

University of Chester

Department of English

MA Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture

EN7204 Dissertation

2016-17

Genii of the Moors:

Exploring the Imaginary and Imaginative Spaces in the Brontës juvenilia's geographical
fantasy worlds of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal, and its domestic resurgence in Charlotte

Brontë's *Jane Eyre*

ABSTRACT

The story of the Reverend Patrick Brontë's gift of twelve wooden soldiers to his twelve-year-old son Branwell in June 1829 is a much repeated one among scholars of the Brontë juvenilia. Renamed affectionately The Twelves, the toy soldiers provided the catalyst for the Young Men's plays that grew into the Glass Town, Angria and Gondol sagas, and would continue to fuel the four youngest Brontë siblings' imagination for the next twenty years. And yet, despite this early education of authorship and world play, Elizabeth Gaskell in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* gave little attention to the 'wild weird writing' of her subject's formative years,¹ instead enshrining Charlotte in a domestic home 'of the most dainty order, [and] the most exquisite cleanliness'.² Resorting to same superlatives that she does in her treatment of the juvenilia, Christine Alexander's assertion that 'Nineteenth-century biographers...generally gave no more than a cursory glance at an author's juvenilia, if indeed they acknowledged it at all' fails to account for Gaskell's censorship, and implies a more deliberate motive for the (dis)use of her language.³ This study locates Gaskell's uneasiness in the conflict between Charlotte the writer, and Charlotte the woman. Accepted as her writing was in adulthood, it is Charlotte's juvenilia and the imaginary worlds of Glass Town and Angria she created in childhood but continued well into adulthood, that disrupts the demarcation between what was acceptable as a professional woman author, and what was not. If the nature of the freedom of play in childhood is meant to be temporary, the transgressive nature of the Brontës' was that it was not. For Charlotte, prolonged immersion in her fantasy world began to affect her reality, and it is the conflict between reality and her imaginary world that is evident in *Jane Eyre*, which this study

¹ Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Penguin, 1997), p.69.

² Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, pp.13-14.

³ Christine Alexander, 'Defining and representing literary juvenilia', in Christina Alexander and Julia McMaster (eds.), *The Child Author from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.70-97, p.80.

examines as a full-length version of her last contribution to her juvenilia and read as ‘A [Final] Farwell to Angria’.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, and is done so as thanks of their constant support, for worrying on my own behalf, and for ignoring the chaos I left in my wake when writing it. Love was never louder than in the silence when you walked past me working; whether that was in my room, on the sofa, or when blocking the way to the bathroom on the landing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	p.ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	p.iv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	p.vii

INTRODUCTION –

THERE’S NO PLACE LIKE HOME: IMAGINING CHARLOTTE AS WOMAN WRITER IN BIOGRAPHY

p.8

CHAPTER 1 –

WORLDS APART: IMAGINING THE WORLDS OF GLASS TOWN, ANGRIA AND GONDAL

p.21

CHAPTER 2 –

A WORLD BELOW: CHARTING THE BLANK SPACES OF CREATIVE GENIUS/ GENESIS

p.37

CHAPTER 3 –

THE WAR OF THE WORLDS: THE COLLISION OF FANTASY AND REALISM IN CHARLOTTE BRONTË’S *JANE EYRE*

p.58

CONCLUSION

HOME SWEET HOME: COMING HOME AGAIN

p.65

BIBLIOGRAPHY	p.68
APPENDIX A	p.75
APPENDIX B: Brontë Juvenilia – a guideline	p.84
APPENDIX C: Image Licences	p.97

ABBREVIATIONS

Alexander Tales - Christine Alexander, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Alexander EW – Christine Alexander, *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983)

Alexander EWI/II.1/II.2/III – Christine Alexander (ed.), *An Edition of The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë Volume I/II Part 1/II Part 2/III* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1987 and 1991)

The Life – Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Penguin, 1997)

The Child Writer – Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster (eds.), *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

INTRODUCTION

THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME: IMAGINING CHARLOTTE AS WOMAN- WRITER IN BIOGRAPHY

Before I began this project, I, like many who had prior knowledge of the Brontës and had studied their novels at some point in my formative education, had little to no idea of the sheer volume of work the Brontës had produced as children and aspiring young writers. For all intents and purposes, Charlotte, Emily and Anne became professional writers in 1847 with the publication of *Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* (later replaced in the Brontë cannon by her more successful and controversial novel, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, in 1848); Branwell meanwhile, had painted himself out of the Brontë siblings' portrait in 1834, and painted his own in the image of wasted genius with nothing of material equivalence to his sisters' published novels to suggest otherwise.⁴ The Brontë juvenilia are important in Brontë studies because they help to restore Branwell – albeit in a figurative sense - back into the frame of the Brontë siblings' literary history, which he in fact led in their collaborative literary project in boyhood until Charlotte took over as editor of the 'Young Men's Magazine' in July 1829, and Emily and Anne abandoned the Glass Town saga which was being dominated by their two elder siblings, to begin and thus lead their own writing project in the creation of Gondal. But what of the sisters?

Branwell may have been as phantom-like in the Brontë myth that Elizabeth Gaskell established in her biography of the family as his self-portrait, or lack thereof, - a notion that is validated by the fact that despite the obvious remains of his outline, the piece is catalogued in

⁴ Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Brontë Sisters (Anne Brontë; Emily Brontë; Charlotte Brontë)' circa 1834, *National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00797/The-Bront-Sisters-Anne-Bront-Emily-Bront-Charlotte-Bront?LinkID=mp00572&role=sit&rNo=0>> [accessed 12 September 2017], © National Portrait Gallery, London. Refer to Figure 1 in Appendix A.

The National Gallery as ‘The Brontë Sisters’ (emphasis added) – but Gaskell had already provided one for Charlotte in her biography, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857). Gaskell’s is a portrait of Charlotte made in words rather than paint, but it is a portrait that has been accompanied and validated by the facsimile of George Richmond’s much reproduced portrait of Charlotte (1850) that Gaskell situates opposite the biography’s title page. Given the popularity of the biography, Gaskell’s portrait of Charlotte has survived through time, and though it has been added to over the years by Brontë scholars and biographers, it remains a valuable source of information, not only as study of a woman novelist by another, but of one written by a close friend. Gaskell includes the juvenilia in her biography, but they are nevertheless treated in a similar manner that Christine Alexander asserts would have been expected of the period: ‘[n]ineteenth-century biographers and writers of memoir’, Alexander writes, ‘generally gave no more than a cursory glance at an author’s juvenilia, if indeed they acknowledged it all’.⁵ And yet, despite her inclusion of Charlotte’s juvenilia, Gaskell handling of it is, as Alexander aptly describes, ‘curiously circumspect’.⁶ As a close friend to her subject and a writer herself, one can only presume that if the purpose of the biography was to paint a portrait of Charlotte and her family accurately on the one hand, whilst ensuring that said biography garnered no negative attention from the prying and critical gaze of the public to whom it was made available on the other, Gaskell perhaps foresaw Charlotte’s juvenilia – its content if anything, since she did include it – as a cause for concern. After all, for Branwell, any insights from the juvenilia could only add to his image. For Charlotte, it could have a more detrimental effect to the image that Gaskell had already created.

That the Brontës started writing in childhood, whether that began with the serious intentions of eventual publication or in the privacy of play, was not uncommon. Jane Austen,

⁵ Christine Alexander, ‘Defining and representing literary juvenilia’, in Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster (eds.), *The Child Author from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.70-97, p.80.

⁶ Alexander, ‘Defining and representing literary juvenilia’, p.80.

John Ruskin and George Eliot; Virginia Woolf (formerly Stephen) and Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (better known as Lewis Carroll), all began their writing careers in infancy or adolescence, and all went on to become professional writers to various degrees of success.⁷ Writing in childhood, however, did not guarantee future success, nor was the production of juvenilia indicative of a desire to have a career in writing. Daisy Ashford for example, wrote *The Young Visitors, or Mister Salteena's Plan* in 1890 (later published in 1919) when she was just nine years old, and it is one of the rare instances where juvenilia was published knowing full well what it was; namely, a novella written not *for* children but by one, spelling errors and all. Nevertheless, despite this unprecedentedly early entry into authorship, Daisy Ashford's writing career did not survive past childhood. In *The Child Author*, juvenilia champion Christine Alexander asserts that whilst civilisation may arise and unfold in and as play, which the written productions of childhood document, there is an assumption that because youth is the determining factor of juvenilia, youthful writing is synonymous with immature writing, and therefore not worthy of adult attention.⁸ Reiterating Johan Huizinga on his seminal study on the anthropology of play, *Homo Ludens*, Alexander and her fellow contributors demonstrate in their study of juvenilia, that contrary to traditional opinions attributed to youthful writing, '[a]ll

⁷ Like the Brontës, both Virginia Woolf and Charles Lutwidge Dodgson were part of a collaborative writing project with their siblings before they distinguished themselves as professional writers. Virginia Woolf collaborated with her siblings in the Stephen family to produce the 'Hyde Park Gate News', and the Dodgsons the *Rectory Magazine*, though for eminent juvenilia scholar Christine Alexander, the Brontës' imaginary world remained their superior in size and scope. In *The Child Author from Austen to Woolf*, Alexander in her introduction explains why some of the juvenilia have been italicised whilst others are merely apostrophised such as the example of the Dodgsons' *Rectory Magazine* and the Stephens' 'Hyde Park Gate News' above. Juvenilia titles are italicised only when they have been published as separate volumes. Those that have been published only within a collection of works, such as Alexander and Victor A. Neufeldt's seminal three volume publications of Charlotte and Branwell's complete early works – similar collections for Emily and Anne consisting purely of their juvenilia being, to my knowledge, yet to be published – are italicised. For this reason *The Green Dwarf* and *The Foundling*, which have been published in separate volumes by Hesperus Press, are italicised but not the serials of the 'Young Men's Magazine' and similar articles found in Alexander's, *The Early Works of Charlotte Brontë Volumes 1 and 2, Parts 1 and 2* (Oxford and New York: published by Basil Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1987 and 1991) which have not. For the sake of consistency, this study will adopt Alexander and McMaster's model when referencing the Brontës' juvenilia. Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster, 'Introduction', in Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster, 'Introduction', in *The Child Author from Austen to Woolf*, eds. Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.1-10, p.3.

⁸ John Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), ix.

play means something', and as a voluntary process that carried with it a liberating quality of freedom, for the child-author that meaning could lie within the content of the juvenilia, the act of writing it in itself, or a combination of the two.⁹

Implied with this devaluation of youthful writing is the notion that, because it does not infringe upon the adult world, its temporary nature makes it harmless, and therefore does not demand an adult response. But for the Brontës who continued writing the Glass Town, Angria and Gondal sagas well into adulthood, the demarcation between childhood and adulthood become blurred. In *The Child Author* for example, Alexander and Juliet McMaster consider works by writers up to twenty as their province, but they also have a chapter on Branwell Brontë whose massive body of early writings, though started in adolescence, continued until his death at thirty-one, and are still commonly referred to as 'juvenilia'.¹⁰ Even Charlotte's rejection of her imaginary world, a literal departure aptly titled 'Farewell to Angria', did not occur until 1839 at the age of twenty-three. In such cases, then, youth and maturity are proven to be relative concepts. As Alexander demonstrates, when 'seen from the point of a parent, a child may never reach adulthood' and 'some writers graduate to maturity before others'.¹¹ For the latter, the inverse is true: some writers rest at immaturity longer than others, and some may never attain maturity. In the biographical notice of Ellis and Acton Bell, for example, Charlotte rails against critics that failed to comprehend '[t]he *immature*, but very real, powers revealed in "Wuthering Heights" (emphasis added, 1847); and in failing to produce material not under the umbrella term of 'juvenilia', Branwell's writing and its association with immaturity, whether falsely attributed or not, were inseparable. But if childishness and play is associated with a form of freedom and a degree of rebellion which is forgivable in childhood because that

⁹ Huizinga, *Homo Luden*, p.1.

¹⁰ Alexander and McMaster, 'Introduction', p.2.

¹¹ Alexander and McMaster, 'Introduction', p.2.

state is, like play, temporary, then at what point does play turn into seriousness? At what point does play and the written form it manifests it manifests itself as warrant an adult response?

In *The Life*, when Gaskell talks of the juvenilia, it is as ‘an immense amount of manuscript, [written] in an inconceivably small space... [and] in a hand which [was...] almost impossible to decipher without the aid of a magnifying glass’.¹² This description reveals nothing about the encompassing tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal which they contained, but instead demonstrate her own inability or unwillingness perhaps to comprehend the vastness of the fantasy world and the existence of a Charlotte that she was entirely unacquainted with that it documented. Allowances, of course, should be considered when speculating Gaskell’s true motives or feelings toward the juvenilia purely from her handling of them in the biography. As Alexander demonstrates her own difficulty when transcribing the miniscule script of Charlotte’s juvenilia, or the unreadable facsimiles that have appeared in previous studies – such as the facsimile page of *The Secret* that Gaskell gives in chapter five of Charlotte’s biography – readers can hardly expect Gaskell to excel where Alexander, with the additional aids of time and technology, could not.¹³ Still, these first impressions of the juvenilia are perhaps telling, for whilst this may likely have been the first time Gaskell had ever encountered anything like the miniscule magazines which seemed ergonomically designed for the toy soldiers which they featured rather than a human/ worldly readership, Gaskell was by profession a woman of words. As not only a professional writer but a successful one at that, Gaskell’s inability to find words when they should have presumably come naturally to her seems demonstrative of a desire and a determination to withhold information rather than to share it. Indeed,

¹² Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Elisabeth Jay (London: Penguin, 1997) p.62. Refer to Figure 2 in Appendix A for a to scale photograph of some of Charlotte Brontë’s earlier manuscripts including three of the ‘Young Men’s Magazines’ for 1830 in Christine Alexander (ed.), *The Early Works of Charlotte Brontë Volume I: The Glass Town Saga 1826-1832* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1987), frontispiece opposite title-page. All future references within either main body of text or footnote will be given in its abbreviation: *Alexander EW I*.

¹³ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.63.

commissioned to write Charlotte's biography because of the close friendship she shared with her subject, it may well have been detrimental to include works that even Charlotte herself seemed reluctant to share with others.

Though Elizabeth Gaskell was a friend to her subject – perhaps *because* it was her friend – Gaskell's apparent treatment of the Brontës' juvenilia proved to be no exception. After all, as Elisabeth Jay asserts in her introduction to the Penguin edition of Gaskell's *Life*, '[p]rofessional biographers have always been in the business of saving two reputations: their own and their subject's'.¹⁴ In the biography, Charlotte Brontë is 'divided into' what Gaskell identifies as 'two parallel currents – her life as Currer Bell, the author; [and] her life as Charlotte Brontë, the woman'.¹⁵ Each had 'separate duties belonging to each character; not opposing each other', she adds, 'not impossible, but difficult to reconcile'.¹⁶ For women writers, here lay the problem: in reconciling the dutiful woman who keeps the home of the men she is dependent upon, and the professional woman who can – if successful – keep herself. Robert Southey would give his own opinion on the subject in his reply to Charlotte's letter of December 1836: 'Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life, and it ought not to be. The more she is engaged in her proper duties, the less leisure will she have for it, even as an accomplishment and a recreation'.¹⁷ Southey's letter was not a warning to Charlotte that she should give up her writing – it was the opposite in fact by his acknowledgement of her possession of 'what Wordsworth calls the "faculty of verse" – but a gentle,¹⁸ yet 'stringent' reminder (in Charlotte's terms) that writing, or indeed any 'accomplishment' or 'recreation' Southey implies, was done at a women's leisure, and done in opposition to her '*proper* duties' (emphasis added) as a

¹⁴ Elisabeth Jay, 'Introduction', in Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Elisabeth Jay (London: Penguin, 1997), pp.ix-xxxii, p.ix.

¹⁵ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, pp.258-259.

¹⁶ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.259.

¹⁷ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.117.

¹⁸ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.117.

woman at home.¹⁹ In other words, home came first; and if a woman was unable to perform her ‘proper duties’ in the domestic sphere – and to the same standard as the feminine model no less – then she was wilfully opposing what contemporary gender commentators such as John Ruskin deemed that nature had intended for her. Such infraction would thus be regarded as being unfeminine, and the individual criticised as setting a bad example. This was hardly the impression Gaskell, as a woman novelist that was still living, would have wanted to have attributed to her dead friend and colleague, or to have been associated with herself. To have more than a cursory glance if they did prove to be inflammatory, and to include that material knowing it would have precipitated criticism from the public, would have been to have tainted her own reputation as a woman for condoning it without rebuke. To this effect, then, Gaskell as a biographer had to not only save the two reputations of her subject as writer and woman, but as a woman novelist herself, she had the added implication of saving her own. In this case, whilst Gaskell the writer may have been fascinated by Charlotte’s juvenilia, Gaskell the woman would not have been able to condone a more detailed examination of Charlotte’s juvenilia – and do so as a friend and without censure – if it did indeed prove potentially damaging to Charlotte’s reputation as a woman without the risk of implicating her own, if indeed that proved to be the case.

And yet, Gaskell’s omission of information regarding the juvenilia, intentionally done or not, need not be read as evidence for solely negative response: her use of superlatives could just as easily have been intended to direct the reader toward rather than away from the juvenilia, to undertake for themselves what she had neither time nor opportunity to do herself, *The Life* was after all primarily a study of Charlotte’s personal life as the title suggests, not of her work.²⁰

¹⁹ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.118.

²⁰ If Gaskell’s intention was to invite interest into the juvenilia, she evidently failed. As I have illustrated above, scholars were not interested in an author’s juvenilia because they simply did not take it seriously. After Clemont Shorter purchased the Brontës’ juvenilia from Charlotte’s husband Arthur Nicholls in Ireland in 1895 and returned to England, the juvenilia were dispersed widely once sold or given as gifts (*Alexander EW*, p.4). It was not until

However, a similar treatment of the home, executed not to omit but to overstress, demonstrates the greater likelihood of the former reading, rather than the latter. Describing the Brontë Parsonage, Gaskell writes that '[e]verything about the place tells me of the most dainty order, the most exquisite cleanliness. The door-steps are spotless; the small old-fashion window-panes glitter like looking-glass. Insider and outside of that house cleanliness goes up into its essence, purity'.²¹ In Judith Flanders's *The Victorian House*, she asserts that '[m]ost contemporaries accepted [John] Ruskin's views on women and home – home was not a place, but a projection of the feminine'.²² Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* to which this quote alludes, consists of two lectures on the sexual differences between men and women in education, place and power, which Ruskin delivered in 1864: 'Of King's treasures' and 'Of Queens Gardens'. By placing women, as the title suggests, within 'Gardens', Ruskin's appropriation of nature serves his essentialist definitions of woman through the conflation of sex – its biological

the twentieth century that they began to get the attention that they deserved. Fannie Ratchard's *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* (1941) was described as the 'best available conspectus', and has been the source material for the juvenilia for scholars and biographers researching the Brontës' early literary careers/ childhood Alexander EW, p.4). However, As Christine Alexander demonstrates in *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* (1983) – a corrected and updated version of Ratchford's own – Ratchford's work consisted of only a small amount of the manuscripts that we know to exist now, and for those manuscripts that were privately published, and like those by Thomas James Wise, many were either heavily abridged (like Gaskell does with the few examples she gives in Charlotte's biography) or inaccurately transcribed (Alexander EW, p.4). Alexander has attempted – successfully – to correct this deficit with her own publication of Charlotte Brontë's complete (known) juvenilia manuscripts in three volumes. Normalising inaccurate transcriptions and editorial overtures with her own, Alexander provides scholars for the first time an average of 50% of previously unpublished material per volume. Organised by closed periods or story arcs, Alexander splits Charlotte's thirteen years of unpublished authorship into three parts: The Glass Town Saga 1826-1832 (1987), The Rise of Angria 1833-1835 (in two parts, 1991), and The Angrian Legend 1836-1839 which is still as yet to be published. Indispensable to the study of Charlotte Brontë's juvenilia as these may be, they are no longer readily available to buy on the market and therefore present another challenge to Brontë juvenilia scholarship; namely, of critical source material being out of print. Hesperus Classis have published a number of Charlotte manuscripts (mainly her novellas) as separate volumes, and others have appeared in small collections under various publishers, but nothing as yet to match the breadth and reliability of Alexander's.

Scholars of Branwell's juvenilia will find themselves in a better position. As Christine Alexander has done for Charlotte Brontë, Victor A. Neufeldt has published the complete known works of Charlotte's brother, Branwell Brontë. Neufeldt published a complete collection of Branwell's poetry in 1990. Branwell's combined early works was first published in 1997 by Garland Publishing and organised in a similar vein to Alexander and separated into three volumes: 1827-1833, 1834-1836 and 1837-1848. Out of the three volumes, an average of 70% of Branwell's prose works equating to 354,800 words are of previously unpublished material. However, unlike Alexander's equivalent for Charlotte, Neufeldt's is more readily available on the market, the series having recently been reprinted with Routledge in 2015.

²¹Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.17.

²² Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childhood to Deathbed* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), p.xxxi.

facticity – with gender – its cultural interpretation. Though *Sesame and Lilies* was not printed until almost a decade after *The Life* in 1865, Ruskin was merely voicing opinions on femininity in a symbolic language that was already in existence, as Gaskell's description of the Parsonage testifies. It is unclear why else Gaskell would overstress the cleanliness of Charlotte's home if it was not to aid in the biography's/ biographer's purpose of saving its subject's reputation, in this case Charlotte's reputation as a woman. It is within the home that Ruskin locates the 'woman's true place and power'²³ but it is nevertheless a space he fails to explore.²⁴ He has no need to as 'home is yet wherever she is': home is not a place but (for women) a way of being.²⁵ John Stuart Mill's poststructuralist reading of *Sesame and Lilies* in his essay on 'The Subjection of Women' (1869), combats Ruskin's misappropriation of nature to expose the gaps, silences and disunity within Ruskin's text and reveal 'the true nature of home' that Ruskin fails to elucidate. Ruskin presents the home as a haven from the 'hostility from the outside world' claiming that it is women that 'shuts *themselves* within their park walls and garden gates[, ...] content to know that there is beyond them [...] a world of secrets which they dare not penetrate; and of suffering which they dare not conceive' (emphasis added), exposing an unsympathising ignorance in dominant ideologies relating to the reality of female experience.²⁶ Thus, depicting

²³ John Ruskin, 'Of Queens' Gardens', in John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* ([n.p.]: Project Gutenberg, 1998), Kindle edition, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1293/pg1293-images.html>> [accessed 7 September 2017], p.39.

²⁴ Danielle Pickett, 'Introduction – White Women in Chains: Reading the Gothic as a Catalyst for Change', in Danielle Pickett, 'Modern Women and Male Impotency: Mapping the transformation of Woman in Victorian-Gothic Literature and Culture' (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, University of Chester, 2015), pp.6-13. What follows in the remainder of this paragraph is a poststructuralist study of contemporary gender commentators, Mill and Ruskin taken from the undergraduate dissertation above mentioned. In the original dissertation, Mill's cannibalisation of Ruskin's own through the re-appropriation of nature and the home was seen as part of the Gothic tradition, with the end-goal being the transformation of woman from serf and odalisque, to an entirely 'New Woman'. What followed was a study of how traditional Gothic motifs such as the castle as home, the monster and the damsel in distress and this continued relationship between women, the house and garden in gender discourse evolved from the beginning of the Victorian Period with *Wuthering Heights* (1848) toward its end in imperial Gothic novels such as H. Rider Haggard's *She* (1898). This current dissertation builds upon the reading of Mill and Ruskin and by adopting a psychogeographical perspective, considers what Ruskin identifies 'the true nature of home' to be merely a built environment that not only embodies Ruskin's essentialist discourse, but controls the women that live in them by making them maintain feminine ideals and thus warden themselves in their own performance of gender norms.

²⁵ Ruskin, 'Of Queens' Gardens', p.38.

²⁶ Ruskin, 'Of Queens' Gardens', p.48.

man as ‘defender’, Ruskin goes so far as to equate enslaving women with valuing them.²⁷ Adopting Gothic tropes, Ruskin’s ‘place of Peace’ is transformed into a prison, her ‘defender’ into a ‘brutal [...] tyrant’ and lawful master. Implied in Ruskin and rendered explicit in Mill is the notion that both woman and home are her husband’s property.²⁸

A further exploration of this conversation between Ruskin and Mill will be examined later, but what is cognisant in Ruskin’s argument is that the notion of home and woman are contingent on the other: ‘So far as she rules’, Ruskin writes, ‘all must be right, or nothing is. She must be enduringly, incorruptibly good; instinctively, infallibly wise...’ and if she does not successfully perform these near-impossible feats of femininity then the house she manages will cease to be home.²⁹ The inverse is true. If the home does not *display* the signs of a woman’s good management – cleanliness, order and economy – then it is because she does not possess them herself. From a psychogeographical perspective, the home is as much a construction of bricks and mortar as woman is by her education. However, whilst both are products of man – building and gendered archetype – if the home is a prison to women as Mill suggests, is not her husband that binds her, he merely owns her prison, his father’s father having built it. In keeping her home to the standards of society, the prisoner has become her own warden. Any signs of neglect in the home are thus regarded as not only an infringement against the feminine ideal, but to the patriarchal systems it acquiesced to. Gaskell’s overstressed description of the pristine cleanliness of the Parsonage, then, was a language through symbols whose message would have been clear for her readership: if home was regarded not as a place, but as a projection of the feminine and the patriarchal institution it represents, through her description of Brontë Parsonage Gaskell presents Charlotte on the spectrum of morality and feminine practice as its

²⁷ Ruskin, ‘Of Queens’ Gardens’, p.38.

²⁸ John Stuart Mill, ‘The Subjection of Women’ ([n.p.]: Project Gutenberg, 2008), Kindle edition, <http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=919938> [accessed 7 September 2017], p.48.

²⁹ Ruskin, ‘Of Queens’ Gardens’, pp.38-39.

model both '[i]nside and out', the cleanliness of her home evidence that her writing did not impede on the 'proper duties' Southey ascribes to a woman's capacity as wife. She is, as Gaskell illustrates through the conflation of place and the feminine ideal, 'purity' itself, and therefore irreproachable.³⁰ Richmond's 'Charlotte Brontë' (1850) was very similar to Gaskell's in that seemed to be designed specifically to avoid rebuke. Richmond's Charlotte is executed with limited colour, her head turned demurely toward the left of the frame and her eyes away from the view; her hair is styled simply as are her clothes, her facial expression serene.³¹ Nothing about this portrait is confrontational: it does not excite strong emotion, and nor is it meant to. She is merely plain in dress, style and execution though pleasing to look at; she does not challenge the eye that looks upon her, or invite closer scrutiny. Here, whilst Charlotte is depicted the writer, the blush of colour on her lips and cheeks, as well as the detail of the lace at her collar highlight the sitter's femininity. J. H. Thompson's reproduction of Richmond's does not have to make such obvious overtures, as whilst the pose resembles the original, Thompson's portrait emanates femininity in the softening of her features.³² So feminine is her disposition and form, that Thompson has no need to include the material symbols of femininity and forgoes the lace collar.³³

To paraphrase Flanders, from infancy to adult '[t]hat was the key' when depicting women: girls and young women were not to give or be *seen* to give, their undivided attention to anything that did not fall into the category of duty.³⁴ The woman had to come before the

³⁰ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.117

³¹ George Richmond, 'Charlotte Brontë' (1850), *National Portrait Gallery*. Refer to Figure 3 in Appendix A.

³² Amber K. Regis and Deborah Wynne, 'Introduction: picturing Charlotte Brontë', in Amber K. Regis and Deborah Wynne (eds.), *Charlotte Brontë: Legacies and Afterlives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.1-39, p.9. Regis and Wynne assert that 'Arthur Bell Nicholls allowed (or indeed, commissioned) J. H. Thompson, Branwell Brontë's friend and fellow student of portraiture at Leeds, to make use of the [Richmond's] picture as a template for a new portrait of his late wife'.

³³ J. H. Thompson, portrait of Charlotte Brontë commissioned after George Richmond's 'Charlotte Brontë' in 1850, in Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Elisabeth Jay (London: Penguin, 1997), front cover. Refer to Figure 4 in Appendix A.

³⁴ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.55.

writer, and for a woman, writing was a mere past-time, her role as wife and mother her true vocation, and the home her true post. That Charlotte did until she was twenty-three, and that her deviance was recorded in the ‘immense amount of manuscript’ she left behind posed a problem to the biographer tasked with presenting her subject’s portrait to the world which would not meet public disapproval.³⁵ The conversation that exists in Gaskell’s handling of Charlotte’s two fronts as woman and writer, and the treatment she affords to each (of the omission of the one, and the exaggeration of the other) seems to suggest that the ‘difficulty’ in reconciliation between Charlotte’s fronts, lay in the existence of Charlotte the *young* writer, rather than her adult and accepted counterpart. The purpose of this dissertation is primarily to bring Charlotte’s undisclosed self as a young writer into a triad with the two already in existence, and how this third self complicates not only the relationship between the woman and her profession, but between woman and home as she graduates from girl to womanhood.

Taking a chronological approach, the first two chapters will focus on her juvenilia. The conversation between Ruskin and Mill’s feminism exhibits the home as a microcosm of the world, or if not at least the ideologies that constitute British identity. Gothicising Ruskin’s text through his own, Mill demonstrates that the ‘true nature of home’, rather than the romanticised ‘places of Peace’ of Ruskin’s ideal, is actually a prison for women, which she is forced to maintain and warden herself. Psychogeography is the study of the relationship between an individual and their surroundings, and how by designing particular environment place can exert control over its inhabitants. For women, the home is one such built environment, but as a psychogeography reading of Ruskin demonstrates how women are controlled by the homes they live in and the feminine paradigm they maintain, this study will demonstrate how psychogeography can also empower individuals to *take back* control, and so undermine the ideologies these built surroundings represent. As an unfeminine occupation, it is in Charlotte’s

³⁵ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.62.

juvenilia more so than in her adult writing that Gaskell has trouble reconciling with Charlotte's front as a woman. Implied in Gaskell's *The Life* is that Charlotte's juvenilia posed a real danger to Charlotte's reputation as a woman, and by extension her biographer's as well. For this reason Chapters One and Two divide the study of Charlotte's juvenilia into two parts: the act of writing it, and a study of the content itself.

As a running theme throughout this dissertation, chapter titles have been named accordingly. For this purpose, this study begins as I have demonstrated above, with Charlotte's place at home. 'Worlds apart' and the creation of Glass Town and Angria it charts is followed by its exploration as a separate space in 'A World Below'.³⁶ This study does not extend to what is essentially a digital recreation of imaginary space, but it does not exclude it from the field of Spatial Humanities in literary texts. Transitioning from child-amateur to adult-professional and aptly titled 'The War of the Worlds', Chapter Three explores the collision of these two worlds of fantasy (imaginary) and reality (home) in the novel that graduated her into professional authorship, *Jane Eyre* (1847). This text is read alongside her rejection of her juvenilia sagas and as a '[Final] Farewell to Angria', before concluding with 'Coming Home Again', which is where Gaskell leaves her subject enshrined in *The Life*, and where the Brontë Society continue to do so at the Brontë Parsonage Museum.

³⁶ This last anticipates in part the recent research carried out by the DHRC (Digital Humanities Research Centre) in the field of Spatial Humanities, which has succeeded in developing a new digital method for exploring vague and imaginary place and, for the first time achieving a holistic study of space in a digital library of twelfth-century Medieval Romances (*Journal of Map & Geography Libraries*, 13 (2), May 2017). Director Dr Patricia Murrieta-Flores and literary scholar Dr Anna Mackenzie from the University of Chester, build upon this methodological success and have developed a pilot project to map and explore vague and imaginary spaces in selected iconic Fantasy literature from the 19th -21st century, which begins with J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* (forthcoming). Unknown author, 'Mapping Intangible Places: Towards the analysis of vague and imaginary space in literary fiction with Spatial and Digital Technologies', *Digital Humanities Research Centre*, in association with the University of Chester <<https://dhchester.org/portfolio/vague-imaginary-space-literary-fiction-digital-technologies/>> [accessed 16 September 2017].

CHAPTER ONE

WORLDS APART: IMAGINING THE WORLDS OF GLASS TOWN, ANGRIA AND GONDAL

He loved to lie in the very centre of five millions of people, with his filaments stretching out and running through them, responsive to every little rumour or suspicion of unsolved crime.³⁷

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*

[W]hen I was a little chap I had a passion for maps [...and...] would lose myself in all the glories of exploration...But there was one yet – the biggest, the most blank, so to speak – that I had a hankering after.³⁸

Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness* (1899)

I don't know whether you have ever seen a map of a person's mind. Doctors sometimes draw maps of other parts of you, [...] but catch them trying to draw a map of a child's mind, which is not only confused, but keeps going round all the time. There are zigzag lines on it, just like your temperature on a card, and these are probably roads in the island, for the Neverland is always more or less an island, with astonishing splashes of colour here and there...³⁹

J. M. Barrie, *Peter and Wendy* (1911)

In Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Gaskell places an unusual amount of stress on the understanding of place in order to attain what she asserts is 'a right understanding' of her subject: 'it appears to me *more necessary in her case than in most others* that the reader should be made acquainted with the peculiar forms of population and society amidst which her earliest years were passed' (emphasis added).⁴⁰ However, whilst Gaskell may go to great lengths in providing an anthropological and topographical study of Keighley, Haworth, its population and their surrounds, she rarely does she actually place Charlotte among it.

³⁷ Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Cardboard Box', in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Stories with Illustrations from the 'Strand' Magazine* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 2006), pp.1113-1130, p.1113.

³⁸ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Robert Kimbrough, 3rd edn. (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1963), p.12.

³⁹ J. M. Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, in J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens and Peter and Wendy*, ed. Peter Hollindale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.67-226, p.73.

⁴⁰ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.17.

‘[P]eculiar’, ‘strange’ and with an ‘air of independence rather apt to repel a stranger’ as Haworth and its rural surrounds may be, Charlotte is placed safely in the irreproachable façade of the ‘most’ conventional establishment (it seems) in the county. Charlotte is safely enclosed from the ‘strange eccentricity’ of the locals within the Parsonage, her home, but it is not a privilege she extends to Charlotte’s sisters and fellow inmates.⁴¹ Anne and Emily she leaves outside among the eccentrics, whose ‘tales of positive violence and crime that have occurred in these isolated dwellings [...] were doubtless familiar to the authors of ‘Wuthering Heights’ and ‘The Tenant of Wildfell Hall’.⁴² Identified as a Haworth made foreign by its customs and the ‘independence’ of its people, it is for Emily and Anne that Gaskell seems to apologise for, to excuse as productions of place (a more forgivable sin) rather than of a rebellion of the mind which the controversial content of their novels suggested, but it is unclear why she deems it ‘necessary’ to do this in order to understand her subject (Charlotte). Returning to Ruskin’s portrait of ideal femininity that internalises the desirable qualities of ignorance by locking herself with her home, Gaskell implies through placement, that Emily and Anne’s novels exhibit knowledge of the outside world and a breach of gender norms that is unfeminine.⁴³ Charlotte is exonerated from similar reproach because she has been quarantined from her sisters. To reiterate my psychogeographical approach to Ruskin and Mill, Charlotte is *seen* in the home, which symbolises and mirrors the ‘purity’ through bricks and mortar the feminine ideal that Charlotte has maintained through its (self)management. Her sisters, on the other hand, are presented as having gotten ‘loose’ and so appear to roam the semi-wilderness of the moors, co-mingling with the locals in a description that demonstrate more perhaps, Gaskell’s own feminine sensibilities than actual truth beyond county and dialectic differences.

⁴¹ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.23.

⁴² Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.24.

⁴³ Ruskin, ‘Of Queens’ Gardens’, p.48.

Presented through their perceived relationship with their home and the institution it symbolised, the sisters are placed into two categories: those that submit and continue to submit to gender discourse and the larger institution of patriarchy to which it submits, and those that do not. For the latter it is the writer that has taken precedence, which is why, perhaps, it is to ‘the authors of ‘Wuthering Heights’ and ‘The Tenant of Wildfell Hall’ that Gaskell addresses, and not the women Emily and Anne.⁴⁴ By failing to meet the proper duties of a woman and moving beyond their “natural” sphere of the home, Emily and Anne have committed what Judith Flander identifies as ‘the cardinal sin of not knowing their place, disrupting the ordered segregation of the world’.⁴⁵ This sin is seen by Gaskell to have been committed both literally and figuratively, and Gaskell metes out suitable punishment by placing their disobedience outside of the institution that represented the patriarchal and gender values which they have infringed upon: the home. But as the vast majority of both their adult and their juvenilia writing was completed within the Brontë Parsonage, surrounding the table in the dining room which multi-functioned as a parlour in order to entertain visitors, writing within the home did not guarantee that its contents would be permissible as *Wuthering Heights* and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* demonstrate. Writing presented an opportunity for play, for a break from the rigors of daily life, and an opportunity to be anyone or to go anywhere – at least for a short while – they wanted to. As long as these episodes of deviancy were kept hidden from the world by remaining unpublished, a socially acceptable ‘front’ could be maintained without the risk of damaging one’s reputation as a woman, which was her priority. Both prisoner and warden of a home that had been built by men, was owned by men and which she was indoctrinated to keep for men without any expectation of possessing any claim to it, a woman’s home and its management were designed to control the behaviour of the women within it. However, if

⁴⁴ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.17.

⁴⁵ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.54.

control can be meted out by building an environment, it stands that the individual in question would be able to take back control by reclaiming it for themselves, a fete that the Brontës suggest was achieved through the act of writing. Many scholars have dedicated their research to the study of space or specific places, but still the field of psychogeography is not typically regarded as applicable to literature. With this in mind, this chapter will begin with a brief introduction into the theory of psychogeography and some of its precepts before it commences with its examination of Charlotte's juvenilia by beginning first with the act of writing juvenilia itself and how, through the creation of imaginary worlds, Charlotte (and by extension her sisters) may have been able to re-write herself out of the home and the gender identity that bound her to it.

Psychogeography as a field has broadened out from how it was initially conceived by Guy Debord and the Situationists in the 1950s. In its original context, the field of psychogeography defined by Debord in his essay, 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography' (1955), as 'the study of the precise laws and specific effect of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals'.⁴⁶ However, despite the implication that psychogeography is the study strictly of *urban* geography, his definition does not specify particular geographical limits to its application though the term is predominantly associated with the flâneur and the urban wanderer.⁴⁷ For

⁴⁶ Guy Debord, 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography' (1955), in Ken Knabb (ed.) (trans.), *The Situationist International Anthology* (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Services, 2006), Kindle Edition, pp.7-12, p.8.

⁴⁷ Even in the twenty-first century, author and psychgeographer Will Self asserts that the field's preoccupation with the flâneur rather than his female equivalent, the flâneuse, is because men have 'superior visual-spatial skills to women, and an inordinate fondness for all aspects of orientation'. Whether this is due to natural or nurtured characteristics, Self continues, is unknown, but concludes that it is because of this predisposition that men rather than women are 'corralled in this field'. Consciously made or not, Self's conclusions seems to draw from traditional notions of space and gender, more commonly referred to as the separate spheres, than have any credible basis. Will Self, *Psychogeography* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007) (p.12). But as the exotic locales of the Brontës' juvenilia demonstrate, you do not need to leave the house in order to travel outside of it.⁴⁷ And Gaskell's treatment of Anne and Emily suggests that – for women at least – the mental traveller could be just as subversive as if she had actually travelled to such places herself, the punishment for venturing beyond the boundaries of home and woman exactly the same.

psychogeographers, the act of walking was seen in opposition to the spirit of the modern city which was, with the increased availability of advanced modes of public transportation, becoming proportionally hostile to the pedestrian. Walking thus becomes an act of subversion, favouring as it does the first-hand experience of the street-level gaze over official representations of the city. In this respect, in the act of walking and its exploration of those marginal and overlooked places in the city is indicative of what Merlin Coverley identifies as ‘psychogeography’s characteristic political opposition to authority’, of an individual forming their own image of a place that is contrary to its official representations.⁴⁸

But where does one begin when exploring place? In the navigation of place, the deliberate use of maps or the unconscious, instinctive act of mapping is inseparable. Creating place has proven to be no different. For Robert Louis Stevenson, when writing *Treasure Island* (1883) the map was the origin and ‘the chief part of [his] plot’.⁴⁹ On reminiscing in ‘My First Book’ (1894), Stevenson asserts that before *Treasure Island*, he ‘made a map of an island; it was elaborately and ([he] thought) beautifully coloured; the shape of it took [his] fancy beyond expression’,⁵⁰ and in this recollection he bears a remarkable similarity to Joseph Conrad’s narrator Christopher Marlowe’s ‘hankering’ to explore Africa after seeing its map, and the Brontës’ creation of Glass Town after spying explorer James McQueen’s map of Africa in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*.⁵¹ Stevenson’s map was not intended to become the basis for his first novel, but he is seduced by a desire to explore it, and *Treasure Island* is at least in part the product of that exploration. But why are we seduced by blank spaces; by lost cities, feral places and everything in between. Professor of social geography, Alastair Bonnett in his fascinating survey of those very places that exist in the world today attempts to answer that

⁴⁸ Merlin Coverley, *Psychogeography* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2010), p.10.

⁴⁹ Robert Louis Stevenson, ‘My First Book’, in Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, ed. John Seelye (London: Penguin, 1999), pp.191-200, p.197.

⁵⁰ Stevenson, ‘My First Book’, p.193.

⁵¹ Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, p.12.

question, and concludes that this ‘need for re-enchantment’ as he calls it, of our attraction to unknown places, ‘is something we all share’ in order to keep us engaged with our surroundings: ‘we need unruly places that defy expectations’, he continues; and ‘[i]f we can’t find them we’ll create them’.⁵² Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi’s similar survey, *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places*, is a testament to the long-standing tradition of place-making in literature’s to which the Brontës are listed as just one among many authors who have chosen to create their own fictive places to explore where an opportunity to do so in reality has not been made available to them.⁵³ Read alongside the psychogeographer’s attempt to explore the overlooked

⁵² Alastair Bonnett, *Off the Map: Lost Spaces, Invisible Cities, Forgotten Islands, Feral Places, and What They Tell Us About the World* (London: Aurum Press, 2014), p.5. From the Labrynth, a secret world of tunnels and cave systems under Minneapolis-St Paul (not so secret any longer do to an increase in underground tourism), to the man-made floating island Trash Vortex and the disappearance of Sandy Island off the coast of Australia, one might be tempted to call some of these extraordinary places the work of mankind’s imaginative powers rather than believing them to be real. Described as the ‘graveyard of consumerism’, the largest (there is more than one) Trash Vortex can be found in the Pacific and is estimated to be ‘nearly twice the size of Australia’ (p.253). As an inhabitant of Earth, the discovery of Trash Vortex is one you might wish did not exist. For Sandy Island, the opposite is true. The island’s non-existence was discovered in 2012 seven hundred miles east of Queensland following its inclusion on a British Admiralty Map in 1908. What is interesting in the case of Sandy Island, is that even after the island was discarded as one of many unreal islands, Sandy Island’s place on Google Earth – now undiscovered – has been filled by a ‘clutter of outrageous, fantastical photographs’ to become what Bonnett identifies as ‘a rebel base for the imagination, an innocent and an upstart that managed to escape the vast technologies of omnisknowledge’ (p.15). In other words, the possibilities Sandy Island presented for wonder and mystery held greater importance than its actual existence in the physical world. The case of the Sandy Island demonstrates not only our fascination with but also the necessity of mystery within the blank spaces of maps that serves what Bonnett describes as our need for adventure and roots.

⁵³ Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi, *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places* (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), pp.252-253. The listing is under Gondal and Gaaldine for Emily and Anne’s creation. No such entry exists for Charlotte and Branwell’s Glass Town and Angria, possibly because whilst the colonies and kingdoms themselves were imagined, the continent (Africa) on which it was situated was not. A similar summation can be applied to Frenchy Land modelled on France. No entries are made for either Stump’s Island, Monkey’s Land or Philosopher’s Island, possibly because they appear so infrequently in the juvenilia, or in the case of the first two, only in reference. In the juvenilia, Stump’s and Monkey’s Island are created as places of retirement for the original characters of the ‘Young Men’s Play’ for which they are named for, and used by the Verdopolis aristocracy as holiday resorts. Philosopher’s Island is called such as it is where all children of the Glass Town aristocracy are sent for their education and entry into their secret society, and are not called true natives until they have been. This could prove dangerous, as foreigners – especially the ‘yellow faced consumptives’ of England – were often targeted by Glass Town natives for sport or entertainment. Branwell Brontë, ‘Letters to an Englishman’, in Victor A. Neufeldt, *The Works of Branwell Brontë Volume I: 1827-1833* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp.118-124, p.121. In *The Foundling* for example, the hero Edward Sydney tries to stop the notorious French child abuser, Pigtales, in the mutilation, torture and sacrifice of naked infants to ‘living skeleton’ as street entertainment. Pigtales turns to use Edward for the same street entertainment instead, and when Edward calls onto the crowd to defend him, he’s met with ‘Huzza, Pigtail – in with him – the English Bug’. Charlotte Brontë, *The Foundling*, pp.14-15. In another, a group of bored aristocrats (friends of Zamorna, then Douro) talk of their plans to search for an Englishman to ‘play’ that night whilst at a tavern in Verdopolis. Criticising their plans, the Glass Townner in question and his English guests are unceremoniously tossed in a blanket all night long, causing permanent psychological and physiological trauma to its victims. The aristocrats go unpunished, and when Douro witnesses the wreck they have made of the tavern the next morning and hears of what has happened, ‘smiled suavely, [...] and declared it the neatest practical joke he had lately heard of’ (‘The Post Office’, *EW II.1*, pp.208-217, p.216).

paces in a city and their opposition of the authority of the official representations of the city, the image of the coloniser, of the figure who explores place and in so doing lays claim to it. Whether it is for the purpose of creation or to undermine authority, the emphasis and appeal of blank spaces on a map takes on a Poststructuralist approach and suggests that the exploration of these gaps in official representations (authority's printed illustrations) of place is the method of its (authority) undoing.

Maps, then, are integral to this process because they serve as a record – physical or mental – of how well we know, or do not know, a given environment. This can be measured by how much information a map displays. Taking London as a practical example, a paper map may have a detailed, complex layout of the streets and famous landmarks, but it is less likely to tell you where the nearest independent coffee or bookshop is in Leicester Square.⁵⁴ And you could find a map of independent coffee or bookshops to be found in London, but it is not likely to have information on the nearest car parking facilities, roadworks or shopping centres. These are official representations of the city – of place – in that they determine how we not only view place but navigate it. Mental, or 'cognitive' maps as Ellard calls them, are a much greater resource to a traveller of any place; and unlike a physical or digital map, it is not something that you keep in hand or bag but what you take with you everywhere. It is a repository of information that the individual collects by travelling, by taking notice of their surroundings, and unlike its physical counterpart, can show as much information on as many areas as has been gathered by the individual. Unlike a physical map though, geometric accuracy in mental maps does not have to be perfect for them to be helpful. Indeed, as British artist Fuller's *London Town* (2005-2015) illustrates, they are likely to be distorted considerably: streets do not have

⁵⁴ Refer to the Google Maps screenshot of London in Appendix A, Figure 6. If you zoom into any given location, on Google Maps and many other digital maps like it, the number of amenities, attractions and the like increases, but like the non-existence of Sandy Island on Google Earth (which is mentioned later in the chapter), there is no guarantee that the information the map contains is either relevant, correct or up-to-date.

to run in straight lines (or exist at all) and buildings do not have to be to the same scale as they do in reality.⁵⁵ Together, this distorted topography paints an image in the same ‘confused’, surreal likeness as Barrie’s Neverland,⁵⁶ but these landscapes – dream-like as they may appear – remain topographically accurate because they ‘preserve the relationships among the major landmarks in the map’.⁵⁷ The locations of these major landmarks remain the same in whatever (and whosever) map it is. It is in the blank spaces between them that these maps differ. If a group of unrelated individuals walked the same route that Fuller took around London, they would all be different whether that be in their overall emotional response to the city, to its parts or the symbols they use to illustrate place. But because every person’s response to place is unique, it also makes it extremely difficult for anyone other than its creator to use it, and to understand it completely.⁵⁸ In *London Town* for example, the kaleidoscopic minutia of symbols could reflect the energy of the city and excitement in the traveller, but it could just as easily be a depiction of confused claustrophobia, and the stress of not being able to find spaces where one can simply take stock and breathe. For iconic literary figures such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes, whose quote is given at the beginning of this chapter, the fullness

⁵⁵ Fuller, *London Town* (2005-2015) < <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gisuser/21958193549/> > [accessed 30 August 2017]. Refer to Figure 6 in Appendix A.

⁵⁶ Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, p.73.

⁵⁷ Colin Ellard, *Places of the Heart: the psychogeography of Everyday Life* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2015), p.200. Here, Ellard gives the example of a subway map, but as I demonstrate Ellard’s principles can be applied to any map.

⁵⁸ Based on explored James McQueen’s updated map of West Africa in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* (this connection is explored further in chapter two; see Figure 9 in Appendix A), Charlotte and Branwell’s juvenilia can be read as similar psychogeographic maps (what Ellard calls a cognitive map). But where Fuller lives in London, his exploration of the city physical, the eldest Brontës first created the cities of Great Glass Town and Angria as the omnipotent Genii, and then proceed to build it up through their fiction and the imaginary wanderings of the city and surrounding countryside that they record. For Great Glass Town, the major landmarks are the River Niger that run through the city, ‘the long black line of gloomy forests’ to the east and the mountainous ridge of the Jibbel Kumri or Mountains of the Moon to the north; to the south, the ocean guards Africa’s coast, and to the west a vast desert. Charlotte Brontë, ‘A Romantic Tale, or The Twelve Adventurers’ (1829), in *Alexander EW I*, pp.7-18, p.13. For those trying to follow what remains of either Charlotte or Branwell’s cognitive map of their fantasy realms (and as I demonstrate in the main body of text, each map – like each Neverland – ‘vary a great deal [though] they bear a family resemblance’ (Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, p.73.)) navigation proves difficult. Half of the information that the Brontës *do* give at we attempt to rebuild these places in our own minds is either missing, obscure or inconsistent from story to story. It is one of the aspects of the Brontës imaginary worlds that draw us in as explorers: part of their worlds will remain in their creator’s mind, the information not recorded on paper, but it is this self-same mystery, this incompleteness, that invites further exploration and inquiry.

of a cognitive map shows the degree to which an individual knows their surroundings, and the completeness of Sherlock's is what makes him such a successful detective. With completeness and the fullness of knowledge, though, comes an equal deficit in mystery of which a feeling of boredom in one's surrounding is the likely result. Like Fuller, Sherlock is content to live in London, but he needs the added stimulus of the fleeting mystery of unsolved crime to enrich his daily life and re-engage him with his environment.

And yet, as cognitive neuroscientist Colin Ellard demonstrates in his own experiments in the science of psychogeography, living in a city does not remove the physiological responses from prolonged habitation in busy or stressful environments. Though physiological measurements suggested that city-dweller participants were happier standing in a garden than in the middle of busy traffic intersections, their self-reported arousal (fear or stress) levels were unremarkable. Physiologically, though, their sweat gland responses were off the charts, suggesting that – physiologically – their bodies were displaying stress reactions that were probably not dissimilar to someone just travelling through rather than living there, city-dwellers had just developed a psychological resiliency that meant that they did not show it.⁵⁹ Exposure to excessive noise is not the only trigger for negative arousal. Temperature, brightness, the density of the population, even the shape of the buildings can affect, from incidental or deliberate means, our response to our surrounding and how we behave toward others within them. 'We see curves', Ellard writes, 'as soft, inviting, and beautiful', and their presence activates areas in the brain like the orbitofrontal cortex and cingulate cortex which are the areas associated with reward and pleasure.⁶⁰ Increasing activity in the amygdala – 'an important part', Ellard asserts, 'of our fear-detecting and response systems' – jagged edges are regarded as hard and repulsive, suggesting as they do in evolutionary terms, of teeth, claws and other

⁵⁹ Ellard, *Places of the Heart*, pp.130-131.

⁶⁰ Ellard, *Places of the Heart*, p.134.

kinds of dangerous edges.⁶¹ Provoked by such stimuli, increased activity in the amygdala makes individuals significantly more likely to behave aggressively from over stimulation.⁶² On the other hand, underwhelming stimulation and boredom, which is ‘defined’, Ellard asserts, by a state of low arousal, can actually lead individual’s to ‘engage in risky behaviour’.⁶³ We are not necessarily aware of how place affects us as it operates on an instinctual level of the unconscious.

Neither does its affects seem limited to physical experience of place. When Charlotte wrote ‘The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack’ in 1830, she had not yet been to London, but she may have heard or read accounts from secondary source. Despite her inexperience, she nevertheless reiterates Ellard’s findings in her depiction of the city through the significant increase in aggression and rashness she displays in her chief characters in the city, then when she places them in their country estates in the Glass Town Valley. On crossing the bridge which marks the entry to Great Glass Town, de Crack is accosted by Naughty – a notorious villain – who threatens to toss him overboard into the raging ‘dark brown torrent’ of the River Niger.⁶⁴ An officer comes to his aid, but when Naughty refuses his command to leave off, ‘without speaking another word, [the officer] quietly unslung his carbine and shot him dead upon the spot’.⁶⁵ The officer is the esteemed Marquis of Douro (later Duke of Zamorna and King Adrian

⁶¹ Ellard, *Places of the Heart*, pp.134-135.

⁶² Ellard, *Places of the Heart*, p.135. In the original quotation Ellard is describing an experiment where participants are asked to play a game in one of two different environments, each of them decorated with abstract artwork on the walls: in one the abstract art features sharp, angular shapes; in the other, the abstract collage features curves. In the experimentation, participants playing in the room sporting angular artwork were reported to be significantly more aggressive than those in the room decorated with curves. Though out of context, but Ellard implies that we can just as easily be unpleasantly overloaded by stimuli as we can by a continued state of low arousal – otherwise known as boredom – as I go on to assert (pp.114-115).

⁶³ Ellard, *Places of the Heart*, pp.115-116. In *The Life* Gaskell implies that the Brontës’ writing probably originated from their boring surroundings: Haworth is ‘crowned with wild, bleak moors – grand, from the ideas of solitude and loneliness which they suggest, or oppressive from the feeling which they give of being pent-up by some monotonous and illimitable barrier’ (p.13). ‘[P]ent-up’ by the ‘monotonous and illimitable barrier’ of the Yorkshire moors, the Brontë sisters engage in the risky behaviour – risky for a woman as the antithesis of the feminine - of writing from the lack of any other form of appropriate entertainment.

⁶⁴ Charlotte Brontë, ‘The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack’, in *Alexander EW I*, pp.133-140, p.139.

⁶⁵ Brontë, ‘The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack’, p.139.

of Angria), and de Crack concludes that he ‘apparently had been much chafed in his mind, which caused him to perpetrate so hasty a deed’.⁶⁶

De Crack does not make the connection between Douro’s uncharacteristic behaviour and its cause. The surrounding cityscape, however, suggests otherwise:

lofty mills and warehouses piled up storey above storey to the very clouds, surmounted by high tower-like chimneys vomiting forth huge columns of thick black smoke, while from their walls the clanking mighty din of machinery sounded and resounded till all that quarter of the city rang again with the tumult.⁶⁷

Stuck amid the bustle of ‘thousands of human beings, all redolent of fragrant and rancid train-oil’ on the ground, and the ceaseless noise and smoke in the air above, de Crack’s ‘picture of commercial activity’ is an attack upon the senses. It is prolonged exposure to the over stimulation of the city’s industrial quarter that has ‘chafed’ Douro’s mind into an uncharacteristic show of aggression and brashness.⁶⁸ As a regular inhabitant of the Glass Town underground, it is not over stimulation that Naughty is experiencing, but probably boredom. The risky behaviour he shows in his assault of de Crack characteristic of his own predilections for murder.⁶⁹ De Crack’s emotional response before and after the attack demonstrates how quickly our perceptions of our surroundings can change: from excitement at the potential Great Glass Town presented to de Crack, at a welcome that disregarded the obvious Dickensian image of the city’s industrial quarter, to an actual physical repulsion, Great Glass Town turns from a place of lust – of excitement – to one of anxiety.

⁶⁶ Brontë, ‘The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack’, p.140. For consistency, after this example, every other mention of Arthur Wellesley, the Marquis of Douro, the Duke of Zamorna, King or Emperor Adrian Arthur Augustus Wellesley will all be recorded as Zamorna as the figure he is best known and referred to as.

⁶⁷ Brontë, ‘The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack’, p.139.

⁶⁸ Brontë, ‘The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack’, p.139.

⁶⁹ Charlotte Brontë, ‘Blackwood’s Young Men’s Magazine December CB 1829 (first issue): ‘Advertisements’, in *Alexander EW I*, pp.121-122, p.122. In the referenced entry above, Naughty exhibits more risky behaviour advertising his services as assassin by offering to teach others. It reads, ‘YOUNG Man Naughty will instruct pupils in the elegant art of assassination’.

One of the characteristics that psychogeography shares with juvenilia is that in both there is an experimental aspect or playfulness. In an effort to expunge the ‘mental disease [...of...] banalization’, one of the projects of psychogeography was to be able to construct a city whose districts corresponded ‘to a whole spectrum of diverse feeling that one encounter *by chance* in everyday life’.⁷⁰ In other words, the city would become organised into districts that were designed to trigger specific emotional and behavioural response. An individual, they suggest, could literally control their emotional responses by planning which parts of the city to travel through and which to avoid. Chtcheglov proposes a ‘Happy Quarter (specifically reserved for habitation) – ‘Nobel and Tragic Quarter (for good children)’ and even proposes to add a ‘Death Quarter, not for dying in’, he adds, ‘but so as to have somewhere to *live in peace*’ (original emphasis).⁷¹ In another, Debord recalls a ‘game’, an exercise of sorts, where one of his friends ‘wandered through the Harz region of Germany while blindly following the directions of a map of London’.⁷² Described as a ‘feeble beginning’ in comparison to the ‘complete creation of architecture and urbanism’ that Debord asserts was the one of the field’s principle aims, the act of using the map of one place to navigate another is closer to the playful and subversive characteristics of psychogeography that prioritised individual experience above official representations. It allows, to quote Huizinga in his study on the anthropology of play, ‘a stepping out of ‘real’ life into a temporary sphere of activity with a disposition all of its own’; and by ‘disposition’, Huizinga is not referring necessarily to the deviation of aesthetic or layout in its separation from reality to the play-ground – as it inevitably becomes in its removal from ‘real’ life – but its order.⁷³ In other words, different rules apply in the play-ground

⁷⁰ Ivan Chtcheglov, ‘Formulary for a New Urbanism’, in pp.1- 7, pp.4-6.

⁷¹ Chtcheglov, ‘Formulary for a New Urbanism’, p.6.

⁷² Debord, ‘Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography’, p.11.

⁷³ Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p.8.

than in reality, and in that assertion is the implication that the rules of one place can be rewritten in the creation of another.

Xavier de Maistre's *Voyages Around My Room* (1794) is one such example. While serving in the Piedmontese army, the French aristocrat de Maistre was sentenced to house arrest for the period of forty-two days for duelling. The memoir that followed was an account of that incarceration, but as he suggests in its opening, his experience as an inmate in his own home was far from the unpleasantness one would expect: 'I have just completed a forty-two day journey around my room', he writes, and '[t]he fascinating observations I made and the endless pleasures I experienced along the way made me wish to share my travels with the public'.⁷⁴ One could almost imagine from his enthusiasm that he was writing about his voyages abroad, rather than his own confined – though no doubt spacious – abode. As a prisoner in his own home, authority had transformed that space from a place of comfort, to one of incarceration, though his material wealth will undoubtedly ensure his prison is a comfortable one. de Maistre was a prisoner, and the purpose of his imprisonment was to make him feel like one. And yet, by completing these voyages and playing the mental traveller around his room, de Maistre soon realised that to stop himself from feeling like a prisoner, he need only avoid thinking of his home like a prison. His behaviour altered accordingly. Viewed with fresh eyes, his home became a blank space, and in taking the role of explorer, de Maistre's journeys across his room, his many 'encounter[s] with [his] armchair' and digressions from 'table toward a painting hung in a corner' for example, allow him to re-colonise and thus reclaim his surroundings, and in doing so de Maistre takes back control of himself and undermines the authorities that imprisoned him by re-asserting his ownership over his own home.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Xavier de Maistre, *Voyage Around My Room*, trans. Stephen Sartarelli (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1994), p.3.

⁷⁵ de Maistre, *Voyage Around My Room*, p.8.

Much like de Maistre's prison-house, for women the home was held in a similar regard, but, as a projection of the feminine, it was a prison that they had to not only live in but live with even when they left it. In Ruskin's terms, 'the true nature of home' and the true nature of women were inseparable.⁷⁶ As explorers and rulers of their exotic imaginary play-grounds, Charlotte and her sisters were able to escape a place that had made them powerless and – through the subjugation of play – replace that space with another that enabled them to be powerful, first as the omnipotent Genii Talii, Emii and Anii, and then through their fictional proxies. Taking the role of explorer and coloniser, de Maistre and Charlotte's early works present another defining characteristic of play and of juvenilia: mobility. As mental travellers, de Maistre and the Brontës were able to circumvent the immobility of their physical limitation of place, by imagining world that were infinite in scope. By creating places with its own rules, the Brontës and de Maistre were able to escape the rules that they were subjected to through physical place in reality. That this was possible implies the existence of a play element in reality, for whilst we make-believe ourselves as different characters in play, there is a similar existence/ reliance of performance in real life. The difference is that when we enter the play-ground it is with the implicit understanding that it is 'not 'ordinary' or 'real' life', it is 'only pretending';⁷⁷ but as Ruskin demonstrates with sexual difference that gender is reliant on its performance. As woman's image was designed as the relief of man's, a deviation in the performance of woman would threaten an equal reaction in the performance of man, and since nineteenth-century culture prioritised the man, this deviation would have been regarded as a direct threat to patriarchy and the submissive female-dominant male power dynamic. Here lies the complication: Charlotte and her sisters could circumvent the rule[s] of reality by creating their own world with its own rules, but if they did not hide their transgressions and failed to at

⁷⁶ Ruskin, 'Of Queens' Gardens', p.38.

⁷⁷ Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p.10.

least *appear* to conform to reality's rules (namely, in their performance of gender) then they posed the very real threat to reality of robbing 'play of its *illusion*', a term which Huizinga asserts 'means literally 'in-play''.⁷⁸ In other words, those that opposed patriarchal systems become the 'spoilt-sport', and, as Huizinger attests on the subject, society has always been more lenient to the cheat, to de Maistre's temporary transgression, than to the spoil-sport whose continued transgressions challenge the play-world (patriarchy) itself. Such is the method whereby play is taken seriously, the rules played in the nursery representative of the rules played out in in reality, the world of adults.

Though not typically associated with literature, then, psychogeography (that is, the unconscious or deliberate effects we experience in our surroundings) has demonstrated not only some of the ways place influences our behaviour, whether that is by a lack of stimuli or over stimulation, or by forcing individuals to maintain their own performance of social norms through the physical maintenance of the buildings that symbolise and display them, but how a better understand of place can actually be used to circumvent authoritarian forces. Assuming the role of adventurer rather than that of prisoner, a re-exploration of his prison-house allowed de Maistre to reclaim ownership of place and therefore restore the sense of control over place and himself that the authorities had assumed in incarcerating him within his own home. For the Brontës, the invention of imaginary worlds above all gave them a degree of mobility – albeit virtually – that was contrary to their position as young women. By reclaiming ownership of their home, the Parsonage became what Ruskin's identifies as 'the true nature of home', as the 'place of Peace', but it is not in the way Ruskin had originally intended. Reclaimed through the act of write, the Parsonage became 'the shelter not [...] from all injury, [...] terror, doubt and division', but from everything the home had come to symbolise: patriarchy and the figurative prison of the feminine archetype. In this respect, it is not surprising the sister experienced such

⁷⁸ Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p.11.

serious homesickness: it was not the Parsonage they were heart-sick for, but its imaginative retreat. As both play and childhood were considered as temporary states, this rebellion in play was forgivable in childhood, but the very fact that Charlotte continued writing her juvenilia into adulthood would have been a point against her, testifying as it did not only of her continued rebellion in refusing to let go of her imaginary worlds in favour of adult/ feminine occupations (her arrested immaturity) but also of the growing threat she presented to official representations of femininity. Charlotte may have inhabited the domestic sphere but the places she occupied were the Glass Town colonies along the west coast of Africa, thus Charlotte the young woman-writer became coloniser and rebel, and by doing so secured her mobility by holding onto the freedom of immaturity.

CHAPTER TWO

A WORLD BELOW: CHARTING THE BLANK SPACES OF CREATIVE GENIUS/ GENESIS

‘The child is father of the man’,⁷⁹ William Wordsworth

Whereas one would expect ‘women’s literature’ to be written by women, ‘children’s literature’ is, as Christine Alexander attests on the subject, generally understood to be written ‘not *by* children but *for* them – and to be written by almost anyone *but* children’.⁸⁰ Because youth is the determining factor, there is little ambiguity that the author of juvenilia is anyone other than one below the socially determined age of adulthood, and it is because of this that the quality of their writing, which is often though not always evidenced through the presence of spelling and grammatical errors (and this extends in some cases of the Brontë juvenilia to a total disregard for either), is overlooked as unworthy of scholarly, or any adult’s, attention. It thus stands that anything the child produces is as undeveloped and incomplete as itself. In other words, the immaturity of the author’s body is taken as a reflection of the inferiority of the writing it produces, irrespective of the work’s own literary merit. For British essayist and author of *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, Thomas de Quincey, this should not be the case:

Infancy...is to be viewed, not only as part of a larger world that waits for its final complement in old age, but also a separate world itself; part of a continent, but also a distinct peninsula. Most of what he has, the grown up man inherits from his infant self; but it does not follow that he always enters upon the whole of his natural inheritance.⁸¹

Using geography as a metaphor for the development of the individual, de Quincey echoes views on juvenilia (though identified as ‘Infant Literature’ in de Quincey’s *Autobiographical*

⁷⁹ William Wordsworth, quoted in Thomas de Quincey, *Autobiographical Sketches* (London: R. Groombridge & Sons, 1853-1854), p.114.

⁸⁰ Christine Alexander, ‘Introduction’, in Christine Alexander and Julie McMaster (eds.), *The Child Author from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.1-10, p.1.

⁸¹ Thomas de Quincey, *Autobiographical Sketches* (London: R. Groombridge & Sons, 1853-1854), p.114.

Sketches, c.1853-1854) that Alexander reiterates over a hundred and fifty years later in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*; namely, that juvenilia, whilst recognised ‘apprentice work’ in the early stages of a writer’s journey to professional authorship, should be considered ‘as a body of literature, almost a genre, in their own right’;⁸² ‘as a *distinct* peninsula’ to repeat de Quincey (emphasis added), rather than merely an incomplete part of an assumed whole.

For de Quincey, the assumption of completeness in adulthood is purely a social assumption rather than a quantifiable certainty, and therefore misplaced: ‘Rudiments and tendencies, which *might* have found, sometimes by accidental [*sic*], *do* not find, sometimes under the killing frost of counter forces, *cannot* find, their natural evolution’ (original emphasis).⁸³ Somewhat convoluted as de Quincey’s sentence structure is, his meaning is clear: to use the language of nature, whatever potential is pre-existing as ‘a vernal bud in the child’, does not – sometimes due to incidental, and sometimes due to deliberate forces – mature to blossom and bear fruit in adulthood.⁸⁴ In the case of women, John Stuart Mill demonstrates in *The Subjection of Women* (1869) that this ‘killing frost of counter forces’ as de Quincey puts it is undergone when young girls are crafted into the ideological construction that is ‘woman’.⁸⁵ Such treatment is not exclusive to the female sex, but because patriarchal power systems dominated nineteenth-century culture, it would have been predominantly women rather than men that would have been subjected to such limitations in education and situation for the sole purpose of maintaining this power dynamic. Undermining essentialist ideas of femininity evident in John Ruskin’s *Sesame and Lilies* (1865) through the re-appropriation of nature, Mill asserts that in the case of women, ‘men [...] indolently believe that the tree grows itself in the way they have made it grow, and that it would die if one half of it were not kept in a vapour

⁸² Alexander, ‘Introduction’, p.3.

⁸³ de Quincey, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p.114.

⁸⁴ de Quincey, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p.114.

⁸⁵ John Stuart Mill, ‘The Subjection of Women’ ([n.p.]: Project Gutenberg, 2008), Kindle edition, <http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=919938> [accessed 7 September 2017], p.48.

bath and the other half in the snow'.⁸⁶ In other words, something of the self is indelibly lost in a child's education into adulthood, in their integration into society, more overtly so in women than in men. Whether they are male or female does not exclude them from this process, it merely determines the form and degree of restriction to which the child would be subjected to. In either sex, the child may grow to *physical* maturity, but mentally they remain incomplete due to deliberate rather than natural forces.

Treated as a 'distinct peninsula' or a 'separate world', juvenilia and the act of writing it presented its authors (particularly its female authors) with a unique opportunity; with a way for the individual to access and exercise in a 'separate world' (that does not need by necessity be a fantastical one by nature) that which would have been stunted or oppressed by the rigours of social or gendered expectations implemented by a child's education into society. In this respect, the freedom of play allowed young George Eliot to identify with a hero who defies authority, and young John Ruskin was able to contrive his own rules in order to subvert his mother's interdictions, but only with the implicit understanding that such defiance would be temporary and would affect no permanent change in the real world; would be realised only through the act of writing and reading, and thus be followed by obedience upon its completion. In this respect, the moment a child-writer finished writing and returned to the restrictions of social norms is synonymous with the idea of "coming home", which is where the majority of child-writers including the Brontës would have presumably had the time, resources and inclination to write. And presumably, for many female writers, here lay the problem, because by coming home, they would once again have to pick up the mantle of the feminine ideal and resume a cloistered life of duty, self-sacrifice and dependence.

⁸⁶ Mill, 'The Subjection of Women', p.34.

In the creation and reconfiguration of place, then, the goals of juvenilia and psychogeography collide. As I demonstrated through the example of Xavier de Maistre's manipulation of space in Chapter One, our feelings toward place and how they make us behave are not fixed, but are sensitive to changes in our surroundings. What de Maistre illustrated in *Voyages Around My Room* (1790) was that whilst the influence of others could turn his own home into a prison, its habitation into a punishment rather than a comfort, to stop himself from feeling like a prisoner, he need only avoid thinking of his home as a prison. By creating an imaginary world, de Maistre was able to overcome his limitations of space, and thereby undermine the authority's power over him by taking re-ownership of the domestic space that constituted the physical boundaries that defined his home. Though different in context (de Maistre being subjected to house arrest and Charlotte bound by the physical and behavioural demarcations of place and gender – the two interwoven in contemporary gender discourse as home and woman as opposed to world and man), these ideas in both theory and effect are transferrable to Charlotte and her siblings, thus exhibiting another aspect of juvenilia that finds its origin in the definition of the individuals that wrote them: the juvenile as delinquent. It is perhaps here, then, that Charlotte becomes a problematic subject for Gaskell's biography: in the creation and continuation of an imaginary African kingdom – forgivable in infancy, but not in adulthood – as a woman meant for the domestic sphere, Charlotte had made what Judith Flanders asserts was 'the cardinal sin of not knowing [her] place'.⁸⁷ In other words, she had committed gender and place infractions upon the ideals she was expected to perform as an adult and embody as a woman. In Chapter One, Flanders's quote is illustrated in its literal sense; that

⁸⁷ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.54. In the original quotation, Flanders is referring to women's education. As the 'separate world' (refer to de Quincey, p.114) in this study is read as an individual's attempt to supplement the education allotted to their sex when their interests and potential is denied them, Flanders's quote is applicable to Charlotte as a woman overreaching in her attainment of intelligence not useful for her position as wife and mother, and literally in that she prefers to occupy her imaginary worlds rather than perform her duties in the domestic sphere. Both instances are transgressive and demonstrate what would have been regarded as delinquent behaviour in a woman.

is, by occupying and ruling her imaginary worlds through her fictional proxies, Charlotte forgets that her office as a woman is within the home, the domestic sphere, not Africa's Ivory Coast. Through the application of psychogeography, then, Chapter One demonstrated the delinquency of *writing* juvenilia, whether that be in perceived harmlessness in childhood, or to greater seriousness when committed in adulthood. But as Gaskell demonstrates with her inclusion of the juvenilia in Charlotte's biography, the act of writing juvenilia in itself, though transgressive, does not illustrate the level of her infringement without full knowledge of its *content*, which it is ultimately the purpose of this chapter to address.

As a series of imaginary places rather than physical ones, their provision for reinvention is infinite. However, whilst the infinite nature and imaginative scope is what gives the Brontës' imaginary worlds their vast appeal – working much in the same way as blank spaces on a map –, it is this self-same quality that also makes it extremely difficult to chart the many developments and deviations in character, place and plot accurately or completely. Whilst previous completed projects mean that this is not the first of such studies, given the infinite nature of world-building and this study's preoccupation with place, it is hoped that this study will shed a fresh perspective/ approach to the Brontës' juvenilia. Fannie E. Ratchford's attempt to examine Charlotte's world-building in *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* (1941) is identified by Alexander as a 'landmark in Brontë studies' and the 'best available source' at the time of its publication, but is rendered incomplete and often inaccurate because Ratchford had access to only fragments of Charlotte's juvenilia.⁸⁸ As one – if not the – leading current scholars on Charlotte's early manuscripts, Christine Alexander's *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* (1983) remains the most recent dissemination of Charlotte's juvenilia, but with chapter titles such as 'Alexander Percy', 'Political Rivalry' and 'Ashworth and Angria', Alexander's focus

⁸⁸ Christine Alexander, *The Early Works of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p.4. All further references will be given in the body of text.

is on character, plot and the influence they had on her later works rather than an examination of Charlotte's creation of place in particular.⁸⁹ It is not the purpose of this chapter to significantly repeat the work of either Ratchford or Alexander, but to fill this obvious gap in existing studies by prioritising an examination of place and world-building over plot. This will be extended in the case of Charlotte to determine how her imaginary worlds differ from real ones, and as delinquent what kinds of interests and desires her imaginary worlds helped to facilitate that may have led Gaskell to enshrine her in a domestic space whose pristine exterior rebuked any possibility of being anything beyond the very 'essence' of the feminine model that characterised the house she lived in.⁹⁰

The Brontës' 'web in childhood' as Charlotte called it began in June 1826. Their father, the Reverend Patrick Brontë, presented his four youngest and only surviving children each with a present on his return home after a trip to Leeds. For his surviving daughters, he bought a doll, a set of nine-pins and a toy village. For his only son, Branwell, he gave a set of twelve painted wooden toy soldiers. Out of all their gifts, it was Branwell's soldiers that really captured their imagination. As Robert Keefe demonstrates in *Charlotte Brontës World of Death*, the date the siblings received their gifts was a significant one: for they marked that exactly one year had elapsed since the death of Patrick's eldest daughter Elizabeth, followed closely behind that of the second-eldest, Maria, who had died in the previous month of May. His gifts marked the end of the formal period of mourning, and O'Keefe concludes that Patrick's gifts 'must have represented his ... attempt to lead his children back along the first tentative steps to the land of the living'.⁹¹ Little did the Reverend know that the gifts he presented in order to lift one figurative veil would be replaced by another, but one that would enrich their literary and

⁸⁹ These works are Ratchford's *The Brontës Web of Childhood* which were improved upon in Christine Alexander's *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983)

⁹⁰ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.14.

⁹¹ Robert Keefe, *Charlotte Brontës World of Death* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp.45-76, p.45.

creative lives for the next twenty years, serving as it did as the catalyst for the series of ‘plays’ that featured Branwell’s toy soliders; and for the purpose of brevity, a consideration of what came after the plays is this chapter’s primary focus. Renamed affectionately the Twelves or the Young Men, each sibling chose and named a solider as their principle character and selected for them a small party. These characters ruled as kings of one of the four corresponding kingdoms of the British Colony the Brontës established along Africa’s west coast of New Guinea, as illustrated in Branwell’s frontispiece for ‘The History of the Young Men’ (1831).⁹² Colour-coded from the top-left displays Wellington’s land, Parry’s land, Ross’s Land and Sneaky’s Land controlled by Charlotte, Emily, Anne and Branwell respectively through their chosen proxies, which they chose to appropriate from real life than create new ones.⁹³ Each kingdom had its own provincial Glass Town capital, separate from its early model nearest the River Niger, the seat of the Glass Town Federation and its principle city Great Glass Town (later renamed Verreopolis after its Latin translation, and then corrupted to Verdopolis).

In a chapter on ‘Imagining Africa’ (1995), Alexander asserts that the Brontës’ choice to locate and chronicle the adventures of these favoured characters in love and war, and the fortunes of their respective kingdoms that followed in Africa was ‘not by chance’.⁹⁴ The Brontës would have first encountered Africa in the pages in Rev. J. Goldsmith’s *Grammar of General Geography* (1823), but it would be from the reports of African expeditions by James McQueen (who makes an appearance in the Glass Town saga) in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* June 1826 edition. McQueen’s updated map in 1831, which itself was based on Denham and Clapperton’s own Africa exploration from 1822 to 1824, and reports of West

⁹² Bramwell Brontë, frontispiece to ‘The History of the Young Men’ (1831), in Carol Atherton, ‘Fairytale and Realism in Jane Eyre’, © British Library Board, *The British Library*, [n:d] <<http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/jane-eyre-fairytale-and-realism>> [accessed 24 September 2017], image collection 2 of 2 in ‘Brontë juvenilia: ‘The History of the Young Men’’. Refer to Figure 7 in Appendix A.

⁹³ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.66.

⁹⁴ Christine Alexander, ‘Imagining Africa: The Brontës’ Creations of Glass Town and Angria’, in *Africa Today: A Multi-Disciplinary Snapshot of the Continent in 1995*, eds. Peter F. Alexander, Ruth Hutchison and Deryck Schreuder (Canberra, Australia: The Australian National University, 1996), pp.201-219, p.203.

African exploration would form the foundation for the Brontës' own:⁹⁵ '[n]ot only did Branwell copy [McQueen's] map for his own illustration of Glass Town locations in his 'History of the Young Men' (1831),' Alexander writes, 'but he and his sisters followed the author's advice on the most favourable site for a new colony'.⁹⁶

As 'an ancient sign of the Other', Alexander stipulates that the Brontës' identification with the 'anarchic world' that the Anglocentric accounts of Africa and its people had led them to believe, enabled them – among other things – to exploit what she identifies as 'the moral vacuum of the Other to express their own sense of Self':⁹⁷ '[a] country less like England could not be imagined', she continues, 'a mental space more foreign to rigid Victorian morality could not be created'.⁹⁸ Yes, Africa was all of these things; but when alongside the quote from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* at the beginning of Chapter One, they could have just as easily have had 'a hankering after [it]' as the youthful Christopher Marlowe had, or Robert Louis Stevenson had for his island before it became *Treasure Island*.⁹⁹ They had been drawn by its blankness, its emptiness; its possibilities and its mysteries. Britain's inferior in all aspects in Anglocentric discourse, in terms of civilisation Africa is presented as a paradoxical combination of age and youth: it is both ancient and evolutionary immature. If childhood and arrested potential lay as 'a distinct peninsula', Africa presentation as a Neverland of arrested youth made it both an evolutionary counterpoint and an adversary to the maturity of Britain, the world of adults.¹⁰⁰ In choosing, from 'a British perspective,' Alexander asserts, 'one of the

⁹⁵ James McQueen, illustrated as 'Plate 4. Map of West Africa, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, July 1831', in Christine Alexander, 'Imagining Africa: The Brontës' Creations of Glass Town and Angria', in *Africa Today: A Multi-Disciplinary Snapshot of the Continent in 1995*, eds. Peter F. Alexander, Ruth Hutchison and Deryck Schreuder (Canberra, Australia: The Australian National University, 1996), pp.201-219, p.212. Refer to Figure 8 in Appendix A.

⁹⁶ Alexander, 'Imagining Africa', p.205.

⁹⁷ Alexander, 'Imagining Africa', p.201.

⁹⁸ Alexander, 'Imagining Africa', p.204.

⁹⁹ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Robert Kimbrough, 3rd edn. (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1963), p.12.

¹⁰⁰ de Quincey, *Autobiographical Sketches*, p.114.

least known parts of Africa', the Brontës had chosen a part of Africa that appeared empty, thus representing what de Quincey identifies as the original source of an individual's inherited potential.¹⁰¹ J. M. Barrie would call this place Neverland, but as the narrator of *Peter and Wendy* asserts, 'Neverlands vary a good deal', though some 'have a family resemblance'.¹⁰² The Brontës called their Neverland Glass Town, and then Angria for Charlotte and Branwell, Gondal for Emily and Anne. But whilst the West African coast presented the Brontës with a new opportunity, a clean slate unbound by the rules of a Victorian British upbringing, they could not help what *they* brought into it as a mixed group of both sexes. In the family unit, fathers came before mothers at the top of the family pyramid. Children were at the bottom, but with a hierarchy of their own, 'with boys, of whatever age, above [the] girls' in preparation for the future roles they would adopt at adulthood.¹⁰³ And if the parents ruled the home, the children ruled the nursery. Or, more specifically, if the father owned the home, his son owned the nursery and ruled those within it. In the Brontë Parsonage, 'small as it was, [the children's room] was not called a nursery'¹⁰⁴ but Branwell appears nevertheless to have been a 'dominant force' in the Young Men's Play because of his position in the nursery (*Alexander EW*, p.28). The wooden soldiers they used to enact the plays were originally his after all, and as the inherited privilege of a family's favoured and only son, so was the playroom. As the leader of the playroom it is not surprising that that power continued through to the writing of the juvenilia: Branwell 'initiated', Alexander asserts, 'much of the structure and documentation of [the Brontës'] imaginary world'.¹⁰⁵ As favourite characters could be retired and revived

¹⁰¹ Alexander, 'Imagining Africa', p.204.

¹⁰² Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, p.73.

¹⁰³ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.60.

¹⁰⁴ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.39.

¹⁰⁵ Alexander, 'Nineteenth-century juvenilia: a survey', p.23. This would continue onto Charlotte and Branwell's Angrian saga as well as Glass Town's. Where Branwell would contribute by chronicling Angria's population, territorial battles with the Ashantee tribes and its parliamentary proceedings – the latter mainly because Branwell's principle character, Alexander Percy (later known as Northangerland), sought to overthrow the power of the Glass Town Confederation and replace it with his own), Charlotte revelled in the 'soap-opera' romance' or what I would call the 'bedroom drama' of her own principle character, Zamorna (known the Marquis of Douro in the Glass Town Saga, and King Adrian the Magnificent near the end of the Angrian). For an detailed though not exhausted

through the power of the pen, the, it was within the publishing houses ‘And All other booksellers in – the chief Glass Town, Paris, &c.’ where the creative power lay in Glass Town,¹⁰⁶ and not the disappearing glittering palace in ‘the mighty Genii-haunted hills of Jibbel Kumri’ (or Mountains of the Moon as they are also known) where their powers of creation lay, where Branwell held sway as editor.¹⁰⁷

Forming Great Glass Town’s northernmost boarder, the ‘azure tint’ of the Jibbel Kumri’s ‘lofty peaks’ form the back-drop to the ‘black battlements’ that surround the city’s walled parameter (*The Foundling*, pp.10-11), the ‘radiant white marble’ of its Palladian domes, palaces and public buildings, and the great Tower of All Nations (home to Crashie, the great patriarch) standing at ‘6, 000 feet high [and] situated in an area 3 miles broad’ at the centre of its cityscape.¹⁰⁸ Here, in ‘an immense hall surrounded by pillars of brilliant diamond’ and served by a coterie of genii and fairies under a ‘magnificent emerald dome’, the siblings ruled atop their ‘thrones of pure and massive gold’ as the omnipotent Chief Genii Talii (Charlotte), Branii (Branwell), Emii (Emily) and Anii (Anne).¹⁰⁹ *Arabian Nights* influences lend the stories an air of exoticism and magic to an otherwise English landscape. Hence the publishing houses

list of Zamorna’s various romantic and sexual exploits which will be explored further at a later point, see Figure 10 in Appendix A. Given the lack of material that have survived of Emily and Anne’s Gondal saga, one wonders whether Gondal – its history and structure – would be more complete. However, if that had been the case, there is no guarantee that the content and nature of that which does currently exist would have remained unimpeded by the domineering force of not only son but an *older* brother whose conflicting interests had driven them from the first collaboration.

¹⁰⁶ Charlotte Brontë, *Albion and Marina*, in Christine Alexander (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria, and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.54-65, Title Page.

¹⁰⁷ Charlotte Brontë, *The Foundling* (London: Hesperus, 2004), p.106. All further references will be given in the body of text.

¹⁰⁸ Brontë, ‘The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack’, p.138. For what has for many years mistakenly been considered an illustration by Charlotte of the Bay of Glass Town, refer to Figure 12 in Appendix A. In Christine Alexander and Jane Sellars’s, *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Alexander asserts that ‘Martin’s early landscapes were also available in the pages of the *Annuals*’ to which the Brontës had access to (‘The Temptation’ which Charlotte copied for example, was the frontispiece to *The Sacred Annual*), ‘and we know that the Brontës saw and translated into their descriptions of the Glass Town landscape not only his vast apocalyptic designs but also his images of the Garden of Eden’. They continue that ‘The Temptation’ (Fig. 9) is part of the Bonnell Collection in the Brontë Parsonage. The Martin reproduction ‘had been owned by the Brontës’ and – like many other engravings – would have been displayed as decoration on the Parsonage’s walls (p.21).

¹⁰⁹ Charlotte Brontë, ‘Blackwood’s Young Men’s Magazine December CB 1829 (first issue): Review of ‘The Chief Genii in Council’ by Edward De Lisle’, in *Alexander EW I*, pp.113-115, p.114.

formed a direct conduit to the real world, and the place where the Brontës would act out their plays and write in their (child) palm sized handmade magazines which designed for the people of Glass Town.¹¹⁰ In the Parsonage, this place was never known as the ‘nursery’ but the ‘children’s study’.¹¹¹ It was not until Branwell ‘lost interest’ as editor and leader of their game himself, and only at that point, that the now ill-favoured mantle of editor was passed ceremoniously onto Charlotte, preferring himself to ‘edit’ newspapers for the Glass Town’.¹¹² But the role of editor was a respected one, and even when Charlotte included ‘fewer drinking songs’ in favour of tales about magic, and dramatically reduced reports of blood thirsty murders’, Branwell may have complained but Charlotte still remained editor.¹¹³ Bolstered by her position as editor and after having adopted several male pseudonyms – the chief among them her hero Zamorna’s younger brother, Lord Charles Wellesley, the ‘strange ape-like animal, fantastically dressed in pink and white’ (*The Foundling*, p.38), and reviled by the social elite (predominantly by his brother) for his penetrating ‘inquisitive looks’ – Charlotte asserts her own authoritative voice and tastes rather than pandering to her brother’s.¹¹⁴ A productive literary rivalry between brother and sister ensued where artists, fictitious poets and critics (the pseudonyms of both siblings) jockeyed for the Glass Town public’s attention by writing slanderous tales and criticising each other’s work.¹¹⁵ From this development of led to collaborative play, a shift in the power dynamics between its male and female contributors of the publishing house, and by extension its real-life equivalent in the children’s study, began to

¹¹⁰ Unknown author, ‘Inside the Parsonage: The Children’s Study’, *Brontë Parsonage Museum* <<https://www.Brontë.org.uk/museum-and-library/inside-the-parsonage/childrens-study>>, para.2.

¹¹¹ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.39.

¹¹² Alexander, ‘Nineteenth-century juvenilia: a survey’, p.23.

¹¹³ Alexander, ‘Nineteenth-century juvenilia: a survey’, p.23.

¹¹⁴ Charlotte Brontë, *The Spell, an Extravaganza*, in Christine Alexander (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.66-150, p.136. All further references will be given in the body of text.

¹¹⁵ Alexander, ‘Nineteenth-century juvenilia: a survey’, p.23.

affect their real as well as their imaginary worlds, even if this subtle equality did not extend into the other rooms of the Parsonage.

The theory that the Brontës chose Africa because of the idea it represented (as a place representing childhood's potential) above all other considerations, is further supported by the fact though Glass Town and Angria are set on Africa's West coast, it has very little to do with its indigenous population. When the crew of the *Invincible* is shipwrecked on the shores of Africa's west coast in 1793, the resulting territorial battle against the native Ashantee forces predictably ends in the crew's victory. The Ashantee chief is captured and a proposition of peace by is made by the King of the Ashantee to the crew 'on terms the most advantageous to [themselves]'.¹¹⁶ Aided by the four Chief Genii, they set about building a city, and under the Duke of Wellington's leadership an army brought back from England to defend the city's borders. Years later when the Ashantee King dies, his son Prince Sai Too Too leads the Ashantee tribe in an attack. Led by Frederick Brunswick, Duke of York and King of the Twelves, the Ashantee retreat in the mountains but are soon forced to descend and be slaughtered or starve. In this last skirmish on Rosendale Hill, Frederick is murdered not by the Ashantee, but by the 'vindictive spirit' Danhasch, an evil genius whom Frederick had angered by rescuing his captive, the Spanish beauty Zorayda, from her glamour-hidden prison in the genii haunted mountains of the Jibbel Kumri, or Mountains of the Moon. Now King, Sai Too Too is defeated by Charlotte's principle hero the Duke of Wellington in the Battle of Coomassie, and on witnessing the death of the Ashantee Queen in the battle's aftermath singing 'of bloody recompense' to the sleeping infant in her arms before dying herself, Wellington

¹¹⁶ 'A Romantic Tale, or The Twelve Adventurers' (1829), in *Alexander EW I*, p.13.

determines to take the child under his own protection.¹¹⁷ He is Quashia Quamina, Prince of the Ashantees.¹¹⁸

Raised within the same ‘gilded fetters’ as the Duke’s own sons, Quashia rejects an education in the arts in favour of ‘bodily exercised and military affairs’.¹¹⁹ Despite his attempts to reform his adopted son, the Duke voices his concerns of its ineffectiveness: ‘I don’t at all like that lad’s demeanour, [...] he may give our nation trouble yet’.¹²⁰ Any attempt at reform would prove useless. ‘The African Queen’s Lament’ had sealed Quashia’s fate as antagonist: ‘he retained against [his white captives], as if by instinct, the most deeply rooted and inveterate hatred’ and at the first opportunity at fifteen, Quashia begins to search for and to kindle in ‘the hidden tribes of Africans’, concealed from the Federation since their defeat, ‘a spirit of slumbering discontent, and roused them to make an effort for regaining that independence as a nation which they had lost’ (*The Green Dwarf*, pp.72-73). Quashia’s instinctual hatred is perhaps not inherently as inborn as it would appear. In ‘A Leaf from an Unopened Volume’ (1834), Charlotte reveals that the mute dwarf Finic, Zamorna’s servant, is actually the bastard off-spring of a brief affair he had at eighteen with Sofala, an African native. Born ‘as fair an infant as day ever dawned upon’, Finic is made ‘hideous’ by his mother’s prayer and dying wish that ‘her child might be a shame and a dishonour to its false father’.¹²¹ Arguably Sofala’s wish that her son bring ‘dishonour to its false father’ is the same to Quashia and his mother’s, for whilst Quashia is adopted by the Duke, it is under false pretences: treated with supposedly ‘as much tenderness as if he had been the monarch’s son instead of a slave’, Quashia is a

¹¹⁷ Charlotte Brontë, ‘The African Queen’s Lament’ (1833), *Alexander EW II.1*, pp.3-6, p.6. In Alexander, ‘Imagining Africa’, Alexander notes that ‘Quashia’s adoption echoes the real Duke of Wellington’s own adoption of the four-year-old Salabut Khan whom he rescued from the Deccan battlefield during the Mahratta Wars in India; the boy’s father (like Quashia’s) was killed during the battle’ (p.211).

¹¹⁸ Variouslly spelt Quashia or Quashie.

¹¹⁹ Charlotte Brontë, *The Green Dwarf* (London: Hesperus Classics, p.72.

¹²⁰ Brontë, ‘The African Queen’s Lament’, p.3.

¹²¹ Charlotte Brontë, ‘A Leaf from an Unopened Volume’, *Alexander EW II.1*, pp. 321- 378, p.376.

‘prisoner’ of war, his so called father his ‘captive’ (*The Green Dwarf*, p.72).¹²² Following Alexander’s general rule, ‘the Ashantee are always defeated’, and so neither wish will be fulfilled.¹²³ Along with his uncle Shungaron, Finic is first tortured and then murdered at his father’s command, and Quashia is defeated, beheaded and his head displayed on the street by the same man, his false father’s son and his adopted brother Zamorna, but not before sending a secret assassin – his father-in-law Alexander Percy’s own grand-daughter, Zoyada – in a last attempt at vengeance. Ironically, it is ‘the pale alien’ Zoyada – kidnapped as a baby and raised as Quashia’s daughter – that comes closest to fulfilling her revenge for the Ashantee by actually succeeding in stabbing Zamorna.¹²⁴ Whilst the assassination is a failure (Zamorna is wearing chain-mail and so is not harmed in the attack), Zoyada is pardoned and ‘being neither angel nor fiend, but a mere mortal woman’ is overcome – like every woman in the saga - by Zamorna’s ‘soft tone’ and ‘above all that act of noble condescension that followed’, which effortlessly liquefied any resolve she may have had.¹²⁵ Ashantee’s one – albeit brief – asset is captivated by Zamorna, and made captive Zorayda is married off to Zamorna’s fifth son Adrian (Arthur) Percy Wellesley in a cruel replay of Quashia’s own history, but a repeat of history that eliminates Quashia blackness from the family through the restoration of Zorayda to her true (white) father, the hidden son of Percy’s first wife, the painter William Etty.

When Quashia and his Ashantee forces are not being used to further Alexander Percy’s political ends against Zamorna or the Federation, references to Africa are scarce. Apart from the ‘tropical sun’ and the ‘orange groves that adorn the luxuriant vale by which Babylon the great is girdled’,¹²⁶ a tiger that attacks an ailing youthful Zamorna in ‘Something about Arthur’

¹²² The ‘monarch’ here is in reference to the Duke of Wellington, who is reigning monarch of his own kingdom, Wellington’s Land.

¹²³ Alexander, ‘Imagining Africa’, p.213.

¹²⁴ Brontë, ‘A Leaf from an Unopened Volume’, p.375.

¹²⁵ Brontë, ‘A Leaf from an Unopened Volume’, p.373.

¹²⁶ Charlotte Brontë, ‘An Interesting Passage into the Lives of Some Eminent Men of the Present Time’ (1830), in Christine Alexander, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.31-37, p.32. The Great Glass Town is commonly referred to as Babylon in Charlotte’s juvenilia,

(1833) and the occasional appearance of Lord Charles Wellesley's pet green monkey Tringia, the exoticism of Charlotte's juvenilia is most marked in the two places that she – as a young girl and later a young woman – would not have been able to explore: the criminal underground and the bedroom dramas of her favourite hero, the Duke of Zamorna.

Given her brother's interest in chronicling battles, political dissent and bloodthirsty murders, it is perhaps not surprising that one of the chief pastimes in the criminal underground is in the illegal sale of corpses, and the branching practices of bodysnatching, assassination and murder. This demand for cadavers seems to stem solely from the nefarious experiments of notorious surgeon of the early Glass Town, Dr Alexander Hume Badey.¹²⁷ According to his entry in Charlotte's 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time' (1829), Badey is described as being 'very tall, stout and tubby [...] as much feeling as a stone but is one of the best surgeons and physicians now alive'.¹²⁸ These characters of 'Celebrated Men' range from the war hero himself, the Duke of Wellington, to talented artisans and the more dubious characters of Pigtails and Young Man Naughty. The former is a giant at '7 feet high',¹²⁹ the owner of a 'slime' covered anatomy house disguised as a tavern,¹³⁰ Pigtails is a narrative bogeyman who kidnaps children and forces them either into a chimney sweep apprenticeship or into his version of street entertainment, which requires either the mutilation of infants, or their sacrifice to 'the horrid apparition of a living skeleton' that Pigtails can command (*The Foundling*, p.14). Naughty, meanwhile, is alike in 'gigantic stature' but true in sociopathic tendencies: Dr Badey's associate, Naughty's 'murders are of the most savage kind [...] no deed

and the Tower of All Nations, the Tower of Babel. For brevity, all further references from this source will be referenced using its abbreviation: *Alexander Tales*.

¹²⁷ Various spelt Bady and Badey.

¹²⁸ Charlotte Brontë, 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time', *Alexander EW I*, pp.123-130, p.129.

¹²⁹ Brontë, 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time', 129.

¹³⁰ Brontë, 'The Adventures of Edouard Mon de Crack', p.136. A new arrival in Paris, Frenchy Land, de Crack is taken in by a 'tall gaunt man' looking for men to work in his tavern as waiters. De Crack agrees, but they pass through the tavern to a small concealed passage that leads to a room with '[s]ix living anatomies' naked on the floor. He is enslaved there until he is saved by the four Chief Genii, who transport him to the woods on the outskirts of Great Glass Town.

is too bad for him'.¹³¹ For those considering murder, advertisements in the instruction of 'the elegant art of assassination' are available,¹³² and for those considering early termination, you could apply to Colonel Sup and 'learn a very easy way to make off with it' – in one of Naughty's assassination demonstrations perhaps.¹³³

Keefe observes that 'Charlotte Brontë's early fiction dos not run from death'. Indeed, as a writer whose chief preoccupation was with the creation of characters and places, Charlotte seems fascinated by the business of disposing them. In 'An Interesting Passage in the Lives of Some Eminent Men of the Present Time' (1830), Lord Charles is made privy to Captain Tree's plot to steal books from the public library of Great Glass Town, aided by no one other than the chief librarian, a bookseller and a lawyer. Traversing 'throug[h] many narrow darksome streets [...] to a wide square surrounded by decayed houses, none of which seemed to be inhabited save one', their destination is the cemetery.¹³⁴ Its keeper, Magrass, has been bribed, and they proceed to fill the grave he has dug with the stolen tomes. When they go back to retrieve them the next night though, they are interrupted by a band of grave robbers led by Zamorna's left-hand, Ned Laurey, and Dr Badey who, on digging up what they Ned led them to believe to be a recent interment of a corpse of 'middling fresh[ness]', are surprised to find 'books instead of bone'.¹³⁵ The theft of the library books is regarded with greater severity than the graverobbing, and Tree promises 'to 'procure [Badey] a living subject every week' if they overlook his misdemeanour.¹³⁶ Badey strikes Tree dead, but appears later, having spent '2 days & 2 nights in Doctor H – B – 's macerating tub' – a remarkable invention that resuscitates the dead.¹³⁷

¹³¹ Brontë, 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time', p.129.

¹³² Charlotte Bronte, 'Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine (second issue): Advertisements' (1829), in *Alexander EW I*, pp.121-122, p.122.

¹³³ Bronte, 'Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine (second issue): Advertisements', p.121.

¹³⁴ Brontë, 'An Interesting Passage', p.34.

¹³⁵ Brontë, 'An Interesting Passage', p.35.

¹³⁶ Brontë, 'An Interesting Passage', p.35.

¹³⁷ Brontë, 'An Interesting Passage', p.35. After Douro shoots Young Man Naught in 'The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack', Douro passes the body to Dr Hume Badey – his father-in-law – to revive in the macerating

Charlotte's placement of crime in the city within areas with overt signs of poverty was a common association, and in Charles Booth's 'Descriptive Map of London Poverty' in 1889 it would become one of the official representations of the city. A ship owner by trade, Booth undertook the massive project to refute the results of an inquiry into poverty conducted by the Social Democratic Federation, which claimed that up to twenty-five percent of the London population lived in conditions of extreme poverty.¹³⁸ What Booth actually found after he conducted his extensive survey was that rather than this figure being exaggerated, the population of London's poverty was actually even higher at one third.¹³⁹ Colour-coded, the maps show the survey of wealth throughout the metropolis, but with such categories of red and black signifying the 'Well-to-do' or 'Wealthy' and the 'Lowest Class. Vicious, semi criminal', Booth's maps were not just a demographic of poverty within the capital, but of crime as well.¹⁴⁰ However, whilst this presumption of innocence with affluence and criminality with poverty was a presumptuous one, Ellard demonstrates that it can to a degree be validated by psychogeography. Such experiments demonstrated that 'physical signs of disorder' – such as the vacant 'decayed houses' in 'An Interesting Passage' – served as overt signals that nobody cared about the surround [*sic*] environment and this evident lack of caring encouraged crime'.

tub. Interesting enough though, the macerating tub is never used in the resuscitation of any female characters. Even when Badey's daughter dies is abandoned in Douro's country estate, Douro Villa, and left to die of both neglect and its disease equivalent (the wasting disease, consumption) in favour of courting Alexander Percy's daughter Mary Henrietta, Badey does not think it necessary to resurrect his own daughter. This follows a later point I make, that rather than testing herself against different types of men, Charlotte was testing different degrees of femininity against Zamorna, the patriarchal figure she singles out for his maltreatment of women. Though despite the ill repute of his history with women, he remains a figure that is admired by all women, even those that initially want him dead (Zorayda mentioned above from 'A Leaf from an Unopened Volume').

¹³⁸ Unknown Author, 'Social Investigation: London' in *Charles Booth Online Archive*, London School of Economics and Political Science [accessed 24 September 2017], para.2.

¹³⁹ Henry Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p.304.

¹⁴⁰ Booth, Charles, 'Descriptive Map of London Poverty 1889: South-Eastern sheet, comprising the registration districts of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's, Southward, and parts of Lambeth, Camberwell, and Greenwich.' (1889), *The British Library* <<https://www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~media/bl/global/dl%20romantics%20and%20victorians/collection-items-manual/b/o/o/booth-charles-charles-g70100-47.jpg>> [accessed 24 September 2017]. Refer to Figure 10 in the Appendix A. Extensive as it appears to be, Booth's map conceals as much as it reveals. Disregarding the obvious presumption of affluence and innocence, whilst the existence of residential servants in a household would attest to its owners, they were hardly wealthy themselves. Booth does not consider the wealth of individuals but of household when deciding upon its category.

Ellard himself is sceptical about the wider application of its conclusion as a theory for the origin of crime, however it does make a certain degree of sense when read alongside the connection between deviant behaviour and places that reside outside the critical gaze of authority. Read as a kind of stress or fear map, Booth's 'Descriptive Map' becomes a map of places to avoid. Fascinated as Charlotte was with crime, what accounts of the criminal underground she does record are predominantly second hand, the scandals of the aristocracy safer ground than the back-alleys of the metropolis.

High above the sordid shadows and back alleys that existed within the 'marble wilderness of the city', the glittering palaces of the city's heights that place Charlotte's exploration of Zamorna's romantic exploits can be read just as easily as an examination of his proverbial closet, resembling in Bluebeard fashion – as it probably would – one of Pigtail's anatomy houses with its collection of dead women on the blood-covered floor, women wasting away from neglect leaning against slime covered walls, or others that have just been forgotten and remain breathing the putrid vapours of her sisters decaying flesh.¹⁴¹ Gruesome as the image is, Zamorna's pathological appetite for women – and that of his best friend, rival and father-in-law, Alexander Percy – rival the demand for deader bodies in the saga's underground. For Alexander, the succession of these relationships served a specific purpose in the juvenilia, in that allowed Charlotte to 'test various responses to men well beyond her likely range of experience, just as (Branwell's principle character) 'Northangerland' enabled [him] to test his own boundaries'.¹⁴² In other words, Alexander implies that Zamorna's sexual appetites actually served as a literary experiment or for a modern-day equivalent, a dating simulation whereby the disadvantages in appearance and position that would have rendered Charlotte unattractive,

¹⁴¹ Brontë, 'The Adventures of Edouard Mon de Crack', p.136. See Figure 10 for a family tree of the Wellesley and Percy families for an illustration of Zamorna's known relationships and their outcome.

¹⁴² Christine Alexander, 'Introduction', in Christine Alexander, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.xiii-xliii, p.xxxiii.

no longer limit her marital prospects in the narrative. As a young girl/ woman, these experiments in her juvenilia would allow her to ‘test’ the roles and experiences her age and social privations would not other facilitate; as an adult, it was her privation and acceptance of spinsterhood that prevented such ‘test[s]’ from being anything other than what they were: just fantasies.

However, whilst Charlotte had graduated from being her brother’s inferior in the nursery by becoming editor, in her depiction of women a change of place did not seem to have had any effect. Another possibility is that the purpose of these relationship was not to ‘test [*her*] various responses to men’ but to test different degrees of femininity against men that clearly represent patriarchal power. Beautiful but young and ignorant, Zamorna’s second wife Marian Hume is accused by Zenobia Ellrington, Zamorna’s admirer, of not deserving her husband. ‘Marian knows only one side of my character’ (*The Foundling*, p.52), Zamorna asserts, and because of her ignorance Zamorna soon tires of her in favour of his third and lasting wife Mary Henrietta Percy who he begins to court when Marian is still living. Mary will do infinitely better, for whilst her affection does not stop Zamorna’s affairs, he at least returns to her; Marian he abandons in his country estate, guarded by the Duke of Fidenia until she expires from the neglect. Claiming that it is Zenobia who ‘know[s] [him] better’ than any one (woman) he implies (*The Foundling*, p.52), and who he uses as the model comparison in intelligence and athletics to all other women, it is surprising that Zenobia is not paired with Zamorna as her equal. But perhaps this is an answer in itself: despite her talents, and her unbidden desire for him (she even goes to such lengths as to take Zamorna to the evil genii Danhasch disguised as the great patriarch Crashie, to dissuade him from marrying Marian), it is *because* of her intelligence and her lack of modesty that makes her attractive.

An initial comparison would conclude that it was Emily’s Gondal Queen Augusta Geraldine Almeda that was the more overt in its rebellion of gender norms and the obvious

male-dominated power structures of Glass Town, but a closer inspection would note that Gondal and A.G.A. was not a 'female alternative' as Alexander suggests,¹⁴³ but an emulation or mirror-image of Charlotte's dark, Byronic hero the Duke of Zamorna; a man who is reputed through the course of his life to have had three wives and at least as many mistresses, which include his own cousin and his wife's sixteen year old sister. If their similarities were to be measured by conquest, A.G.A could attest to have had as many men in her proverbial closet as Zamorna has had women in his.¹⁴⁴ But this does not resolve Emily's issues with gender, as she merely succeeded in flipping the gender binary rather than resolving it. At a disadvantage as she was in having a male collaborator, Charlotte's treatment of women at first appears conservative, but her experimentation with gender and its performance underlies a more covert act of deviancy than her sister's candid rebellion.

Transgressive as the act of writing juvenilia was in adulthood, it meant little unless its contents reflected the deviancy of its creation. If Charlotte had written of 'duty', 'trials' and 'perseverance', she would have no doubt been exonerated by Gaskell as, to paraphrase Flanders, a Woman of Worth.¹⁴⁵ Fascinated by the Byronic Duke of Zamorna, his increasing love affairs and in the sordid tales of city's back alleys, it is perhaps in attempting to preserve her subject's reputation as a woman, Gaskell would conveniently skim over the 'wild weird writing' and the imaginative excess of the sibling's juvenilia which had been such a significant part of the Brontë's childhood, attesting as it did to first a young girl's and then a young woman's inappropriate fascination with sexually voracious men, violent tales of tempestuous love affairs, murder and political intrigue rather than the conventionally feminine occupations

¹⁴³ Christine Alexander, 'Introduction', in Christine Alexander (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.xiii-xlvi, p.xxxvii.

¹⁴⁴ Pickett, 'EN7203 Research Methods: Research Paper', para.4.

¹⁴⁵ Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.52. In the original quote Flanders is referring to a girl's reading and its ability to make her into an 'admirable' adult. As much of the juvenilia were influenced by their reading, the juvenilia demonstrate the results of that education.

of prayer, needlework and flower arrangement.¹⁴⁶ Characterised by an unrestrained degree of mobility, what Charlotte's imaginary world chronicled was not an exploration of Africa's interior, but of her own, and its author's quest to find the 'Charlotte' within the 'Woman' she was being made into. But for the success of the biography, and the preservation of Gaskell's own reputation as biographer, the African interior is where Charlotte the young writer would have to remain if Charlotte the woman was going to survive unmolested in the real world.

¹⁴⁶ Danielle Pickett, 'EN7203 Research Methods: Research Paper – Genii on the Moors: Fantasy and Realism in the Brontë Novels' (University of Chester, unpublished postgraduate essay, 2017), para.5.

CHAPTER THREE

THE WAR OF THE WORLDS: THE COLLISION OF FANTASY AND REALISM IN CHARLOTTE BRONTË'S *JANE EYRE*

Whilst a study of the content of Charlotte's juvenilia suggests that her imaginary world facilitated a significant increase in mobility, an examination of her female characters demonstrated that Glass Town was not entirely free from the gender restrictions of the real world, though this accession in her juvenilia alone did not exonerate it. Forgivable as it would have been in childhood because of the attached implicit understanding that by graduating to maturity Charlotte and those like her would grow-out of these transgressive practices, her continued deviancy as an adult would threaten patriarchy by revealing the performative aspect of gender. As the spoil-sport, Charlotte 'must be cast out', Huizinga asserts, 'for [s]he threatens the existence of the play-community' (patriarchy).¹⁴⁷ It is probably because of this that Gaskell goes to such great lengths to save her subject's reputation as a woman, because it would be Charlotte's transgression of gender in the writing and content of her juvenilia that would threaten to cast her out. However problematic for society as Charlotte's continuation of her juvenilia would have been in adulthood, the greatest effects from prolonged immersion in two separate worlds would have been inflicted by herself, the experience not dissimilar to Debord's friend 'wander[ing] through the Harz region of Germany while blindly following the directions of a map of London'.¹⁴⁸

Advertised in the first edition of the 'Blackwood Young Men's Magazine' as the '*Tales of Captain Lemuel Gulliver in Houynhmhm Land*', priced at a respectable '10 shillings 6d.'

¹⁴⁷ Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p.11.

¹⁴⁸ Debord, 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography', p.11.

and appearing later in *Jane Eyre* as the child protagonist's favourite book, Johnathan Swift illustrates the effects of immersion on Gulliver's return to England from Brobdingnag¹⁴⁹:

...observing the Littleness of the Houses [...] I began to think of myself in *Lilliput*. I was afraid of trampling on every Traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them stand out of the way [...] When I came to my own House [...] I bent down to go in (like a Goose under a Gate) for fear of striking my Head.¹⁵⁰

Newly returned to England after his unplanned escape from a land of giants, Gulliver is unable to adjust to the change. Indeed, he does not seem to acknowledge that he is in England at all, but 'observing the Littleness' of his surrounding instead of the bigness he has until recently been used to, imagines himself in Lilliput, an island inhabited by beings 'not six Inches high', and acts accordingly.¹⁵¹ Whilst the magazines were designed ergonomically for the wooden toy soldier that they featured, the effects of prolonged immersion did not materialise for Charlotte in the same way as Gulliver, but rather through daydreams: 'All this day I have been in a dream', Charlotte writes, 'half miserable & half ecstatic: miserable because I could not follow it out uninterruptedly; ecstatic because it shewed almost in the vivid light of reality the ongoing[sic] of the infernal world'.¹⁵² That same afternoon, Charlotte would recall that she 'grew frightened' at the 'vivid light of reality' of the dreams that had made her so ecstatic in

¹⁴⁹ Charlotte Brontë, 'Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine: [Advertisements]', *Alexander EW I*, pp.60-61, p.61. In her footnotes, Alexander asserts that this entry suggests that the Brontës were reading *Gulliver's Travels* about this time (August 1829). This could explain why the juvenilia has a preoccupation with height, and follow Swift's example that the height of an individual is a reverse representation of his intellect. As such, evil genii and the villains of Glass Town such as Pigtales and Naughty (Chapter Two) are victims of their bases instinctive and rash behaviour, where the principle figures of the aristocracy such as Zamorna, Alexander Percy and all of the women in their circle are all models of beauty and artistic/ athletic achievement like the Lilliputians. Dwarves do exist in the sagas such as Finic, Zamorna's bastard son, and Captain Tree (formally the Andrew in *The Green Dwarf* that feature in the title). There is little consistency in these characters, but they tend to take part in nefarious deeds against the sagas heroes Zamorna and St Claire (a Robin Hood like figure who is framed by Percy and Andrew, and accused of treason. St Claire is sent to the underground prisons that run for thousands of miles underneath the Tower of All Nations in Great Glass Town and lead to the Mountains of the Moon. When he is exonerated and Percy's plot to trap St Claire so he could claim the love interest Emily for himself is exposed, and Percy is exiled and continues in the saga as the pirate Rogue until he marries Zenobia Ellington, takes her name and returns to society.

¹⁵⁰ Johnathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Robert Demaria, Jr (London: Penguin, 2003), p.138.

¹⁵¹ Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, p.23.

¹⁵² Charlotte Brontë, '3. 'All this day I have been in a dream'' (1836), *Alexander Tales*, pp.162-165, p.162.

the morning.¹⁵³ Realising that others perceived her in the room, she ‘wanted to speak, to rise – [but] it was impossible’:

[t]he weight pressed me as if some huge animal had flung itself across me. A horrid apprehension quickened every pulse I had, ‘I must get up’, I thought, & I did so with a start. I have had enough of morbidly vivid realizations. Every advantage has a disadvantage. Tea’s read[y]. Miss Wooler is impatient.¹⁵⁴

Bearing a marked resemblance to Henri Fuseli’s ‘The Nightmare’ (1781), the nature of Charlotte’s ‘infernal world’ as she called it was becoming just that: a nightmare.¹⁵⁵ Whilst her creation is given material weight, Charlotte lies momentarily paralysed, powerless to avoid the penetrating gaze of her peers that threaten to expose her secret.¹⁵⁶ Originally entered upon to relieve the privations of her everyday experience, the demarcation between imaginary world and reality are becoming blurred with the increasing vividness of her daydreams: in other words, Charlotte’s ‘infernal world’, her world below, was beginning its ascent aboveground. But these intrusions were beginning to affect the duties of her everyday life. With the interruptions of others, Charlotte is reminded that she is expected elsewhere, hence the deviancy of her indulgence in fantasy is seen as an infringement upon her duty to Miss Wooler, who has been kind to her. Confronted with her spatial bigamy, Charlotte is here conscious of both worlds but unable to act, literalised by her paralysis, in neither of them.

Charlotte would take her formal leave from her imaginary world with her ‘Farewell to Angria’ (1839), but as Alexander demonstrates throughout her studies of Charlotte’s writing career, her early attempts to write outside of the imaginary worlds that had occupied her since childhood proved difficult: Alexander describes ‘Ashworth’ as ‘yet another episode in the

¹⁵³ Brontë, ‘3. ‘All this day I have been in a dream’’, p.165.

¹⁵⁴ Brontë, ‘3. ‘All this day I have been in a dream’’, p.165.

¹⁵⁵ Henry Fuseli, ‘The Nightmare’ (1781) <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/56/John_Henry_Fuseli_-_The_Nightmare.JPG> [accessed 25 September 2017]. Refer to Figure 12 in Appendix A.

¹⁵⁶ Charlotte Brontë, ‘5. ‘My compliments to the weather’’, *Alexander Tales*, pp. 167-173, p.169.

Percy/ Zamorna relationship thinly disguised by an English setting', and *The Professor* would turn out only marginally better after opening with brothers William and Edward Crimsworth that bear a remarkable resemblance to their Angrian counterparts, William and Edward Percy.¹⁵⁷ In *The Child Author*, Alexander asserts that '[f]or some authors it becomes expedient to reject their early works, as part of a rite of passage, and as an announcement of arrival at some kind of professional status [...] to say 'farewell' to one's early writings'.¹⁵⁸ Alexander marks 'Ashworth' as Charlotte's 'final' struggle to shake off her Angrian dreamworld', but if publication is regarded as the demarcation between Charlotte's imaginary world and the adult one of reality, as her graduation from juvenilia writer to professional author, then it is *Jane Eyre* (1847) as her first published novel that becomes her '[final] farwell'.¹⁵⁹ Where in 'Ashworth' and *The Professor* Charlotte features Angrian characters in English settings, the final farewell in *Jane Eyre* is led by a female protagonist who is placed in a setting that is reminiscent of Angria in its allusions to the orient. Joyce Zonana reads Charlotte's handling of these allusions as an example of an approach she describes as 'feminist orientalism', an approach which is understood to be directed 'not toward an understanding or even the reform of the harem itself but toward transformation of Western society'.¹⁶⁰ Here, Rochester's depiction as 'sultan' and Jane's 'master',¹⁶¹ Jane's as slave girl and 'pet' (p.305) are regarded as part of a wider liberal feminist discourse that highlights the condition of women not in the East but in the West.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ Christine Alexander, 'Angria Revalued: Charlotte Brontë's Efforts to Free Herself from her Juvenilia', in McNees, Eleanor (ed.), *The Brontë Sisters: Critical Assessments Volume 1* (Mountfield: Helm Information Ltd, 1996) pp.442-450, p.446.

¹⁵⁸ Alexander, 'Defining and representing literary juvenilia', p.74.

¹⁵⁹ Alexander, 'Angria Revalued', p.445.

¹⁶⁰ Joyce Zonana, '3.3 From 'The Sultan and the Slave: Feminist Orientalism and the Structure of *Jane Eyre*', in *Post-Colonial Theory and English Literature: A Reader*, ed. Peter Childs (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp.168-184, p.170.

¹⁶¹ Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, ed. Steve Davies (London: Penguin, 2006), p.310. All further references will be given in the body of text.

¹⁶² Zonana, '3.3 From 'The Sultan and the Slave', p.169.

However, whilst Zonana's argument is persuasive, the parallels between *Jane Eyre*, Charlotte's juvenilia and her intention to break away from her early imaginary worlds which were 'now', Alexander asserts, 'hindering her progress as a writer' are too incidental to ignore.¹⁶³ Through a protagonist that has been confused with her author, and following a narrative in childhood that has been read as part autobiography, Charlotte acts through her fictional proxy, Jane, and then proceeds to purge Thornfield Hall and the 'infernal world' it represents through a fitting cleansing by fire.¹⁶⁴ Through the restoration of Ruskin's definition of the home and Charlotte (through Jane's) re-entry into the world whose rules she created Glass Town and Angria to escape, Charlotte finally 'grows out' of her juvenilia and the imaginary worlds it consisted of.

To reiterate, Ruskin's essentialist gender discourse stipulated that the home was the 'place of Peace', and, reading the microcosm of the home for the macrocosm of the world (patriarchy), that 'true nature of home' and the true nature of women were inseparable.¹⁶⁵ The home was a projection of the feminine, and by managing it (the home) and herself, women upheld the rules of the patriarchal world the home symbolised, and the dominant male-submissive female power dynamic that structure enforced. When Charlotte and her sisters colonised the home's interior, they undermined these rules through the creation of imaginary worlds which had rules of their own, but rules that prioritise their (female) creator's rather than to men who rules they oppose. Whilst this would mean that women would feel a greater sense of freedom within their homes, for men these places would feel *unhomely*. To restore herself in the real world, Charlotte had to restore herself into patriarchal discourse which meant returning home. In *Jane Eyre*, this meant supplanting Bertha Mason, Rochester's Creole wife,

¹⁶³ Alexander, 'Angria Revalued', p.447.

¹⁶⁴ Brontë, '3. 'All this day I have been in a dream'', p.162.

¹⁶⁵ Ruskin, 'Of Queens' Gardens', p.38.

with herself – or, more precisely, Charlotte had to restore the British ideal of femininity that Coventry Patmore would emblemise in 1854 as the Angel in the House.

Applying the same theory to *Jane Eyre*, then, the reason why Rochester ‘shuns’ (p.150) Thornfield Hall and spends his time in travelling from one temporary accommodation to another, it is not because his wife is dead, but because she is still living. Described ‘like some strange wild animal’ (p.338), her eyes ‘red balls’ (p.339) in a ‘mask’ (p.339) hidden behind ‘a quantity of dark, grizzled hair’ (p.338), the ghost that haunts Thornfield Hall is not a domestic angel, but a ‘demon’ (p.339). The place she produces not Ruskin’s place of Peace but Charlotte’s infernal world’ and ‘the mouth of hell’ (p.339), the power Bertha yields that of ‘fire’ (p.174) instead of light.¹⁶⁶

Following the formula of the juvenilia, the most difficult challenge Jane must face is in resisting the seductive charms of Rochester, the reincarnation of the dark, Byronic hero of Charlotte’s Glass Town and Angrian sagas, the Duke of Zamorna. A proverbial Bluebeard refigured as the ‘sultan’ (p.305), Jane must resist joining the ranks among the ‘seraglio’ (p.310) of his past conquests if she is to avoid sharing their fate: ‘I will not be you English Céline Varens’ (p.311) Jane proclaims, for she knows the shared fate of his past mistresses, ‘Céline, Giacinta, and Clara’ (p.359). If she succumbed, she would merely add an English entry to the collection of women that Rochester is ‘tired of’ (p.359). In Charlotte’s juvenilia, Rosamund Wellesley succumbs to her love for her cousin, Zamorna, and is ‘sequestered [...] in one of his remote haunts’ when her family insists on separating them.¹⁶⁷ Alone with only her shame and her horror at her actions, she does not live long and is rumoured to have ‘helped herself out of the world’.¹⁶⁸ Years later, Caroline Vernon, Zamorna’s ward and his wife’s younger sister, would again succumb to the Duke’s charms and is spirited away again into a remote location

¹⁶⁶ Brontë, ‘3. ‘All this day I have been in a dream’’, p.162.

¹⁶⁷ Charlotte Brontë, ‘Henry Hastings’ (1839), in Charlotte Brontë, *Tales of Angria* (London: Penguin, 2010), pp.215-357, p.333.

¹⁶⁸ Brontë, ‘Henry Hastings’, p.332.

of his own choosing. Nothing is heard again of Caroline, though she no doubt meets a similar fate to her unfortunate predecessor. Read as parallel to the increasing effects from Charlotte's immersion in her imaginary worlds, Jane's resistance of Rochester and the threat of personal ruin he symbolises as the seducer, and her escape from Thornfield Hall can be read alongside Charlotte's own rejection of Angria. It is not surprising that Jane/ Charlotte's rejection precipitates the demise of Thornfield Hall and the Angrian world it represents. When Jane does return to Rochester, it is with the intention of restoring his home as his wife, and so the conventional happy ending signals Charlotte's return to patriarchy via the home.

Whilst acknowledging the apparent dangers of assuming too much about the author through their work, these allusions to the fantastic had to originate from somewhere; and, if *Jane Eyre*'s realistic elements can be traced back to its author's childhood, it stands that so too can its allusions to the fantastic as well. Read as Charlotte's '[Final] Farewell to Angria', *Jane Eyre* chronicles Charlotte's restoration of the 'home' in Ruskin's sense of word. Charlotte purges Thornfield Hall from its Angrian associations in a ritual of fire, and in doing so signifies not only her departure from her imaginary world but her re-entry into the real one, the termination of her juvenilia symbolised by the moment of Charlotte's "coming home". But it is not entirely without resistance. Charlotte may agree to enter upon the place and the expectations gender has meted out for her, but she (as Jane) confidently reminds Rochester that whatever else Charlotte is as writer and woman both, 'I am not an angel' (p.300), and so patriarchy should not expect her to act like one.

CONCLUSION

COMING HOME AGAIN

And so Charlotte's journey comes full circle. It seems fitting that the first novel that Charlotte would get published was the one that actually signalled her return to the patriarchal discourses that she had continued to rebel against first as a child, and then as a young woman. Whilst writing her juvenilia, Charlotte was undoubtedly endowed with a sense of mobility in her exploration of place and of her own potential freedom from the effects of a restricting education, but her imaginary worlds had evidently outlasted their usefulness. If the purpose of Charlotte's imaginary worlds or playgrounds as Huizinga would call it, allowed its creators freedom, it meant living in not one world, but two, and the long-term effects of prolonged immersion in one had detrimental effects to the other. In other words, Charlotte's two worlds of youth and maturity, child-writer and woman, could not co-exist as they were the anthesis of the other. But as Charlotte observes after experiencing some of these negative effects: '[e]very advantage has a disadvantage'.¹⁶⁹ And to this the inverse was true: however else she felt about her imaginary worlds toward the end of their lifespan, they reinvigorated Charlotte's view of the real world and in doing so finally fulfilled the original purpose of the toy gifts that started everything; namely, to return Charlotte to the 'land of the living'.¹⁷⁰

After giving a brief introduction to psychogeography and its usefulness as an approach in the study of Charlotte's juvenilia, an application of Huizinga's approach to play in Chapter One demonstrated that the creation of place (in the form of imaginative worlds or 'playgrounds' as Huizinga calls them) allowed inhabitants to overcome their limitations of place. Using de Maistre's house arrest as an example, I demonstrated that to stop themselves from

¹⁶⁹ Brontë, '3. 'All this day I have been in a dream'', p.165.

¹⁷⁰ Keefe, *Charlotte Brontë's World of Death*, p.45.

feeling like a prisoner, they need only stop viewing their homes as a prison. Viewed with fresh eyes, the prisoner took the role of explorer and adventurer, and proceeded to assert their ownership of place by playing the coloniser. In a world separated from ‘real’ life, then, both de Maistre and the Brontës were able to undermine the rules of patriarchy by establishing their own. What this study has demonstrated is that Gaskell was correct when she asserted that it is ‘more necessary in [Charlotte’s] case than in most others that the reader should be made acquainted with the peculiar forms of population and society amidst which her earliest years were passed’.¹⁷¹ But in that consideration of place, an understanding of Charlotte’s imaginary worlds of Glass Town and Angria should necessarily be included, because she not only spent the majority of her early literary career in chronicling it, but it is where Charlotte as the young writer remains. She is not lost, but exists alongside her sisters, Charlotte the woman and Charlotte the writer, in the blank spaces of the Brontë Parsonage.

A written equivalent to Fuller’s *London Town*, part of the attraction of studying the Brontës’ juvenilia is that we will never fully develop a complete picture of what it was the Brontës imagined in childhood. The information scholars have to recreate Glass Town, Angria and Gondal is limited to that which the Brontës had managed to write down, but like any cognitive map, much of the information will not have been recorded for any number of reasons, and has subsequently gone with them to the grave. What Ratchfield and Alexander have managed to do in three-hundred pages, I have attempted to do within a fraction of sixteen thousand words. As such, I have attempted to refine my examination with a detailed account of three places which I identify as Africa, the criminal underground, and the bedroom. Obvious limitations to the word count means that this exploration is by no means exhausted. In Chapter One, a brief illustration of the individuality of cognitive maps by referencing J. M. Barrie’s fantasy world Neverland introduced the idea of Neverlands that have a family resemblance. As

¹⁷¹ Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, p.17.

restrictions in the project have led me to prioritise Charlotte's works, the images of Glass Town and Angria that have been illustrated are therefore Charlotte's and are not representative of the Brontës as a family of young writers, though Chapter One did touch upon the influence Branwell might have had as a man on Charlotte's writing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY WORKS

- Alexander, Christine (ed.), *An Edition of The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë Volume I: The Glass Town Saga 1826-1832* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987)
- Alexander, Christine (ed.), *An Edition of The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë Volume II: The Rise of Angria 1833-1835 Part 1: 1833-1834* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991)
- Alexander, Christine (ed.), *An Edition of The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë Volume II: The Rise of Angria 1833-1835 Part 2: 1834-1835* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991)
- Alexander, Christine (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria, and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2010)
- Brontë, Charlotte, *Jane Eyre*, ed. Stevie Davies (London: Penguin, 2006)
- Brontë, Charlotte, *Selected Letters*, ed. Margaret Smith (London: Penguin, 2010)
- Brontë, Charlotte, *Tales of Angria* (London: Penguin, 2010)
- Brontë, Charlotte, *The Green Dwarf* (London: Hesperus Press, 2006)
- Brontë, Charlotte, *The Foundling* (London: Hesperus Press, 2004)
- Brontë, Charlotte, *The Secret* (London: Hesperus Press, 2004)
- Brontë, Branwell, 'The Brontë Sisters (Anne Brontë; Emily Brontë; Charlotte Brontë)', circa 1834, *The National Portrait Gallery* <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00797/The-Bront-Sisters-Anne-Bront-Emily-Bront-Charlotte-Bront?LinkID=mp00572&role=sit&rNo=0>> [accessed 12 September 2017], © National Portrait Gallery, London
- Bramwell Brontë, frontispiece to 'The History of the Young Men' (1831), in Carol Atherton, 'Fairytale and Realism in Jane Eyre', © British Library Board, *The British Library*, [n:d] <<http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/jane-eyre-fairytale-and-realism>> [accessed 24 September 2017], image collection 2 of 2 in 'Brontë juvenilia: 'The History of the Young Men''
- de Maistre, Xavier, *Voyage Around My Room*, trans. Stephen Sartarelli (New York: New Directions Books, 1994)
- Fuller, *London Town* (2005-2015) < <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gisuser/21958193549>> [accessed 30 August 2017]
- Gaskell, Elizabeth, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Elisabeth Jay (London: Penguin, 1997)

Richmond, George, 'Charlotte Brontë', 1850, *The National Portrait Gallery*
<<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00798/Charlotte-Bront?LinkID=mp00572&role=sit&rNo=1>> [accessed 12 September 2017], © National Portrait Gallery, London

Thompson, J. H., detail of 'Portrait of Charlotte Brontë' (undated; post 1850), in Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Elisabeth Jay (London: Penguin, 1997), cover illustration

SECONDARY WORKS

- Ackroyd, Peter, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000)
- Alexander, Christine, *A Bibliography of the Manuscripts of Charlotte Brontë* (Haworth: The Brontë Society in association with Meckler Publishing, 1982)
- Alexander, Christine, 'Imagining Africa: The Brontës' Creations of Glass Town and Angria', in Peter F. Alexander, Ruth Hutchison and Deryck Schreuder (eds.), *Africa Today: A Multi-Disciplinary Snapshot of the Continent in 1995* (Canberra: The Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 1996), p.201-220
- Alexander, Christine, photo of Charlotte Brontë's juvenilia, featuring three of the 'Young Men's Magazines', in Christine Alexander (ed.), *The Early Works of Charlotte Brontë Volume I: The Glass Town Saga 1826-1832* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1987), frontispiece opposite title-page
- Alexander, Christine, *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983)
- Alexander, Christine, and Jane Sellars, *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Alexander, Christine, and Juliet McMaster (eds.), *The Child Writer From Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Alexander, Christine, and Margaret Smith, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Arnold, Dana, 'Defining Femininity: Women and the Country House', in Dana Arnold, Tim Clayton, Stephen Bending, M.H. Port et al, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp.79-99
- Bachelard, Gaston, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston, USA: Beacon Press, 1994)
- Barrie, J. M., *Peter and Wendy*, in J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens and Peter and Wendy*, ed. Peter Hollindale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.67-226
- Bonnett, Alastair, *Off the Map: Lost Spaces, Invisible Cities, Forgotten Islands, Feral Places, and What They Tell Us About the World* (London: Aurum Press, 2014)
- Booth, Charles, 'Descriptive Map of London Poverty 1889: South-Eastern sheet, comprising the registration districts of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's, Southward, and parts of Lambeth, Camberwell, and Greenwich.' (1889), *The British Library* <<https://www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~media/bl/global/dl%20romantics%20and%20victorians/collection-items-manual/b/o/o/booth-charles-charles-g70100-47.jpg>> [accessed 24 September 2017]

- Booth, Charles, (detail) 'Descriptive Map of London Poverty 1889' (1889), *Charles Booth's Poverty Maps and Notebooks*, LSE <<https://booth.lse.ac.uk/map/16/-0.0890/51.5042/95/0?marker=538041.872,177338.452>> [accessed 24 September 2017] © 2016 London School of Economics & Political Science
- Brontë Parsonage Museum, 'Museum and Library Collection: Inside the Parsonage, *The Brontë Parsonage Museum* < <https://www.Brontë.org.uk/museum-and-library/inside-the-parsonage/>> [accessed 20 September 2017]
- Conrad, Joseph, *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Robert Kimbrough, 3rd edn. (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1963)
- Coverley, Merlin, *Psychogeography* (Harpenden, UK: Pocket Essentials, 2010)
- de Botton, Alain, *The Art of Travel* (London: Penguin, 2013)
- de Quincey, Thomas, *Autobiographical Sketches* (London: R. Groombridge & Sons, 1853-1854)
- Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan, 'The Cardboard Box', in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Stories with Illustrations from the 'Strand' Magazine* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 2006), pp.1113-1130
- Duncan, Ian, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, Dickens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Ellard, Colin, *Places of the Heart: The Psychogeography of Everyday Life* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2015)
- English, Jennifer, 'Refiguring the Marital Home: Helen's Appropriation of Interior Space in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*', in *Leeds Centre Working Papers in Victorian Studies Volume 8: Victorian Space(s)*, ed. Karen Sayer (Leeds: Trinity and All Saints, University of Leeds, 2006), pp.57-63
- Flanders, Judith, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004)
- Fuseli, Henry, 'The Nightmare' (1781) <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/56/John_Henry_Fuseli_-_The_Nightmare.JPG> [accessed 25 September 2017]
- Gérin, Winifred, *The Brontës: I. The Formative Years*, ed. Ian Scot-Kilbert, *Writers and their Work Series*, 232 (Harlow: Longman for the British Council, 1973)
- Henderson, William, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Norther Counties of England and the Borders* (London: W. Satchell, Peyton and Co., 1879)

- Huizinga, Johan, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, ed. Dr. Karl Mannheim, trans. R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949)
- Hyndman, Henry, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p.304
- Keefe, Robert, *Charlotte Brontë's World of Death* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1979)
- Knabb, Ken (ed.), *Situationist International Anthology*, trans. Ken Knabb (Kindle, 2006)
- Mack, Robert L. (ed.), *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Manguel, Alberto, and Gianni Guadalupi, *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places* (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), pp.252-253
- Marcus, Clare Cooper, *House as a Mirror of Self: Exploring the Deeper Meaning of Home* (Berwick, ME: Nicolas-Hays, 2006)
- Martin, John, detail of 'The Temptation', hand-coloured lithograph by Robert Montgomery (1843), in Christine Alexander (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria, and Gondal: Selected Writings*, ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2010), cover illustration
- McNees, Eleanor (ed.), *The Brontë Sisters: Critical Assessments Volume 1* (Mountfield: Helm Information Ltd, 1996)
- McQueen, James, 'Map of West Africa', in Christine Alexander, 'Imagining Africa: The Brontës' Creations of Glass Town and Angria', in Peter F. Alexander, Ruth Hutchison and Deryck Schreuder (eds.), *Africa Today: A Multi-Disciplinary Snapshot of the Continent in 1995* (Canberra: The Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 1996), p.201-220, p.212.
- Mill, John Stuart, 'The Subjection of Women' ([n.p.]: Project Gutenberg, 2008), Kindle edition, <http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=919938> [accessed 7 September 2017]
- Neufelt, Victor A. (ed.), *The Works of Partick Branwell Brontë: Volumes 1-3* (London: Routledge, 2015)
- Pickett, Danielle, 'EN7203 Research Methods Research Paper: Genii on the Moors: Fantasy and Realism in the Brontë Novels' (unpublished postgraduate essay, University of Chester, 2017)
- Pickett, Danielle, 'Modern Women and Male Impotency: Mapping the transformation of Woman in Victorian-Gothic Literature and Culture' (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, University of Chester, 2015)

- Pike, Judith E., 'Rochester's Bronze Scrag and Pearl Necklace: Bronzed Masculinity in *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, and Charlotte Brontë's Juvenilia', in *Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. John Maynard and Adrienne Munich, 141:2 (2013), pp.2013
- Ratchford, Fannie Elizabeth, *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1964)
- Ratchford, Fannie Elizabeth, *The Gondal Queen: A Novel in Verse by Emily Jane Brontë* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1955)
- Regis, Amber K., and Deborah Wynne, 'Introduction: picturing Charlotte Brontë', in Amber K. Regis and Deborah Wynne (eds.), *Charlotte Brontë: Legacies and afterlives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.1-39
- Ruskin, John, *Sesame and Lilies*, Kindle Edition ([n.p]: Project Gutenberg, 1998) <<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1293/pg1293-images.html>> [accessed 7 September 2017]
- Self, Will and Ralph Steadman, *Psycho Geography* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007)
- Spacks, Patricia Meyer, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976)
- Swift, Jonathan, *Gulliver's Travels* (London: Everyman's Library, David Campbell Publishers, 1940)
- Tomaiuolo, Saverio, *Victorian Unfinished Novels: The Imperfect Page* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012)
- Unknown author, *Digital Humanities Research Centre*, in association with the University of Chester <<https://dhchester.org/portfolio/vague-imaginary-space-literary-fiction-digital-technologies/>> [accessed 16 September 2017]
- Unknown Author, 'Social Investigation: London' in *Charles Booth's Poverty Maps and Notebooks*, LSE <<https://booth.lse.ac.uk/learn-more/who-was-charles-booth>> [accessed 24 September 2017] © 2016 London School of Economics & Political Science
- Walker, Marina, *From the Beast to the Blonde* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994)
- Whitlock, Gillian, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography* (London and New York: Cassell, 2000)
- Wynne, Deborah, 'The 'Charlotte' cult: writing the literary pilgrimage, from Gaskell to Woolf', in Amber K. Regis and Deborah Wynne (eds.), *Charlotte Brontë: Legacies and afterlives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.43-58

Zonana, Joyce, '3.3 From 'The Sultan and the Slave: Feminist Orientalism and the Structure of *Jane Eyre*', in *Post-Colonial Theory and English Literature: A Reader*, ed. Peter Childs (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp.168-184

APPENDIX A

Figure 1:

Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Brontë Sisters (Anne Brontë; Emily Brontë; Charlotte Brontë)'
circa 1834, © National Portrait Gallery, London



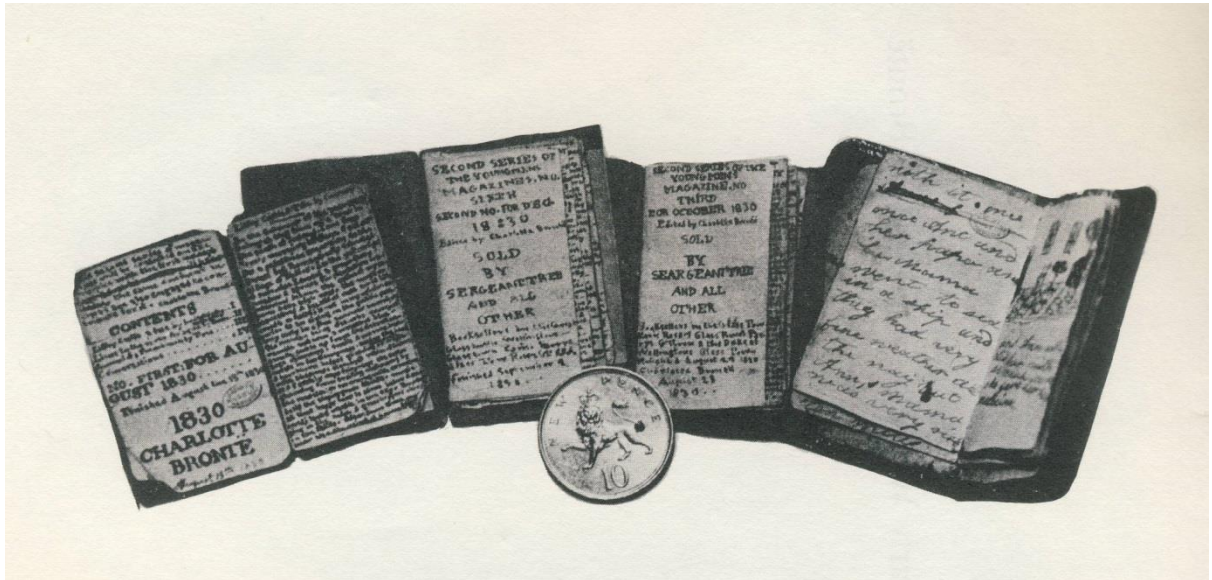


Figure 2 – Three issues of the ‘Young Men’s Magazine’ for 1830 written by Charlotte Brontë with the untitled booklet ‘There once was a little girl’, Charlotte’s earliest extant manuscript at the age of fourteen, all to the exact size.

Figure 3:

George Richmond, 'Charlotte
Brontë'

1850, © National Portrait Gallery,
London



Figure 4:

J. H. Thompson

detail from Thompson's Portrait
of Charlotte Brontë at the Brontë
Parsonage Museum

post 1850

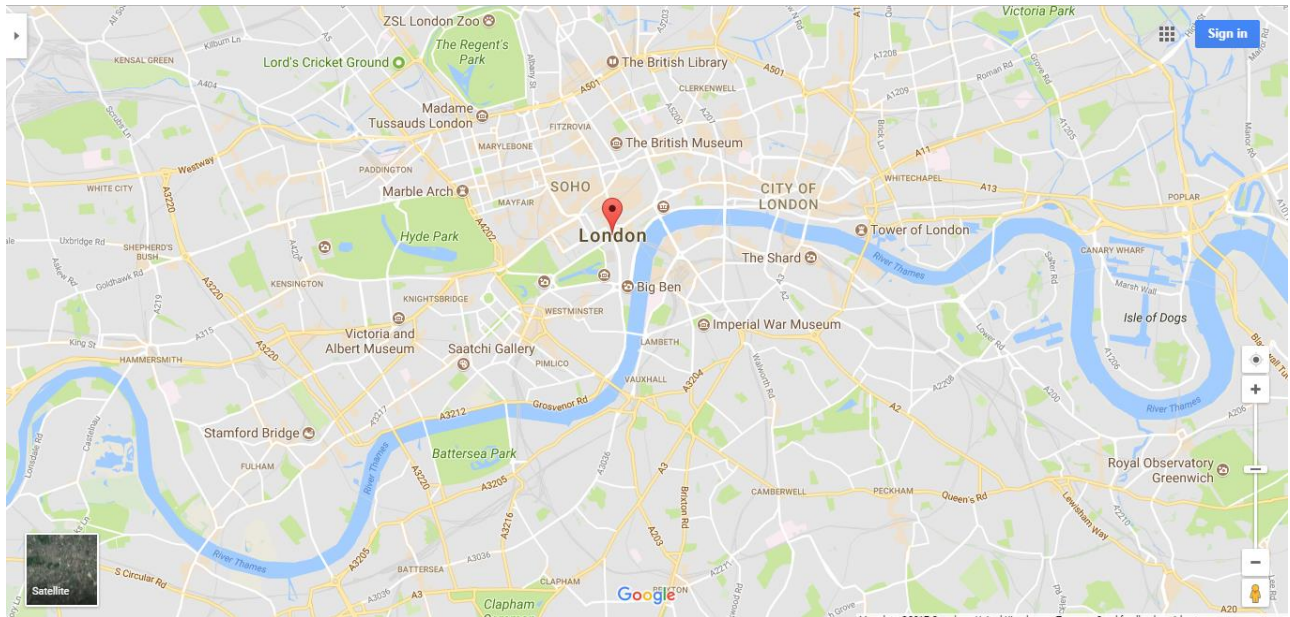


Figure 5: London, *Google Maps* 2017

Figure 6: (below) Fuller, *London Town* (2005-2015)





Figure 7 – Bramwell Brontë, frontispiece to ‘The History of the Young Men’ (1831)

Figure 8 – (below) Map of West Africa, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* July 1831

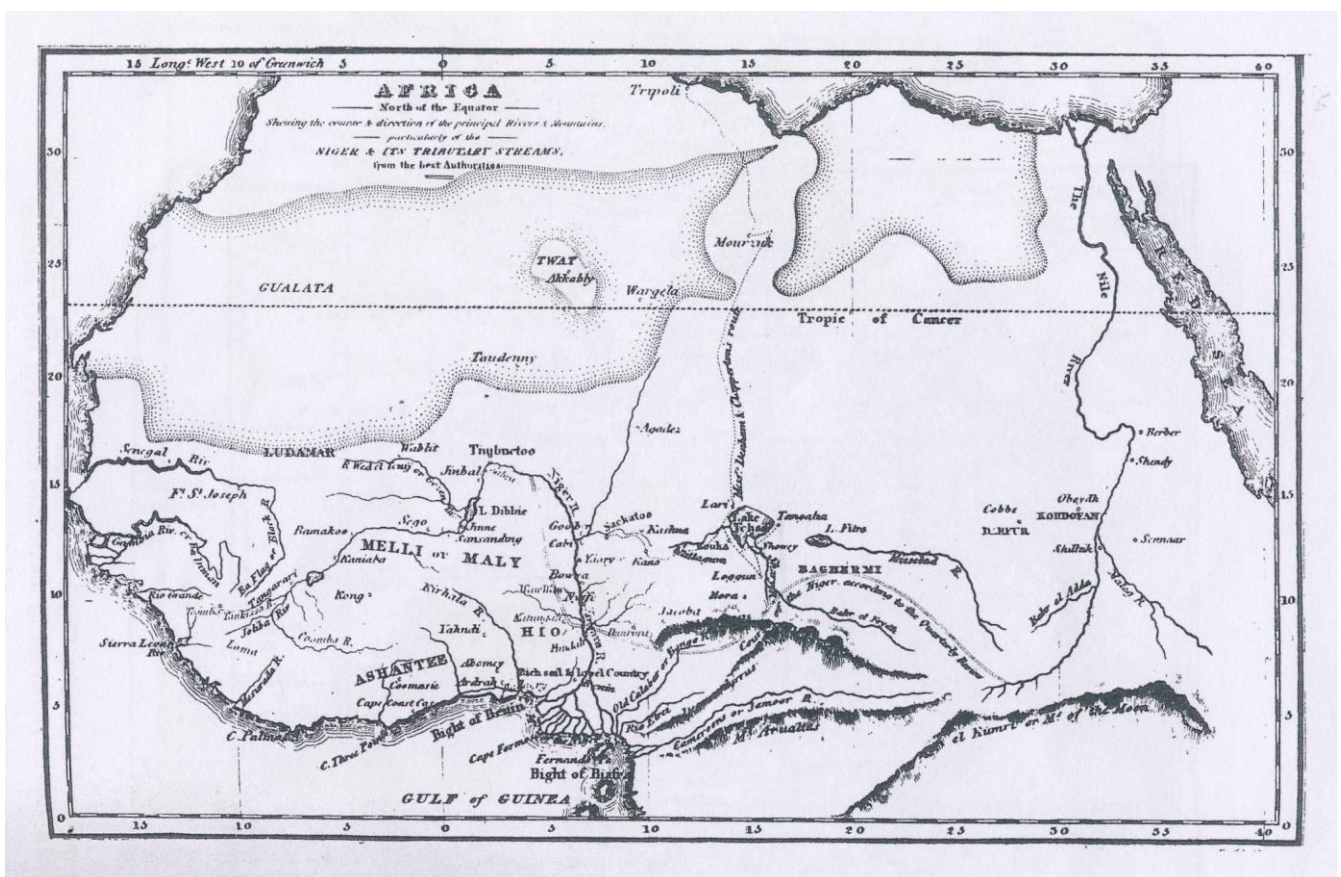


Figure 9:

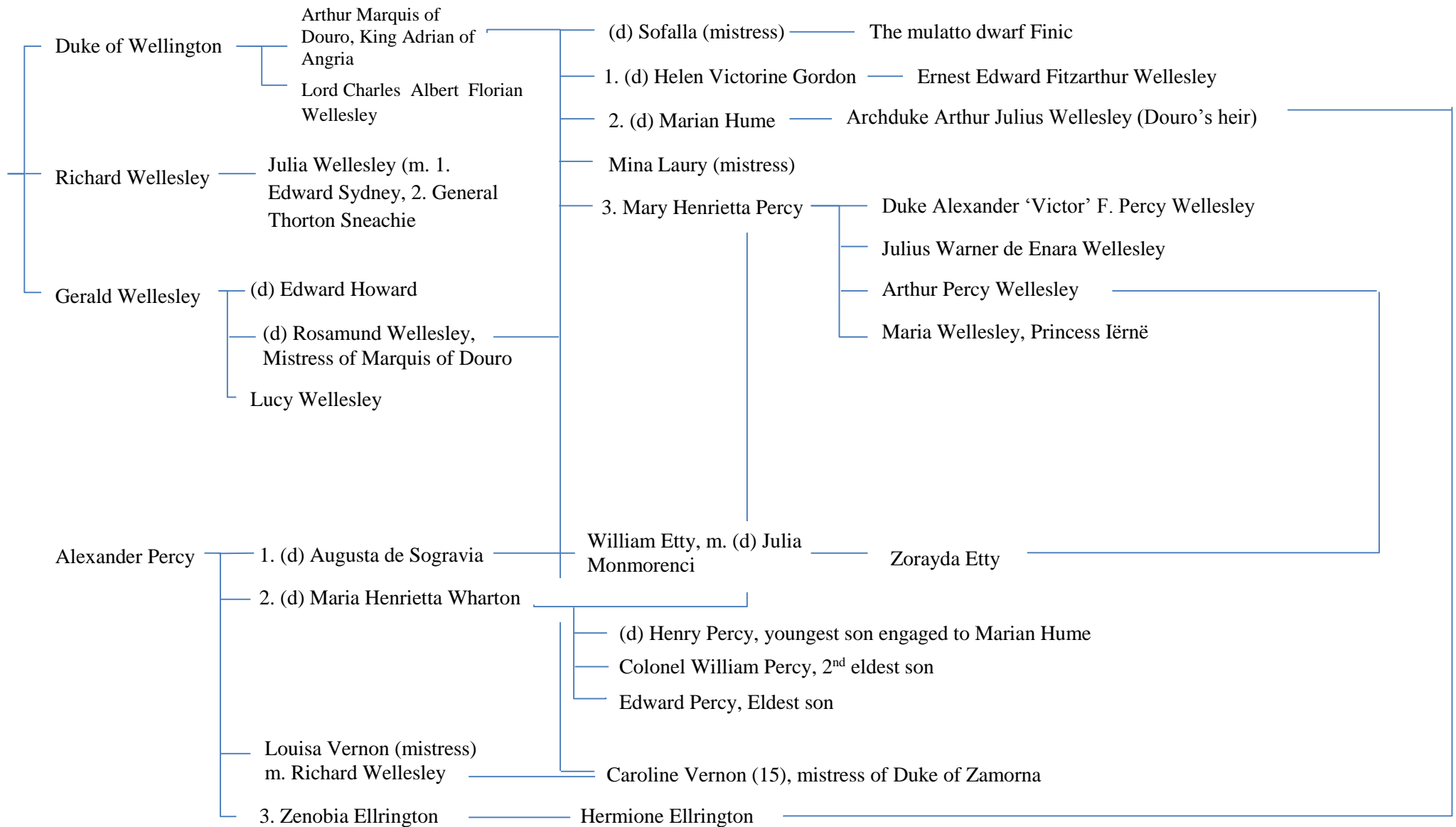
(right) detail of John Martin, 'The Temptation', a hand-coloured lithograph from *The Sacred Annual*, by Robert Montgomery (1834)

Mistaken for years as Charlotte's painting of the Bay of Glass Town



Figure 10:

Family Tree showing the relationship between Charlotte and Branwell's chief families: The Wellesleys And The Percys



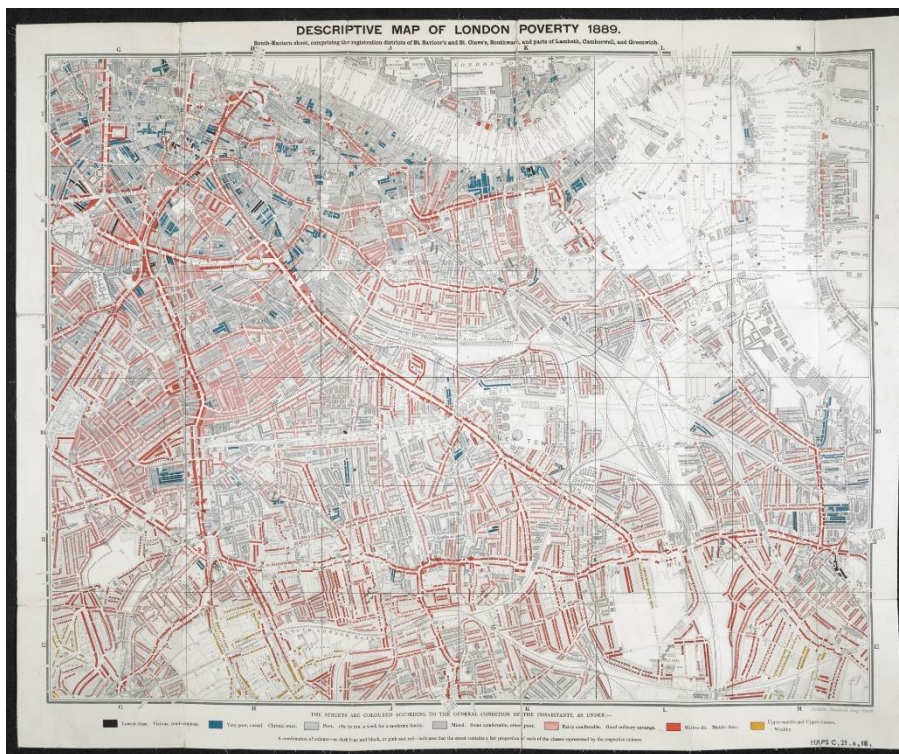


Figure 11:

Charles Booth, 'Descriptive Map of London Poverty 1889: South-Eastern sheet, comprising the registration districts of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's, Southward, and parts of Lambeth, Camberwell, and Greenwich.' (1889)

Colour key reads:

Black – Lowest Class. Vicious, semi-criminal; **Dark Blue** – Very Poor, casual. Chronic want; **Light Blue** – Poor. 18s. to 21s. a week for a moderate family; **Purple** – Mixed. Some comfortable, others poor; **Pink** – Fairly Comfortable – Good Ordinary earnings; **Red** – Well-to-do. Middle-class; **Yellow** – Upper-middle and Upper classes. Wealthy.

(below) detail of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's



Figure 12:

Henry Fuseli, 'The Nightmare' (1781)



APPENDIX B

Known collections of complete Brontë juvenilia

ANNE BRONTË

A selection of Anne's juvenilia poems and diary papers can be found in Christine Alexander (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.439-493. To my knowledge no separate and complete publications on Anne's early works such as the annotated volumes by Neufeldt and Alexander for Branwell and Charlotte Brontë, are available as yet.

EMILY BRONTË

Like her younger sister and co-writer of the Gondal saga, Emily's juvenilia poems and diary papers can be found in Christine Alexander (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.391-438 and pp.485-493. Another includes the Penguin Classics edition of Emily Brontë, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Janet Gezari (London: Penguin, 1992). In the main body of text, poems are divided into those I. published before 1846, II. Dated poems, III. Undated poems, and IV. Poems of Doubtful Authorship. There is no section for the juvenilia, but a list of the poems in their order of appearance in the *Gondal Poems* notebook and the Honresfeld manuscript is given in Appenix 1. For an equivalent breakdown for Gondal and Emily's juvenilia as Ratchford or Alexander did for Charlotte's, see Fannie E. Ratchford, *Gondal's Queen: A Novel in Verse by Emily Jane Brontë* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1955). Emily's poems are interspersed throughout the book under Ratchford's thematic chapter headings, but there is selection of Gondal poems relating to the Republican-Royalist war in Gondal, but only those select few, in Appendix I. To my knowledge no separate and complete publications on Emily's early works yet exist to match the annotated volumes of Branwell and Charlotte's juvenilia by Neufeldt and Alexander.

BRANWELL BRONTË

Victor A. Neufeldt (ed.), *The Works of Partick Branwell Brontë: Volumes 1-3* (London and New York: Garland Publishing, 1997 and (volumes 2 and 3) 1999), reprinted in 2015 by Routledge

Neufeldt published a complete collection of Branwell's poems in 1990, *The Poems of Patrick Branwell Brontë* (London and New York: Garland Publishing, 1990, and Routledge, 2015). Based on Neufeldt's own transcriptions of the manuscripts, or, where the manuscript is unavailable, on the most reliable accessible text, he follows Christine Alexander's example after her proposed three volume (volume two in two parts) publication of Charlotte's complete early works, *An Edition on the Early works of Charlotte Brontë Volumes I-III*. First published in 1997, Volume One included all of Patrick Branwell Brontë's known writings, excluding his letters, from 1827 to 1833 and focuses on the creation of the Glass Town Confederacy and on

the emergence of Alexander Percy (also known as Lord El(l)rington and the pirate/exile Rogue) as Branwell's chief character. First published in 1999, Volume Two contains similarly known writings from 1834-1836, focussing on the creation of Angria and the growing conflict between Alexander Percy, now Earl of Northangerland, and his tempestuous best friend and now son-in-law, Arthur Wellesley, now known as both the Duke of Zamorna and King Adrian of Angria. Published in the same year as the second volume, Volume Three contains all known manuscripts from the years of 1837 until his death in 1848 and covers the end of the Angrian conflict, his abandonment of the Angrian saga and Branwell's attempt to establish himself as a man of letters. The three volumes as well as Neufeldt's poetry collection of 1990, enjoyed a reprint by Routledge in 2015 and are all accessible for between £32 and £49 on Amazon.

CHARLOTTE BRONTË

Christine Alexander (ed.), *An Edition of The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë Volume I, II Parts 1 and 2, and III* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1987, 1991 and volume III yet to be published)

Alexander's annotated complete collection of Charlotte's known early works is an essential text to any scholar studying Charlotte's juvenilia. The volumes have been divided and organized chronologically and titled by their relation to the development of the Glass Town and Angrian sagas: Volume I in titled The Glass Town Saga and covers all known materials excluding letters between 1826-1832; Volume II on The Rise of Angria is split into two parts and contains early works dating from 1833-1834 and 1834-1835 respectively; covering 1836 to Charlotte's abandonment of the Angrian saga in 1839, Volume III is titled The Angrian Legend and is yet to be publish. Novellas that would appear in Volume III such as Charlotte's *Mina Laury*, 'Caroline Vernon' and 'Henry Hastings' are available in titles such as Charlotte Brontë, *Tales of Angria* (London: Penguin, 2006 and 2010) and Christine Alexander (ed.), *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.3-314, but with 69% of unpublished manuscripts made accessible in Volume I, and approximately 52% in Volume II parts one and two, following the average of unpublished materials in the volumes Alexander has already published, that leaves an estimated average of at least 50% of Charlotte's juvenilia between 1836-1839 still inaccessible to the public. And whilst Neufeldt's volumes on Branwell Brontë's early works enjoyed a re-print by Routledge in 2015, Alexander's have not and so they remain largely inaccessible outside those University libraries that hold a copy. Prices, where available for sale, range between £85 and £157.26 per volume on Waterstones and Amazon sites excluding postage.

AN EDITION TO THE EARLY WRITINGS OF CHARLOTTE BRONTË

Christine Alexander (ed.)

As this study is limited in terms of scale, a detailed list of Charlotte Brontë's manuscripts that appear in those volumes published in Alexander's three-part series of Charlotte's complete early works. Not every manuscript – of which there are many – has been cited. A contents has been provided to not only show how many of Charlotte's early works had been unpublished before their inclusion in the above title/ series, but to give a sense of the kind of subjects she wrote about and how they may have attributed in building both the mythos and physical world of her Glass Town and Angrian sagas, and the frequency with which she wrote them.

*Published for the first time (Volume One 1987; Volume Two 1999)

VOLUME I: The Glass Town Saga

1826-1832

1826

'The was once a little girl and her name was Anne'* (p.3), not signed, [n.d.]

1829

The History of the Year (pp.4-5), not signed, '*March 12, 1829*'

'The origin of the O'Deans' (p.6), not signed, '*March 12, 1829*'

'The origin of the Islanders'* (p.6), not signed, '*March 12, 1829*'

Two Romantic Tales: (pp.7-21), CB, '*April 28, 1829*' – this is the date both parts were completed

A Romantic Tale (or The Twelve Adventurers) (pp.7-18), '*Written April 15, 1829*'

An Adventure in Ireland (pp.18-21), CB, '*April 28th, 1829*'

Tales of the Islanders, volume I* (pp.21-33), CB, '*June 30 1829*' on title page and '*June the 31, 1829*' on end page

'[Chapter I An Account of their Origin]' (pp.21-22), not signed, [n.d.]

'[Chapter 2 A Description of Vision Island]' (pp.22-25), not signed, [n.d.]

'[Chapter 3 Raton's Attempt]' (pp.25-28), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[Chapter 4 Lord Charles Wellesley and the Marquis of Douro’s Adventure]’ (pp.29-33), CB, *‘July the 31, 1829’* – photo of manuscript (p.31)

The Infant* (pp.34-36), CB, *‘July 13, 1829’*

The Keep of the Bridge* (pp.36-38), CB, *‘July 13, 1829’* – scans/ photos of written and illustrated manuscript (p.37)

‘Sir – it is well know that the Genii’ (p.39), UT, *‘July 14, 1829’*

A Fragment, August the 7, 1829* (p.40), CB, *‘August the 8, 1829’*

Fragment, August 8, 1829* (p.41), CB, *‘August the 8, 1829’*

The Search After Happiness (pp.42-53), CB, *‘August the 17 1829’* [chapter I started/ written July 28, 1829] – full title ‘A Tale by CB July 28, 1829 The Search for Happiness’

Blackwood’s Young Men’s Magazine, August 1829* (pp.54- 62), CB, *August 1829*

‘Captain Cary, Sergeant Blood, Corporal Lidell, etc., etc., etc.’ (pp.54-55), Signed C.B., [n.d.]

‘Review of the *Causes of the Late War* by the Duke of Wellington’ (p.56), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Poetry’ (p.57), UT, *‘July the 24’* – titled ‘A Song’ in ‘Contents’ (p.61)

‘Military Conversations’ (pp.58-60), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[Advertisements]’ (pp.60-61), not signed, [n.d.] – signed as ‘by Charlotte Brontë’ in ‘Contents’ (p.61)

‘Contents’ (pp.61-62), not signed, [n.d.]

Blackwood’s Young Men’s Magazine, September 1829* (pp.62-69), CB

‘A True Story’ (pp.62-4), CB, *‘August the 20, 1829’*

‘Review of the painting of the Spirit of Cawdor Rivine By Dundee, a private in the 20th’ (pp.64-65), CB, *‘August 21, 1829’*

‘Interior of a Pothouse By Young Soult’ (pp.65-66), Young Soult, *‘August the 21, 1829’* - signed ‘by UT’ in ‘Contents’ on page 69

‘The Glass Town’ (pp.67-68), UT, *‘August the 25, 1829’*

‘[Advertisements]’ (p.68), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[Contents]’ (p.69), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Books’ (p.69), not signed, [n.d.]

Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine, October 1829* (pp.70-78), CB

'The Silver Cup A Tale' (p.70-73), Captain Tree, '*September 1, 1829*' named 'The Statue and Goblet in the Desert' in 'Contents' (p.76)

'On Seeing a Beautiful Statue and a Rick Golden Vase full of Wine, lying beside it in the Desert of Sahara' (pp.73-74), UT, '*Sept. 2, 1829*'

'Military Conversations' (pp.74-76), not signed, [n.d.]

'Contents' (p.76), not signed, [n.d.]

'[Advertisements]' (pp.76-77), not signed, [n.d.]

'Books' (p.77-78), not signed, [n.d.]

Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine, November 1829* (pp.78-88), CB

'Scenes on the Great Bridge By the Genius CB' (pp.78-80), CB, [n.d.]

'The Song of the Ancient Britons on Leaving the Genii Land' (pp.80-81), UT, '*Sept. 1829*'

'A Scene in my Inn' (pp.81-83), CB, '*Sept. 8, 1829*'

'An American Tale' (pp.83-85), CB, '*Sept. 9, 1829*'

'On Seeing the Garden of a Genius by UT' (pp.86-87), UT, '*Sept. 9, 1829*'

'Contents' (p.87), not signed, [n.d.]

'[Advertisements]' (pp.87-88), not signed, [n.d.]

Anecdotes of the Duke of Wellington* (pp.88-90), CB, multiple dates – extracts from other sources

'I' (pp.88-89), CB, '*October 2, 1829*'

'II' (p.89), 'Malcolm's Tales of Flood and Field', CB, '*Sept 1829*'

'III' (pp.89-90), 'United Service Journal', CB, '*July 8, 1829*'

'IV' (p.90), 'Extracts from Sir Walter Scott's History of the Emperor Napoleon', CB, '*September the 30, 1829*'

Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine, December (first issue) 1829*, CB

'On the Great Bay of the Glass Town' (pp.91-92), UT, '*November 2, 1829*'

'The Swiss Artist' (p.92-94), CB, '*Nov. 20, 1829*'

‘Lines Spoken by a Lawyer on the Occasion of the Transfer of the Magazine’ [*sic*] (pp.94-95), WT, ‘Nov. 20, 1829’

‘Lines by One who was Tired of Dullness upon the Same Occasion’ (pp.95-96), UT, ‘Nov. 21, 1829’ – titled ‘On the Same, by the Same’ in ‘Contents’ (p.97)

‘Contents’ (p.97), ‘Madame Charlotte Brontë’, ‘December 1829

‘Advertisements’ (pp.97-99), not signed, [n.d.] – provides photograph of pages including ‘Contents’ and ‘Advertisements’

Tales of the Islanders, volume II* (pp.99-113)

‘Chapter I [The School Rebellion]’ (pp.99-101), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Chapter II’ (pp.101-104), CB, ‘October 6, 1829’

‘Chapter the third [The Strange Incident in the Duke of Wellington’s Life]’ (p.104-106), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Chapter the IV [Tale to his Sons]’ (p.106-109), CB, ‘November 21st’ – ‘Anno Domini 1829’

‘Chapter the V [The Marquis of Douro and Lord Charles Wellesley’s Tale to his Little King and Queens]’ (pp.109-113), CB, ‘December 2, 1829’

Blackwood’s Young Men’s Magazine, December (second issue) 1829*

‘Review of ‘The Chief Genii in Council’, by Edward De Lisle’ (pp.113-115), CB, ‘December 9, 1829’

‘Harvest in Spain’ (p.115), UT, *December 9 1829*

‘The Swiss Artist Continued’ (pp.115-117), Captain Tree, ‘Dec. 10, 1829’

‘Conversations’ (pp.118-121), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Contents’ (p.121), not signed, ‘December 1829’ – ‘Number II We have been obliged to have 2 numbers this month.’

‘Advertisements’ (pp.121-122), not signed, [n.d.]

‘A General Index to the MAGAZINES’ (p.122), not signed, [n.d.]

Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time (pp.123-130), ‘Charlotte BRONTË Captain Tree’, ‘Dec.17 1829’

‘Chapter the first Character and Description of the Duke of Wellington’ (pp.123-124), CB Captain Tree, ‘December 12, 1829’

‘Chapter the 2 Character of the Marquis of Douro and Lord C. Wellesley’ (pp.124-126), CB Captain Tree, ‘*Dec. 16, 1829*’

‘Chapter III Character of Captain Bud’ (pp.126-127) Captain Tree CB, ‘*Dec.17, 1829*’

‘Chapter IV Character of Young Soult’ (p.127), CB Captain Tree, ‘*Dec. 17, 1829*’

‘Chapter V Character of Sergeant Bud’ (p.128), CB Captain Tree, ‘*Dec. 17, 1829*’

‘Chapter the 6th Character of Rogue’ (p.128), CT, ‘*Dec. 17, 1829*’

‘Chapter the 7th Character of Young Man Naughty’ (p.129), C. Tree, ‘*Dec. 17, 1829*’

‘Chapter 8th Doctor Hume Badey’ (p.129), CB Captain Tree, ‘*Dec. 17, 1829*’

‘Chapter the 9th Pigtail’ (p.129), C. Tree CB, ‘*Dec. 17, 1829*’

‘Chapter the 10th Characters of De Lisle, Le Brun, Dundee, and Vernet’ (pp.129-130), CB Captain Tree, ‘*Dec. 17 1829*’

‘Contents’ (p.130), CB; Captain Tree, ‘*Dec. the 17, 1829*’ – in ‘Contents’ it lists ‘Marquis or Douro’ and ‘Lord Charles Wellesley’ as two separate sections (‘II’ and ‘III’), when in fact they are combined in ‘Chapter the 2’

1830

Description of the Duke of Welling’s Small Palace Situated on the Banks of the Indiva* (pp.130-133), Captain Tree, ‘*January the 16, Anno Domini 1830*’

The Adventures of Mon Edouard de Crack* (pp.133-140), CAF Wellesley, Printed for Sergeant Tree, ‘*February 22, 1830*’

Tales of the Islanders, volume III* (pp.140-154), CB, ‘*I began this volumw on Monday May the third 1830 and finished it on Saturday May the 8, 1830*’

‘[Chapter 1 The Duke of Wellington’s Adventure in the Cavern]’ (pp.140-147), CB, ‘*May 5, 1830*’

‘[The Duke of Wellington and the little King’s and Queens’ Visit to the Horse Guards]’ (pp.147-154), CB, ‘*May the 8th 1830*’

The Adventures of Ernest Alembert (pp.154-169), CB, ‘*May the 25, 1830*’

An Interesting Passage in the Lives of Some Eminent Men of the Present Time (pp.170-177), CAF Wellesley; CB, ‘*June the 18, 1830*’

‘The following strange occurrence’ (p.177), CB, ‘*June 22, 1830 6 o’clock pm Haworth near Bradford*’

Leisure Hours* (pp.178-179), CB, '*June 29th 1830*' – below date: 'I wrote this in the space of one hour. Charlotte Brontë. June the twenty-ninth, eighteen hundred and thirty. Charles Wellesley CB'

The Poetaster, volume I (pp.179- 187), CAF Wellesley; CB, title page [n.d.]

'Scene the first' (pp.180-183), '*July 3, 1830*'

'Scene the second' (pp.183-187), CB, '*July 6th, 1830*'

The Poetaster, volume II (pp.187-196) , CAF Wellesley; CB, '*July 8, 1830*' – scan of the initial pages of the if *The Poetaster*, volume II (p.189)

'Scene the third' (pp.190-191), not signed, [n.d.]

'Scene [the] fourth' (p.192-193), not signed, [n.d.]

'Scene the fifth' (pp.193-194), not signed, [n.d.]

'Scene the sixth' (pp.194-196), not signed, '*July 12, 1830*'

Tales of the Islanders, volume IV* (pp.196-211)

'CHAPTER THE FIRST. VOLUME 4 [The Three Old Washerwomen of Strathfieldsay]' (pp.196-203), CB, '*July 14, 1830*'

'CHAPTER THE SECOND. VOLUME 4TH [Lord C. Wellesley's Tale to His Brother]' (pp.203-211), CB, '*July the 30, 1830*' – at end of narrative '4 volume of the Plays of Islands. That is Emily's, Branwell's, Anne's and my lands. And now I bid a kind and glad goodbye To those who o'er my book cast an indulgent eye. July the 30, 1830 C Brontë'

Catalogue of my Books* (pp.211-214), CB, '*August 3, 1830*'

Young Men's Magazine, August 1830* (pp.215-227), CB; ed. CB, '*August 18, 1830*'

'Liffrey Castle, a Tale by C. Wellesley' (pp.216-219), CAF Wellesley, '*August the 12, Lord C. Wellesley, 1830*'

'Lines to the Aragva,* a River of the Caucasian Mountains by Douro' (pp.219-220), '*August 13, 1830*'

'JOURNAL OF A FRENCHMAN' (pp.221-223), Captain Tree, '*August 13, 1830*' – marked 'To be continued.'

'CONVERSATIONS' (pp.224-227), not signed, [n.d.] – marked '[?continued]'

Young Men's Magazine, September 1830* (p.227-), '*Finished [?21] August 1830*' – footnote: 'manuscript lost, title-page reconstructed here'

'A Letter from Lord Charles Wellesley'

‘A Midnight Song, by the Marquis of Douro’

‘A Frenchman’s Journal Continued, by Captain Tree’

Young Men’s Magazine, October 1830* (pp.228- 241), CB; ed.CB, ‘*Finished August 23*’

‘A Day at Parry’s Palace, by Lord Charles Wellesley’ (pp.229-233), signs off
‘Farewell, Genius CW’, ‘*August 22, 1830*’

‘Morning by Marquis of Douro’ (pp.233-234), Douro, ‘*August 22, 1830*’

‘Conversations’ (pp.234-239), CB, ‘*August the 23, 1830*’

‘Advertisements’ (pp.239-241), not signed, [n.d.]

Young Men’s Magazine, November 1830* (p.241-255), CB, ‘*August 28, 1830*’

‘Silence’ (pp.242-247), Douro, ‘*August 16, 1830*’

‘Song’ (pp.247-250), CAF Wellesley, ‘*August 27, 1830*’

‘A Frenchman’s Journal Continued’ (pp.250-254), Tree, ‘*August the 28, 1830*’

‘Advertisements’ (pp.254-255), not signed, ‘*August 28, 1830*’

Young Men’s Magazine, December (first issue) 1830* (pp.255-267), ‘*September the 1, 1830*’

‘Strange Events’ (pp.256-260), CAF Wellesley, ‘*August 29, 1830*’

‘On Seeing an Ancient Dirk in the Armory of the Tower of all Nations Bloodstained
with Three Distinct Spots which Marks None have yet been able to Erase.’ (pp.260-
261), Douro, ‘*August 30, 1830*’

‘A Frenchman’s Journal continued by Tree’ (pp.261-264), ‘*Aug. 31 To be continued.
Tree 1830*’

‘Conversations’ (pp.264-267), not signed, ‘*September 1, 1830*’

Young Men’s Magazine, December (second issue) 1830* (pp.267-281), CB; ed. CB,
‘*September 4 1830*’

‘An Extraordinary Dream’ (pp.269-273), CAF Wellesley, ‘*Sep. 2, 1830*’

‘A Traveller’s Meditations’ (pp.274-275), Douro, ‘*September 3, 1830*’

‘A Frenchman’s Journal Concluded, by Tree’ (pp.276-279), Tree, ‘*September 4,
1830*’

‘NB The reader will perceive that the incidents in the foregoing brief...’ (p.280),
editor (CB), ‘*September 4, 1830*’

‘General Index to the Contents’ (pp.280-281), CB, [n.d.] – ‘The Second Series of the Young Men’s Magazine was begun August 12, 1830, and finished September the 4, 1830...Charlotte Brontë’

Campbell Castle* (pp.281- 282), CB, ‘*Sept. 30, 1830*’- title: ‘Campbell Castle Sculpted by Goodall. Painted by Arnald.’

‘The Will Painted by W. Kidd. Sculpt. by Michell.’ (p.282), CB, ‘*Sept. 30, 1830*’

‘The Minstrel Boy Painted by Leslie, Sculpt. by Duncan.’ (pp.282-283), CB, ‘*Sept. 30, 1830*’

Albion and Marina (pp.285- 297), CAF Wellesley; CB, ‘*October 12, 1830*’ – scan of manuscript (p.284)

Visits in Verdopolis, volume I* (pp.297-316), CAF Wellesley; CB, ‘*December the 11th, 1830*’

‘[Introduction]’ (pp.299-301), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[Visit to Lady Ellrington]’ (pp.301-303), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[Visit to Captain Bud]’ (pp.303-304), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[The Rivals]’ (pp.304-309), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[Visit to Young Sout]’, (pp.309-312), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[Visit to the Rotunda, Bravey’s Inn]’ (pp.312-316), not signed, [n.d.]

Visits in Verdopolis, volume II* (pp.316-327), CAF Wellesley, ‘*December 18th, 1830*’ – ‘by the Honourable Charles Albert Florian Lord Wellesley Aged 10 years.’

‘[Second Visit to Captain Budd]’ (pp.317-318), not signed, [n.d.]

‘[The Fairy Gift. A Tale]’ (pp.319-327), CAF Wellesley, ‘*December the 18th 1830*’

1831

A Fragment, ‘Overcome with that delightful sensation of lassitude’* (pp.327-333), CAF Wellesley, ‘*July 11th 1831*’ - scan of manuscript (p.328)

‘About 9 months after my arrival at the Glass Town’ (pp.333-335), not signed, [n.d.]

1832

The Bridal (p.335-348), not signed, ‘*1832 August 20th*’

‘Appendix 1 A Visit to the Duke of Wellington’s Small Palace Situated on the Banks of the Indiva’ (pp.349-351), not signed, ‘*January 16, 1830*’

‘Appendix 2 Poems written by Charlotte Brontë during the years 1829 to 1832 and not included in this volume’ (pp.352-3), Christine Alexander Bibliography

VOLUME II: The Rise of Angria 1833-1835

Part I: 1833-1834

1833

The African Queen’s Lament (pp.3-6) ‘*February 12th 1833*’

Something about Arthur. Written by Charles Albert Florian Wellesley (pp.7-40) ‘*May 1st 1833*’

The Foundling A Tale Of Our Own Times by Captain Tree (pp.43 [42 including title-page image] -125) ‘*Haworth June 27th – 1833*’

The Green Dwarf A Tale Of The Present Tense By Lord Charles Albert Florian Wellesley (pp.127-206) ‘*Septbr 2nd 1833*’; Charles’s Preface (pp.128-131) dated ‘*July 10th – 33*’

Arthuriana or Odds & Ends Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Pieces In Prose & Verse by Lord Charles A F Wellesley (p.207) ‘*November 20th – 33*’ *Alexander: ‘The date here indicates the completion of the final item in the volume’*

The Post Office* (pp.207-217) [n.d.] *Alexander p.207 footnote ‘begun on 27 September 1833, immediately after The Green Dwarf; letter from Samuel Smith August 29th – 33’*

Brushwood Hall* (pp.217-232) ‘*October 1st – 33*’

The Red Cross Knight (pp.232-234) ‘*Octbr 2nd – 33*’

The Tragedy And The Essay (pp.234-243) ‘*Octbr 6th, - 33*’

Lines written beside a fountain in the grounds of York Villa (p.244) ‘*October 7th 33.*’

The Fresh Arrival* (pp.245-250) ‘*October 7th – 33*’

The Tea Party*(pp.250-257) ‘*Octbr 9th – 33*’

‘Every-body knows how fond Arthur is of patronizing rising talent...’* (pp. 257-261) [n.d.] 1833

Captain Flower’s Last [?Novel] (pp.262 -267) ‘*Novbr 20th – 33*’

‘The Secret’ and ‘Lily Hart’. Two Tales by Lord Charles Wellesley (p.269) [n.d.] 1833

The Secret (pp.270 -300) [n.d] 1833

Lily Hart (pp.301-315) 'Novbr 7th -33'

1834

Last Will And Testament Of Florence Marian Wellesley Marchioness of Douro Duchess of Zamorna And Princess Of The Blood Of The Twelves (pp.317 -320) [n.d.] In text dated '5th day of January 1834

A Leaf from an Unopened Volume Or The Manuscript of An Unfortunate Arthur. Edited By Lord Charles Albert Florian Wellesley (pp.321-378) *January 17th 1834*

VOLUME II: The Rise of Angria 1833-1835

Part 2: 1834-1835

1834

High Life In Verdopolis, of The difficulties of annexing a suitable title to a work practically illustrated in Six Chapters. By Lord C A F Wellesley* (pp.3-81), CB, 'March 20th – 1834' – scan image of manuscript (p.2)

Corner Dishes, Being A small Collection of Mixed and Unsubstantial Tifles In Prose and Verse by Lord Charles, Albert Florian Wellesley (pp.83-147)

‘Contents’ (p.84), CB CAF Wellesley, 'Haworth June 16th – 1834'

A Peep Into A Picture Book (pp.85-96), CB, 'May 30th 1834)

A Day Abroad* (pp.97-137)

‘Chapter the 1st Warner Hotel’ (pp.97-104), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Chapter the IInd Wellesley-House’ (pp.104-115), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Chapter the IIIrd Wellesley-House’ (pp.115-126), not signed, [n.d.]

‘Chapter the IVth Ellrington-Hall’ (pp.126-137), CB, 'June 15th – 1834'

Stanzas On The Fate Of Henry Percy (pp.139-147), CB, 'June 15th 1834' – '282 lines'; photo/ scan of manuscript (p.138)

The Spell, An Extravaganza. By Lord Charles Albert Florian Wellesley (pp.149-238), Lord Charles Wellesley; CB, 'July 21st 1834' – scan of manuscript (p.148)

‘N.B.’ (pp.237-238), CB, 'July 21st 1834'

My Angria and the Angrians, By Lord Charles Albert Florian Wellesley (pp.239-293), CAF Wellesley; CB, '*October 14th 1834* - '

1835

The Scrap Book. A Mingling of Many Things Compiled by Lord C A F. Wellesley (pp.295-), CAF Wellesley; CB, '*March 19th 1835*' – scan of manuscript (p.294)

Address To The Angrians By his Grace The Duke of Zamorna*(pp.296-303), Zamorna; CB, [n.d.]

'Postscript addressed [*sic*] to the Earl of Northangerland' (pp.302-303), Zamorna, '*Given from the Zamorna Palace Septbr 15th 1834.....*'

Speech Of His Grace The Duke Of Zamorna At The Opening Of The First Angrian Parliament* (pp.304-309), not signed, '*September 20th 1834*'

'Well Etty' said I...*(pp.310-311), not signed, [n.d.]

Extracted from the last number of the *Northern Review** (pp.312-315), not signed, '*December 5th 1834*'

Letter to the right honourable Arthur Marquis of Ardrah* (pp.316-324), Zamorna; CB, '*December 6th 1834*'

Lament for the martyr who dies for his faith* (pp.325-326), CB, '*Novbr 28th 1834*' – '70 lines' and 'unfinished'

A Brace Of ... Characters* (pp.327-340), John Augustus Sneachie; EEG Wellesley; CB, '*Octbr 30th 1834*'

A Last Occurrence* (pp.341-359), not signed, [n.d.]

Duke of Z and E Percy* (pp.360 -368), CB, '*June 24th – 35*'

From the *Verdopolis Intelligencer** (pp.369-377), CB, '*March 16th 1835*'

'We wove a web in childhood' (pp.379-385), CB, '*Debr 19th Haworth 1835*'

VOLUME III: The Angrian Legend 1836-1839

TBP

APPENDIX C

National Portrait Gallery - Image Licences for Academic Use

Order Number: 5471

Purchased By: DaniellePickett (daniellepickett@outlook.com), self_employed.

Only after receipt of payment, you have the right(s) to use the image(s) on this invoice ONLY for the specific rights outlined on this invoice. All terms of both our AGREEMENT FOR BOTH RIGHTS-PROTECTED AND ROYALTY FREE IMAGES and our WEBSITE USER AGREEMENT which you agreed to when registering for access on our website are incorporated herein. Any unauthorized use of any images will be prosecuted to the fullest extent under the law. If you need additional rights for any of the images below, or want to renew an expired, or soon to expire licence, please contact us.

Image ID: 1725

Purchase Date: 12-09-17

Project Title: Dissertation, Danielle Pickett

License Start Date: 25-09-17

License End Date: N/A

Available Sizes and Dimensions

0 x 0px (0" x 0" (0cm x 0cm) @ 72ppi)

668 x 800px (9.28" x 11.11" (24cm x 28cm) @ 72ppi)



License to use strictly limited to the following:

Thesis : This Academic Licence entitles you to reproduce this image within a thesis document submitted by you – a student at an educational establishment – and to store an electronic version of the research online as long as it is made available online at no cost to the end user. It confers no further rights, and is made on condition that you will caption this image with the name of the artist and the title of the portrait, and credit it: ‘© National Portrait Gallery, London’, and that you will not pass it on for third-party use, crop, change or manipulate it or use it in any way which is unlawful or deceptive or which damages the good name or reputation of the National Portrait Gallery, the artist or the persons depicted in the image.

Order Number: 5491

Purchased By: DaniellePickett (daniellepickett@outlook.com), self_employed.

Only after receipt of payment, you have the right(s) to use the image(s) on this invoice ONLY for the specific rights outlined on this invoice. All terms of both our AGREEMENT FOR BOTH RIGHTS-PROTECTED AND ROYALTY FREE IMAGES and our WEBSITE USER AGREEMENT which you agreed to when registering for access on our website are incorporated herein. Any unauthorized use of any images will be prosecuted to the fullest extent under the law. If you need additional rights for any of the images below, or want to renew an expired, or soon to expire licence, please contact us.

Image ID: 1452

Purchase Date: 13-09-17

Project Title: Dissertation, Danielle Pickett

License Start Date: 25-09-17

License End Date: N/A

Available Sizes and Dimensions

0 x 0px (0" x 0" (0cm x 0cm) @ 72ppi)

638 x 800px (8.86" x 11.11" (23cm x 28cm) @ 72ppi)



License to use strictly limited to the following:

Thesis : This Academic Licence entitles you to reproduce this image within a thesis document submitted by you – a student at an educational establishment – and to store an electronic version of the research online as long as it is made available online at no cost to the end user. It confers no further rights, and is made on condition that you will caption this image with the name of the artist and the title of the portrait, and credit it: ‘© National Portrait Gallery, London’, and that you will not pass it on for third-party use, crop, change or manipulate it or use it in any way which is unlawful or deceptive or which damages the good name or reputation of the National Portrait Gallery, the artist or the persons depicted in the image.