Notes

References to *The Pilgrim Edition of the Letters of Charles Dickens* are abbreviated to *P*, followed by the volume number.

**Introduction**

1 The purchasing power equivalent today can be found at www.officialdata.org/UK-inflation (accessed 15 October 2022). Recent equivalent figures are rounded to the nearest £100.
2 Census returns for the Dickens household, 1861.
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21 Lucinda Hawksley describes Georgina’s letters to Connie Dickens – Plorn’s wife whom she never met – as revealing: ‘very intimate family secrets … Her letters seem to have been her way of dealing with grief or disappointment; perhaps the knowledge that she was unlikely ever to meet Connie made it easier to confide in her’. Lucinda Hawksley, *Katey: The Life and Loves of Dickens’s Artist Daughter* (London: Doubleday, 2006), p. 305.


Chapter 1: The Hogarths and Dickens become in-laws

1 There were two Mary Hogarths. Mr and Mrs Hogarth named their second daughter Mary, but she lived less than a year. It was common in
the Victorian period to pass the name of a child who died in infancy on to a future child. See Hogarth family tree.

2 A detailed account of Catherine and Georgina Hogarth’s ancestry is provided by Nayder, *The Other Dickens*.


9 Ibid.


11 Ibid., p. 81.

12 British Library, London (hereafter BL), RP 9217, Pym, Horace N., Dickens, Charles, 7 autograph letters signed from Mamie Dickens and 24 autograph letters signed from Georgina Hogarth to Pym and his wife, including numerous references to Charles Dickens, his life and books. With autograph envelopes, Georgina Hogarth to Jane Pym, 5 April 1902.


14 Slater, *Dickens and Women*, p. 81.

15 Dickens to an unknown correspondent, 8 June 1837, *P*, I, p. 268.


17 Dickens reluctantly relinquished this plan when Mary’s brother died in 1841, to allow George to be buried alongside his sister.

18 Slater, *Dickens and Women*, p. 82.

19 Ibid., p. 81.

20 ‘In memory of my dear Sister M.S.H. May 7th 1837 C. D.’, ibid., p. 85.

21 Nayder, *The Other Dickens*, p. 129.


Chapter 2: Friends and flirting

1 Dickens to David Colden, 31 July 1842, P, III, p. 291.
2 George Pierce Baker, Charles Dickens and Maria Beadnell: Private Correspondence (Boston, MA: Bibliophile Society, 1908), p. 141.
4 Dickens to Catherine, late May 1835, P, I, p. 62.
6 Daniel Maclise to John Forster, ‘I am out of favour with Grim’. See Dickens to Daniel Maclise, 30 or 31 January 1842, note 1, P, III, p. 41.
8 See Chapter 5. Dickens reminded Catherine that his name gave her ‘station better than rank’, 5 December 1853, P, VII, p. 198.
11 Ibid., p. 200.
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12 Nayder, *The Other Dickens*, p. 34; Ashton, *Thomas and Jane Carlyle*, pp. 15–16.
18 Ibid.
26 Dickens to William Harrison Ainsworth, 30 October 1837, note 2, Anne Buckley to her niece, Mary Anne Harrison, 8 November 1837, *P*, I, p. 324.
32 Ibid., p. 339.
33 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., p. 493.
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37 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
42 Ibid., p. 56.
46 Dickens to John Forster, 24 April 1842, P, III, pp. 204–5.
47 Collins, Dickens: Interviews and Recollections, Vol. 1, p. 53. The young lady reporting the occasion was Elizabeth Worneley, who was staying with the publisher George Ticknor and attended the dinner for ‘the leading literary characters of Boston’. She described the incident in E. Worneley Latimer, ‘A Girl’s Recollections of Dickens’, Lippincott’s Magazine (September 1893), pp. 338–9.
49 Johnson, Charles Dickens, Vol. 1, p. 422.
51 Dickens to Emma Mordecai, 19 March 1842, P, III, p. 140.
54 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 141.

Chapter 3: Dickens and his ‘little Pet’

1 The time Georgina moved in permanently can be deduced from Dickens’s letter to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 29 December 1842, P, III, p. 409: ‘I wish you had seen her sister, who is usually with us, as she is now; but was with her mother when you were here’.
2 Huntington Library, MS FI 2697, Georgina to Annie Fields, 31 December 1872.
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3 Charles Dickens by Daniel Maclise, 1839, National Portrait Gallery. Referred to as the ‘Nickleby’ portrait. It was commissioned by the publishers, Chapman and Hall, and presented to Dickens at the dinner on 5 October 1839 to mark the publication of the novel Nicholas Nickleby.

4 Dickens preferred to take a cold shower first thing but he had to wait until the family moved to Tavistock House to have that luxury installed.

5 Mamie Dickens, My Father as I Recall Him (London: Roxburghie Press, 1897), pp. 10–11.


7 W. J. Carlton, “‘Old Nick’ at Devonshire Terrace”, The Dickensian, 59:341 (1963), pp. 142–3. The two known Maclise portraits of Catherine Dickens have been dated around 1846/7. However, according to Carlton, the reference to Catherine’s portrait comes from an article, ‘Souvenirs de Londres’ by Paul Emile Daurand Forgues in the journal L’Illustration dated 1844, suggesting an earlier date.


9 Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts, 12 November 1842, P, III, p. 367.


11 Dickens to John Forster, 12 February 1843, P, III, p. 440.

12 See Hogarth family tree.

13 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 164.

14 Dickens to Mrs Hogarth, 8 May 1843, P, III, p. 483.


17 Dickens to Emile de la Rue, 28 July 1845, P, IV, p. 339; 24 March 1847, P, V, p. 41.

18 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 41.


20 E. E. C., ‘Reminiscences of Charles Dickens from a Young Lady’s Diary’, p. 338. Although the thought of a naked man nearby might be both disturbing and provoking to the sensibilities of young Victorian ladies, when Dickens was growing up it was considered unmanly for men to wear any kind of swimwear. See Louise Allen, The Georgian Seaside (CreateSpace, 2016), p. 60.


22 Jane Carlyle to Jeannie Welsh, 28 December 1843. Carlyle Letters Online.
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28 Ibid.


30 Sanitary protection was not commercially available until the 1880s so women had to fashion themselves a kind of adult nappy made out of rags which were then rinsed, either in the water closet or the privy, and put to soak in copper washtubs. In houses employing servants, the job of washing the napkins of the female family members was undertaken by the maids.


34 Augustus Egg produced this intimate sketch of a domestic Georgina around the time he proposed to her. It is unlikely he intended it to be read as an indicator that Georgina was more like a servant than a family member.


37 Caroline Norton’s reputation was demolished after an alleged affair with Prime Minister Lord Melbourne and leaving her abusive husband. Dickens was always kind, inviting her to parties at Devonshire Terrace, and she told friends she could always depend on Dickens and his ‘dear little wife’ to visit her. The actress Helen Faucit had been the subject of newspaper speculation when she was alleged to have been pregnant with the child of the married William Macready (see Chapter 2).


39 Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur Adrian Papers, Box 3HA6, Georgina to Blanche Swanson, 17 January 1908.

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41 Huntington Library, MS FI 2784, Georgina to Annie Fields, 2 April 1873.
42 Dickens to Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 6 February 1851, P, VI, p. 281.
43 Huntington Library, MS FI 2703, Georgina to Annie Fields, 21 November 1870.
46 Ibid.
47 Royal Archives, Windsor, Queen Victoria’s Journals, Lord Esher’s typescripts, RA VIC/Main/QVJ (W), 2 February 1839, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do.
48 Dickens to Thomas Hood, 30 November 1842, P, III, p. 386.
50 Maclise made the sketch Charles Dickens, his Wife and her Sister, 1843 in a pub in Richmond on the day Dickens wrote to Forster that he was unable to write and had dashed off with his ‘pair of petticoats’. Dickens to John Forster, 12 February 1843, P, III, p. 440.
52 Peters, The King of Inventors, p. 63.
54 Dickens to Daniel Maclise, 12 July 1841, note 3, DM to CD, 16 July 1841, P, II, p. 331.
55 Dickens to Daniel Maclise, 16 August 1841, P, VII, p. 831.
58 Letter from Charles Dickens to the sender mistakenly attributed to be John Forster, on 3 August 1844, P, IV, p. 165. A note from the editors say they think this letter was actually to Maclise on the basis of ‘the joking reference to “Miss H”’.
59 Renton, John Forster and his Friendships, p. 66. See also Perugini, ‘Dickens as a Lover of Art and Artists’. In the article on her father and his artist friends Katey provides an affectionate portrayal of Maclise as a young man. As Katey was only an infant in the years she writes about, the only
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person still alive who would remember him and able to give the kind of information that appears in the piece was Georgina.

60 Dickens to Augusta de la Rue, 27 September 1845, P, IV, p. 390.
61 Dickens to Georgina, 9 March 1847, P, V, p. 33; Dickens to Catherine, 24 June 1850, P, VI, p. 117.
63 Dickens to Cornelius Felton, 1 September 1843, P, III, p. 551.
64 Middle-class mothers had the assistance of their own attendant, known as a ‘monthly nurse’, for the weeks following delivery.
66 Dickens to Jane Carlyle, 27 January 1844, P, IV, p. 33.
67 Dickens to Fanny Burnett, 1 March 1844, P, IV, p. 57.
68 Dickens to Maclise, 2 March 1844, P, IV, p. 59; Dickens to T. J. Thompson, 28 February 1844, P, IV, p. 55.
69 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 88.
72 Dickens to Christiana Weller, 8 April 1844, P, IV, p. 99.
75 Ibid.
77 Dickens decided to take the family to live in Italy for a year partly because living on the continent was cheaper, and partly to collect material for a travelogue (Pictures from Italy). His fortunes had taken a hit when the initially low sales figures of Martin Chuzzlewit resulted in the publishers deducting £50 a month from his income. The phenomenal success of A Christmas Carol in 1843 had yielded little profit because Dickens insisted on a high-quality production of the small volume.
80 Georgina to Christiana Weller, 16 October 1845, P, IV, note 3; Dickens to Macready, 17 October 1845, P, IV, p. 407.
81 Dickens to Émile de la Rue, 17 August 1846, P, IV, p. 604.
82 Dickens to Thomas Mitton, 30 August 1846, P, IV, p. 615.
83 Nayder, The Other Dickens, p. 131.
84 Dickens to Catherine, 8 November 1844, P, IV, p. 215.
Chapter 4: ‘A lively young damsel’

3 Huntington Library, MS FI 2773, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 June, 1875, and MS FI 2716, 17 October 1873.
5 Frank’s birth in January 1844 was followed by: Alfred in October 1845, Sydney in April 1847, a miscarriage in autumn 1847, Henry (known as Harry) in January 1849 and Dora in 1850.
6 For Dickens’s involvement with Urania Cottage, see Jenny Hartley, Charles Dickens and the House of Fallen Women (London: Methuen, 2008).
7 Dickens to W. H. Wills, 29 August 1850, P, VI, p. 158.
8 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 177.
10 Nayder, The Other Dickens, p. 152.
12 Kaplan, Dickens, p. 246.
13 The job of the bathing women was to look after the valuables of the ladies and lower the bathing machine to the edge of the water. Some were also ‘dippers’ – well-built, strong women who would help lift the lady into the water.
15 Dickens to John Leech, 9 October 1849, P, V, p. 624.
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18 Peters, *The King of Inventors*, p. 131.
20 Ibid.
23 Dickens to Mrs Lemon, 3 November 1850, note 5, *P*, VI, p. 203.
26 Dickens to Bulwer-Lytton, 6 February 1851, *P*, VI, p. 281.
27 Ibid.
28 Huntington Library, MS Fl 2711, Georgina to Annie Fields, 21 February 1873.
31 Ibid.
32 Huntington Library, MS Fl 2700, Georgina to Annie Fields, 5 June 1871; Case Western Reserve University, Arthur Adrian Papers, Box 3HA6, Georgina to Blanche Swanson, 8 January 1908.
33 Dickens to Catherine, 16/17 October 1853; *P*, VII, p. 167.
34 Cowden-Clarke and Cowden-Clarke, *Recollections of Writers*, p. 323.
39 Dickens to Catherine, 11 September 1851, *P*, VI, p. 482. A garniture is a decoration, ornament or embellishment; the *Scarlet Letter* is a book by Nathaniel Hawthorne.
41 Huntington Library, MS Fl 2738, Georgina to Annie Fields, 26 June 1878.
43 Tomalin, *Charles Dickens*, p. 228.
44 Nayder, *The Other Dickens*, p. 203.
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Chapter 5: Dickens’s mid-life crisis

1 Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts, 16 March 1852, P, VI, p. 627.
2 Dickens to John Leech, 23 May 1853, P, VII, p. 92.
5 Dickens first grew a moustache in 1844 but shaved it off soon after. Lillian Nayder, “He Has a Moustache”; or “Earth Will Not Hold Us Both”; Charles Dickens and the Problem of Fred’, Dickens Quarterly, 30:2 (2013), pp. 141–53.
6 Dickens to R. H. Horne, 2 March 1853, note 4, P, VII, p. 34; Nayder, The Other Dickens, pp. 219–20.
7 Dickens to Thomas Beard, 22 July 1852, note 1, P, VI, p. 720. Catherine (Kate) Horne (née Foggo, 1826–93) married the journalist and writer for Household Words, Richard Hengist Horne. (1802–84). He was more than twice her age. They married in 1847, only for Horne to abandon her, travelling to Australia in 1852 on the pretext of collecting material for articles for Household Words. Dickens, as his editor, and W. H. Wills, felt responsible for looking after Kate.
9 Dickens to George Putnam, 24 July 1851, Vol. 6, P, p. 442.
11 Dickens to Wilkie Collins, 22 April 1856, P, VIII, p. 95.
12 Dickens to William Howard Russell, 30 May 1857, P, VIII, p. 337.
14 Dickens to Forster, 24 February 1856, P, VIII, p. 63; Dickens to Georgina, 10 January 1862, P, X, p. 12.
17 Dickens to Catherine, 3 September 1850, P, VI, p. 161.
18 Dickens to Dr William Brown, 1 August 1853, P, VII, p. 123.
21 Dickens to Catherine, 27 November 1853, P, VII, p. 216.
22 Dickens to Catherine, 5 December 1853, P, VII, p. 224.
23 Dickens to Emile de la Rue, 14 November 1853, P, VII, p. 194.
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24 Dickens to W. H. Wills, 12 Aug 1852, P, VI, p. 739.
25 Dickens to Georgina, 25 November 1853, P, VII, p. 211.
27 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 166.
28 Charles Dickens, Bleak House, ch. 35.
29 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 167.
30 Ibid.
31 Dickens to John Forster, 3 and 4 February 1855, P, VII, p. 523.
32 Dickens to Maria Winter, 22 February 1855, P, VII, p. 545.
33 Ibid., p. 544.
34 Baker, Charles Dickens and Maria Beadnell: Private Correspondence, pp. 120–3; Hogarth and Dickens (eds), The Letters of Charles Dickens, p. 350.
35 Dickens to W. H. Wills, 27 April 1856, P, VIII, p. 99.
37 Dickens to W. H. Wills, 20 April 1854, P, VII, p. 320.
38 Dickens to Georgina, 22 July 1854, P, VII, p. 376.
39 Ibid.
40 Dickens to Catherine, 7 February 1856, P, VIII, p. 47.
41 The nervous tic was a temporary condition that cleared up after a few months.
43 Nayder, The Other Dickens, p. 219.
44 Ibid.
45 Storey, Dickens and Daughter, p. 23.
47 Arbuckle, Harriet Martineau’s Letters to Fanny Wedgwood, p. 196.
48 Dickens, ‘Violated’ letter.
50 Ibid.
54 Philip Collins, ‘W. C. Macready and Dickens: Some Family Recollections’, Dickens Studies, 11:2 (1966), p. 54; See also, Case Western Reserve University, Arthur Adrian Papers, Box 3 HA6, Arthur Adrian interview notes of his conversation with Lisa Puckle, William Macready’s granddaughter by his second wife, Cecile Macready. Lisa Puckle told Adrian that she had heard the comment about Catherine from her grandmother, Cecile. However, Cecile and Georgina were close friends and Lisa remembers
spending many afternoons listening to the two old ladies chatting by the fireside. Cecile Macready never lived in London where Catherine resided and she married William Macready three years after the Dickenses’ separation so it is highly unlikely Cecile ever met Catherine. William was always fond of Catherine and it would be surprising if he had passed this scathing opinion of Catherine on to Cecile. The most likely source for the observation that Catherine was a ‘whiney woman’ who wanted attention is Georgina. For one thing, both Kitty Macready and Catherine Dickens are accused of expecting and wanting more attention than their ‘men of genius’ husbands, and Georgina also openly criticised Catherine to friends, such as Cecile. Cecile may, in turn, have repeated this negative view of Catherine to her granddaughter.

55 ‘Mr Wilkie Collins’s “Frozen Deep”’, Leader, 8: 335 (10 January 1857), p. 44.
56 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 38.
57 Dickens had come across Gad’s Hill as a nine-year-old boy out walking with his father. John Dickens said if he worked hard enough he might live there one day and when Dickens found out it was up for sale he had to buy it, paying the owner, fellow writer Eliza Lynn Linton, £1,790 (£198,000).
59 H. F. Dickens, The Recollections of Sir Henry Dickens, p. 35.
61 Hawksley, Katey: The Life and Loves of Dickens’s Artist Daughter, p. 114.
62 Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts, 10 July 1857, P, VIII, p. 372.
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10 Dickens to Georgina, 15 September 1857, P, VIII, p. 448.
11 Dickens’s letter to W. H. Wills sent from Doncaster suggests his motives towards an unnamed person were not innocent: ‘I wish I was as good a boy in all things as I hope I have been, and mean to be in this. But Lord bless you, the strongest parts of your present correspondent’s heart are made up of weaknesses. And he just come to be here at all (if you knew it) along of his Richard Wardour! Guess that riddle, Mr Wills!’ (Dickens to W. H. Wills, 17 September 1857, P, VIII, p. 449). Three days later he told Wills he had plans ‘to take the little – riddle – into the country this morning’ and then, hinting at more devious intentions, ‘So let the riddle and riddler go their own wild way, and no harm come of it!’ (Dickens to W. H. Wills, 20 September 1857, P, VIII, pp. 450–1). Dickens added that he had decided to remain in Doncaster longer than planned. However, his plans did not work out and he unhappily returned to London on the Monday, as arranged.
13 Storey, Dickens and Daughter, p. 96.
16 Storey, Dickens and Daughter, p. 96.
17 Nayder, The Other Dickens, p. 248.
19 Ibid., p. 71.
20 Ibid., p. 68, p. 70, p. 71.
21 Dickens to Emile de la Rue, 23 October 1857, P, VIII, p. 472.
29 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 137.
30 Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts, 9 May 1858, P, VIII, pp. 558–60.
32 Dickens to Emile de la Rue, 23 October 1857, P, VIII, p. 472.

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35 Dickens to Arthur Smith, 25 May 1858, _P_, VIII, p. 568; Dickens, ‘Violated’ letter. Forster said that the letter was intended ‘as an authority for correction of false rumours and scandals’ and Arthur Smith gave a copy of it, with like intention, to the [New York] _Tribune_ correspondent in London. It actually appeared in the paper, and was then copied by other American and English papers, on 16 August 1858 (without Dickens’s permission, hence he called it the ‘Violated’ letter).
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
40 Fielding, ‘Dickens and his Wife’, p. 216.
41 Ibid.
42 Dickens to Edmund Yates, 11 August 1858, _P_, VIII, p. 623.
43 Nayder, _The Other Dickens_, p. 261.
44 Ibid., pp. 261–2.
46 Dickens, ‘Violated’ letter.
47 Dickens to William Holman Hunt, 20 April 1858, _P_, VIII, p. 548.
49 Ibid.
50 Baker, _Charles Dickens and Maria Beadnell: Private Correspondence_, p. 142.
51 Dickens had turned to Unitarianism after being impressed by the Unitarians he met in Boston during his first trip to America. On his return he began attending the chapel in Little Portland Street, where he met and became lifelong friends with its minister, the Reverend Edward Tagart.
53 Dickens to W. W. F. de Cerjat, 7 July 1858, note 1, _P_, VIII, p. 597.
54 Panton, _Leaves from a Life_, p. 143.
56 Ashton, _Thomas and Jane Carlyle_, p. 397.
57 Thomas Carlyle was writing love letters to Lady Harriet Baring. When Jane became distressed about his relationship with Lady Baring, Thomas ‘played the Dickens’ quite literally by accusing her of being deluded. How
dare she think there was anything romantic going on, ‘what a daft creature art thou in thy sick imaginations!’ See Thomas Carlyle to Jane Carlyle, 20 August 1846, quoted in Ashton, Thomas and Jane Carlyle, p. 271.

58 Panton, Leaves from a Life, p. 145.
60 Slater, The Great Charles Dickens Scandal, p. 28.
62 Bowen, Charles Dickens and his Family, p. 178; Pearson, Dickens, p. 255; Pope-Hennessy, Charles Dickens, pp. 405–6.
64 Case Western Reserve University, Arthur Adrian Papers, Box 3HA6, Lisa Puckle to Arthur Adrian, 1 April 1954.
65 Huntington Library, MS Fl 2738, Georgina to Annie Fields, 26 June 1878.
67 Huntington Library, MS Fl 2715, Georgina to Annie Fields, 30 August 1873.
69 Dickens, ‘Violated’ letter.
70 Fielding, ‘Dickens and his Wife’, p. 216.
71 Storey, Dickens and Daughter, p. 24.
74 See note 11, this chapter.
75 Nayder, The Other Dickens, p. 205.

Chapter 7: ‘Poor Miss Hogarth’

1 Storey, Dickens and Daughter, p. 94.
3 Dickens to Georgina, 5 August 1858, P, VIII, p. 617.
4 Baker, Charles Dickens and Maria Beadnell: Private Correspondence, pp. 140–2.
5 Dickens to Frank Beard, 14 February 1859, P, IX, p. 27; Dickens to W. W. F. de Cerjat, 1 February 1859, P, IX, p. 21.
6 Dickens to Mamie, 23 September 1860, P, IX, p. 314.
7 Dickens to Georgina, 27 December 1860, P, IX, p. 356.
8 Dickens to Georgina, 28 January 1862, P, X, p. 25.
9 Dickens to Georgina, 8 November 1858, P, VIII, p. 698.
10 Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, DE/K/025/196, Georgina to Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 26 November 1858.
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11 Curry, ‘Charles Dickens and Annie Fields’, p. 5.
15 Dickens fell out with Mark Lemon (who acted for Catherine in negotiating the official separation) for refusing to publish his ‘Personal’ statement in *Punch*. Both Lemon and the publishers, Bradbury and Evans, thought it unsuitable for the pages of a comic magazine.
19 Adrian, *Mark Lemon, First Editor of Punch*, p. 135.
21 Storey, *Dickens and Daughter*, p. 105.
26 Ibid.
27 Dickens to Georgina, 1 August 1866, *P*, XI, p. 228.
29 Harry Dickens told Gladys Storey that a certificate confirming Georgina’s virginity was in the family papers although no trace of it can now be found. See Slater, *Dickens and Women*, p. 415.
30 Dickens was somewhat inconsistent on the matter of prostitution, regarding sexual activity as important to ‘good health’ and referring to prostitutes as ‘conveniences’, yet troubled enough to join Angela Burdett-Coutts in setting up Urania Cottage which included ‘fallen women’ amongst its residents.
31 Dickens to Frank Beard, 25 June 1859, *P*, IX, p. 84.
32 Dickens to Frank Beard, 1 July 1859, *P*, IX, p. 88.
33 Dickens to W. H. Wills, 30 June 1859, *P*, IX, p. 87.
34 Dickens to John Forster, 9 July 1859, *P*, IX, p. 92.
37 Dickens to Georgina, 1 January 1860, *P*, IX, p. 188.
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39 Nelly appears to have stopped living at 2 Houghton Place, Ampthill Square, in 1862 when she disappears from all records. Fanny was living there in 1865. Nelly retained ownership, but rented the house out until selling it in 1901.


45 Dickens to Yates, 3 April 1862, *P*, X, p. 64.


50 Dickens to John Poole, 13 June 1862, *P*, X, p. 93.

51 Dickens to Letitia Austin, 20 June 1862, *P*, X, p. 95.

52 Dickens to John Poole, 13 June 1862, *P*, X, p. 93.


54 Dickens, ‘Violated’ letter, p. 741.

55 Huntington Library, MS FI 2745, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 May 1876.

56 Huntington Library, MS FI 2729, Georgina to Annie Fields, 22 May 1880.


58 Dickens to Letitia Austin, 3 July 1862, *P*, X, p. 102.

59 Ibid.

60 Dickens to James Sheridan Knowles, 7 July 1862, *P*, X, p. 103.

61 Dickens to Letitia Austin, 3 July 1862, *P*, X, p. 102.


63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., pp. 99–100.


68 Ibid.

69 M. Dickens, *My Father as I Recall Him*, p. 90.


72 Dickens to Mamie, 1 February 1863, *P*, X, p. 204.

73 See also Garnett, *Charles Dickens in Love*, ch. 7.
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74 ‘His Boots’ was one of a group of stories called *Somebody’s Luggage* published in the Christmas edition of *All the Year Round* in 1862. For discussion see John Bowen, ‘Bebelle and “His Boots”: Dickens, Ellen Ternan and the Christmas Stories’, *The Dickensian*, 96:452 (2000), pp. 197–208.

75 Dickens to Georgina, 20 August, 25 August, 29 August 1858, *P*, VIII, p. 629, p. 639, p. 642. It is interesting to note that these endearments escaped Georgina’s scissors when she was editing Dickens’s letters. Although Georgina told Frederic Ouvry that she either destroyed or edited many letters she regarded as particularly personal, she could not resist allowing some expressions of intimacy to remain, thereby preserving her place in Dickens’s affections for posterity.


77 Dickens to Georgina, 14 December 1868, *P*, XII, p. 244.

78 Dickens to Georgina, 10 August 1867, *P*, XI, p. 411. Charles Mathews was an actor famous for his ‘monopolylogues’: farces in which he played all the characters.


80 Ibid., p. 278.

81 It is not easy to be precise about where Dickens was at any particular time as he used Gad’s Hill letterhead when he evidently was not at home and was presumably with Nelly. The ruse is apparent by examining his collected letters which show the occasions when he writes to Georgina enquiring about a matter when he was ostensibly at home. For example, he asks her about an unexpected caller arriving at the house on a day that he was supposedly working in his study, and would have seen the man coming up the driveway. On another occasion Georgina sends him news of the sudden illness of a servant – an event which occurred when his letters suggest he was writing from home.

82 Dickens to Georgina, 8 May 1867, *P*, XI, p. 364.


86 Slater, *The Great Charles Dickens Scandal*, p. 158.

87 Dickens to Georgina, 7 February 1868, *P*, XII, p. 40.

88 Dickens to W. H. Wills, early February 1868, *P*, XII, p. 43.

Chapter 8: ‘His own decision will be the best’

1 See Figure 18 of Georgina in the early 1860s, when she is in mourning dress, and Figure 23, taken in 1866. Figure 23 is likely to have been taken at the same sitting as that of three photographs of Charles Dickens.
at Robert Mason’s Bond Street studio, either on 14 November 1866 or later. The background and studio props are identical to the one in this photograph of Georgina. For information on the place and timing of the Dickens photographs, see Leon Litvack, ‘Dickens in the Eye of the Beholder: The Photographs of Robert Hindry Mason’, *Dickens Studies Annual*, 47 (2017), pp. 180–1.


3 Huntington Library, MS FI 2702, Georgina to Annie Fields, 10 October 1871.

4 Finlay and Others, ‘Guests at Gad’s Hill’, p. 284.

5 Dickens to F. D. Finlay, 1 January 1869, *P*, XII, p. 264.


12 Biographer Claire Tomalin attributes Dickens’s tolerance of the arrogant Thompson to the fact he knew all about Dickens’s secret relationship as he was often sent to deliver messages or do errands for Nelly.

13 In her later years, Nelly admitted she had visited Gad’s Hill many times and would have been a familiar sight to the servants.

14 Dickens to Georgina, 3 January 1862, *P*, X, p. 3.


16 Huntington Library, MS FI 2745, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 May 1876.

17 Huntington Library, MS FI 2782, Georgina to Annie Fields, 18 July 1874.


19 Ibid.


22 Huntington Library, MS FI 2785, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 June 1869.


24 Dickens continued to write at Gad’s Hill, completing the first numbers of *Our Mutual Friend* in January 1864.

25 Marguerite’s reputation had once suffered simply because, as a young girl, she had moved in with her aunt, the Countess of Blessington, and Count D’Orsay. Dickens liked Marguerite enough to introduce her to Nelly, and to use a pet name in their correspondence: ‘Would you like to come here next Monday and dine with us at 1, and go over to Madame

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Celeste’s opening? The charmer is coming, and Georgy will be here all day.’ Dickens to Marguerite Power, 25 September 1860, P, IX, p. 318.

28 Lehmann, Ancestors and Friends, p. 211.
30 Ibid., p. 211.
31 Ibid.
35 The train that brought Dickens, Nelly and her mother back from France on Friday 9 June 1865 was crossing a viaduct at Staplehurst, Kent when it left the rails and plunged into the stream below. Ten people were killed and fourteen others severely wounded. Dickens was unhurt and clambered out of the carriage window, taking his flask of brandy, to give aid to those needing help. Mrs Ternan was shaken and Nelly injured her arm, very probably breaking it and leaving her with permanent damage. Dickens never recovered from the post-traumatic stress he developed, caused by the shock of the Staplehurst crash.
36 Dickens sold Tavistock House in 1860.
37 Dickens to Thomas Mitton, 28 April 1865, P, XI, p. 37; Dickens to W. W. F. de Cerjat, 4 January 1869, P, XII, p. 268.
38 Curry, ‘Charles Dickens and Annie Fields’, p. 52.
39 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 205. See also Wilson, The Mystery of Charles Dickens, p. 134.
40 Slater, Dickens and Women, p. 176.
41 Huntington Library, MS FI 2733, Georgina to Annie Fields, 23 June 1877.
42 Dickens, ‘Violated’ letter.
43 Dickens to Georgina, 24 May 1866, Vol. 11, p. 204.
44 Dickens to Benjamin Webster, 25 February 1865, P, XI, p. 20.
46 Ibid., p. 8.
48 Ibid., p. 9.
49 Ibid., p. 11.
50 Dickens immediately liked John Bigelow when he met him in Boston, but did not warm to his wife Jane. When the Bigelows returned home to New York at the same time as Dickens arrived there, Jane decided she had the right to monopolise him and believed he should see her whenever she chose. She kept up a surveillance of his hotel room and saw a Mrs Hertz,
a widowed friend of the hotel manager, arrive to have lunch with Dickens. As Mrs Hertz left, Jane Bigelow pounced, screaming and hitting her with her fists. Dickens’s reading manager, George Dolby, posted guards at the hotel doors and on several occasions they prevented Jane Bigelow from gaining access to Dickens.

51 Johnson, Charles Dickens, p. 1097.

52 Louisa May Alcott, ‘A Dickens Day’, Independent, 19: 995 (26 December 1867). Another American commented on Dickens’s preoccupation with his hair. Discovering Dickens was a fellow diner, the American was dismayed to see him looking ‘very little like a gentleman, and to our amazement, took out a pocket-comb and combed his hair and whiskers, or rather his goatee, at the table. And yet this is the celebrated man that ridiculed the manners of the Americans!’, Collins, Dickens: Interviews and Recollections, Vol. 2, p. 339.

53 The writing chalet was a miniature Swiss chalet, a gift from the actor Charles Fechter, which Dickens had erected on a plot of land over the road from Gad’s Hill.

54 Dickens to Georgina, 6 December 1867, P, XI, p. 505.


56 Huntington Library, MS FI 2785, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 June 1869; MS FI 2694, 28 Dec 1869; MS FI 2695, 4 May 1870.

57 Huntington Library, MS FI 2695, Georgina to Annie Fields, 4 May 1870.


60 Ibid.


63 Curry, ‘Charles Dickens and Annie Fields’, p. 43.

64 Huntington Library, MS FI 2703, Georgina to Annie Fields, 21 November 1870.


66 Charles Dickens Museum, XB88, Georgina Hogarth’s ‘Recipe Book for Drinks’.


69 Tomalin, Charles Dickens, p. 353.
Chapter 9: ‘A hard, hard trial’

1 Huntington Library, MS FI 2778, Georgina to Annie Fields, 29 September 1870; MS FI 2703, 21 November 1870.

2 The mourners were Georgina, Nelly, Charley and his wife Bessie, Katey and Charles Collins, Mamie, Harry, his sister Letitia, cousin Edmund Dickens and friends Frederic Ouvry, Frank Beard, Wilkie Collins and John Forster.


4 Huntington Library, MS FI 2701, Georgina to Annie Fields, 5 August 1872.


6 Huntington Library, MS FI 2774, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 August 1870. Two auctions were held at Christie’s. The sale of the pictures and art objects raised £9,460 (over £1.1 million today). At the second auction, the property sold for £8,647 (over £1 million). The furnishings and wines made £2,270 (just under £300,000 today). See Adrian, *Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle*, p. 153, p. 159.

7 Huntington Library, MS FI 2705, Georgina to Annie Fields, 16 February 1872.


9 Adrian, *Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle*, p. 147.

10 Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, Vol. 3, p. 515. Catherine was also left £8,000, but her legacy was placed in a trust which Charley and Harry
managed. It worked out at £240 per annum, far less than the £600 a year Dickens had paid her.


12 Curry, ‘Charles Dickens and Annie Fields’, p. 58.


14 Huntington Library, MS FI 2699, Georgina to Annie Fields, 20 April 1871.

15 Huntington Library, MS FI 2707, Georgina to Annie Fields, 18 June 1872.

16 Huntington Library, MS FI 2711, Georgina to Annie Fields, 21 February 1873, my italics; see also Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 171.

17 Huntington Library, MS FI 2711, Georgina to Annie Fields, 21 February 1873.

18 Huntington Library, MS FI 2782, Georgina to Annie Fields, 18 July 1874.

19 Huntington Library, MS FI 2776, Georgina to Annie Fields, 17 March 1875.


21 For details of Charley Dickens’s purchase of Gad’s Hill, see Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 159.

22 Huntington Library, MS FI 2699, Georgina to Annie Fields, 20 April 1871.

23 Lillian Nayder discusses whether Dickens deliberately omitted this once-loved sister from his will as a punishment for the fact Letitia continued on good terms with Catherine after the separation. Lillian Nayder, “The Omission of his Only Sister’s Name”: Letitia Austin and the Legacies of Charles Dickens’, Dickens Quarterly, 28:4 (2011), pp. 251–60.


25 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 171.

26 Huntington Library, MS FI 2780, Georgina to Annie Fields, 25 February 1870.

27 Dickens to Edmund Yates, 11 August 1858, P, VIII, p. 623.

28 Huntington Library, MS FI 2774, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 August 1870; MS FI 2698, 1 March 1871; MS FI 2746, 26 June 1880.

29 Plorn’s financial difficulties were caused by a combination of ‘business failures, gambling losses and unpaid debts’ (see Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 254); Charles Dickens Museum, Gladys Storey Papers, Envelope Q, Georgina to Edward (Plorn) Dickens, 29 May 1884.
Notes

30 Adrian, *Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle*, p. 231.
31 Huntington Library, MS FI 2702, Georgina to Annie Fields, 10 October 1871.
33 Huntington Library, MS FI 2774, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 August 1870.
37 The servants were: the cook Catherine Earle, housemaid Emma Durnford and page (houseboy) Isaac Armitage.
40 Huntington Library, MS FI 2783, Georgina to Annie Fields, 24 June 1876.
41 Huntington Library, MS FI 2731, Georgina to Annie Fields, 16 January 1877.
42 Charles Dickens Museum, Gladys Storey Papers, Envelope Q, Georgina to Edward (Plorn) Dickens, 22 July, 1877.
43 Ibid.
44 Nayder, *The Other Dickens*, p. 329.
45 Huntington Library, MS FI 2713, Georgina to Annie Fields, 12 May 1873; MS FI 2715, 30 August 1873; MS FI 2717, 24 November 1873.
46 Huntington Library, MS FI 2709, Georgina to Annie Fields, 13 November 1872.
47 Nelly was twelve years older than George Wharton Robinson.
48 Huntington Library, MS FI 2741, Georgina to Annie Fields, 30 October 1877.
49 Towards the end of her life, Jane left a message for Nelly’s daughter, Gladys, that her ‘dear mother never lived with Charles Dickens’. J. W. T. Ley, an ardent Dickensian, was thoroughly convinced no sexual relationship existed between Dickens and Nelly and amended this statement given to him by Gladys Wharton Robinson. His version read, ‘that her dead mother never was the mistress of Charles Dickens’. See Slater, *The Great Charles Dickens Scandal*, p. 182.
50 For discussion of John Thompson, see Tomalin, *Charles Dickens*, p. 357.
52 Huntington Library, MS FI 2764, Georgina to Annie Fields, 14 December 1883.
53 Huntington Library, MS FI 2759, Georgina to Annie Fields, 27 February 1883.

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54 Huntington Library, MS FI 2749, Georgina to Annie Fields, 10 February 1882.
56 Huntington Library, MS FI 2737, Georgina to Annie Fields, 22 March 1878.
57 Huntington Library, MS FI 2739, Georgina to Annie Fields, 11 August 1878.
58 Dickens to W. H. Wills, 21 October 1855, P, VII, p. 724.
59 Huntington Library, MS FI 2715, Georgina to Annie Fields, 30 August, 1873.
60 Ibid.
61 Huntington Library, MS FI 2701, Georgina to Annie Fields, 5 August 1872.
65 Huntington Library, MS FI 2740, Georgina to Annie Fields, 19 September 1878; MS FI 2742, 11 November 1878.
66 Huntington Library, MS FI 2736, Georgina to Annie Fields, 27 February 1879.
68 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, ch. 14.
69 BL, RP 9217, Georgina to Mrs. J. Pym, 5 April 1902.
70 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 238.
72 Huntington Library, MS FI 2745, Georgina to Annie Fields, 15 May 1876.
76 Ibid., pp. 115–16.
Georgina heard about this play from Mary Cowden-Clarke, a long-term friend and admirer of Dickens. Mary had been asked to write the introduction to John Garraway’s play, *Dickens: A Comedy*. See Senate House Library, MS1003, Longley, *A Pardoner’s Tale*, p. 416.


Ibid., pp. 51–2.

Mamie used the £1,500 legacy bequeathed to her from the estate of John Forster to be paid on the death of his wife Eliza, as security. It was the same year Mamie relinquished any interest in the house in Strathamore Gardens which Georgina had purchased for them and when she and her ‘new family’, the Hargraveses, moved to Manchester. See Gail David-Tellis, ‘Breach of Code: The Rift between Mamie Dickens and Georgina Hogarth’, *The Dickensian*, 115:509 (2019), pp. 230–1.

Ibid.


Huntington Library, MS FI 2779, Georgina to Annie Fields, 4 July 1870.

Catherine Marie Hargraves preferred to be known by her second name. For discussion of Mamie’s relationship with Thomas and Marie Hargraves see Christine Skelton, ‘Mamie Dickens: The Later Years’, *The Dickensian*, 113:506 (2017), pp. 252–60.

Huntington Library, MS FI 2750, Georgina to Annie Fields, 23 May 1877.


Huntington Library, MS FI 2759, Georgina to Annie Fields, 27 February 1883.

Huntington Library, MS FI 2771, Georgina to Annie Fields, 19 January 1888.

Huntington Library, MS FI 2760, Georgina to Annie Fields, 13 June 1887.

BL, RP 9217, Georgina to Horace and Jane Pym, 26 September 1889.

Ibid.


Huntington Library, MS FI 2780, Georgina to Annie Fields, 25 February 1870.

Huntington Library, MS FI 2695, Georgina to Annie Fields, 4 May 1870.

Huntington Library, MS FI 2763, Georgina to Annie Fields, 17 June 1897.
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97 Huntington Library, MS FI 2767, Georgina to Annie Fields, 23 February 1901.
100 In addition, Georgina had taken Dickens’s part in initially snubbing Charley’s bride, Bessie, because she was the daughter of his once publisher, Fred Evans (who had offended Dickens by refusing to support the publication of his ‘Personal’ statement). Charley and Bessie could not fail to notice, too, how Georgina treated their girls differently. In one of the many versions of her own will, Georgina instructed that the money she had intended leaving to her goddaughter Beatrice, Charley’s fifth daughter, was instead to be shared with Mekitty on the basis that she ‘is the one I like best – and the most interesting of his children’. Charles Dickens Museum, Ouvry Papers, Farrer Ouvry Envelope 30, 37.15, Georgina to F. Ouvry.
102 Ibid., p. 194.
104 Huntington Library, MS FI 2716, Georgina to Annie Fields, 17 October 1873.
105 Huntington Library, MS FI 2722, Georgina to Annie Fields, 13 May 1874.
106 Huntington Library, MS FI 2723, Georgina to Annie Fields, 9 June 1874. A bank account in the names of Miss Georgina Hogarth, John Everett Millais Esq. and Henry Fielding Dickens Esq. was opened in 1874. In 1888, there was £3,515 (just over £644,000). In January 1912, the balance of £9,15.6d (around £1,000) was withdrawn and the account closed. Royal Bank of Scotland Archives, Edinburgh (1878–1914), Coutts Bank, London, Accounts Ledgers of Miss Georgina Hogarth (1870–8).
107 Storey, *Dickens and Daughter*, p. 212.
108 Dickens to Alfred Dickens, 20 May 1870, P, XII, p. 530.
109 Huntington Library, MS FI 2707, Georgina to Annie Fields, 18 June 1872.
110 Huntington Library, MS FI 2699, Georgina to Annie Fields, 20 April 1871.
112 Charles Dickens Museum, Gladys Storey Papers, Envelope Q, Georgina to Edward (Plorn) Dickens, July 1880.
113 Case Western Reserve University, Arthur Adrian Papers, Box 3HA6, Georgina to Blanche Swanson, 17 January 1908.

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115 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 265.
116 Charles Dickens Museum, Gladys Storey Papers, Envelope C.
118 Author copy of Georgina Hogarth’s Last Will and Testament.
119 Huntington Library, MS Fl 2778, Georgina to Annie Fields, 29 September 1870.

Chapter 10: Aftermath

4 Adrian, Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle, p. 256.
5 Leonee Ormond, ‘Charles Dickens and Alfred Tennyson’, Tennyson Research Bulletin, 10:1 (2012), pp. 71–9. Ormond argues that it was uncharacteristic of Tennyson to give such a gift. However, Tennyson had great affection for Dickens and may have been influenced to present him with a ring by a member of his wider family, Mary Boyle.
9 Dickens to W. H. Wills, 29 December 1852, note 8, P, VI, p. 841.
Notes


22. Ibid.


38. Huntington Library, MS FI 2779, Georgina to Annie Fields, 4 July 1870.

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40 BL, RP 9217, Georgina to Horace Pym, 22 November 1888.
41 I am grateful to Andrew Maywood for sharing his research findings into Georgina’s authentication cards.
42 Dickens’s grandson described Georgina as an ‘ordinary mid-Victorian lady and rather helpless and inefficient. Indeed, she was no great figure in history at all’. See H. C. Dickens, ‘Presidential Address to the Dickens Fellowship Conference in 1946’, p. 190.