectory, after a separate district has been assigned to it in 1864. [MOS, p. 531].

September

Margaret Oliphant writes an article on 'sensational' novels in *Blackwood's Magazine* [Allott, pp. 390–1].

1869

February

- 4 Death of Edmund Robinson, AB's and PBB's old pupil, drowned falling into the River Ure.

1871

Scribner's Monthly publishes 'Reminiscences of Charlotte Brontë' by EN.

1872

The new incumbent at Haworth, John Wade, builds an additional wing onto the parsonage [MOS, p. 531].

1873

February

An unsigned article in *Galaxy* deals with the life and writings of EJB [Allott, pp. 392–6].

1877

Publication of *Charlotte Brontë: A Monograph* by T. Wemyss Reid, including letters from CB to EN. He pays more attention to *Poems* and the work of EJB and AB than ECG has done.

As a response, Swinburne writes *Charlotte Brontë: A Note* [Allott, pp. 404–12].

December

Leslie Stephen writes a reply to Swinburne in the *Cornhill Magazine* [Allott, pp. 413–23].

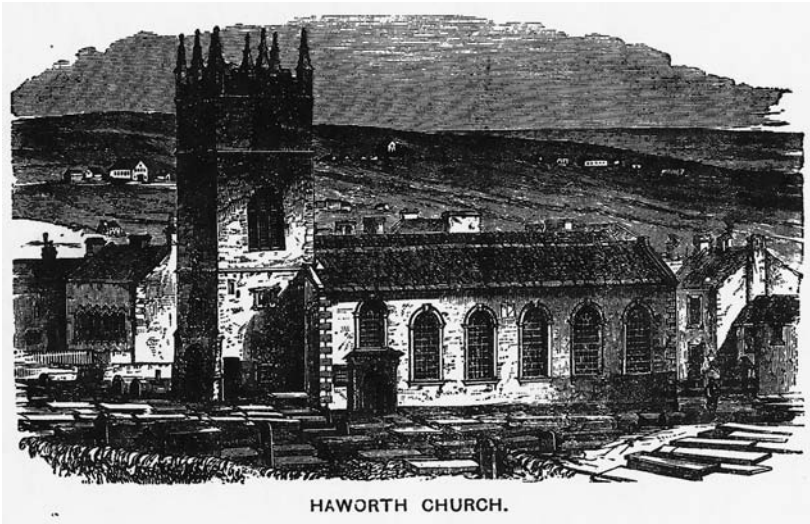
1879

May

- 28 A meeting is held at Haworth to discuss the question of rebuilding the old church [MOS, pp. 532–4].

September

Haworth church is rebuilt, after the final service in the old church on 14 September. It retained some monuments and most of the tower. A



- 4 Haworth church before alteration, as it appears in Horsfall Turner's *Haworth Past and Present* (1879). In this year it was largely rebuilt.

layer of concrete is placed over the old graves including the Brontë graves [MOS, pp. 534–5].

J. Horsfall Turner's *Haworth Past and Present* is published by J. S. Jowett of Brighouse.

F. H. Grundy publishes *Pictures of the Past*.

1880

Martha Brown dies at Haworth.

1881

Peter Bayne publishes *Two Great Englishwomen: Mrs Browning and Charlotte Brontë* [Allott, pp. 423–30].

1883

(This year) A. M. F. Robinson's *Emily Brontë* in the Eminent Women series, is published by W.H. Allen. This is the first full-length biography of EJB.

June

3 Death of Margaret Wooler.

June

16 Swinburne writes a review of *Emily Brontë* in the *Athenaeum* [Allott, pp. 438–44].

1886

Francis Leyland's *The Brontë Family* is published by Hurst and Blackett.

1887

Erskine Stuart publishes *The Story of the Brontë Country*.

1891

April

15 Death of Alice Brontë, PB's youngest sibling. She had given information about PB's ancestry and childhood to J.B. Lusk, the Presbyterian clergyman who collected additional evidence for William Wright's *The Brontës in Ireland*.

1893

March

1 Death of Mary Taylor at Gomersal and subsequent burial in St Mary's churchyard.

December

16 A meeting is held at the Town Hall, Bradford, to try to establish a Brontë Society. More than fifty people attend, and a committee is formed [CL, p. 5].

1895

March

31 Clement Shorter visits Arthur Nicholls at Banagher and persuades him to hand over many of CB's letters and other memorabilia.

May

- 18 Opening of the first Brontë Museum, on the top floor of the then Yorkshire Penny Bank at Haworth [CL, pp. 6–8].

1896

Clement Shorter's *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle* is published. It includes extracts from many more of CB's letters.

May

- 6 Death of M. Constantin Heger.

1897

Angus Mackay publishes *The Brontës, Fact and Fiction* to refute William Wright's account of the Brontës' Irish background.

November

- 26 Death of EN, aged 80.

1898

Mrs Humphry Ward is asked by George Smith to write the introductions to the Haworth edition of the Brontës' works. She produces these in the following two years [Allott, pp. 448–60].

1905

Whiteley Turner publishes articles in the *Halifax Courier* which are subsequently turned into a book entitled *A Spring-Time Saunter Round and About Brontë Land* (1913).

1906

Death of Arthur Nicholls, aged 88.

1915**February**

- 27 Death of Mary Bell Nicholls, Mr Nicholls's second wife.

Appendices

Appendix A: events of mid-1845: the controversy over Branwell's dismissal from Thorp Green

Known dates of events taking place during June, July and August 1845 are recorded at the appropriate place in the text above. However, there are deductions to be drawn from these dates which may be of value in clarifying what precisely were the causes of this final débâcle for Branwell, and how we are to interpret Branwell's various accounts of his relations with Mrs Robinson, alleged to be the reason for his dismissal.

It is important to note that Branwell's own accounts of events should be treated with some scepticism. Both Charlotte and he frequently added 'spin' to the way in which they edited accounts for their friends. As a well-known example, we can note Charlotte's lengthy prevarications over the production of *Jane Eyre* when she wrote to Ellen Nussey. Even now, in her letter to Ellen of 31 July 1845, she describes Branwell as 'ill' rather than 'drunk'. We need to delve behind Branwell's account of the events of the summer to see whether they are at all supported by other evidence. (I would not question the evidence that there was gossip about Branwell and Mrs Robinson, for example, as presented in Barker, pp. 457–60. In particular, a writer as early as A. M. F. Robinson writes in *Emily Brontë*, p. 116, 'Anne's letters told of health worn out by constant, agonising suspicion'; and on p. 117 'Many letters had passed between them, and through her hands too. Too often had she heard her unthinking pupils threaten their mother into more than customary indulgence, saying: "Unless you do as we wish, we shall tell papa about Mr Brontë".' However, Mary, the youngest of Anne's Robinson pupils, was 17 and neither unthinking nor little. This throws some doubt upon A. M. F. Robinson's account).

Details of the usual behaviour of the Robinsons during most summers have been presented in this book. It is clear that their normal practice was to give Anne a holiday in June, then take her to Scarborough with them in July, leaving for Thorp Green very early in August. There is evidence of some kind for this habit every year from 1840 until 1844, and during the last two years (1843 and 1844), once Branwell had joined the household, there is no doubt that he was with them at Scarborough.

We have Mr Robinson's account book for 1845 (earlier account books are not extant). This establishes the 'quarter days' for Branwell and Anne, on which they were paid. 'Mr Brontë's sal' (£20) is paid on 21 April, implying that his other quarter days are 21 July, 21 October and 21 January. There is no entry for 21 January 1845, suggesting that Branwell might have been paid before the Christmas holiday. 'Miss Brontë' is paid £10 on 10 February and 9 May ('due 8th') giving her quarter days as 8 May, 8 August, 8 November and 8 February. Anne is paid again on 11 June (£3.10s.), the sum being approximately equivalent to one month's salary, and confirming that this is the end of Anne's

employment. She was leaving for good. Indeed there was no reason for her to stay, as her charges were now too old for a governess.

On the same date Branwell was paid his quarter's salary, £20, with a note, underlined, 'due July 21st'. George Whitehead's journal tells us 'Robinsons set off to Scarbo' Fri July 4th' and 'Robinsons came from Scarbro Fri August 8th'; these dates are confirmed by entries in Mr Robinson's account book, detailed in the text above. On 5 August Mr Robinson purchased a whip for Edmund, and this strongly suggests he was already at Scarborough, and was not to follow the main party as was thought to be the case when Winifred Gerin wrote her *Branwell Brontë*.

On 27 June (date as Smith, I, p. 402, though she does place a cautious question mark by it), Charlotte wrote to Ellen Nussey 'Branwell only stayed a week with us but he is to come home again when the family go to Scarbro'. This puts Branwell's departure from Haworth as approximately between 18 and 21 June, depending on which date he had come back from Thorp Green with Anne. Charlotte's letter is evidence that Branwell had left Haworth, though it is not evidence as to where he was going. From 30 June to 2 July Emily and Anne went to visit York (not Scarborough, as had originally been planned; it might be worth speculating on the reason for this change, which Charlotte puts down partly to the postponement of the opening of the York and Scarborough Railway, but also 'for some other reasons', see Smith, I, p. 402. One possible reason, for example, could be that Anne did not wish to meet the Robinsons after something had caused her to think her connection with Branwell would be embarrassing. However, she had apparently planned to go to Scarborough originally, so the embarrassment was not to do with any alleged letters between Branwell and Mrs Robinson). On 3 July Charlotte went to Hathersage in Derbyshire to meet Ellen Nussey. These are known dates.

The timetable for Branwell's summer is strange and does not accord with previous summers. He is paid in advance on 11 June, though if his story is correct he would be returning to Thorp Green and might have expected to be paid when he arrived. This year, if we believe his story, he would not go to Scarborough, but return to Haworth for more holiday. He was at home for a week, then intended to be at Thorp Green for about a fortnight. It is important to note that we have only Charlotte's account of Branwell's explanation. We do not have anything from Anne, whose apparent silence may or may not be significant. Branwell's early payment may or may not mean that his contract was terminated; if it was terminated, Anne may or may not have known that. On 16 July Emily wrote to Ellen to confirm that Charlotte could stay another week in Derbyshire. On 31 July Charlotte wrote the well-known letter in which she gives Branwell's account (mediated through Anne) of the manner of his dismissal. Smith (I, p. 413) argues that the date of the receipt of the alleged letter of dismissal was 17 July. The letter must have been sent from Scarborough, but where was Branwell when he received it? If at Thorp Green, why was he there when it is almost sure that Edmund was at Scarborough? There is supporting evidence that Branwell arrived home on or about 17 July, as he talks of 'eleven ... nights of sleepless horror' before being sent away on Tue 29 July (See Smith, I, p. 413). Even taciturn Emily would presumably have mentioned his arrival in her short letter of 16 July if it had preceded the letter. To summarize the options here: if Branwell was (a) at

Scarborough with the Robinsons, why did he need a *letter* of dismissal? If he was (b) at Thorp Green, what was he doing, since Edmund was at Scarborough? If he was (c) at Haworth, why was he there, unlike the previous years, when he had been with the Robinsons at Scarborough? He could possibly have been at none of those places, or at Thorp Green but not the hall or Monks' Lodgings: for example, he could have gone to Thorp Green to be with his friend, Dr Crosby: but of course this is pure speculation.

On his earlier return, in June, Branwell's state of mind had caused no alarm. But on her arrival from Hathersage Charlotte describes him as 'ill', her euphemism for 'drunk'. He was soon sent to Liverpool as a cure. In the alleged note Mr Robinson had described Branwell's 'proceedings' as 'bad beyond expression'. Any theory attempting to discover reasons for Branwell's dismissal and to evaluate his claims that he had an affair with Mrs Lydia Robinson needs to take these unusual dates into account. Subsequent evidence shows that (a) he had certainly been dismissed and (b) he certainly hankered after Mrs Robinson. His letters show that he believed, or had persuaded himself, that he had a claim on her and after the death of Mr Robinson, he considered that she would marry him. This must surely have been delusion of the first order. It was highly improbable that this member of the upper gentry, connected with the aristocracy, would marry a penniless Irish tutor. Branwell was totally mistaken about this, and is (surely?) just as likely to have been mistaken about the degree of Mrs Robinson's love for him. It is important to note that there is no corroborative evidence whatsoever for Branwell's version of the events of mid-1845.

There is one other piece of (non-chronological) evidence which is little noticed. On 6 May 1857 a close friend of the Robinsons, who had been a trustee in Lydia's marriage settlement in 1824, Sir James Stephen, wrote to a fellow 'professor' at Haileybury in support of Lydia (then Scott)'s case against Smith, Elder and Mrs Gaskell. Among a number of comments on the behaviour of Branwell, he gave a clear alternative reason for his dismissal: he had been caught out in forgery. He was 'a most expert and frequent imitator of the autography of other people'. Though this report must come from Lydia, and we still don't know what Branwell is supposed to have forged, the letter is well worth taking into account. Full details are in *BST*, Vol. 21, Part 3, 1994.

We need to remember that Mrs Gaskell, writing in 1857, sought information on this matter only from the Brontës. She had already heard rumours about Mrs Robinson (as Lady Scott) and regarded these rumours as sufficient to incline her towards Charlotte's version of Branwell's account of what had happened. Robinson account books and cheque stubs (relevant details of which are given in the text above) have been searched by various writers hoping to find evidence of Mrs Robinson's alleged later financial support for Branwell. No such evidence has been found.

Appendix B: The 1841 census

The 1841 census, taken in June of that year, provides a snapshot of various places and households related to the lives of the Brontës during this year.

Thorp Underwood

Thorp Green [Hall]

Edmund Robinson, (45); Lydia Robinson (41); Lydia M. Robinson (15); Elizabeth Robinson (14); Mary Robinson (13); Edmund Robinson (9); Thomas Sewell (36, male servant); William Lambert (38, male servant); Joseph Dickenson (16, male servant); Elizabeth Sewell (25, female servant); Elizabeth Andrew (23, female servant); Anne Marshall (32, female servant); Elizabeth Coulson (22, female servant); Sarah Bland (24, female servant); Elizabeth Pannett (50, female servant). All born in Yorkshire except Lydia Robinson, Thomas Sewell and Elizabeth Sewell [ages are inaccurate].

Great Ouseburn

(Third house in the village) Edward Greenhow (35, clergyman); Elizabeth Greenhow (40); Edward Greenhow (15); William Greenhow (10); Eliza Greenhow (8); Eleanor Greenhow (5); Sophia Greenhow (3); Charlotte Greenhow (10 months); Jane Shaw (18, female servant). Children born in Yorkshire.

(18th house in the village) John Crosby (40, surgeon); William Crosby (13); Mary Richmond (35, female servant); Robert Strebs(?) (22, male servant). [There was no Mrs Crosby at this house.]

Mirfield

Blake Hall

Joshua Ingham (35, esquire); Mary Ingham (25); Mary Ingham (5); Martha Ingham (5); Emily Ingham (4); Gertrude (1); Mary Sugden (20, governess); Harriet Ingham (20, female servant); Elizabeth Crowther (20, female servant); Maria Granger (30, female servant); John Holden (30, male servant); John Fearnley (30, male servant). All born in Yorkshire.

[another house or cottage] William Partridge (40, gardener); Elizabeth Partridge (50); Sarah Partridge (14); Edward Partridge (10). All born in Yorkshire except William Partridge.

Haworth

Parsonage

Patrick Brontë (64, clergyman); Elizabeth Branwell (60); Emily Jane Brontë (20); Anne Brontë (19, governess); Martha Brown (12, female servant).

Kirkgate, Sexton House

John Brown (37); Mary Brown (38); Ann Brown (15); Eliza Brown (9); Tabitha Brown (6); Mary Brown (1).

Census totals for Haworth overall

	1841	1851	1861
Haworth	2434	2865	2396
Oxenhope	2923	2997	2880
Stanbury	946	986	620

Appendix C: Chronology and the placing of Gondal

In this essay I wish to try to contribute to a discussion of the understanding of Gondal as part of the work of Emily and Anne Brontë. My approach will emphasize the importance, in fact the essential nature, of chronology in assessing how far Brontë scholars should regard Gondal as a central part of the contribution of Emily and Anne Brontë to English Literature. It seems to me perfectly reasonable that some critics should have considered Gondal to be an important element in placing their work, since their imaginary islands loom so large in the adult poetry of these two writers; however, I do not share their view, and if anything I am more inclined to consider Gondal a distraction, certainly in the literary sphere, but to some extent in the biographical sphere also.

The 1846 poem edition excised all Gondal references, and the early reviewers knew nothing of Gondal. When they took over the Aylott & Jones edition in 1848, Smith, Elder knew nothing of Gondal. After Charlotte's death Mrs Gaskell found

a curious packet ... containing an immense amount of manuscript, in an inconceivably small space; tales, dramas, poems, romances, written principally by Charlotte, in a hand which it is impossible to decipher without the aid of a magnifying glass. (*The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Chapter V)

More of this material than Mrs Gaskell thought had been written by Branwell, but none at all by Emily or Anne. It was not until 1896, with publication of Shorter's *Charlotte Brontë and her Circle*, that any hint of Gondal, and that only a slight one, crept into daylight. Some years later Madeleine Hope Dodds examined what had then appeared of Gondal in her two articles in *Modern Language Review* (January 1923, pp. 9–21 and October 1926). The tale was taken up by Fannie Ratchford, who followed her survey of Charlotte's juvenilia in *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* with her 1955 volume *Gondal's Queen* in which she arranged many of Emily's poems into a sequence apparently telling the story of the life of a Gondal monarch whose name was the 'A.G.A.' of a number of Emily's manuscripts, the initials apparently standing for 'Augusta Geraldine Almeda'. She sums up her view in the following part-sentence '... all of Emily's verse, as we have it, falls within the Gondal context' (*Gondal's Queen*, p. 32).

Juliet Barker, in her very scholarly biography *The Brontës*, gives considerable prominence to Gondal. She thinks (p. 235) that 'Though nothing remains of the Gondal stories written before 1838, there is no doubt that these had already reached the same levels of complexity and sophistication as Charlotte and Branwell's *Angria*.' On pp. 342–3 she allocates Anne's 'The Bluebell' and 'O! I am very weary' to Gondal and arriving at 1844, she discusses Emily's division of her poems into two notebooks, one of which is entitled 'Gondal Poems', the other untitled. Of the Gondal book she says that Emily extracted the poems 'from their prose tales going back as far as 1837'. She says, 'there was no hard and fast distinction between the two [notebooks], for Emily does not appear to have stuck to her intention to include only personal poems in the second notebook' [Barker, p. 435]. In conversation, Derek Roper has said that notebook A need not necessarily be seen as a book of personal poems, but simply as non-

Gondal. There would perhaps be no difficulty in supposing that some of the non-Gondal poems could be fictional in another way. However, he does himself follow Paden and others in trying to carry forward Fannie Ratchford's attempt to systematize the Gondal story [DR, pp. 295ff].

Here we have a number of highly reputable scholars emphasizing Gondal in the works of both Emily and Anne Brontë, considering that the prose sections may have been as 'sophisticated' as those of Charlotte in Angria, and assuming that a systematic chronology of Gondal is possible, or would be if we had all the prose material. However, unless one is to take a severely text-based view of the interpretation of poetry, separating Gondal from non-Gondal may be an important aim, necessary in order to understand poetic references and elucidate the basis of the poet's intended meaning. We can accept that this is hazardous, but it does seem to be in accordance with Emily Brontë's own thought, as she herself initiates such a distinction in the 1844 notebooks, whether she 'stuck to her intention' or not.

In approaching this task, I began from a different angle from that of Fannie Ratchford, or in fact two different angles. First, I wished to understand the aims of Anne Brontë, and began to be interested in a very sharp difference of world view between Anne and Emily, which seemed foreshadowed in their respective attitudes to Gondal (*Wildfell Hall* could never be seen clearly until it was seen as a different kind of novel from *Wuthering Heights*); second, I wanted to understand Emily's poetry and life more comprehensively, and for this I felt the need to begin with her obviously 'least Gondal' poems, those written at Law Hill. These matters threw up chronological issues immediately: in the case of Anne, it was necessary to try to find out where she was at the time of writing each poem, and whether she was under Emily's influence at that point, and in the case of Emily, it was necessary to clarify exactly when she went to Law Hill, so as to be sure that the poems of late 1838 were actually written there. Thus very early in my study of the Brontës' poetry, thirty years ago, chronology became a major factor in interpretation.

To sharpen these points: we need to know some of the circumstances surrounding the writing of a poem or novel in order to aid understanding of the meaning. Such understanding once gained can be cautiously applied to other works where the provenance is not so clear. In considering Gondal, we can separate the work of Emily and Anne Brontë into two clear categories and a third, less clear one: (a) non-Gondal work (b) Gondal work (c) poems that switch from one 'provenance' to the other. The way in which these hybrid poems occur seems more plausible when we consider Emily's method of writing poems, about which I have written in a number of contexts. Briefly, she did not often write in one complete burst of energy, but in several disparate moments, sometimes emotionally excited by her work, sometimes working uninspired to create narrative links.

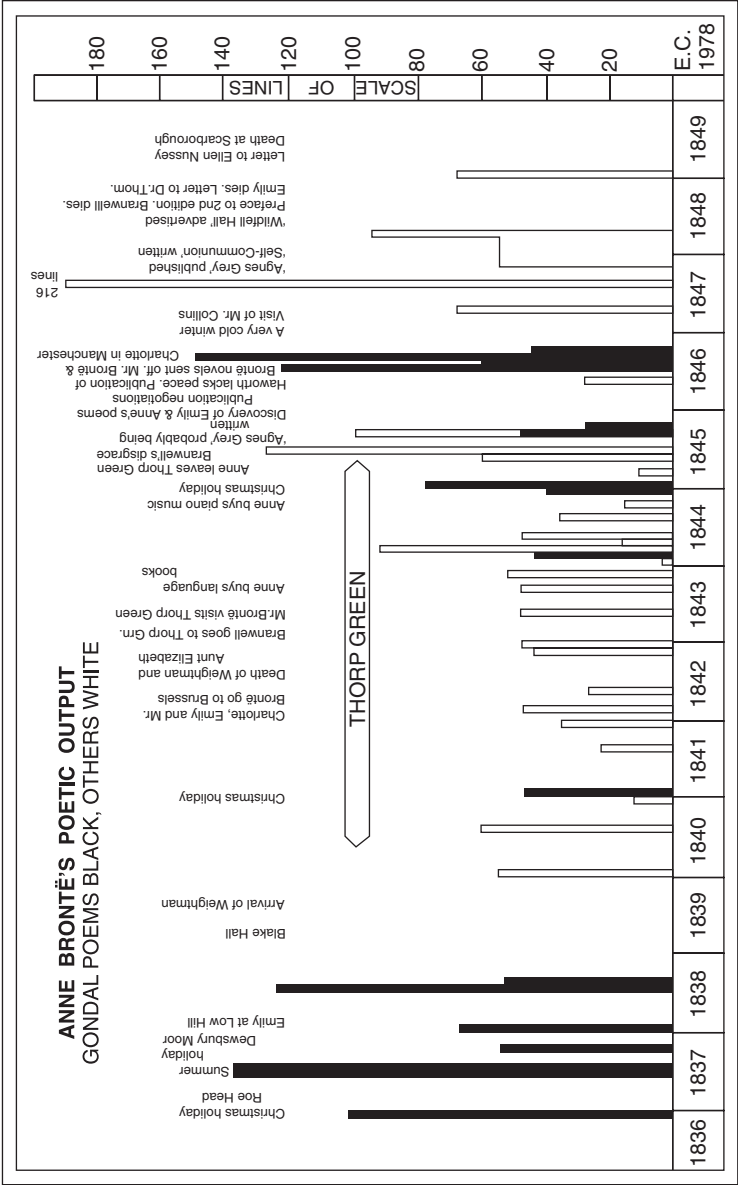
Beginning with Anne, therefore, we can begin to understand, through chronological placing, how the two sisters used Gondal. I was able to classify Anne's poems fairly definitively in *The Poems of Anne Brontë*, summarizing the exercise in a diagram, which is again reproduced here. From 1836 to 1838 there are explicit Gondal references in all Anne's poems: 'Verses by Lady Geraldine'; 'Alexander and Zenobia'; 'A Voice from the Dungeon' signed by 'Marina Sabia'; 'The Captive's Dream' and 'The North Wind', signed by

'Alexandrina Zenobia'; 'The Parting', a narrative set in a pseudo-medieval context, 'The Lady of Alzerno's Hall'; and 'Verses to a Child' signed by 'Alexandrina Zenobia'. Of these, only 'The Parting' has no Gondal proper name. These poems are sprightly, rhythmic, but not deep.

In 1840, Anne was twenty and went to Thorp Green to teach the Robinsons. When I began working on the Brontës, this fact was not known; it was thought she had gone to Thorp Green in 1841. However, 'O! I am very weary', is dated 28 August 1840 and entitled 'Lines written at Thorp Green'. Either Anne had made a mistake in the manuscript or she had been in Thorp Green in 1840. I had to make deductions from Mr Robinson's 1845 account book, implying quarter day dates, to show that she had actually entered his service on 8 May. Interestingly, Emily had written a poem on 4 May, copied into the non-Gondal book, beginning 'I'll not weep that thou art going to leave me.' I should find it tortured reasoning to suppose that this poem, written just before Anne leaves for Thorp Green, has no personal reference. I think that when Emily copied this into her non-Gondal book, she did so because this poem is a non-Gondal poem and has no Gondal reference. It is inspired by the departure of her real sister to a real place on a real date. That does not mean that its later stanzas, which explore the pain of ultimate parting in death, are directly related to Anne; but the thoughts in them begin with Anne's actual departure to Thorp Green, and not with an imaginary Gondal character.

Anne Brontë had learned to write poetry in a Gondal context, but on 1 January 1840 she had moved out of Gondal to write the first of her personal poems that we know of. The interpretation here is more contentious than of Emily's 'I'll not weep'. The poem is ostensibly by 'Olivia Vernon', so why not see it as another Gondal poem in the mould of 'The Lady of Alzerno's Hall' and the rest? Here we enter on a much more tentative proposition, but one which has attracted Brontë biographers for a long time, and may have been overstressed by some, such as Winifred Gerin, whose biography of Anne first restored her to a rank of importance within the Brontë literary corpus. This thesis is that the scenes of adolescent love in *Wildfell Hall* and indeed the behaviour of Agnes in *Agnes Grey* argue a personal experience on the part of the author. Anne Brontë, the thesis maintains, was once in love with someone. The first occurrence of this theme, looked at from the inside, and felt, is this poem of 1 January 1840, despite its Gondal signature. Chronology will take us a little further; we can try to discover who has entered Anne's life in the previous month or so, since her departure from Blake Hall. There is a clear but not unimpeachable answer: William Weightman.

We turn again to the classification of Anne's poems, Gondal or non-Gondal. The other poems of 1840 have no Gondal names in them, and we get only two further references to Gondal before 1844. One is the clearly Gondal poem, with several Gondal proper names, written on 1 January 1841, at Haworth – can we fairly say under Emily's influence? The next batch are a mixture of hymns, a poem to Cowper, 'A Word to the Calvinists' and what appear to be personal poems, but one poem does have a single Gondal reference: like the poem of 1 January 1840, it has a Gondal signature. But surely any fair reader will see that this poem deals with a Thorp Green context, as Anne thinks of home in Haworth and regrets the 'ice' which gathers round her heart. It needs to be



5 Anne Brontë's poetic output. Graph showing how her Gondal output largely coincides with the periods when she was at home with Emily.

stressed here that no other poem after 1 January 1841 until 'The Student's Serenade' of February 1844 has any Gondal reference whatsoever. During all this time Anne was away from Emily, or writing no poetry. My conclusion is that after 1839 Anne wrote Gondal poems only when under Emily's influence. Left to herself she wrote far more thoughtful and personal poetry.

In his 1941 edition *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë*, C. W. Hatfield made every effort to provide accurate dates for all of Emily's poems. Though one can doubt the wisdom of placing undated poems in the same series as dated ones, most of Hatfield's readings of the tiny manuscript dates on Emily's poems are accurate. For the first time a chronology of her poems becomes possible. An effect of this is that the way is open for an investigation of the way in which Emily's poetry develops, though this is not immediately grasped by critics. A second effect is that we can now begin to attach poems to the events of Emily's life, as we have seen in the case of the poem of 4 May 1840. However, because there is so little external evidence concerning Emily's life, there is a great danger of circular arguments. Where is one to start?

The most fruitful place to begin might be the pieces of which Charlotte remarks, in her 1850 edition,

The following pieces were composed at twilight, in the schoolroom, when the leisure of the evening play-hour brought back in full tide the thoughts of home.

Here is a definite context, provided by a reliable source. The three pieces are 'A Little while, a little while'; 'The Bluebell'; and 'Loud without the wind was roaring'. Hatfield's dates, confirmed by Roper, are 4 December 1838, 18 December 1838 and 11 November 1838 (I have slight reservations about the last of these). What 'schoolroom' was Emily Brontë in during early winter 1838-39? Can these three poems be related to her actual life? Certainly one deals directly with the respite from teaching that Charlotte implies in her comment. If we can see how Emily is thinking in writing these poems, can this knowledge gained from datable poems with a known context be transferred to other poems? Traditional biographies give September 1837 as the date when Emily went to Law Hill, and Winifred Gerin ties this in with the departure of Miss Maria Patchett from the school, on her marriage on 21 September 1837. However, Miss A. M. F. Robinson, typically, says that Emily 'stood it all that term', went home for the Christmas holiday and returned to Law Hill for a spring term [1838], departing after this. She cannot therefore have been at Law Hill in late 1838, when the poems in question were written. How can these dates be reconciled?

Unfortunately the dates are incompatible, and we have to seek for the source of the error. Luckily, the manuscript of Charlotte's 1837 letter is at Haworth, and is surprisingly annotated by Charlotte 'Octbr. 2nd 1836'. The postmark is hard to see, being on the rear of the letter which is linked to a backing. Nevertheless it is clearly revealed as OC 6 1838. I was able to make this fact public in *Brontë Facts and Brontë Problems* and the matter was clinched by some sharp investigative work by Jennifer A. Cox, who showed that this postmark type had been introduced at Dewsbury on 22 September 1838. There could be

no doubt that the letter should have been dated 6 October 1838. In the words 'My sister Emily is gone into a Situation as teacher in a large school of near forty pupils near Halifax', Charlotte confirms that Emily went to Law Hill during the autumn of 1838, and therefore the three poems with autobiographical reference were written there. The three poems duly appear in the non-Gondal A manuscript begun in 1844.

Emily Brontë sometimes recopied her poems. As we examine the manuscripts, we learn that, as she copied, she normally transferred the original dates onto the copy. When we turn to the two major copy books of early 1844 (manuscripts A and B as they are usually called), we see that this procedure is adhered to until her copying ceases, and her long poem 'Why ask to know the date – the clime' of 1848 is partly composed straight onto the Gondal manuscript. It is never finished. What we have learned, however, from the way in which Emily uses dates, is that we can trust her on the whole to copy accurately from earlier manuscripts, some of which she retains because there are other, uncopied, poems on the same sheet. (Unfortunately one of the three poems earlier mentioned, of 1838, 'Loud without the wind was roaring' appears to be an exception, with the day of the month inserted in the later copy but not in the earlier one.) In general, however, we should be able to match Emily's dates with any external circumstance in her life which we may be able to discover, and so begin to provide an interpretation.

In 1974 Herbert Dingle wrote *The Mind of Emily Brontë*, in which he ingeniously tries to match Emily's poems with weather records. This seems to have been the first time such a procedure was carried out, and though I do not entirely agree with his conclusions, the method seems radically sensible. I found the matching of poems with records in Shackleton's weather diary at Keighley gave solidity to suppositions about Emily's methods of writing poetry. It is quite surprising how many poems contain comments on weather and season, and how frequently the external circumstance mentioned accords with what we know from outside records.

There is another chronological issue which has escaped the notice of some commentators. In her 'diary paper' of 1844, Anne Brontë writes, 'we have not yet finished our Gondal chronicles that we began three years and a half ago' [Barker, p. 445]. If we take Gondal chronicles to mean 'Gondal writing' it is a fairly obvious statement, except that Gondal did not begin 'three and a half years ago'. On the contrary, we have Gondal writing as far back as the 1834 diary paper. Anne must mean that at Christmas 1841 the two sisters began to provide chronology for Gondal and systematize a set of stories which had anomalies, perhaps. It seems to me that this fascinating statement of Anne's has been neglected, and I see this process in the development of Gondal as an important one. There is indeed some slight corroborative evidence from the manuscripts of Emily's poems. The most obvious example is the poem 'Lord of Elbe, on Elbe hill' [DR, p. 40] where the original, 1837, copy seems to envisage the Lord of Elbe returning to A.G.A., '... thou art now on a desolate sea / Thinking of Gondal and greiving for me / Longing to be in sweet Elbe again / Thinking and greiving and longing in vain', which by the time of the 1844 copy book has become 'all my repining is hopeless and vain, / Death never yields back his victims again'. A decision has been made that Elbe has to die, and it would not be unreasonable to link this with the systematization of the Chronicles

beginning in 1841. We know that Emily and Anne used almanacs when constructing *Wuthering Heights* and *Wildfell Hall*; they also provided fictional dates for some Gondal episodes in poems actually written in the 1840s but fictionally placed from 1825–30 [DR, pp. 303–4]. Chronology matters to Emily and Anne, and this attempt to make Gondal coherent is typical.

In view of all this attention to chronology on the part of Emily and Anne Brontë, how does the claim that the A and B manuscripts both include Gondal poems stand up (as Barker says, p. 435, ‘In fact, there was no hard and fast distinction between the two [manuscripts]’)? She goes further and on p. 483 says that the A manuscript was a notebook ‘containing many Gondal poems’. Manuscript A contains no poem with a Gondal proper name, signature or initials. Further, there are no Gondal settings. On the other hand, of the 45 poems in the B manuscripts there are Gondal references, including Gondal proper names and signatures, in 40 out of the 45. A valid point is made by those who wish to blur the contents of the two manuscripts when they rightly point out that of course we cannot be sure that those in the A manuscript contain Emily Brontë’s real opinions or views. That must be true of all poetry; we cannot ever be sure whether the opinions contained in poems are really the opinions of the authors, and we have to rest unsure. A poem is not necessarily a statement of philosophical belief. What is being asserted by those who wish to maintain Emily Brontë’s distinction between the two manuscripts is that they are different kinds of poem, one kind wholly within the fictional Gondal world, the other outside it.

The reasons for scholarly distrust of Emily Brontë’s classification in 1844 seem to be twofold. One is that there is a long history of writers on the Brontës quarrying Emily’s poetry to provide biographical evidence which cannot be supplied externally; the other is the nature of some of the poems in the A manuscript, which are most allusive and hard to interpret. They do not contain Gondal names, but they seem to refer to personalities which could exist in a Gondal story. Many such poems are written in the first person. The question, then, is how far away the poetic first person is from the poet. I have written quite extensively on this matter, explaining my view that the speaker in these poems may reasonably be identified quite closely with Emily, though we have to be aware that she is quite happy to assert contrary points of view in different poems. The poems certainly are not attempts to fashion a coherent philosophy of the kind that Anne is exhibiting in her novels. However, the persons mentioned in the A poems are real to Emily Brontë, and may well be real people who are living in her day or have lived before. What chronology shows is that unlike Anne, Emily would often write Gondal poems and non-Gondal poems within the same week, even on the same day.

Appendix D: The chronology of Emily Brontë’s poem manuscripts

The following is a summary of conclusions about the dating of Emily Brontë’s poem manuscripts which have appeared elsewhere, especially in *Brontë Facts and Brontë Problems*, *The Birth of Wuthering Heights* and *The Poems of Emily Brontë*.

There is no manuscript of Emily Brontë's poems certainly to be dated before 1839. Possible contenders might be D 2 and F 1, perhaps with one or two from the Taylor collection. But D 2 is not a draft, since it contains two barely altered poems, and it may well date from 1839. F 1 is a more difficult case, but Derek Roper (p. 95) agrees with me that Hatfield's reading of the final digit is wrong, and it should be 1839. We may therefore say that all the poems dated in Emily's handwriting to a date before 1839 are copies.

It seems likely that the earliest surviving manuscripts are the D group of copies, beginning with D 4 on which the poet's initials appear, and ending with D 12, with D 8 an anomaly which does not quite fit this series. E 12 and E 13 may be part of this group, copies from 1839. Onto these half sheets Emily Brontë copied almost all her existing draft poems. It seems likely that this process happened after her return from Law Hill, either during Christmas holidays 1838–39 or during January. The balance of probability may lie with the idea that she left Law Hill at Christmas, though we have A. M. F. Robinson's possibly researched information (*Emily Brontë*, p. 60) that she did return in the early part of 1839.

It seems likely that 1839 was a very active year for Emily Brontë; dates in the drafts from March to December are certainly accurate. Towards the middle of the year she began to be dissatisfied with her copying methods, including the use of small script and half sheets of paper. She was 21 on 30 July 1839 and this may have been one reason why she abandoned (temporarily) the small script style for the copy book we now call manuscript C (the Ashley manuscript), the latest date of which is 25 October 1839. Poems copied after this must have been added piecemeal. Since the end of manuscript C is missing, we do not know how long this book was in use, but the next major copying activity of which we are aware begins in early 1844.

As well as the classification into 'Gondal Poems' and implicitly 'others', each manuscript bears signs of subject classification internally, as had apparently been done in the D collection of 1839. After March 1844 the A manuscript becomes chronological, and poems are presumably copied into it as they are finished, with some revision. The B manuscript is frequently to hand, and poems are copied into it until B 37–39 in March and May 1845, after which poems are copied as written until 1848 when this copy book is used as a draft book. The one poem for which no manuscript has ever been discovered, 'Often Rebuked', is presumably too late for the copying process; it may be from late 1846 or 1847, and its subject matter may be leading back towards Gondal after difficulties are encountered with *Wuthering Heights*; at the moment this is speculation.

For a list of Emily Brontë's poem manuscripts, see the bibliography.

Annotated Bibliography

In conformity with the emphasis of this book, on chronology and chronological development, dates of writing or publication are emphasized in this bibliography. Brontë scholarship has developed erratically, and the aim of these accompanying notes is to indicate how the various biographical, textual and interpretative studies advance understanding of Brontë lives and works. Following each reference, where appropriate, is the abbreviation used in the references in the text.

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Charlotte Brontë

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Emily Jane Brontë (Descriptions in DR, pp. 14–19)

MS A (the Honresfeld Manuscript); Transcripts and photographs at BPM.

MS B (the Gondal Notebook); British Library Additional MS 43483.

MS C (the Ashley Manuscript) British Library; Ashley MS 175.

MS D Single leaf manuscripts: D 1–2 and D 15, Pierpont Morgan Library; D 3–14, BPM.

MS E Single leaf manuscripts: E 1–20, New York Public Library, Berg Collection.

MS F Single leaf manuscripts: F 1–2, Humanities Research Center, Austin, Texas.

MS T Single leaf manuscripts: T 1–8, Taylor Collection, Princeton University. (The distribution of the above single leaf manuscripts appears wholly arbitrary, though a number of them, mainly in the D series, contain fair copied material, probably from 1839).

EJB's mainly destroyed account book, transcribed in ECEB, pp. 270–2. (BPM)
There are no extant manuscripts of *Wuthering Heights*.

Anne Brontë (Description in EC, pp. 199–201)

TexasMS An octavo volume of 28 pages is unavailable, and texts have been taken from a typed transcript at the Humanities Research Center, Austin, Texas.

MS P (a bound volume of 26 pages); Pierpont Morgan Library.

MS Q (contains nine poems); Pierpont Morgan Library.

MS R and S (contains three poems, split randomly); Pierpont Morgan Library.

MS T and U Originally a copy book, divided in two. T is at BPM (135), U at the Huntington Library, San Marino.

MS V Originally in the Law Collection; facsimiles in *Shakespeare Head Brontë*, Vol. 17.

MS W Contains three poems; Brontë Parsonage Museum 136.

MS X Contains five poems; Brontë Parsonage Museum 134.

MS Y Contains two poems; Ashley Library, British Library.

MS Z Rough draft of ['Last Lines']; Brontë Parsonage Museum 137.

- Rough draft of a single poem; Brontë Parsonage Museum 132.
- List of Gondal names; Humanities Research Center, Austin, Texas. [Music Manuscript Book]; Brontë Parsonage Museum.

There are no extant manuscripts of *Agnes Grey* or *Wildfell Hall*.

Brontë Music Books (at BPM)

Catalogue numbers:

- 1131: 1** This item is entitled 'Music Library 1844' and appears to be arranged in alphabetical order. There are no autographs. Music includes work by Beethoven, Clementi, Dussek, Handel, Haydn, Hoffman, Hummel, Mozart, Pleyel, Rossini and Weber. These are mainly piano arrangements of orchestral works.
- 1131: 2** Includes works played by EJB and AB up to 1835. During 1834–35 much of their effort is expended on 'The Vocal Works of Handel', mainly extracts from *Messiah*. Bound with these pieces are some simpler works, but also 'Select movements from Handel, Haydn and Mozart', arranged for organ, which seem likely to date from after May 1834, when Haworth church organ was inaugurated.
- 1131: 3** Contains diverse material from the 1830s up to 1837. Earlier pieces are marked 'Misses E. and A. Brontë', but the later ones are simply 'Miss E. Brontë', suggesting that AB dropped out of the field as a serious piano player.
- 1131: 4** includes two volumes of 'Music Library, 1844' with no further autographs, apart from a very few notes to aid performance. The works included are by some of the same composers as in 1131:1.
- 1131: 5** Contains first a series of piano pieces including waltzes, schottisches and quadrilles (of which some waltzes are for piano and flute, which would be played by PBB). The group also includes music apparently bought by AB between 1844 and 1845, some of which seems to have been later owned by EN. Among these pieces are children's pieces, suggesting that AB was teaching young pupils, possibly the children of Rev. Edward Greenhow.

External material used to establish or confirm dating

Cowan Bridge (Cumbria Record Office)

Account Book (Brontë account is p. 13)
Entrance Book

Huddersfield

Brockhill, K., The Halls at Lascelles Hall, typescript, 1983 (Kirklees Central Library, Huddersfield).

Mirfield, including Roe Head

'An assessment for the relief of the poor, etc.' [Mirfield] 7 September 1840 (Kirklees Central Library, Huddersfield).

Mirfield Town Rate Books, 'Survey and Valuation of Mirfield, made in the Years 1848 and 1849' (Kirklees Central Library).

Robinson Deeds BPM

93/2 Account book 1845–46.

93/3 Cheque Stubs 1847ff.

93/4 Swan Clough account book 1848–49.

93/6 and 93/7 are interesting sale inventories, but have little chronological reference.

Staffordshire Record Office (SRO)

820/3, 820/4, 820/8 Deeds etc, related to the Gisborne family

Printed material

Ahier, P., *The Parish Church of St. Peter the Apostle, Huddersfield*, Huddersfield, The Advertiser Press, 1948.

Dewhirst, I., *A History of Keighley*, Keighley Corporation, 1974.

Griffith's *Parish Valuation of Ireland*, 1864.

Pobjoy, Harold N., *A History of Mirfield*, Driffield, 1969.

Slater's Yorkshire Directory, 1848.

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