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 artistocracy, 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.

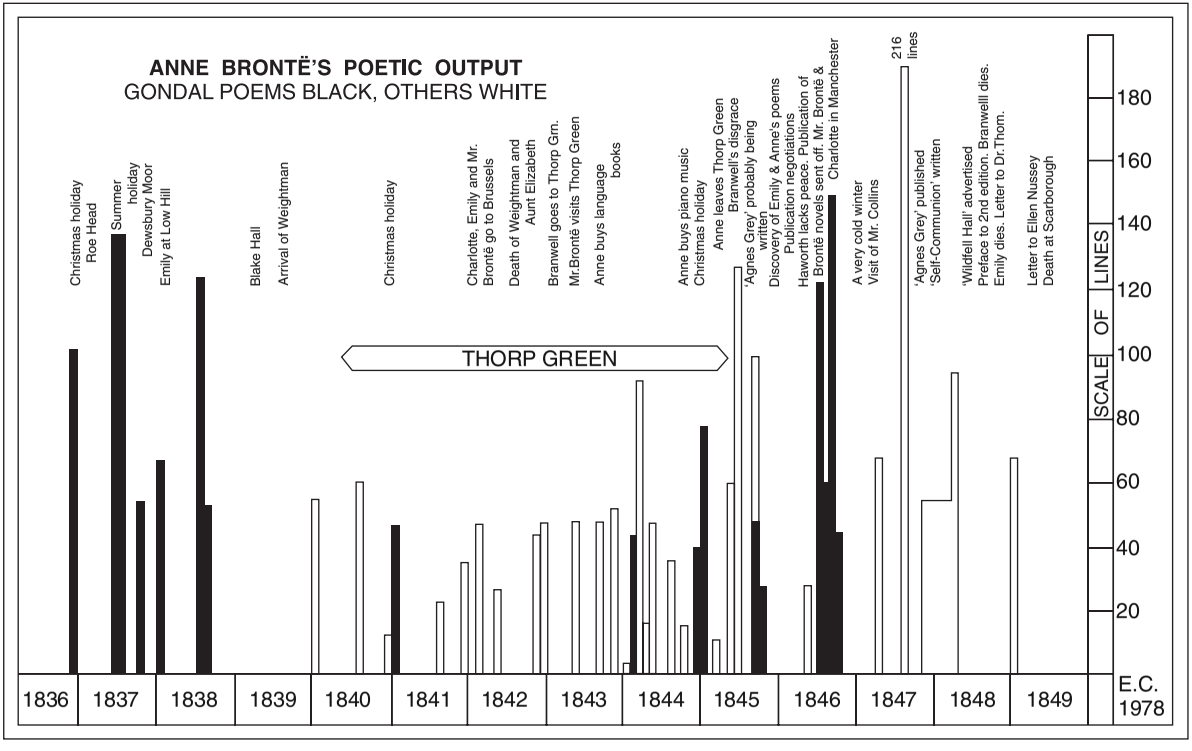
Beginning with Anne, therefore, we can begin to understand, through chronological placing, how the two sisters used Gondal. I was able to classify Anne's poems fairly definitively in *The Poems of Anne Brontë*, summarizing the exercise in a diagram, which is again reproduced here. From 1836 to 1838 there are explicit Gondal references in all Anne's poems: 'Verses by Lady Geralda'; '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 over-stressed 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. Neverthless 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 hopless 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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Allott, Miriam (ed.), *The Brontës: The Critical Heritage*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974. Reprints of many of the early reviews of and comments about the Brontë poems and novels (Allott).

Barker, Juliet, *Sixty Treasures*, Haworth, The Brontë Society, 1988. Includes illustrations of some of the manuscripts and other objects held at the Brontë Parsonage Museum (Sixty Treasures).

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Gerin, Winifred, *Charlotte Brontë: The Evolution of Genius*, London, OUP, 1967. (WGCB)
Gerin, Winifred, *Emily Brontë*, London, OUP, 1971. Winifred Gerin's four biographies are immensely readable and set a new standard in detailed research. There is still much in them which has not been reproduced later, but they do also contain material which is in need of updating; perhaps the volume on Emily is the least effective. (WGEB)
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Grundy, Francis H., *Pictures of the Past*, London, Griffith & Farren, 1879.
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Hibbs, Helier (ed.), *Victorian Ouseburn: George Whitehead's Diary*, Ouseburn, 1990. Quoted in some earlier biographies, this is an accurate transcription of the whole of George Whitehead's Diary, recording events in Ouseburn at the time of the death of Rev. Edmund Robinson and the aftermath. (VO)
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Higuchi, Akiko, *Anne Brontë's Song Book and Branwell Brontë's Flute Book; An Annotated Edition*, Tokyo, 2002.
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Robinson, A.M.F., *Emily Brontë*, London, W. H. Allen, 1883.
Roper, Derek, with Edward Chitham, *The Poems of Emily Brontë*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1995. Every manuscript has been carefully checked and all dates confirmed. Original spelling is retained. (DR)
Ruijssenaars, Eric, *Charlotte Brontë's Promised Land*, Haworth, The Brontë Society, 2000. ER
Scruton, William, *Thornton and the Brontës*, Bradford, 1898. Scruton was able to discover some inhabitants of Thornton who had known the Brontës.
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Shakespeare Head Brontë. It has generally been superseded by the edition of Victor Neufeldt. (TW)

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The Cottage in the Wood, Bradford, Inkersley, 1815.

The Maid of Killarney, London, Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1818.

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A Sign of the Times, Keighley, R. Aked, 1835.

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Articles from *Brontë Society Transactions*

All issues of the *Transactions*, continued from 2002 as *Brontë Studies*, have valuable material, helping to form a view on chronology. There has been some inconsistency in methods of numbering the issues; volume numbers are consistently given in my text and this bibliography. Those which have been of particular use are listed below. Both *Transactions* and *Brontë Studies* are abbreviated *BST* in the text.

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Smith, Margaret, '"A Warlike Correspondence": More Letters from Harriet Martineau', Vol. 18, Part 95 (1985), pp. 392–7.

Smith, Margaret, 'Newly Acquired Brontë Letters, Transcriptions and Notes', Vol. 21, Part 7 (1996), pp. 323–36.

Terry, Rachel, 'Brontë Drawings – A New Discovery', Vol. 23, Part 2 (1998), pp. 180–3.

Terry, Rachel, 'Robert Taylor: A recently discovered portrait by Branwell Brontë', Vol. 26, Part 1 (2001), pp. 73–5.

Terry, Rachel, 'New Acquisitions at the Brontë Parsonage Museum', Vol. 27, Part 1 (2002), pp. 81–2].

Primary Sources: Manuscripts, etc., of the Brontë family

Charlotte Brontë

Letters: details of the location of all available manuscripts are in Smith, op. cit.; many details are also to be found in Barker.

Novels: details of the location and content of all manuscripts are to be found in the Clarendon (OUP) editions, under the general editorship of Ian Jack.

Poems: details of the location and content of manuscripts are in CA, updated in a few cases in *An Edition of the Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* by the same author.

CB's account book for details of the London visit by CB and AB in mid-1848 (BPM).

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

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