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Editors' Note

We are very pleased to bring you this year's issue of the *Wilkie Collins Society Journal*, largely devoted to Collins's relationships with two other writers of his day, and to questions of influence and collaboration. Continuing his work on the letters exchanged between Collins and Dickens, Paul Lewis reconstructs Collins's side of the correspondence, deducing the existence of around 170 letters presumed lost, and illuminating a relationship that Chris Louttit also considers in his Note on "The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices" and the problem of its biographical significance. Pointing to the conflicting attributions of "The Seige of the Black Cottage," a work claimed in turn for both Collins and Elizabeth Gaskell, Graham Law considers the implications of such confusions over authorship in "A Tale of Two Authors", foregrounding Dickens's role in the Victorian publishing industry in the process. In addition to reviews of current work in the field, this issue provides important addenda and corrigenda to the Collected Letters, the second such update since the publication of *The Public Face of Wilkie Collins* in 2005. We hope you enjoy the Volume.

Lillian Nayder
Graham Law

My Dear Dickens: Reconstructing the letters from Collins

Paul Lewis
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In the introduction to his edition of *Letters of Charles Dickens to Wilkie Collins*, Lawrence Hutton explains "[w]hy it is not possible to print herewith Collins's replies" (HUTTON p. 3), by citing the letter from Dickens to W. C. Macready of 1 March 1865 in which Dickens states that he burned all his letters in "a great fire in my field at Gad's Hill … and now I destroy every letter I receive not on absolute business."[1] The result is that, despite the physical survival of more than 160 letters from Dickens to Collins, only three letters from Collins to Dickens are extant,[2] though textual fragments from four others have now been recovered from quotations in letters from Dickens. This essay analyses the texts of the known letters from Dickens to Collins, together with content of other letters from Dickens and Collins to other people. It uses that information to deduce the existence of more than 170 letters from Collins to Dickens which are presumed irrevocably lost either in the fire at Gad's Hill on 3 September 1860 or through Dickens's subsequent policy of burning almost all his letters. Further analysis is carried out to reconstruct as much as possible of the content of those lost letters, and to show something of the quality of the written dialogue between these two close friends over a period of nineteen years.

I Dickens to Collins

This analysis must start with the letters written by Dickens to Collins, as they represent the best and fullest evidence concerning the letters written in the other direction. My earlier article on these letters listed the 165 already known and identified four more (Lewis, "My Dear Wilkie"). Further work has brought to light evidence of another ten, taking the total of known letters from Dickens to Collins to 179. To the 169 listed in "My Dear Wilkie" we can now add:

1. **[1] July 1856** Invites Collins to visit them at Boulogne. This letter is inferred from the extant letter 13 July 1856 which is a reply to a letter from Collins which is itself a reply to an earlier invitation.
2. **16 October 1857** Concerning meeting. The evidence is found in the next.

[1] See PILGRIM XI p.21. HUTTON incorrectly allocates the letter to Macready to 1855. An appraisal of the evidence for the fire and its literary context can be found in Lewis, "Burning: the Evidence".
[2] For the texts, see BGLL I p. 50 and B&C I pp.185, 249.

3. **17 October 1857** A new extant letter written under the printed letterhead of the *Household Words* office,[3] which reads

> Saturday Seventeenth Oct 1857
>
> My Dear Wilkie
>
> A note of mine yesterday crossed a note from you. Of course it did. Your luck – my luck. (I'll begin to grumble).
>
> I will come up to you this afternoon at 4
>
> Ever faithfully | Charles Dickens

4. **[12] June 1858** Enclosing a letter from the archaeologist Austen Henry Layard. This letter is mentioned in Collins to Layard of 14 June 1864: "Dickens has forwarded your letter to me …" (BGLL I pp.162-163).
5. **[24] October 1862**. This letter is inferred from Dickens's letter to Collins of 14 October in which he closes a letter giving his views on the final parts of *No Name* with these words: "I break off hastily, to get this into the box before it is cleared at the gate here. From Paris, I will write again. My address there until further notice, Hotel Meurice." (PILGRIM X p. 141).
6. **[1] April 1864** Agreeing to meet with George Russell at Collins's rooms on Friday 8th April. Collins writes to Russell on 4 April: "Dickens's answer has just reached me. We meet at my rooms, at three o'clock, on Friday next." (BGLL I p. 315).
7. **9 September 1864** Confirming that Collins can come to Gad's Hill for a few days. This letter is inferred from Collins's extant letter to Dickens of Thursday 8 September, in which he writes: "Have you got a bedroom empty (in which I can do a little work) on Saturday next. And, if so, may I come on that same Saturday – by the 4.5 Express to Gravesend – for two or three days?" (B&C I p. 249). Also from his letter to his mother of the next day, in which he confirms: "I am going tomorrow to Gadshill for a few days, taking my work with me." (B&C I p. 250). Dickens was at Gad's Hill that week, so we can presume that he received the letter the next day and replied at once, giving Collins time to catch the afternoon train on Saturday.
8. **9 October 1864** Inviting Collins to Dover as Dickens cannot make a trip to Paris at the moment. The exchange is evidenced by Dickens to Georgina Hogarth of 12 October 1864 (PILGRIM X p. 438).
9. **[1 June] 1866** Giving his views on *Armadale*. Part of this letter is quoted in one from Collins to his mother dated 4 June 1866 (B&C II p. 275). Collins writes "Dickens and Forster have both written to me about the last chapter. Here is Dickens:–". The quotation supplies these three sentences from Dickens to Collins:

> I think the close extremely powerful. I doubt the possibility of inducing the reader to recognize any touch of tenderness or compunction in Miss Gwilt after that career, and I even doubt the lawfulness of the thing itself after that so recent renunciation of her husband – but of the force of the working out, the

[3] This letter, which which is not found in Pilgrim, is held in private hands. I am grateful to the owner for allowing access.

care and pains, and the art, I have no doubt whatever. The end of Bashwood I think particularly fine and worthy of his whole career.[4]

10. **[7] July 1868** Concerning Charles Collins's poor health. On 8 July 1866 Collins writes to his brother's doctor Henri de Mussy: "I have received a very alarming account of my brother today in a letter from Dickens". (BGLL II p. 117).

Adding these ten letters gives 179 letters from Dickens to Collins for which there is firm evidence, and we have more or less complete texts of 163 of them. Others manuscripts will no doubt come to light.

II Collins to Dickens

A. Extant and recovered letters

Three letters from Collins to Dickens exist in manuscript form: 2 November 1851 (BGLL I p. 50), 7 August 1860 (B&C I p. 185), and 8 September 1864 (B&C I p. 249). In addition, partial texts of four more can be recovered from letters from Dickens recorded in Pilgrim:

1. **[5] October 1859** These words are recovered from Dickens to Collins of 6 October 1859 (PILGRIM IX pp.127-8), in which he replies to Collins's questions about *A Tale of Two Cities*:

   could it have been done at all, in the way I suggest, to advantage?

   Dickens puts these fourteen words in quotation marks and adds "… is your question.", clearly indicating he is quoting directly from Collins's letter.
2. **[8] January 1862** The following paragraph is recovered from Dickens to W. C. Macready of 9 January 1862 (PILGRIM X pp. 10-11), in which he writes, "This morning I have a letter from Wilkie, from which I extract a passage…", putting the 129 words in quotation marks:

   Fechter by the bye. I have seen him in an utter and unspeakable failure. Badly dressed even. Wrong throughout, in conception and execution. If he gave me any idea at all, he gave me the idea of a Sepoy. The play is beautifully got up; but Mr. Ryder trying to be intelligent, and relapsing into boisterous stupidity at every available opportunity – Miss Leclerq pawing Fechter – Mr. Somebody or other acting Roderigo so that the fourth Act ended amidst the hearty laughter of the pit – Mr. Somebody else imitating Anderson (!), in Cassio – everybody concerned doing everything with the promise of extraordinary intelligence, and the performance of downright stupidity – so disgusted me, that I have registered a vow to see no more of that much-injured man, Shakespeare, on the stage.
3. **[6] December 1867** These four words are recovered from Dickens to Collins of 24 December 1867 (PILGRIM XI p. 520):

   at your sole discretion

   There Dickens asks concerning the staging of *No Thoroughfare*: "But my dear boy, what do you mean by the whole thing being left 'at my sole discretion'?" Is not the play coming out, the day after tomorrow???"

[4] Although published in B&C, this fragment seems to have escaped the Pilgrim editors.

4. **11 January 1868** These words are quoted by Dickens in a letter to Fechter of 24 February 1868 (PILGRIM XII p. 56):

> **Here Fechter is magnificent. … Here his superb playing brings the house down. … I should call even his exit in the last act one of the subtlest and finest things he does in the piece. ... You can hardly imagine what he gets out of the part, or what he makes of his passionate love for Marguerite.**

Dickens introduces the quotations: "Wilkie has uniformly written of you enthusiastically. … he described your conception and execution of the part in the most glowing terms." After quoting the 53 words above he writes: "These expressions and many others like them crowded his letter."

Though these fragments add four more letters from Collins to Dickens to the known correspondence, they represent only the start. The following section looks beyond direct quotes to reconstruct far more of Collins's correspondence.

B. Quantity of inferred letters

Letters between friends form a dialogue, so it is reasonable to assume that, if Collins received at least 179 letters from Dickens, a similar number were written to Dickens. This assumption is borne out by the following analysis. Using the texts of the letters in one direction as evidence, it infers the existence of a similar number in the other direction. It is noteworthy that their correspondence was so frequent that their letters crossed on two documented occasions.[5]

1. Letters by Collins inferred from Dickens's replies

Many letters from Dickens to Collins clearly constitute replies. The following are examples where the fact is referred to explicitly in Dickens's text:

* "A thousand thanks for your kind letter…" (25 May 1858, PILGRIM VIII p. 567)
* "I have been down to Brighton to see Forster, and found your letter here on arriving by Express this morning…" (24 October 1860, PILGRIM IX p. 329)
* "I have been going to write to you ever since I received your letter from Whitby…" (28 August 1861, PILGRIM IX p. 447)
* "On coming here just now (half past one) I found your letter awaiting me, and it gave me infinite pleasure…" (31 October 1861, PILGRIM IX p. 489)
* "I came home last night, and found your letter." (12 October 1862, PILGRIM X p. 139)
* "I am horribly behind hand in answering your welcome letter" (25 January 1864, PILGRIM X p. 346)

[5] See 10 September 1867, PILGRIM XI p.,423, and 17 October 1857, the new letter cited above and held in private hands.

* “Coming back here yesterday, I found your letter awaiting me.” (12 February 1867, PILGRIM XI p. 312)

These replies represent clear physical evidence of letters from Collins to Dickens. And because Dickens normally dated his own correspondence, the dates of Collins’s letters can also be deduced. When both parties were in London – which had six deliveries a day at this time – the letter and its reply could well have been on the same day and are unlikely to be separated by more than 24 hours. Later on when Dickens was in Gad’s Hill, or either was elsewhere in England, they could be a day apart. And when they were in different countries a longer interval separated letter and reply. On just one occasion Dickens gives us a definite date for a letter from Collins. Writing from the USA on 31 January 1868, Dickens writes: “My Dear Wilkie, Your letter dated on the eleventh reached me this morning.” (PILGRIM XII p. 30). Thus we can be certain that Collins wrote a letter dated 11 January 1868 to Dickens, which took a surprisingly long 20 days to reach Dickens in Philadelphia.

Not all inferred replies can be secured by such palpable evidence. Others clearly represent replies though they do not specifically mentioning a letter received, for example:

* “Many thanks for the book…” (1 January 1863, PILGRIM X p. 186)
* “I came back yesterday and was truly concerned to read your poor account of yourself …” (29 January 1863, PILGRIM X p. 200)
* “… I am heartily glad you have got away at last …” (22 April 1863, PILGRIM X p. 236)

Taken together, these explicit and implicit indications of the document’s status as a reply are found in 87 separate letters from Dickens to Collins, which thus represent textual evidence for 87 letters from Collins to Dickens which no longer exist.

2. Letters by Collins inferred from Dickens’s letters wanting a reply

Yet Dickens’s letters to Collins also contain evidence of traffic the other way. Letters which are not a reply to Collins in many cases explicitly request a reply from him:

* “Will you enlighten me at once…” (14 December 1853, PILGRIM VII p. 226)
* “I shall be glad to hear what you say” (12 July 1854, PILGRIM VII p. 366)
* “Do send me that piece of information” (4 April 1855, PILGRIM VII p. 585)
* “Let me know what Wigan says” (17 July 1855, PILGRIM VII p. 675)
* “Pray let me know by return” (24 February 1856, PILGRIM VIII p. 62)
* “Just a word in answer here” (1 November 1857, PILGRIM VIII p. 475)
* “Let me hear from you … at Radley’s Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool.” (24 January 1862, PILGRIM X p. 20)
* “Write soon and tell me how you are, and that you are better.” (22 April 1863, PILGRIM X p. 236)

* "If Thursday, write by return, if Friday, – don't write." (10 September 1867, PILGRIM XI p. 423)

Even where there was not such a specific demand for a response, many letters represent the kind of invitation to which it was Collins's practice to respond. *The Public Face of Wilkie* contains numerous examples of such responses to other friends. A few represent refusals:

* "Dear Mrs Ward, I should have liked of all things to have made one of the party which you kindly invite me to join, but …" (To Henrietta Ward, 14 February 1861, BGLL I p. 223)
* "Mr Wilkie Collins regrets that an engagement for the evening of Friday the 5th will deprive him of the pleasure of accepting …" (To Mrs Puzey, 22 March 1861, BGLL I p. 226)

Rather more are acceptances:

* "Mr Wilkie Collins accepts with great pleasure the honour of Mrs Sartoris's invitation for the evening of Thursday the 12th July." (To Adelaide Sartoris, 5 July 1866, BGLL I p. 42)
* "My best thanks for your kind note. On Sunday the 30th – at 7 sharp – I shall be delighted to make one among your guests." (To Isabelle Frith, 22 April 1871, BGLL II p. 254)
* "I most gladly accept your kind invitation for the 2nd May at 7.30" (To Fanny Mitchell, April 1865-67, BGLL II p. 70)

So an invitation implies a reply. All these examples from Collins's correspondence are to and from women: it was an established Victorian tradition for the woman of the house to make invitations and receive the replies. But there is no suggestion in Dickens's letters to Collins that the two friends followed this convention. Dickens invites Collins and replies to Collins's invitation. So it is assumed that not only that, where Dickens responds, Collins has issued an invitation, but also that where Dickens issues an invitation, Collins responds.

There is also evidence that Dickens expected such a reply. He wrote at length to Collins on 16 August 1859 with news of family life and business. Towards the end he writes, "Send me another when you have any time …" (PILGRIM IX p. 106). But just nine days later he is writing to Collins, good-naturedly: "What do you mean by not answering my beautiful letter from the office?"(25 August 1859, PILGRIM IX p.110). On the other side, it is clear that Collins normally did reply to letters, even from strangers. In 1888 he wrote to a corespondent:

> The only letters from my readers which I deliberately leave without a reply are requests for autographs which are not accompanied by a stamped and directed envelope – and other requests which invite me to read manuscripts and find publishers for them. In every other case, I answer my letters – and I may say for myself that I am incapable of knowingly neglecting to thank a lady when she is so kind as to write to me." (To Mrs Flint, BGLL IV p. 334)

Altogether we can infer 87 letters which represent replies from Wilkie to a letter from Dickens.

3. Sequences

Because Victorian letters between friends represent a conversation, much as email does today, we can expect to build up sequences of letters from those that remain. There are several pairs of letters from Dickens, one of which wants a reply and the next is a response to the reply that Collins must have sent. For example, on 24 June 1853 Dickens writes from Boulogne inviting Collins to visit. On 30 June he writes again, "sorry to hear" that Collins is ill and hoping he will recover in time to visit. Another exchange relates to a visit by Collins to Brighton. Dickens writes on Tuesday 9 November 1858 giving him the option of coming to Brighton for dinner on Saturday, or waiting to visit Gad's Hill on Sunday (PILGRIM VIII p. 700). Collins clearly chooses the former, as Dickens leaves him a note at the hotel on Saturday giving him instructions (13 November 1858, PILGRIM VIII p. 703). From this we can infer Collins's reply of 11 November in which he must have said he could not make Sunday at Gad's so prefers Brighton on Saturday.

On occasion sequences of several letters – extant and inferred – can be built up. For examples in the extensive Table found at the end of this article, see 20-23 December 1852, 3-8 February 1855, 23 March to 15 April 1855, 11-19 October 1855, 25 January to 14 February 1856, 9-30 April 1856, 26-30 July 1860, 18 September to 16 October 1862, and 14-16 February 1869. On the other hand, there are sequences where letters – or at least conversations – are clearly missing but there is not enough evidence to infer specific items of correspondence. For example, there are several letters about the progress of *The Frozen Deep* from September 1856 to early January 1857 which, although they represent a sequence, it is clearly a sequence with a number of gaps. The same is true of the letters exchanged while Collins and Dickens were working on *No Thoroughfare* in the autumn of 1867.

On the other hand, there are some letters which Dickens wrote to Collins from which we can infer neither that it is nor wants a reply. For example, on 9 June 1855 Dickens writes to all the cast of *The Frozen Deep* informing them of a change in the rehearsal schedule (PILGRIM VII p. 644). No reply is called for or needed. And on 9 September 1867 he writes to Collins details of the plot of *No Thoroughfare*, saying "This note requires no answer" (PILGRIM XI p. 422). Altogether there are only sixteen letters from Dickens to Collins that fall into in this category: 6 June 1854, 9 June 1855, 13 August 1856, 13 December 1856, 19 June 1857, 26 June 1857, 17 August 1857, 16 October 1857, 29 April 1858, 13 November 1858, 3 February 1859, 25 March 1862, 10 May 1862, 2 July 1867, 9 September 1867, and 27 January 1870.

4. External sources

Finally there are letters that can be inferred from letters to or from others. Ten letters from Collins to Dickens have been reconstructed in this way, and in three cases fragments of text can be recovered.

* On 30 May 1854 Dickens writes to Mark Lemon a friend and editor of *Punch* that "Collins wants to make a day in the country with us, next week." (PILGRIM VII p. 341)

* On 4 April 1864 Collins writes to George Russell "CD's answer has just reached me. We meet at my rooms here, at three o'clock, on Friday next." (BGLL I p. 315). This document enables us to infer two letters – the letter from Dickens mentioned by Collins which is itself a reply to an earlier letter of Collins.

* Six months later Dickens wrote to his sister-in-law Georgina Hogarth with this information: "Old Mrs Collins is fretting about Charley, and Wilkie is with her. He wrote from Tunbridge Wells to ask me if I could go to Paris with him? I replied No, but told him we were going to Dover, if that would do. He proposes to join us on Saturday." (12 October 1864, PILGRIM X p. 438). This account enables us to reconstruct a sequence of three otherwise unknown letters. One from Collins to Dickens around 7 October about his mother and inviting Dickens to Paris. A reply from Dickens about 9 October saying "no" to Paris but inviting him to Dover. And a reply to that from Collins by 10 October accepting.

*On 8 July 1868 Collins wrote to his brother's doctor, Henri de Mussy, saying "I have received a very alarming account of my brother today in a letter from Charles Dickens … I called in the hope … of hearing whether you would be able to see him at Gadshill … If you are … it would be as well perhaps if Mr Beard and I could arrange to accompany you." (BGLL II p. 117). This letter enables us to infer not only the letter from Dickens but also a reply from Collins warning Dickens that de Mussy, Beard and he may be calling at Gad's Hill shortly.

Altogether the evidence from Dickens's replies, his letters wanting a reply, and evidence from outside sources enables, us to infer a total of 172 letters from Wilkie Collins to Charles Dickens, in addition to the three letters which have survived in manuscript. These are all listed in the Table, together with the evidence underlying their inclusion.

C. Content of inferred letters

Identifying the existence of these 172 letters may be relatively straightforward, but what can usefully be reconstructed of their contents? The Pilgrim edition interpolates letters for which there is no copy text but which are referred to in other letters, though it confines itself to only a brief indication of the content. For example:

> To Henry Morley, [?Late May 1855] Mention in Morley to Thornton, 20 Dec 59 … *Hoping that Morley would give a favourable notice of Leigh Hunt's* Stories in Verse *and expressing his own truest regard for their author.* (PILGRIM VII p. 636).

Indeed one of Dickens's letters to Collins, that of [10] May 1862, is inferred in this way from a reference in the letter to the lawyer Frederick Pollock of the same date (PILGRIM X p. 81). [6]

[6] Though the letter is found in its correct chronological position in Pilgrim, a typographical slip assigns the letter to 1861.

Yet work on the missing Collins letters indicates that the content can be reconstructed much more fully by employing five different sources of information:

- Dickens's replies – these often refer to points raised in Collins's original letters
- Dickens's letters which request a reply – either explicitly or implicitly
- Information from letters by Dickens to other people
- Information from letters by Collins to other people – Collins's letters to other people written around the same time often contain parallel thoughts or descriptions and there is ample evidence that Collins commonly repeated similar remarks in letters to family members and friends[7]
- Details of Collins's activities gleaned from documents other than correspondence

1. Dickens's replies

Of the 87 replies from Dickens, many go through the topics raised in Collins's original letters in some detail. For example, on 30 September 1855 Dickens wrote back to Collins who had written immediately on his return from a sailing trip to the Isles of Scilly. Dickens writes:

> Welcome from the bosom of the Deep! If a hornpipe will be acceptable to you at any time (as a reminder of what the three brothers were always doing) I shall be … "happy to oblige" (PILGRIM VII p. 711).

We know details of the journey to the Scillies from "The Cruise of the Tom-Tit", Collins's account of it written for *Household Words*. There Collins writes: "Our crew is composed of three brothers: Sam Dobbs, Dick Dobbs, and Bob Dobbs; all active seamen, and as worthy and hearty fellows as any man in the world could wish to sail with", and that he and his companion found themselves "boxing the compass, dancing the hornpipe, and splicing the main-brace freely in our ocean-home." (Collins, "The Cruise of the Tom-Tit", p. 490). So clearly Collins included in his letter to Dickens an account of the three brothers Dobbs and their hornpipe dancing. From other parts of Collins's description of the trip we know that the ship was small, so it must have been a fairly confined hornpipe. It is also likely that he recounted more details of his trip and perhaps suggested writing it up for *Household Words*.

In his reply Dickens also writes: "Of course the H.W. stories are at your disposition." Before his sailing trip Collins had spent time with Dickens at Folkestone and was working on a manuscript by mother giving an account of her early life. Still considering how to make use of it, he wrote to his mother on 2 September to say that Dickens

> felt as I did that without more story it would not do with the public. Strangers could not know that the thing was real – and novel-readers

[7] See, for example, the letter written from Rome to Anne Procter of 16 December 1863 (BGLL I pp.310-13) and those to his mother, Charles Ward, and brother of late 1863 and early January 1864 (B&C I pp238-46).

> seeing my name on the title-page would expect a story. So I am going to try back, and throw a little dramatic interest into what I have done – keeping the thing still simple of course and using all the best of your materials. As soon as I have made the alterations and have started again, I will let you know how I proceed.[8]

By this point it seems that Collins was already thinking of using the autobiographical account not as a self-contained story, but rather of adapting it to form the basis of a frame narrative linking together some of his short tales from *Household Words* in a collection that was to become *After Dark*. He clearly asks Dickens about the copyright position regarding reprinting the tales from *Household Words* – to which Dickens replies – but from Dickens's reply it seems that Collins has not yet revealed his plans in full. Collins's lengthy stay at Folkestone, and Dickens's account of life there, make some greeting to the family there an essential ingredient of Collins's letter. Dickens wishes Pigott well, realising from the return address where Collins was. Thus we can tentatively summarise Collins letter as follows:

> Just back from sailing with Pigott to the Scilly Isles. They took their time going and stayed just two days but they returned in just over 48 hours - a distance of 200 miles - and he feels so fit he writes at once of his trip. He mentions in particular the three brothers Dobbs who were the ship's crew, and how they contrived to dance the hornpipe despite the narrow confines of the boat. He wishes well to all at Folkestone. By the bye he has a notion to collect some of his pieces from Household Words in a book. Would CD release the copyright to him? He will tell him more of his plans when he has worked them out.

More detail of the trip could of course be added, since the length of Collins's letter remains unclear.

Let us take a second example. Writing from the Champs Elysées on 19 January 1856, Dickens replies to a letter from Collins, remarking that "[I]t is excessively pleasant to me to get your letter, as it opens a perspective of theatrical and other lounging evenings, and also of articles in Household Words." (PILGRIM VIII p. 28). This is a very long reply of thirteen paragraphs, many of which are taken up with news and gossip from Paris, though five clearly represent specific responses to Collins's letter, which we can thus assume was also fairly lengthy. The five points can be inventoried as follows:

- Dickens had no idea Collins was so far on with his book
- Dickens will find a lodging for Collins in Paris
- The portrait of Collins is extraordinary
- Collins's tale of the Bean Stalk and the Wigs was remarkable
- Dickens and Collins may be able to knock out a *series* of Parisian descriptions for *Household Words*

From the details we can reconstruct the following elements of Collins's original letter of 16 January 1856, which form the basis of the Table Summary:

[8] Revised version of the transcription in B&C I p.144, from the MS at Pierpont Morgan Library, MA 3150(45).

- He reports he is making excellent progress on his book *After Dark*. (It is probable he adds more detail about writing a whole extra new story as well as all the linking material and editing the five pieces from *Household Words* to make them work.)
- So he is pleased to say he can join Dickens in Paris – would February (when he in fact went) suit? And can he find somewhere not too dear but comfortable and of course *près des* Dickenses?
- He encloses a portrait. (This is probably a photograph, though no photographs of Collins are known until 1858. It may be a small drawing by one of Collins's artist friends, but the novelty of a photograph is more likely.)
- He has seen the pantomime "Jack and the Beanstalk" and recounts a story about the Wigs.
- He fancies there may be potential stories for *Household Words* with Parisian settings such as the Catacombs. What has Dickens found?

There was almost certainly more about Collins's trips to the theatre and probably something concerning 'lounging' in town. There was possibly news of Collins's mother and brother, to whom "All unite in kindest remembrances" in Dickens's reply. And there were certainly good wishes and fond memories of his earlier time in Paris.

Often when Collins was travelling overseas, he wrote a series of long letters to family and friends, and it is likely that Dickens was one of the recipients. But only where there is an explicit indication are such letters postulated. For example, on 22 April 1863 Dickens replied to a letter Collins had written from Aix-la-Chapelle on his search for a cure for his gout. Dickens's reply gives little away as to what Collins said, but the likely content can be reconstructed from the long and detailed letters to his mother, his brother and his intimate friend Nina Lehmann (B&C I pp. 219-23). This forms the basis of the summary of the inferred letter to Dickens of 18 April 1863 found in the Table.

2. Collins's replies

Of the 87 Collins letters inferred from letters sent by Dickens which want a reply, the content can be reconstructed to a greater or lesser extent from the content of Dickens's letter. Many are invitations. As shown earlier, Collins was an assiduous replier to letters, even to those from strangers, and we can automatically infer a response to an invitation. Other evidence can help us reconstruct whether it was an acceptance or a refusal. Given the closeness of the friendship, it is assumed that Collins would accept if he could. Illness, absence, or another unbreakable appointment would be his only reasons for a refusal. In many cases rather more detailed content than a straight "yes" or "no" can be inferred. For example, in his reply to Collins of 30 September 1855 Dickens writes:

> My fair Laura has not yet reported concerning Paris, but I should think will have done so before I see you. And now to that point. I purpose being

> in town on *Monday the 8th* when I have promised to dine with Forster. At the office between 1/2 past 11 and 1 that day. I will expect you unless I hear from you to the contrary. (PILGRIM VII pp. 711-12)

Given this injunction, whether Collins replied or not probably depends on whether he went to the meeting or not. It seems likely that he was still well when the letter was received. But Dickens invites him for "Monday the 8th" and we know that by then Collins was ill, since he wrote a letter on that day declining on grounds of illness an invitation to a Thackeray dinner (To Peter Cunningham, 8 October 1855, BGLL I p. 130). So it seems highly likely that he wrote to Dickens at some point in the week before to say he could not make the meeting on 8 October. It is also probably that in that letter he would thank Dickens for the permission to use the *Household Words* pieces, and might clarify the use he was going to make of his mother's story. Asking for more news concerning Paris would also be natural. The result is the summary found in the Table of the inferred letter speculatively dated 6 October 1855.

There are other cases there can be no doubt that Collins must have written to refuse. For example, on 12 February 1867, Dickens wrote: "This day fortnight [26 February] I shall be at St James's Hall … perhaps we can have a word" (PILGRIM XI pp. 312-13). But Collins's reply must have been to refuse. On 26 February we know he was in Paris because he wrote from there to his mother (To Harriet Collins, 26 February 1867, B&C II pp. 283-84). He was there working with Régnier on the French dramatic version of *Armadale.* This took some time and he didn't return until around 10 March (To Harriet Collins, 11 March 1867, B&C II pp. 284-5). And we know the trip was planned when he replied to Dickens, because on 13 February Collins wrote to Beard: "Friday [15 February] I leave London to go and see my mother … I return next week and go to Paris on Saturday [23 February]" (BGLL II p. 65). So it is inevitable that when he replied to Dickens he declined the invitation.

Letters accepting invitations from Dickens are not always as easy to infer automatically. Yet Collins's habit was to do so with other friends, and it is generally assumed that an invitation would receive a reply unless the context makes clear that one is not required or that the proposed meeting is too close to permit a written response. The summaries offered in the Table of such inferred replies thus typically touch on Collins's response to the invitation, his response to other issues raised in the letter, and provide contextual information from Collins's letters to others around the same time.

On 12 December 1855, for example, Dickens wrote at length to Collins from Paris, where Collins had been staying until recently. Dickens letter seems to be in six paragraphs (PILGRIM VII p. 762), which can be summarised as follows:

- Dickens supposes Collins has heard the story of Hopeful from Pigott
- Dickens leaves Paris on Saturday – "if you are free on Wednesday [19 Dec] … I shall be happy to start on any Haroun al Raschid expedition."
- Dickens later goes to Sheffield"[I]n the bitter Winter" and then back to Paris
- Collins's Christmas story is immensely improved – look at the Boots story

- What the Pilgrim editors assume to be a short, subsequently excised paragraph referring to the venereal disease Collins caught on an earlier trip to Paris with Dickens
- Dickens's gossip from Paris, including comments on the odd way locals write begging letters

From this we can infer a reply letter from Collins along the following lines:

- Yes, Pigott has told him the whole tale. (Collins's intimacy with Pigott makes this likely.)
- Collins is free on 19th and looks forward to their Arabian Night!
- 'Boots', Dickens's extra chapter for the Christmas number, is highly original. The Ostler in Collins's tale is improved by Dickens's suggestions.
- Collins is feeling better and if work will permit – *After Dark* is still proving tricky – he hopes to be in Paris in the New Year. He probably also refers jokingly to the attack of venereal disease.
- At least Parisians are more imaginative than Londoners in their begging.

In the Table the corresponding summary is allocated to 15 December 1855.

A further example of the type of content that can be postulated in response to a relatively simple invitation is the reply inferred to the letter from Dickens of 1 January 1863 (PILGRIM X p. 186). This itself constitutes a reply to Collins who must have sent him the finished version of *No Name* on the last day of the previous year. Dickens's letter can be summarised under these heads:

- Dickens thanks him for the book which has created a sensation
- Dickens will certainly be at the office next Thursday [8 January]
- Dickens will be in Paris on the 15th
- Will Collins dine at the office next Thursday [8 January]?
- Dickens advises him to get set up regarding the game leg – what about baths?
- Dickens is open to a foreign proposal himself at the end of February
- Dickens sends good wishes for the New Year

Using letters written a fortnight later to Charles Ward (15 January 1863, BGLL I pp. 289-90) and to his mother (16 January 1863, B&C I pp. 214-15), we can postulate the following content for his reply to Dickens:

- Collins reciprocates the New Year wishes
- Collins has hobbled out each day for a half hour but hopes that he can really sort out these problems this year – we know that two weeks later he was "confined to my chair", only able to get up a single flight of stairs.
- Collins has been thinking of visiting Paris himself and Ward has found a suitable billet, but at the moment if he can travel he must go to see his mother who is unwell in Oxford
- Collins has heard good things of the baths at Aix-la-Chapelle and Wildbad and may try them for his ailment. (He travelled to those springs three months later.)
- Health permitting he will try to hobble to a cab and get to the office next Thursday. (Though in fact he probably didn't make it due to his illness.)

In the Table the corresponding summary is also allocated to 1 January 1855.

In a few cases the letters in both directions are inferred. For example, on 26 September 1860 Dickens wrote to his sub-editor W. H. Wills: "I write by this post to Wilkie, in order that notice of the feast my reach him on his coming to town" (PILGRIM IX p. 319). In his letter to Collins, Dickens presumably hopes Wilkie is safely back from his sailing trip, informing him that he dines with Charles Reade and Wills next Saturday [6 October] and inviting him to be one of the number. Collins returned on 30 September and we can infer a reply from him dated 1 October, stating that he has found his friend's letter on his return from the deep. As for whether Dickens's invitation was accepted or not, we know that Collins was in London that weekend from a letter to Charles Ward on 5 October inviting him round after church as "the train returns at such an inconvenient time we have given up the Farnham notion on Sunday" (BGLL I p. 213). So perhaps his reply to Dickens can be reconstructed as follows: "He is planning a trip to Farnham on Sunday 7 October, Bradshaw permitting, but dinner on the 6th would be capital."

3. External evidence

Correspondence with others can also help to reconstruct the content of Collins's letters to Dickens. For example, on 12 October 1864 Dickens wrote to his sister-in-law Georgina Hogarth: "Old Mrs Collins is fretting about Charley, and Wilkie is with her. He wrote from Tunbridge Wells to ask me if I could go to Paris with him? I replied No, but told him we were going to Dover, if that would do. He proposes to join us on Saturday." (PILGRIM X p. 438). This letter enables us to recover: a letter from Collins inviting Dickens to Paris; a reply from Dickens saying "no" and inviting Collins to Dover instead; and a reply from Collins accepting. Dickens's letter also enables us to reconstruct part of the content of Collins's first letter. The Table sets out the inferred content of the missing letters according to these principles, which each point backed by textual evidence of some sort.

D. Forms of address

In the companion article on Dickens's letters to Collins (Lewis, "My Dear Wilkie", pp. 14-5), I showed that Dickens changed his salutation from "My dear Collins" to "My dear Wilkie" from 22 October 1857 onwards, and on 25 May 1858 changed his valediction from "Ever Faithfully" to "Ever Affectionately". He continued to use both those forms up to his death. I associated those changes with the increased intimacy of the two friends during the break up of Dickens's marriage.

We have less evidence of how Collins addressed Dickens as there are merely three letters extant. Their dates are 2 November 1851, 7 August 1860, and 8 September 1864. All three are addressed to "My dear Dickens". This form of address is typically used by Collins to male friends, though not his closest friends. For example, in 1851 Collins already addressed his old friend Edward Pigott as "My dear Edward" (11 November 1851, B&C I p.75), and by 1864 this had become "My dear Ted" (24 September 1864, B&C I p. 250). Of

course, Pigott and Collins were contemporaries whereas Dickens was twelve years senior to Collins and this difference may have been reflected in way the younger man addressed the older. However, in the valediction, we do find a major change. In 1851, referring to Dickens's role as manager of the play they were both acting in, Collins closes with elaborate politeness: "… and always my excellent manager's attached and obedient servant, W. Wilkie Collins". In 1860 Collins is writing a formal "letter on absolute business" (PILGRIM XI p. 21), to use Dickens's phrase for those letters he kept rather than burned. Nevertheless Collins signs himself off, "Ever yours | Wilkie Collins", a form he used only with close acquaintances. However, in 1864 Collins ends his letter "Ever yours afftly", an abbreviation of "affectionately". This valediction he only used at the time for his mother Harriet, and from 1859 occasionally to his close friend Edward Pigott (see 11 December 1859, BGLL I p. 184), though he still routinely signed off "Yours affectionately" to his brother Charles. Later he enlarged the circle signed off in this way: to Nina Lehmann from 1866 (9 December 1866, BGLL II pp. 52-5), to Holman Hunt – first on the occasion of his representing the sick Collins at his mother's funeral – from 1868 (21 March 1868, B&C II p. 308), and to Dickens's sister-in-law Georgina Hogarth from 1871 (12 October 1871, BGLL II p.282). Thus the little evidence we have from the three extant letters, one of which is a business letter, confirms that Dickens belonged to Wilkie's most intimate circle by 1864 at the latest.

III. Letters to others

Analysing Dickens's letters to Collins provides evidence not only of letters to him from Collins, but also of two lost letters written by Collins to others.

1. **29 January 1853 to Mark Lemon**

   On 28 January 1853 Dickens wrote to Collins with a paragraph in French saying that Mark Lemon and Dickens were going to the Britannia Saloon on Monday next [4 February] and that, if Collins wished to accompany them he, should write to Lemon to say "Je serais charmé et flatté de faire un des convives a [*sic*] cette reunion spirituelle! Commande (mon cher Citron) le diner pour 4 personess [*sic*] au lieu de 3." (PILGRIM VII pp. 17-18). So we can clearly propose a letter to Lemon, possibly in very similar style dated 29 January. The evidence suggesting that Collins went to this event is a letter to Ned Ward sent on the following day, in which he writes: "I told Dickens that you were pleased with his mention of you" (To E. M. Ward, 5 February 1853, BGLL I p. 82).

2. **9-26 August 1861 to Charles Collins**

   On 28 August 1861 Dickens wrote to Collins, "I hear from Charley that you are coming home and must be addressed at Rue Harley." (PILGRIM IX p. 447). Collins was then in Whitby and on 7 August had written to his mother who was staying in Tunbridge Wells: "Charley and Katey are at Gadshill I suppose? I heard from Charley last week, and will write to him in a day or two." When Collins wrote that letter his return plans were not finalised. He

wrote to her again on 22 August as follows: "I propose at the moment getting back the first week in September", that is, the week beginning Sunday 1st. He also referred to plans of his mother's "which I heard from Charley". So Collins must have received correspondence from his brother while in Whitby. Several sequences of events are possible but this seems the most likely:

- 7 August – Wilkie tells his mother that he will write to Charley in 'a day or two'
- 8-15 August – Wilkie writes to Charley
- 15-21 August – Charley replies
- 22 August – Wilkie writes to his mother that he has heard from Charley and gives his return plans
- 23-28 August – either Charley visits his mother in Tunbridge Wells or she forwards Wilkie's letter to him at Gad's Hill
- Before 28 August – Charley informs Dickens of Wilkie's return date.

Whatever the precise sequence, the context indicates that Collins wrote at least one, and possibly two, letters to his brother from Whitby. Given that only eight manuscript letters from Wilkie to his brother seem to have survived – only slightly more than the few to Dickens that escaped the latter's bonfires – this also represents a significant addition to our knowledge of Collins's intimate correspondence.

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2. Other

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Other Abbreviations used in the Table

AYR	*All the Year Round*	HW	*Household Words*
CAC	Charles Allston Collins	WC	Wilkie Collins
CD	Charles Dickens	WIW	*The Woman in White*
HC	Harriet Collins		

			EVIDENCE						
	Date[1]	Summary	CD's reply to WC		CD's letter wants a reply		WC letter extant or Other		NOTES
			date	content	date	content	date	content	
1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
2	**2 Nov 1851**	**Happy to do second performance in Bristol**						**Extant**	BGLL I 50
3	13 Jan 1852	Sends CD a copy of ***Rambles Beyond Railways*** and writes about a baby home	**20 Jan 1852**	**"thank you for the very pretty book···Next as to Infants at nurse." Apologises for "tardy" reply.**					
4	6 Dec 1852	Encloses a copy of ***Basil*** which he hopes CD will enjoy.	**20 Dec 1852**	**Remorse for "····not having sooner thanked you for Basil". Long complimentary remarks about *Basil* . Open to any proposal to go anywhere any day this week.**					
5	21 Dec 1852	Suggests meeting on 23rd to go out of town.			**20 Dec 1852**	**"I am open to any proposal···if I could only find an idle man···"**			
6	23 Dec 1852	Will be glad to meet later tomorrow afternoon instead for dinner and Whitechapel. Thanks for the note from his namesake.			**23 Dec 1852**	**Can't now make today "If you will come there tomorrow afternoon" in the City?**			
7	7 Jan 1853	Writes to ask about the order of CD's early work in order to settle an argument.	**8 Jan 1853**	**Gives the order - Pickwick started, then Oliver Twist, then Pickwick finished, then Oliver Twist ended.**					The argument was in fact a bet between Millais and his sister. See PILGRIM VII 5 n3
8	19 Jan 1853	Agrees to meeting for the theatre on Saturday and in principle happy for a shorter trip to Italy.			**18 Jan 1853**	**Invites him to theatre trip on Saturday and wants to curtail Italian trip with Egg.**			WC had much less money than CD and is likely to agree at once to a shorter trip and is unlikely to refuse the theatre trip.
9	27 Jan 1853	Encloses a letter with a story of a bonnet possibly set in Australia. He offers help with a plot problem, and asks what he owes CD perhaps for an Italian opera ticket.	**28 Jan 1853**	**"Many thanks for the enclosed letter" Rejects the idea as he already has too much Australian material, the Free Trade solution is marvellous, and it was ten shillings. "Ecrivez donc a Lemon, et dites-lui···"**					
10	27 Jun 1853	WC regrets he is too ill to visit CD in Boulogne. Sorry to hear from Ward that CD had been too ill to sit for a portrait earlier in the month. What was the trouble?	**30 Jun 1853**	**"I am very sorry to hear···" he is so ill but hopes he will recover in time to visit. His own illness was a chill on the kidney.**	**24 Jun 1853**	**Hopes he is well and invites him to Boulogne**			
11	15 Dec 1853	Tells CD how much he borrowed in Turin, probably **£** 5, and about certain other items of expenditure on their recent Italian trip. He will be glad to go to Birmingham to hear CD read, what train should he get?	**16 Dec 1853**	**"Gone carefully over the accounts" - Wilkie owes him £ 43-11s-8d - "pleased to hear···" and gives the details of Birmingham train.**	**14 Dec 1853**	**"Will you enlighten me at once" on petty cash and loans on Italian trip.**			Another letter from CD enclosing the ticket and one or more from CD accepting, there is no evidence of them. For a ticket see CD to WC 6 June 1854 (PILGRIM VII 347)
12	27 Feb 1854	Thanks CD for the idea of using Montaigne's Italian trip. Replies to invitation to Rochester on Saturday March 4th.			**24 Feb 1854**	**Why not do extracts from Montaingne's Italian journeys or Hazlitt? Is he free on 4 March?**			CD wrote late on Friday, so letter posted Saturday 28th and probably arrived Sunday or Monday. WC didn't write many letters on Sunday.
13	25 Apr 1854	Probably accepts a dinner invitation with Egg for Sunday 30th March. Tells CD that ***Hide and Seek*** is in fact just about done, and that makes him even happier to accept the Boulogne invitation which won't be spoiled by work. Shares his views on Townshend's birthday.			**24 Apr 1854**	**Invites WC to dinner with Egg, explains location of Boulogne house, will he write 'that book' there, Townshend in Town 12 May.**			
14	22 May 1854	Would CD do WC the honour of letting him dedicate Hide and Seek to him?	**23 May 1854**	**He would be delighted.**					Clearly a reply to a request from WC.

			date	content	date	content	date	content	
1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
15	29 May 1854	Does CD fancy a day in the country with Mark Lemon, perhaps Thursday 8 June?					**30 May 1854**	**CD to Lemon: "Collins wants to make a day in the country with us, next week."**	
16	7 Jun 1854	A quick note to let CD know his letter received in time and respond to his invitation for Sunday at 2.			**7 Jun 1854**	**Lemon has a bad foot so "Will you take a stroll⋯and dine here on Sunday⋯if yes will you be here at 2"**			CD sends his letter by hand and WC replies at once.
17	15 Jul 1854	Accepts CD's invitation to travel to Boulogne with him on 25th July and he would be delighted to 'dissipate' in the metropolis. He had said he would visit Ward and see Lytton but can put that off. He will write to Ward about the sitting, and he looks forward very much to the Champagne which he trusts is dry. Salutes to Plornishgenter.			**12 Jul 1854**	**Will you return to Boulogne with me on Tuesday and meanwhile how about a bit of dissipation this weekend in London? "I shall be glad to hear what you say"**			WC wrote to Ward on 21 July and informed him of CD's sitting. In that letter he complained about his work keeping him in London but it may have been for dissipation with CD that he stayed in "this unutterably hot metropolis". That conjecture is used in the reply here.
18	18 Sep 1854	Gives a full account of his trip back on Friday 15 September in the company of Robert Keeley, an actor who performed a perhaps uncharacteristic Good Samaritan act on the journey.	**26 Sep 1854**	**"I received your letter" Much pleasure at it. About Keeley, news of Boulogne since he left.**					
19	2 Nov 1854	He enjoyed the portrait of the Boulogne character Beaucourt in a piece on Boulogne which CD had written for HW. And would he be kind enough write a note to Scott Russell assuming he is a director of the Brighton Line?	**3 Nov 1854**	**"I am glad you like the portrait" Russell is likely to be a Director but not sure, anyway here is the note and he hopes the portrait of Beaucourt will help him let his houses.**					PILGRIM (VIII 458) suggests this refers to John Scott Russell (1808-1882) a Scottish engineer who assisted Brunel with the Great Eastern.
20	12 Nov 1854	Replies to invitation to see the play.			**11 Nov 1854**	**Invites WC to see The New Wags of Windsor at the Strand Theatre on 18 November "If this day week ⋯will suit".**			
21	16 Dec 1854	Writes to CD about some doubts he has over George Cowell who had appealed for public help after being left destitute following a strike in Preston a year earlier.	**17 Dec 1854**	**"Many thanks for your note" Had his own doubts after a meeting on 7 December and wrote to Lemon accordingly.**					
22	25 Dec 1854	Accepts part as Gobbler in CD's adaptation of ***Fortunio***			**24 Dec 1854**	**Offers WC a small part in *Fortunio* on 28 December. "Will you join the joke⋯"**			WC played the part - PILGRIM VIII 489 n2. Even though it was Christmas urgency forced WC to reply on 25th.
23	21 Jan 1855	Cannot go next week but perhaps 29th or 30th? Agrees to a week in Paris but leaves exact date to CD.			**20 Jan 1855**	**Invites WC to the Marylebone Theatre for the pantomime. And how about a week in Paris mid February?**			WC also writes to Pigott on 21st inviting him to Marylebone on 29th or 30 'on one of which days, most likely, CD will be here." They go to Paris on 11 February.
24	31 Jan 1855	Accepts CD's invitation to his birthday party on 7 Feb.			**30 Jan 1855**	**"Don't forget Wednesday in next week⋯" Invites WC to Wates, Gravesend at 5pm**			WC was 'engaged' on 7th most likely at CD's birthday. To Pigott 6/2/1855
25	4 Feb 1855	Accepts 11th and will see him at London Bridge at 1030. Looks forward to dining with Frank and Alfred CD in Boulogne.			**3 Feb 1855**	**Train times suggest 11 Feb will suit admirably for Boulogne and then Paris.**			
26	8 Feb 1855	WC replies in French agreeing.			**8 Feb 1855**	**Encloses Regnier's reply and says, in French, that the suite on the 3rd floor will suit.**			They left for Paris on 21 February.

			date	content	date	content	date	content	
1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
27	5 Mar 1855	Would be glad to see him in his sick bed but Friday may be better than Thursday and after seven better than after eight.			**4 Mar 1855**	**Reports on Antony & Cleopatra at Sadler's Wells. "If you will⋯I will come up at about 8 o'clock" to visit the sick WC on Thursday or Friday? Hopes he will see land "beyond the Hunterian Ocean"**			John Hunter (1728-1793), surgeon, wrote his Treatise on Venereal Disease in 1786 based on his own cases and treatments. On Friday (9th) CD writes to Lemon that he "must" go to see WC. So it seems likely that WC picked up some venereal disease in Paris. He adds that if Lemon cares to join him he will wait. After 8 should do as well as after 7. At this time WC had already begun his relationship with Caroline Graves
28	16 Mar 1855	Encloses first two parts of 'Sister Rose'.	**19 Mar 1855**	**"I have read the first two portions ⋯" Long critique of the "excellent story, charmingly written."**					
29	20 Mar 1855	CD is very helpful and he discusses which changes he will make to Sister Rose and which not. Thanks for invite to Ashford on 27th. The family has all been ill, as well as his own ailment, even Millais who is staying with them, so not sure if he will be up to Ashford trip even to see CD speak. Pigott's address is…			**19 Mar 1855**	**"How are you getting on⋯" Will he be well enough for a trip to Ashford on 27th? Plus account of CD's speech to Literary Fund. What is Pigott's address?**			WC writes to Ward probably on 20 March that his mother, Charles and even Millais are also ill and that he will speak to CD when he sees him or, if he remains ill, when CD calls. (B&C I 139)
30	23 Mar 1855	Pleased to report that his illness is showing signs of improvement. So he hopes he will be able to accompany him to Ashford on 27th. He did toddle out to see Millais's who is working on a new painting of a fireman rescuing a child from a burning building. In his view it promises to be the best he has done. He read Dinah Mulock's 'A Ghost's Story' and knowing that writer believes that CD had a big hand in improving it	**24 Mar 1855**	**"I am charmed to hear of the great improvement" and gives him the train times for Ashford trip. "You have guessed right⋯" he did indeed take out 'stiflings' etc in Mulock. Suggests a quote from Gay as a tag for Millais's painting.**					
31	1 Apr 1855	Would CD mind passing on the Gay lines to Millais as he does not have a copy? In any case he is feeling worse and has had to call back the doctor. He fears what the treatment will involve. He encloses a piece from The Leader by his friend Pigott about how Napoleon would be received in England which CD may find interesting.	**4 Apr 1855**	**"I have read the article⋯with entire concurrence⋯" on Pigott on the way Napoleon would be received. Hopes the doctor will not "cut your nose off to be revenged on your face. You might want it at some future time." Has mislaid Pigott's address please resend.**					These lines confirm that WC had picked up something nasty on their trip to Paris. CD wrote to Millais on 10 April enclosing the lines from Gay's ***Trivia*** .
32	5 Apr 1855	Not much better. Encloses Pigott's address			**4 Apr 1855**	**Has mislaid Pigott's address "Do...send me that piece of information⋯"**			
33	14 Apr 1855	Thank the Lord the treatment worked and has left him intact. He can emerge from his lonely state and is not only up to 27th but also to eat and drink with CD at a proposed trip to the Ship and Turtle.	**15 Apr 1855**	**"Hurrah!" Next Friday [20th] at Garrick for Ship and Turtle. Apologies for Wills not changing the name in second part of 'Sister Rose'.**					
34	10 May 1855	He has turned his story 'Gabriel's Marriage' into a play called for now 'The Storm at the Lighthouse'. Would CD read it and tell him what he thinks? And if he likes it would he consider staging it? Called at the HW office but Wills was not there. Is he still suffering after the accident?	**11 May 1855**	**"I will read the play⋯if you will send it to me" hopes to go to Folkestone for the autumn then spend 6 months in Paris, will he join them, Wills and Gas.**					In fact ***The Lighthouse*** was played on 16, 18, 19 June at CD's amateur theatricals and on 10 July at Campden House.
35	12 May 1855	Thanks and encloses play.			**11 May 1855**	**see letter above**			
36	23 May 1855	Will be ready with the revisions to ***The Lighthouse*** tomorrow and will come round to the HW office in the early evening.	**24 May 1855**	**"I shall expect you tomorrow evening⋯"Does he have a copy of Mr Nightingale's Diary or even his own part?**					***Mr Nightingale's Diary*** was played with ***The Lighthouse***

			date	content	date	content	date	content	
1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
37	31 May 1855	Thank goodness parts are here at last and yes will be there tomorrow.			**31 May 1855**	**Parts will arrive today, "Will you come and dine···tomorrow" at 6 to sort out details**			
38	23 Jun 1855	He has heard CD is to speak on 27 June at the Administrative Reform Association at Drury Lane Theatre. Does he have a ticket? And what is he going to say?	**24 Jun 1855**	**He is glad to say he has one ticket to spare. Not quite sure how to approach the speech.**					
39	8 Jul 1855	Thanks CD for his trouble over the play. Webster has indeed turned it down and he is going to send it to Wigan who has asked for it yesterday. Responds to dining invite.			**8 Jul 1855**	**Expects Webster to turn down doing a professional production of *The Lighthouse* so he has been thinking about how to promote it. "I dine at home···if you are disengaged···" at 5.30?**			Alfred Wigan of the Olympic Theatre eventually turned it down too. See WC to Charles Ward 13 July 1855 (BGLL I 127) 20 August 1855 (B&C I 142) and to Harriet WC 2 September 1855 (B&C I 143-4)
40	17 Jul 1855	Writes at once to say 'yes' he would love to come to Folkestone especially as CD describes the place. He will have to work while there as he has commitments to Pigott and ***The Leader*** No word from Wigan. He agrees not sensible to try it elsewhere in England but fancies offering it to R_gnier in Paris.			**17 Jul 1855**	**"Will you come···to this breezy vacation···Let me know···" at Folkestone on 31 July? "Let me know what Wigan says." If 'no' leave it.**			
41	29 Sep 1855	Just back from sailing with Pigott to the Scilly Isles. They took their time going and stayed just two days but they returned in just over 48 hours - a distance of 200 miles - and he feels so fit he writes at once of his trip. He mentions in particular the three brothers Dobbs who were the ship's crew, and how they contrived to dance the hornpipe despite the narrow confines of the boat. He wishes well to all at Folkestone. By the bye he has a notion to collect some of his pieces from HW in a book. Would CD release the copyright to him? He will tell him more of his plans when he has worked them out.	**30 Sep 1855**	**"Welcome from the bosom of the deep···" CD will dance a hornpipe as a reminder. He is getting on slowly with Little Dorritt. Of course WC can publish his HW stories. Will expect him at the HW office between 1130 and 1pm. News of Folkestone, regards to Pigott.**					
42	6 Oct 1855	Many thanks for agreeing to his republishing the HW stories. He has decided to use ideas from his mother's manuscript autobiography - which CD will recall he was working on at Folkestone - as a framing device for the stories. He thinks that is the best, indeed the only, thing he can do with it. Glad to hear news of Folkestone, sorry he missed the boat launch. He had hoped to see him at the office as suggested hence his lack of reply but he now fears that he cannot make that nor the breakfast at the Garrick as his doctor has told him to stay in following an attack of gout in the eye. Does he have definite news of Paris yet?			**30 Sep 1855**	**"I will expect you unless I hear to the contrary···"**			
43	11 Oct 1855	He writes poste restante. Has CD found lodgings yet? WC describes an idea for a sketch by the ostler in the Christmas number.	**14 Oct 1855**	**From Boulogne CD says "The Ostler shall be yours and...the Sketch involves an extremely good···idea." but think about the ending. Will WC dine on 13 November when he is back in London briefly.**					

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1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
44	22 Oct 1855	WC replies to the letter of 14 October with the postscript of 19 October from Paris. He will look at the end of 'The Ostler'. Can make 13 November assuming the gout in his eye is recovered.			**19 Oct 1855**	**In fact the address is 49 Avenue des Champs Elysees**			See to Catherine CD 16 October for problems in finding lodgings. In fact CD is in London from 31 October to 8 November see letters in PILGRIM VII 729-39 and is in Paris on 13th - PILGRIM VII 744.
45	15 Dec 1855	Yes Pigott had told him the whole tale. CD's extra chapter for the Christmas number, 'Boots' is highly original. 'The Ostler' was improved by CD's suggestions. He is feeling better and if work will permit, After Dark is still proving tricky, he hopes to be in Paris in the New Year. He hopes he crosses the Channel rather than the Hunterian Ocean! He is free on 19th and looks forward to their Arabian Night! At least Parisians are more imaginative than Londoners in their begging.			**12 Dec 1855**	**CD writes about Pigott, "If you are free on Wednesday" for "any Haroun al Raschid expedition" [paragraph deleted]**			The deleted paragraph is so sensitive it is torn out of the letter. WC's reply to it is speculative.
46	16 Jan 1856	WC reports he is making excellent progress on his book ***After Dark*** even though he decided to write a whole extra new story as well as all the linking material and editing the five pieces from HW to make them work. So he is pleased to say he can join CD in Paris - would February suit? And can he find WC somewhere not too dear but comfortable and of course ***pres des*** Dickens? He fancies there may be stories for HW to be written. What has CD's found? by the bye he encloses the result of submitting himself to the horrors of photographic art. He can't see the likeness but it may help CD and Plorn remember him! He has seen the pantomime Jack and the Beanstalk and recounts a story about the wigs. Best wishes to all Dickens's family - not least Georgina and Plorn.	**19 Jan 1856**	**"I had no idea you were so far on with your book and heartily congratulate you on being within sight of Land. It is excessively pleasant to me to get your letter." A long letter replying to WC's points, so glad he is coming over. Etc. "the Portrait is the most astounding thing ever beheld upon this globe."**					The portrait is unknown. No photograph of WC is known until the following year (by Watkins and see note to 20/3/1858). But WC's letter mentioned there to Watkins makes it clear that he has taken at least one other. CD enthusiasm implies it is something special and could be a reference to the first ever photograph of WC. WC hated having his photograph taken.
47	25 Jan 1856	After Dark is just about done but he has domestic matters to sort out. Hopefully that will be done soon. When is CD coming over to London so that he may plan when to return to him to Paris?	**30 Jan 1856**	**Will be in London Monday or Tuesday [4th or 5th Feb] and will expect him at HW office for an evening out on Wednesday. Plans to return to Paris on Sunday or Monday [10th or 11th] if it suits WC.**					Around this time WC began living part-time at least with Caroline Graves at 22 Howland Street.
48	10 Feb 1856	He is so sorry he was not able to accompany CD as he had planned. The lodgings have proved difficult to sort out but he hopes it will be done shortly and he will then be free to come over to Paris.	**12 Feb 1856**	**"I am delighted to receive your letter - which is just come to hand -and I heartily congratulate you upon it." Advice on boats. "I told them here you had a touch of your old complaint and had turned back to consult your doctor. Thought it best···with your mother on one hand and my people on the other."**					
49	14 Feb 1856	Having claimed to be ill he now really is and must delay his trip further. It really is a bad attack. He will be in touch.							This letter fills a gap in the correspondence. WC was clearly not ill when he delayed his trip and was probably sorting out Howland Street to where he returned from Paris in April. It is possible that CD replied to it.
50	26 Feb 1856	Have no fear, he is recovered. All other matters settled. He will leave Thursday and hopefully arrive by evening.			**24 Feb 1856**	**Concerned he has not heard from WC. "Pray let me know by return" how he is.**			

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1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
51	3 Mar 1856	In the interest of avoiding the end to CD's creativity, Jollins suggests a trip to the darkest deeps of Paris and will call on him at 5.			**3 Mar 1856**	**CD jokes that he has to be taken out to restore his imagination. Will Jollins [ie Collins] help?**			Living next door, the reply is at once. WC may of course have called rather than written but a humorous note is more likely.
52	9 Apr 1856	Sorry to ask him but he has run out of Francs and could he pay the porteress in the Pavilion the small sum he still owes her?			**13 Apr 1856**	**"Your porteress duly appeared with the small account and your note."**			See CD's reply of 13 April.
53	10 Apr 1856	Arrived back late tonight after a half gale across the channel with everyone but him filling, and overfilling, pudding basins. It was a terrible journey but at last he is here, safe with the Doctor, his mother still believing him to be in Paris. He hopes CD didn't mind paying the woman who helped him travel but he had run out of Francs.	**13 Apr 1856**	**Sorry to hear of the gale which we didn't anticipate. He paid the porteress. News from Paris. All miss him, especially CD in the evening.**					WC's life at this time is confused. There seems little doubt that he was ill - he wrote about the contrast of being ill in Paris and London in HW 'Laid up in Two Lodgings' 7 & 14 June 1856, his mother was giving up Hanover Terrace, and WC did spend time with Caroline Graves at 22 Howland St.
54	19 Apr 1856	Having been unwell he became suddenly much iller, having had a seizure which really laid him up. It is now improving but he has rheumatic gout and a badly upset stomach. Before his seizure he went as ever to the Royal Academy with Charley to see his picture being hung in the Summer Exhibition. Tells a story about the language used by the carpenters in that august company!	**22 Apr 1856**	**"quite taken aback by your account of your alarming seizure." News from Paris. Very amused at swearing of Academy Carpenters. Will be in London on 3 or 4 May and will visit then.**					
55	29 Apr 1856	Still not at all well. Why do doctors always have a watch with a brass tail?	**30 Apr 1856**	**"Wills brought me your letter this morning." Will visit him in Howland St at 11 on Saturday. Likes his idea, suggested to Wills, but not until he feels better. What time is it by the watch with a brass tail?**					WC's idea was probably writing 'Laid up in Two Lodgings'
56	5 Jun 1856	Thanks him for the dinner on Tuesday, excellent company and talk as ever. He forgot to mention that Emile Forgues, who has written about WC and is to be trusted, wants to do a profile of CD. Could WC trouble him for a few details about his early life and the dates of publication of his early works?	**6 Jun 1856**	**"If you want to prime Forgues you may tell him…" Gives the details.**					re dinner see WC to Townshend 5 June 1856 BGLL I 135.
57	10 Jul 1856	He has just got back from sailing to Torquay and Cherbourg and found CD's kind invitation. Regrettably pressure of work means he cannot hope to visit until the middle of August at the earliest. He encloses Forgues's biography accompanying his translation of ***The Lighthouse*** .	**13 Jul 1856**	**"I answer your letter at once" Sorry he can't come until middle of August, but will he stay until 10 October? Write at the end of July. Loved Anne Rodway. Annoyed with Forgues.**	1 Jul 1856	Would he like to visit them in Boulogne where they are once more at the Villa des Moulineaux.			CD's letter of invitation could have been written any time while WC was on the yacht RYS Coquette from about 22 June to 10 July.
58	27 Jul 1856	As requested he is replying towards the end of the month about his visit which he now anticipates will be 15th. He has been getting very annoyed about art 'experts' telling people which old masters are good and which bad. People can see and decide for themselves. Not least because one 'expert' says one thing, one another. At the moment two are arguing over a picture bought by the National Gallery. Would he like a piece for HW along these lines? And he has had a notion for the new play - set in the Arctic - which he will discuss when they meet.	**29 Jul 1855**	**"I write you at once, in answer to yours received this morning" Change of plans. Keep next Sunday free. We will expect you here on 15th. He likes the picture story, when can WC do it by? Glad to hear about the play.**					It is quite possible that WC came up with the whole plot for The Frozen Deep at this time.

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1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
59	1 Aug 1856	Hopes that this reaches him before he departs. He will try to have copy for the piece during next week. Looks forward to meeting on Sunday.			**29 Jul 1855**	**"Will you hold yourself disengaged for next Sunday"**			CD clearly asks for a reply by return
60	11 Sep 1856	Has been struggling with ***The Frozen Deep*** and thinks that it may work and heighten the dramatic effect if he gives Nurse Esther second sight.	**12 Sep 1856**	**An admirable idea. "Not sure about the idea and gives others. In a PS mentions what WC owes for a trip through Kent returning from France.**					Although this letter is clearly part of an exchange of ideas, WC and CD were in London and clearly meeting frequently so there is no reason to think WC replied by letter - nor to CD's subsequent letter of the next day.
61	9 Oct 1856	Not sure about the changes but will wait for his explanation when he sees him at 6.			**9 Oct 1856**	**Wants to show him some changes to the play. Can come at 6 today?**			
62	16 Oct 1856	Thanks. He prefers ***Animal Magnetism*** to ***Turning the Tables*** which he finds dull and not very funny			**15 Oct 1856**	**"Will you read Turning the Tables ···and let me know whether you care to play···Courcy···Send me back the book, when you answer."**			***Animal Magnetism*** was chosen but was replaced with ***King John*** after one performance.
63	26 Oct 1856	Replies at once to say he will tell Pigott but he is not sure when he will return. Tuesday 4th is free. He will of course see the ladies rehearse on Thursday. Tomorrow he hopes to make one of the times but don't wait for him.			**26 Oct 1856**	**"Will you tell Pigott···Will you dine ···on···4th···Will you come and see the ladies···If you can come at the first of these times···"**			
64	3 Nov 1856	Forster is wrong about the nurse and he is sure Janet can overcome her natural timidity. It would be too early to presage the women leaving at the end of Act One. Not at all sure that going away is of sufficient important to be subject to second sight which is for the big things in life. They can discuss later when he will be glad to dine before rehearsal and settle any changes then. Stanfield is excellent and he is sure set is coming on well. Tuesday is free so Cobham sounds a good idea, if he still had Cobham in mind?			**1 Nov 1856**	**"This afternoon I get the enclosed from him (which please read at this point) Forster's suggestions on *The Frozen Deep* , Stanfield's progress on the set. "Will you dine with us at 5 on Monday" and walk in Cobham Wednesday. Audit dinner is Tuesday week. So how about this Tuesday for a walk.**			PILGRIM points out that none of Forster's suggestions appears to be incorporated.
65	13 Nov 1856	He is looking for some other examples of heroes and heroines - of the standard variety - for his piece on novels and novel-writers. Would CD have any that would be of help? He thinks he has the central idea now for the final section of 'The Wreck'	**14 Nov 1856**	**"I could not send you the books before" Will he swap proofs on the Xmas number? "bring me those when you come tonight"**					WC was writing 'A Petition to the Novel-Writers' for HW. He was also working on two sections for 'The Wreck of the Golden Mary.', the first of which was already in proof.
66	16 Dec 1856	Unlucky is the word, it has got worse, so he will excuse himself on Thursday if the others will forgive him so that he can be sure of being up to the mark for the next rehearsal. He also has to make sure that he keeps up with the instalments of ***The Dead Secret*** .			**16 Dec 1856**	**"I send round to ascertain that you are all right...unlucky dog". Stage progressing well. Rehearsing *Animal Magnetism* on Thursday.**			WC's own correspondence is non-existent at this time so any responses are conjectural. Apart from the play and the Christmas number, The Dead Secret began serialisation in HW on 3 January. CD "sends round" so CD could reply at once.
67	11 Jan 1857	Pretty hard at it so don't expect him Monday but he may make a celebratory lunch before the final performance on Wednesday. In any case he will see him on Monday and glad the dance is postponed, not sure he is up to that either.			**10 Jan 1857**	**"On second thoughts" no dance rehearsal Monday. Lemon and he dine at 3 Monday and Wednesday if WC would care···**			
68	20 Jan 1857	He has plans to shut himself up in a lodge at East Sheen, overlooking Richmond Park, to try to get ahead with ***The Dead Secret*** and it would be foolish to count on his presence with 'Davy Roberts' on Sunday. Regrets.			**19 Jan 1857**	**"Will you come and dine here next Sunday at 5?" [25th]**			WC writes from East Sheen on 31 January to W R Sams apologising for being "shut up from the world, in a hermitage overlooking Richmond Park, driving my pen as hard as I can make it go." (BGLL I 142)

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69	6 Feb 1857	Sensible to stick at home in this weather, would not suit his gout at all to be out. A command performance of his play at Windsor would be an interesting idea!			**5 Feb 1857**	**"The weather being so severe, we will dine here on Saturday" [7th]. Strange conversation about *The Frozen Deep* being performed at Windsor.**			
70	11 Feb 1857	He is finding the deadlines snapping at his heels all the time and feels it would help to have a weekend away. Does CD fancy a trip to Brighton? Perhaps 28th? He needs to see - and to smell - the sea.	**12 Feb 1857**	**"We will then discuss the Brighton or other trip-possibilities"**					
71	13 Feb 1857	He knew he could count on him! See him Thursday!			**12 Feb 1857**	**"Will you come and dine at the office on Thursday⋯"**			
72	2 Mar 1857	At last he feels he is ahead enough - that is to say not horribly behind - with the ***Dead Secret*** and thinks that this weekend is now the time for Brighton.	**4 Mar 1857**	**"I cannot tell you what pleasure I had in the receipt of your letter yesterday" Rooms are booked, pick him up at 1130. And he will now read the first parts of the book!**					There are probably other letters in this sequence. It seems very unlikely tat CD had not read the lead story in his periodical for two months. The story was not published as a book until mid-June.
73	11 May 1857	Oh dear, he is sorry but since the weekend away - so good! - he is behindhand again - now correcting book proofs as well as writing the story - and he has to pull out of the dinner tomorrow. Hopes that CD is further ahead than he is and has finished [***Little Dorrit***]. But when WC is done he hopes CD will join him for a celebration!	**11 May 1857**	**"I am very sorry that we shall not have you tomorrow" I have finished. Any mad proposal⋯and remember Tuesday [next week] at Gad's Hill.**					CD replies in the evening so it is likely WC wrote in the morning in view of the time. On proofs see WC to Evans 9 May 1857 (B&C I 161-2)
74	12 May 1857	He may not have finished but he would not miss the Gad's Hill inauguration whatever he had to write. Let him know the details in good time.			**11 May 1857**	**"We shall have to arrange about Tuesday at Gad's Hill. You remember the engagement?"**			
75	18 May 1857	No. No. No. But he will let Wills guide him as suggested.			**17 May 1857**	**"Have you done⋯put yourself under the guidance of the gallant Wills" Train details.**			
76	21 May 1857	He has written those two best words and they release him for a celebration! When please is CD free??? by the bye he went to the Royal Academy and an artist called William Gale, whom WC does not know personally but he is known to Millais and his brother, has hung a portrait of Mr F's aunt from ***Little Dorrit*** ! It is quite fine and ten guineas would secure it. Since finishing he has begun to read again and is dismayed by the quality of modern writing	**22 May 1857**	**"Hooray!!!...shall we appoint to meet..." Wednesday for any Sybarite voluptuousness. He looks upon the picture as his. Wills despairs of story writing too.**					For Gale and his picture see PILGRIM VIII 347 n4 and WC to Gale 9 June 1857 (BGLL I 146 and note)
77	2 Jun 1857	Wednesday is free, but if he needs a bed tomorrow he only has to ask.			**1 Jun 1857**	**Gad's Hill problems of moving in. "Will you consider our appointment⋯ Wednesday."**			
78	13 Jun 1857	A very full programme that should raise a significant amount for the family of our dear old friend. If Her Majesty graces the event all the better. A couple of typo points⋯. He cannot come down on Sunday as he is off to the country for a week to stay with [ ]. He would have sent a copy of The Dead Secret but Evans has not been very efficient. Perhaps both he and the book could visit CD the following Sunday? Has he had the receipt of Mr Gale?			**12 Jun 1857**	**Encloses proof of programme for Jerrold Fund. "I should like to see you as soon as convenient⋯could you run down on Sunday?"**			See to Evans about the book and to him and Henrietta Ward 12 June 1857 about the trip to the country (BGLL I 146 and 147). But CD's next letter makes it clear that he doesn't go - or returns early - due to some mishap.

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79	14 Jun 1857	He writes this in some ignominy from his chair with his leg up on a stool having twisted his ankle so badly on the journey he had to return before getting beyond the station. Tomorrow he will repair to his mother's as she was fussing. If CD is in town he would be glad to receive him and present a copy of THE BOOK which at least he has now been able to receive.	**16 Jun 1857**	**Unlucky fellow! "I write this to Harley Place, having been unable to write yesterday" Will visit at 12 on Thursday [18th].**					CD's letter makes it clear the trip to the country did not happen and the reference to the foot makes it plausible that WC hurt it. He twisted his ankle very badly in September on their trip to Cumberland. See also CD to WC 17 January 1858.
80	16 Jun 1857	The lady is Frances Dickinson, an old friend, and her address is Farley Hill Court, Swallowfield, Reading, Berkshire. I am sure she will be excellent in the part if she can make rehearsals at such short notice.			**16 Jun 1857**	**"You once said you knew a lady who couldÅcIs that lady producible?" to play Nurse Esther in *The Frozen Deep.***			It is also possible that she lived in London as well as at the family home in Berkshire.
81	4 Aug 1857	Amazed at the news. Can they really fill a real theatre? Is confident Charley will feel up to it. But not sure if Mrs Dickinson will want to be seen as a professional actress, prononc_e or not! He will be glad to see CD Friday.			**2 Aug 1857**	**Wants to perform *The Frozen Deep* at Manchester in a real theatre with actresses though Frances Dickinson might cope, he will ask Charley. The Olympic wants him to go to a rehearsal "I have appointed next Friday, if agreeable and convenient."**			
82	31 Aug 1857	Understands his feelings. Happy to go and have an adventure and write something in a new vein for HW. Maybe they can talk when they meet. He will make himself free on Monday. Why doesn't he call into the office at 5.30 and they can go for dinner somewhere private?			**29 Aug 1857**	**Grim despair, what can we do, must escape, blankness inconceivable. "I shall be in town on Monday. Shall we talk then? Shall we talk at Gad's Hill?"**			CD has fallen in love with Ellen Ternan, an actress in the Manchester production of The Frozen Deep. This is one of two extant letters to WC where CD expresses his feelings. See also 21 March 1858.
83	16 Oct 1857	As he is still feeling a bit unwell, shall they meet at 4 at his lodgings?	**17 Oct 1857**	**"A note of mine crossed a note from you." He will come to WC at 4.**					This is the point where CD stops addressing 'Dear WC'. He changes here to 'Dear Wilkie' and thereafter all his letters to WC were addressed 'My dear Wilkie'. On WC's health see CD to him 22 October.
84	23 Oct 1857	Sorry but he would rather not travel out, so could CD come to his? Morley references may help with planning his parts of the Christmas number.			**22 Oct 1857**	**Morley doesn ' t help. "Shall we meet here tomorrow···or shall I come to you···Let me know."**			CD and WC were writing the HW Christmas number 'Perils of Certain English Prisoners' between them.
85	2 Nov 1857	Yes he will come, health much improved.			**1 Nov 1857**	**Proof of the start follows Monday, can he come on Tuesday to discuss? "Just a word in answer, here"**			
86	15 Jan 1858	He is so annoyed that his foot has been bad again. Since spraining it earlier in the year and then twisting it so badly in Cumberland, it never seems to get right. But confined as he is to his rooms, unable to walk far even with a stick, he is at least progressing on the new play which he hopes CD will enjoy.	**17 Jan 1858**	**"I am very sorry to receive so bad an account of the foot." Suggests an idea about Insanity for a HW piece. "Rejoiced to hear such a good report of the play."**					WC was writing ***The Red Vial*** which was not performed until October but which he read to CD in February. It is possible that WC was writing instead about the US performance of ***The Lighthouse*** which opened on 21 January at New Theatre, New York. PILGRIM (VIII 505 n3) is wrong to say the foot trouble is gout - see WC to Watkins 20 March 1858 (BGLL I 157).
87	6 Feb 1858	His ancle [sic] is so painful he is not sure if he can make a train journey to Gravesend, he finds the shaking about hard to put up with. But as it is his dear friend's 46th he will try. And Sunday is his day for recreation.			**5 Feb 1858**	**"Will you come and dine with me ···Train which leaves at 3." for birthday a week on Sunday.**			Whether WC went or not is pure speculation as neither his nor CD's letters mentions the event anywhere else. But we know that WC's ankle was still bad see note above. For WC's spelling of 'ankle' see to Agnes London 2 October 1857 and Herbert Watkins 20 March 1858 (BGLL I 152, 157)
88	7 Feb 1858	So kind of him to arrange the fine special binding of the Christmas story. At such a time it should be WC sending a present to CD. He hopes that CD will resolve his restlessness.			**6 Feb 1858**	**Encloses bound volume of 'Perils of English Prisoners'**			

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89	20 Mar 1858	When he visited the other day WC promised to give him the copy of the profile of self by Watkins but as he left WC forgot. He has ordered more and is pleased to enclose it. Could he trouble CD for the payment for the last two weeks? Wills normally sent it regularly but had clearly omitted to do so. Is he feeling any more resolved over the Doncaster business? He couldn't ask when he called in view of the company.	**21 Mar 1858**	**"I too had intended to come to the enclosed subject-and I too forgot it." Cheque enclosed. Doncaster unhappiness strong.**					The same day, WC wrote to Watkins "Your admirable (profile) Photograph of me has been taken out of my portfolio by an enthusiastic friend who was determined to have it." It is likely that WC replied to CD's letter but there is no evidence he did so.
90	18 Apr 1858	He will be delighted to support his dear friend in his new venture which he is sure will be an enormous success. He anticipates CD will be asking for the seats back to sell to the crowds of people clamouring to get in.			**17 Apr 1858**	**Arthur Smith will send him two stalls tickets for each of his readings. "You will find some Sherry···in my little room."**			CD wrote an identical note on the same day to his doctor Frank Beard. Although this letter does not call for a reply it seems more likely than not that WC would respond to such a note and in such a way.
91	24 May 1858	Forster has told him, in strict confidence, that he has finally separated from Catherine. How brave he has been and how much WC hopes this will be the first step to resolving his restlessness and the strain he has been under. He can always count on his friendship and support.	**25 May 1858**	**"A thousand thanks for your kind letter" Can WC come round in the morning to hear all? "a long story--over, I hope, now."**					Instead of the normal 'Ever faithfully' CD signs his letter 'Yours affectionately', a form he used from then on until his death. Forster had negotiated the settlement on 21 May and it was formalised by lawyers shortly after. The affair was made messier by the suggestions that CD had been unfaithful to Catherine with her sister, Georgina Hogarth. There is not really time for a reply from WC, though it is conceivable one was sent to say 'yes'.
92	5 Aug 1858	CD's letter arrived here in Broadstairs a day or so ago but he delayed replying until he could be sure that his letter would arrive at a real address. What secrets does he have that some locations are so mysterious? Music halls and flea-pits? Is he having liaisons with persons unknown - or indeed known? How, by the bye, have his readings gone down with the 'Unknown Public'? WC is feeling much better, the air and the rest are what he needed and his pen is fair flying across the page all day.	**11 Aug 1858**	**The Unknown Public' has been toned down here and there. No mystery and no energy for furtive purposes! Have been doing very well but will be glad to be home.**	**1 Aug 1858**	**"I am off from here today, and enclose···my address at each place." Hopes he continues to enjoy Broadstairs and be well. Charley's paper good.**	**9 Aug 1858**	**CD to Wills: "I am very glad to hear from Wilkie that he is at work again."**	
93	7 Sep 1858	Writes to Huddersfield in the hope that he will be there. He is indeed in Broadstairs, with Charley, who has the idea of parodying their time there in one or two pieces for HW. He will be glad to write about the prejudice against actors. Not sure if he and CD will be able to cope with the whole Xmas number themselves, but they can discuss on 20th when he is indeed free. He too was surprised to see the letter widely published.			**6 Sep 1858**	**A very long letter, encloses a letter from Wigan with a good idea for a HW piece, will be free from 15 November for Xmas no. will WC be free? Can he dine on 20/9, answer according to his list, off to Huddersfield, annoyed at letter being printed, penny newspapers cannot make money, "I direct this to Broadstairs.--I hope you are there."**			WC had been at Broadstairs on 10 August and his brother Charles wrote two pieces for HW about 'Smallport' which seems to be Broadstairs. WC himself also wrote a piece with CD about the way towns responded to visits by the Queen and it may have referred to his experience there and in France ('A Clause for a New Reform Bill' HW 9/10/1858 pp385-387). WC wrote the story about actors' sons not being accepted at schools ('Highly Proper!' HW 2/10/1858 361-363). The outline in CD's letter for the Xmas number was not followed and there were contributions by two other writers apart from CD and WC ('A House to Let' HW Christmas Number 7/12/1858). WC did not seem to join in CD's criticism of friends like Lemon whom CD saw as disloyal over his separation.
94	11 Nov 1858	As he cannot make Sunday at Gad's Hill would prefer to fit in between the two readings on Saturday to celebrate the triumphant end of the Readings.	**13 Nov 1858**	**"Dinner is ordered at 5 punctually. They will show you up into the sitting-room···"**	**9 Nov 1858**	**I would propose to you to come and celebrate the end of the Tour" at Brighton on Saturday or perhaps prefer to visit him at Gad's Hill on Sunday?**			

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1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
95	25 Jan 1859	Thursday is fine for him. Has CD thought of a title yet? If not, he has some ideas but doesn't want to mention them unless he knows they are needed.	**26 Jan 1859**	**"Look over the jotted titles" and they can discuss tomorrow.**					There is clearly more missing correspondence here of which this conjectural letter is part. We now know that CD suggested 16 titles of which WC liked three but in fact suggested himself the one chosen 'AYR', as well, ironically, as 'Once a Week', the title used by its rival published by Bradbury and Evans after CD's acrimonious split with the publisher of HW. (See PILGRIM IX 16n2)
96	7 Feb 1859	He would not believe it another year gone but for the fact that his own 35th has just occurred. He would be delighted to spend two nights by the sea. He will be at the Brighton Terminus at Victoria station at 1.45.			**6 Feb 1859**	**Tomorrow is his birthday. Would he come to Brighton with the girls until Wednesday?**			There is no evidence one way or the other whether WC went but his work was light at this time mainly consisting of writing pieces for HW. We know he was at the HW office the day after this trip on Thursday 10 Feb (To Bentley that day, BGLL I 171) so may have returned with CD. The reply is speculative.
97	8 Apr 1859	Could CD add those two paragraphs he mentioned?	**9 Apr 1859**	**"The insertions in the enclosed, just supply what was wanting." and alter so title fits, will send material for Occasional Register, urgent.**					CD's letter clearly implies it is a reply. WC may have replied or in view of the urgency may simply have delivered the material to the HW office.
98	10 Apr 1859	Replies to invitation for Tuesday, probably positively, and agrees to dinner after.			**9 Apr 1859**	**"On Tuesday afternoon I shall go over it finally. Will you come here, then? And will you let me know, at Tavistock House, whether we shall dine somewhere afterwards?"**			Again there is little evidence of what WC was up to at this time, but he was keen to make AYR a success and this item was for the first issue. On 21 April WC wrote to W F Mayus "At present, my literary engagements are so numerous⋯" (BGLL I 175)
99	15 May 1859	A line to say he will be there at 5.			**14 May 1859**	**Changing date for dinner to Monday**			
100	10 Jun 1859	Thanks for the invitation to Gad's Hill. But his old trouble, gout, has struck him down. He is recovering and invites CD and Wills to visit for dinner on Monday. He is so fed up with his illness he is considering taking a medical holiday to take the waters at Malvern. Of course when he is feeling up to the trip he would enjoy a recuperative stay at Gad's Hill.	**12 Jun 1859**	**Sorry he has been unwell again, his views on Malvern, his room at Gad's Hill always ready, his cold clearing. "Wills and I will dine with you (since you propose it) tomorrow."**	9 Jun 1859	Will he come to stay at Gad's Hill?			The invitation is inferred from CD's reply which seems to be a reply to WC turning it down. WC did visit Gad's Hill for an extended stay - with occasional trips to London for post and so on - shortly after this. See to Townshend 29 June 1859 (BGLL I 178) and to Harriet WC 14 July 1859 (B&C I 166-7)
101	15 Jul 1859	Thanks CD for allowing him to spend so much time at Gad's Hill. He has been back in Town for three days and feels ill already from the heat and air. He passed on CD's invitation to Charley who is glad to accept and they will accompany CD back when he returns next week.	**17 Jul 1859**	**WC should go to Gad's Hill without him by the train at 9 on Tuesday evening.**					For content see to HC 14 July 1859 (B&C I 166-7)
102	17 Jul 1859	Once more, his thanks to his dear friend. As instructed they will get the 9 train and look for the Basket at the station. Hope to see CD himself the next day.			**17 Jul 1859**	**see letter above**			
103	3 Aug 1859	He has taken a charming cottage on the Ramsgate Road just outside Broadstairs, nothing between it and the sea, and he hopes they can expect a visit from CD in the six weeks they have let it for. They have it to themselves. He is in the early struggling stages of his story when as many pieces of paper go in the basket as do not and he could not really be said to have started the story, though he has had several false starts.	**16 Aug 1859**	**Should have written last week but has been very busy. Wills got his note this morning - the title of titles! Want to come to Broadstairs but still mired in A Tale of Two Cities. Write when you have time and hopes to hear the problems solved.**			**15 Aug 1859**	**WC to Wills: Encloses title and asks "My love to CD. How does he do. When will he write?" (BGLL I 180)**	For invitation see WC to Ward 7/8/1859 (B&C I 175). The ms of WIW records it was begun on 15 August 1859 (Pierpont Morgan MA79).

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1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
104	28 Aug 1859	That is wonderful news. He went at once into the town to talk to Ballard - who was ennobled last Queen's birthday - and the room is booked with writing desk and overlooking the sea. He has been so hard at work his correspondence is behind and CD prevented his reply by his own welcome letter.			**25 Aug 1859**	**He would like to visit on Wednesday [31st] and stay until Monday [5th]. Will he book a room. "What do you mean by not answering my beautiful letter from the office?" (presumably that of 16 August)**			CD's visit is described in WC to HC 2 September 1859 (B&C I 177).
105	13 Sep 1859	All good things end and here is the last full day at the Cottage. They repair to London tomorrow and he writes to arrange to meet CD at the HW office on Tuesday morning when they can discuss the work in hand. Since he left evangelists have called and Harriet was rather taken with them and is now trying to convert everyone, to her mother's consternation! How can anyone take the ugly Great Eastern seriously? The boiler explosion has put him off steamships for life.	**16 Sep 1859**	**"a word to say that I have received yours, and I look forward to the Reunion on Tuesday" Charmed with [Harriet] why did [Caroline] stop her? Agrees about the ship - he has seen it. Bucolic news from Gad's Hill.**					See extensive notes in PILGRIM (IX 123) for content.
106	**5 Oct 1859**	WC likes and admires ***A Tale of Two Cities*** so much, the characters, the evocation of Paris and the Terror, the powerful human story. But now that he has read to the end he wonders why CD didn't indicate the connection between Dr Manette and Darnay earlier? "**Could it have been done at all, in the way I suggest, to advantage?**"	**6 Oct 1859**	**"I do not positively say that the point you put⋯" CD explains why his way was best.**					The content of WC's letter is clear from CD's reply which includes 14 words written by WC. A Tale of Two Cities ended in AYR on 26 November and was published in one volume on 21 November. It is clear that the story was finished by now - see CD to Regnier 15 October (PILGRIM IX 132 - though CD writes there that only Forster has seen the ending.)
107	6 Jan 1860	With the latest portion, just sent in proof to CD, he has now written up to what he intends to be the conclusion of volume I of ***The Woman in White*** . He is not sure how CD has been keeping up with it, perhaps foregoing reading the episodes one by one until there was a complete part to read. In any case, now it is finished he would be glad to be sent his criticism of this first 'book' of the story.	**7 Jan 1860**	**"I have read this book, with great care and attention." CD loves it with one or two caveats. CD would like to write something jointly perhaps to follow WIW. "let me see some more when you have enough⋯to show me".**					WC was writing just ahead of the press, about a month in advance of publication. The dramatic conclusion to what would be Vol I - Marian's diary leading up to the marriage of Laura and Glyde - was published in AYR on 4 February. It seems likely from CD's letter that he had not read any of it yet, trusting WC to write and Wills to subedit. It may also have been what WC preferred - see CD to WC 29 July 1860, below. WC wrote later 'The late Mr. Charles Dickens neither read, nor wished to read, a line of The Woman in White before we signed our agreement for the appearance of the work in "AYR"' To Watt 8 February 1882 (BGLL III 330).
108	26 Jan 1860	Glad to accompany him to both 'performances' and if Yates is there on Saturday even better.			**25 Jan 1860**	**"Let us dine here on Sunday at 5" and details of weekend trip.**			Even though WC's "weekly race with the press is beginning to weigh heavily" on him (To Ward 11/1/1860 BGLL I 189) that letter and the next to Mrs Bicknell (12/1/1860 ditto) show he did still take time off to attend social events. There is no indication in the piece CD wrote ('The Uncommercial Traveller' AYR 25/2/1860 pp416-421) that he is accompanied but he did book a box (CD to Lane 25/1/1860 PILGRIM IX 201-2).
109	25 May 1860	In sorting out his books in the wonderfully spacious rooms he now has, he realises that he has no copy of ***The Frozen Deep*** . Does CD have one he can spare? He also realises that he lent CD his only copy of ***Antonina*** when he was so kind some months ago as to say he would like to read WC's first published effort and he wonders if CD would be so kind as to return it if he no longer needs it.			**2 Jun 1860**	**Sends the *Frozen Deep* prompt book and sends home *Antonina***			There is clearly a conversation in the middle of this correspondence hence the week between the letters. WC moved into 12 Harley Street in March but was still under the pressure of writing WIW.

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11	1 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
110	26 Jul 1860	Hooray! He has at last written at the end of 490 pages of manuscript written those two noble words The End and it will be delivered to the noble Wills in person.	**29 Jul 1860**	**"my heartiest congratulations on your having come to the of your Âclast labor...I presume that the undersignedÂcmay read itnow?"**					See to HC 26 July 1860 (B&C I 184).
111	30 Jul 1860	He had indeed heard the sad news after he closed and sent his last. His deepest sympathy and will hear more when they meet on Tuesday.			**29 Jul 1860**	**"Let us dine at the office on Tuesday at 5···Perhaps Wills has told you that poor Alfred is dead?**			CD's younger brother Alfred Lamert CD died of consumption and pleurisy in Manchester.
112	**7 Aug 1860**	**Accepts his engagement on AYR for two years at 7 gns a week and a 1/8th share of profits.**						**Extant**	Extant letter see B&C I 185. It is likely that Wills negotiated the deal on CD's behalf but WC wrote formally to CD to accept.
113	1 Oct 1860	He has found his letter to greet him on his return from the deep. He is planning a trip to Farnham on Sunday [7 Oct], Bradshaw permitting, but dinner on 6th would be capital.			26 Sep 1860	He trusts WC is safely back from his call on Neptune and writes to inform the sailor that he is dining with Reade and Wills on Saturday in next week [6 Oct] and hopes WC will join him.			CD's letter is inferred (to Wills "I write by this post to Wilkie, in order that notice of the feast may reach him on his coming to Town" 26/9/1860 PILGRIM IX 319). WC was sailing with Pigott and Benham and returned on 30 September (see to HC 3 October 1860 BGLL I 212 and to Ward 14 August 1869 BGLL I 208) and to Ward 5 October 1860 BGLL I 213).
114	17 Oct 1860	He arrived late last night after one of the very worst trips in his experience, such a gale, everyone sick - except him of course. Caroline was ill but so brave not complaining at all. They are comfortably ensconced at the Meurice, just ***a deux*** after Ward refused to sell a child to pay his **£** 4 return fare first class. They dine at the ***Trois Freres*** , drink Bordeaux, go to the theatre, and enjoy all that Paris has to offer (well almost!). He will be back in good time for the trip to Penzance if CD will let him have the details.	**24 Oct 1860**	**"I have been down to Brighton to see Forster, and found your letter here on arriving...this morning." What a terrible passage! Hails [Caroline] as Albania Nelsona. What a shame he cannot make the third at the *Trois Freres* , sleep through plays and enjoy the Meurice. List of delights to do.**					WC went to Paris about 14 October returning two weeks later. On 13th he writes to Tennent "I go to Paris tomorrow for the same time" ie a fortnight. On 31st he writes to Marston he is "just back from Paris". (B&C I 191). Content is based on CD's long and detailed reply.
115	27 Oct 1860	He has just arrived and replies in haste to agree to meet at the Terminus at 9 o'clock on 1 November. Looks forward to reading the four numbers of AYR which will pass some of the long journey to Penzance. For the rest he will enjoy hearing more about the ghost. And he will tell CD how many of his errands in Paris he was able to perform! Hoping for a calmer return on Tuesday.			**24 Oct 1860**	**"I propose that we start on Thursday morning the 1st. of Novr. The train for Penzance leaves the Great Western Terminus at a quarter past 9 in the morning."**			
116	24 May 1861	Flushed with success he was cheered and applauded out of the room. If he can obtain a Daily Telegraph in Dover then he will see a very brief account of it. He had prepared for one toast but found called on to do more and he was surprised how fluent he was. He quite enjoyed it and has already been 'booked' for another by Webster. He hopes that CD has used the free evening well to improve his health and work and when does he expect to return?	**24 May 1861**	**"I am delighted to receive so good an account of last night" sure it was a success. Dull in Dover. Will write at the end of next week, but Wednesday week [5 June] should be booked for the office.**					WC had taken the chair at the Newsvendors' Benevolent Institution's annual dinner in CD's place. For WC's account of it see to HC 24 May 1861. And for an account see ***The Critic*** 1 June 1861.

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11	1 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
117	21 Jun 1861	He is still struggling with the complex scaffolding of his new book. But the poles tumble, the lashings come loose and the boards won't fit. It is not helped by the East wind, as hot as he has known it, blowing through the back of the house to the front and to top it all his old enemy called 'Liver' has been attacking him again. Don't tell Beard. He honestly thinks time at Gad's Hill hospital will be the best cure if he may and they can discuss the Xmas number and all other things under the cool oaks in the fine ground. Meanwhile he will be at the office on Wednesday when they no doubt will meet.	**23 Jun 1861**	**Will arrange the Xmas no. under the Oaks. Will be in town Thursday and return here with him Friday [28th]. Details when they meet Wednesday.**					For content background see to Reade 4 June 1861 and to Ward 27 June 1861 (BGLL I 235, 239) and CD's reply. WC's house, 12 Harley Place, faced west.
118	11 Jul 1861	Arrived Friday and intends to stay only until next Thursday [18th] so hopes CD can visit before then. Broadstairs is filling up with the fine weather, it almost seems the same people showing the same legs as when they last visited. He is under the care of the excellent and noble landlord Ballard at the Albion Hotel and he has the fine room which CD occupied last time. His visit is curtailed by the need to collect material before his trip to Lowestoft where part of his novel will be set.	**12 Jul 1861**	**"It happens very unfortunately that I cannot get to Broadstairs before Thursday." Thought he was staying there for longer but will try to catch him at Lowestoft.**					CD calls WC's letter 'amusing' and it was no doubt longer and full of detail about the Broadstairs crowd, some of which is in WC to HC 11 July 1861 (B&C I 196-7)
119	7 Aug 1861	Greetings from Whitby! A fine town, a splendid hotel, and one of the best railway journeys to get there. The line follows the winding valley with the Moors on either side and woods, streams and heath to enchant the traveller. The Royal Hotel has given them the best rooms, he can see the German Ocean, the pier, cliffs and a harbour full of herring boats. That is through three bow windows on one side. On the other another fine window shows him the town and the ruins of Whitby abbey.	**28 Aug 1861**	**Have been planning to write "ever since I received your letter from Whitby" Hears now from Charley he must be addressed at Harley St. Other news.**					For content see to HC and to George Gregson, both dated 7 August BGLL pp241-2.
120	29 Oct 1861	He will send this to Ipswich hoping to be sure of catching him there. He has been thinking of a title and Our Hidden Selves seems to fit the idea. He likes the sketch so far but when the characters enter Mr Traveller (as I will call him) must make his agreement with Mr Mopes at the Gate. And he thinks that a child should be in at the end. How did Norwich go? And the other places in the east?	**31 Oct 1861**	**"I found your letter awaiting me" What pleasure to be working together again. Agree about the compact at the gate. Likes the child. News of how readings have gone.**					Clearly WC wrote a long and detailed critique of CD's start on what was to become 'Tom Tiddler's Ground' but we can only hint at what he said from CDs reply. Strangely this is the only letter about the collaboration on this Xmas number.
121	end December 1862	Now that the Xmas number is done and he is getting ahead with No Name, he thinks it is the right time to say that, as CD knows, he will leave AYR to fulfil his contract with Smith, Elder when his present contract expires at the end of July 1862. It is needless to say that he has learned more and gained more from his long association with CD's periodicals than any other aspect of his literary life. He hopes they will work together again.							It is clear from CD's letter of [5] January that WC wrote such a letter around the turn of the year. Although it is not definitely known when he ended his formal agreement the contract agreed in his letter to CD of 7 August 1860 lasted for two years and it is reasonable to expect that he would let it come to an end then. He received two payments after July - one from CD one from Wills - totalling **£** 218-2s-2d perhaps in payment for ***No Name*** after his contract and the weekly payments ended.

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1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
122	4 Jan 1862	Thursday should be fine to meet at the office at 6 to let him get his work done. The horrors of the rheumatic gout have returned with a vengeance, though he does not know what he has done to incur its wrath. Now he has got ahead with the book he has a mind to try a new treatment recommended by Beard of complete infusion for eight and forty hours. He had a letter from Wills acknowledging his to say that he would leave AYR when his contract ended in July.	**5 Jan 1862**	**Has to be Friday not Thursday. And at 5.30 not 6 Don't accept Beard's remedies. Re AYR he let Wills reply. Sorry that they part company "but I hope we shall work together again, one day."**					
123	**8 Jan 1862**	Friday at 5.30 is fine. He will consider his points about Beard's treatment but he is desperate. He is sorry too that their literary cooperation is temporarily halted but shares CD's hopes that they will work together again. [For recovered text about Fechter see notes column and BGLL IV 401-2.]			**5 Jan 1862**	**see letter above**	**9 Jan 1862**	**CD to Fechter: Quotes long paragraph from WC's letter "received this morning" about Fechter's acting**	
124	21 Jan 1862	Now that the first part of the new book is complete, he encloses the proofs for CD to read. As ever he values his opinion above all others (in the absence of public readers!) and he awaits his view. No hurry to return it, he has other copies.	**24 Jan 1862**	**"I have read the book···and as I know you don't want it at once." Gives his view and comments on the proposed titles.**					No Name' began in AYR on 15 March 1862. So WC was well ahead. No wonder he was agreeing to have his photograph taken (to Watkins 28 January 1862 BGLL I 254-5). It is probable that there was also a letter to Forster, the Procters, and possibly Pigott as well. We know they all read it at this time (to HC 4 February 1862 BGLL I 255-6).
125	27 Jan 1862	He has considered his letter over the weekend and thanks him for his encouragement and kind remarks. He has also heard from Wills that he sat up til after 1 am reading it and could not sleep for wanting to know what happens next. Charley and Katie also very positive. He will consider his remarks especially those on adding humour and softening the edges. But still the real problem is the title. He notes CD's preferences and still feels the title - the great title - the title of titles as he called The Woman in White - has not yet been found. Wills's excellent suggestions 'Under a Cloud' has been recently used as the title for a			**24 Jan 1862**	**"Let me hear from you, between this and Thursday morning inclusive, at Radley's Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool"**			When WC wrote to his mother on 4 February (BGLL I 255-6) only one of CD's choices, 'Behind the Veil', was included in his possible list of eight on which he sought her opinion. Among the eight was 'Man and Wife' a title WC was to return to in 1870. For the details of how 'No Name' was chosen and stealthily inserted in the story see 'The Naming of No Name' by Virginia Blain ***Wilkie Collins Society Journal*** IV 1984 pp25-9. The letter she cites there was omitted both from B&C and BGLL and will be included in a later Addenda & Corrigenda.
126	18 Jul 1862	He is now hard at work having had set backs of the stomach and liver variety from the change of location and the appalling weather with gales that would sweep you off your feet - and which even this fortress seems to sway in. The house though is truly magnificent to live in - now that he is in a state to appreciate it. What an astonishing location.	**20 Jul 1862**	**"I rejoice to learn that you are all right now" in the house of houses, Georgina's health alarms, "my own old load (of which you know something)" weather, that infernal Church of yours, send second volume to the office, family news**					
127	28 Jul 1862	Georgina's illness is distressing. What does Beard say? He would rather not take the whole family over to Dover, as some are not as quickly recovered as he. Better for both his books, so to speak, if CD comes to him as suggested.	**30 Jul 1862**	**Can only now stay Monday due to dinner engagement. Will be with him halfpast 6 Monday in a fly.**	**27 Jul 1862**	**Shall he come over on Monday week [4th] and stay til Wednesday. Or would they come to Dover and then return with him? Georgina ill. "Answer to the office: so that I may find your note there on Wednesday"**			

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11	1 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
128	18 Sep 1862	He encloses the proofs up to the end of the second volume and would as usual appreciate his friend's appraisal - and honesty.	**20 Sep 1862**	**"I have gone through the Second Volume at a sitting, and I find it wonderfully fine. then much praise for *No Name* . One small slip of grammar. Would love to visit again but there may not be time. Can he do anything for the Xmas number? Georgina improving. Personal anxieties. Leech and play.**					It is possible that CD got the proofs from Wills at the AYR office without a letter from WC. However, that seems less likely than WC at least giving him the go-ahead, as seems to have been their wont, that a 'volume' was complete.
129	22 Sep 1862	Many thanks for the commentary. If he was the vainest man alive he could not have written such a review of his own work! As for 'lay' and 'laid' his poor father spent £90 a year on his education and he still makes errors of grammar - but then the money only bought Latin and Greek grammar! He will change it at once. He is not sure if he will be able to write for the Xmas number. He is struggling now against the press, having been so well ahead at the start. And various matters of detail, crucial to the plot, have to be researched by Ward and posted to him. They are leaving around the end of October but that could be brought forward to the middle. Glad to hear Georgina improves.			**20 Sep 1862**	**"I forget how long you stay there. Will you tell me?"**			For WC on CD's letter see to HC 1 October 1862 (B&C I 211) and for his thoughts on education and grammar see to Nina Lehmann 2 February 1887 (B&C I 531-2) and to Hayne 17 August 1885 (BGLL IV 111-12). During this time WC wrote frequently to Ward about the time letters took from London to the continent.
130	6 Oct 1862	The Xmas number looks of great interest but he is really struggling now with the book, and feeling a bit under the weather and he must say no, though it was his dearest hope to work again collaborating with CD. Perhaps CAC can do his load and write two sections for it? Has CD thought of changing the approach slightly....incidentally he was interested to hear in the letter about Mary.	**8 Oct 1862**	**"I didn't open your letter 'till I left home this morning. "Concerned he has spent such energy on the Xmas no. never expected him to etc. His suggested change difficult⋯Mary is returning for Paris next week. Georgina improving, the demon visiting.**	**4 Oct 1862**	**Encloses first and last of Xmas number and plan for the others.**			WC did not write for the Xmas no. but CAC wrote two pieces.
131	11 Oct 1862	He is on the final stretch but before CD goes to Paris would he look at the proofs of the Fifth scene and let him know what strikes him? He fears there are too many threads in his hand to see clearly how it strikes a new reader. He will have them finished by Monday morning - could CD send round for them and let him know before he goes to Paris? Which is when by the bye?	**12 Oct 1862**	**"came home last night and found your letter" Will send Frank for the proofs tomorrow and read them and write again by Tuesday's post. Am leaving for Paris Thursday. Enclosed a story for Xmas No.**					CD did write on 14th - once to make 1r5 distinct suggestions many of which WC acted on and again after seeing Beard to commiserate on his health. And offer to take over the end of No Name if he is not able to do so.

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1	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
132	16 Oct 1862	No need to worry. He had a very bad turn on Friday last [10 Oct] and it persisted but Beard rushed down and has helped him back to his old facility. If anyone in the world could carry on his book it is CD but relax in Paris, his services will not be required on this occasion. When they do collaborate again it will be on better terms he hopes! He will be returning to London next week as the delays to and fro with proofs are making his problems worse and the incessant rain and the low tide and smell of sewage are all driving him back. He hopes six more weeks and it will be over - if he is not over first! He directs this to Hotel Meurice trusting it will arrive before its intended recipient!			**14 Oct 1862**	**CD wrote two letters - one making about 15 distinct suggestions on the proofs, some of which WC acted on. He then wrote a second after seeing Beard commiserating on WC's health and offering to finish No Name if WC not up to it. "Write to me at Paris at any momentÂc"**			For details of weather and tide and return to London see to Ward 14 October 1862 BGLL I 278. This sequence of seven letters is the longest we have deduced.
133	31 Dec 1862	He is delighted to be able to enclose ***No Name*** . It was published today - 4000 copies printed and only 400 left at five this afternoon! But his liver torments him still, that wind and rain at Fort House the culprit, and now he is tormented further in his right knee with rheumatic gout. He despairs of what he might do.	**1 Jan 1863**	**"thanks for the book···delighted ···to hear of its wonderful sale" At the office Thursday next week [8th]. Get well now, baths or something.**					
134	1 Jan 1863	He writes back at once and heartily reciprocates his new year wishes. 1863! He has hobbled out each day for a half hour but hopes that he can really sort out these problems this year. He had been thinking of visiting Paris himself and Ward has found a suitable billet, but at the moment if he can travel he must go to see his mother who is unwell in Oxford. He has heard good things of the baths at Wildbad and may try them for his ailment. Health permitting he will try to hobble to a cab and get to the office on Thursday next week.			**1 Jan 1863**	**"Will you dine at the office on Thursday in next week at 6?"**			We don't know if WC made it to the office but on 15 January he writes to Ward "for the last three days the gout has confined me to my chair" (BGLL I 290) and about his mother's health. CD was in Paris from 15th and in France for a month. WC went to Wildbad for his ailments in May 1863.
135	22 Jan 1863	Sorry to say that on this occasion Paris and CD will have to do without him. He never recalls such pain and he cannot use the foot at all. For a while a cabbage leaf poultice in oiled silk kept it at bay not no more and he is now going to try mesmerism with Dr John Elliotson to see if that will work. Beard has also been ill with Erysipelas and Wilkie has been under the care of another quack who has been prescribing rubbish. He would like to know when he might come to Paris but really it is very unlikely. In any event he will need a more luxurious place than Hotel du Helder, perhaps the Grand Hotel at Louvre with a fine view would suit him, then he could sit in a chair and do nothing but admire the view. Poor John - left to the wickedness of Paris with all the prejudice of the English working class!	**29 Jan 1863**	**"came back here yesterday, and was truly concerned to read your poor account of yourself." Had heard about poor Beard. Will be there until next Wednesday [4th] Paris more wicked than ever. John has no British prejudices!**	**20 Jan 1863**	**Delphic reference to his private life and invites WC for when he returns to Paris on 27 or 28. "Whether you come over or no, of course you will write."**			On the remedy see to HC 16 January 1863 (B&C I 214-15). On Elliotson see to Beard 30 January 1863 (B&C I 215-16). On hotels and John see CD's reply. This letter and the previous make obscure references to CD's private life and it is clear he was doing something with Ellen Ternan. If the beliefs of the Dickens family that she had a child are true, this is the time they could have been dealing with that event. See for example Lucinda Hawksley ***Katey*** London: 2006, p.354, though she gives a different date for the event.

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11	11 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
136	18 Apr 1863	He writes from Aix la Chapelle where he arrived yesterday after leaving Dover on Tuesday [14th]. And if this town's springs do not work he has Wildbad in his sights. He has already tried Dr Caplin's electro-magnetic baths and they did help but he had resolved to try natural remedies. So here he is. Aix is a pleasant town making cloth and needles and looking glasses to admire the result. Factories here are pleasant to look at! This is not the Black Country but it is in a valley. He has yet to try the doctors or the baths - very hot he hears. His ailment the best excuse for missing the Fund dinner! Travelling in France reminds him of the happy time he and CD and Egg spent here. Poor Egg, one in ten thousand. Artist, actor,	**22 Apr 1863**	**"I am heartily glad you have got away at last" He met Dr Caplin a few weeks ago. Glad he is away at last. WC is saved up for Fund dinner next year. News and reminiscences.**					CD's long and detailed letter to WC gives a real sense of the chat between two friends separated by a thousand miles. We cannot reconstruct that in the reply. But see to HC 21 April 1863, to CAC 22 April 1863, and to Nina Lehmann 29 April 1863 for his sense of the place (B&C I 219-23)
137	21 May 1863	Apologies for the long gap between his letters but there was nothing to report and he has been following strict instructions to 'rest'. Aix was pleasant but he feels he needs the stronger medicine of Wildbad. Already he likes the bath - clear clean and hot resting on sand, unlike the cloudy sulphurous hell of Aix. If ever a man was prepared for hell it was there. Here in Wildbad the air is full of the balsamic odour of the Black Forest. A band plays, it is a small town full of foreigners, with no other trade. Even the children dance for the arrivals - we still come by carriage as the railway is not yet arrived. Etc. He will write again when the cure is			**22 Apr 1863**	**"Write soon & tell me how you are, and that you are better"**			The suggestion is that WC writes back once he has got to Wildbad. Before that there was nothing new to report. No letters from WC are known between 29 April and 21 May. On 21 he wrote at length to his mother (B&C I 223-4) about the place and it also featured in the Prologue of ***Armadale*** . This reconstruction could have gone on at even greater length given those two sources.
138	2 Jun 1863	Halfway through his treatment he has felt all the pain and none of the benefit. From now on the balance should be reversed. Did he mention that he feels a fraud? Everyone else here is so ill. Some hobble, some clatter with sticks, and then some glide in adult Perambulators and could sweep the halt and lame off their feet if they didn't have their wits about them. [a full and lengthy account]. He hopes to be back in London by 18th after 24 baths. And he looks forward to spending some quiet and tranquil times at Gad's with his friend and telling him all about his trip.								This letter is speculative. He wrote to his mother on 2 June and on 18 June (when he was at Strasbourg having taken another four baths at Wildbad. It is likely he wrote to CD as well on at leapt one of these occasions and it seems fairly clear from CD's letter of 28 June that he had an interim report and at some stage WC said he looked forward to being back in the quiet of Gad's Hill.
139	28 Jun 1863	He is back! Feeling so much better, the baths took every morsel of gout from him and he will be going back as the doctor there recommended. When is he at the Office?	**28 Jun 1863**	**"Welcome home!--I heartily desire to see you." Wants to hear it all. Can he dine Friday at 5 and then to the play?**					
140	29 Jun 1863	There is no point in being better if not to see friends and plays! Yes, yes, yes.			**28 Jun 1863**	**"Give me a word in answer by return."**			His good health was not to last.

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141	4 Aug 1863	Just back from what should have been a molnth's sailing but after ten days he gave it up. Although it was a fine yacht and Pigott of course the best company, the dampness of the sea air attacked his back without mercy. There is nothing for it now but to go to Italy this winter. Before that he has to visit the Isle of Man as he is erecting the skeleton of his next book, which is of course getting urgent, and between Man and Uomo he hopes he can visit Gad's Hill where his aches and pains always seem relieved. Meanwhile he is having work done on the house and the carpets will be up for as long as the British workmen reside	**9 Aug 1863**	**"your account of yourself···I rejoice to hear from you" Plans for the winter the best he can make, hope he will visit, news from Gad's Hill.**					Date and contents from 'just back' letters to HC and Charles Ward 4 August 1863 (B&C I 228-9, BGLL I 300).
142	23 Sep 1863	The gout has returned once more and his toe is the size of a fist. He cannot walk and until it is better he cannot say definitely when he will be leaving for the Continent, though he hopes it will be the start of October. Whenever it is he is forbidden travelling before his trip to Italy and so will not be able to visit Gad's Hill as he had hoped. Hopes the mighty labours of British workmen are going well. His own bare boards long covered, think Heavens. He will let him know when he leaves and where he can be contacted	**24 Sep 1863**	**"I hope the abominable gout···will not detain you long" He should go to Europe when he can, girders are up, workmen drink beer.**					It is likely that WC wrote to CD prior to this from the Isle of Man which he visited at the end of August. And equally likely that he wrote again to CD to let him know when the gout improved and of his departure date on 3 October. But we have no evidence of that. Within a week he was improved and planning his departure - see to HC 27, 29/30 September 1863 (BGLL I 304-5).
143	4 Dec 1863	Is back in Rome at the comfortable hotel overlooking the Piazza del Popolo. He tried Naples but the stink and vaporous atmosphere drove them back to Rome. Despite the pleasant English summer weather the lameness in his foot grew worse and worse and after consulting locals on the climate around the Bay he returned to Rome. He is not convinced by the attempts to unify the country and on their travels it seemed not to make any difference save to the flags He is feeling better for being in Rome and may stay there for some time. He is keen to know about the Xmas number, how did it do? He thought it very fine (Charles sent him a copy). He hears that CD has started a new book. Tell him about it. He is writing the framework of his new book here and, health permitting, fancies beginning the writing in Florence. Please tell him other news of their friends. Back in the Holy City he still has much he wants to see now he is more ambulant. Harriet was fascinated by the frescos strethcing round St Stefano and she was even more fascinated by the 'models' on the steps of Trinita del Mor	**25 Jan 1854**	**"I am horribly behindhand in answering your welcome letter." Xmas no has sold 220,000 copies. Book difficult but he hopes very good. News of friends. Thackeray's death.**					It is likely that CD was on the list of people whom WC wrote to on his progress around Europe but this is the first evidence of the correspondence. WC arrived in Rome on 1 November and it is likely that he wrote shortly after that. If so CD was indeed 'horribly behindhand' with his answer. Perhaps more likely that he is replying to a letter from WC when he returned to Rome from Naples around the start of December. The contents are largely from CD's reply and WC's letter to HC 4 Dec 1863 and 8 January 1864 (B&C I 240-2) as well as to Mrs Procter 16 December 1863 (BGLL I 310-12) where WC sets out the details of his whole journey so far.

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144	3 Apr 1864	He has heard from Russell who would like to discuss Garrick business with them. Could CD meet at Harley St on Friday next at three o'clock?	4 Apr 1864	Of course he can meet with Russell at Harley St on Friday next [8 Oct].			**4 Apr 1864**	**WC to George Russell: "CD's answer has just reached me. We meet at my rooms here, at three o'clock, on Friday next."**	There were at this time plans to reform the Garrick Club which was building expensive new premises. The three of them were involved in these discussions - see PILGRIM X xi. For WC to Russell see BGLL I 315 and 316 n4
145	**8 Sep 1864**	**"I shall never get to Gadshill at all, if I wait for a proper opportunity." Asks if he has a room from Saturday. Has to move.**	8 Sep 1864	Of course he can come for a few days from Saturday.				**Extant**	One of the three physically extant letters to CD which shows that at this time he addresses him as he always has 'My dear CD' but signs off 'Ever yours afftly' a form of words which at this time was otherwise reserved exclusively for his mother and his close friend Edward Pigott. The CD reply is not extant. But on 9th WC writes to his mother that he is "going tomorrow" to Gad's Hill for a few days (B&C I 250)
146	7 Oct 1864	He is with his mother at Tunbridge Wells. She is fretting about where Charley and Katie are and that they are taking care. He really fancies a trip to Paris himself. Would CD be free for it?	9 Oct 1864	He can't make Paris but if WC merely wants a change of air and an excuse to get away from Tunbridge Wells which is not London, he and the family are staying in Dover at the Lord Warden hotel from Friday probably for nearly a week.			**12 Oct 1864**	**CD to Georgina Hogarth: "Old Mrs Collins is fretting about Charley, and Wilkie is with her. He wrote from Tunbridge Wells to ask me if I could go to Paris with him? I replied No, but told him we were going to Dover, if that would do. He proposes to join us on Saturday."**	CD's letter to GH is evidence of two letters from WC to CD and one from CD to WC.
147	10 Oct 1864	Dover sounds capital. He will join them on Saturday and stay until Thursday if he may. Would CD secure him the best room there is?							See note above. We know that WC was there from Saturday 15 October and left on Thursday 20th (see to HC 19 October 1864 B&C I 251-2).
148	12 Jan 1866	He has had problems with the printer, problems getting the copy the right length, still behind following the wretched damp winter which set him back before Christmas. But he has just sent off the proofs for the March instalment. So he has asked for a spare set to be sent to CD at once. He thinks there will be three more numbers. And CD shall have them as soon as he may. After it is ended he plans a long rest but after that who knows? Some joint work with CD would be most welcome and he is as ever grateful that the pages of AYR remain open to him.			**10 Jan 1866**	**"Proofs, Proofs, Proofs! ¬ |Where are the Armadale proofs I was to have? O where and O where!--&c." Invites him back to work with CD on AYR.**			For progress on Armadale see to Enoch 12 January 1866 (BGLL II 24) and to HC 6 February 1866 (BGLL II 25). On the winter see to Nina Lehmann [as to Mrs E.M.Ward] 6 December 1865 (B&C I 260). WC later worked with CD on No Thoroughfare in 1867 and wrote The Moonstone for AYR in 1868.
149	1 Jun 1866	At last he has his own copies of ***Armadale*** and can send that which he could not bring down to Portsmouth for the reading on 25 May. He would be glad to hear what he thinks by and bye.	3 Jun 1866	"I think the close extremely powerful …"					We know of CD's reply from WC to HC 4 June 1866 where he quotes it at length (B&C II 275). It is possible, though the dates make it less likely, that WC took ***Armadale*** with him to Portsmouth.

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150	8 Jul 1866	Sends the play of ***Armadale*** and would be glad of CD's comments. Please treat it as highly confidential and return it by hand. Two questions -- he will see he has rewritten in ms a part of the play. Is it an improvement? And should he change the narration (on pxx) to act out the events? He has read the proofs of Trollope's piece and comments on the embrace of Margaret and change in her feelings towards the child. He has had a letter from a reader asking if Aunt Margaret is written by Mrs Brookfield?	**10 Jul 1866**	**"I have gone through the play very carefully" Comments at length on dramatic *Armadale*. Doubts if an English audience would accept parts of it. "In reference to your two questions.." Disagrees about Trollope. Comments on Mrs Brookfield!**					In the event WC did not attempt to have this version performed. He rewrote it as ***Miss Gwilt*** in 1875.
151	12 Jul 1866	Alas he cannot visit on 21st as he will be travelling to the Isle of Wight for sailing with Pigott and Benham.			**10 Jul 1866**	**"At ten minutes past 2 on the said Saturday in next week, I purpose coming down here. Can you come with me?" [i.e. 21 July].**			See to HC 24 July 1866 (B&C II 278-9)
152	3 Oct 1866	Does CD know if the scenery they used for ***The Frozen Deep*** was painted over or still exists as he thinks it would help the painter working on the scenery for the professional performance at the Olympic to see it. He hopes the play will work on the professional stage. People he has talked to are sceptical if it will sustain. On 17th of the month he leaves for Italy and hopes to spend the winter there. So no chance of any collaborative writing on an Xmas no. Before he leaves he is visiting his mother and friends in the country so regrets he will not be able to take his leave in person.	**4 Oct 1866**	**"None of the scenery was painted over" It was cut up as decoration for Tavistock House and is now in Chapman Hall's warehouse but would be of little help "Retain your last faith"**					It is unlikely that WC would not have written to CD from Italy and on his return but no evidence of these letters exists.
153	8 Feb 1867	He writes to Gad's Hill not knowing quite where CD will be from day to day. Has he read Reade's latest novel? There is a move to prosecute him for indecency. The most ridiculous charge but if there should be a trial would CD stand as witness? If not in person in writing? How is the latest tour going? It seemed a very heavy programme of travelling. He would like to meet when CD is free but he plans to visit Paris towards the end of February to discuss the Paris production of ***The Frozen Deep*** with R_gnier. When is CD in London?	**12 Feb 1867**	**"Coming back here yesterday, I found your letter awaiting me" Has not read Reade's latest. Cannot be a witness as he is off to Scotland then to Ireland. Fresh as can be expected, but hates railways since Staplehurst. At St James's Hall a fortnight today. Can they meet then?**					CD's movements make it likely that WC wrote around 8 February so the letter arrives after CD has left for Bath on 7 or 8.
154	13 Feb 1867	Sorry that he can't meet at St James's. On his present plans he will be in Paris by then as he plans to leave the Saturday before that date.			**12 Feb 1867**	**"I shall be at St James's Hall··· perhaps we can have a word"**			For WC's Paris plans see to Beard 13 Feb and to Moschelles 20 Feb (BGLL II 65).
155	11 Mar 1867	Back from Paris he finds CD's letter about Reade. May he show it to Reade? It may assist him. R_gnier full of energy and ideas and he is confident that the play will be staged as a great success. The frightful cold in Paris concerned him at first but the threatened gout did not occur. He will give a full account when they meet. When might that be?	**13 Mar 1867**	**"By all means let Reade see my letter" He is off to Ireland. Glad to hear of R_gnier.**	**20 Feb 1867**	**"I have read Charles Reade's book, and here follows my state of mind -- <u>as a witness</u> -- respecting it." He finds it "extremely coarse and disagreeable". Brief news of tour.**			CD's letter of 20 Feb is a further response to WC's of 8 Feb. WC responds and CD replies on 13 March. The long gaps are due to their travels - CD reading and WC in Paris.

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156	2 May 1867	In principle he would be delighted to work with CD on the Xmas no., taking half each. As long as it would not interfere with a project he was going to put to CD. He would be delighted if his next Story, which has been forming in his mind and which he will send a summary of shortly, could appear in AYR. Could both be accommodated? And of course they still need a trip to Paris together! PS He has it in mind to begin the story sooner rather than later as it is all in his head.	**4 May 1867**	**"On reading your letter (and particularly Postscript) with attention" Delighted they will be working together.**	**1 May 1867**	**Would he like to work together on a Xmas no. for AYR? "I shall be at Gad's from Saturday to Monday··· after that, either Gad's or the Office will find me."**			
157	6 May 1867	Will take his hand on Wednesday and they can discuss all the details then.			**4 May 1867**	**"I shall be here on Wednesday at One o'Clock, and shall be glad to take that -- or any -- occasion -- of joining hands upon it."**			
158	24 Aug 1867	Thanks him for the news and the idea of the plot. He is in the middle of moving but is at CD's service when he is ready to say what he wants him to do.	**28 Aug 1867**	**"I am now ready for you to come into the story···"**	**23 Aug 1867**	**Has done overture and suggests how the story might go.**	**24 Aug 1867**	**WC to HC: "You shall hear again as soon as I hear from CD"**	The letter of 23 August does not specifically ask for a reply. But evidence that a reply is sent is in WC to HC 24/8/67 (B&C II 291 - misdated see BGLL II 80)
159	28 Aug 1867	He will see him Friday but cannot come down Monday. Tuesday is the earliest and he could stay to Thursday or Friday. They can then make a good start on the story.			**28 Aug 1867**	**"come to the office on Friday [30th]... Reade is coming down on Monday···can you come with him"**			See to HC 2 Sept (BGLL II 83) for CD's trip to Gad's Hill.
160	9 Sep 1867	Makes suggestions for the introduction of Obenreizer into the story. When is he free to meet? And when does he want WC to write?	**10 Sep 1867**	**"Odd that we should···write cross letters!" Meet on Friday. Unless he prefers Thursday at the Athenaeum. Very anxious to finish as if he goes to America it will be soon.**					
161	11 Sep 1867	Thursday at the Athenaeum would suit.			**10 Sep 1867**	**"If Thursday···write by return. If Friday, - don't write."**			WC was in Southborough with his mother during this exchange. He wrote to her on Thursday 12th "I am just back from dining at the Club with CD"
162	20 Sep 1867	His letter has just reached him in Highgate staying with the Lehmann's to get some quiet from the workmen who have still not finished the work on his new house. He is grateful to CD for his work with Chapman and with Smith. He is also working slowly - at the pace of a snail with gout in his single foot. Not that the Lehmann's are unkind - quite the opposite he is distracted by their kindness at every turn. He is thinking out the last act at odd times.	**23 Sep 1867**	**"Like you, I am working with snail-like slowness." Here is an idea for WC's at-odd-times-thinking-out of last act. Will write before Friday. "I see a great chance for Act III out of this leaving of Act II.--Don't you?"**	**18 Sep 1867**	**"Chapman came here yesterday··· " Negotiations with him and with Smith. "I am jogging on (at the pace of a wheelbarrow propelled by a Greenwich Pensioner)"**			Although CD's letter does not demand a reply, one is evidenced by CD's reply to it of 23 September. For WC's movements see to HC 25 September 1867(B&C II 293-4). For his difficulty at working in friends' homes see 'Save me from my Friends' HW 16 January 1858 XVII 97-102. CD presages another letter by 28th and WC could reply to it.
163	3 Oct 1867	What has happened with Marguerite and Vendale? Explains how he thinks the denouement should go. When is he going to America as that is the absolute deadline for finishing?	**5 Oct 1867**	**Marguerite and Vendale. Sees denouement as WC does. Does not go until 9 November. "Whenever you may give me notice of your being ready we will appoint to meet"**					WC's letter of 3 October could be a reply to CD's of 23 September and the later letter promised in that of around 28th.
164	7 Oct 1867	Sends more copy.	**9 Oct 1867**	**"Will you notice, in the chapter···" Comments on it.**					
165	10 Oct 1867	Why should Obenreizer not die in an avalanche? That would be suitably dramatic and avoid the need for guilt on the part of the others? This is it now really and they should go to Gad's Hill to finish it off. Tonight he goes to the Lehmanns' and will stay. So he can meet him at the office tomorrow afternoon.	10 Oct 1867	That suits CD.	**9 Oct 1867**	**"I am racking my brains for a good death" for Obenreizer.**	**11 Oct 1867**	**WC to HC: "I am going to Gad's Hill this afternoon with CD to finish the Christmas number."**	CD's reply of 10 October is inferred from WC to HC of 11 October.

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166	6 Dec 1867	Encloses the completed play. It is essential that it is brought out simultaneously in New York and London. He has benefited in point of health from his large airy rooms and the dry soil on which his new house is built. His questions. Should he explain the mechanism of the clock or just the outcome? Should Vendale and Marguerite remain on the stage? And should Obenreizer die on stage from laudanum rather than offstage in an avalanche? Should the play end there? He is not sure if Mme D'Or is needed or not. But He leaves it the decisions "**at your sole discretion**"	**24 Dec 1867**	**The play is too long, he doubts its success. Answers the three points and asks "what do you mean by the whole thing being left 'at my sole discretion'"**	**28 Nov 1867**	**Needs plots and the play of *No Thoroughfare* and ideas that Fechter has. "I shall want them as soon as I can possibly have them"**			Although it seems unlikely that CD's letter of 28 November arrived in time for reply a mere eight days later on 6 December, WC to HC on 6 December makes it clear that he is writing by the mail on 7 December enclosing the play. That may be a coincidence or there may be a later letter that was sent to which CD replied on 24 December, but here it is assumed that this is the reply to WC's of 6 December.
167	26 Dec 1867	He writes at the end of an exhausting but wonderful day. The play was an immense success. The audience were delighted with it and all the actors - especially Fechter but also Miss LeClercq as Marguerite and Henry Neville as Vendale - superb. He has spent much time with his mother who is suffering badly from the bitter cold winter and for whose health he fears. He also writes to ask if he would be so kind as to call on one of the brothers Harper and say that he is behindhand with ***The Moonstone*** and that he fears he will not be able to send the copy 50 clear days in advance. Instead it will be just six weeks. He hopes that will not cause them problems	**12 Jan 1868**	**Delighted the play has been such a success. Expected the change to the 4th act "of which you tell me in your letter received yesterday." No chance of a production in NY, went to Harper who can cope with six weeks if he gets a plot direction for the illustrators. Sorry to hear of his poor mother. Readings going well but he looks forward to returning. Visit to murder scene.**	**2 Dec 1867**	**More about copyright.**			See to HC 27 December 1867 and to Henrietta Ward 28 December (BGLL II 99). The phrasing of CD's letter of 12 January indicates that WC wrote twice in a short space of time - the second letter informing CD of the change to the end of the fourth act and reminding him of the need to visit Harper. CD answers both on 12 January.
168	27 Dec 1868	He writes again first to say that he did make the alteration to the end of the 4th Act so that Obenreizer does die on stage - from laudanum. Also he does need an answer from Harper - perhaps by telegraph?							
169	**11 Jan 1868**	He writes at the end of the second week. He was too afraid to see the play after the first wonderful night but he went back tonight and the audience is still overwhelmed by it, applauding till their hands ache. They will be rich from it! "**Fechter is magnificent**" in another scene "**his superb playing brings the house down**" "**I should call even his exit in the last act one of the subtlest and finest things he does in the piece...You can hardly imagine what he gets out of the part, or what he makes of his passionate love for Marguerite.**" Behind the scenes the actors are excited and the machinery and sets work well. Has he heard from Mr Barrett about the possible staging in New York? It is such a success that he is confident it will still be playing when CD returns to London. Write and tell him how the readings are going.	**31 Jan 1868**	**"Your letter dated on the eleventh reached me here this morning." Delighted with account of play. Has heard nothing of Barrett. Pirates abound. Smaller halls for readings.**					The quotes are recovered from CD to Fechter 24/2/1868 (PILGRIM XII 56) "In a letter I had from him, dated the 10th of January" CD goes on to say "these expressions, and many others like them, crowded his letter." Despite the date confusion it is likely WC wrote one letter on this occasion. He clearly gives CD an account of what goes on behind the scenes in the play which is hard to reconstruct. The rest is reconstructed from CD's reply and other information. On 17 January WC writes to HC "The Play goes on wonderfully. Every night the theatre is crammed." (BGLL II 105).
170	5 Jun 1868	He gets on well, another three weeks should do it. The book will end with the 32nd or 33rd part. His teeth have been giving him trouble but he cannot see Gregson until his labours are over. Excellent news from Paris, many thanks. he would so have liked to visit himself. But he had every confidence in what CD and Fechter had done with it.			**4 Jun 1868**	**"You are getting on, I hope?" He is just back from three days in Paris and the piece [L'Abime] a great success.**			For content see to Harper 6 June 1868 (BGLL II 115-16) to Gregson 8 July 1868 (BGLL II 117).

			date	content	date	content	date	content	
11	1 May 1851	Asks if Charles Ward can have a ticket to the performance of ***Not So Bad as We Seem*** on 27 May	**12 May 1851**	**"My only hesitation in the matter is this". Not completely sure as Edward Ward and wife already on the list.**					
171	8 Jul 1868	He writes at once to thank him for the letter. He has asked de Mussy to visit Gad's Hill and also asks if he has any objection to Beard examining him. All three of them may well arrive shortly after this letter.			7 Jul 1868	He is sorry to alarm him but he should know that Charley is very ill with terrible pains in his gut, awake all night and vomiting⋯	**8 Jul 1868**	**WC to de Mussy: "I have received a very alarming account of my brother today" in a letter from CD**	It is not known if WC went to Gad's Hill as he suggested in his letter to de Mussy. He was certainly back home on 11th.
172	7 Dec 1868	How are the readings going? Has CD developed the ending of Oliver Twist into a reading as WC suggested? He has read the first number of the New Series of AYR. He enjoyed CD's account of being on board the steamer - it reminded him of sailing to Italy with CD and Egg all those years ago. He enjoyed the first part of Fitzgerald's 'Zero' and was most interested in the idea he has had. Will be interested in seeing how he works it out. He is working hard on a new play which he has great hopes for and which should open in March. It is a daring new and original idea, well developed from Fechter's original thoughts. For now, the dramatic 'Moorstone' is not being pursued.	**8 Dec 1868**	**Hard at work, developing Oliver but not performing until the New Year, weather. "I am glad to hear that you like the steamer" "P.S.--I have read the whole of Fitzgerald's "Zero", and the idea is exceedingly well wrought out."**			**12 Dec 1868**	**CD to Fitzgerald "Fatal Zero goes on famously...I had a letter from Wilkie Collins yesterday, much interested in perceiving your idea and in following your working out of it."**	Although CD says to Fitzgerald that he had a letter from WC "yesterday", it seems likely that he is referring to the same letter of 7 December rather than another in reply to his of 8 December. But if CD is accurate about the date, it is evidence of another pair of letters with WC questioning what Zero was about and then seeing CD's PS makes the comments quoted by CD to Fitzgerald. WC's content is largely from CD's reply of 8 Dec.
173	14 Feb 1869	At last he has finished his new play in good time for its opening on 29 March. He would like to hear CD's views.	**15 Feb 1869**	**"I have read the play with great attention" Likes it. Here are a few suggestions.**					
174	16 Feb 1869	Many thanks for his suggestions which he will consider as the play develops in rehearsal.			**15 Feb 1869**	**see letter above**			In fact WC adopted very few of CD's suggestions - see PILGRIM XII 289-90 notes.
175	26 Jan 1870	Charley will bring this letter with a formal one which makes clear that the copyright in all the pieces I wrote in HW and AYR remains mine. Sorry to ask for this but he needs to be free to negotiate new deals on some of them and he might as well include them all. Charley will bring it because he is confined to his room, suffering from a blinding attack of gout in the eye, hence the hand of this letter is that of his amanuensis to whom he has dictated it.	**27 Jan 1870**	**"Within, you will find the original draft⋯with my version of the same under my hand." Concerned to hear of his bad attack**					For gout see WC to Tindell 25 January 1870 (BGLL II 170). From then and up to 21 February all WC's known letters were in the hand of Carrie Graves. It is possible that WC replied, not least about his health, in Carrie's hand.

A Tale of Two Authors: The Shorter Fiction of Gaskell and Collins

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In the issue for February 1857 of the New York *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, there appeared a short, dramatic narrative of a young woman's bravery, entitled "The Siege of the Black Cottage".[1] The story was published unsigned, and it has subsequently been claimed for both Elizabeth Gaskell and Wilkie Collins. My objectives here are first to confirm the bibliographical status of this tale, and then to suggest what can be learned from the confusion over authorship concerning the interaction of the publishing format and literary form of shorter fiction around the middle of the nineteenth century.[2]

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Founded in 1817, well before there was any American law to protect the copyright of aliens, the New York literary house of Harper had long specialized in reprinting fiction originally published in Britain, with or without authorization. In the early 1840s, at the time of Charles Dickens's first visit to the United States, Harper & Brothers were still known as "the redoutable champions of literary piracy" (Barnes, p. 80), though not long afterwards they acquired a London agent, Sampson Low, and began to offer payment to English authors whenever there was an economic incentive to do so. In June 1850, only a couple of months after the appearance in London of the first issue of *Household Words*, the New York house had started its own literary miscellany, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. With each issue containing nearly 150 double-column pages, including a generous supply of quality illustrations, and selling at only a quarter, this represented even better value than Dickens's twopenny plain weekly paper. A major reason was doubtless the magazine's policy of "transfer[ing] to its pages as rapidly as they may be issued all the continuous tales of Dickens, Bulwer, Croly, Lever, Warren, and other distinguished contributors to British Periodicals".[3] Indeed, two of the

[1] "The Siege of the Black Cottage", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 14:81 (February 1857) pp. 334-41. A searchable facsimile edition of the volumes of *Harper's New Monthly* for 1850-1899 is available on Cornell University Library's webpages. Go to: <http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa>. Last visited: 12 March 2006.

[2] This article is based upon a guest lecture under the title "Other Tales", given at the Annual Conference of the Japan Gaskell Society, held at Waseda University, Tokyo, on 2 October 2005. I am grateful to the other participants for their helpful and encouraging comments.

[3] "A Word at the Start", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 1:1 (June 1850) pp. 1-2.

lengthier items in the opening issue were the first serial installment of *Maurice Tiernay* and the complete narrative of "Lizzie Leigh," lifted from the April issue of the *Dublin University Magazine*, and the first three numbers of *Household Words*, respectively. Both on the paper cover of the June issue and in the index to the bound volume containing the first six, *Maurice Tiernay* was correctly assigned to Charles Lever, while "Lizzie Leigh" was ascribed mistakenly to Dickens rather than to Elizabeth Gaskell. It is now difficult to ascertain whether or not the mistake was intentional.[4]

Though it appeared along with a number of unsigned sketches of local origin, like the satirical "Pursuit of a Wife" (p. 346-56) set in New York, "The Siege of the Black Cottage" itself was clearly from the pen of a British author. The heroine Bessie, a stone-mason's daughter without "a farthing of money of her own", acts as the narrator of her own story which is set "in the midst of a moor in the West of England". The main events take place when the eighteen-year-old Bessie is left alone at night in an isolated cottage, and acts with unexpected courage and ingenuity to protect the money left in her care by a wealthy neighbour from a violent gang of ruffians. This narrative opens:

> To begin at the beginning, I must take you back to the time after my mother's death, when my only brother had gone to sea, when my sister was out at service, and when I lived alone with my father . . .

But there is also a frame narrative, beginning:

> Young Lady,—As you were leaving my house, I accidentally heard you ask your sister if it was true that I had begun life as the daughter of a poor working stone-mason of the lowest degree . . .

In this the adult Bessie, now "wife of one of the largest and richest gentlemen-farmers" in the area, explains to a young visitor, curious about her humble origins, how her social advancement came as an indirect reward for her heroic performance during the siege. The tale's underlying theme is indeed a questioning, at once restrained and persistent, of the conventionally assigned class and gender roles of the mid-Victorian period. Although there is apparently no reference to the story among the author's private papers, it is not difficult to find parallels, whether of setting, characterization, plot or subject, elsewhere among the shorter works of fiction by Gaskell. On the basis of the textual evidence, then, claiming the story for her does not seem unreasonable.

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[4] Typically for that period, neither *Maurice Tiernay* nor "Lizzie Leigh" was signed in its original British periodical appearance; the first signed British volume editions appeared only in 1852 and 1855, respectively. *Household Words* carried the legend "Conducted by Charles Dickens" prominently on its masthead, and, either for that reason or because his name would sell more copies, unauthorized American reprints of material from that journal by other authors often identified Dickens as author. For example, Wilkie Collins's tale "Sister Rose", appearing in *Household Words* from 7-28 April 1855, was reprinted in the same year as a slim volume by Peterson of Philadelphia under Dickens's name. Indeed, in May 1850 *Lizzie Leigh* had appeared in a similar volume carrying Dickens's name, from Dewitt and Davenport in New York; according to Smith (pp. 27-34), the story "continued to appear under Dickens's name in America as late as the 1870s".

The source of the ascription to Gaskell appears to be the Harpers themselves. Though there was no indication of provenance on the February 1857 magazine cover, or in the index to the bound volume appearing in the May, in mid-1870 the New York house issued a cumulative index where "The Seige of the Black Cottage" and the name of "Mrs E.C. Gaskell" were linked together in the alphabetical lists of both authors and works (*Index to Harper's Monthly*, pp. 191 & 371).[5] This attribution still has a certain currency today. The rapid growth of academic interest during recent decades in both Victorian women's writing and Victorian periodicals has inevitably encouraged a search for lost work. Most notable for our purposes is the 1981 article by Unsworth and Morton, which attributes eight new items to Gaskell, based mainly on stylometric analysis.[6] It is then perhaps unsurprising that many modern Gaskell scholars have been keen to add "The Seige of the Black Cottage" to the total. Mitsuharu Matsuoka includes the tale in his listing of shorter works of fiction by the author, though he notes that this is an "uncertain attribution"; Linda Hughes and Michael Lund (p. 118), on the other hand, discuss the story confidently as a product of Gaskell's pen.

Yet there is incontrovertible evidence that the story was written by Wilkie Collins.[7] It was reprinted under the author's name as "Brother Owen's Story of the Black Cottage," the first tale in *The Queen of Hearts* (1859), a collection of ten set within a frame narrative, which was published in October 1859 in three volumes from Hurst & Blackett. There, it is true, the original frame of Bessie's address to the young visitor is stripped away. Instead we find the Sheherazade-like conceit of an elderly lawyer and his two brothers spinning stories to detain his beautiful young ward, so that his absent son will have time

[5] The author entry for Gaskell again overlooked "Lizzie Leigh" which remained assigned to Dickens, but correctly identified three other works – "A Love Affair at Cranford," March 1852, "The Doom of the Griffiths", January 1858, and "An Incident at Niagara Falls," June 1858. The Cranford episode, originally appearing unsigned in *Household Words* on 3 January 1852, was reprinted under Gaskell's name as chs. 3-4 in the 1853 single-volume edition from Chapman & Hall. The two 1858 items had both appeared in *Harper's Monthly* signed "Mrs Gaskell": "The Doom of the Griffiths" had been purchased through Sampson Low, while "An Incident at Niagara Falls" seems to have been "transferred" from Gaskell's edition of Maria S. Cummins's *Mabel Vaughan*, which had appeared as a single volume from Routledge in 1857.

[6] See Anna Unsworth & A. Q. Morton. "Mrs Gaskell Anonymous: Some Unidentified Items in *Fraser's Magazine*", *Victorian Periodicals Review* 14 (Spring 1981) pp. 24-31.In the 1999 CD-ROM edition of the *Wellesley Index*, the six items attributed on internal evidence alone are flagged as uncertain. Both Angus Easson in the Gaskell entry in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 3rd ed. IV (1999), pp. 1291-1301, and Joanne Shattock in her edition of *The Works of Elizabeth Gaskell* (10 vols; London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005-6), take a similarly cautious approach. See Joanne Shattock, "The New Complete Edition of the Works of Elizabeth Gaskell", *Gaskell Society Journal* 19 (2005), pp. 100-106, especially pp. 104-5.

[7] The fact that the attribution to Gaskell was spurious and the true author was Collins is indeed noted in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 3rd ed., IV pp. 1299-1300, though there Easson traces the origin of the mistake only back to the 1885 edition of the cumulative index to *Harper's Monthly*.

to return from the Crimean War to claim her heart. This opens:

> WE were three quiet, lonely old men, and SHE was a lively, handsome young woman, and we were at our wits' end what to do with her. . . .

Yet the text of the main narrative remains the same in all but the most minor details, and opens unmistakably, "To begin at the beginning, I must take you back to the time after my mother's death . . .". What remains uncertain is how the New York publishers obtained the story, since the pattern does not match that of any of the three other pieces by Collins carried by *Harper's Monthly* during the 1850s. These were two anecdotes in April 1851, reprinted without authorization from the volume *Rambles Beyond Railroads*, and "A Marriage Tragedy" in February 1858, which the New York firm had clearly purchased from the author via Sampson Low. Like "The Black Cottage" itself, "A Marriage Tragedy" appeared first in *Harper's Monthly* and was later incorporated into *The Queen of* Hearts, as "Brother Griffith's Story of a Plot in Private Life". When it was published in New York, though, "A Marriage Tragedy" was clearly signed and headed "Written Exclusively for Harper's Magazine," as indeed was Gaskell's "Doom of the Griffiths" the previous month. It is difficult to explain both these variations and how the editors came eventually to attribute Collins's tale to Gaskell. Amongst Collins's surviving correspondence, there is only a single reference to the story, in a letter written to the editor of the *Athenaeum* objecting a review of *The Queen of Hearts*, on the grounds that it dismissed the book as merely "a reprint from Household Words":

> If the critic in question will be so obliging as to open the book, he may make acquaintance with three stories ("The Black Cottage," "The Biter Bit," [first published in the Boston *Atlantic Monthly*] and "A Plot in Private Life") which he has not met with before in Household Words, or in any other English periodical whatever; and he will, moreover, find the whole collection of stories connected by an entirely new thread of interest which it has cost me some thought and trouble to weave for the occasion,
>
> (26 October 1859, *The Public Face of Wilkie Collins*, I p. 181)

While this suggests that Collins had in fact authorized the publication of "The Black Cottage" in New York, it does not otherwise help to explain the confusion over authorship.

* * * * *

I have described this affair in some detail not only to set the bibliographical record straight, but also because it can tell us a good deal about the earlier Victorian market for shorter fiction in general, and Dickens's impact upon it in particular. In other words, the simple question, "Was 'The Siege of the Black Cottage?'" written by Gaskell or Collins?", leads to another and more complex one: "How is it possible for informed observers to confuse the work of writers as different as Gaskell and Collins?" For, while it is true that the two authors may coincide in their probing of the boundaries of social class, and in their depiction of strong female characters, in almost all other respects

their positions seem strongly opposed. This remains true whether we focus on the generation to which they belonged, their social background, gender identity, regional affiliation, religious beliefs, or literary style. Things becomes clearer if we consider whether it would have been possible to confuse the authorship of full-length novels by Gaskell and Collins, say *Wives and Daughters* and *Armadale*, whose initial serial runs in the *Cornhill Magazine* happened to overlap to a considerable extent.[8] The answer must, of course, be a resounding negative. Here it is important to recognize a further commonality, the complex influence of Dickens as editor and publisher, at the same time empowering and overbearing, on the development of their early literary careers. Nevertheless, we must note that this influence was less crucial regarding novel serialization in the case of Gaskell at least, none of whose full-length narratives were to appear in either of Dickens's weekly miscellanies after the problems in 1854 with *North and South*. These left the author convinced that the form of the work had been distorted, that "[e]very page was grudged" to her so that she was "compelled to desperate compression" (to Anna Jameson, [Jan 1855], *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, #225, pp. 328-9). In contrast, the form of Collins's mature sensation novels was shaped to a considerable extent by the fact that four out of five of them, from *The Dead Secret* (1857) through to *The Moonstone* (1868), appeared initially in weekly installments in *Household Words* or *All the Year Round*; and here there was relatively little in the way of tension with the editor. In the space remaining, I thus wish to consider the impact of publishing format on literary form, in relation to the shorter fiction produced by Gaskell and Collins in the course of their literary careers.

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So far I have consicously avoided using the term "short story". This is because, in Britain at least, the phrase did not come into common use until late in the nineteenth century, when it was associated with the aesthetics of early modernism with its preference for realism, irony and compression. Around this time, there appeared a number of articles claiming that the form had originated in America, where short narratives of local colour had long been popular. Yet there was clearly no shortage of British shorter fiction earlier in the Victorian period, especially in periodicals.[9] There the term "tale" was still preferred for narratives that tended either to function as fillers between the runs of full-length installment novels, or to be associated with the Christmas season, which thus imparted a distinctly gothic flavour. (A similar argument can be made concerning the terms "novella" and "novelette"; until the *fin de siècle* the

[8] *Wives and Daughters* ran in 18 parts from August 1864 until January 1866, while *Armadale* appeared in 20 parts from November 1864 to June 1866. The overlap was thus of 14 months including the whole of 1865.

[9] See, for example, Bret Harte, "The Rise of the 'Short Story'", *Cornhill Magazine* NS 7 (July 1899) pp. 1-8; or "Editor's Study", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 112 (March 1906) pp. 638-40, where it was stated that: "The short story is peculiarly an American Institution" (p. 638). See also Keating (p. 39), where he suggests that the term "short story" was "first coined by the American critic Brander Matthews in an article in the *Saturday Review*, July 1884".

latter is far more commonly found.)[10] This is only one among a number of dissatisfactions with Harold Orel's monograph *The Victorian Short Story* (1986), which remains the most detailed historical treatment of the subject. Another is that, while Orel recognizes the importance to the changing aesthetics of shorter fiction of "the development of mass-circulation periodicals" (p. 184), his book is extremely short on detailed knowledge of publishing history. In the twenty years since Orel's work appeared, of course, the study of what is now often called "print culture" has become a burgeoning academic enterprise. Here I can mention briefly only three among many relevant projects: first, Simon Eliot's bibliometric work on nineteenth-century publishing trends, which shows how the Christmas season gradually emerged as the climax of the publishing year (Eliot, esp. pp. 26-42); next, my own work on popular fiction serialization from the mid-century, which shows the growing importance of both the weekly installment and the newspaper as a venue for it (Law, esp. pp. 3-38); and last, John Plunkett's works on the reign of Victoria as the first "Media Monarchy", which shows how important the illustrated press then was in melding the concepts of bourgeois family and nation state (Plunkett, esp. pp. 1-12). In their different ways, all three help us to understand that Dickens's impact on the growth of mass-circulation journals was determined not just by his massive talent and personality, but also by the fact that his editorial projects captured the spirit of the age.

By any calculation, even excluding "novelettes" like Gaskell's *The Moorland Cottage* and Collins's *Mr Wray's Cash-Box*, both writers produced well over fifty works of shorter fiction, of which a large proportion made their first appearance in either *Household Words* or *All the Year Round*. In fact their careers as writers of tales run in parallel fashion to a remarkable extent. Both made their early appearances in monthly journals edited by others (Gaskell in *Howitt's Journal* and Collins in *Bentley's Miscellany*, most notably), and defected late in their careers to George Smith's *Cornhill*, a rather more prestigious and remunerative venue, but in between they remained very faithful to Dickens's cheap weekly miscellanies. In Gaskell's case this phase spanned from "Lizzie Leigh" (*HW*, 30 March 1850, the first number) to "Crowley Castle" (*AYR*, Christmas 1863); in Collins's from "A Terribly Strange Bed" (*HW*, 24 April 1852) to a share in *No Thoroughfare* (*AYR*, Christmas 1867). Within these periods, among the most telling tales were those appearing in the Extra Christmas Numbers. Altogether there were sixteen such numbers, published continuously from 1852 to 1867, to which either Gaskell and/or Collins contributed to twelve, the four omitted all being found in the mid-1860s. Gaskell appeared in a total of five, but in the first two cases, *A Round of Stories by the Christmas Fire* (*HW*, 1852) and *Another Round of Stories by the*

[10] The *OED*, for example, provides the first citation of "novelette" as early as 1814, while the first cited usage of the term "novella" is by the *doyen* of American Realism, W.D. Howells: "Few modern fictions of the novel's dimensions . . . have the beauty of form many a novella embodies." See W.D. Howells, "Some Anomalies of the Short Story, "*Literature and Life* (New York: Harper, 1902), pp. 110-24; here p. 116.

Christmas Fire (*HW*, 1853), as the titles suggest, there was no frame narrative or unifying concept other than that of Yuletide itself. Collins appeared in a total of nine, all with strong conceptual frameworks, including eight continuously from 1854-61, and, as Lillian Nayder has emphasized (pp. 9-14), in two cases (*The Perils of Certain English Prisoners*, *HW* 1857, and *No Thoroughfare*) the work was co-authored by Dickens and Collins alone. But it could also be claimed that Gaskell and Collins were occasional literary collaborators, since both contributed to not only *A House to Let* (1858) but also *The Haunted House* (1859), respectively, the last Christmas number of *Household Words* and the first of *All the Year Round*. Moreover, during the 1850s at least, even those works of shorter fiction by Gaskell and Collins that were *not* subject to Dickens's control as editor reveal his influence to a remarkable extent. Indeed, both *The Moorland Cottage* (Chapman & Hall, 1850) and *Mr Wray's Cash-Box* (Bentley, 1852) are apprentice Christmas books following the format popularized by the master Boz, with *A Christmas Carol* (Chapman & Hall, 1842), and the rest. And in the later 1850s, when both authors begin to gather their shorter tales from the periodicals into collections for book publication, the model of the *Household Words* Christmas Numbers with their elaborate narrative framework is apparent. Having already alluded to Collins's *The Queen of Hearts* in 1859, we need to mention here only *Round the Sofa* from the same year, where Gaskell employs the device of a weekly *soirée* at the residence of a doctor in Edinburgh's Old Town to contextualize her tales.

However, these examples also serve to remind us that, when we look more closely at the parallel outputs of shorter fiction from the pens of Gaskell and Collins, there are significant differences of literary form alongside the similarities of publishing format. Above all, the disparities concern the degree of tension with the models laid down by Dickens, the general point being that Gaskell typically displays a good deal more resistance than Collins. Let me briefly offer some examples. Regarding the early Christmas Books, Collins's *Mr Wray's Cash-Box*, with oral narrative style, gothic cast of eccentrics, wry humour, and sentimental ending around the yuletide fire, clearly endeavours to "strike the chord of the season".[11] It is far more in keeping with the Dickensian Christmas spirit than Gaskell's sombre *The Moorland Cottage*, where the *dénouement*, with its symbolic drowning and resurrection of the heroine, seems more in the Easter vein. In the case of the collections of tales, Gaskell's narrative framework in *Round the Sofa* is far more perfunctory, accounting for only 3% of the total word count as opposed to 18% in the case of Collins's *The Queen of Hearts*.[12] And in contrast to his stout public defence of his method in

[11] The phrase is from Dickens's letter to the Revd. James White of 22 November 1852 (*Letters of Charles Dickens* VI, p. 809), where he describes "the spirit of the Christmas number"; see the discussion in Thomas, p. 66ff.

[12] This was in fact the only occasion on which Gaskell attempted to create a frame narrative. Her collections of tales published in Britain without such a device were: *Lizzie Leigh; and Other Tales* (Chapman & Hall, 1855); *Right at Last, and Other Tales* (Sampson Low, 1860); *Cousin Phillis, and Other Tales* (Smith, Elder, 1865); and *The Grey Woman, and Other Tales* (Smith, Elder, 1865). Collins, on the other hand, had already produced a "new thread

the letter to the *Athenaeum*, she dismisses her own construction in private correspondence with a friend:

> You will be seeing a book of mine advertized; but don't be diddled about it; it is only a REpublication of H W Stories; I have a rascally publisher this time (Sampson Low . . .) & he is trying to pass it off as new. I sold the right of republication to him in a hurry to get 100£ to take Meta [her daughter] abroad out of the clatter of tongues consequent on her breaking off her engagement. . .
>
> (to Anne Robson, [February 1859], *Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, pp. 530-1)

Perhaps the most telling cases, though, are found in those Extra Christmas Numbers to which both Gaskell and Collins contributed. Here the varying levels of resistance are obviously related to the fact that, as a woman, Gaskell was excluded from any editorial role in Dickens's journals, while from October 1856 until January 1862 Collins was a paid member of staff. In *A House to Let*, Collins's "Trotter's Report," with its focus on the restoration of the lost boy, not only reinforces Dickens's theme of the Christmas gift of the Christ child, but it is so committed to the narrative frame (constructed together by the two men) that it cannot stand independently as an short tale.[13] In contrast, Gaskell's contribution, "The Manchester Marriage," now one of her most anthologized tales, works entirely independently of the frame, and again, with its *dénouement* in the sacrificial death of the first husband, Frank Wilson, and the consequent redemption of the second, the Manchester man Openshaw, more strongly evokes the spirit of Easter. Moreover, the sympathetic treatment of Openshaw can be interpreted as a challenge to Dickens's attack on Manchester values in the person of Gradgrind in *Hard Times.* Since the serial run of *Hard Times* in *Household Words* had immediately preceded that of *North and South*, there might even be a sense in which Gaskell was getting her own back for the damage done to the form of that narrative.

A similar argument could perhaps be made about "The Crooked Branch," Gaskell's contribution to *The Haunted House*, but here I will focus instead on the nature of the frame narrative itself, in this case constructed by Dickens alone. There, each of the fictional guests telling a story in the haunted house is given a persona that parodies the personality of the real contributing author, and thus reveals his or her identity to those in the know – with the marked exception of Gaskell herself. The Bohemian George Augustus Sala becomes "Alfred Starling, an uncommonly agreeable young fellow … who pretends to be 'fast' (another word for loose, as I understand the term)". Feminist versifier Adelaide Anne Procter becomes "Belinda Bates, … [who]

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of interest" for the earlier collection, *After Dark* (Smith, Elder, 1856). For purposes of comparison, we should note that, taking *A House to Let* as a typical Dickens Christmas number, there, even excluding "Trottle's Report", the frame narrative accounts for just over 30% of the total word account.

[13] It was thus excluded from *Wilkie Collins: The Complete Shorter Fiction*, where the editor, Julian Thompson, notes that "Trottle's Report" belongs to a group of contributions to Christmas numbers that "do not seem to me to be sufficiently self-contained to merit reprinting here" (p. xiii).

has a fine genius for poetry, combined with real business earnestness, and "goes in" for Woman's mission . . .". The sailing fanatic Wilkie Collins, already more than a little overweight, becomes "one 'Nat Beaver', . . . captain of a merchantman . . . with a thick-set wooden face and figure, and … a world of watery experience." Gaskell, in contrast, is disguised as Dickens's legal representative Frederick Ouvry: "Mr Undery, my friend and solicitor: who came down, in an amateur capacity, . . . and who plays whist better than the whole Law List . . .". In thus symbolically excluding her from the group around the Christmas fire, Dickens seems to have been signalling his awareness of and annoyance at Gaskell's persistent resistance to his narrative schemes. Indeed, she was not asked to contribute to the extra number for several years, and returned for one last contribution only in 1863, with "Crowley Castle" in *Mrs Lirriper's Lodgings.* This, of course, was after Collins himself had jumped ship.

* * * * *

Seen in the general context of Dickens's impact on both the literary form and the publishing format of the mid-Victorian tale, the confusion concerning the authorship of "The Siege of the Black Cottage" becomes rather more comprehensible and enlightening. Perhaps I can conclude by differentiating my position from those of a couple of earlier commentators on the process of collaboration with Dickens. First, despite my admiration for its patient unravelling of the ideological tensions between Dickens and Collins in their co-authoring of the Christmas numbers, I think that Lillian Nayder's *Unequal Partners* slightly overdoes their personal and political conflicts. Something in the way of a control experiment, more systematically comparing and contrasting Dickens's acts of collaboration with women writers – and Gaskell is really the only viable candidate here – might have produced a more nuanced account. On the other hand, I am convinced that Harold Orel considerably underplays the importance of Dickens's relations to his co-authors in "Charles Dickens: establishing rapport with the public," the relevant chapter of *The Victorian Short Story.* There, for example, Orel is surely wrong to claim that, in the Christmas numbers they worked on together, "Collins was responsible primarily for sections of the framework used by Dickens rather than for the narratives themselves" (p. 63). More generally Orel seeks to stress the uniqueness of Dickens's sense of fictional form: "A short story by Dickens may resemble short stories by his contemporaries much less strikingly than it does longer stories by himself. In this genre, as in so much else that he wrote, Dickens created his own universe." (p. 78). I could not disagree more with this conclusion.

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~~Notes~~

From "A Journey in Search of Nothing" to "The Lazy Tour": Collins, Dickens, and the "Tyro Do Nothing"

Chris Louttit
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"The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices," a collaborative travel piece by Dickens and Collins published in *Household Words* in 1857, has often been interpreted as a straightforward representation of biographical "truth." Catherine Peters, for instance, suggests that "'The Lazy Tour' … is a good example of Wilkie's skill at complementing Dickens … It is, under the not very opaque cloak of anonymity, candid about both the Idle Apprentices" (180). Ellen Moers takes this further, claiming that "A constant interplay between the two temperaments provides all the interest in *The Lazy Tour*," which is "otherwise a foolish piece of hackwork" (240). She continues by offering a summary of this "interplay": "Goodchild runs about, plans, manages and runs about again, while Idle drifts, yawns, lounges, waves his hand languidly and goes to sleep in protest" (240).

This oppositional view of the Dickens-Collins relationship is, it is true, the one presented in "The Lazy Tour."[1] Dickens—or rather, his alter-ego Francis Goodchild—is, as we might expect, "laboriously idle, and would take upon himself any amount of pains and labour to assure himself that he was idle; in short, he had no better idea of idleness than it was useless industry" (Dickens and Collins, 313). Collins, as Thomas Idle, becomes

> an idler of the unmixed Irish or Neapolitan type; a passive idler, a born-and-bred idler, a consistent idler, who practised what he would have preached if

[1] Biographers of Dickens have tended to stress the difference between the temperaments of Dickens and Collins. Dickens thus emerges as upright, manly, and hard-working—to the point, even, that his vast resources of energy wear him out. Collins, in contrast, appears worryingly effete, and is described as being "indolent and sybaritic" (Johnson, II 879), or "lazy, sceptical, epicurean, languid" (Moers, 239). If less stridently, Ackroyd also emphasises an active Dickens at the expense of an idle Collins. Thus when Collins enters Dickens's life Ackroyd notes the "many and great contrasts between them … the younger man was untidy, unpunctual, indolent and alarmingly vague on occasions." (671). Later, in describing the summer they spent finishing *The Frozen Deep* in 1856, Ackroyd underlines the fact that "Collins's habits did not entirely conform with those of his host. Dickens's rule was that breakfast should be served at nine o'clock and no later. Collins … often did not rise until eleven o'clock, and was to be seen eating pâté de foie gras by himself" (813).

> he had not been too idle to preach; a one entire and perfect chrysolite of idleness.
>
> (Dickens and Collins, 313)

Is it particularly convincing, though, to claim, as Peters and Moers do, that this off-kilter travel piece presents "candid" biographical evidence about the two men? Viewing "The Lazy Tour" in the context of two travel essays that Collins wrote for journal publication suggests, interestingly, that, for him at least, it is not. Rather the tale can be seen to represent what Deborah Thomas, in her general comments about "joint writing" by Collins and Dickens around this time, calls "a kind of creative game" that the collaborators "might play with one another and the reader" (80).

During the summer of 1847, Collins and Charles Ward went on a painting expedition to Normandy. Collins subsequently wrote up the misadventures of one of their artistic excursions as "A Pictorial Tour to St George Bosherville," published in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1851. This early example seems initially to confirm Collins in the role of the "born-and-bred idler," even without the presence of Dickens as a "laboriously idle" foil. He demonstrates his idling credentials from the start by writing a long ironic digression refuting the benefits of early rising (496). Then again, once he and Ward—Mr Scumble in the public account—have breakfasted, in the role of the narrator, Collins feels the urgent need to rest, to enjoy "an hour or so of profound meditation, in a horizontal position" (500). Ward/Scumble, however, takes up the "laboriously idle" role and reproves his friend's laziness:

> Again the enthusiasm of antiquarian research, the fire of pictorial ambition, burned within that capacious bosom, as my friend arose, and declared that it was now full time to examine the old church, and to sketch the beauties of Nature in all directions, wherever we could find them. Vainly did I plead for a half hour of delay. Mr. Scumble … exultingly ended his oration by pointing to my painting-box, and asking me whether I had carried it all the way to Bosherville for nothing?
>
> (Collins "A Pictorial Tour", 500)

Scumble's speechifying does not seem to provoke his friend into industry. When they reach the church it is locked; as a result the narrator "sat down on the steps, and quietly went to sleep" while his friend "knocked, peeped through the key-hole, and walked round and round the building with a remarkable perseverance" (500).

A comic transformation occurs, however. Realising that to take back his painting-box "without once having made use of it, was too ridiculous!" (502), Collins as narrator earnestly proclaims: "I felt that I must make a sketch, or cover myself with ignominy as an artist and a man!" (502). Having set "to work resolutely and in a mighty hurry" (502), he ironically discovers Scumble "extended flat on his back, and fast asleep already—with his drawing book and pencil lying idle by his side" (502). Having satirised the hypocrisy of his friend, the narrator mockingly claims that "I felt my own superiority, as I turned from the humiliating spectacle behind me, and resumed my work with redoubled ardour" (503). Scumble's idleness makes him even more energetic.

As a point of comparison, it is interesting to look in some length at

Collins's account of the day's events in a private letter to his mother dated 2 August 1847. There he writes:

> we breakfasted à la fourchette on wine, meat, omelette &c &c – which gave Ward a violent head ache and made me very sleepy and unideal – After our meal we started to see the Abbey Church but the Beadle was practising agriculture – i.e. labouring in the fields, so we went into a pine wood to wait his return. There Ward fell asleep and I made a sketch – One of the failures already alluded to. When I had finished my failure and Ward had finished his nap, we returned – but the agricultural fervour still possessed the beadle … and though I penetrated into the priest's garden and asked everyone I met to let us into the Church – and 'drummed' at the Church doors, and so forth, we could not get in, after all
>
> (Collins *Public Face*, I 18).

Given the epistolary form that this takes, it is perhaps inevitable that it is more compressed than the equivalent version in article form. Despite this reservation, it is still worth considering how their emphases differ. What is particularly striking in relation to "A Pictorial Tour" is how little Collins dwells on his own idling: almost all we learn is that his breakfast made him "very sleepy and unideal." The letter version of what is the climactic, punch-line moment in the article is equally as matter-of-fact: "There Ward fell asleep and I made a sketch." As the account proceeds, in fact, it is the active and energetic side of Collins, rushing around, stopping passers-by, and drumming at church doors, that comes to the fore. Reading the private letter alongside the public account, then, stresses several important points. It emphasises, first of all, the difficulty of drawing a narrowly defined notion of biographical "truth" from a piece like "A Pictorial Tour." Like its counterpart "The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices," published six years later, "A Pictorial Tour" is much too playful for that. Rather, in the spirit of Thomas's "creative game", it highlights the variety of poses Collins adopts in presenting himself while in Normandy, both as a "born-and-bred idler" and earnestly strenuous amateur artist.

"The Lazy Tour" seems even more problematic as "candid" biographical evidence when it is considered in the context of another travel essay by Collins, published only a month before it in *Household Words*. A connection between this piece—"A Journey in Search of Nothing" (5 September 1857)—and "The Lazy Tour" has been observed previously. Nuel Pharr Davis hypothesises, in fact, that Collins's article provided the impetus for their excursion to Cumberland. Dickens, in restlessly miserable mood, "happened on the proofs of Wilkie's article about his spring vacation," causing him to ask "Wilkie to work out a similar junket for him" (204). This is probably true, as far as it goes. But what Davis and other critics have not noticed is how very different the unnamed narrator in "A Journey" and Thomas Idle in "The Lazy Tour" are as projections of Collins's own identity.[2]

[2] Lillian Nayder uses "A Journey in Search of Nothing" as context for her reading of "The Lazy Tour." She, however, is not concerned with the essay as biography, viewing it instead as a "story" in which "Collins's narrator is a professional author" (110).

Catherine Peters assumes an autobiographical basis for "A Journey in Search of Nothing." Describing it as "a humorous account of the author's attempt at a rest-cure in the country, on doctor's orders, with his wife," she points out that "Wilkie used many personae for his *Household Words* pieces, of all ages, both sexes, and varied marital status; but in this article the circumstantial detail sounds convincing" (195).[3] If this is correct then it can be intriguingly noted that, rather than being languid, the persona he adopts seems almost more "restless" and unable to "keep quiet, and do Nothing" than Dickens himself ("A Journey", 217). Much of his "restlessness" can be attributed not to an actual lack of peace in this country retreat, but rather to his own state of mind. Thus it tends to be self-generating, and to over-emphasise the actual volume of working noise: "No manufacture is carried on in this peaceful place, no new houses are being built; and yet there is such a hammering that, if I shut my eyes, I can almost fancy myself in the neighbourhood of a dock-yard" (218). The couple eventually leave what is (but does not feel like) a "pretty retired village" (217) for "a large watering-place" on the coast (220). Yet, once there, an inability to be idle persists. Collins muses that he is "Perhaps … naturally of a restless, feverish constitution." Doing nothing is categorised, as a result, as "harder" work than hard work itself (220). His difficulty in being idle is evident once again later in the account when he falls to watching an "aged repairer of ships." Categorising him as "a great professor of the art of doing nothing," he sets out to observe his ability to occupy his time with a minute task and therefore to "learn how to idle systematically" (221). This, too, is a comic failure, so that he admits he is merely "a tyro Do Nothing" (221). His frustration with doing nothing eventually reaches such a pitch that he must return to his writing desk. At the end of their first day at the "watering-place" on the coast we learn that he has "stolen away at the dead of the night in flat defiance of [his] doctor's directions, to relieve the unspeakable weariness by writing these lines" (223). With great archness, then, this short article itself actually represents the narrator's insufficiencies as an idler "vainly trying to vegetate" (223).

Collins presents a very different version of himself as Thomas Idle in "The Lazy Tour." Rather than being "a tyro Do Nothing" like the unnamed writer in "A Journey in Search of Nothing," he is particularly suited to a lazy life. A "born-and-bred-idler," he achieves the idle state effortlessly. Indeed, he expends so little effort on it that it almost flows through him: "Prone on the sofa, Thomas made no attempt to get through the hours, but passively allowed the hours to get through *him*" (Dickens and Collins, 363). Idle's languorous pose is, moreover, comically grounded in his boyhood experiences. In one of the piece's sections he catalogues his unhappy encounters with industry, and concludes that "all the great disasters which had tried his patience and

[3] It is also possible that this experience informs the beginning of Collins's short story "John Jago's Ghost" (1873–74), in which the narrator, Philip Lefrank, is prescribed a rest-cure because of "overwork" (Collins *Mad Monkton*, 248).

equanimity in early life" have been brought about by strenuous "activity and industry" (363).

Viewed without the context of the two travel essays discussed above, Collins's persona in "The Lazy Tour" does give an example, as Peters puts it, of his "skill at complementing Dickens." But this also ignores another important aspect of the relationship, namely Collins's attempts to emulate the working methods of the older writer. Nuel Pharr Davis implies that it was the influence of Dickens's friendship in the early 1850s that made Collins start to work more arduously:

> [In the summer of 1853] Dickens was editing *Household Words*, bringing *Bleak House* to an end, and composing the weekly instalments of *A Child's History*. Mere proximity to him led Wilkie to set himself a Herculean schedule. Wilkie's intention was to complete the entire novel before leaving for Italy with Dickens in the fall.
>
> (Davis, 134)

Davis's claim—that Dickens's impressively demanding work schedule somehow rubbed off on Collins—is confirmed by close attention to letters from this period written while he was staying with the Dickens family. In a letter to Charles Ward in the autumn of 1852, for instance, he writes about his change in habits with wry amusement: 'In bed at half past ten—up at seven—ten mile walk every day—What do you think of that for W.W.C., of late-hours-and-no-exercise notoriety?' (Collins *Letters*, I 90). In another slightly more serious letter of 1853 he informs his brother Charles that "Since our little trip we have not left Boulogne. Dickens has been, and is still, hard at work; and I am hardly less industrious in my smaller way" (Collins *Letters*, I 94). These letters, although markedly different in tone, show Collins to be self-deprecating about his industriousness, and reinforce the influence of the older writer.

Yet, as the close attention paid above to "A Pictorial Tour to St George Bosherville" and "A Journey in Search of Nothing" makes clear, even this is far from the whole picture. These relatively little-known essays indicate instead that before he met Dickens, and also without Dickens as a foil, Collins was capable of performing at least two very different kinds of personae—the effortlessly lazy and the restlessly incapable of being idle—with ease. Catherine Peters suggests that this mix of qualities is what attracted Dickens to him in the first place. Collins had many of

> the habits common to the young Bohemians who clustered around Dickens, but there was one difference which Dickens quickly appreciated: Wilkie was already a professional … [He] was a prolific and reliable journalist, prepared, like Dickens, to take infinite pains over the slightest article.
>
> (Peters, 98)

An intriguing piece of primary evidence from the Pilgrim edition of Dickens's letters forcibly confirms Peters's claim. In a letter dated 20 December 1852, Dickens writes to congratulate Collins on his professional attention to detail in the composition of *Basil* (1852):

> It is delightful to find throughout that you have taken great pains with it besides, and have 'gone at it' with a perfect knowledge of the jolter-

> headedness of the conceited idiots who suppose that volumes are to be tossed off like pancakes, and that any writing can be done without the utmost application, the greatest patience, and the steadiest energy, of which the writer is capable.
>
> (Dickens *Letters*, VI 824)

The habits Dickens assumes that he and Collins share in their approach to writing—"application," "patience," and "energy"—are precisely those associated with the committed, professional mid-Victorian man-of-letters. In the postscript, however, Dickens shows that the two men agree on more than just an interest in careful attention to literary detail. As Dickens playfully puts it: "If I could only find an idle man (this is a general observation) he would find the warmest recognition in this direction" (Dickens *Letters*, VI 824). In this letter, then, Dickens shows his awareness of both sides of Collins's character—the hard-working professional writer, and the languid, pleasure-seeking Bohemian. In the light of such evidence, it becomes difficult to maintain the narrow and oppositional understanding of the Collins-Dickens relationship with which I began. Instead, in the shape of the apparent fluidity of Collins's authorial persona, we can see the pressure of much wider cultural tensions at work. This is a fluidity that is determined, finally, not so much by the influence of Dickens, but rather by conflicting definitions of the role of the Victorian literary man, as both a Bohemian and a middle-class professional.

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The Collected Letters of Wilkie Collins: Addenda and Corrigenda (2)

William Baker, Andrew Gasson, Graham Law, & Paul Lewis

This is the second in the series of annual updates to *The Public Face of Wilkie Collins: The Collected Letters*, published in four volumes by Pickering & Chatto in 2005. The editorial principles, transcription conventions, and abbreviations employed here remain consistent with those described in the prefatory sections of Volume I. In the course of time, it is hoped that this material will be incorporated into a revised edition available in digital form with the added benefit of searchability.

Since the publication of the first of the series in December 2005, eighteen more letters have come to light, raising the total sum of recorded letters over the 3000 mark to 3016. The opportunity has also been taken to correct a few more substantial editorial slips that we have become aware of. We hope readers of the *Wilkie Collins Society Journal* will continue to draw our attention to omissions and errors in the published volumes.

(A) Addenda

*** TO A REPRESENTATIVE OF LONGMAN & CO.,[1] 8 MARCH 1845**

MS: Unknown. Draft: BL (Ad. Ms. 42575 f.158).[2]

March 8/45

My dear Sir

I am sorry ~~to~~ again /to/ trouble you, but the business between us has suddenly taken so ~~unfortun~~ ~~and~~ ~~un~~ /unexpected and/ to me so unaccountable a turn, that I cannot but express to you my /great/ surprise. When I left the MS with you so long since as the 25 of Jan^{y}. you ~~did not~~ gave me ~~every~~ reason to hope that sh^{d} the gentleman you were in the habit of consulting approve of the work (although in most cases you did not venture to publish ~~the first work of an author~~ ~~an unknown~~ /at your own risk works of unknown/ authors) that ~~as a favor~~ you might accede to my wishes, and at this and /a/ subsequent ~~interviews~~ meeting, you asked me whether I would object to be responsible for some ~~share~~ part of the expenses, sh^{d} the work not ~~have a fav~~ succeed, I did not absolutely decline this proposal ~~but~~ stating that, ~~I~~ /as/ I sh^{d} be sorry you shd be a sufferer I had no objection to ~~the~~ your suggestion, to a moderate extent.

Now Sir judge my surprise, when, after the approval of your friend had been obtained and he ~~and all~~ ~~as well as ourselves~~ /~~all were~~

~~agreed~~/ /and all/ agreed on the necessity of no time being lost in ~~the~~ bringing out the work (from the interest the public ~~felt~~ /feel/ at this moment in the local nature of the subject) [3] ~~you d and at I say you~~ /and/ that after the lapse of more than a month, you decline ~~having~~ taking any risk in the publication, and only express your willingness to publish the work for me, why surely if I had intended to do this at my own expense, not a moment need have been lost, no consultations ~~were~~ /would have been/ required ~~but one in the way of business~~ and the book ~~w~~ could have been in the hands of the public at this moment.

I regret that your pressing occupations will not allow you to favor me with a ~~call~~ visit and /that/ my state of health prevents my again calling upon you – ~~but~~ I have no idea of offering it to any other house to meet with ~~more~~ /fresh/ delays and with this very great disadvantage, that I cannot now offer the MS to any other person as I did to you, with the ~~knowl~~ /assurance/ that not one line of it had been read by any other ~~Bookseller~~ publisher – ~~seeing then that there~~

And now my dear Sir, if upon ~~the review of the~~ consideration of the above circumstances you ~~we~~ are disposed to agree to ~~the~~ your original ~~plan~~ proposal, of publishing the work upon my ~~taking a making myself~~ becoming responsible for a portion of the loss, sh[d] there be any – I am willing to consider myself liable to the amount of one third of the outlay~~,~~ ~~and~~ /begging/ ~~you will favor me oblige me by~~ /you will oblige me by as early/ an answer as ~~early~~ may suit your convenience, or ~~will~~ /that you will/ favor me ~~with~~ /~~of~~/ /with/ a call ~~you will oblige~~

I remain yours [truly] | W. Collins

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1. Probably either Thomas Longman (1804-79: *DNB*) or William Longman (1813-77: *DNB*), the brothers then in control of Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, the Paternoster Row publishing firm to which the MS of WC's novel 'Ioláni, or Tahíti as it was' was first submitted. The identification of the firm itself derives from an 1887 journal article based on an interview with WC: '"While in the tea-merchant's office, I completed a wild extravagant story, the scene of which, I remember, was laid in Tahiti before its discovery by the English. The manuscript of this tale I induced my good father to submit to Messrs Longman, whose reader presently returned it with an intimation that the story was hopelessly bad, and that in his opinion the writer had not the smallest aptitude for romance-writing, and had no possible prospect of succeeding in a literary career. I met the worthy man years after at a dinner party, when 'The Woman in White' was running through *Household Words*, and I remember that neither of us could forbear from bursting out a-laughing at the *rencontre*."' ('Our Portrait Gallery: Mr Wilkie Collins', *Men and Women: A Weekly Biographical and Social Journal* 3:36 (5 February 1887) pp. 281-2). Two earlier accounts of the rejection of 'Ioláni', both also based on information from WC, do not specify the publishing house to which the MS of was initially submitted. Compare: 'he wrote a novel of the most wildly impracticable kind, on the subject of savage life in Polynesia, before the discovery of the group of islands composing that country by civilized man. This curious work was offered to all the publishers in London, and, it is needless to say, declined' (Edmund Yates, 'Men of Mark. No. 2 – W. Wilkie Collins', *Train* 3:18 (June 1857) pp. 352-7); and '"The scene of the story," says he [WC], "was laid in the Island of Tahiti, before the period of its discovery by European navigation! My youthful imagination ran riot among the noble savages, in scenes which caused the respectable British publisher to declare that it was impossible to put his name on the title-page of such a novel' ([George M. Towle], 'Wilkie Collins', *Appleton's Journal*

4:75 (3 September 1870) pp. 278-81). The letter to HC of 13 September 1845 suggests that the MS was by then in the hands of Chapman and Hall (Baker & Clarke, I, pp. 27-9).
2. Though Peters (pp. 64-5 & 451n25) assumes that WmC both submitted the novel and wrote the letter, we are convinced that the draft is in the hand of WC, though the signature points towards his father. The contents (notably the reference to 'my state of health') suggest that the initial visit to the publishing house was indeed paid by WmC, but the nature of the revisions suggests that the draft itself was written entirely by WC, though formally on his father's behalf. Given that there are no other extant letters concerning this matter, we have concluded that it is appropriate to include this item in the run of WC's correspondence. These special circumstances also explain why here we have given as full as transcription as possible, including all cancellations and evidence of later insertion.
3. In the mid-1840s, there were many reports and discussions in the British press concerning conflicts between the English and French generally in the South Pacific, and specifically on the island of Tahiti, which had been in the British sphere of influence since the Society Islands were named by Captain Cook in 1769. In 1842, the French military persuaded the ruling monarch, Queen Pomare IV, to accept a French protectorate, and in the following year occupied the island, deposed the Queen, and expelled the acting British Consul, the missionary Rev. George Pritchard. News of these events, of course, took several months to reach Europe. Though disclaiming the act of occupation, the French government declared the protectorate valid. Tahitian resistance to the French presence seems to have continued until 1847, while the protectorate remained in force until 1880, when the island formerly became a French colony.

* TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL,[1] 23 MAY 1848

MS: National Archives (PRO30/22/7C 87-88).

1. Devonport Street | Hyde Park Gardens | May 23rd 1848

My Lord

I have just completed a Memoir of the life of my late father – Mr Collins R.A. – whose pictures of coast and cottage scenes, your lordship may have remarked among the private collections of this country, and in the former Exhibitions of the Royal Academy.

The work is to be published by private subscription during the ensuing autumn. Having already received for my list of subscribers the names of many noblemen and gentlemen distinguished as connoisseurs and as patrons of Art, I have been induced to hope that it would not be entirely inappropriate to communicate my plan of publication to your lordship, should you be willing to permit me the honour of adding your lordship's name to my subscription list – as patronising a work which has for its object to increase (however humbly) the existing collection of Biographies of English Painters.

The Biography will be published in two volumes – with a portrait; and will be sold for one guinea.

I have the honour to be | My Lord

Your lordship's most obedient servant | W. Wilkie Collins

To | The Rt. Honble | The Lord John Russell, M.P.

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1. John, First Earl Russell (1792-1878: *DNB*), Whig statesman who first served as Prime Minister from 1846-52.

TO CHARLES DICKENS, [5] OCTOBER 1859

MS: Unknown.[1] Partial transcript: CD to WC, 6 October 1859. Published: Lawrence Hutton, ed., *Letters of Charles Dickens to Wilkie Collins* (1892), pp. 103-5; Pilgrim, IX, pp. 128.

. . . Could it have been done at all, in the way I suggest, to advantage? . . .[2]

---

1. Judging by CD's reply of 6 October 1859, the letter (presumably later destroyed by CD) contained WC's thoughts on reading the ending of *A Tale of Two Cities* in MS or proof. (The serial run in *All the Year Round* finished only on 26 November). CD's letter concluded: 'I am very glad you like it so much. It has greatly moved and excited me in the doing, and Heaven knows I have done my best and have believed in it.' (Pilgrim, IX, pp. 127-8).
2. WC had presumably suggested that, by allowing the reader access to the thoughts of Dr Manette (imprisoned in the Bastille for uncovering the corruption of the Marquis St Evrémonde), CD might have indicated rather earlier in the narrative the connection between him and Charles Darnay (nephew of the Marquis and in love with Manette's daughter). CD writes: 'I do not positively say that the point you put, might not have been done in your manner; but I have a very strong conviction that it would have been overdone in that manner – too elaborately trapped, baited, and prepared – in the main, anticipated and its interest wasted. This is quite apart from the peculiarity of the Doctor's character, as affected by his imprisonment; which of itself would – to my way of thinking – render it quite out of the question to put the reader inside of him before the proper time, in respect of matters that were dim to himself through being, in a diseased way, morbidly shunned by him. . . .'. CD later summarizes: '"Could it have been done at all, in the way I suggest, to advantage?" is your question. I don't see the way, and I never have seen the way, is my answer. I cannot imagine it that way, without imagining the reader wearied and the expectation wire-drawn.'

TO CHARLES DICKENS, [6] DECEMBER 1867

MS: Unknown.[1] Partial transcript: CD to WC, 24 December 1867. Published: Pilgrim, XI, pp. 520.

. . . at your sole discretion …[2]

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1. Probably a letter of some length to CD in Boston, accompanying a copy of the completed *No Thoroughfare.* Presumably destroyed subsequently by CD.
2. In his reply, after praising the construction but criticizing its length, CD answers queries about the staging of the play – concerning the mechanism of the clock, whether Vendale and Marguerite should remain on stage, whether Obenreizer should die on stage, and whether the part of Mme D'Or is necessary. CD then continues: 'But my dear boy, what do you mean by the whole thing being left "at my sole discretion"? Is not the play coming out, the day after tomorrow???' Since the London production indeed opened at the Adelphi on 26 December, it seems likely WC might have been referring to the projected production in New York by Lester Wallack.

TO CHARLES DICKENS, [10] JANUARY 1868

MS: Unknown.[1] Partial transcript: CD to Charles Fechter, 24 February 1868. Published: *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, edited by his Sister-in-law and his Eldest Daughter (London: Chapman & Hall, 1880, 2 vols), II, pp. 361-3; Pilgrim, XII, pp. 56–8.

. . . Here Fechter is magnificent. . . .
. . . Here his superb playing brings the house down. . . .

. . . I should call even his exit in the last act one of the subtlest and finest things he does in the piece. . . .
. . . You can hardly imagine what he gets out of the part, or what he makes of his passionate love for Marguerite. . . .[2]

1. Apparently a letter of some length, presumably destroyed by CD.
2. Referring to *No Thoroughfare* running at the Adelphi, with Charles Fechter playing Obenreizer to Carlotta Leclerq's Marguerite. CD introduces his quotation of WC's comments with: 'Wilkie has uniformly written of you enthusiastically. In a letter I had from him, dated the 10th of January, he described your conception and execution of the part in the most glowing terms.' The paragraph written by CD concludes: 'These expressions, and many others like them, crowded his letter.' CD had earlier written to WC: 'Your letter dated on the eleventh reached me here [Philadelphia] this morning. . . . I am indeed delighted by your account of the Play, and do begin to believe that I shall see it! Every word of your account of your last visit "Behind", I have read – and shall read – again and again.' (31 January 1868, Pilgrim XII, pp. 30-1). Despite the slight uncertainty concerning the date, this is likely to refer to the same letter from WC.

*** TO HENRY BULLAR, 1 JANUARY 1870**

MS: Unknown. On sale: Christie's Sale 4072, 6 June 2006, lot 200.[1]

90, Gloucester Place, | Portman Square. W. | New Years' Day 1870
My dear Henry,

Thank you for your good wishes. I return them with all my heart.

Come to London when you can. I go for two days to Gloucestershire next week. My next holiday I hope will be celebrated by a visit to Basset Wood.[2]

Yours affectionately | Wilkie Collins

1. In an autograph album compiled by Louisa Haigh.
2. Family home of the Bullars.

*** TO THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE, CHICAGO RELIEF FUND, 31 OCTOBER 1871**

MS: Hanes.[1]

90, Gloucester Place, | Portman Square. W. | 31st October 1871
Gentlemen,

I beg to enclose a cheque for Five pounds, offered to your Fund, as a trifling expression of my sympathy with the sufferers by the Fire of Chicago,[2] and of my sincere admiration of the heroic spirit with which your countrymen have met the disaster that has fallen on them.[3]

I remain, Gentlemen, | Your obedient servant, | Wilkie Collins
To | The Committee of the American | ~~Co~~ Chicago Relief Fund[4]

1. A torn half sheet of notepaper tipped on to a piece of card.
2. The Great Fire burned from the evening of Sunday 8 October to the early hours of Tuesday 10 October 1871, devasting much of the city, and leaving 300 dead and 90,000

homeless. News of the fire was first reported in the *Times* in a brief cabled article entitled 'Awful Fire at Chicago', sent on the Monday and appearing on Tuesday, October 10, p. 3a. A full report, written on October 10 and sent by ship, appeared on 25 October, p. 10a-c.
3. Compare these sentiments with WC's rather unsympathetic account of Chicago and its rebuilding during his later visit to the city; see to Jane Bigelow, 17 January 1874.
4. The *Times* report of October 10 was followed by details of the relief fund being raised jointly by the Lord Mayor of London from the Mansion House and 'The American Committee Chicago Relief Fund' based at 22, Old Broad Street. WC's contribution was clearly sent to the latter address; the cheque appears in his bank account at Coutts on 3 November, confirming that it was indeed directed to a local address.

* TO UNIDENTIFIED RECIPIENT, 7 MAY 1872

MS: Unknown. On sale: eBay (February 2006), priced $180 with nine other autographs.[1]

Very truly yours | Wilkie Collins | May 7th 1872

1. On a rectangular sheet the size of a visiting card; given the position of the date, this is likely to be an autograph for a collector rather than the excised ending of a letter.

* TO UNIDENTIFIED RECIPIENT, 23 MAY 1873

MS: Unknown. On sale: eBay (19-26 February 2006), by Michael A. West of Schoharie, New York, item 6606925349.[1]

Very truly yours | Wilkie Collins | May 23rd 1873 /

1. Written at the top of a small sheet of mourning stationery, this appears to be simply a dated autograph.

TO GEORGE CLARIDGE,[1] 1 AUGUST 1877

MS: Lewis Collection, clipped front of envelope only.[2] Published: Lewis Website.

George Claridge Esqre | 23. Harp Lane | E. C.
Wilkie Collins

1. City of London wine merchant with premises just behind the Custom House, who appears as payee in WC's bank account at Coutts & Co. on a number of occasions around this time.
2. Post-paid, postmarked as dated.

* TO UNIDENTIFIED RECIPIENT,[1] 13 MARCH 1878

MS: Yale (Tinker 720), accompanied by signed photograph.[2]

90, GLOUCESTER PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE. W. | London | 13th March 1878

Dear Sir,

Two famous Indian Diamonds – the "Sancy Diamond", and the "Koh-i-Noor" (now in the possession of the Queen of England)[3] – were originally ornaments in Idols worshipped by the Hindoos. Being "sacred

gems", they were watched night and day by the priests attached to the Temples – and certain disaster was predicted to any sacrilegious person who might attempt to steal them.

These were the only facts known to me when I wrote "The Moonstone". [4] The journey of the three Priests to England in search of ~~the~~ their diamond (and every other incident in the book), took its rise in the imagination of

Yours vy truly | Wilkie Collins

I write in great haste to catch the mail

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1. Judging from the enclosure and the postscript, perhaps an American fan of *The Moonstone* requesting an autograph.
2. An oval portrait taken during winter 1874 by Napoleon Sarony of New York, one of the series of the author in a fur coat; signed 'Vy truly yours | Wilkie Collins'.
3. Famous jewels apparently of Indian origin, each with a chequered history. After being purchased in 1570 by the French Ambassador to Constantinople, the Seigneur de Sancy, the first is now held in the Louvre. The second may have belonged to the early Mughal emperors. Under the Treaty of Lahore following the British conquest of the Punjab, it was controversially presented by Duleep Singh to Queen Victoria in 1851. It was first put on display at the Great Exhibition and is now held in the Tower of London among the Crown Jewels. See Lawrence L. Copeland, *Diamonds: Famous, Notable, and Unique* (Los Angeles: Gemological Institute of America, 1974).
4. See the Prologue to *The Moonstone*, 'The Storming of Seringpatam (1799)'.

* TO MARIAN J. SNOOK,[1] 21 MAY 1879

MS: Unknown, with envelope.[2] On sale: Jeffrey Thomas, Fine & Rare Books, San Francisco 94147-1205, December 2005, priced $950.

90, GLOUCESTER PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE. W. | London
21st May 1879

Dear Miss Marian,

I am quite incapable of disappointing a young lady who is one of my kind readers. Your first letter never reached me – so far as I can remember. I contribute with the greatest pleasure to your collection of autographs, and I hope you will excuse me for keeping you waiting – quite unintentionally.

Faithfully yours | Wilkie Collins

To | Miss Marian J. Snook

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1. An autograph hunter writing from San Francisco; from the census data, probably Marian J. Snook (b. 1855), daughter of George A. Snook, a plumber and gas fitter.
2. Directed to 'Miss Marian J. Snook | Nth cor: Franklin & Fell Streets | San Francisco | California | U. S. A.', with legible postmarks 'LONDON W | ZX | MY 21 | 79' and 'SAN FRANCISCO | CAL | JUN | 10 | 1 PM'. The stamp has been roughly torn away and the letters is redirected in pencil to 'San Diego | Cal'. The envelope is pasted on the inside of the blank leaf of the folding notepaper.

TO UNIDENTIFIED RECIPIENT, 26 FEBRUARY 1884
MS: Lewis Collection.[1] Published: Lewis website.

With Mr Wilkie Collins's compliments

Vy truly yours | Wilkie Collins | 26th February 1884

1. Comprising a rectangle of heavy wove paper of visiting card size (bearing the dated autograph itself), which is glued to a slightly larger rectangle of lighter laid paper (on which the accompanying compliments appear in WC's very small hand).

*** TO D.W. HOWLAND,[1] 24 DECEMBER 1885**
MS: Private.[2]

90, GLOUCESTER PLACE, | PORTMAN SQUARE. W. | London
28th Decr 1885

Sir,

I beg to thank you for your kind letter, and to express my regret at not being able to contribute to the work which you are contemplating. It is, I fear, one of the perversities in my nature, to dislike making speeches myself, and to feel no pleasure (excepting the cases of one or two great orators) in listening to speeches made by other persons. On the few occasions when I have spoken in public, because I felt it a duty to others to do so, I have said as little as possible, and of that little I have not preserved the newspaper reports.[3] Pray accept my excuses, and believe me

Faithfully yours | Wilkie Collins

D.W. Howland Esqre

1. Presumably the overseas or provincial editor of a projected collection of speeches by authors or notable persons of the day, though we can find no evidence that this was published. It might well be D.W. Howland, an educator formerly resident in Calcutta, the author of "Baboo Lore" in the "Bric-à-Brac" column of the New York quarterly *The Century* 26:2 (June 1883) pp. 319-20.
2. On lightweight monogrammed paper with faint horizontal rules.
3. One lengthy speech by WC reported in the press was that as Chairman at the Twentieth Anniversary Festival of the Royal General Theatrical Fund, held on the evening of 12 April 1865. See WC's letter to HC of the following day.

TO NAYLOR & CO.,[1] 10 JANUARY 1887

MS: Lewis Collection, tipped into a copy of Thomas F. Madigan's *Word Shadows of the Great: The Lure of Autograph Collecting* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1930).[2]
Published: Lewis Website.

90. Gloucester Place | London. W | 10th January 1887

Dear Sirs,

In case of accidents by mail, I write to say that my signed receipt to the Manhattan Insurance Company was sent to you by registered letter post on Saturday last.

Faithfully yours | Wilkie Collins

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1. The letter must be to Messrs Naylor, who held WC's life insurance policies first in Boston and then (from early 1884) in New York – see to Sebastian Schlesinger, 28 January 1884. For details of the policies with both the Manhattan Insurance Company and the New England Mutual Insurance Company, see to William Tindell, 3 March 1874 (Baker and Clarke, II p. 381).
2. The letter has been trimmed and has an impressed stamp bottom left, that of Harold E. Harris, Notary Public of New York County. Facing the letter is a 'Certification of Genuineness', notarized by Harris and signed by Madigan. In the book, Madigan notes that '[c]ollectors for years to come will probably never suffer for want of' the letters of prolific Victorian correspondents such as Browning, Ainsworth, Reade, and Collins (p. 217).

* TO B. E. JOSEPH,[1] 13 MARCH 1887

MS: Yale (Tinker 717).[2]

90, GLOUCESTER PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE. W. | London | 21st March 1887

Dear Sir,

I am indeed greatly obliged to you for your kindness in copying, and sending to me, the interesting letter by Sir Walter Scott which it is your good fortune to possess. It will be kept by me, among the letters that I most highly value.[2] As a writer, and as a man, Scott is (to my mind) one of the most admirable and perfect characters that has ever conferred honour on Literature. More than thirty years' study of the art of writing fiction have convinced me that he is, beyond question, the greatest novelist that this country – or any other country – has produced.[3]

Believe me, dear Sir, | Faithfully yours | Wilkie Collins

B. E. Joseph Esqre

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1. Unidentified.
2. The letter in question also remains unidentified.
3. Compare the similar phrasing in the letter to J. A. Stewart of 8 January 1888.

TO [COUTTS & CO.],[1] **1874-1889**[2]
MS: Lewis Collection.[3] Published: Lewis website.

Pay to the order of | Naylor & Co | Wilkie Collins

1. The order to pay is most likely to have been made through WC's London bankers.
2. From early 1874 in Boston and then in New York City from early 1884, WC's American life insurance policies were held by the firm of Naylor & Co., to which Sebastian Schlesinger long belonged. See the letters to Charles Ward of 27 February 1874 and to Schlesinger of 28 January 1884.
3. On a torn scrap of tissue-paper; this may be a carbon copy from a company letter-book rather than the original manuscript.

*** TO UNIDENTIFIED RECIPIENT, UNKNOWN DATE**
MS: Unknown. On sale: eBay (March 2006), by Voyager Press Books of Seattle, Washingon, item 6613997427, an album containing 53 autographs.[1]

. . . interest,
and believe me | Faithfully yours | Wilkie Collins

1. Apparently cut unevenly from the end of a letter for the autograph. Judging by the hand and signature, this is likely to date from WC's later decades.

(B) Corrigenda

*** TO UNIDENTIFIED RECIPIENT, [6-7] SEPTEMBER 1857**
IV, Addenda, p. 401: The MS has been located, and the fragment of text on the verso deciphered, necessitating revisions alike to recipient, date, source line, transcription, and annotations. The entire entry should now read:

*** TO [W.S. EMDEN],**[1] **[5-7] SEPTEMBER 1857**[2]
MS: Private.[3]

. . . – is anxious to be personally introduced to you, for the purpose of submitting a dramatic proposal to your notice . . .
. . .
I am just away for the moors of Cumberland
Very truly yours | Wilkie Collins

1. The recipient must be a theatre manager, and is likely to be to Emden, then lessee of the Royal Olympic where *The Lighthouse* was running, and to whom WC sent a receipt for the payment for performance rights on 5 September. It is possible that this personal letter accompanied the formal receipt.
2. Conjectural dating based primarily on the reference to the trip to Cumberland. Following the Manchester performances of *The Frozen Deep* and in a state of 'grim despair and restlessness', CD proposed on 29 August 1857 that he and WC should 'cast about … go anywhere – take any tour – see any thing – whereon we could write something together.'

(Pilgrim, VIII, p. 423). By early September, CD had announced to Forster that the decision was for a 'foray upon the fells of Cumberland' (Pilgrim, VIII, p. 428). CD and WC left London on 7 September and the collaboration became *The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices*, appearing in *Household Words* 3-31 October 1857.
3. Fragment roughly torn away for the autograph, formerly inserted in an album. Judging by the folds, the portions of surviving text may be from around the middle of the third and fourth pages of a sheet of folded notepaper. Beneath and to the left of the signature is still visible a stroke of the pen that may well be a remnant of the excised addressee line.

*** TO GEORGE M. TOWLE, 21 MAY 1870**

II, p. 186: Fragments of the text of the memoir which accompanied the letter have been restored from the phrases quoted in Towle's unsigned article appearing in Appleton's Journal, and should follow the transcript of the letter.

[*Memoir*] [2]

[*the rudiments of Latin and Green learned at school*]. . . which have not been of the slightest use to me in after-life . . .
[*regarding his literary activities while working in commerce*] . . . to descend from epic poems and blank-verse tragedies . . .
[*regarding his studies at Lincoln's Inn*] . . . I am now a barrister of some fifteen years' standing, without ever having had a brief, or ever having even so much as donned a wig and gown. . . .
[*regarding 'Ioláni'*] . . . The scene of the story was laid in the island of Tahiti, before the period of its discovery by European navigation! My youthful imagination ran riot among the noble savages, in scenes which caused the respectable British publisher to declare that it was impossible to put his name on the title-page of such a novel. For the moment I was a little discouraged. But I got over it, and began another novel. . . .
[*to the favourable reviews of* Antonina] . . . many of my literary elders and betters kindly adding their special tribute of encouragement and approval . . .

2. Fragments of the lost memoir can been restored from the quotations in Towle's article.

*** TO FLORENCE MARRYAT, 15 JUNE 1872**

II, p. 350: The MS has now been located, and the defective text confirmed. The source line, transcription, and associated notes should now read:

MS: Yale (Marryat Papers: Uncat. MSS. 104/GENM).[2]

90. Gloucester Place, | Portman Square. W. | 15th June 1872
Dear Madam,
Pray accept my thanks for your kind letter.

I have engagements – not yet fulfilled – to write two stories for serial publication,[3] I have a play coming out in the autumn,[4] and I possess an inveterate enemy who constantly gets in the way of my work, and whose name is – Rheumatic Gout. Under this combination of obstacles, I have been obliged, this year, to refrain from accepting any proposals for Christmas work. I do not abandon the hope of being able to contribute to "London Society", if I may trust to your kindness to ~~wa~~ let me wait for my opportunity. In the meantime, I sincerely regret that it is not possible for me to appear in the Christmas Number.[5]

With my best wishes for your success,
Believe me | Dear Madam
Faithfully yours | Wilkie Collins

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2. Pasted into an album of autograph letters and photographs; an L-shaped cut has been made in the lower half of the folding notepaper to facilitate attachment, but without loss of text. With grateful thanks to Beth Palmer, of Trinity College, Oxford, who located the letter at the Beinecke.
3. Apart from *The New Magdalen*, no other serial published at this time has been identified.
4. Possibly referring to *The New Magdalen*, although this did not open until 19 May 1873.
5. See to Florence Marryat of 17 July 1873.

*** TO FREDERIC LEIGHTON, 12 MAY 1873**

II, p. 400: The MS has been located. The summary and note 2 should be deleted, with the source line and transcription now reading:

MS: Leighton Archive, Kensington Central Library, London (Folder 1 LH/1/5/31).

90, Gloucester Place, | Portman Square. W. | 12th May 1873

Dear Leighton,

Mr Edward Pigott – a very old friend of mine – is among the Candidates for the Secretaryship to the Royal Academy. If you are still free to give him your support at the election, I can answer for him as a fit man, in every respect, for the position. I speak from a knowledge of him which extends over more than twenty years.

Vy truly yours | Wilkie Collins

TO NATHANIEL J. BEARD, 13 AUGUST 1877

III, p. 166: The initial should be corrected from 'J.' to 'T.' in both recipient and addressee lines, with note 1 revised to read:

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1. The younger son of Francis Carr Beard, Nathaniel Thomas Beard became chief clerk at Bentley's in the later years of the publishing house.

Tamara S. Wagner. *Longing: Narratives of Nostalgia in the British Novel, 1740-1890*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004. pp. 297. ISBN 0-8387-5600-X.

Tamara Wagner's book seeks to "reassess common misinterpretations of nostalgia as a cloying sentimentality or an emotionally distorted memory" (12), and to show that there is much more to be said on the subject. Appreciating the complexity and significance of nostalgia sheds light on a range of crucial scenes in novels such as Wilkie Collins's *Man and Wife*, where the tears of the hero, Arnold Brinkworth, denote more than a lack of manliness and are a "sign of moral superiority" (11). As Wagner observes, characters such as Brinkworth "raise intriguing questions about changing attitudes to nostalgia as well as to tearful men" (11), and these questions invite critics to think more carefully about the deployment of nostalgia in the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. All too often, critics have ignored such questions and dismissed nostalgia as an inherently conservative emotion that is ideologically suspect because of its orientation to the past. The allegation of conservatism is one that Wagner rejects—"Nostalgia for an absent ideal can never be simply pre or 'con-servative,' as it is emphatically not the *status quo* that is desirable" (21)—and throughout the book she reveals that nostalgia is much more than an ideological mask needing to be torn away.

The book begins by tracing two meanings of the term nostalgia: a medical understanding of the term, describing a severe state of home-sickness, and the broader use of the word to describe an emotionally wistful longing for an earlier age. Both meanings signal the density of the word nostalgia, and Wagner's subsequent discussion helpfully shows how conceptions of the term shifted, overlapped and sometimes conflicted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The elusiveness of the term makes it impossible to chart a simple chronology through the period in question, and Wagner responds by focussing on a series of influential historic moments and literary texts. Wagner's methodology offers an intelligent basis for the examination of nostalgia yet it does not always succeed in reining in a wide-ranging discussion that is sometimes overly ambitious. The problem emerges in Chapter One, which looks at the aesthetics of affliction in the novel of sensibility: while the links between nostalgia and sensibility are clear, the broader debates concerning sensibility and emotion threaten to shift the spotlight away from nostalgia. Chapter Two recovers the book's focus by exploring competing clinical and Romantic discourses of nostalgia in the novels of Jane Austen, and locating these views under the headings of "headaches" and "heartaches". Wagner adopts a similar method in Chapter Three when she locates another specific instance of nostalgia, this time regarding the way in which Dickens explores nostalgia and lost childhood through the figure of the orphan; however, the discussion here overreaches itself once again. Part of the problem is that the engagement with a new range of related critical debates weakens the link to Wagner's previous chapter on Austen. The other difficulty in the chapter on Dickens is that the extensive exploration of the orphan in Dickens makes no reference to Laura Peters's important study *Orphan Texts: Victorian Orphans, Culture and Empire* (2000). Of course, any study covering 150 years of literary history is bound to contain a few gaps, but Wagner's decision to think about nostalgia in the context of a very specific pre-existing debate means that the failure

to engage with one of the key works in the field becomes a significant omission, exposing the danger of using too elastic a definition of nostalgia. There are few obvious critical gaps in the broader subject matter of Chapter Four, which considers the idea of homesickness in a selection of Victorian domestic novels, but by the time we get to Chapter Five, on men of feeling in Wilkie Collins's novels, it is difficult to recall the arguments that have led up to the main subject matter of the chapter. As a result, the intelligent reading of Collins's later fiction seems rather disconnected from what has gone before, and Wagner does not fully make the case for reading Collins's later work as an important development within the literary history of nostalgia.

Despite the gaps in the preceding discussion, the chapter on Collins is illuminating. Wagner reads Collins's men of feeling as recovering older, most praiseworthy notions of nostalgia. Whereas the privileged status of individual energy and a self-help ethic in the mid-nineteenth century had left men of feeling appearing weak and discredited, nostalgia is resurrected in Collins's later work as a more heroic and insightful emotional state. "[V]ital villains" are shown to contrast with "a series of hypersensitive heroes" (193) in novels such as *Man and Wife*, *Heart and Science*, and *The Evil Genius*. Wagner argues that the positive view of feeling in these later novels differs from the more ambiguous descriptions that appear in Collins's novels of the 1860s. Reading Collins's later novels in this way offers suggestive links to the rise of the "new *fin de siècle* antihero, as typified by Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray" (215), although Wagner says relatively little about these links and does not consider at length the question of how influential Collins's work is in this regard.

This book contains a lot of thoughtful material and succeeds in its attempt to encourage critics to take nostalgia more seriously. However, a more focussed argument would have made the case more cohesive, as well as making the book a more fluent read. The writing needs more discipline on occasion, from references to Sarah Waters's *Fingersmith* and Michel Faber's *The Crimson Petal and the White* that are too isolated from the surrounding discussion to serve a useful purpose (136), to a paragraph that features six sentences beginning with the word "In" (176-7). Yet in spite of these reservations, I do think that the book has some important things to say and it is encouraging to see a reading of Collins's fiction that finds a way of interpreting his later work outside the dominant paradigm of sensation fiction.

Mark Knight
Roehampton University

Rob Warden. *Wilkie Collins's The Dead Alive: The Novel, the Case, and Wrongful Convictions*. Forward by Scott Turow. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005. pp. xii + 178. ISBN 0-8101-2294-4.

Writing in the *Fortnightly Review* on 1 November 1889, shortly after Collins's death, A. C. Swinburne penned the now-famous couplet linking the social "mission[s]" of Collins's late novels with the near-"perdition" of his artistic genius, expressing as well as questioning the idea that the artistry of a literary work is necessarily compromised when that work serves an explicit, didactic end. Rather than regretting the didacticism of Collins's fiction from the 1870s, as generations of literary critics have done, Rob Warden instead suggests that Collins was not

didactic enough. In this new edition of "The Dead Alive," a story first serialized at the close of 1873 in the *New York Fireside Companion* and, as "John Jago's Ghost," in *The Home Journal* (London), Warden claims that Collins failed to fully exploit his subject matter—the conviction and capital sentencing of men whose alleged murder victim is found alive. Basing his story on the 1819 conviction, in Vermont, of Stephen and Jesse Boorn for the alleged murder of their still-living brother-in-law—a legal case that calls attention to serious and persistent flaws in the way forensic evidence is gathered and handled—Collins represents the case as "a regrettable and freakish anomaly in an otherwise functioning criminal justice system," Warden contends. He thus unwittingly missed a chance to help change that system: "Had Collins been aware of the extent of the problem, *The Dead Alive* might have been more didactic, given that Collins, by all accounts, was never hesitant to champion a cause" (pp. 133-4).

The cause is certainly a worthy one, as Warden makes clear, not only in his detailed review of the 1819 Boorn case (pp. 105-47), which follows Collins's story in this edition, but also in his summary of "Other Dead Alive Cases" (pp. 152-64) and his listing of Wrongful Conviction in U.S. Capital Cases" (pp. 165-74), 235 in number as of 1 January 2005. In his discussion of the Boorn case and his analysis of wrongful convictions, Warden foregrounds the selective and artful use of evidence (including false testimonies) by prosecutors, and he is particularly critical of the manner in which false confessions are obtained from the accused and put to use in court, objections that Collins, too, raises in his story. Pressured to do so by political and legal authorities, Ambrose Meadowcroft confesses to a murder he did not commit in "The Dead Alive", hoping to reduce his murder charge to manslaughter, avoid the gallows and protect the family name. In the process, he loses the respect and affection of his fiancée, Naomi Colebrook, who henceforth considers him "a liar and a coward" (p. 88), and he is condemned to death nonetheless.

In this edition of "The Dead Alive," Collins's story proves a useful means to publicize the dire problem of wrongful convictions, to expose the procedural and evidentiary flaws that contribute to such convictions, and to benefit the Center on Wrongful Convictions at Northwestern University School of Law, which receives all of the profits from the publication. Yet while it makes available a relatively unknown story by Collins, Warden's edition proves less useful than it might be to those interested in Collins himself. Not only is Collins's biography ineptly summarized by Scott Turow in the Forward ("Despite his uncommon success, Collins's life was not especially happy. He never married and in his later years became an opium addict" [vii-viii]). Warden provides no bibliographical information about "The Dead Alive," its serializations, or the copy text used in his edition, and although he discusses in detail the Boorn case and dispels several errors long associated with it, he neither reprints nor outlines the source on which Collins based his story: Leonard Sargeant's *Trial, Confessions and Conviction of Jesse and Stephen Boorn*, a 48-page pamphlet published in Vermont in 1873. Thus, while Warden's discussion makes clear the differences between the actual legal case and Collins's fictional rendition of it, the extent and manner in which Collins reworked his source material is much less clear.

In the Boorn case, the alleged victim, Russell Colvin, was married to the sister of the accused. After Colvin's disappearance, his wife Sally gave birth to two children he could not have fathered. Suspicion of murder was first cast on Stephen Boorn when, in trying to help his sister obtain child support, he claimed that Russell Colvin was dead. In "The Dead Alive," however, the missing man, John

Jago, is a widower who hopes to marry Miss Colebrook, despite her evident attachment to her cousin Ambrose Meadowcroft. Jago purposely casts suspicion on his rival by secretly moving away after arguing with the Meadowcroft brothers. After their conviction and sentencing, he offers to reveal himself to the authorities only if Miss Colebrook will become his wife. Focusing on power dynamics among the Meadowcrofts in reworking the case, Collins replaces the adulterous Sally Colvin with Miss Meadowcroft, a sour, pious and self-righteous spinster who sets her father against her brothers and outmanoeuvres them to become his heir. To Miss Meadowcroft, Collins opposes his heroine, the frank and courageous Miss Colebrook, who helps to vindicate Ambrose Meadowcroft and saves the life of the English lawyer who narrates the story, whom she marries at its conclusion. Collins diverges substantially from the original case in writing "The Dead Alive," but without much information about Collins's source, we are unsure about his debt to Leonard Sargeant and uncertain to what extent, if any, his characterizations of Miss Colebrook and Miss Meadowcroft draw from or reverse the portrait of Sally Colvin that Sargeant provided.

Discussing "The Dead Alive" in *The King of Inventors* (1991), Catherine Peters notes Collins's use of the American legal case while also pointing to the striking affinities between the story and Dickens's final, unfinished novel, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, published three years previously. Including "The Dead Alive" in his collection of Collins's short fiction, *Mad Monkton and Other Stories* (1994), Norman Page pays particular attention to the American heroine in his Introduction, arguing that her bravery and resourcefulness set her apart from her English contemporaries. But whatever their approach to "The Dead Alive," few Collins scholars are likely to agree with Warden that the novelist, here and elsewhere, considers the criminal justice system to be functioning adequately. More often than not, Collins's characters must take the law into their own hands if they are to see justice rendered—those who do so include Walter Hartright in *The Woman in White*, the three Hindu priests in *The Moonstone*, Magdalen Vanstone in *No Name*, and Valeria Macallan in *The Law and the Lady*, to name a few. Not only does Collins question the ability of the court system to aptly render justice; he often exposes the injustice of the laws themselves, which perpetuate a range of social inequities and condemn married Englishwomen, in particular, to a living death under the doctrine of coverture. In bringing out an edition of "The Dead Alive" without properly researching Collins and his writings, Warden might be seen to do an injustice to the novelist himself. But considering the importance of Warden's mission in publishing "The Dead Secret," we would be wise to pardon him.

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Wilkie Collins. *The Woman in White*, ed. Maria K. Bachman and Don Richard Cox. Peterborough, ONT: Broadview Press, 2006. pp. 694. ISBN 1551116448.

This well-printed, nicely-presented volume is the latest to appear in the Broadview Editions series. Earlier reprints of *Heart and Science*, *The Moonstone* and *The Evil Genius* are now followed by *the* novel of 1859-60, which established Collins as the most influential sensation novelist. As the editors note, the themes of "disguise, misrepresentation and altered identity were such successful elements of *The*

Woman in White that several of the best-selling sensation novels of the period almost instantly took up the same themes" (12). Although their idea of Collins as the "inventor" of the sensation novel surrounded by those copycats Ellen Wood and Mary Braddon is overplayed, there is little doubt of the novel's enormous impact. At first some of this was due to Collins's lucky break in having the novel serialised in Charles Dickens's magazine *All the Year*, but the benefits were also mutual. Collins' cliff-hanger serial helped raise the weekly circulation to 100,000 plus. This new edition of the text prepared and annotated by Professors Cox and Bachman is based on this original serial version which, as they note, "galvanised" the novel-reading population, electrifying them with the twists and turns of its plot and became a "media sensation" (11).

In their introduction the editors give an authoritative and discerning account of the appeal of the novel for its first readers. They suggest that this had more to do with Collins' ability to "hook" his readers than in his ability to draw three-dimensional characters—the latter skill, they suggest, he never really picked up. This is a reading which misses out on the ways in which characters like Walter Hartright and Marian Halcombe are constructed, but it is true that readers came to *The Woman in White* for shocks and thrills. Bachman and Cox are very good at unpicking the importance of key sensation scenes in the novel including Walter's first meeting with Anne Catherick on the Finchley Road and they examine in ample and exact ways the different—slightly spurious—accounts of its origins in real life. Bachman and Cox also make good use of Collins's often-overlooked account of why the novel is written the way it is—which appeared as the 1861 preface to the French edition, *La Femme en Blanc* translated by Emile Forgues. They use this to explain the importance of different narrators to the remainder of Collins's work. They then go on to offer an erudite and very accessible account of the ways in which concerns in the 1850s about asylums, dreams and nightmares and mesmerists find their way into the novel and, in an uncanny way, tie in with its much admired narrative structure. "It is fitting", they argue "that the publication of *The Woman in White* generated a craze of unprecedented proportion, for indeed mania and nervous energy are at the every heart of the novel's plot and narrative structure" (20). In the same way, the emphasis on dreams and vision-like states "encapsulates the dynamics of 'telling' in *The Woman in White*; these fictive fragments are memorial attempts to recover from a disordered state of mind which is dramatically manifest in the novel's multiple plot and structures" (26).

Inevitably the attention paid to different elements of the novel varies: the discussion of marriage laws must be one of the most detailed and erudite around, and the discussion of the Italian Question is only a little less full. Some other aspects of the edition, however, are less clear. This is particularly the case when Bachman and Cox try to explain which version of the novel this current edition is based on. In the introduction they maintain that the copy text has been culled faithfully from the *All the Year Round* serial version. So far so good. However they also write:

> We have collated the serialised version ... with both the 1860 and 1861 editions, as well as with Collins's original manuscript and the annotated pages that exist for the 1861 edition. In general we have restored manuscript readings when there have been textual questions that could not be resolved by comparing the multiple versions. In instalments 33-35 we have chosen to restore a number of passages that Collins himself restored in the three volume edition on the grounds that these readings were apparently the version he had originally intended (and preferred).

This editorial tinkering prompts a question: What text of the novel are we being offered? Answer: It is and isn't the serial version. This may be unfair but it is not clear, at least to this reader, what passages have been reinstated and where. As far as I can see, the only restoration indicated as one reads through the novel is a description of hanged curates in instalment 33. This is a passage which Collins apparently cut as being too similar to one in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. If, as the editors imply, they have inserted other passages, then it seems essential to indicate where these are located. Otherwise we are left with what seems to be a mongrel text—being neither one thing or the other and representing not what Collins ever saw but what twenty-first century editors imagine he would have liked to see. One might say that such mysteries are appropriate for a work abounding in questions of identity and illegitimacy, but they are surely weaknessess in a text offering itself as a scholarly edition.

Other textual apparatus is of the high standard that traditionally characterises Broadview texts. Like other editions this one also contains an Appendix of contemporary reviews and source documents. These point to the novel's relationship to the "lunacy panic" of the late 1850s and to its interest in "The Woman Question." The reviews and comments from friends like Dickens also add usefully to the details provided in the Introduction. The editors have also taken the imaginative step of including several of the illustrations accompanying the novel. These include John Gilbert's evocative frontispiece to the 1861 edition and illustrations by Francis Fraser accompanying 1875 Chatto and Windus edition. At least, I am assuming they are Fraser's since it is not made clear; the only reference to him is in a footnote in the introduction. So whilst the generous number of illustrations is a good idea and they reflect the centrality of pictures in the Victorian novel-reading experience, there is again some slight confusion. If these illustrations are important more needs to be said about them; if they are not important then why include them? Since great play is made of the way in which this text conforms to what Collins would (probably) have wanted, it would, at the very least, be useful to know if Collins approved of the illustrations scattered though it.

Alongside its advantages, then, this edition does have flaws and loose ends. It is also pricey. Intended for the student market it will have to compete —at least in the British market—with cheaper editions from OUP and Penguin. Having said this, it is student-friendly in many ways and does flag up something of the immense scope and complexity of Collins's most famous novel. Bachman and Cox editors have a sure grasp of their subject, but it is a pity that they have left readers guessing concerning a number of the editorial decisions that they have made.

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Wilkie Collins Society Journal

The *Wilkie Collins Society Journal* (ISSN: 0897-2982) is an annual volume, sponsored jointly by the Wilkie Collins Society and the Wilkie Collins Society of North America, and is dedicated to original scholarly essays and reviews of publications relating to Wilkie Collins, his writings, and his culture.

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