A Brontë Encyclopedia

Robert Barnard and Louise Barnard
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Contents

List of Illustrations vi
List of Abbreviations viii
Preface ix
Note on Spelling xi
Acknowledgments xii
A–Z Entries 1–393
Bibliography 394
Illustrations

Plates 1–35 fall between pp. 96–7

1 Blake Hall
2 Bolton Abbey by Charlotte
3 John Brown
4 Landscape with trees
5 Anne Brontë: manuscript of “In memory of a happy day in February”
6 Part of a letter from Anne to Ellen Nussey
7 Patrick Branwell Brontë: part of the unfinished poem “Sleep Mourner Sleep!”
8 Letter to Francis Grundy from Branwell
9 Charlotte Brontë: verso title page to The Young Men’s Magazine
10 Letter to Patrick Brontë from Charlotte
11 Emily with her animals
12 Emily Jane Brontë: draft version of poem
13 Letter from Emily to Ellen Nussey
14 Reverend Patrick Brontë
15 Clergy Daughters’ School at Cowan Bridge
16 Elizabeth Gaskell
17 Gawthorpe Hall
18 Reverend J. B. Grant
19 Haworth Main Street
20 Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth
21 Keighley hovels by John Bradley
22 Law Hill
23 G. H. Lewes
24 J. B. Leyland
25 Patrick Reid “turned off”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Reverend William Morgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Reverend Arthur Bell Nicholls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Northangerland, by Branwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Northangerland, by Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ellen Nussey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Pensionnat Heger by Wimperis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Rachel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Red House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Elizabeth Rigby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Lydia Robinson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plates 36–50 fall between pp. 288–9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Roe Head School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Rydings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>St Michael’s and All Angels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>George Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Stonegappe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mary Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Thornton, Brontë birthplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Thorp Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Upperwood House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Reverend William Weightman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>William Smith Williams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Reverend William Carus Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Zamorna, by Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Zamorna, by Branwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Zenobia, Marchioness Ellrington, by Charlotte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Color plates** – *plates fall between pp. 192–3*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anne Brontë by Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hermit, by Branwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Image of Charlotte, about 1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Woman in Leopard Fur, by Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Emily, from the Gun Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Halifax from Beacon Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Heger family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nero, by Emily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Parsonage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Moorland scene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

AB        Anne Brontë
ABN       Arthur Bell Nicholls
AOTB      Alexander & Sellers: The Art of the Brontës
BB        Patrick Branwell Brontë
BE        Belgian Essays, ed. and trans. by Sue Lonoff
BPM       Brontë Parsonage Museum
BS        Brontë Studies
BST       Brontë Society Transactions
BYMM      Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine
CB        Charlotte Brontë
CBL       The Letters of Charlotte Brontë, ed. by Margaret Smith
EC        The Poems of Anne Brontë, ed. by Edward Chitham
ECG       Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell
EJB       Emily Jane Brontë
EN        Ellen Nussey
EW        Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë, ed. by Christine Alexander
FN        Charlotte Brontë: Five Novelettes, ed. by Winifred Gerin
GS        George Smith
HN        Henry Nussey
IWBB      Du Maurier: The Infernal World of Branwell Brontë
LPB       Letters of Patrick Brontë, ed. by Dudley Green
MT        Mary Taylor
MW        Margaret Wooler
PB        Patrick Brontë
PCB       Poems of Charlotte Brontë, ed. by Tom Winnifrith
WPBB      The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë, ed. by Victor A. Neufeldt
W & S     The Brontës: Their Lives, Friendships and Correspondence, ed.
           by Thomas J. Wise & John A. Symington
WSW       William Smith Williams
This encyclopedia of the Brontës concerns itself with the family, their writings, and their lives. It tries to cover their own characters and experiences; the people they met, corresponded with, or were influenced by; the places they went to; and their works from the juvenile and adolescent sagas to the finished fiction and poetry. We took therefore, when conceiving it, the period between the dates 1777 (the birth of Patrick) and 1861 (his death) as our chosen focus of interest, though inevitably there is the occasional peek backward or forward.

This means that we have not dealt with ups and downs in the fortunes of the Brontës’ writings after their deaths; the critical fashions which have promoted or demoted their literary status; the checkered fortunes of their manuscripts; the dramatic, musical, or film and television versions of their novels and even of their lives, and so on. These posthumous developments tell us more about the ages in which they occurred and the people that were involved in them than they do about the Brontës themselves, and their inclusion could only be justified if they were given a full social context – something out of the question in a work of comparatively modest size. It may well be, too, that early exposure to a television adaptation of *Wuthering Heights*, with Yvonne Mitchell doing her mature best as Catherine, and Richard Todd hilarious as Heathcliff, put me off adaptations for life.

We early on took the decision that the early writings could not be allowed to overbalance the book. We include summaries of all the novels, and brief or extensive entries on virtually all the characters, but that breadth of treatment could not be given to the tales and characters in the early works. The progress of the sagas, with treatment of the most important stories, is therefore mainly covered in the entry called for convenience “Juvenilia,” and about 20 characters are given an entry to themselves. Fascinating though this writing is, and quite as extensive as the mature novels, we believe that the average reader will be mainly interested in the novels that the Brontës’ reputation has been built on, and that can be read by an adult reader without the need to make allowances.
The last 20 years have seen “an abundant shower” of works of Brontë scholarship, and unlike the shower of curates in *Shirley* it has been scholarly, responsible, and wonderfully useful. Among many works I would name Juliet Barker’s authoritative and (almost a first among biographies of the Brontës) scholarly life of the whole family, Christine Alexander’s edition of Charlotte’s early writings (1829–35), Victor Neufeldt’s edition of Branwell’s complete writings, Alexander and Sellars’ *The Art of the Brontës*, Sue Lonoff’s masterly edition of Charlotte and Emily’s Brussels essays, Dudley Green’s edition of Patrick’s letters, and perhaps above all Margaret Smith’s wonderful and nourishing edition of Charlotte’s letters. Works such as these have undone the malign activities of Thomas J. Wise, the forger and literary con man, and his aide Clement Shorter. They have also made the writing of a book such as this immeasurably easier and more pleasant. We can only breathe fervent praise and thanks.

We are indebted to many people: three generations of curators and one of librarians (Ann Dinsdale, a constant help) at the Brontë Parsonage Museum, with special thanks to Linda Proctor-Mackley for help with the pictures; librarians and curatorial staff at the Banksie Museum in Halifax, the Keighley Public Library, the Brotherton Library at Leeds University, and the private Leeds Library, where one can still read the local papers of the first half of the nineteenth century in their original form, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Theatre Museum in (or once in) Covent Garden. Many individuals have been a great help and inspiration, including Dudley Green, Sarah Fermi, Ian and Catherine Emberson, Robin Greenwood, Steven Woods, and the late Chris Sumner. Our debts to Jenny Roberts, for pointing out errors, omissions, inconsistencies are legion. We are particularly indebted to Brian Wilks and to the Lambeth Palace Library for permission to quote from the recently discovered letter Patrick wrote to Bishop Longley shortly after Charlotte’s death.

One of the strangest things about the Brontës (a reclusive family, apart from Branwell) is that objects associated with them keep appearing and new connections continue to be made. For example, in the last 30 years three new pictures of the Brontë women have surfaced, as well as an early photograph of the “Gun Group,” which was later destroyed by Mr Nicholls, all but the portrait of Emily. After *The Art of the Brontës* was published many new pictures by them came to light. As I write, a hitherto unknown letter by Charlotte to W. S. Williams is coming up for sale at auction. All these discoveries feed the public interest in the family and their writings, and it has been a great joy during our years of connection with the Brontë Society to keep up with them and now to use some of them in this encyclopedia. We often wonder how many items of Brontëana remain hidden (deliberately or inadvertently) in Haworth.

The division of labor for this work has been as follows: Louise Barnard has trawled through years of local newspapers, particularly the Leeds ones, for items of interest about the Brontës and people known to them; she has kept an immense computer record of everything of interest about anyone whose life, however tangentially, touched the Brontës, and this record will be lodged in the Parsonage Library, where we hope it will be of use to scholars, genealogists, local historians, and so on. Robert Barnard is responsible for choosing which heads in her record would have an entry in the encyclopedia, and for writing all but one of those entries. We can therefore accept joint responsibility for any errors that have inevitably crept in.

Robert Barnard
Louise Barnard
We have avoided the insertion of “[sic]” in quotations from the original nineteenth-century sources, particularly Charlotte Brontë’s letters. The reader can assume that spellings and punctuation that appear to be incorrect are reproduced as in the original manuscripts.

As Blackwell publications are marketed worldwide American spelling conventions have been followed.
Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful to the directors and staff at the following institutions for permission to use images in their collections:

The National Portrait Gallery, London for plates 16, 19, 34, 39 and colour plate 5.


The Victoria and Albert Museum (Theatre Museum Collection) for plate 32.

Keighley Public Library for plate 21.

The Bankfield Museum, Calderdale MBC – Museums and Arts for colour plate 6.

The authors are also grateful to the following owners for permission to use material in their possession: Lord Shuttleworth for plate 20; Simon Warner, for colour plates 9 and 10; Monsieur Pechere for colour plate 7.

All other plates are from the Brontë Parsonage Museum, and our grateful thanks are due to the museum director for permission, and to the library staff, who were endlessly helpful.
A—: the “fashionable watering place” where the Greys set up their school in Agnes Grey. Anne mentions “the semi-circular barrier of craggy cliffs surmounted by green swelling hills” (ch. 24), and the town is almost certainly based on Scarborough.

A—: the river on which Millcote stands in Jane Eyre (v. 1, ch. 10). Millcote is probably Leeds, and A– therefore the river Aire, which may also have suggested Jane’s surname.

A—, Monsieur: French academician before whom Ginevra Fanshawe displays her vanity and empty-headedness in Villette, pointing a contrast with Paulina de Bassompierre (see chs. 26 & 27).

Abbey, The: one of the Lady’s Magazine novels that Charlotte ironically suggested she might have emulated if she had been writing 30 or 40 years earlier (to Hartley Coleridge, 10 Dec 1840). Margaret Smith tentatively identifies this as Grasville Abbey by G. M. (George Moore), published in the magazine in the 1790s.

Abbott, Joseph, Rev. (1789–1863): a man who knew Maria Branwell shortly before her marriage. He wrote to Charlotte in 1851 about Luddite activity in the Leeds area in 1812, and how frightened Maria was by his story of an encounter with a band of Luddites (Barker, 1994, pp. 53, 666). By then he was Registrar of McGill College in Montreal. He had heard the later story of the Brontë family from the loquacious Dr. Scoresby, and had been particularly delighted to read Shirley, covering as it did events in which he had played a small part.

See also Scoresby, Rev. William
Abbot, Martha: Mrs Reed’s personal maid in *Jane Eyre*. A bitter, censorious self-server who dislikes Jane, though she is sharp enough to notice that she “always looked as if she were watching everybody” (v. 1 ch. 3).

Abbotsford: the home of Sir Walter Scott, near the town and abbey of Melrose, in the Borders area of southern Scotland. He bought the farmhouse in 1811, and greatly expanded it in a romantic baronial style. It was here that most of his major fiction was written. Charlotte visited the house during her brief Scottish holiday in July 1850. “[A]s to Melrose and Abbotsford the very names possess music and magic,” she wrote to Laetitia Wheelwright (30 July 1850).

*See also* Melrose; Scott, Sir Walter

Abercromby, General Sir Ralph (1734–1801): Scottish soldier and MP. Served in Holland, the West Indies, and Ireland. In 1801 he was given command of the expedition to the Mediterranean. He led a successful expedition to effect a landing at Aboukir Bay (near Alexandria), but was mortally wounded there. Charlotte used his valor and death in her Brussels *devoir* “*La Prière du Soir dans un camp.*”

Adelaide: one of the parsonage geese, named after the Queen Consort of William IV, and mentioned in Emily’s diary paper of 30 July 1841. In the next diary paper (30 July 1845) she records that the geese were “given away,” presumably during her stay in Brussels.

Adrianopolis: the capital of Zamorna’s newly bestowed kingdom of Angria, the building of which is described in sections of the juvenilia mainly dated 1834. The splendid (perhaps oversplendid) city attracts the new and would-be rich, and its combination of opulence and vulgarity is perhaps an image of its creator, Zamorna himself.

*See also* Juvenilia, 3. The rise of Angria

*Adrienne Lecouvreur*: play by Ernest Legouvé and Eugene Scribe which Charlotte saw in London (7 June 1851), with Rachel in the title role: “her acting was something apart from any other acting it has come in my way to witness – her soul was in it – and a strange soul she has” Charlotte wrote to Amelia Taylor (11 June 1851). Scribe’s play was at the time only three years old. Scribe is best remembered today as the creator of the “well-made play” – beautifully carpentered, but essentially trivial dramas for a fashionable audience. He also wrote many opera libretti, but Cilea’s opera on the subject dates from much later (1902).

*See also* Rachel; Vashti

“Advantages of Poverty in Religious Concerns, The”: essay by Maria Branwell, the mother of the Brontës, and the only non-personal writing we have from her. It is well-meaning but clichéd in thought and expression. It attempts to prove
that “a wretched extremity of poverty is seldom experienced in this land of general
tendence,” and if it is, “the sufferers bring it on themselves.” The arguments
paraded are familiar ones, though when she talks of “the pride and prejudices of learn-
ing and philosophy” one feels that Patrick would have seen a less Austenish and more
positive side to mental and moral education. The essay was probably written during
her married life for possible insertion in the Christian magazines, to which Patrick
also contributed. No contemporary published version has been found.

Aeschylus: Greek dramatist mentioned in Charlotte’s early writings (e.g., “The
Foundling”). Some fragmentary notes by Emily on his plays are in the Walpole
Collection at The King’s School, Canterbury.

Aesop: Greek writer of fables of the sixth century BC. Referred to in The Professor
and in various letters from Charlotte to Ellen Nussey. One of the Brontës’ earliest games,
the play “Our Fellows,” was directly inspired by him: “The people we took out of Aesop’s

Agnes (no surname given): cantankerous old servant of Mme Walravens in
Villette. She was formerly the servant of M. Paul’s father and his family, and is when
we meet her the recipient of his charity.

Agnes Grey (1847): possibly the work entitled Passages in the Life of an Individual
which Anne’s Diary Paper of July 1845 records herself as being engaged with. It is
the archetypal “governess” novel as Jane Eyre is not, because it focuses mainly on the
experience of teaching within a family unit. In its broad sweep the plan of the novel
follows Anne’s own experience: cosseted girlhood, followed by a short first situation,
which provides her with a sharp shock, and then a second, much longer, one, in which
her ideals and her moral standards are subjected to a slow disillusionment, and can
be preserved only by strong personal tenacity.

Agnes begins her teaching life with the disadvantage of an almost total ignorance
of the world and its values, brought about by the cloying determination of her fam-
ily that she should remain their “baby.” She explicitly ridicules in the first chapter
her own illusion that a governessing career will be, in James Thomson’s words, a
“Delightful task! / To teach the young idea how to shoot!” The Bloomfield family,
her first employers, turn out to consist of children who are little short of monsters,
and parents who have no idea of improving their behavior by any sensible system
of learning, let alone by any inculcation of a moral framework.

Quite soon into her second situation, with the Murray family, Agnes sees the
worldliness of the parents as the principal danger, and this time the danger threatens
her as well as her pupils. The girls she teaches are much older than the Bloomfield
children, and therefore already well on the way to corruption. Agnes fails to halt this,
and the eldest daughter only begins to have a realization that Agnes’s ideals might rep-
resent a better way than the one her family has shown her after she has fallen into a
loveless marriage made for social and mercenary reasons.
It is significant that the last chapters of the book show Agnes not employed in a family environment, but running a small school with her mother. This, Anne seems to be saying, is the best form of education: one that can counteract the materialism and spiritual vacuity of the middle- and upper-class English family.

In the later chapters of the novel a rather pallid romance develops between Agnes and a clergyman, Mr Weston. Of more interest are the characters outside the Murray family, particularly Nancy Brown, a peasant woman, and Mr Hatfield, the local rector. The first displays a simple faith that contrasts with the Murrays’ religion that is corrupted by their social values; the second shows how even a representative of religion can be tainted by worldliness and an obsession with personal and social advancement.

Discussion of the first novel of Anne, a much more even achievement than her second, has been twisted by a determination to turn it into a novelized autobiography. It is not that, and Anne’s young life is followed in its trajectory, not in its details. It is a rich, amusing, sly work, and in its short compass tells one more about the life of a governess or teacher than any of the other Brontë novels.

See also Ingham family of Blake Hall; Robinson, Rev. Edmund; Robinson, Edmund; Robinson, Elizabeth; Robinson, Lydia (née Gisborne); Robinson, Lydia; Robinson, Mary

Aigredoux, Madame (no first name given): former schoolmistress of Paulina de Bassompierre. She asked Paulina to leave the school after her father came to see her every other day. See Villette, ch. 25.

Ainley, Miss Mary Anne: an ugly spinster in the parish of Briarfield in Shirley. Though ridiculed by the young, she is indefatigable in genuinely useful good work among the poor, and she is called in by Shirley when she determines on a comprehensive plan to relieve poverty. She is one of those whose lives are seen as exemplifying the possible fates of middle-class women by Caroline Helstone. Her life and character are analyzed in ch. 10: “Old Maids.”

See also Mann, Miss

Aked, Robert: printer and bookseller of Low Street, Keighley. He printed Patrick’s pamphlets “The Signs of the Times” (1835) and “A Brief Treatise on the Best Time and Mode of Baptism” (1836). He seems also to have run at some time a circulating library, though it is not known whether the Brontës patronized any such private establishment. Their father became a member of the Keighley Mechanics’ Institute, which had a library, in the year 1832–3.

Alexander, Miss (first name unknown): an admirer of Charlotte from Wakefield, daughter of a Dr Alexander, living at Lupset Cottage. After her first letter, enquiring about the *Poems*, Charlotte wrote to Ellen Nussey (28 Jan 1850?) asking if she knew anything of her, but did not reply to her. After her second letter Charlotte replied (18 Mar 1850) but warned her that “it is scarcely worth your while to send for” the *Poems* – hardly fair on her sisters’ contributions, or on her publishers who had taken over the volume, and inconsistent with what she had written of Emily’s poetic gifts in the “Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell.”

Allbutt, Mrs George (née Anna Maria Brooke) (b. 1818): wife of a Batley surgeon, and one of Ellen Nussey’s circle. Charlotte occasionally sends conventional greetings to her, and expresses concern at her family’s limited income, but it is presumably to this lady she refers when she writes, of Mme Heger, that “as to warmheartedness She has as much of that article as Mrs Allbutt” (to EN, late June 1843?).

Allbutt, Marianne (née Wooler) (1801–43): wife of the below-mentioned Thomas. She was in her mid-thirties when she married, but bore him at least two children (see below). Before marriage she had done some teaching at Roe Head School. Charlotte, years after her death, commented with approval that, though “tender and thoughtful” to her children, she “would not permit them to become tyrants” (to MW, 30 Aug 1853).

Allbutt, Rev. Thomas (1800–67): brother-in-law to Margaret Wooler, curate and later vicar of Dewsbury. It was when he succeeded John Buckworth as vicar that he was able to marry Marianne Wooler (“he did not shew himself mercenary in his first marriage” Charlotte wrote of him, 24 May 1848, when there seemed to be some question of his being interested in Ellen Nussey). He seems to have been a narrow evangelical: he advised Ellen against dancing, and he was shunned by Anne when she was going through a religious crisis in 1837.

Allbutt, Sir Thomas Clifford (1836–1925): son of the above two. He became a distinguished physician, claimed to have been the original of Lydgate in *Middlemarch* (G. S. Haight pours scorn on the claim in his *George Eliot*, 1968), and bequeathed Charlotte’s letters to his aunt Margaret Wooler to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See H. Rolleston’s *Life of Sir Clifford Allbutt* (1929) for his interesting and irreverent memories of the Brontë sisters.

*allée défendue*: a narrow, overgrown path in the gardens of the Pensionnat Heger, forbidden to the pupils because it bordered on a boys’ school. Charlotte makes use of similar paths both in *The Professor* (see ch. 12) and *Villette* (ch. 12).

Allen, Anne: the gardener’s wife at the Vicarage, Hathersage, who acted as servant and cook during Charlotte and Ellen Nussey’s stay there in 1845.
Allison, William: coachman to the Robinson family, who later went to work for the man who was to become Mrs Robinson’s second husband, Sir Edward Scott. It was almost certainly Allison who was sent to Haworth to break to Branwell the (untrue) story that by the will of her husband his widow would lose her inheritance if she saw Branwell again (letters of Branwell to J. B. Leyland, and Francis Henry Grundy, June 1846). The imprudence of Mrs Robinson in using her coachman to convey such intimate matters has been commented on, and he may have been privy to the affair throughout. He was paid, according to a Robinson account book, £3 “for journey” on 11 June 1846, shortly after the Rev. Edmund Robinson’s funeral.

All Saints’ Church, Cambridge: church where in 1806 Patrick’s intention to be ordained was read out in the necessary Si Quis, and “no impediment was alleged,” as Samuel Chilcote the curate certified.

All Saints’ Church, Dewsbury: church where Patrick became curate in December 1809, remaining there until early 1811, some time after he had been appointed to the living of Hartshead. The church has been much altered since that time, notably in 1823, 1887, and most recently the early 1990s. The vicarage, where he lived with Rev. John Buckworth, was demolished in 1889.

All Saints’ Church, Wellington, Shropshire: church where Patrick was curate from January 1809 to 4 December in the same year.

Allston, Washington (1779–1843): American artist, principally of landscapes, who trained in London and traveled extensively in Britain and Europe. Elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1818. Branwell made a version in oils from an engraving of one of his paintings, “Jacob’s Dream.” The Penguin Dictionary of Art and Artists notes Fuseli, Turner, and John Martin as among artists who influenced him – all artists to whom the Brontës were strongly attracted.

Ambleside: town in the Lake District where Harriet Martineau built her home The Knoll and tried to improve the educational standards and living conditions of the poor. Charlotte stayed there 16–23 Dec 1850.

American Review: periodical which contained a strongly hostile review of Wuthering Heights by G. W. Peck in its June 1848 issue. He was one of many Brontë reviewers who took them to task for “coarseness,” repeating the word throughout his review. He also opined that “The whole tone of the style of the book smacks of lowness. It would indicate that the writer was not accustomed to the society of gentlemen” (in which he was certainly right). He also concedes “the rapid hold it has taken of the public,” praises its “singularly effective and dramatic dialogue,” and admits that “as a work of the imagination . . . it must take rank very high.”

Anderson, John Wilson: Halifax-born artist, he was one of Branwell’s artistic circle in Bradford in the late 1830s, but returned to Halifax to become keeper of the
public baths. His life, and that of most of the circle, illustrates the precariousness of an artistic career in the area. His wife committed suicide by swallowing poison. “Reasons have been assigned for this dreadful act,” said the Leeds Intelligencer darkly, “but whether correct or not we cannot vouch” (4 Nov 1837).

Anderton, Rev. William: a clergyman who took duties in Haworth both during the interregnum period before Patrick was accepted as perpetual curate, and again later (September 1821) at the time of Maria Brontë’s final illness and death.

Andrew, Thomas: much-loved Haworth surgeon who probably died 3 May 1842. The monument to him was, thanks to Branwell, commissioned from J. B. Leyland, and was the subject of both meetings and correspondence, in which Branwell expressed some shame at the taste and manners of the Haworth worthies whom Leyland met. Andrew was, doubtless through extensive experience, an expert in treating typhus.

Andrews, Anna (later Mrs Hill): teacher, briefly superintendent, at Cowan Bridge School, said to be the original of Miss Scatcherd in Jane Eyre. Her name figured largely in the Halifax Guardian controversy over Cowan Bridge School, after the publication of Gaskell’s Life, particularly in the exchanges between Arthur Nicholls and W. W. Carus Wilson, son of the school’s founder. Later misunderstandings arose when this figure was confused with Miss Anne Evans, the original of Miss Temple. The fact seems to be that one of the defenders of the school in an American periodical, a woman married to the head of a college in Ohio called Hill, was taken to be the original of Miss Scatcherd. Sarah Fermi and Judith Smith have convincingly suggested that Miss Scatcherd was an amalgam of Anna Andrews Hill and an under-teacher at the school. They have unearthed fascinating evidence of Mrs Hill’s activity in the Abolitionist cause in the US – evidence which casts her in a very different light from the sadistic figure we might assume from a simple identification with Miss Scatcherd (BST, v. 25, part 2, Oct 2000).

“And the Weary are at Rest”: Branwell’s last surviving attempt at fiction, probably written in 1845 if this is the “three volume Novel – one volume of which is completed” which he mentions to Leyland (10 Sep 1845?). The fragment begins in mid-sentence, and we do not know how much is lost that came before it, or indeed if anything more was written after what we have.

The fragment begins and ends with Alexander Percy’s attempts to seduce Maria Thurston, whose husband is Percy’s host at Darkwell Manor. Between these episodes is a long series of satiric scenes in which Percy and his usual associates, including Montmorency and Quashia, pass themselves off as enthusiastic dissenters. This section alone would in Victorian times render unpublishable any novel that contained it. As so often Branwell seemed to program himself for failure. The section long outstays its welcome, and even the seduction scenes lack force and focus. Though the setting is now England, with some very contemporary references (to the Duke of Devonshire’s conservatory, for example, and Euston Square Station) the fictional techniques, and indeed the characters and situations, seem to have changed hardly a
whit since the days of Angria. Branwell’s fiction is still chronicle, something that goes on for as long as the author cares to continue it, but has no other shaping principle than that.

The missing first section was probably a reworking of the fragment Branwell wrote about the Thurston’s in 1837 (see WPBB, v. 3, pp. 186–93), where Percy is launching a seduction while on a visit with his cronies to Darkwell Manor and its master, a man steeped in vice. The fact that the two fragments fit so easily together is an indication of the lack of development in Branwell’s prose fiction compared to that of his sisters. In fact the two fragments are useful to show to people who believe Branwell could have written *Wuthering Heights*.

Angélique (no surname given): one of the troublesome pupils at Mme Beck’s school in *Villette*. She tries to disrupt Lucy Snowe’s first lesson (ch. 8), and is later seen at the concert (ch. 20).

Angria: Province and capital city in the Glasstown Federation, to the east of Glasstown itself. It is seldom referred to in the early juvenilia, seeming to be a personal fiefdom of Warner Howard Warner. It is a wild, remote area, sparsely populated, and modeled on Yorkshire. However, it is reluctantly awarded to Zamorna as his personal kingdom, a reward for his victories in the Wars of Encroachment, and it then becomes the center of interest for Charlotte, in particular in her writings after 1834. For a long time the name was used, misleadingly, as a generic term for the children’s imaginary kingdom. From the start of its new status it is a brash, booming state, filled with the entrepreneurial spirit and ruled by someone who could be described as a cross between Henry V. and John F. Kennedy. The province is cruelly sacked and mismanaged during the civil wars, but its cities are rebuilt as fast as they were originally built, and they continue to prosper after the restoration of Zamorna, mellower and less hyperactive. His subjects are still seen as slightly vulgar and pushy, and contrasts are still drawn between its citizens and those of the more aristocratic cities of the Glasstown province. See also *Juvenilia*, 3. The rise of Angria, 4. Angria redivivus; Zamorna

“Angria and the Angrians”: Branwell’s chronicle of events in Verdopolis and Angria subsequent to Zamorna’s accession as king of the latter province. Enormously long (530 packed pages in WPBB), it was written between 1834 and 1839. The manuscript has been dispersed among many libraries, and sections are missing. We owe the whole to Neufeldt’s reconstruction of many long and short fragments into a reasonably comprehensible whole. The work is treated in greater than usual detail here, because it is often our only source of information for events in the Glasstown civil war.

Volume 1: This, the major section currently known, was written between May 1834 and January 1836. Angrian dates and British dates in this case coincide, as do some of the events: the period in Britain encompassed the dismissal by the king of Lord Melbourne’s government, the minority government of Peel, and a bitterly fought general election. These events are mirrored, particularly in the later sections.
The first section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 199–235) begins with the coronation of Zamorna and his Queen – a piece of pure 1930s Hollywood. The celebrations become riotous and ugly, but the real threat to the new kingdom comes from the East and from the black Africans. Richton, the narrator, travels to Adrianopolis as Verdopolis’s Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the kingdom and sees the new, brash capital under construction. In Adrianopolis the two political heavyweights, Zamorna and Northangerland, are squaring up for a contest, both giving out enormously verbose addresses and proclamations. Then in sections 2 and 3 (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 236–77) Branwell indulges himself in lengthy parliamentary debates, lacking the point and vigor of earlier political brawls from him. Richton then hands over the narrator’s role to Henry Hastings, who participated in the war with Quashia and the Ashantees.

This, Zamorna’s second war, is precipitated by the Ashantees’ slaughter of all the citizens of Dongola. Zamorna exhorts his men (in words that pre-echo Conrad’s Kurtz) to “exterminate from the Earth the whole d–d race of Ashantees.” His moral justification for this revenge is weakened by his claim that he had originally only come to the area “for the sole purpose of exterminating the Africans” (WPBB, v. 2, p. 303). The war is described in bloodthirsty detail and Hastings distinguishes himself, but Zamorna is (rather comically) diverted from his purpose by a by-election defeat in Adrianopolis. Hastings is sent to cover the events of peace as he already has covered those of the war.

The fourth and fifth sections (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 278–443) describe the victory of the “reform” party in general elections in Verdopolis, followed by attempts by the Verdopolitan government and the four kings to annul the grant of Angria to Zamorna as a fiefdom. As the volume ends Zamorna and Northangerland are, temporarily and uneasily, in alliance, and the whole country is on the verge of civil war.

volume 2: This part of Branwell’s mammoth chronicle is more fragmentary than the first part, though Neufeldt believes that many fragments follow fairly closely on each other. The somewhat disordered impression may therefore be due more to Branwell’s rambling style than to chicanery on the part of Thomas J. Wise, the vendor and dismemberer of Brontë manuscripts.

The first section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 454–71) is narrated by Henry Hastings, who has been serving the Angrian army in a PR, tame historian position, and is now recalled to his company. However he is injured in battle, and the narrative becomes an omniscient, unattributed one.

The second section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 272–8) is a scene between Northangerland, still nominally in the Angrian camp, and his old lover Louisa Vernon. Their daughter Caroline is present, and displays early signs of an obsession with Zamorna.

The third section is a tiny fragment, and the fourth (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 480–6) contains one of Branwell’s growing number of drunken scenes, this one involving a raving Quashia and Northangerland.

The fifth section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 496–9) reintroduces a recovered Henry Hastings as narrator. He is beginning to see the true natures of Northangerland and Zamorna: “Should our enemies even be annihilated, peace would not be gained. Mighty
thoughts and immense ambition will only then develop themselves in a track of fiery light which all the world will behold as the path of Adrian and Alexander” (p. 497). The war for Angria as a semi-independent monarchy has begun, but not promisingly.

The sixth section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 518–32) begins with one of Northangerland’s mock-dissenter sermons, a new departure for Branwell, and continues with behind-the-front scenes from the war. It ends with a useful summary of the background to the war and the present belligerents.

The seventh section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 533–60) returns to an omniscient narrator, and tells the story of Charles Wentworth, newly come into a fortune, who travels to Verdopolis to see the places and people of his adolescent dreams. Here he moons about listlessly for some time, until he is fired by the sight of Ellrington Hall and secures an interview with a skeptical and amused Northangerland, who involves him in his plots and projects for the developing war. Volume Two ends with an address by Northangerland to his supporters as the war reaches a crisis point.

Wentworth in Verdopolis is often taken, especially since Gerin’s 1961 biography of Branwell, to be a fictionalized picture of that young man in London, unable to summon up the nerve to present himself at the Royal Academy. Even if, as is now believed, Branwell never went to London, the pages could be an imaginative projection of how he believed he would behave and feel. If so the picture of himself is far from flattering. Wentworth is an indecisive and spiritless creature for much of the time, with short-lasting bursts of action. He suffers from “aimless depression” and “a dissatisfied mind burdened with its mass of half-formed ideas” (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 537, 536). If this is a self-portrait it is one unusually lacking in self-promotion and self-deception.

volume 3: The first section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 564–7) covers a visit to Northangerland from his mother. In a moving encounter she pleads with him not to disgrace himself by any further acts of treachery and treason. The next section (pp. 568–75) shows us Northangerland and his hangers-on planning to “throw this Metropolis into the utmost confusion” (p. 568). It continues with a cabinet meeting of the Marquis of Ardrah in Verdopolis, which is broken up by a rabble. The third section (pp. 576–9) begins with another summary of Northangerland’s earlier career and ends with his oration to his victorious supporters, proclaiming one great Republic of Africa, with the abolition of all titles, the annihilation of the Church, the enactment of universal suffrage, with death for all who oppose the new regime. “We have undone everything but done nothing” he ominously proclaims (p. 578).

The fourth section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 597–651) summarizes events in the early days of what appears to be Northangerland’s absolute power. No whisper has made itself heard against his tyranny, and he has won a great victory over Zamorna at Edwardston, subsequently refusing to execute him, and instead exiling him to the Ascension Isle. Quashia drunkenly tells his fellow revolutionaries of the horrible death of Zamorna’s eldest son, and we shift narration to Charles Wentworth, who gives a hideous account of the sufferings of Angria under the pitiless new regime. A scene between Northangerland and his mistress Georgiana Greville is interrupted by news of his daughter’s approaching death. The death scene, which stretches Branwell to
his limits, occupies the next 10 pages in Neufeldt. On his return to Verdopolis, Northangerland hears of approaching mutiny in his army. He goes to the village of Northangerland where they are quartered, interrupts a drunken and quarrelsome meeting, and begins to assert his authority. We then switch to Warner addressing the motley collection of Zamorna-supporting militias, and this ends the very long section.

The fifth section (WPBB, v. 2, pp. 652–68) contains yet another recap on the history of Glasstown and Angria, the lives of Percy and his father, and also that of Zamorna. Why Branwell felt the need for another such summary is unclear.

volume 4: The work now degenerates, for the modern reader, into a series of fragments, mostly short. How much material is missing, how much never written, is unclear.

The first section (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 1–9) begins where Volume Three left off. Richton, the narrator, is sent with important strategic communications to Warner. All on the royalist side are anticipating the arrival of Zamorna, returned from exile. While talking to Warner, Richton learns that the Republicans, under Northangerland, are falling apart and fleeing. This section is followed by a piece of drunken knockabout comedy involving Quashia and black associates, ending in their flight.

The second section (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 10–13) takes place in Verdopolis, where Hector Montmorency has taken charge, but stares defeat and ruin in the face. The fragment ends with Zamorna and Fidena’s army entering Verdopolis, and Montmorency and Quashia taking flight.

Section three is an interesting apologia by Branwell, in the person of Henry Hastings, the general tenor of which is that he is not as bad as rumor has painted him: “I take my glass of a night the same as another – well, I am in a continued and beastly state of intoxication,” and so forth (WPBB, v. 3, p. 18). However, he then relates a drunken scene involving himself which fully justifies the rumors.

Neufeldt’s fourth section is probably not part of this tale. Section five is an account (by a renegade, presumably Henry Hastings) of the retreating army of Republicans, who are having the worst of the fight with Zamorna and Fidena. Verdopolis and Angria are in the latter pair’s hands, and reconstruction is taking place. Northangerland is nowhere to be seen or heard of. The sixth section (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 117–18) is another brief drunken piece, almost certainly by Henry Hastings, who talks of having forsaken “King, country and cause.”

The seventh, a longer section, (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 132–43) starts as a conversation between Hastings, Wentworth, and Townsend, the last of whom tells unlikely stories of Zamorna and Northangerland. The scene descends into drunkenness, then to a prize fight between Hastings and one of Branwell’s favorite characters, a muscular giant. In the tiny eighth fragment we seem to be concerned with Hastings proceeding on his way to his regiment, but making enquiries about his recent opponent.

The ninth section (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 145–56) takes place in a remote beer shop, and we soon realize that one of the drinkers is Henry Hastings, “broken from one military service and a fugitive in another.” The familiar Branwell drunken jocularity leads
into a fight with newcomers, then to recognition, when the newcomers turn out to be Montmorency, Quashia, and co. Officers of Zamorna’s army surround the tavern and the Republicans and Revolutionaries are arrested.

The 10th segment (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 157–77) is told mainly by Richton, but has a substantial central section in which Northangerland returns home to his wife Zenobia, convinced he is about to die. Throughout the long period of war Zenobia had felt she had lost her identity, even her marital status, but she finally accepts her husband, and her position, back.

In the first part of this section Richton has gone to Percy Hall and meditated on Northangerland’s second wife Henrietta Wharton, here called Harriet. In the last part Richton returns to Verdopolis where Parliament is about to reconvene and is appalled to find that Zamorna is contemplating a new war “for the destruction of blacks and the exploration of the interior” (p. 177).

Section 11 is a brief description of the opening of the new Parliament after years of revolution and repression. Section 12 is an early draft of “And the Weary are at Rest,” an episode from Northangerland’s early life.

**Volume 5: Angria and Verdopolis**

being for the moment in a state of “political sunshine,” the last volume of Branwell’s work begins with an attempt by Richton to write a biography of Angria’s Prime Minister Warner Howard Warner (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 208–14). It is rather well done, but Warner is by Angrian standards something of a goody-goody and this means that Branwell loses interest and the biography ends when the subject is six. The second section (pp. 215–18) reverts to Henry Hastings, now “penniless and proscribed,” waking with a terrible hangover in a squalid inn. He encounters his earlier drinking companion G. F. Ellen, but the fragment ends as Branwell starts to delve further into the latter’s nefarious nature.

The third section (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 246–8) tells us that five years have elapsed since the civil war, and covers the changes: bankruptcies, stagnant economy, rubber-stamping legislature, heavy debts. But the king, along with Fidena and Warner, are named as popular and successful men.

The fourth section (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 249–70) begins with a savage attack on a remote farm by a mixed band of “Whites and Negroes” (p. 249) led by the deserter Henry Hastings. We next see him, a mysterious and desperate character, securing lodgings under the name of Wilson. He arouses attention at the lodgings by his compulsive drinking, and is fetched by a lord, who blasphemously bids him “take up thy glass and follow me.” The scene shifts to Verdopolis, where Zamorna, as King Adrian, is attending the new Parliament. A daring attempt is made on his life, but it is unsuccessful. The reader, remembering Charlotte’s “Henry Hastings,” written at the same time as this, February–March 1839, assumes he is the would-be regicide.

The scene shifts to a great fête given by the Duke in Wellesley House, where the Earl and Countess of Northangerland make a surprise appearance. After a confrontation with Zamorna they are saved by his protection from a hostile crowd as they leave the party. This final confrontation between the two mutually admiring enemies would have provided a fitting end to Branwell’s prose chronicles of Glasstown and
Angria. Instead we have a brief fifth section (WPBB, v. 3, pp. 271–2) dealing with the iniquitous nature of George Ellen. This is dated April 1839.

See also Fidena; Glasstown; “Henry Hastings”; Juvenilia; Northangerland; Quashia Quamina; Warner; Zamorna

Annabella: daughter of Lord Lowborough in The Tenant of Wildfell Hall, who reminds him painfully of his unfaithful wife.

“Anne Askew”: essay written by Charlotte for M. Heger in June 1842, in imitation of Chateaubriand’s “Eudore/ Moeurs Chrétien/ IV Siècle” in Les Martyrs (1809). There are many important mistakes in this account of an English Protestant martyr, including which sovereign martyred her, but it contains a powerful description of preparations for torture, something which fascinated the Brontës, and a ringing ending “I am a Protestant,” to echo Chateaubriand’s climax “I am a Christian.” Possibly Charlotte, in Brussels the embattled Protestant surrounded by people of a religion she hated and feared, made the historical changes deliberately: her climax rings more challengingly if Anne Askew is being martyred by the Catholic Mary rather than by her father Henry VIII. Perhaps, too, the final cry is aimed defiantly at M. Heger, the only Catholic who represented any kind of temptation to change her religion.

Antwerp: Belgian port from which Charlotte and Emily embarked when they returned to England in November 1842 after the death of their aunt. On all other journeys to and from Belgium they went via Ostend. Notwithstanding this, Charlotte made Antwerp the familial home of the Moore family in Shirley – a place where they were once “known rich” (v. 1, ch. 5).

Apostolical succession: the subject of a “noble, eloquent high-Church” sermon by William Weightman on 26 Mar 1840, during the dispute in Haworth concerning Church rates, in which he “banged the Dissenters most fearlessly and unflinchingly” (CB to EN, 7 Apr 1840?). Anne was at that point at home, between her positions at Blake Hall and Thorp Green, but it can surely only be coincidence that in Agnes Grey her repulsive and ridiculous cleric Mr Hatfield has as his favorite subjects for sermons “apostolical succession” and “the atrocious criminality of dissent” (ch. 10).

Appleby, Westmorland: home of William Weightman, where he attended the Grammar School. His reputed favorite girlfriend, Agnes Walton, lived nearby.

Armitage (no first name given): presumably a mill-owner, described in ch. 1 of Shirley as shot on the moor.

Armitage, Miss (no first name given): a young lady with red hair spoken of as a possible wife for Robert Moore in Shirley, and one of the attenders at the Sunday School feast in ch. 17. She is, apparently, one of five (see ch. 19).
Arnold, Mary (née Penrose) (1791–1873): widow of Thomas Arnold. Though Charlotte, after meeting her several times, came to like her, her initial impression was of a woman whose manner lacked “genuineness and simplicity” (letter to James Taylor, 15 Jan 1851). In the same letter she criticized both the mother and her daughters for implied shallowness: when the talk turned to literature or anything else of an intellectual nature, their opinions were “rather imitative than original, rather sentimental than sound.” The eldest of Mrs Arnold’s daughters she knew as the wife of W. E. Forster.

See also Forster, William Edward and Jane

Arnold, Matthew (1822–88): poet, critic, eldest son of Thomas and Mary Arnold. Charlotte and he were fellow-guests for dinner at the home of Edward Quillinan, widower of Wordsworth’s daughter Dora. As with his mother, Charlotte’s first impressions were unfavorable, centering on his “seeming foppery” and “assumed conceit,” but she later in the evening perceived “real modesty” and “genuine intellectual aspirations” (letter to James Taylor, 15 Jan 1851) in the man who was to become one of the great critics and thinkers of the age. He described her on the same occasion as “past thirty and plain, with expressive gray eyes though” (letter to his future wife Frances Lucy Wightman, 21 Dec 1850). He later took an intense dislike to Villette, describing it as a “hideous, undelightful, convulsed constricted novel,” and “one of the most utterly disagreeable books I ever read.” Remembering his meeting with Charlotte he then described her as “a fire without aliment – one of the most distressing barren sights one can witness.” In his exaggerated, almost hysterical reaction both to the woman and her novels he seems to be responding to only one side of Charlotte, the angry feminist, and he seems to be terrified that she may represent the woman of the future. Arnold made handsome amends for this, and for his finding only “hunger, rebellion, and rage” (letter to Mrs Forster, 14 Apr 1853) in her novels (as if they were somehow illegitimate subjects for fiction), by his handsome tribute to Emily in “Haworth Churchyard,” written within two months of Charlotte’s death. This early praise of her powers as a poet anticipates much later comment when her fame grew.

Arnold, Dr Thomas (1795–1842): Charlotte wrote extensively to James Taylor and William Smith Williams about Dr Arnold after reading his Life by A. P. Stanley. She responded, as she always did with such men, to the force and pedagogical power of the man, though her response contains some fear as well as much admiration. She comments on his “justice, firmness, independence, earnestness,” though she sees faults too, finding him “a little severe – almost a little hard.” She is also struck, probably in contrast to herself, by “the almost unbroken happiness of his life” (letter to James Taylor, 6 Nov 1850). When she was obsessed by what she saw as the Roman Catholic threat to the Established Church she cried “Oh! I wish Dr. Arnold were yet living or that a second Dr. Arnold could be found” (letter to WSW, 9 Nov 1850).
Ashby, Lady (no first name given): mother of Sir Thomas Ashby in Agnes Grey, and a woman with a "haughty, sour spirit of reserve" (ch. 17). Rosalie Murray finds after marriage that she is not mistress in her own house, due to the continual residence of her mother-in-law.

Ashby, Lady Rosalie: see Murray, Rosalie

Ashby, Sir Thomas: suitor and later husband of Rosalie Murray in Agnes Grey. He is young and rich, with a dissolute life in the past. The marriage is without love, and produces a daughter rather than the heir Sir Thomas expects. The only time we see him directly is in ch. 23, a quietly dramatic encounter.

"Ashworth": The first of Charlotte's unfinished attempts at a novel, written probably in late 1840. She transposes the Earl of Northangerland to an English background, with many of his characteristics intact (e.g., hostility to his sons, musical genius) but successfully integrated into a raffish, semi-criminal circle, first in the south of England, then in Yorkshire where he was notable for "his great triple character of demagogue, cow-jobber, and horse jockey" ("Ashworth," Monahan, ed., 1983, p. 93). Later sections of the novel deal with young women at a boarding school and Yorkshire society – they lack the energy and sweep of the earlier chapters, but they are meaty and could have been productive of a rich stew. Among other foreshadowings of the mature novels we find: the hostile brothers theme, the brothers in question being the unacknowledged sons of Ashworth, inevitably called Edward and William; the poor young woman in a betwixt-and-between situation among her "betters," in Ellen Hall's case as a half-boarder at school, forced to do menial tasks for the better-off girls and destined to be a governess; and the elderly gentlemen, part gentry part tradesmen, who rail against the modern world in accents that recall Mr Yorke in Shirley and York Hunsden in The Professor.

Charlotte probably sent a draft of the early chapters to Hartley Coleridge, from whom she seems to have received a polite but dampening reply. Her flippant letter of thanks for this exists in draft form. See Melodie Monahan's edition of the fragment in Studies in Philology (1983).

See also Coleridge, Hartley; Hall, Ellen; "The Moores"; "Willie Ellin"; "Emma"

Athenaeum: weekly periodical, whose literary editor Charlotte met at dinner at the Smiths, and which gave mixed notices to the Bells' publications. One of the few journals to review Poems, it picked out Emily as the poet of the family, and talked of her "fine quaint spirit" and "an evident power of wing" (4 July 1846). H. F. Chorley, later a bête noire of Charlotte's, wrote of the "reality" in Jane Eyre, but pre-echoed many later critics in finding that, after Jane's flight from Thornfield, "we think the heroine too outrageously tried, and too romantically assisted in her difficulties" (23 Oct 1847). Wuthering Heights was found "[i]n spite of much power and cleverness" to be "a disagreeable story" (25 Dec 1847), but The Tenant was described as "the
most interesting novel which we have read for a month past” (8 July 1848) – perhaps not the most whole-hearted of recommendations. Their unfavorable review of *Shirley* was made up for by a balanced review of *Villette*, which found the opening chapters an out-of-key beginning, but was full of praise for the body of the book, which it described as “a book which will please much those whom it pleases at all.” Its much-quoted sentence “Her talk is of duty, – her predilections lie with passion” was not intended as praise, but is acute. As late as 1857, though, faced with both Gaskell’s *Life* and *The Professor*, it commented that the “over-tragic life-drama of Charlotte Brontë so much amazed the world, that it feels disposed . . . to err on the side of gentleness” – and to prove it was of sterner stuff it produced yet again the portmanteau word “coarse” in its review of the posthumous novel (13 June 1857).

See also Chorley

**Athénée Royale:** a prestigious boys’ school in Brussels, under the patronage of King Leopold, where M. Heger taught. His situation, teaching in a boys’ school and his wife’s girls’ school, and the proximity of the two establishments, one overlooking the other, surely suggested Crimsworth’s similar experience in *The Professor*. A correspondent of E. C. Gaskell’s told her that at some point Heger gave up teaching at the Athénée because he was unable to introduce religious education there. However, the diploma he gave Charlotte was sealed with its seal.

**“Athènes Sauvée par la Poésie”** (“Athens Saved by Poetry”): an ambitious and subtle *devoir* written in Charlotte’s last months in Brussels. Athens has been conquered by Sparta. At a drunken victory banquet the Spartan generals are entertained by Lysander. The brutal conquerors and their cooler, scheming leader have a Greek poet brought in to celebrate their triumph: the approaching destruction of Athens and the enslavement of its people. He sings instead of one of the tragedies of the Greek past: the killing of Agamemnon on his return from Troy. He takes in all the human actors in the drama: Agamemnon himself, Electra, Clytemnestra, Iphigenia. As his long poem draws to an end he realizes his audience are not rapt but drunkenly sleeping. The downbeat and ironic ending was disapproved of by M. Heger, but Charlotte leaves us with the possibility that the names of Agamemnon and Electra, “continually ringing in his ears” during his drunken sleep, was what changed Lysander’s mind so that instead of destroying Athens he negotiated a treaty with it.

Sue Lonoff’s analysis of this essay (BE, 1996, pp. 334–57) is notably sensitive and informative.

**Atkinson, Mr:** dentist of 14 East Parade, Leeds, who was consulted by Charlotte in October 1849 and treated her in April 1850, perhaps the John Atkinson who was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and had a practice in East Parade, Leeds, in the 1820s and 30s, or his son. Charlotte wanted to “ask him if he can do anything for my teeth” (to EN, 20 Oct 1849?) – a perennial problem for her.