ABSTRACT

THE CHRONICLES OF GEORGE HENRY LEWES: 1869: “A WASTED YEAR.”
A TRANSCRIPTION OF DIARY AND JOURNAL ENTRIES
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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This project is a transcription of two unpublished pieces of personal writing by George Henry Lewes, life partner of nineteenth-century author George Eliot. One is a dated, daily diary from the year 1869; the second piece comprises sections from his Journal, Volume XII, June 1866- May 1870, relating to that year. To provide the most consistent and cohesive picture of the year 1869, the diary and journal sections have been incorporated into a single document, with annotations, notes, and introduction. The diary and journal are housed in the Beineke Library of Yale University. Special permission has been given by Jonathan G. Ouvry, George Henry Lewes’s descendant and holder of copyright on unpublished Lewes George Eliot manuscripts, for them to be used for this project. Though the transcription was done via scanned copies, a visit was made to the library to check transcription of Lewes’s sometimes difficult handwriting, to use and photograph the original pieces.

The purpose of this dissertation is to transcribe, document and annotate for the first time George Henry Lewes’s 1869 holograph diary and journal entries. In this way it adds to our existing knowledge of George Henry Lewes and George Eliot. 1869 is a significant year that
included the tragic death of George Henry Lewes’s son Thornton Lewes from spinal tuberculosis. It was the year that George Eliot was compiling research and writing some sections of *Middlemarch* and also the year that Lewes gathered information for and worked on his five volume *Problems of Life and the Mind*.

The Introduction describes the holographs and places them within the context of George Henry Lewes’s and George Eliot’s life, domestic environment, work and ideas. The Introduction to the Notes lays down the principle of adherence wherever possible to what George Henry Lewes wrote in the two holographs. The footnotes themselves locate wherever possible the source of Lewes’s observations or reading and serve to illuminate his creative activity-or lack of it- and that of George Eliot in 1869.

The transcriptions and annotations are followed by an alphabetically arranged listing of ‘Works Consulted’. There are five appendices. The first contains “Images of the Diary and Journal.” The second consists of an alphabetical listing of Books read or consulted by George Henry Lewes in 1869” and also those read or consulted by George Eliot. The third Appendix contains “Maps of the trip to Italy and Back Again, 1869” and the fourth provides an alphabetically arranged guide to “Friends, Acquaintances, and Visitors” found in the holographs. The final appendix contains items requiring further research.
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WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

MICHELLE EISENBERG
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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Doctoral Director:
William Baker
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the expertise and encouragement of my dissertation director, Professor William Baker whose guidance and information, instruction, and, most importantly, time, have been invaluable and invigorating. To Professor Baker, and to the other members of my committee, Professors Joseph Wiesenfarth and John V. Knapp, who have graciously given of their knowledge and time to allow me to complete this work, I am truly indebted.

I would like to thank Mr. Jonathan G. Ouvry, the direct descendent of George Henry Lewes, for permission, via Professor Baker, to work on these unpublished documents. I hope he will be pleased with the results of my research.

No project requiring research could be undertaken without access to library resources. The Past Masters database and other computer resources at Founders Library at NIU are both useful and convenient, but the best resources are still, and will always be, librarians. I would like to thank Ron Barshinger and Lynne Thomas for working with me “long-distance,” allowing me to do most of my work in Chicago. I especially appreciate that Mr. Barshinger worked with Eti Berland, the Head Librarian of Hebrew Theological College, where I teach, to create a new path for interlibrary loans. Thanks go to Ms. Berland and to Sarah Burnstein, too, for help with difficult sources and technical issues.
I would like to also express my appreciation to Dr. Esther Shkop and Mrs. Rita Lipshitz of Blitstein Institute of Hebrew Theological College for allowing me to arrange my teaching schedule to facilitate working on my degree. The atmosphere of educational support in our institution is as great for the instructors as it is for the students.

Having started this project later in life, I faced different challenges from most students. I thank my parents and my children, family and friends for their support and enthusiasm which helped me stay the course. My greatest appreciation goes to my husband, who gave me the freedom to pursue my degree, the confidence to believe I could do it, and the push, sometimes more than gentle, to get it done. Without him, this would only have been a dream.
DEDICATION

To all those who think it might be too late:

Go for it anyway!
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GE George Eliot

GHL George Henry Lewes

GE Letters The George Eliot Letters, Volumes I-IX (Haight)


GE-GHL Library The George Eliot-George Henry Lewes Library: An Annotated Catalogue of their Books at Dr. Williams’s Library (Baker)

The above abbreviations are for annotation and reference purposes. Abbreviations used by George Henry Lewes himself are explained in footnotes within the transcribed text.
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INTRODUCTION

The year 1869 started on a hopeful note. George Henry Lewes wrote in his journal\textsuperscript{1} on Christmas Day, 1868:

A scattered year! Little work done and only 162£ earned! . . . But I have during working days, advanced seriously with my “Problems of Life & Mind” and have grown into clearness on many important points; some of the conclusions are quite novel—may they prove to be true! . . . The Spanish Gypsy has reached its third edition. Its acceptance—as I foresaw—has been greatly biased [sic] by the difficulty people feel in readjusting their mental focus & learning that one who they classed as a novelist is also a poet. But on the whole, there has been a greater effect produced than I had reckoned on (100).

But by January 6, 1869, Lewes already had a letter from his son, Thornton, which hinted at the spinal tuberculosis that would cause the young man’s death in October. Still, Lewes carried on throughout the year, documenting in his diary his daily activities, as well those of his partner, George Eliot. Lewes and Eliot also took their yearly trip to warmer climates, this time to Italy, which he detailed in a separate journal, specifically used for their journeys, after which he resumed writing in the diary. In May, when Thornton returned from Natal, the diary entries began to include details of Thornton’s treatments along with regular activities.

This project investigates the 1869 diary and journal of George Henry Lewes with particular attention to 1. Lewes’s personal recounting of events in connection with the

\textsuperscript{1}Lewes Journal, XII, June 1866- May1870: “Xmas Day.”
masterpiece *Middlemarch*, researched during this time by George Eliot and 2. the chronicles’ portrayal of Lewes’s philosophy of science and life as ultimately expressed in his own masterpiece, *Problems of Life and Mind*.

Much of Lewes’s “claim to fame” is that he was Eliot’s “significant other” for twenty-five years. They read together, traveled together, and wrote, if not together, then side by side, encouraging and supporting each other’s works. Eliot did some important work in editing for the Western**: sea Review and German translation for John Chapman (Kitchel, *GL and GE*, 141, 145), but it was not until she and Lewes were living together that she began her extraordinary literary achievements (171). Lewes was the one to ensure that Eliot’s work received both literary acclaim and monetary reward, by encouraging her writing and working out deals with the publishers (184-86). Though Lewes was himself a writer, among many other métiers, his career became overshadowed by hers, even in his own lifetime. “Such are the vagaries of fame that the modern world remembers him primarily for his connection with George Eliot,” says Alice Kaminsky in her work on Lewes’s career as a literary critic. (2).

This seems to be an unfair situation for a man whom even the most modern Encyclopedia Britannica Online describes as: “English biographer, literary critic, dramatist, novelist, philosopher, actor, scientist, and editor” (eb.com). As Kaminsky points out: “The picture of Lewes that emerges from the study of the various descriptions of him in the recollections of his contemporaries is one of a dynamic personality who was admired and loved by all who knew him” (10) and that he was “a wise and witty human being whose judgments will . . . strike us today as being just, and on the highest level, penetratingly relevant” (194). Perhaps this is what
inspired Rosemary Ashton to write a biography of Lewes, even before she wrote one about Eliot. Her “Preface” to that biography expresses this idea well:

This biography of Lewes, while giving due weight to the most important relationship of Lewes’s life—told for once from his point of view—also describes his multifarious career in the years before 1854. . . . Lewes was, both before and after the momentous meeting with Marian Evans, a man of remarkably versatile talent, always at the leading edge of Victorian culture, innovative, even shocking, in some aspects of his life and works, but nevertheless typical of the Victorian age at its progressive, energetic best. In short, Lewes deserves a biography of his own (vii).

Lewes and Eliot can, of course, never be completely separated, but perhaps the time has come to study the man behind George Eliot, to understand the significance of his life on its own as well as his impact on his more famous lover. Nothing supplies more to that understanding than examining someone’s most intimate writings. This work is a transcription and annotation of two of Lewes’s unpublished chronicles: a dated daily Diary of 1869 and entries relating to that year from his personal Journal, Volume XII: June 1866-May 1870. It is possible that studying the events of that year in Lewes’s own words will lead to a better knowledge of the relationship between him and Eliot, as well as the effect of those events on the paths their lives and their works would take.

The Diary and Journal

Both Lewes and Eliot kept written notes of almost everything in their lives, from journals of their readings and travels, to notebooks containing information and research that they used in their respective works. Many of Eliot’s notebooks have already been transcribed and annotated and are used in the analysis of the novels which they preceded. Anna Theresa Kitchel’s Quarry
for Middlemarch, was the first of a list of transcribed notebooks, still vital to the study of Eliot’s method of preparation for writing and especially relevant here, as 1869 was the year that Eliot compiled much of her own research for her novel of “Provincial Life.” However, except for the mention of some books that Eliot read, probably in his presence, during their trip abroad and at home, and her poems, “Agatha” and “How Lisa Loved the King” which she finished that year, Lewes makes no note at all of the progress she was making on Middlemarch. The first mention of the novel in Lewes’s diary is on November 28, when he writes: “Polly read aloud ‘Jubal’ and ‘Middlemarch.’”

This seems to be an unusual situation for Lewes, since he was very involved and aware of everything Eliot did; he was, after all, her greatest promoter and advocate, often encouraging her as she wrote her novels (Ashton 197-221). Lewes also often included Eliot in his own research, as well, such as visiting hospitals or meeting doctors, which both mention in their writings and which critics have said may very well have led Eliot to her scientific and medical focus in Middlemarch. But in 1869, Lewes seemed to do more of his research alone, especially in Rome. As he recorded in his Journal, he sometimes went to the Vatican without Eliot. Though this may have been because Eliot was ill some of the time, these solitary excursions may have been a way to distract himself from worry about his son. But there is also the possibility that Lewes was aware that Eliot was working on a new novel, but that, because of her literary success, he may have felt she no longer needed his constant presence and encouragement, unlike the writing process of her previous books, which allowed them both the ability and privacy to work on their

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2 Both poems were finished before Lewes and Eliot went to Italy in March and published in May 1869 (van der Broek 70-71, 140),
3 See transcription of diary entry p. 107.
4 April 7, for example, page 40 in the transcription. See following note.
5 Journal entries for April 9, 11, and 12, pages 42-43 in transcription.
own;\textsuperscript{6} he simply did not mention the \textit{Middlemarch} in his diary or journal until there was something substantial to say about it.

Lewes’s diaries and journals have at times been read or referenced in research on Eliot. To explain Eliot’s fitful writing of the novel in his edition of \textit{Middlemarch}, David Carroll quotes “[Lewes’s] Journal entry of 1 January1870 [that] confirms the difficulties of the previous year: ‘The past year was a wasted and painful one . . . little work was done either by Polly [George Eliot] or me during Thornie’s illness’” (xviii).\textsuperscript{7} But so far, very few of those diaries or journals have actually been transcribed and annotated in the same fashion as the \textit{George Eliot Notebooks}. One Eliot notebook, in fact, was Eliot’s transcription of a Lewes notebook on \textit{Problems of Life and Mind} in preparation for her publishing the final volume of Lewes’s five volume work after his death in 1878.

In \textit{The Journals of George Eliot}, Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston explain that though “[they] have used the terms loosely and to some extent interchangeably—‘diary’ is [a term] preferred for daily entries, ‘journal’ for longer, more formal compositions” (xviii). These definitions have been applied here to facilitate consistency in discussion or annotation. However, because this project deals with the events of a single year, the two chronicles have been intertwined in the following transcription to present an unbroken history of 1869. Though most of the actual transcription has been done from scanned copies with special permission to Professor William Baker from Mr. Jonathan Ouvry,\textsuperscript{8} the original manuscripts are held at the

\textsuperscript{6} If this was indeed his thought process, then he may have been disabused of it by Dorothea’s feeling of abandonment in Rome by Casaubon’s pursuit of his research during their honeymoon trip to Rome (\textit{Middlemarch}, Book II, Chapters 19-22).

\textsuperscript{7} This curious and seemingly false statement will be discussed at greater length later in this Introduction.

\textsuperscript{8} See Copyright information in Works Cited and Consulted.
Beinecke Library of Yale University. A visit to Yale on 28 April 2015 provided the ability to study the actual diary and journal and to obtain the images included in Appendix A.

Each year, Lewes purchased a Dated Diary in which he recorded his everyday activities and readings. The diary is 3 7/8” by 6 3/16”, bound and covered in brown textured cloth. On the front is a double gold circle, in the center of which is the year “1869” in gold lettering. Within the double circle surrounding the date are the words “PARKINS AND GOTTO” above the date and “ONE SHILLING DIARY” below it, also in gold lettering (see Image 1, Appendix A). The total pages number 140, with the two ends pasted down to the front and back covers. The end papers are yellow (Image 2). The “Table of Contents” lists everything that is included in the small book, and written at the top right of the page is “G H Lewes,” in what looks to be pencil rather than ink (Images 3 and 4). Before the actual dated Diary pages, there are sixteen pages of what may be considered useful or interesting information, including stamp prices, measurements, and such as listed in the “Table of Contents” (Images 5-10). These are balanced by sixteen pages of advertisements and order forms from the Parkins and Gotto Company following the dated pages (Images 11-16). Across the top of each dated page is the Month and Year in capital letters, bordered above and below with a thin double black line (Image 17). The Diary pages themselves are ruled with blue ink, with red lines super-imposed on the pages dividing them into sections for the days: Sunday through Wednesday on the left side and Thursday through Saturday on the right. The space allowance for Monday through Saturday are even, while there is a smaller space for Sunday with a blank equivalent above Thursday on the facing page (Image 18). Not only is each day named and numbered, but there often is some important or interesting information about that date, such as the number of the week in relation to the year, holidays, and even some
Royal birthdays (Image 19). There is pink blotting paper between each page so that the entries would remain clear and unsmudged (Image 20).

The transcription clearly depicts the kind of year 1869 was. Some days, when Lewes was occupied with a single task or work or when he suffered from a headache or such, the entries are made up of just a few words (Image 21). But at times of both joy and stress, some entries become hard to read because of all the detailed information that Lewes has entered, especially when he has written smaller or more quickly, as he sometimes had on Thornton’s sickest days (Image 22). In between those times, Lewes fills the spaces with general tidbits of daily life (Image 23).

The Journal is a brown leather-bound book, with a thin gold border on the front and back covers and a beautiful spine (Images 24 and 25 in Appendix A). It is larger than the diary, measuring 7 ½” by 8 ¾”, with 164 pages. The end papers, which are glued down to the covers, and the edges of the pages are marbleized in a bright, cobalt blue design (Image 26 and 27). The verso side of the unglued end papers are blank and followed by a second page with both sides blank. On the recto side of the front page, Lewes wrote his name, address, volume number and dates. The Journal used for this project is XII, June 1866 to May 1870 (Image 28), though only the entries for 1869, and directly relating to that year, were transcribed. The pages are ruled in pale blue (Image 29); the first recto and last verso pages are blank, but Lewes begins writing on the blank side, using the lines on the opposite side as a guide. There are nine pages, i.e., nineteen sides unwritten at the end in this volume.

Lewes used the Journals to record the yearly travels on which he and Eliot embarked, as well as special thoughts at specific times, most notably this reviews of the past twelve months at
the end of the year, as well as his hopes for the year just beginning. Because it was earmarked for longer entries and thoughts, Lewes used one volume for a few years, but carefully numbered his pages and dated his entries, so that if he chose to revisit certain experiences, he could easily find them.

While his Journal reads more like prose and even contains some amusing anecdotes from their trip to Italy, Lewes’s Diary entries are almost like lists: places to which he goes, meetings in which he participates, people whom he visits and those who visit him, as well as things he and Eliot do. He writes about books they read, projects or works they undertake, dinners and performances they attend, and at times, the health problems they endure, including his headaches and sciatica and Eliot’s infection of the throat. Family situations are also noted, and much of the latter part of the year is taken up with Thornton and his terminal illness. Nothing in Lewes’s life was too insignificant to note, nor does he expand on issues that would seem important. He does not, for example, write what the meetings at the London Library discussed, nor does he deal with his political views or activities, though he says when he participated in a forum. He mentions stock dividends and negotiations with publishers for Eliot’s writings, and even gives the amounts paid, but he does not include whether he is satisfied or proud of the results. He details the drops of Morphia with which Thornton is dosed and reports on bad nights or good days, and rarely articulates any emotion at all regarding Thornton’s decline. Even when Lewes talks to various medical practitioners, he notes it as if providing a medical report for future use in his book, *Problems of Life and Mind*.

Lewes was obviously affected by his son’s illness, and he considered the year to be “wasted” in that he did not feel he worked enough on his research and writing. However,
according to biographers and chronologists who have studied Lewes and Eliot, 1869 was actually a year of great accomplishment, as well as great loss, and Lewes’s chronicles themselves show a man who, despite a year plagued by emotional turmoil, health problems, and tragedy, still attained remarkable achievements.

*Middlemarch*

It has generally been accepted that the research and scholarship concerning the writing of George Eliot’s masterpiece, *Middlemarch*, has been mostly completed. With the exceptional work of Anna T. Kitchel, Pratt and Neufeld, along with Professors William Baker and Joseph Wiesenfarth, who have transcribed Eliot’s notebooks and painstakingly provided the background for her sources and explanations of her choices, the crafting of Eliot’s “Study of [English] Provincial Life” has been admirably laid out before the literary learned and laity alike. George Haight also has presented scholars, students, and interested readers with an excellent annotated version of *Middlemarch* and as well as transcribed and published all of Eliot’s letters, which include those she wrote in regard to the novel, her experiences relating to her research, and life events surrounding it. Therefore, it would seem unnecessary to delve once again into the time of Eliot’s life preceding the writing of *Middlemarch*; one could easily expect that nothing more could be discussed, especially since Eliot herself, reanimated by these excellent scholars, was so thorough in detailing her ideas, her research, and her life.

Studying the notebooks et al and seeing how a work was formed, in terms of idea development, character notes, research, sources, etc., allows the reader access into the creative
process and adds a deeper dimension of intellectual empathy with the writer. It is just as true, though, that events and emotions that occur during the creative process have an impact on that creativity. The care and concern for Thornton, as well as Eliot’s and Lewes’s own illnesses throughout the year, could have easily derailed the novel. During this time, Eliot may have been either inspired or desperate, but she did create. Comparing Eliot’s planning of the novel in regard to her life situations could contribute to a deeper understanding as to whether the toll on Eliot’s health and emotions might have been incorporated into the scenes and characters of her “English” novel or completely ignored. The focus here will be on the medical and social issues that are the crux of the Lydgate story line and whether or how the events of 1869 could have influenced Eliot’s inclusion, attitude, or expression of those ideas.

Eliot scholars note that Middlemarch, unlike most of Eliot’s other works, developed slowly. In the earliest stages of the novel, Eliot was occupied with other writings, most notably The Spanish Gypsy, but there is no question that 1869 was a year of emotional turmoil and distress that definitely caused a delay in Eliot’s writing. David Carroll, who edited the novel in 1986, discusses the stops and starts of the novel in his Introduction:

Two possible hints to Middlemarch occur as early as 1867 . . . but there is no word of the ‘English novel’ during the rest of the year . . . in her New Year’s resolution on 1 January 1869, she refers again to her novel, giving its title for the first time . . . On 3 March, regular work was put aside . . . on their fourth visit to Italy . . . back at the Priory 5 May . . . Thornton arrives home . . . suffering from tuberculosis of the spine . . . During this troubled period of 1869, work on the novel proceeded sporadically . . . with Thornie’s death . . . the Journal breaks off until May 1870 (iii-xvii).

The Introduction to The Middlemarch Notebooks by John Clark Pratt and Victor A. Neufeld is more specific as to the work that was done during Thornton’s worst days: “In 1869, approximately 68 . . . pages were transcribed . . . from July through 19 October. What ended this
spurt of creativity is . . . Lewes’s son Thornton died . . . and it was not until the spring of 1870 that she resumed her former habits” (xxiii). Considering her love for Lewes and for Thornton, who called Eliot “Mutter,” it is appropriate to investigate the possibility that choices Eliot made in the plot or characters of the novel are reflective of her life during that tragic time.

Pratt and Neufeld source the medical knowledge that Eliot displays in *Middlemarch* as based on John Thompson’s biography of Dr. William Cullen,⁹ which she discovered in September of 1869. They write: “At first glance, this biography appears to have been most useful . . . for the medical information on fevers and opium” (xxxvi). The character of Tertius Lydgate, who followed Cullen’s ideas of monitoring drug usage, was of Scottish descent, as was Cullen. While there is no disputing that Eliot read Thompson’s book, the idea of monitored dosing was an idea that was prevalent in medical circles at the time. Lewes, as he details in his diary, counted the drops of Morphia that he gave Thornton, becoming more concerned as the dose had to be increased to control Thornton’s pain.

Eliot also modeled her physician character after real doctors that she had met. In *Quarry for Middlemarch*, Anna Theresa Kitchel asks the question, “Why make a doctor the hero of one of the main stories in *Middlemarch*?” (2). Kitchel explains how, in 1868, after Lewes had met Sir Clifford Allbutt¹⁰ at the meeting of the British Medical Association in Oxford, he and Eliot had been invited to Leeds to view the hospital of which Allbutt had been elected physician. She was so impressed with “one of the earliest fever hospitals in the country” (3) that she chose to

⁹Dr. William Cullen was a physician who felt chemistry to be the most important aspect of medicine. His main concern was to define and categorize all of the matter comprehended under each principle into a reasonable classification of genera and species . . . he was part of a large wave of mid-century British chemists who rejected iatromechanism, that is, the belief that illness could be reduced to laws of motion or mechanical physics” (*Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 2008).

¹⁰Dr. Clifford Allbutt, English physician, ran the Leeds House of Recovery in Leeds, was a leader in the treatment of arterial diseases, and inventor of the short clinical thermometer (Bearn).
focus on medical advances, and of course, the doctors who propounded them. Though Eliot may have admitted to having modeled Lydgate on Allbutt, Kitchel claims that “[there] were at least three practitioners of the medical or surgical art whom Eliot knew before she met Allbutt” (4), including Edward Clarke, who was her brother-in-law, and she also met many other medical scientists with whom Lewes became acquainted through his work on Problems of Life and Mind. But at no time does she mention any of the doctors who treated Thornton in her sources for the novel-- Sir James Paget,\textsuperscript{11} Dr. Roberts, Sir Henry Holland,\textsuperscript{12} and Dr. Reynolds\textsuperscript{13} -- though at least two were very important personages in the medical field.

In an article in The BMJ, (the British Medical Journal), Vinod Patel, associate professor in clinical skills at the Warwick Medical School of University of Warwick, and John Morrissey, clinical lead for diabetes and associate specialist at the George Eliot Hospital in Nuneaton, hail Middlemarch as a novel about medicine. The diseases that Eliot addresses in the novel and which she had read about, according to Kitchel, include Edward Casaubon’s “fatty degeneration of the heart” (Eliot 414),\textsuperscript{14} Fred Vincy’s typhoid fever, and John Raffles’ delirium tremens.\textsuperscript{15} “Middlemarch contains several clinical cases, and it is a great tribute to Eliot that the English

\textsuperscript{11}Sir James Paget was a surgeon of international repute, a good friend of Lewes and Eliot, who ultimately served as personal physician to Queen Victoria. Paget is famous for discovering the parasitic worm that causes trichinosis, and for Paget’s Disease, a bone inflammation that causes deformity. He was also one of the first doctors to recommend surgical removal of bone-marrow tumors instead of amputating limbs (Roberts).

\textsuperscript{12}Sir Henry Holland “never practiced in a hospital . . . As well as serving as physician to Queen Victoria, he was also doctor to six Prime Ministers and he became President of the Royal Institution of Great Britain” (Heath-Caldwell).

\textsuperscript{13}“John Russell Reynolds . . . was an authority on nervous diseases. In 1855, he published Diagnosis of Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Cord, and Nerves” (Haight 45 n.5). He consulted with Paget on Thornton’s illness.

\textsuperscript{14}“The mechanism by which fatty degeneration of organs is brought about is the subject of much controversy” (Govan 351) but there is no question that the accumulation of fat globules within the cells of an organ, such as the liver or heart, can result in the deterioration and diminished function.

\textsuperscript{15}Kitchel points out the sources Eliot uses for “the three ‘important’ cases. At the bottom of the second page in Quarry I . . . [Eliot writes] ‘Elliotson on diseases of the Heart reviewed’ . . . On pages 16-19 of Quarry I . . . ‘Distinction of Typhus and Typhoid Fevers’ . . . the last lines of 29 . . . and 30-31 are devoted to . . . ‘Remarks on the History &Treatment of Delirium Tremens’”(8-9).
physician and pathologist Sir James Paget described all the cases as being flawless in clinical detail . . . the novel was way ahead of its time, and some of the medical and social areas it covered are still important issues today” (1). Sir James was one of the physicians who cared for Thornton, so Eliot had several opportunities to consult with him, but she does not source any conversations with him in her notes, nor does any reference to Thornton or his illness appear either in her sources or in the novel.

On August 2, 1869, when Thornton’s health began to decline severely\textsuperscript{17}, Eliot wrote in her own journal: “Began Middlemarch (The Viney and Featherstone parts)” (Harris and Johnston 137). It is interesting to note that not only did Eliot not mention any of the physicians who treated Thornton in her research,\textsuperscript{18} that she also chose not to include a patient with spinal tuberculosis in Middlemarch. In her letters from 11 May through 22 October, Eliot shared details of his illness, care he had to be given, the toll on her and Lewes’s health as Thornton’s declines, and feelings about his passing. Eliot also expresses her emotions about Thornton’s passing to close friends, like Barbara Bodichon,\textsuperscript{19} to whom she writes in the letter dated on 22 October, “Dearest Barbara, Thanks for your tender words. It has cut deeper than I expected—that he is gone and I can never make him feel my love any more” (Haight, Letters V, 61). Yet, in the novel she was working on at the same time, she mentions nothing of Thornton, nor does she hint about the situation in any of her notes for Middlemarch.

\textsuperscript{16} BMJ. Jul 28, 2007; 335(7612): 213.
\textsuperscript{17} See Diary
\textsuperscript{18} None of the doctors are mentioned in relation to her research for the novel in any of the sources. See note 19.
\textsuperscript{19} She was a leader in the feminist movement, especially for the education and political rights of women. She was a major force in the founding of Cambridge’s Girton College, and Eliot’s closest friend (Hirsch).
It must be pointed out that, even in her notes, Eliot might have felt it inappropriate to include details too close to real life.\textsuperscript{20} On the other hand, compartmentalization and repression are well-known concepts in psychoanalysis; separation or suppression of specifically emotional aspects of life enable a person to manage other needs and activities. What must be mentioned, though, that the young man in the novel, Fred Vincy, survives his life-threatening typhoid fever, especially after the old doctor, Wrench, ignores or is ignorant of the symptoms, thanks to new doctor Lydgate’s knowledge and treatment. Considering the convergence of Eliot’s writing and Thornton’s illness, Fred’s survival in the novel may be either wistful or cathartic.

Thornton’s illness, spinal tuberculosis, still exists today. Diagnosis now is made through Magnetic Resonance Imagery and blood tests, and, with anti-tuberculosis medication and surgery, it is curable.

Spinal tuberculosis is one of the oldest diseases known to mankind and has been found in Egyptian mummies dating back to 3400 BC. The disease is popularly known as Pott's spine. The name traces back its origin from the description of tuberculous infection of the spine by Sir Percival Pott in his monograph in 1779 . . . The classic destruction of the disk space and the adjacent vertebral bodies, destruction of other spinal elements, severe and progressive kyphosis [curvature] subsequently became known as Pott's disease\textsuperscript{21} . . . The progression of spinal tuberculosis is slow and insidious. The total duration of the illness varies from few months to few years, with average disease duration ranging from 4 to 11 months. Usually, patients seek advice only when there is severe pain, marked deformity, or neurological symptoms. (Garg and Somvanchi 2-7).

In 1869, the illness meant months of severe pain with death as the ultimate result of the collapse of the spine compressing the heart and lungs. The only treatment available was

\textsuperscript{20}It is unlikely that J.W. Cross, Eliot’s husband after Lewes’s death, would have excised the information from Eliot’s Writer’s Notebooks the way he did with her letters, as he admits to doing in the Preface to his biography on Eliot, so it is most likely the Thornton situation was never considered a source for the novel.

\textsuperscript{21} Rosemary Ashton writes that Thornton had had “Heine’s terrible disease” (250) but the two diseases recorded with the name “Heine’s” afflicted the poet and writer Heinrich Heines, who “for eight years . . . had a gnawing neurological disease, which worsened dramatically by successive seizures . . . perhaps riddled with syphilis as well” (egs.edu/library/heinrich-heine/biography), which may be the reason that the doctors or Heine himself used an alias, so to speak, or Heines-Medlin poliomytis (J Neurol Neurosurg Psychiatry v.76(1); 2005 Jan).
palliative, and often the patients became addicted to the opiates that were freely prescribed by most physicians of the day. Thornton’s doctors, however, followed a regimen of measured doses of Morphia in order to prevent the risk of addiction.

It should also be mentioned that, though none of the names of Thornton’s doctors or his treatments appear anywhere but in Eliot’s letters and Lewes’s diary, Lydgate acts in similar ways to those doctors. For instance, his careful ministering of opiates and other unspecified new methods do seem to reflect the kinds of treatments that Thornton received, as detailed in Lewes’s diary and in some of Eliot’s letters, even though Eliot has documented other sources for those same treatments. Perhaps, then, a better answer to Kitchel’s question of having a doctor as a hero would be that Eliot had hoped that a doctor would be a hero for Thornton.

*Middlemarch*, at its core, deals with science in the form of modern medical theories expounded by Lydgate, the new doctor in town. Joann Scholtes, who transcribed and annotated Eliot’s notebook on Book V of Lewes’s *Problems of Life and the Mind*, argues that Eliot’s attitude toward science was negative, as manifested in her novels, particularly *Middlemarch*.

Scholtes references Sally Shuttleworth’s argument that Eliot “echoes one of the central theories of George Henry Lewes’s *Problems of Life and Mind*—what he calls the ‘social factor’ in psychology (28), which Lewes explains in the chapter “Psychological Principles:” “Man is not simply an Animal Organism, he is also a unit in a Social Organism. He leads an individual life, which is also part of a collective life. Hence two classes of Motors: the personal and the sympathetic—the egoistic and the altruistic. From these chiefly issue the Animal sentient life,

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22 Sir Henry Holland appears once in an entry in Eliot’s journal on 9 August only in relation to Thornton’s diagnosis: “Sir Henry Holland believes that Thornie has had paraplegia. The lower part of his body is quite helpless” (Harris and Johnston 137). Sir James Paget is mentioned often as a friend and personal physician, but only after GHL’s death. Neither of them are used as references in any way in the preparation or creation of *Middlemarch*
and the Human intellectual and moral life” (109). Lewes believed that a person only truly achieves humanity when he is involved in a compassionate relationship outside of himself. Eliot certainly appears to adopt this idea in Middlemarch. The main characters in each storyline have an opportunity to reach outside of themselves in an attempt to improve. Patel and Morrisey of the BMJ present Eliot’s humanitarian aspects very well:

The novel has 21 major characters and numerous plots and subplots. At the centre are the parallel stories of a physician, Dr Tertius Lydgate, and the saintly Dorothea Brooke, both of whom in different ways aspire to improve the lot of mankind. Dorothea is an idealist out to change the world and particularly address local social inequalities. Dr. Lydgate is passionate about reforming the medical profession and his personal practice (1).

In addition to these two main characters, Eliot has created two others: the most altruistic of men in the Reverend Cameron Farebrother, whose advice sends the woman he loves, Mary Garth, into the arms of another, Fred Vincy, who may not be completely worthy of her goodness, and the most well-rounded, socially savvy man, a writer, a painter, singer, son of an actress, and a political activist, Will Ladislaw, who has the ability not only to change the world, but also to save Dorothea from herself. Kitchel, through Quarry for Middlemarch, has already explained some of the true identities of the characters, but Eliot is too wise to make any complete parallels.23

Eliot also creates characters who cannot rise to the challenge of altruism or even justice, such as Bulstrode, and even some of her good characters fail to reach their goals because of unwise situations or marriages, like Lydgate. In her goal of creating a full picture of a

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23 This is particularly true of Casaubon. Kitchel mentions Lewes as one of the possible models, but, while there may be some parallels, Ladislaw, with his broad range of interests and activities, and his willingness to ignore convention for love, is a much better match, especially when one can see the similarities between Eliot and Dorothea. But again, Eliot is too clever to be completely obvious, so the details will never totally match.
community, Eliot certainly succeeds, even if it is unclear which characters are modeled after the people in her real life.

Critics disagree on whether Middlemarch represents a celebration of or distrust of medical science. Though Scholtes does not cite him,24 Edgar W. Hirshberg pointed out Eliot’s interest in science and the influence that Lewes may have had upon her. In his biography of Lewes, he writes: “A revealing commentary on the relationship between Lewes and George Eliot is that his scientific and literary accomplishments were just as much a source of pride to her as her novels were to him” (33). Her admiration of Lewes’s work and even its championship is echoed by Shuttleworth. However, Scholtes claims that Eliot distrusts, not only Lewes’s ideas, but science in general, and “elects to parallel Lydgate’s scientific study with [Edward] Casaubon’s investigation of the key to all mythologies. In fact, Lydgate’s scientific imagination, like Casaubon’s humanistic one, is futile (28-29). In Middlemarch, according to Scholtes, Lydgate’s character is designed to bring out the idea that science is more than physical, but he gets so immersed in his research that he forgets “that the medical profession is ultimately one of service, not private investigation or science for its own sake . . . any scientific research conducted outside the realm of practical application is futile (31).

Though Scholtes argues that Eliot’s distrust of medical science has already been seen in The Lifted Veil and continues in later works, it is hard to agree that distrust is what is fueling Eliot’s presentation of medical science in Middlemarch. It is true that Lydgate could not save Casaubon, but he successfully diagnoses and cures Fred Vincy, and would possibly have been

24 Scholtes cites Shuttleworth, but Hirshberg’s biography preceded Shuttleworth’s book. It is interesting to note, however, that Shuttleworth does not cite Hirshberg at all, either in her “Select Bibliography” (233-251) or in the “Index”252-257. However, this would seem to substantiate the idea that Lewes did indeed have a real and obvious influence on Eliot’s intellectual explorations, even if at first, her interest was only in support of his own.
able to cure John Raffles had Nicholas Bulstrode not purposely subverted Lydgate’s instructions in order to cause Raffles’s death. Also, while “Eliot portrays [Lydgate’s interest in ‘primitive tissue’] as a futile and hubristic endeavour . . . in retrospect it seems a remarkable anticipation of stem cell research” (Patel and Morrissey 2) as well as an idea that very much reflected the search that had captured the medical community in 1869. Further, the novel’s representation of the careful dispensation of drugs, especially those that had been widely prescribed by medical practitioners, is clearly a good change; moreover, as discussed, it is strongly reminiscent of the vigilant counting of the drops of Morphia that Thornton had been given during his treatments.

Scholtes’s argument that Lydgate’s “futile” science reflects Eliot’s attitude is faulty. It may be true Eliot does not believe that either Lydgate’s immersion in new theories or his resorting to older methods in the care of John Raffles can make a difference; that is not relevant here. What is relevant is that the way science and medical knowledge is portrayed in Middlemarch certainly has a strong resemblance to Eliot’s experiences with Thornton’s illness in 1869, and that what Scholtes perceives as Eliot’s negative stance on medical science may be a result of the anguish and frustration that those treatments did not save Lewes’s son, whom she loved as her own and who died, not in Lewes’s embrace, but in her own arms.

Finding reflections of life situations in Middlemarch is one important reason to study Lewes’s diary and journal of 1869. In no way is this project, which consists of transcriptions and annotations of people and events of that year, a disputation of the research that has been indispensable in the study of both Eliot and her novel. Part of the study of these chronicles simply aims to give a broader scope of the events in Eliot’s life that may have influenced certain choices she made in creating Middlemarch, events that may have been obscured or even ignored
by Eliot herself in her notes, or unfortunately destroyed after her death by her husband, J.W. Cross, in an ill-conceived plan to keep Eliot’s personal life as private as possible. By looking at the personal writings of the man, who, for almost twenty-five years, was all things to Eliot—closest friend, lover, mentor, and agent—and for whom Eliot and her literary career was more important than anything of his own, it may be possible to gain a new insight into how the normal and tragic events of 1869 may have impacted on both their great works, as well as their relationship with each other.

Lewes and Eliot’s trip to Italy in 1869, documented in Lewes’s journal, is reflected in the novel, as is the “new-fangled” idea to limit addictive medications. And while the question of whether Scholtes is correct that Middlemarch depicts Eliot’s negative attitude of Lewes’s science or, as Shuttleworth argues, Eliot is a proponent of that science may be debated by critics for years, there is no doubt that Middlemarch has been influenced by the ideas and situations documented in Lewes’s diary and journal, which he later expounds in Problems of Life and the Mind.

Problems of Life and the Mind

Seeing the events of 1869 through Lewes’s eyes grants the reader insights into much more than the writing of a novel. For a man of science, the inability to apply logic to life must have been especially upsetting, as was dealing with the depression that accompanied Thornton’s death. Lewes had produced many smaller pieces on philosophy and science, but the first volume
of his great work, *Problems of Life and Mind*, was published in 1874, four years after his son’s death and the same year as the complete *Middlemarch* was published. Considering the meticulous detailing of Thornton’s care and the devastating loss to both Lewes and Eliot, there is a possibility that the experience affected the creation, and possibly even the direction, of his own final work.

Ideally, a full study of *Problems of Life and Mind* should include all five volumes and a review of all of Lewes’s diaries from the time he began the work in 1862, but that is beyond the scope of this project. The references here from *Problems of Life and Mind* will be mostly from *Book 1: The Foundations of a Creed*, which seems to outline Lewes’s goal in his work: the establishment of a Moral Science.

[We] have Moral Instincts and Aesthetic Instincts which determine conduct and magnify existence; but of these desires for the welfare of others . . . we can give no better account than that we find them as facts of human nature . . . no better justification . . . than their influences are beneficial. We can give no better reason why we ought to care for the welfare of others -- suffering from their sufferings and rejoicing in their joys,-- than why sugar is sweet to the taste: they are the facts of the human organism; which facts Psychology and Physiology may approximately explain by exhibiting the factors . . . but which in the last resort can only be justified by asserting that the facts are so (456-7).

Lewes, of course, documents all of his sources as he discusses them, so there is no need to figure out from where he draws his ideas, but, because he details both his life experiences and readings in his diaries, it would be a fascinating quest to pinpoint the influences of his experience on his research in the finished work, especially since one of the basic tenets of *Problems of Life and the Mind* is the interplay between Physiology and Psychology, or Experience and Feeling, which he believes is the way to Knowledge.

Critics have a great deal of trouble trying to pinpoint Lewes’s philosophy. In *Problems of Life and Mind*, he brings down all the great thinkers whose books he has read over the twelve
years of preparation for his work, including Leibnitz, Helmholtz, Compte, Kant, and Mill, according to the particular idea he is discussing at the moment. Rick Rylance states that

[despite] its ramshackle appearance, Problems of Life and Mind is coherent in its theoretical project. Indeed its apparent formal disarray is an almost necessary part of its conception. The fluidity of its structure reflects diverse elements of its purpose, contents, and arguments for powerful reasons . . . The Problems . . . is self-consciously aware of its historicity. This is registered most commonly through a perception of the inevitable limitations of contemporary knowledge as a sufficient basis for formulating theory, and a recognition of the cultural pressures placed upon its articulation (255).

Rylance seems to feel that Lewes becomes overwhelmed by the vastness of his information and his desire to create an ideology that is universal and everlasting, mixing in numerous theories such as Positivism, Organicism, Darwinism, and others in an attempt to somehow correlate them into a meaningful whole. Rylance also decries the studies of “American scholars [whose commentaries are] vitiated . . . by persistently reading Lewes out of context. In many of these accounts . . . Lewes is reread as a Kantian Idealist, and other features of his work, career, and influence are thus pulled out of shape” (254).

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25“Positivism was a broad movement of European thought during the second half of the nineteenth century. The name derives from the fact that thinkers returned to the appreciation of positive facts so as to restore the world of nature, which idealists had reduced to a mere representation of the ego. Positivism placed greater stress on immediate experience and on the data obtained through the senses” (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences) 1 June 2015.

26“Organicism refers to the idea that some object or entity shares an important property or quality in common with a living or animate being. It is related to, although remains distinct from, holism, in the sense that organicist doctrines tend to uphold the view that the living creature is an integrated whole containing precisely the range and number of parts necessary for the maintenance of its existence and for its flourishing. Hence, organicism is closely aligned with the concept of ‘organic unity’” (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences) 1 June 2015.

27“Darwinism refers to a complex of scientific, social, theological, and philosophical thought that was historically stimulated and supported by Darwin’s theory of evolution” that all species of organisms arise and develop through the natural genetic variations that increase the individual’s ability to survive (Beckner 632).

28“[Kant] argues that the human understanding is the source of the general laws of nature that structure all our experience; and that human reason gives itself the moral law, which is our basis for belief in God, freedom, and immortality. Therefore, scientific knowledge, morality, and religious belief are mutually consistent and secure because they all rest on the same foundation of human autonomy, which is also the final end of nature”
Rylance may be quite correct that no one, especially Americans, can quite intuit what Lewes’s main philosophy is or can clearly understand Lewes’s presentation of an ideology throughout all five volumes of *Problems of Life and Mind*. Based on various observations from Lewes himself, there does appear to be a consistency of idea with a few rules that must be applied for the philosophy to work. Lewes presents all views because the particular philosophy a person adopts is not necessarily relevant; people only see what is true for them.

The world is to each man as it affects him; to each a different world. Fifty spectators see fifty different rainbows in the sky, and all believe they see the same one. ‘Nor is this unanimity delusive; for ‘the same’ here means the similarity in their states of consciousness . . . we declare that the objective world is to each man the sum of his visionary experience—and existence bounded on all sides by what he feels and thinks . . . the first lesson in controversy is to unlearn our native tendency to treat our adversaries like fools. If we learn this lesson, and try to seize the aspect of the truth which presents itself to their minds, we may find that this aspect which represents their experience also represents our own and that the points of difference are reducible to differences in the data (201, 206).

According to Lewes, people might differ philosophically, but experience and feeling are common. Once people share feeling and experience, they can work together to benefit each other, which, to Lewes, was the ultimate purpose of the existence of mankind.

Not pushing an agenda is unusual for a philosopher or scientist, but it must be remembered that despite being called “a man of science,” Lewes was really “a man of letters.” Rylance himself admits that “other criteria are in play in [assessing Lewes’s philosophy]. There is the profuse career, and the feeling that he properly belonged to literature . . . Lewes’s ideas “follow directly from [his] powerful sense of the historically specific nature, and therefore provisionality, of scientific and other forms of human knowledge. Intellectual work must be understood as a product of its age and occasion” (254-8).

In this particular thought process, Lewes stands out particularly as a literary man. In the 20th century New Criticism became the main process by which creative works were analyzed, taking from them all aspects of history and personality of both the author and the reader, but prior to that, literary critics, like Lewes, judged works by how well they represented the culture of the time. “The organic idea is associated in criticism with notions of harmonious cultural integration and gradual social development—ideas that were ubiquitous in Victorian theory . . . that we have tended to ignore their historical origins and to attribute to them a timeless dimension” (Shuttleworth x). It is interesting to note that the two basic ideas in New Criticism, Intentional Fallacy and the Affective Fallacy directly correspond to the ideas of Experience and Feeling. New Critics may be perceived as saying that it was more objective, i.e., “scientific,” to let the art speak for itself, regardless of authorial intent or influence or the reader’s response to those inherent messages. Lewes felt that Knowledge can only be improved by the interaction of Experience and Feeling.

It is interesting then, to note that Lewes favored “Scientific Method” to judge everything from Literature to Life. The primary rule that Lewes sets up in the first volume of his work is that “Scientific Method,” the reduction of ideas to rational statements, can be used to discuss all things, including Metaphysics, Religion, and the psyche. His research has led him to “see how problems that were insoluble . . . are soluble by the Method of Science . . . a doctrine capable of embracing all that Metaphysics rationally may seek and all that Science finds, by the reduction of

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29 Though New Criticism was not developed until the 20th century, some proponents of it perceived it as applying the Scientific Method to creative works. It is used here merely as an example of the dichotomy of Lewes’s thought. Even today, when Literary Criticism runs the gamut from historicist criticism to post-modern colonialism, New Criticism, which is almost 100 years old, serves as a basic springboard for an initial, unbiased read of a work.

30 The Intentional Fallacy denied that an author intended to convey any message in his work, which corresponds to the idea of Experience, while the Affective Fallacy found fault with the intended emotional response of the reader, corresponding to Feeling. See Wimsatt and Beardsley (britannica.com).
both to common principles and common tests” (6, 12). Once Lewes had become enamored of the “Scientific Method,” he applied it to everything, including his recording of daily events.

Reducing events to their facts definitely curtails information. The terseness of the diary entries may lead people to initially consider Lewes to be coldly methodical, as perhaps befits a “man of science,” interested in the health and connection of both body and mind. Some critics seem to believe that Lewes’s meticulous record-keeping, particularly in regard to his reading, render even the direst situations in his life to mere notations.

The intensity of his reading practices is evident in his 1869 diary, which is largely concerned with recording two things: Thornie’s worsening health . . . and Lewes’s reading . . . October 18 . . . he records reading Wundt. The following evening, on October 19, 1869, Thornie died. Lewes and Eliot took a brief respite . . . and Lewes recorded that his work began again on November 14, when he returned to Wundt (Scholtes 65).

The way the situation is presented here, it can be interpreted that Lewes was more interested in the record than the event, but this is untrue. Lewes was a man of deep emotion, both in feeling and expression, and it is evident from his range of interests and careers, the ability to convince Marian Evans to elope with him despite being married to someone else, and the belief in her talent to put his literary aspirations aside and encourage her to become one of the greatest literary icons, even in her own time. When describing his travels in his journal, his wit and love of beauty prove that he is much more than a mere observer of life; even in the punctilious reporting in the diary of his daily activities, supplemented by the details of Thornton’s state and treatments during his illness, his sensitivity and concern are obvious. The most telling signs of Lewes’s distress, which can only be seen in the original, are changes in Lewes’s handwriting during Thornton’s more difficult days and nights, such as a trembling hand or a pen held too tight,
reflecting tension, might produce. The differences are so obvious, that it is not even necessary to consult a graphologist for the reasons. The strongest manifestation of the extent of his tenderness toward his family is demonstrated through that very instrument which those critics dismiss as callous.

It is an interesting coincidence that a similar charge was leveled at George Eliot when she had been convinced, a year and a half after Lewes’s death, to marry J.W. Cross: “The abrupt [journal] entry for 9 April 1880, ‘Sir James Paget came to see me. My marriage decided,’ is the most notorious example of her withholding major personal events from even this private record” (Harris and Johnston xx). It should be understood that neither Eliot not Lewes wrote their diaries for publication, though Eliot, at one point, did consider writing an autobiography for which Lewes bought her a “Lockup book” (xxi).

Lewes’s chronicle, even in its succinctness, reads like a story; there are changes in his cadence, in his detail, and in the structure of the fragmented sentences. As Thornton sickens, Lewes’s sorrow becomes evident through his increased visits to doctors and others who might have some treatment to offer, and in the documentation of problems with his own health and inability to sleep. During this time, almost all else becomes irrelevant except in conjunction with Thornton, which is why Lewes had no record of Eliot’s work during this time, though he did occasionally mention what she was reading, how she was feeling, and how Thornton’s condition affected her, as well as himself. Lewes also noted who came to visit Thornton and the ill young man’s reactions to various forms of distractions and conversations.

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31 This is very difficult to convey without seeing the original. However, the images in Appendix A may help make this clear. See Image 22 in Appendix A. Compare to Images 21 and 23.
For Lewes, it is through the factual depiction of the events in which knowledge can be disseminated. The rational expression, i.e. “Scientific Method,” allows for the commonality of understanding to become possible. In terms of the physiological and psychological understanding of that time, or Experience and Feeling as Lewes would have called it, such information is extremely useful and interesting. The diary portrays how difficult life was without antibiotics or therapists, and how people, in particular those of great intelligence and great heart, dealt with the fear and despair of ailments, including sciatica, infections of the throat, headaches, and spinal tuberculosis, that, at the time, were mostly incurable and sometimes contagious. Despite critics who consider Lewes’s diary proof of his cold dedication to “Scientific Method,” a closer reading creates a portrait of “a man of science” who was flummoxed by life’s implacable and unconquerable circumstances but strove to find meaning in them and some way to benefit others through his experience and feeling.

Through the specifics that Lewes chose to include in the entries, he demonstrated his second major principle contained in *Problems of Life and Mind: The Foundations of a Creed*, the idea of a holistic approach to being human:

The great mistake hitherto has been either that of metaphysicians, seeking data solely in introspective analysis of the Consciousness; or that of biologists seeking the data in combination of such analysis with interpretation of nervous phenomena . . . To understand the Human Mind we must study it under normal conditions, and these are social conditions . . . Experience depends on the registration of Feeling . . . “If a man is insensible to the mystery of the universe . . . if he is blind to the visible facts of . . . the progress of his race, deaf to the cries of pain and struggle . . . dead to the stirring impulses of pity . . . to remedy the sorrows and enlarge the pleasures of mankind . . . could we hope to make him feel? Happily there is no such man. There are only men who feel less vividly than others; none are wholly without the feelings. And it is on this foundation that a Moral Science is possible” (128, 235, 457).
Understanding Lewes’s philosophy on life as being a communal responsibility of Life was to serve Knowledge through Experience and Feeling. Lewes’s attitude about service and community is evident through the various jobs he held and the committees to which he belonged, many of which are recorded in the diary, as are his readings and research, and his involvement with Eliot’s work, aside from his relationship with her. Documenting life activities along with Thornton’s illness was not coldblooded; it was an expression of that philosophy of Life. The pain of the entire process may be seen in the stress of his pen, in the frequency of his headaches, and, often, in his inability to work, but there was a bigger purpose to recording each detail: the information could be used to help others one day.

This too is a key idea in George Eliot’s thinking. Ethical action in Eliot’s fiction is to become conscious of the limitations of one’s own views. Our interests will become bigger if we see more. Man’s higher faculties are evolved through social needs. *Middlemarch* not only provides illustration of the ethical register of these arguments. The text is also explicitly concerned with the historical and social circumstances in which biomedical research is conducted (Rylance 260).

Lewes’s strong attitude of service for the “greater good” is evident in *Problems of Life and the Mind*, which he worked on for much of the time he and Eliot lived together, and she understood his concepts well enough to edit and publish his notebook on Lewes’s work. And though it is true that many characters, like Lydgate, fall short their initial goals of service for the greater good by getting caught up in their own personal goals, others, such as Dorothea Brooke and Will Ladislaw, who may be said to be modeled after Eliot and Lewes, rise triumphantly at the end.

This did happen in June 2007, 135 years later, as Warwick Medical School obtained its charter as an independent medical school. Approximately 25% of the hospital clinical teaching for this medical school now takes place at George Eliot Hospital NHS Trust. Almost all students have a clinical placement at this hospital. Eliot’s final message in
*Middlemarch* is that we must be meliorist in this often tragic world of ours. Ours is to do to whatever we can to make the lot of humankind better (Paten and Morrisey 3).

On 1 January, 1870, Lewes freely expressed himself in his journal about the tragedy of Thornton’s death and the wonderful discovery that would buoy his relationship with Eliot and give him the strength to move forward:

> The past year has been a wasted and painful one. Thornie’s terrible illness lasted six months during which little work was done by either Polly or me, and after his death we went to Limpsfield to recover in the peace and beauty of that place some of the necessary strength to fit us for work. Our deepening love sustained us. It is something as the years pass on, & one feels conscious of declining powers, to know that love increases instead of diminishing (120).

Certainly, the year had been painful; Thornton’s death affected both Lewes and Eliot emotionally and physically. But it is in the expression “wasted” that protest must be made. In this year, both Eliot and Lewes made great progress on their research and writing of their important works, and maintained a busy and productive lifestyle complete with travel and entertainment, while caring for Thornton in the best and loving way possible. Perhaps “wasted,” like “painful,” as suggested by Professor Baker,\(^{32}\) refers to the loss of a young man in the prime of his life, but I think Lewes, while not in any way begrudging the time he gave to caring for Thornton and trying to put even that time to the best use for others, truly believed that had Thornton not been ill, he, as well as Eliot, could have accomplished much more in his quest to be helpful, in whatever service he could have provided.

Lewes’s chronicles show his vast readings, his varied activities, his community service, his great love for Eliot, and his tender care for his son. They portray his reliance on the

\(^{32}\) In a conversation about the dissertation 5 June 2015.
“Scientific Method,” and through it, the depth of his emotional distress, a prime example of his theory of Experience and Feeling. But most significantly, Lewes’s diary and journal of 1869 gives readers insight into a year in which intellectual creativity and deepest feeling collide, and reveal not just a man of great intellect and talent, but also just a man.
EDITORIAL NOTES

This work comprises the transcription and annotated of two unpublished George Henry Lewes holographs: a diary of 1869 and the relevant entries from his journal XII of that year. Each entry in the printed daily diary will contain all the information that exists within it, including that which was printed by the company, i.e., the date and its significance, if any. The journal entries from the lined, undated journal will include the last entry for 1868, his travelogue of the trip to Italy that Lewes and Eliot took in March and April of 1869, and the first entry for 1870. Lewes inserted the dates himself as he recorded his yearly reviews, the various legs of their journey, along with some of his impressions of their experiences, and his feelings at the end of a difficult year and the start of a promising new one.

In this text, both the diary and journal excerpts have been fused into one document. The entries in the journal are at least as detailed as those in the diary, and at times, even more, so the loss of any important information is unlikely. Moreover, Lewes’s own record-keeping allows this amalgamation, as the diary’s entries for March and April are barely completed, as well as mostly illegible, while the journal depicts in great detail the tour of Italy that he and Eliot had taken during those months. The last diary entry for February, which is February 28, is also the first dated entry in the journal; the end of the journal entries in the beginning of May, when Lewes and Eliot return from their trip also overlap with the May diary entries until May 8, when Thornton comes home. Inserting the journal for March and April, while also noting any
overlapping entries between the two chronicles, allows for an unbroken view of the daily events of the entire year. By also including the last entry from 1868 and the first of 1870, Lewes’s perspective of 1869 and its effects on him are crystalized.

The year will be divided into chapters, each containing a two-month segment, with an introduction providing commentary or relevant information. Also included will be a commentary with the last entry of 1868 before the January-February chapter, and the first entry of 1870, also with commentary, ending the complete text. To facilitate the reading, all commentary will appear on separate pages prior to each section of text.

Because there is often additional information from the diary publisher in the dated spaces, Lewes’s written information in the diary will be transcribed in paragraph form, even if Lewes wrote it in list form. Because Lewes tended to write fragments and/or lists, each bit of information, such as events, meetings, readings, visits, guests, etc. will be separated by periods, as Lewes does most of the time. Abbreviations and/or titles will be annotated, but will appear as Lewes wrote them. All dates in the Diary that were printed by the manufacturer will appear in bold text to differentiate between the printed and written matter. Additional information, such as the number of the week or a holiday will be both in bold and italics. For the sake of consistency and clarity, the dates in the Journal, which Lewes wrote himself, will be in bold text, as well, so they will stand out from his more narrative writing.

Events and references in both the Diary and the Journal will be documented through various sources and be noted in footnotes and appendices. Appendix A contains photographic images from the Notebooks and Diaries, including examples of Lewes’ holograph notation.
Books that Lewes and Eliot read during the year will be annotated *the first time* they are mentioned and compiled in an alphabetical list in Appendix B for reference. Books that will not be annotated are those that are well-known, such as poetical works or writings by Shelley, Swinburne, or Eliot herself. They will, however, be listed in Appendix B.

Cities, hotels, and places that Lewes and Eliot visit on their trip to Italy are referenced and maps between locations appear in Appendix C. Places that Lewes and Eliot visit within England will not be annotated, except, at times, with a brief physical or geographical description. One reason for this is that Lewes himself says enough in the diary entries to make it clear why some of those places, such as Sevenoaks and Limpfield, had been chosen as places for vacation or respite. Another is that this entire topic has been brilliantly covered by Kathleen McCormack in *George Eliot's English Travels: Composite Characters and Coded Communications* (2005) in detail that goes far beyond the scope of this project.

Also beyond the scope of this dissertation, but related to it, are the connections of the various works of art that Lewes and Eliot see on their yearly trip to Italy in 1869, many of which figure importantly in *Middlemarch*. Joseph Wiesenfarth’s “George Eliot’s Mythmaking” and Hugh Witmeyer’s *George Eliot and the Visual Arts* have already discussed Eliot’s use and meanings that figure more prominently into an analysis of the novel itself rather than the questions posed here. There is no appendix for the artwork.

Family, friends, and visitors will be identified in the diary and journal *only at their first appearance*. Many of them are close friends of Lewes and Eliot, are repeatedly visiting and mentioned. Each person, or couple, therefore, will be listed alphabetically in Appendix D, along
with the number of the original footnote of identification. This will help eliminate redundant footnotes.

Most of Lewes and Eliot’s friends have been identified through biographical sources, letters, and journals, so, in many cases, the information may be limited to their names and very brief descriptions, since the information is easily available in the sources and more than identification may not have been necessary for the purposes of this dissertation. However, if there was important or unusual information relevant or interesting to this project, that information is provided.

In order to annotate the information in Lewes’s Diary and Journal, many sources have been utilized, which, of course, are listed in the Works Consulted pages. However, mention must be made of Professor William Baker’s compilations: The George Eliot-George Henry Lewes Library: An Annotated Catalogue, The Libraries of George Eliot and George Henry Lewes, which was available through the PAST MASTERS database at NIU, and The Letters of George Henry Lewes, as well as Gordon Haight’s The George Eliot Letters. These exceptional works were invaluable in identifying books, people, and even events contained in the extensive notes these great scholars have written on the books and letters in the respective collections.

Research was also facilitated through the use of technology. People, places, books, and other information not found in the aforementioned or other printed sources have been discovered through the use of popular Internet search engines, such as Google, archive.org, and even Amazon. If a name or book, etc., could not be identified via the traditional sources, the next step was a Google search, which most often led to sources for the information needed. If the subject was well known, Google itself had an information pop-up. Other times, the information could be
found in sources such as Google books, Archive.org, or on other databases, such as JSTOR. At times, information about hotels and tourist attractions needed for Lewes and Eliot’s trip to Italy was available through the location’s own website.

It would be too cumbersome to include all the information, such as book citations from Google books or Archive.org, general information about places that simply pops up when the subject is entered, or definitions or translations of words. However, all of that information is contained in the footnotes for each item that was searched via the Internet, and the website used is included. There should be no trouble accessing the information as all relevant citation information will be clearly stated, except for dates of access when an item was accessed multiple times. Therefore, the search engines will be entered in general at the end of the Works Consulted pages, and only unusual sites will appear within the alphabetized listings.

It must be stated that no matter how much one searches in any and all of the sources listed here and at the end of this document, some things will remain elusive. Whether because a word was illegible, or a name or place had no available context, or a source had been inadvertently overlooked, problems still exist. However, it is to be hoped that, as the scholarship on the life and works of George Henry Lewes continues to expand, all problems, as Lewes himself had hoped, will be resolved.
As he did at the end of every year, George Henry Lewes wrote a retrospective of 1868, bemoaning that he had not achieved the kinds of accomplishments he had hoped either professionally or financially. In fact, Lewes had made many new connections with medical scientists and doctors, visited institutions of research and recovery and had even purchased new tools to continue his own studies for what he hoped would be a great work of physiology and psychology.

Lewes had the kind of life of which most men could not even dream. Even though, financially, he could not be completely at his leisure, his talents were such that he was able to support himself and his family while devoting himself to the pursuit of the knowledge he craved.

His family dynamic was a strange one: he was supporting a wife who was living with his former best friend; he had children who were scattered across the globe and he was living with a woman who was the great love of his life yet whom he could never marry. It was a tribute to his personality and popularity that he and Marian Evans, whom he called Polly and the rest of the
world called George Eliot, could be accepted into the circles of society in which he traveled, even if they would never be accepted by her family.

Lewes was a man who believed in a life of service, that he had to contribute to the betterment of life for his lover, his family, and the world. As to the first, he helped a talented young woman become a world-renowned author and poet through his love and encouragement. He helped his sons find positions, in England and abroad, so they could become self-sufficient. He supported the others who depended upon him with his writing and editorship. It was also through his writing that he contributed to the world, whether through political or literary criticism, scientific research, or philosophical theory. It was Lewes’s habit to keep a diary of his daily activities and readings, and often Eliot’s as well, so that he could review the events of the past year and plan the next one. His slight dissatisfaction with 1868 had to do with a feeling that he had not accomplished enough. Regarding accomplishments, he had plenty to look back upon and was probably being too hard on himself. Regarding finances, he was probably correct. His earnings of 162£ for his four or five articles were not quite a match for Eliot’s check of £332.18\(^1\) for *The Spanish Gypsy*. Still, rather than be disgruntled at her outdoing him, as many men might have been, Lewes glowed in Eliot’s success, and even though he had much to do with it, whether it be freeing her to pursue her talent or negotiating the best deal for her work, Lewes never took credit for Eliot’s success. Indeed, even in his personal writing, he always took pride in it.

\(^1\)Sent to Eliot from John Blackwood, publisher, in a letter dated 29 December, 1869 (Haight, *GE Letters, IV*, 497).
XMAS DAY, 1868

A scattered year! Little work done, & only 162£ earned! This has been partly owing to absence from home & partly to ill health. In January I went alone to Bonn & Heidelberg. In the Spring with Polly to Torquay. In the summer to the Black Forest & Oberland. Very shortly after our return I went to Oxford whither Acland\(^2\) invited me to attend the Meeting of the Medical Association. Had delightful rooms in Magdalen College,\(^3\) saw many very interesting people & made some pleasant acquaintances. Gratified to find how the medical profession accepted my physiological labors. In Sept we went to Leeds\(^4\)—guests of D’Allbutt\(^5\) (whose acquaintance I began at Oxford) saw the Exhibition & then went to Bolton, enjoying the Wharfdale scenery very much. Stopped at Newark on our return—the old inn; & took the old walks: In Nov we also went to Sheffield, guests of Mrs. Benzon\(^6\) & saw the Bessemer process\(^7\) of making steel, The rolling of steel plates, nine inches thick, for warsteamers [sic]\(^8\) & all the marvels of the iron trade; Thence we went to Matlock.—In point of work I have only published four articles on

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\(^2\)HenryWentworth Dyke Acland, English physician and educator.
\(^3\)One of the constituent colleges of Oxford.
\(^4\)Lewes and Eliot visited the House of Recovery in Leeds at the invitation of Dr. Clifford Allbutt.
\(^5\)Clifford Allbutt was an English physician, ran the Leeds House of Recovery in Leeds, was a leader in the treatment of arterial diseases, and inventor of the short clinical thermometer (Bearn).
\(^6\)Elizabeth Lehmann Benzon.
\(^7\)method discovered for mass-producing steel by removing impurities with blasts of air (ebonline)
\(^8\)upgraded steamboats to be used as battleships (scientificamerican.com)
Darwin\textsuperscript{9}—which have been the means for making his personal acquaintance—an article on the Dangers & Delights of Tobacco, & two or three slight papers in the Pall Mall.\textsuperscript{10} But I have, during working days, advanced seriously with my “Problems of Life & Mind” and have grown into clearness on many important points; some of the conclusions are quite novel—may they prove true!—Dissection & preparation of nervous system of Molluscs and Crustaceans to a large extent—Bought another microscope- a Starmark\textsuperscript{11}—and a Dissecting Microscope.\textsuperscript{12}

*The Spanish Gypsy* has reached its third edition. Its acceptance—as I foresaw—has been greatly biassed [sic] by the difficulty people feel in readjusting their mental focus, & learning that one who they classed as a novelist is also a poet. But on the whole there has been a greater effect produced than I reckoned on.

Today passed as quietly as usual. Wrote until 12 then Polly & I called on Mother. After lunch we again rambled. Then a little music. Dined alone. In the evening Charlie [Charles Lee Lewes] looked in on his way home.

\textsuperscript{9}The articles were written for the *Fortnightly Review*, which Lewes edited. The first of the articles was “Mr. Darwin’s Hypothesis” 1 April, 1868 (JSTOR).

\textsuperscript{10}The *Pall Mall Gazette*, a monthly British magazine (victorianweb.org/periodicals).

\textsuperscript{11}The R & J Beck Company invented a microscope called The Star. The Star Mark, the serial number, and the name and address R & J Beck, London, were etched on the back of the limb (asiuk.net/mkrbec/Beckmicroscopes.htm).

\textsuperscript{12}A kind of microscope with a low magnification for dissecting biological specimens (merriamwebster.online)
January, 1869, started off with a flurry of dinners and entertainments. Reading and work had begun again on *Problems of Life and Mind*, and Lewes was visiting hospitals and medical scientists. Six days later, with the arrival of a distressing letter from Lewes’s son, Thornton, the lives of Lewes and Eliot were to change in a terrible way:

I am gradually wasting away. I eat almost nothing . . . I can’t do a stroke of work of any sort . . . all I can do is lie down, then get up and walk about for half an hour, then lie down again . . . when the paroxysms come on . . . from my shoulder blades downwards I am powerless; and I have a sort of shooting compression of the chest which makes breathing difficult, and makes me want to shout in pain . . . sometimes I have slight attacks during the day . . . if I were 50 instead of 24, I should have quietly walked . . . over our waterfall; but while there is youth there is hope; and I hope and trust that a trip to England to consult one or two of the best doctors may do me good . . . It is my last chance in life, and you are the only person I can apply to.  

Lewes immediately sent Thornton £250 for his trip home, but in many ways he and Eliot thought—or hoped—that Thornton was exaggerating his condition. Still, except for prior engagements and periodic dinner guests, much of the activity of January and February seems to become more subdued and more focused on their work after receiving Thornton’s letter.

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JANUARY, 1869

FRIDAY 1.

Read Fechner ‘Atomenlehre’ — Worked at ‘Problems.’ Brougham to call on the Burne Jones’s walked to the Calls — In the evening Polly read aloud ‘The Ring & the Book.’ I read Jaccoud Paraplégies.

SATURDAY 2. 1st WEEK.

Read “Fechner”— ‘Problems’ — Mrs. Congreve came to Lunch.- Barbara came to dinner. I dined at the Benzons. Rob-t and Mrs. Browning, the De Mussys, Lehmanns, Schlesingers, Garcia, & Arthur Beciri.

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15Lewes’s own work, Problems of Life and Mind.
16Edward and Georgiana Burne-Jones (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 394).
17Wathen Mark Wilks and Rufa (née Henell) Call (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 395).
18Poem by Robert Browning.
20Maria Congreve, wife of Robert, Lewes’s fellow-shareholder in the Leader Company (Haight, GE Letters IX, 405).
21Barbara Leigh-Smith Bodichon (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 384). See also n12 in Introduction.
22Ernst Leopold and Elizabeth Lehmann Benzon (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 377).
23Pen seems to have skipped while writing “Robert.”
24Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning (Haight, GE Letters, IX 393).
25Dr. Gueneau DeMussy responsible for locating the Gueneau DeMussy point, pleurisy (Google).
26The artist, Rudolph Lehmann and his wife, Amelia, the daughter of Robert Chambers (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 463).
27Mr. and Mrs. Max Schlesinger (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 510)
28Manuel Garcia, singer (Google).
29Name is unclear. See Appendix E.
SUNDAY  3.  2nd Sunday after Christmas.  

Fechner, Problems, -- Charles.31 The Lehmanns, Spencer,32 Crompton,33 Pigott,34 Appleton,35 Burton.36

MONDAY  4.

Scottish Australian 1.7.11—Went with Polly to Harwell & walked to Kew. After lunch Music. Headache. Burne Jones came in evening

TUESDAY  5.  Dividends due at the Bank.

Headache. Read but could do nothing


Letter from Thornie38 made me very miserable.39 Went into the city to send him £250. Barbara called. In the evening, Polly began Ben Jonson’s ‘Silent Woman.’40 Charles came in with news about Gertrude.41

30Bolded italicized words were printed in the diary along with the dates.
31Charles Lee, Lewes’s eldest son.
32Herbert Spencer, GE’s “excellent friend,’ . . . as Lewes calls him” (GE, Letter to Brays, 22 April, 1852, in Cross, I 193)
33Henry Crompton (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 408).
34Edward Pigott (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 497).
35Daniel Appleton (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 371).
36Frederick Burton (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 395).
37This seems to be a reference stock and dividend that Lewes owned in either the Scottish Australian Mining Company or its parent company, the Scottish American Investment Company. The amount is in pounds, shillings and pence. Nancy Henry email to William Baker 6 May, 2014.
38Thornton Arnott Lewes, GHL’s second son, who was in Natal and writing to inform him of his illness.
39See note 13.
THURSDAY  7

Read Trendelenburg.\textsuperscript{42} Wrote to Thornie. Read \textit{Cour des Leciuses}.\textsuperscript{43} Polly read ‘Silent Woman’


SATURDAY  9. \textit{2}nd Week. \textit{Fire Insurances expire}.

Trendelesburg. \textit{Problems}. Shopping. Polly read \textit{Volpone}.\textsuperscript{44} Grote’s \textit{Plato}.\textsuperscript{45}

SUNDAY  10. \textit{1}st \textit{Sunday after Epiphany}.

Apelt ‘\textit{Metaphysik}’\textsuperscript{46} – \textit{Problems}. Charles, Sidgwick,\textsuperscript{47} Goldsmid,\textsuperscript{48} 2 Misses Nortons,\textsuperscript{49} Lehmann, Deutsch\textsuperscript{50}. Roden Noel.\textsuperscript{51}

MONDAY  11. \textit{Hilary Term begins}.

Apelt- \textit{Problems}. Committee of London Library.\textsuperscript{52} Mrs. Pattison\textsuperscript{53} called on Polly. Finished Volpone’ Read Ulrici “\textit{Leib und Seele}”\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{41}Gertrude née Hill, Charles Lee’s wife.
\textsuperscript{43}This seems to be an article in one of the volumes of Milne’s \textit{Annales des Sciences naturelles Zoologie et Paléontologie}. (1474 in Baker GE-GHL Library).
\textsuperscript{44}Comedy by Ben Johnson also contained in the Gifford edition (see note 32).
\textsuperscript{45}Grotes, George. \textit{Plato, and the Other Companions of Sokrat} (3 vols.). np, 1865. (archive.org).
\textsuperscript{46}Apelt, Ernst Friedrich. \textit{Metaphysik}. 1857. (archive.org)
\textsuperscript{47}Henry Sidgwick (Haight, \textit{GE Letters, IX}, 514).
\textsuperscript{48}Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Baronet, philanthropist, politician, activist for Jewish causes, one of the first Jewish members of Parliament (Alderman, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography).
\textsuperscript{49}The daughters of Charles Eliot Norton (Haight, \textit{GE Letters, IX, 490}).
\textsuperscript{50}Emanuel Deutsch, Hebrew scholar who translated the Talmud into English and taught Lewes and Eliot to read Hebrew (Google; also Haight, \textit{GE Letters, IX}).
\textsuperscript{51}Roden Berkeley Wriothesley Noel, English poet, son of Charles Noel, 1\textsuperscript{st} Earl of Gainsborough (Google).
TUESDAY  12.

North British Rev\textsuperscript{55} on Berkeley\textsuperscript{56}—Problems. Cousin’s Premiers Essais.\textsuperscript{57} Polly read 1 canto of ‘Don Juan’\textsuperscript{58} Mirror.\textsuperscript{59} Journal.\textsuperscript{60}

WEDNESDAY  13. Cambridge Lent Term begins.

Headache. Read North British on “Energy”.\textsuperscript{61} Mrs. Burne-Jones & her boy lunched with us & went to moving performance of Pantomime.\textsuperscript{62} 2\textsuperscript{nd} canto of Don Juan.


Polly read her poem of ‘Agatha’ & Cesare Balbo - I read over my m.s. New Phedu. Wrote to Tom Trollope.

FRIDAY 15.


Don Juan. Bain ‘Senses & Intellect.’

SATURDAY 16. 3rd Week.


In the evening read Don Juan to Polly who had headache. Bain.

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63Philosophical Magazine, considered one of the oldest scientific journals ever published. (Taylor-Francis online).
64This seems to be a reference to one of Hermann von Helmholtz’s essays, “Forces of Inorganic Nature,” originally given as a lecture. It is possibly included in Populäre Wissenschaftliche Vorträge. 3 vols. in 1. Braunschweig, 1865-76. (980 in Baker, GE-GHL Library).
66This might have been Balbo’s Vita di Dante. Firenze, 1853. (111 in Baker, GE-GHL Library), which they owned.
67Seems to be an abbreviation for a publication, but could not identify without the full name. See Appendix E.
68Thomas Adolphus Trollope, Victorian man of letters, who lived in Italy. GHL and GE would visit him when there.
69This is possibly what was known as The French Gallery, located at 120/121 Pall Mall, established by Ernest Gambart, for the exhibition and sale of contemporary art (Fletcher 1).
70“Probably William Henry Smith . . ., a minor novelist who used to call on GHL” (Baker, Lewes:Letters, II, 40).
71Bain, Alexander. The Senses and the Intellect. 1855. (archive.com). This was not in their library.
72The actual letter does not seem to exist any longer, but there is a reference made to it in a note on a letter from GHL to Charles and Gertrude, dated 19 May, 1869, when telling them about the poem’s success and an advance offer for “Agatha.” (Haight, GE Letters, V, 37).
73The work was actually titled Review of the Work of Mr. John Stuart Mill. Entitled, Examination of the Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton by George Grote (archive.org).
SUNDAY 17. 2nd Sunday after Epiphany.

Mr. and Mrs. Norton,74 Beesly,75 Burton, Charles, Dr. Payne & brother,76 Stanley,77 Sanderson,78 Col. Hamley.79

MONDAY 18.

Read Secchi: ‘Forze Fisiche’.80 Problems Went to Mother-- & Mrs. Hogg.81 Polly read Bright’s Speeches.82 Vierordt- ‘Zeitsinn’.83

TUESDAY 19.


74Mr. Charles Eliot Norton and his wife, Susan Sedgewick (Baker, Lewes:Letters II, 272).
75Edward Spenser Beesly, historian and positivist (Google).
76Dr. Joseph Frank Payne and John Burnell Payne (Haight, GE Letters, V, 7 and IX, 495).
77Edward Lyulph Stanley, 4th Baron Stanley of Aderley, Member of Parliament (Baker, Lewes:Letters III, 536; also Google).
78Sir John Scott Burdon Sanderson, 1st Baronet, was a physiologist (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 507; also Google).
79Colonel (later General) Edward Bruce Hamley (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 442).
81This would seem to be a Mrs. James Hogg, but it is uncertain which one. Considering the literary connections, it might be Margaret Phillips Hogg, the widow of the Scottish poet known as “Ettrick Shepherd”, or due to GE and GHL’s social and political status, it could be Mrs. Mary Swinton Hogg, wife of the 1st Baronet and Member of Parliament. Taking location into account, it is most likely the latter (Google).
84Schopenhauer, Arthur. Über die vierfache Wurzel des Satzes vom zureichenden Grunde), 1813. (Google).
85William Blackwood, publisher and friend.
87Freimuth, E.W. Die wichtigsten Grundlehren und Vorzüge der neuen Psychologie. Dr. Beneke. Bautzen, 1845. (765 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). The book in the collection is not the original; it is unclear which book GHL was actually reading.
WEDNESDAY 20.


THURSDAY 21.

Schopenhauer—Problems. Trollope90 to lunch. We called on Barbara. Jisi91- Dined at the DeMussys:--Browning, Garcia, Sir H. and Lady Thompson,92 Dr. & Mrs. Weber,93 Lady Colville,94 the Priestleys95, & Hibberts.96

FRIDAY 22.


88Could not determine if this was a visitor to whom no reference was found in any of the compilations of letters or biographies; a composer, a theory which was searched and dismissed because the reference appears again in the next entry without a mention of music; or an author, but the name could not be found in the annotated libraries or on the web. The closest reference that appeared was a city in Hungary called Jicin, which was put under new jurisdiction in 1869 (Google). See Appendix E.
89Two Doyles are referenced in different volumes of the Letters. The first is Andrew Doyle, a writer and editor of the Morning Chronicle; the second is Richard Doyle, an illustrator and cartoonist. Both were connected with GE and GHL, and from the context of the diary entry, it is really not possible to figure out which Doyle it is (Haight, GE Letters, IX)
90This might be Anthony Trollope, writer, since Thomas was in Italy.
91See Note 88. This appears to be referring to the same person, etc. even though GHL spells it differently in this entry.
92Sir Henry Thompson,11th Baronet and surgeon, and his wife, Lady Kate (Loder), a former pianist. (Baker, Letters, II, 241; also livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk).
93Dr. and Mrs. Weber
94Lady Frances Elinor (Grant) Colville, wife of Sir James William Colville (Baker, Lewes: Letters III, 178).
95Mr. and Mrs. William Overend Priestley. Priestly was a Professor of Obstetrics at King’s College, London (Haight, GE Letters, V, 357 n3 also IX, 499).
96There is not enough information to establish their identity. See Appendix E.
98The name is not clear enough to identify her. See Appendix E.
99Frederick Lehmann, brother of Rudolph, and his wife, Nina, sister of Amelia (Haight, GE Letters IX, 463).
SATURDAY 23. 4th WEEK.

Read *Cabrius*. Problems. Morning Concert - Joachim. Bright’s ‘*Speeches*’- Novelleir *Italiene* Kraft Ebling ‘Sinnestäushungen’

SUNDAY 24. Septuagesima Sunday.

Charles, Forman Miss Lette, Mr. & Mrs. Pattison, Mr. & Mrs. Arnold, Sir Henry Thompson, Deutsch, Buchanan, Stanley

MONDAY 25. Princess Royal married, 1858.


TUESDAY 26.

Hegel *Encyklopädie*—Problems- With Bastian to Epileptic Hospital to see case of Aphasia. Bright’s *Speeches*. ‘Promessi Sposi’ Kraft Ebbing.

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100. It is uncertain if this is the correct word, or whether this was an author or a title. No form of the word was found in the Annotated Libraries or on the web. See Appendix E.

101. Joseph Joachim was a great central-European violinist that GE and/or GHL first saw perform in 1862 (Baker, *Lewes: Letters III*, 156).

102. This does not seem to be a specific book. It is more of a genre that is likely read for pleasure. There was no specific reference to this book in the annotated libraries or the book databases that were researched. See Appendix E.

103. Henry Buxton Forman, friend of Charles. The funny spelling may have been a skip of the pen.

104. There is not enough information for identification. See Appendix E.


109. Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrick. *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*. Berlin, 1870. (974 in Baker, *GH-GHL Library*). Though this is the book GHL must have been reading, the publishing date shows that this could not be the correct copy that GHL was using at the time he was writing this diary entry. Baker says,
WEDNESDAY 27.

Headache. Went to Mother. Hegel. Mrs. Senior\textsuperscript{112} to lunch. – Singing.

Schultze ‘Nerven structur’\textsuperscript{113} Bright’s Speeches. ‘Promessi Sposi’

THURSDAY 28. Eclipse of the Moon.

Hegel – Problems. Went into the city. Bank. [illegible]\textsuperscript{114} (lunched there) Read Schultze ‘Nerven structur’ Bright’s Speeches—‘Promessi Sposi’ Apelt ‘Theorie der Induction’\textsuperscript{115}

FRIDAY 29.

Renouvier ‘Essias’\textsuperscript{116} Problems. Went to Mother—ill in bed. Apelt ‘Theorie der Induction’

Mr. and Mrs. Lehmann, Pigott & Charles to dinner. In the Evening, Dr Payne & brother, Beesly, Crompton, Ludwig the violinist.\textsuperscript{117} 12.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{110}Dr. Henry Charlton Bastian, physiologist and neurologist. (Google).
\textsuperscript{112}Mrs. Nassau Senior, first woman to be appointed as a civil servant. (Purvis 732).
\textsuperscript{113}Max Johann Sigismund played a leading role in cell theory and microscopic science, something in which GHL was fascinated. GHL seems to have all of Schultze’s works (1979-1979 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). This particular piece could not be found on its own, but it is possible that it is a chapter or section in one of the major works.
\textsuperscript{114}This was not legible. It may be a person’s name, at whose house GHL might have eaten, or it may be a café, a club, or a pub.
\textsuperscript{117}There is not enough information to establish identity. See Appendix E.
\textsuperscript{118}It is unknown what this number may signify.
SATURDAY 30. 5th WEEK.

Renouvier ‘Essais’ --- Problems. Went to Mother. Concert: Joachim, Mad. Schuman.\(^{119}\)

Beethoven’s *Quartet* & Schuman’s *quintet* [sic]. Polly read ‘*Ring & Book*’ vol. III. *Fortnightly Review*.\(^{120}\)

FEBRUARY 1869


Mill *on Ham*\(^{121}\) - Problems- Mother. Barbara to lunch. Burton, Mrs. Pattison, Mrs. Lytton,\(^{122}\) Call, Sanderson, Mrs. & Miss Norton\(^{123}\) é.\(^{124}\) Sir H. Holland,\(^{125}\) Palgrave.\(^{126}\)


‘Promessi Sposi’

TUESDAY 2.

Mill *on H*. Problems. Went to Mother. Polly & I went to the Lehmanns to see his pictures & to Scott see his.\(^{127}\) ‘Promessi Sposi’ Bonald *Origine des Connaissances* \(^{128}\)

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\(^{119}\)Madame Clara Schumann, widow of Robert and accomplished pianist. (Cross, III).

\(^{120}\)Still available today, albeit online, this magazine was founded by Anthony Trollope in 1865, and first edited by GHL.


\(^{125}\)Sir Henry Thurston Holland, physician (jjhc.info). See n7 in Introduction

\(^{126}\)Probably Francis Turner Palgrave, a poet and critic (Baker, *Libraries of GE and GHL*). His younger brother, William Gifford Palgrave, whom GE quotes in her sources (Baker, GE Notebooks I,III, and IV) was most likely overseas, as by then he was working for the British Foreign Office (Google).
WEDNESDAY 3.


THURSDAY 4.


FRIDAY 5.


127 Sir Frederick Leighton was an artist who illustrated Romola (Baker, Lewes: Letters II, 267). William Bell Scott was also an artist. (Dictionary of National Biography).


129 Felix Mendelssohn, composer.

130 Word is illegible. This may be a name of another visitor, musician, or composer.

131 This is a journal actually called Revue des Cours Scientifiques de la France et de l’Etranger, published yearly (gallica.bnf.fr). GHL is using a shorthand title in the diary. GHL ultimately has all the volumes, 15 vols., 4to, Paris, 1867-77. (1815 in Baker, GE-GHL Library).

132 The De is from his title: Viscount de Bonald (Britannica.com).

133 Mrs. Peter A. (Clementia Doughty) Taylor (Baker, Lewes: Letters II, 276).

134 Though he has already been identified, he is noted here again because his name is cut short in this entry.


136 It is not possible to determine to which essays GHL may be referring. The Cambridge Essays are an ongoing forum, now online, of all topics. Two books are contained in their library, one about poets seem to be irrelevant to GHL’s work at the time and the second was published too late to be included in this diary (1407 and 407 respectively in Baker, GE-GHL Library).
SATURDAY  6.  6th Week.

quintet [sic], Beethoven’s trio [sic]. Bright’s Speeches. ‘Promessi Sposi’

SUNDAY  7. Quinquagesima Sunday.

Sorethroat[^137] --, headache, no work. Mrs. Pattison to lunch. Mr. and Mrs. J. Howard,[^138] Dr. and
Mrs. Bastian- Mr. and Mrs. P. Taylor, Barbara, Burton, Rossetti[^139], Scott,[^140] Sanderson,
Robertson.[^141]

MONDAY  8. Half Quarter Day.

Headache – No work. Went to Mother. Mrs. Norton & her two children to lunch. Read
Malebranche. Bright’s Speeches. ‘Promessi Sposi’

TUESDAY  9. Shrove Tuesday.

Headache. No work. Went to mother. Malebranche. Bright’s Speeches. ‘Promessi Sposi’

[^137]: This is written as one word.
[^138]: George James Howard, later 9th Earl of Carlisle, and his wife, Rosalind Frances (Stanley) (Baker, Lewes: Letters II, 266).
[^140]: William Bell Scott, poet and engraver, friend of Rosetti (Baker, Lewes: Letters: II, 275; also Google).
[^141]: There are two references to “Robertson” in Baker. The first is to a John Robertson in Lewes: Letters: I (32n4), in
which GE says she “is not very likely to see Mr. Robertson as our acquaintance is but slight” (15 February 1843).
The second is to a George Croom Robertson in Lewes: Letters: II (375n1) who is a correspondent in a philosophical
discussion, but that letter is dated 22 January 1870, almost a year after this diary entry. There is also a reference to
a third Robertson in Haight, a different George Robertson, with whom Thornton boarded in Edinburgh, but based
on those letters (III, 349, 352, 474; VIII 281,285, 294-5), it does not seem likely that relationship would have been a
social one. There could have been another Robertson altogether; it does not seem possible to pinpoint which one
it might be from the information in this diary entry.
WEDNESDAY 10. Ash Wednesday.

Helmholtz Optik Problems. We went to Leighton’s to see his sketches & pictures. Bright’s Speeches – ‘Promessi Sposi’: I read aloud Les Faux Ménages.

THURSDAY 11.

Helmholtz – l. Mother. Miss Hennell to lunch & dinner. Spencer also to dinner.

FRIDAY 12.


SATURDAY 13. 7th week.


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144 Sara Sophia Hennell (Cross, GE Life I,vii).
145 Hume, David. The Philosophical Works, including all the Essays, and exhibiting the more important Alterations and Corrections in the successive editions published by the Author. 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1854. (1069 in Baker, GE-GHL Library).
146 There was not enough information to identify this artist. See Appendix E.
149 Alfredo Carlo Piatti, one of the greatest cellists of the 19th century (Ginsberg 1).
150 He would seem to be a musician, but there is not enough information to identify him. See Appendix E.
151 Heinrich Czolbe, German physician and a proponent of scientific materialism (Google).
152 This seems to be GHL’s abbreviation of Czolbe’s work Die Grenzen und der Ursprung des menschlichen Erkentiss, 1865. (books.google.com)
SUNDAY 14.

Lumbago.- read Destutt de Tracy Idéologie.° 153 Browning, Beesly, Crompton, Mr. and Mrs. Pattison, Burton, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Martin,° 154 Palgrave, Dr. Payne & brother, Barbara. Polly read her poem of Lisa to me. Séraphine.

MONDAY 15.


TUESDAY 16.


WEDNESDAY 17.


THURSDAY 18.


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154 Sir Theodore and Lady Helen (Saville Faucit) Martin (Baker, Lewes:Letters II 271)
155 Possibly Mrs. Charles William (Shirley) Brooks. See note 561.
156 This is the boarding school that the Lewes boys attended in Bern, Switzerland. Founded by Swiss philanthropist and educational reformer, Phillip Emanuel von Fellenberg, it combined academic and agricultural studies (ebonline.com).
157 A periodical of philosophical ideas dedicated to propagating the idea of positivism. Originally suggested by Auguste Comte, it was actually published by Emile Littré in August, 1868. (Google).
FRIDAY 19.

Tracy. Problems. Wrote to Bertie.\textsuperscript{159} Mother. Dr. Congreve & Miss Bury\textsuperscript{160} came to lunch.

Proof of Polly’s poem. ‘Promessi Sposi’. Broussais \textit{De l’irritation}.\textsuperscript{161}

SATURDAY 20. 8\textsuperscript{th} week.


SUNDAY 21.

Tracy. Problems. Went to Mother. Mrs. Pattison, [rubbed out)] & Charles to Lunch. [rubbed out, but probably Mr. and Mrs.] G. Howard, Barbara, Crompton, Burton, [rubbed out] to dinner.

Polly read from ‘Lisa’ aloud. \textit{Völkerpsychologie}.

MONDAY 22.

Breakfasted with Sir Henry Holland, Lord Dufferin,\textsuperscript{164} & Mr. and Mrs. Howard. Smoked cigar with O. Jones.\textsuperscript{165} Went to Kirkman\textsuperscript{166} about piano\textsuperscript{167}. Trübner\textsuperscript{168}. \textit{Völkerpsychologie}. \textit{Promessi Sposi}. \textit{Völkerpsychologie}.

\textsuperscript{158}GHL detailed reading \textit{La Revue Positive} twice that day, before and after ‘Promessi Sposi.’ Perhaps he read it that way or read two issues.

\textsuperscript{159}Herbert Lewes, GHL’s third son.

\textsuperscript{160}Miss Emily Bury, later Mrs. J. C. Geddes (Haight, \textit{GE Letters}, IX, 395).


\textsuperscript{162}Sir Charles Hallé, conductor and pianist (encyclopedia.com).

\textsuperscript{163}This is probably an issue of the German periodical \textit{Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie and Sprachwissenschaft}, that was founded by Moritz Lazarus, the creator of völkerpsychologie, and Heymann Steinthal in 1859. It ran until 1890. (Theodora.com).
TUESDAY 23.


WEDNESDAY 24.


THURSDAY 25.


FRIDAY 26.

Czolbe. Problems. Barbara to lunch. Went with her to see the new MichelAngelo “Entombment”.175 Read the first part of [the entry here is difficult to read]176 ‘Promessi Sposi’

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164 Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (Google).
165 Owen Jones, famous architect (Google).
167 It is unclear if Lewes wanted to buy a new piano or tune an old one.
168 Nikolaus Trübner (Baker, *Lewes: Letters II 277*).
170 Müller, Johann, ed. *Archiv für Anatomie, Physiologie, und wissenschaftliche Medicin*. Liepzig, 1834-76 (hathitrust.org) This was a scientific periodical, popularly known as *Müller’s Archiv*, which GHL read often. He did not have any copies in the Annotated Libraries.
171 William Odling, chemist (Google).
172 Col. Henry Cartwright, MP (Haight, *GE Letters, IV*, 194 n8).
173 There is not enough information for identification. See Appendix E.
174 Valentine Cameron Princep, known as Val Princep, artist and friend of Burne Jones (Haight, *GE Letters, V*, 387 n6, also pevenseybaylife.co.uk)
175 “The Entombment” is now exhibited in the National Gallery.(Google)
SATURDAY 27.

Czolbe—Problems. Concert—Joachim, Piatti, Mad. Schumann. Miss Banks.177 Dined at the Benzons. The Chief Justice (Cockburn)178 Joachim, Leighton, the Seniors, Mr. and Mrs. Brookfield,179 Annie Thackeray180 the R. Lehmanns, the De Mussys, Sir H & Lady Thompson. In the evening a party. Joachim played Dibdin181 Home at 1.

SUNDAY 28.

Lord and Lady Amberley182—Mr. Otter183—Barbara – Burton, Browning, Mr. and Mrs. Benzon & boys. Dr. Ward184. Charles and Gertrude to dinner. Polly read them Lisa & Agatha. Took leave of Mother in the morning.

176 The ink is faded here, which makes the entry difficult to make out.
177 There is not enough information for identification. See Appendix E.
178 The Lord Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn (Google).
179 Mr. William Henry and Mrs. Jane Elton Brookfield (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 392).
180 Anne Isabella Thackeray, eldest daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray (Google).
181 Charles Dibdin, (1745-1814), composer (victorianweb.org).
182 John Russell, Viscount Amberley, and his wife, Katherine Louisa (Stanley) (Baker, Lewes:Letters II, 253; also Google)
183 Mr. Francis Otter (Baker, Lewes:Letters II, 272).
184 Frederick Oldfield Ward, “Pioneer of Osteogeny” (Dobson 596).
MARCH-APRIL

“Rainy night succeeded by a morning of some promise, yet cold” (16 March).

After taking leave of his mother, with whom Lewes was very close, he and Eliot started off on their fourth tour to Italy. What is especially interesting about this trip is that often Lewes went to places or meetings without Eliot in his search for information for his great work, "Problems of Life and the Mind." For the most part, Eliot busied herself with her own work, some of which turned out to be research for her “novel of English life,” until they met for a meal, a ramble, or an excursion to a church or museum. But Eliot, who was ill part of the time, may have been bothered by her solitude more than she would admit at the time, for when she wrote *Middlemarch*, Eliot set the ill-fated honeymoon trip of Dorothea and Casaubon in Rome, where Dorothea is often left alone while Casaubon pursued his studies for his “great work.”

It is not implied here that there was any problem between Lewes and Eliot on this journey; it was a stressful one because they had already knew of Thornton’s illness and were concerned about him. Lewes and Eliot chose to go on their yearly sojourn to milder climates because Thornton was not expected home until later in the year, and sitting around in the damp cold of London would have done neither of them any good; they would return better able to care for Thornton physically, emotionally, and intellectually. However, the trip turned out both less

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185Dorothea and Casaubon’s trip to Rome is told in Chapters 19-22 in *Book II.*
than healthful and less than enjoyable, partly because the weather was not as pleasant as they had hoped and partly because, even though they did spend much time together, they were somehow disjointed by separate goals. Some annoying incidents also occurred during this trip that, even though Lewes does not elaborate upon them, may also have dampened their pleasure: on 7 March, Lewes lost his diamond ring at the theater, and on 1 April, a robber stole Eliot’s locket that held Lewes’s picture, pulling it off her as she wore it.

Lewes and Eliot were both pleased to return to the Priory, but their joy at seeing Thornton was tempered by their concern for his well-being. Though they had known about his condition, they were shocked by his appearance.
Sunday, 28 February. Worked on *Problems* an
d finished up for our Italian journey. Took leave of Mother. Came back & found Mrs. Benzon
and their boy with Polly. After lunch, Lord and Lady Amberly, Mr Otter, Burton, Browning,
Benzon, Barbara & to my astonishment Dr Ward who used to attend Hochelring\textsuperscript{187} at
Kensington. Gertrude & Charles to dinner. Polly read aloud to them *Lisa & Agatha*. Monday, 1
March. Too stormy to permit of our departure. Went in to town & pottered . . . Tuesday 2\textsuperscript{nd}
Gales continued. We went to see Mother. Wednesday 3\textsuperscript{rd}. This morning the wind had abated &
the sky was bright, so we started by Boulogne for Paris.\textsuperscript{188} Rough passage—ill and
uncomfortable all day after it. Reached Paris at 9. Hotel Choiseul\textsuperscript{189}. Tea & bed. Thursday
4\textsuperscript{th}. the sky brilliant but the air keen. Walked in the Tuileries\textsuperscript{190} & saw a man feed the birds,
along the quais as far as Notre Dame,\textsuperscript{191} then to the Palais Royal.\textsuperscript{192} Had coffee & read papers

\textsuperscript{186}The pages appear as closely as possible to the way they are written in the actual journal, complete with page
numbers and headings. In the journal, the dates are underlined. Here, they also appear in bold to be consistent
with the dates in the rest of this transcription.

\textsuperscript{187}This could be Fredrick Oldfield Ward, information about Hochelring was difficult to find.

\textsuperscript{188} "From *Paris Partout! A guide for the English and American Traveller in 1869*: From London:
Of the different routes available, the speediest is that adopted by the South-Eastern Railway, whose
accelerated special tide trains leave regularly from Charing Cross, passing to Paris via Sevenoaks, Folkestone
(indifferent refreshment room), and Boulogne" (*The Guide to Gay Paree—Part 1: How to Get There.*
victorianparis.worldpress.com). Map from Boulogne to Paris appears in Appendix C.

\textsuperscript{189}Hotel Choisuel, Opera 1 Rue Daunou, 75002 Paris, France.

\textsuperscript{190}Le Jardin de Tuileries is named for the tile factories that stood there when Catherine de Medici built the Palais
du Tuileries. Relandscaped in 1664 by André Le Nôtre, they provide a beautiful walking park between the Louvre
and the Place de la Concorde (*Paris Tourist Office. parsinfo.com*). The walk from Tuileries to the Notre Dame Cathedral is along the River Seine and its embankments.
before going to the Louvre to see our favorite pictures. Wrote to Mother & rested awhile, then
sallied forth but the boulevard was too crowded with holiday folk, so we went to the Palais Royal
& bought a pair of eyeglasses for Polly. Dined at the hotel & were too tired to go to the theatre.

Friday 5th. Left Paris by the 11 train for Lyon-Coupe. Journey pleasant enough; Excellent
dinner at Dijon Station. Hotel le lumiers at Lyon (not good) tea & bed. Saturday 6th. Rain
all day very cold; we went to the Cathedral &
walked about the streets; lunched at an Establishment Bouillon—two basins of barley broth
with bread, napkin etc

Page Break

ITALY 1869

for 3½ each! Polly read Secchi Delle Forze Fisiche aloud. Wrote to Mother. Read
Liddell’s Rome. Poor dinner at the hotel. Went to the theatre saw a wretched farce ‘Luatre
hermes de Prison’ and the comedy of Séraphine which I had read aloud to Polly some weeks
ago. Not badly acted; but we came away after 3rd act. Tea & bed. Sunday, 7th. Left at 7.00 &
reached Avignon at 12:30. Delighted to find there a bright sun & cloudless blue sky but
disgusted to find it accompanied by the terrible mistral which made my head ache and rendered

192 Even in 1869, there were tourist attractions. The Palais Royal (formerly the Palais-Cardinal) had gardens, shops, restaurants, even a theater, as well as tours of the palace itself. (Google).
193 See Map from Paris to Lyon in Appendix C.
194 The Gare de Dijon-Ville is the main station on the Paris-Marseilles route (raileurope.com).
195 Hôtel le Lumière, 26 Rue Villon, 69008 Lyon, France.
196 Not the name of the restaurant, just the soup.
197 Could not find the correct money symbol, now that euros are in place. Symbol needed to be inserted by hand.
200 Play could not be identified. See Appendix E
201 See note 146.
202 See Map from Lyon to Avignon in Appendix C.
walking about almost intolerable. After a good lunch we sallied forth to the Bishop’s Palace &
gardens. The view magnificent, but the wind blew us home again. Polly read Secchi. At the

table d’hôte amused with a fussy old ostentatiously polite & stupid Englishman. Went to the
theatre & saw Lèau le Cocher, a good drama very fairly played. Lost my diamond ring
there—it must have slipped from my finger when I took off my glove to pay.  

Monday, 8th.  

Headache. & as the mistral was blowing more fiercely than ever, resolved though with regret, to
get away from Avignon at once. Went to Marseilles—Grand Hotel du Louvre no good
rooms vacant, otherwise the hotel excellent. We had a long ramble about the quais & streets
before dinner & after dinner sat quietly over a good fire with coffee & cigar.  

Tuesday 9 March.  

After breakfast delicious walk up to the [country] & along the quais; weather mild; but
threatening – Off to Nice— reached at 6:30. Hôtel de l’Univers --  good room—Dined
coffee & cigar & bed at 10.

Page break

ITALY 1869

Wednesday 10 March.  After Breakfast discussed plans for the journey, which the weather
renders difficult.  Rambled along the shore & through the streets for a couple of hours.  Warm

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203 Also called the Palais des Papes because the Pope chose it as his papal seat in Avignon, this huge complex, with center courtyard, church, and gardens is still a famous attraction of Avignon (planetware.com).
204 There was not enough information to identify this piece. See Appendix E.
205 See Map from Avignon to Marseilles in Appendix C.
206 Le Grand Hôtel du Louvre et de la Paix, 53 Canebier, Marseille. Considered the most prestigious and luxurious hotel in Marseilles, it closed in 1941 and became a retail clothing store in the 1980’s. (pss-archi.eu).
207 Pen seems to have skipped, so word is unclear.
208 See Map From Marseilles to Nice in Appendix C.
209 In his Handbook for Travelers to Northern and Central Italy, 1860, Palgrave describes the hotel as “kept by How, much improved” and located in the Piazza S Domenico (77). According to Booking.com, an online reservation site, and others, there is a Hôtel Univers still in Nice, at 2 Rue de la Libertie, but, though it is centrally located and convenient to the places to which GHL and GE walked, there is no mention on the map of a Piazza. A phone conversation with Heini at the reservations desk on 15/3/15 determined that this is the same building and that the street names have been changed over the years, but it was unknown when or why.
baths. Lunch. Got tickets for the theatre tonight & opera tomorrow. Wrote to Mother. Rainy & cold. Read Créquy’s memoirs in Italian. At the theatre saw Lafraude de Rachese de Ferosteine an ignoble buffoonery which is making the tour of Europe.—Thursday 11.

Liddell’s Rome. Long walk on the promenade du Anglais, where the gardens of low geraniums, roses, lilies, arums, oranges, & Palms in painful contrast to the cold, rain, & hail. The mer quite grand with long waves. We enjoyed our walk in spite of the rain. Bought Salambo & Goldoni’s Memorie. Polly began to read the later aloud after lunch. Thunder & lightening prevented our going out again before dinner. Went to the theatre—La Favorita.

Borghi Mamo as soprano, Pardini the tenor, (guy) and Butti as baritone. The latter excellent. Friday 12th. The sky was light again today. The light cheered us, Although my head ached somewhat. Read Liddell & as the day advanced my head became very bad. We walked along the Promenade des Anglais every now & then sitting in the sun & enjoying the lovely sea view. Polly having expressed her discontent at the shabbiness of my overcoat we

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211 There is not enough information to identify the play. See Appendix E.
212 Famous, and still very popular, walkway along the Mediterranean Sea (Google).
213 A plant with flower that resemble arrowheads and have a center spike, such as calla lilies. They are members of the Araceae family (Google).
214 French for sea.
215 French chou pastry filled with cream, similar to an éclair. It might have been named for a character by Flaubert (Marsh 1).
216 Goldoni, Carlo. Memorie. First published in 1787, the full text ultimately comprised of memoirs written in French for Louis XVI, and later in Italian, connected with his plays and experiences in the theater (einaudi.it; also amazon.it). GHL owned Goldoni’s Works, a translated 3 volume set (92 in Baker, The Libraries of GE and GHL), but it is unknown if Memorie is among those books, as they are not listed individually.
217 Donizetti, Gaetano. La Favorita. It is described as a four act, Grand Opera in French, based on the play Le compte de Comminges by Baculard d’Arnaud. The libretto is by Gustav Vaëz and Alphonse Royer (Google).
218 Adelaide Borghi-Mamo, an internationally famous mezzo-soprano (The Library of Nineteenth Century Photography).
219 There was no record of him that could be found. Apparently, he was not as famous as Borghi-Mamo. See Appendix E.
220 This is neither his first name or the role he played, so the reference is obscure.
221 No record of this performer could be found. See Appendix E.
went in search of a new one & bought a nice one. After lunch took another walk & she read Goldoni aloud. Tea & bed early.-- **Saturday 13**\textsuperscript{th}. Head better but the rheumatism in my left leg more & more troublesome.

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ITALY 1869

partly no doubt in consequence of the weather which is again wet & cold. Looked after a carriage to take us to Savona\textsuperscript{222} & arranged hire for 10 Napoleons & bnona mano.\textsuperscript{223} Bought a flask for brandy & had it filled for ½ franc. Read Mad. De Girardin’s *Marquise de Pontanges*\textsuperscript{224} & Goldoni. Dined in our room; & after tea went to bed. At 12 we were awakened by delightful music—a fine orchestra was executing a sounnile\textsuperscript{225} in honor of the birthday of the Counts [sic] daughter\textsuperscript{226} who possess this hotel & who lives on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} floor. It continued for an hour & we should have gladly listened for two. **Sunday 14 March.** Up at 7:30. The day brilliant but the wind cold. Headache gone; sciatica worse. Polly also out of sorts, yet we decided on starting. We enjoyed the drive over the mountains to Mentone.\textsuperscript{227} The glimpses of the town & the lea, & of houses from the heights, & the lovely range of mountains’ with the distant snow fields rendered the journey a constant delight. At Mentone we stopped at the Hotel Vittoria\textsuperscript{228}—a

\textsuperscript{222}A seaport in northern Italy (Google).
\textsuperscript{223}Tip for the driver (Googletranslate).
\textsuperscript{224}Girardin, Emile de, Mme. *Monsieur le Marquis de Pontanges*. Paris, 1866. (hathitrust.org).
\textsuperscript{225}Possibly *sonnailles*, French for “jingling of bells.”(dictionary.reverso.net). There might have been a midnight carillon or bell-ringing concert in honor of the Count’s daughter’s birthday.
\textsuperscript{226}Except for Palgrave mentioning that the hotel was managed by How (77), a record of who actually owed the hotel, i.e. the Count’s name or his daughter’s, has not been discovered. See Appendix E.
\textsuperscript{227}Small commune on the French Riviera on the Franco-Italian border (Google). Also spelled Menton. See Map Nice to Mentone in Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{228}Palgrave says that, in 1860 when his book was compiled, Hôtel Vittoria was “new and excellent” (89). A Hotel Victoria, located at 7 Promenade du Cap, in the town of Roquebrune Cap Martin, adjacent to Menton has a 5 star rating. However, an email correspondence, 15/3/15- 16/3/15, with Matthew Linkierman, Managing Director of the hotel, says that, while he does not know where the original town borders may have been, the new hotel, originally
grand British place, where we had an excellent dinner apart & a dreary room. We got there at 2:30 & had time for a ramble. Being Sunday all the people were out, & we saw them playing a sort of roulette of which cigars were the stakes. Tea & early bed.

**Monday 15 March.** Up at 6:30. Hotel bill for the night & dinner 33 frs. Off at 8 for San Remo where I changed a circular note & we rambled through the picturesque arched streets ↑all climbing up the sides of a hill, then lunched & started for Oneglia which we reached at 4:30. The rain kept off all day until we reached Oneglia when it came down. After wash read Creguy by our wood fire till dinner

Page break

105 ITALY 1869

At the table d’hôte a vulgar English couple (rich) & a nice quiet English couple also a French couple, the wife speaking English prettily. Horrid dinner. My sciatica complicated today with a strange feeling of lameness.

**Tuesday 16 March.** Rainy night succeeded by a morning of some promise, yet cold. Up at 6 & off at 7. The brightness soon vanished & the rain poured down in torrents, just before we

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229 Francs.

230 A city in north-western Italy. See Map Mentone to San Remo in Appendix C.

231 A circular note is a written request by a bank to its foreign partners for a specified amount of money, which can later be returned to the original bank for repayment (uslegal.com). Though circular notes are still in use today, this seems to have been the 19th century version of travelers’ checks.

232 A town in northern Italy. See Map San Remo to Oneglia in Appendix C.
reached Soana\(^{233}\) our wheel broke & we had to crawl slowly along, fortunately we were able to get on without having to walk in the mud & rain. At Soana we lunched & changed our carriage. Vulgar English there also. Reached Savona\(^{234}\) at 5:30, the sky had brightened after lunch, but the wind bitter. Waited an hour at the Savona railway station much disgusted with the officials especially the porters. Reached Genoa\(^{235}\) at 8:30. Hotel d’Italie.\(^{236}\) Our French couple there also at supper. Chatted with them & went to bed early. – **Wednesday 17 March.** Although our room was magnificent in proportions & abundant in furniture it was too dark for us to read in, so we changed it for one on the entresol,\(^{237}\) much brighter & more cheerful. It rained continuously all the morning & the damp wood gives more smoke than head in these woodfires so that staying indoors is not agreeable. Read & finished *La Marquise de Poutanges*. Lunch. Rain ceased & we went out for a ramble. Genoa not interesting on a 3\(^{rd}\) visit.—Went to the Teatro Paganini\(^{238}\) to get places for tonight, but no one was there. So we walked into the theatre & saw a rehearsal going on. Engaged with a vetturino\(^{239}\) to take us to Aiea-[sic]
Spezzia\(^{240}\) for 5 napoleons & bnona mano. Wrote to Mother. & to Tom Trollope. Excellent dinner apart. Went to theatre. La Calomnie,\(^ {241}\) a translation of Scribe’s comedy, very fairly played. \(\text{Salvini}\)^{242} the great tragedian played Raymond,\(^ {243}\) very fairly indeed, superb voice, musical pronunciation, expressive face. In tragedy I imagine he must be great. The part we saw is a difficult & a poor one, but he revealed great qualities. \textbf{Thursday 18 March.} Off at 8. Soon after we started the weather cleared & at last became brilliant & mild so that we greatly enjoyed the drive especially as far as La Ruta\(^ {244}\) where we lunched, & rambled about while the horses rested. Reached Sestri\(^ {245}\) at 4 & rambled first along the shore & then through the town up the heights of the peninsula to enjoy the view, followed by boys who were pertinacious in begging & chaffing.\(^ {246}\) At dinner a French couple agreeable enough & chatty. With them we talked as we sat over the wood fire in the \textit{salle à manger} & smoked a cigar till bedtime.

\textbf{Friday 19 March.} Up at 6 off at 7. Exquisite day & lovely drive. Lunched & rambled at Borghisaccio.\(^ {247}\) Beggars had to be driven away by threats of blows with my umbrella. As we approached Spezzia we saw troops of \textit{contadini}\(^ {248}\) in their Sunday clothes; these came from the

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\(^{240}\) La Spezia, now spelled with one ‘z’, is a major military and commercial harbor.

\(^{241}\) Scribe, Augustin Eugène. \textit{La Calomnie} (Slander): \textit{Comédie en Cinq Actes et Prose}. Heinrot et Cie: Paris, 1840 (archive.org). GHL may have been spelling the title in Italian.


\(^{243}\) The lead role in \textit{La Calomnie} is Raymond, premier Ministre (archive.org).

\(^{244}\) A tunnel, about 120 yards cut through rock (Palgrave 123). According to Palgrave, this was a common spot to stop and dine at one of the inns in the area, which he discusses in his Handbook.

\(^{245}\) Sestri Levante is a town on a promontory, south of Genoa (Google).

\(^{246}\) Good-natured teasing or banter (freedictionary.com)

\(^{247}\) This may be a local pronunciation or variation of Borghetto di Vara, which is a commune in the province of La Spezia. Palgrave lists just Borghetto as a place to visit on the way to Spezzia (he also uses two “z’s” in the spelling, like GHL). The actual name “Borghisaccio” that GHL uses does not appear in any sources.

\(^{248}\) Italian for “peasantry” (googletranslate.com).
fair held at Spezia in honour of San Giuseppe.\(^{249}\) (Not one of them ‘in liquor’!) But on entering Spezia we could barely make our way through the crowds. Finding the hotels full we resolved to start for Pisa\(^{250}\) by rail at once. Such a scene at the railway station—crowds returning by the last train!—Reached Pisa\(^{251}\) at 7:15. Hotel Gran Bretagna.\(^{252}\) Tea, eggs, & bed.

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**Saturday 20 March.** Rain again & torrents! After seeming to hold out no hope of a clearance, it became sufficiently trifling for us to go our & have a look at the Cathedral, Baptistry, & Tower,\(^ {253}\) which seemed even more lovely than memory had pictured. This hour of mitigated weather was the only one during the day; all the way to Florence\(^ {254}\) the rain & wind were violent & incessant. Tom Trollope was at the Station waiting for us. His villa a nobleman’s mansion both in grandeur & costliness. We stayed from Sat. till Thursday evening with the Trollopes having enjoyed but little of the old sights, because Polly’s sore throat & headache kept her almost a prisoner. Nothing could be kinder than our hosts. I went with them to a party at

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\(^{249}\)The San Giuseppe Fair, also known as the Festa di San Giuseppe, honoring the city’s Patron Saint Joseph is celebrated annually on March 19 (ticno.ch).

\(^{250}\)Pisa the capital city of the Province of Pisa in the Tuscany region of Italy (Google).

\(^{251}\)See Map Spezzia to Pisa in Appendix C.

\(^{252}\)According to Baedeker, there are numerous hotels called the Gran Bretagna in different cities, like Turin and Florence, as well as Pisa. For the others, he says they are excellent, but does not say much about the hotel in Pisa except to say it is “near the station” (314). Though there are many “Grand Hotels” in Pisa today, the one actually called “Grande Bretagna” is in Pistoia, twenty-one miles outside of Pisa, so it is unlikely that it is the same place that GHL and GE stayed (www. hotelgrandebretagne.eu; also googlemaps.com)

\(^{253}\)Baedeker considers these three buildings, along with the Campo Santo, the most beautiful and important in Pisa: “Three hours at least are required to explore these structures; guide unnecessary” (316). The Cathedral, called Il Duomo di Pisa, is of Romanesque design, but shows an interesting juxtaposition “between its proportions and the delicacy of its ornaments”(greatbuildings.com) ; the Baptistry, Il Battisterio di San Giovanni, is one of the largest in Italy and contains a font, a pulpit, an statues representing St. John’s martyrdom (sacred-destinations.com); and La Torre Pendente, or the Leaning Tower, perhaps one of the most famous buildings in the world because of its “unintentional tilt,” which was originally a free-standing bell-tower for the cathedral (Google).

\(^{254}\)Capital city of Tuscany. See Map Pisa to Florence in Appendix C.
Miss Blagden’s 255 -- & Polly was strong enough to accompany us to a séance at the Laboratory when Schiff 256 exhibited the instrument for measuring the rapidity of thought. Mrs. Schiff 257 agreeable. Left by train on Thursday at ½ 9 & reached Naples 258 on Friday at 7 p.m. Hotel de Gevaue. Tea & bed.

**Saturday 27 March.** After breakfast had up the landlord & made him give us another room—a really handsome room on the 2nd floor with every convenience 8 frs a day, dinner in our room at 5 fr. each. Then we rambled to have a look at the sea & town. Day lovely Place brilliant & noisy. Warm baths (hoi disant—a deficiency of hot water!) Ramble in the sun to get warm after our bath. Lunched at a pastry cook, Tickets for the San Carlo 259 tonight. Home & read & rested. Excellent dinner with

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Falernian 260 to give a classical flavour to it. Coffee & cigar & then to San Carlo, really a very splendid theatre, quite equal to its reputation. But the singers were of the most vociferous &

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255 Miss Isabella Blagden, poet and novelist (oxforddnb.com)
256 Moritz Schiff, a pioneer in the study of the nervous system, won the Monthyon Prize for his work. He was forced into exile in Italy for his liberal views, where he was offered a position at the University of Florence. In 1869, he published his study on “temperature changes in the nervous system evoked by sensory, motor, and psychic activity” (ncbi.nlm.nih.gov). He apparently invited GHL and GE to participate in a séance at his Laboratory to illustrate his findings.
257 Mrs. Moritz (Claudia Trier) Schiff (ncbi.nlm.nih.gov).
258 The capital city of the Italian province of Capania. See Map Florence to Naples in Appendix C.
259 The Teatro di San Carlo, known under the Bourbon monarchy as Real Teatro di San Carlo, is an opera house in Naples (Google).
260 Made from late harvest grapes in the Campania region of Italy, and left to age at least 15-20 years in clay amphorae, Falernian is a Roman wine with a “strong, fruity flavor” favored among “the emperors and the wealthy” for centuries (timelessitaly.me). It is unknown if GHL had ancient Falernian or some approximation of it for his time.
least intelligent, the music by a living maestro Petrella,\textsuperscript{261} insipid & characterless, & the audience at once enthusiastic & brutal. They howled at the tenor when he sang out of turn & the prima donna actually smiled selfsufficiently [sic] while the audience hissed her fellow singer! Did not stay for the ballet. Took a fiacre as it was raining and the cocher\textsuperscript{262} not only had the impudence to ask double his fare but brought me the tarrif to see—supposing I could not read Italian, being a Francese.\textsuperscript{263}

**Sunday 28\textsuperscript{th}**. Brilliant day with cold east wind. Walked to the Museo\textsuperscript{264} to find it closed. The streets very lively, fête day.\textsuperscript{265} Drove to the Chiaza\textsuperscript{266} but the cold wind made us glad to get out at the gardens & walk home. Bought a *petit pain* & some *patisserie*\textsuperscript{267} for lunch. Read Schiff & Herzen’s\textsuperscript{268} papers. Went out again for a stroll on the shore & through the streets. Back

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\textsuperscript{261}Errico Petrella was a prolific and successful composer of opera, particularly between 1850 and 1870 (unsungcomposers.com).

\textsuperscript{262}Cocheire, misspelled in the diary, is a carriage driver.

\textsuperscript{263}Since GHL spoke French and mostly used French currency, as that was the most acceptable international coinage (Palgrave 8), the driver apparently thought he was French, rather than English. Palgrave does warn his readers that, especially in Italy, those who use francs will be subject to “attempts at imposition, because . . . perceiving his ignorance of the money . . . will draw their conclusion that he is equally ignorant as to the amount to which they are fairly entitled” (8). It seems from GHL’s experience that Palgrave was right.

\textsuperscript{264}Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, The National Archeological Museum of Naples, established in 1585, is one of the most important museums of Roman, Pompeian, and Herculean art and antiquities in the world (Google).

\textsuperscript{265}There does not appear to be an official “fête day” on March 28 on the Italian calendar. It is unknown why GHL referred to the day like this.

\textsuperscript{266}Though GHL and other travelers, such as American writer, Fanny Hall, in her book, *Rambles through Europe*: . . ., refer to “the Chiaza,” this church was difficult to be located, though there is a church called Santa Chiara, or St Clare. Established in 1310, it is one of the largest and most beautiful basilicas in Italy (sacred-destinations.com). It is possible that “Chiaza” is a diminutive of Clare, and that the church or area is called “the Chiaza” familiarly in Italy, or it could be a combination of *chiesa* and *piazza*, the Italian words for church and plaza.

\textsuperscript{267}Small loaf of bread and pastries.

\textsuperscript{268}Drs. Moritz Schiff and Alexandar Herzen, his former assistant, created the Schiff-Herzen hypothesis about the co-related functions of the spleen and the pancreas in digestion. Schiff had first proposed this theory in 1862, and he and Herzen worked on proving it for a number of years (Inlow 29). It cannot be determined which papers GHL was actually reading at this point, but over the next few days, he apparently named them.
thoroughly tired & east winded. After dinner not inclined to move out had tea & Polly read aloud Secchi & Goldoni.— **Monday 29**th. Day milder. Started by rail for Pompei at 10--two hours among the ruins which would have been thoroughly delightful but for a chattering guide & vulgar Italian family dogging our steps. The uncovered portions contain little of interest, after one has seen the old parts, & the new entrance is much less impressive than when we entered by the street of tombs. Very tired & began to think sightseeing a bore. Back at 3 & walked to the hotel through a cold & fierce wind recently risen.

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**Page break**

Read till dinner. After dinner Polly read Goldoni aloud.

**Tuesday 30 March.** Read Herzen “Sulla Volouti.” Went to Post-- no letter. Walked to the Museo and enjoyed the sculpture. Drove back, bought gloves, & a work on Italian Philosophy, Franchi *Delle Scuole Italiane,* & began to read it till Lunch. Omelette. Drove to the Chiaza, walked about looking on the sea & mountains & city, sat in the welcome sun looking at the promenades, children, & c. Home to read Franchi. After dinner Polly & I alternatively read aloud Goldoni & I cont Franchi till bedtime.

**Wednesday 31 March.** Read Franchi. No letter again! Went to the Museum, sculpture,

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269 This seems to be a British expression. The east-wind is considered “bleak, unpleasant, and injurious to health . . . Hence east-winded” (findwords.info).

270 Pompeii was an ancient Roman town near Naples (Google), which was covered by an eruption of Mt. Vesivious’s volcanic lava, capturing daily life in stone. It is an important archeological site and popular tourist attraction.

271 This must have been the title of Herzen’s paper that GHL mentioned reading in the entry of March 28”. It may have become a chapter or other section of a work Herzen completed in 1877, “Lezioni Sulla digestion” (tpu.ru).

Bronzes, & Pompeian paintings. Home to lunch & reading. Walked up to Capodimonte & there took a carriage & drove along the pozzi naler to the baude rossi & home. In the evening went to the San Carlo: Parisna, first time I heard this opera.

[APRIL]

Thursday 1 April. Read Schiff Sulla Digestione. Uneasy at the non arrival of a letter from Charles. Went to Museum—paintings which did not detain us long, & we then descended to the sculpture. Walking home a man ran up against Polly & snatched off the locket (with my portrait) which was suspended to a watch chain.

[possibly omitted date for Friday 2 April] Rain poured in torrents all day. Took a cab to the Bankers & there arranged about the shipping of a case of statuettes for us. Polly & I alternatively read aloud Goldoni’s interesting memoirs.

Saturday 3rd. A fine day at last, but made bad by headache. Selected statuettes & other objects value 5£—Met Dr Wyatt on the Chiaza—dreadfully bored thereby. After dinner packed up.

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271 GHL uses the English word, but he means the Museo.
272 Parco di Capodimonte is a public park in front of a royal palace with extensive paths and woodlands (Google).
273 This seems to describe pathways in the park, but a map of the park itself could not be obtained.
274 Parisina d’Este is a serious opera composed by Donizetti with libretto Felice Romani. It was first performed in 1833 in Florence (donizettisociety.com).
275 This most likely if the paper by Schiff mentioned in the entry of March 28. It is probably contained in Schiff’s collected papers published in 1894-1898, but it is not listed alone among his works (encyclopedia.com).
276 Word is unclear. There appears to be a skip of the pen, so the stem of the second ‘t’ is missing.
277 George Robert Wyatt, whose “worthless observations droned in our ears” spoiled their “last rare bit of sunshine and blue sea at Naples” (GE, Letter to John Blackwood, 6 April, 1869 in Haight, Letters, V, 24).
Sunday 4 April. Before starting this morning I ran over to the post & great was my delight at finding at last a letter from Charles with good news of Mother. At ½ 9 we started & reached Rome\textsuperscript{281} at 7. At both termini the exasperation (& draughts) were not conducive to health & equanimity. The railways in this part of Italy disgracefully managed. The Dogana\textsuperscript{282} tiresome because futile -- Hotel Minerva.\textsuperscript{283} Supper among French people & bed. From Ceprano\textsuperscript{284} to Rome we traveled with the pleasant French couple – named Rey of Bordeaux- whom we met at Oneglia & Genoa. Too much talk with them in carriage—interrupted the view. - Monday 5\textsuperscript{th}. Bright sunshine, after the torrents of rain yesterday very acceptable. Walked out a little to warm our feet. Drove to Bankers\textsuperscript{285} who on seeing my name came up & offered civilities, gave me tickets & c—promised to respect our incognito & not let English or Americans know. Drove to Teatro di Apollo\textsuperscript{286} to secure stalls for tonight. Then to the capitol.\textsuperscript{287} Got out & rambled from the capitol to the Coliseum\textsuperscript{288} rejoicing almost as much in the sunshine as in the antique remains. Drove to the Swiss confectioner’s\textsuperscript{289} at the corner of the Piazza Colonna\textsuperscript{290} & lunched there. Home & rested. ↑Wrote to Mother. Then went to the Capitol museum & saw the pictures—

\textsuperscript{281}See Map: Naples to Rome in Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{282}Customs.
\textsuperscript{283}The Grande Hotel de la Minerve is now a modernized 5 star hotel. The building has been there since the 1600’s and there is a picture in their e-brochure of what it looked like in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century (grandhoteldelaminnerv.com). Fodor’s Travel Guide describes this landmark as being “a favorite address for everyone from Stendahl to Sartre,” but is not entirely happy with the renovation (fodor.com).
\textsuperscript{284}A small town between Naples and Rome (Google), apparently a stop along the way by train.
\textsuperscript{285}See note 275.
\textsuperscript{286}The largest lyric theater in Rome and the site for many opera premieres (Google).
\textsuperscript{287}The Capitol is known as “the citadel of Ancient Rome” and a popular tourist attraction (italyguides.it).
\textsuperscript{288}The Coliseum of Rome, also known as Flavius’ Amphitheatre, was the major arena for the Roman games (Google).
\textsuperscript{289}Baedeker is cited on Google Search as having mentioned this confectionary, but the actual citation in Baedecker has not been found.
\textsuperscript{290}A piazza in the center of Rome named for the marble column of Marcus Auerelius, which stands there (Google).
Home & read Thomas Aquinas in Rossi’s Italian translation.²⁹¹ – Dined apart—(first rate dinner for 6 frs each) as agreed on with our landlord. At 8 Drove to Teatro, saw Ristori²⁹² in “Guiditta”²⁹³ a poor made reprise with a wretched bundle of sticks for company

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Ristori herself was worth going to see for the beauty of her person & her voice & the statuesqueness of her attitudes but as a performance it never moved us & seemed far too much like a group of poser plastiques. Walked home & in the dark narrow streets lost our way.

**Tuesday 6th.** After breakfast read Thomas Aquinas & we walked to the Palace of the Caesars,²⁹⁴ & over the ruins, greatly enjoying the delicious sunshine (in spite of the cold) & the glorious sky. There sat some time in the sunny quiet of the Coliseum. Drove past Trojan’s Forum to the Swiss confectioner & bought some buns & almond biscuits to eat with bread for lunch. We were both impressed with the changed aspect of Rome—the change being obviously due to the brighter weather & the more moderate expectations. It seems splendid to us now. Rested for an hour & then went to the Sculpture of the Capitol. Our old favorites seemed more admirable than ever.

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²⁹²Adelalide Ristori, famous opera singer and tragic actress (Google).

²⁹³*Guiditta* is a biblical melodrama composed by Achille Peri with libretto by Marco Marcello (books.openedtion.com).

²⁹⁴The Palace of the Caesars on Palatine Hill is the remainder of a palace that began as a small house and ended as the edifice of Nero, as almost each Caesar who lived there embellished it in some way. After the murder of Otho, Nero’s successor, Vespasian and Titus gave back land to the people, and ultimately, due to war and time, the palace fell into ruin (travel.yodelout.com).
Drove to the Piazza del Popolo\textsuperscript{295} & walked about the Pincian\textsuperscript{296} & home through the corso.\textsuperscript{297}

Bought a pound of candles, as Polly cannot see with the two afforded by the hotel, & requires two more; & as the hotel prices are 1 fr each whereas [unclear]\textsuperscript{298} prices are 1 fr for 4, the economy is striking. Reached home at 4 ½ & read Story’s Roba di Roma\textsuperscript{299} till 6 (dinner) After dinner & nap Polly & I continued aloud Goldoni’s Memoirie.

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\textbf{Wednesday 7 April.} Transcendant [sic] day, if the wind were not so cold! Read Thomas Aquinas. Went to the Piazza Navona\textsuperscript{300}, market day, & then drove to the Vatican\textsuperscript{301}—spent two hours in the sculpture galleries which were horribly chill, but otherwise intensely delightful. Drove home, journaled\textsuperscript{302} & lunched. Then drove to the Villa Wolkonsky\textsuperscript{303} to the gardens of which we had a ticket of admission. The gardens very ordinary but the delicious views of the

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\textsuperscript{295}A large urban square in Rome used for public gatherings such as carnivals, games and executions (tourismoroma.it).

\textsuperscript{296}Pincian Hill, named for the Pincii family who settled in the area, is a Roman hill with gardens and a view of the Piazza del Popolo (italyguides.it).

\textsuperscript{297}Via del Corso is a main street in the historical center of Rome, known for being absolutely straight in the middle of an area of small curving roads and alleyways (Google).

\textsuperscript{298}Words are hard to read and may be in Italian. They may refer to town prices as opposed to hotel prices, considering the context of the sentence.

\textsuperscript{299}Story, William Wetmore. Roba di Roma.\textsuperscript{4th} edition. London, 1864. The first edition was published in 1862. According to Baker, there was a copy of Story’s Fiametta (872 in Libraries of GE-GHL), but not Roba di Roma, even though GE read it in 1863. It is surprising that GHL is reading it now in 1869, but it does not appear to be a book they owned.

\textsuperscript{300}The most elegant and cheerful of all the piazzas, this was built on the site of Domitian’s Stadium, where games were held (turismoroma).

\textsuperscript{301}The center of Roman Catholicism and the seat of the Pope, the Vatican contains libraries and museums, as well as basilicas and chapels (vatican.va). The Vatican was the key site of meetings both for Lewes and for Casaubon in Middlemarch.

\textsuperscript{302}There seems to be an extra ‘y’ in the word. Perhaps GHL meant to write “journaled.”

\textsuperscript{303}Owned by a Russian princess in the 1830’s, this mansion became the “official residence” of the British ambassador (Google).
town & the mountains, together with the sweet blue sky & the stillness of the place made an hour’s idling there very agreeable. Then drove to Sante Maria Maggiore, but the chill of the empty Church was more than I could bear & I quickly came out, not however before I felt that my throat had been caught. Drove to the Baths in the Via Babuino & thoroughly enjoyed them. Then walked on the Pincian & home, pleasantly tired after this delightful day.

**Thursday 8th April.** Transcendant day, sky cloudless, & no wind, so that existence is a delight again, & after the weather of the last few weeks such temperature & sky are doubly welcome. After breakfast we walked to the Vita Farnesina, the Palace of the Caesars, where the excavations are still going on rapidly. Rambled about there, sat down & explored for a couple of hours, then drove to S’Peter’s & home to lunch. Drove to Bankers, & to the Baths of Caracalla which under this sky are delightful nooks for sitting down & reading while enjoying the view. Ascended the stairs which lead to a height from whence a superb view of Campagna. Met Mrs Mathews there rambling with her daughter. She promised to respect our agreement. Drove home with the sun in one’s reins.

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304 The Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore is one of the great churches of Rome, boasting a beautifully preserved Byzantine interior in an 18th century exterior (sacred-destinations.com).
305 Via del Baubino is a street that connects some popular piazzas and is a main part of the area known as Tridente (Google). No site gives much history of the Baths.
306 It is unclear whether GHL meant VIA, because he has a ‘T’ in the word or VILLA, even though he crossed what then should have been an ‘L,’ and he has only one. The map does not seem to show a Via Farnesina now, but the Villa Farnesina is “considered one of the noblest and most harmonious creations of the Italian Renaissance,” decorated with frescoes by some of the greatest artists of that time (villafarnesina.it).
307 St. Peter’s Basilica, a masterpiece of late Renaissance architecture, can hold up to 20,000 worshipers (Google).
308 The largest surviving ruin of a bath complex big enough to service 1600 bathers at once (reidsitaly.com).
309 Lowland plain surrounding Rome (britannica.com).
310 Mrs. Charles James (Lucia Elizabeth Bartolozzi) Mathews. Her husband used to produce GHL’s plays (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 480).
**Friday 9th April.** Another superb day! Drove to the Vatican immediately after breakfast. Sistine Chapel. Michel Angelo [sic] here displays the prodigality of his powers. Were more impressed than we were before. Raphael’s *Stanze L’Incindeo* very bad, every figure (except the man on tiptoe reaching towards the child & the young man assisting the woman with water) posed, no agitation except that of the wind’s blowing hair & Seraphim. *The Dispute* very fine, the figure of Adam our favorite. *The Miracle of Bolsena* & *School of Athens* were old favorites. Went also to see the pictures; opinions of the *Transfiguration* unchanged. Delighted with Poussin’s *martyrdom of Erasmus*. Drove home to lunch. There read Thomas Aquinas & drove to the Villa Ponefili, arrived there we found that only two horse public carriages were admitted, so we had to get out & walk about the grounds, which however was very delightful; as we were coming away, Mr. & Mrs. Bullock (late Miss Cross) came over & we had a long chat with & promised to go to see show this evening. But after dinner Polly felt too fatigued to stir, so I went alone.

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311 The chapel, in the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican, is the official residence of the Pope (Google). Its ceiling paintings by Michelangelo are world famous.

312 *Stanze dell’ Incendio*, or *The Fire in the Borgo*, 1514, depicts an 847 fire just outside the Vatican walls which is miraculously extinguished by Pope Leo IV. It is the only painting in the room completed by Raphael. The other frescoes in the room were done by his assistants (vaticanstate.va; also italian-renaissance-art.com).

313 *The Disputation of the Holy Sacrament or Disputa*, by Raphael, depicts an argument between Heaven and earth about Transubstantiation (catholicsaintmedals.com).

314 Raphael’s *The Miracle of Bolsena*, also known as *The Mass of Bolsena*, illustrates an event that occurred in 1263, when the priest and corporal become convinced about transubstantiation through the bleeding of the host (vaticanstate.va).

315 *The School of Athens* is one of Raphael’s most famous paintings. All the philosophers have the faces of prominent men of the time (vaticanstate.va).

316 *The Transfiguration*, depicting Jesus rising to glory, was Raphael’s last painting (Vatican.va).

317 *The Martyrdom of Erasmus* by Nicholas Poussin, which was not discussed by GHL in detail, was ultimately destroyed in the bombing of Dresden in 1945 (gutenberg.org/articles/Lost_artworks).

318 Villa Doria Pomphili is a seventeenth century mansion with a large, landscaped park (Google). GHL used an “f” in the spelling.

319 William Henry Bullock (Hall) and the former Elizabeth Denniston Cross (Haight, *GE Letters IX*, 443).
Saturday 10th. Weather continued superb. Walked to the Coliseum & about the Palace of the Caesars until ½ 12. Lunch. Went to the Sciarra Palace320 & to our great delight found only the four memorable pictures were to be seen. More than some pleased with the Modesty & Vanity of davinci321, & the Mother & Bambino of Fra Bartolomeo322. Drove through the Borghese Gardens323 & walked home across the Pincio.324 Bargained with a driver to take us tonight to the Illumination.325 He asked 20 frs & took 10 frs – as that is five times the ordinary fare it is pretty well. But on such occasions they expect to make a harvest.

Read Orlando Furioso326 but after 3 cantos came to the conclusion that I am too old or not old enough for such literature. At ½ past 7 we started for the Illumination. AS we crossed the Ponte Sisto327 the aspect of the church in its silver illumination was very lovely, and on entering the piazza the sight of the whole colonnade & church with the fountains flinging up their spray, the granite obelisk lifting its cold, great height above the place & the tumult very impressive. The Golden illumination did not at first seem so beautiful as on the former occasion, but the longer we stayed there the more exquisite it seemed. After an hour’s gazing came home & to bed,—restless night, vainly wrestling with fleas!

320 A grand mansion of the 17th century with elaborate ceiling paintings and artwork (Google).
321 Modesty and Vanity by Leonardo DaVinci presents “two female half figures . . . one with a veil . . . and the other . . . beautifully arrayed” (Kugler in Hare 54).
322 Fra Bartolomeo’s painting, La Madonna con il Bambino, depicts Mary holding baby Jesus, with Joseph at her side (Google listing for Original Color scans.library.utoronto.ca/pdf/1/21/.../collectedworks05hareuoft.pdf).
323 Villa Borghese Gardens is a large garden “in the naturalistic English manner” (Google).
324 Another name for the area around Pincian Hill (Google).
325 An Easter ceremony of the Catholic Church.
326 An Italian epic poem by Ludvico Ariosto (Google).
327 An arched bridge spanning the Tiber River (Google).
Sunday 11th April. Polly not well—diarrhea & headache. Rambled in the Palace of the Caesars & the Coliseum. Delicious day. Home to lunch. Wrote to Mother. I went out for a stroll leaving Polly on the sofa. Had a cup of coffee & cigarette at the Greco— the only good coffee I have had in Italy. Read Liddell’s Rome & Secchi *Forze Frische*. We did not go out to see the Girandola as Polly was unwell.

Monday 12th. The weather continues superb; but the festa makes Rome the reverse of agreeable; all galleries closed & the streets crowded. Polly’s diarrhea continuing we could make no expeditions. Drove to S’Peters to see the presents approved for the Pope – saw the devout kissing S’Peter’s toes. In the evening I just peeped out at the illumination [sic] while Polly went to bed.

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Friday 16th April. Since last entry our days have been much like their predecessors except the one Wednesday we dined with the Bullocks at the Falcone to experience a regular Italian dinner—frogs (delicious and all the frog not the legs only as in France—the taste a combination of boiled chicken & lobster) quails, wild boar, and a long succession of drinks served with great slowness so the dinner lasted from 7 till 11. Great fun over it. – Yesterday we had a brilliant day at Tivoli & the ville of Hadrian, but it turned cold as we approached home & that or the

328 The Antico Caffè Greco opened in 1760 and “has long been the haunt of artists and literati” (fodors.com).
329 The Girandola is a windmill that was attached to the Castle of St. Angelo in the 1400’s, and lit with fireworks on Midsummer Eve, which is the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (commune.roma.it).
330 St. Peter’s Basilica.
331 Antico Falcone is still in business, according to My Travel Guide. It serves a traditional Roman menu.
332 An ancient Italian town previously called Tibur (Google).
333 Once the palatial complex of Emperor Hadrian, it is large archeological center in Tivoli (Google).
fatigue or the dinner has rather upset us today. Moved into new & better room. Went to the Lateran Museum\textsuperscript{334} & San Clemente.\textsuperscript{335} After lunch to the Vatican Library & Braccio Nuovo\textsuperscript{336}. Called on the Bullocks. Bought a mosaic brooch. & home. Wrote to Trollope.

**Saturday 17\textsuperscript{th}**. The rain which returned yesterday afternoon has never ceased today, nevertherless we went to the Vatican & enjoyed the sculpture & all the afternoon. I read About’s “Trente et Quarante”\textsuperscript{337} In evening read Secchi & Beuvenuto Celluci.\textsuperscript{338}

**Sunday 18\textsuperscript{th}**. Rain again! Stayed in all morning reading Secchi. When a break in the clouds tempted us out we took umbrellas & cloaks & walked to the Coliseum. Read Cellini. In the evening Mrs Cross with son & daughter\textsuperscript{339} came for an hour.

**My Fifty Second Birthday**. Both Polly & I had entirely forgotten it.

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\textsuperscript{334} One of the museums in the Vatican, the Lateran Profane Museum contains art and sculpture “which could not be adequately placed in the Vatican Palace” (Vatican.va).

\textsuperscript{335} A minor basilica dedicated to Saint Clement (Google).

\textsuperscript{336} Braccio Nuovo was the new wing at the time in the Vatican Museums (Google).


\textsuperscript{338} Cellini, Benvenuto. *Vita: scritta da lui medesimo. 2 vols. 12mo*, Firenze, 1846 (403 in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*). Since GHL is not specific about the title, it may be assumed a book he owns and has probably read before.

\textsuperscript{339} Mrs. William (Anna Chalmers Wood) Cross, and her son, John Walter (who later married GE) (Haight, *GE Letters, IX*, 409). It is unclear which daughter was there.

\textsuperscript{340} Exit pass.

\textsuperscript{341} Rossini composed the *Petite Messe solonnelle* in 1863 (uchicgo.edu). GHL got tickets to a performance of it.
Bought some books & drove to the Barberini Palace\textsuperscript{342} - disappointed with the Cousi\textsuperscript{343} & the Titians.\textsuperscript{344} Looked at the Dioscuri on Monte Cavallo\textsuperscript{345} & drove along the Appian Way.\textsuperscript{346} Rambled about the Palace of the Caesars. Dressed & dipped into Preller’s ‘Dieux L’ancienne Rome.’\textsuperscript{347} The carriage we had ordered to come for us this evening (the only closed carriage I could find) failed us & we had to go in an open one to the Mass. Dreary affair; very small audience in large salle; Music coarsly sung.

**Tuesday 20\textsuperscript{th}**. Headache. Rambled & sat on the Pincian enjoying the sunlight. After lunch drove in the Borghese Gardens & on the Pincian. Our last day in Rome, which I leave without regret, altho’ m opinion has greatly changed this visit. Still I have had enough of it & want to be home & at work again. **Wednesday 21\textsuperscript{st}**. Started for Foligno\textsuperscript{348} after an irritating time of it at the station. The management of railways in Italy is trying to the northern patience! No food to be had en route, though we stayed 50 minutes at Narni\textsuperscript{349} (most picturesque of cities!) & long waits at other stations. At Foligno fresh exasperation but finally got off to Assisi\textsuperscript{350} which we reached at 9. The whole journey was very beautiful & the slowness of the transit enabled us enjoy it. The scene from the station to Assisi & through the town in the brightest of moonlights- one of the

\textsuperscript{342}The Palazzo Barbarini houses the Galleria Naziionale d’Arte Antica, the National Gallery of Antique Art (Google).
\textsuperscript{343}The name of the artist is unclear.
\textsuperscript{344}Tziano Vecellio, known as Titian, was an artist of the Venitian school in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century (Google).
\textsuperscript{345}The Dioscuri are copies of 5\textsuperscript{th} century statues with the Fountain Monte Cavallo built in front of them. It is opposite the Palazzo del Quinnale, which is now the official residence of the President of the Italian Republic (Google).
\textsuperscript{346}The cobblestoned Via Appia Antica is the earliest and most strategically most important of Roman roads (Google).
\textsuperscript{348}Ancient town in the province of Perugia (Google). See Map: Rome to Foligno in Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{349}Ancient hill town in Umbria overlooking the Nera River (Google). See Map Rome to Folgino in Appendix C
\textsuperscript{350}A commune in Perugia (Google). See Map: Foligno to Assisi in Appendix C
most memorable drives we have had.—At the station the coachman eager in competition offered
to take us for

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a franc-(one for half a franc)- but when we reached the hotel we found that the man who had
made this bargain had got down en route & let another in his place who repudiated the
arrangement, said it was none of his, & demanded 2 francs as fare per tariff.—Supper & bed.

**Thursday 22 April.** Headache. Drove to the Convent\(^{351}\) & saw the Giottos\(^{352}\) one superb
Madonna & saint! Striking panoramic view from the terrace. Drove & walked about in the
delicious sunlight. Went to St Chiara\(^{353}\) & Cathedral.\(^{354}\) Lunched. Lost (& found) my ticket for
luggage. Started at 2 for Perugia.\(^{355}\) Rambled about the town & got a nap before dinner, but it
did not ease my headache. Frenchman & his wife whom we met at Lestri & Spezzia.

**Friday 23.** San Domenico,\(^{356}\) Sala de Cambio with Perugia’s frescos.\(^{357}\) Bought Vico Scienza

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\(^{351}\)There are many convents in Assisi, but GHL might have meant the San Damiano Convent where St. Francis “first received his miraculous calling” (sacred-destinations.com).

\(^{352}\)Giotto di Bondone, a Florentine artist, painted frescoes at the Lower Church of the Basilica of St. Francis.(giottobondone.org).

\(^{353}\)The Basilica di Santa Chiara is a lovely church and piazza is dedicated to St. Clare, one of St. Francis’s most fervent followers. She began a woman’s order, called the Poor Clares who follow St. Francis’s monastic lifestyle (*Fofor’s Essential Italy* 155).

\(^{354}\)The Cathedral of San Rufino is a 13\(^{th}\) century edifice containing the font at which St. Francis was baptized (Google).

\(^{355}\)It is the capital city of Umbria in central Italy and was one of the main Etruscan city states. It is located on a hilltop and surrounding area (Google). See Map: Assisi to Perugia.

\(^{356}\)San Domenico is the largest religious building in Perugia (Google).

\(^{357}\)To offset the “sordid” business atmosphere, merchant cities would use architecture and art to disguise the places where money transactions occurred. “The Room of Exchange” in Perugia was decorated with magnificent frescoes by Pietro Perugina (*Italian Commerce in the Middle Ages* 90).
Long ramble, delicious views of the valley. Reached Florence at 4½. After dinner Mr & Mrs Trollope had to go out, so we stayed briefly with Bæ & had singing.

**Saturday 24.** Bæ drove us to the Badia Bargello, Sta Croce, and Sta Maria Novella. Delight in the old pictures. Ghirlandaio & Giotto not lost their hold over us! Went to Bankers & to San Marco the interior of which Polly had never seen. Fra Angelico. Rambled with Trollope. Dined at 2. Cigar under the loggia. Evening walk to San Miniato—superb sunset.

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**Sunday 25.** Polly & I went to the Uffizi, Pitti, & Annunziata to see the pictures. After lunch Trollope & I called on the Marsh’s & promised we should all dine there tomorrow. Rambled in the podere, but Polly’s headache came out & she went early to bed. I sat up trying to explain spectrum analysis to Trollope.

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359 This is most likely the Trollopes’ daughter, Beatrice (dnb.com). However, living in Florence, her name would be pronounced Bay-ah-Tree-chay, so the diminutive would be Baè, or Bay-ah. It is unclear whether GHL made up the spelling of the shortened name based on phoetics or if she spelled it like this.
360 This art museum, set in a 13th century palace, contains many works by Michelangelo (Google).
361 The Basilica of Santa Croce is the main Franciscan church in Florence (Google).
362 The Basilica of Santa Maria Novella is the main Dominican church in Florence (Google).
363 The great Italian painters, Domenico Ghirlandaio and Giotto di Bondone.
364 This is a religious complex comprising a church and a convent, which is also a museum (Google).
365 The Sala dell Ospizio, a greeting room for pilgrims that has been turned into a gallery comprising the most important panel paintings by Fra Angelico (The Museums of Florence).
366 The Logia dei Lanzi is a building composed of high arches opening to the street (Google).
367 The San Miniato al Monte, described as “the finest Romanesque structure in Tuscany, is a basilica set on the highest point in the city (Google).
368 The Uffizi Gallery, one of the oldest and most famous art museums; Pitti Palace, which houses several important museums; and the Santasimma Annunziata, a highly decorated and venerated Marian shrine (Google).
369 Mr. and Mrs. George Perkins Marsh, the American ambassador (Haight, *GE Letters*, VIII, 452).
Monday 26 April. Went to the Accademia, San Marco, bought a mosaic brooch. Ramble with the Trollopes & dined at the Marsh’s. No one there but ourselves & Miss Blagden.

Tuesday 27th. Started for Bologna at 10:30. Dined there & got on to Ravenna that night. Ordered tea, & they brought us so strange a herb that we dared not venture on it. The odor like the place smells rather too much of primitive Christianity.

Wednesday 28th. Horribly disappointed with Ravenna & its Churches. Had one never seen any mosaics or ancient churches it would have been interesting, but to come all this way to such quarters & for such sights was not exhilarating. However the drive & ramble through the Pineta made amends. That was inexpressibly lovely & the day superb. Our dinner having been ordered at 1:30 we were enabled to change our plans & get to Bologna the same night. Such a dinner! Such a fowl was never brought to table! At Bologna (Hotel Brini) we had a good supper & looked at the large stars while I smoked a cigarette.

Thursday 29th. Off at 10:30 for Verona—reached it at 5. Torre de Lourda. Only a newly married couple at table d’hôte—they billing & cooing in the most unabashed manner.

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370 The Gallery of the Academy contains the David, as well as many other Michelangelo sculptures and Renaissance and Russian icons (Google).
371 The largest city in the Emilia-Romagna region of Italy (Google). See Map: Florence to Ravenna in Appendix C.
372 The capital city of the Ravenna province and the capital of the Western Roman Empire until its collapse (Google). See Map: Florence to Ravenna in Appendix C.
373 Large, lowland forest, particularly of pinewood (lidinordavenna.com).
374 See Map: Ravenna back to Bologna in Appendix C.
375 Via Giuseppe Brini is a street in Bologna, and there are numerous tour guides named Brini available for hire. Perhaps the hotel was either located on the the street, or it was a family-owned hotel. In any case, no information has been found for the hotel at all, and a Hotel Brini does not seem to be listed in any of the usual sources used here.
376 Verona is the largest city in Veneto in Northern Italy, and the third largest city in the country (Google). See Map: Bologna to Verona in Appendix C.
377 It is unclear if this is a tourist attraction or hotel. There is not enough information to identify it from the sources.
I took a starlight ramble to see the old spots—Piazza della Signori, Piazza del Erbe, Arena & c.\textsuperscript{378} Bought gloves & a book by Mantegna. Fisiologia del Piacere.\textsuperscript{379}

**Friday 30 April.** Up at 6. Ramble. Went to the Arena.\textsuperscript{380} Drove to San Lenone—Mantegna.\textsuperscript{381} Giardino Publicco & Duomo.\textsuperscript{382} Lunch. Started at 2 for Munich.\textsuperscript{383} The Brenner Pass\textsuperscript{384} very fine. At Bolzano\textsuperscript{385} got into carriage with driver & his daughter.

**Sat 1 May.** Reached Munich at 5:15. Baierischer Hof.\textsuperscript{386} Fine room, excellent breakfast & sleep for 2 hours. Then rambled to Englische Garten\textsuperscript{387} & Neue Pinacothek.\textsuperscript{388} Lunch drove to Gliptothek\textsuperscript{389} & Theresienwiese.\textsuperscript{390} Packed up & went early to bed.

**Sunday 2nd.** Started at 5 a.m. for Strasbourg\textsuperscript{391} but en route we stumbled on Mr. & Mrs. Johnson\textsuperscript{392} & as they were going to Strasbourg & Paris we to avoid them resolved on pushing on

\textsuperscript{378}Famous and beautiful areas in Verona, and according to VirtualTourist, these are listed in the Top Ten things to do in Verona (virtualtourist.com).
\textsuperscript{380}The Arena di Verona is Roman amphitheater made famous for its grand opera performances (Google).
\textsuperscript{381}Basilica of San Zeno di Maggiore is home to Italian painter Andre Mantegna’s famous altarpiece (virtualtourist.com).
\textsuperscript{382}The Public Gardens and the Duomo, or Veona Cathedral are also important to see in Verona(virtualtourist.com).
\textsuperscript{383}Munich, Germany is the capital and largest city in the state of Bavaria (Google). See Map: Verona to Munich in Appendix C.
\textsuperscript{384}A mountain pass through the Alps between Italy and Germany (Britannica.com).
\textsuperscript{385}Bozen or Bolzano is a city on the German-Italian border and the “center of commercial exchanges” between the two countries (Bolzano Tourist Board).
\textsuperscript{386}The Bayerischer Hof Hotel was opened in 1841 to host guests of King Ludwig I. It has always been owned by the Volkhardt family and has maintained its reputation for excellence for over almost 200 years (bayerisherhof.de). GHL seems to have misspelled the name, but the hotel is the same one in which he stayed.
\textsuperscript{387}The “English Garden” is a large municipal park that spans much of Munich (Google).
\textsuperscript{388}Actually spelled with a ‘k’ instead of a ‘c,’ the Pinakothek is an important museum of 19th century art (Google).
\textsuperscript{389}A Neo-Classical style art museum commissioned by King Ludwig to house his Greek and Roman statues (Google).
\textsuperscript{390}A large open area in Munich that serves as the grounds for Oktoberfest and other fairs and celebrations (Google).
\textsuperscript{391}A city in the Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg is “the ultimate European city,” on the border of Germany and France (gofrance.about.com).
so travelled all night & reached Paris\textsuperscript{393} at 5 on Monday morning. Drove to 4 hotels to find them full & at last got room in the Louvre.\textsuperscript{394} Had to wait for breakfast & then threw ourselves on the bed for a sleep. Rambled & made some purchases dined at the Europeen\textsuperscript{395}—badly & went to be at \(\frac{1}{2}8\). Tuesday. Was wet all day but we did a little shopping. Dined at Vefours\textsuperscript{396} & started for Calais\textsuperscript{397} by night train. Slept at Calais\textsuperscript{398} & crossed on Wednesday.

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Saturday 8\textsuperscript{th} May. Wrote letters & went to see Mother. On our return found Thornie arrived!

The poor boy looks wretchedly ill, but bears it manfully.

\textsuperscript{392}Though they were not actually named before, this was likely the “vulgar English” couple GHL and GE had met on March 15-16 (see entry) and wanted to avoid.

\textsuperscript{393}See Map: Strausbourg to Paris in Appendix C.

\textsuperscript{394}The Grand Hôtel du Louvre was a luxury hotel in operation between 1855 and 1887. It is now owned and operated by Hyatt Hotels and is rated five stars (Google; also hyatt.com).

\textsuperscript{395}A restaurant, Brasserie L’Europeen is listed in Trip Advisor with mixed reviews. It may not be the one at which GHL and GE ate, but the reviews are not much better now.

\textsuperscript{396}Le Grand Vefour, located in the Palais-Royal, was a much better restaurant, and still gets top rating today (tripadvisor.com; also yelp.com and others).

\textsuperscript{397}Town and ferry port in Northern France (Google). See Map: Paris to Calais in Appendix C.

\textsuperscript{398}This are at least four hotels called The Hotel Calais now, all run by the IBIS company, but all of them appear to be recently constructed (ibis.com). Have no documentation of the Hotel Calais at which GHL and GE may have stayed.
MAY-JUNE

“Thornie passed a quiet night without pain” (11 May).

Lewes and Eliot returned home to the Priory on May 6. Thornton arrived on the 8th, shocking them with his gaunt, worn-looking frame. Lewes immediately bought a prone couch, which was used to support a person who had to lie on his stomach while lifting him enough to breath, in the hopes of making Thornton more comfortable. These first two months of caring for Thornton were difficult because the disease was at a point of fluctuation; at times, Thornton would have no pain, even though he might be restless, and suddenly, the pain could be so severe that he would scream in agony.

Lewes is meticulous in detailing the progression of pain-relief medication administered to Thornton. Aside from the fact that Lewes wanted Thornton to feel better, the effect of the pain medications on the nervous system was of great interest to him. As he had written in his diary, Lewes had been studying the nervous systems of creatures from “Molluscs” to humans in his drive to understand physiology for Problems of Life and Mind.

Lewes had many friends in the medical science community. He brought the best doctors, particularly Sir James Paget, to treat Thornton. Different medications were tried, ranging from methylene to ether to morphia, but doses were given only as needed; the availability of opiates and morphines to the masses, especially as they were easy to prescribe and procure, was leading
to severe addictions. Even Dr. Allbutt, Lewes’s good friend from Leeds, who had initially been in favor of prescribing cocaine as both a pain medication and anesthetic, was pulling back from using it (D’Ormandy 376). Lewes’s friendship with these doctors gave him better insight into how to administer the drugs and how to keep Thornton from becoming dependent upon them. It is obvious from the diary entries that Lewes becomes more and more concerned as Thornton needs more and more morphia to keep him comfortable.
MAY 1869

THURSDAY 6. Ascension Day.

Wrote letters & went to Mother. Walked up to Hampstead to see Miss Gillies. Read Mill’s Analysis & Fortnightly.

FRIDAY 7.

Mill’s Analysis. Wrote letters. Went to Bankers.


Mill’s Analysis. Went to Mother. Thornie came home. Dreadfully shocked to see him so worn; but his spirits good & he listened with pleasure to the music.


A Dreadful day—Thornie rollin [sic] on the floor in agony. Paget came in the evening & examined him. Hope he comes in the night to give him morphia.

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399 Mary Gillies, “with whom Charles and Gertrude lived in Church Row” (Haight, GE Letters IX, 15n2).
401 Fortnightly Review. One of GHL’s abbreviations.
402 Having just returned from their trip, perhaps GHL wanted to review his accounts.
403 James Paget, reknowned physician and surgeon (see extended note 5 in Introduction)
MONDAY 10.

Went into town & got a prone couch\textsuperscript{404} for Thornie. All day nursing him. He [sic] quiet but suffering from the morphia given yesterday. Mr. Roberts (surgeon)\textsuperscript{405} called to see him.

TUESDAY 11.

Thornie passed a quiet night without pain. Went to Mother. & into town to get a new pillow for Thornie. Nursed him all day. In the evening he got excited talking about his African experiences & singing Zulu songs. Made anxious about him. Mr. Roberts called.

WEDNESDAY 12.

Thornie had another quiet night. Read Mills & looked over some parts of ‘Problems.’ Went into town & spent the rest of the day with Thornie.

THURSDAY 13.

Another quiet night—there is a ‘break in the clouds’. Read Mill & went to see Susannah; found her out. Barbara & Owen Jones called. Fields,\textsuperscript{406} American publisher, called & made a proposition about uniform \textit{Works of George Eliot}—also offered 300£ for a poem (Agatha) to appear in \textit{Atlantic}.\textsuperscript{407}

\textsuperscript{404}Created by Dr.Thomas Verral in 1836, it provided a comfortable position and support for patients suffering from spinal tuberculosis (Poland John. “On the Use of some Mechanical Devices in Surgical Treatment.” \textit{The Clinical Journal}. 30 (1907) p. 201. Books.google.com)

\textsuperscript{405}John Henry Roberts, surgeon (Haight, \textit{Letters V}, 34n8)

\textsuperscript{406}James Thomas Fields, publisher and poet (Google).

\textsuperscript{407}\textit{Atlantic Monthly}, American literary magazine still in publication. Blackwood published a Uniform Set of all of Eliot’s works in 1877, but at this time, Eliot had not yet completed all her novels.

Another quiet night. Read Mill & *Problems*. Passed the day with Thornie, not stirring out.

Susanna called.

SATURDAY 15. 20th week. *Oxford Trinity Term begins.*

Thornie woke us at 5 with spasms in the chest. Rubbed him & got him off to sleep again.— Mill’s *Analysis* and *Problems*. Burton called. Thornie slept & was uneasy all day, but brightened after dinner. At night, though headache and feverishness came on.


Thornie bilious & without appetite. Weak after dinner but revived at night. Vivian⁴⁰⁸ spent the day with him. Spencer to lunch Barbara, Mr & Mrs Fields, Miss Lowell,⁴⁰⁹ Blackwood, Lever⁴¹⁰ Pigott called.

MONDAY 17.

Thornie awoke in high spirits, singing & joking. Much better all day. Barbara sat with him after lunch. In the evening no so weak again— Read Mill & finished reading of *Problems*.

Called on Chapman⁴¹¹ The two Misses Nortons called.

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⁴¹⁰ Charles James Lever, Irish novelist (Google).
⁴¹¹ Though there are three Chapmans, Frederick, Henry, and John, that GE and GHL may have known, as indicated by their correspondence (Baker, *Lewes:Letters II*, 260). At this time, it was probably not John, though they had known him best, as he was in disgrace in France (Baker).
TUESDAY 18.

Thornie lethargic & sleepy all day. Took no food till dinner when he had revived a little. Paget came: evidently considers the case very serious.—Agnes⁴¹² came & sat over two hours & a half with him. Read Mill’s *Analysis, Revue Positive, & Habit Intelligence⁴¹³*

WEDNESDAY 19.

Today Thornie restess & uneasy & at night an attack of pain came on. *Morphia*—took 3 times to him the night. Read Mill. Called on Mrs. Fields & on Blackwood. Sat the rest of the day with Thornie. Wrote to Trollope & Charles.

THURSDAY 20.

Thornie slept all day; went into his room at 5. Dined & then had another attack. I fetched Roberts who applied bichloride of Methylene⁴¹⁴ This relieved him & he slept. Read Mill—Barbara & Owen Jones called.

FRIDAY 21.

Thornie had a quiet night. Today he was remarkably well but towards evening had Methylene as a precaution. Read Mill. Felt bilious & heavy all day.

⁴¹² Lewes legal wife and Thornton’s natural mother.
⁴¹⁴ Bichloride of Methylene is a form of anesthesia that was popular in the latter part of the 19th century that is made up of 30% methanol and 70% chloroform. It was a variation of the A.C.E. mixture, made of alcohol, chloroform, and ether, first used in 1860 at the suggestion of Dr. George Harley (Google)
SATURDAY 22. 21st Week. Trinity Term begins.

Thornie tolerably well all day. I had a splitting headache which prevented my moving till 2—then went out with Polly & called on Mother.

SUNDAY 23. Trinity Sunday.

Thornie passed good night & quiet day, but restless in the evening. Trübner, Barbara, Mrs. Clough, Mrs. Norton, Sir H. Holland, Mr & Mrs Burne Jones, Beesly, & Crompton.

MONDAY 24. Queen born, 1819.

Thornie tolerably well till he satisfied a longing for shell fish & devoured a plate of periwinkles! Indigestion followed. Went into town with Polly, shopping. Fields called & carried off ‘Agatha’ (£300.) Went to the anniversary of the Linnaean. Read Revue des Cours. Music & singing.

TUESDAY 25.

Thornie restless & uneasy all day with pain in the chest & difficulty breathing at night. Read Mill. Wrote to Lytton & Wundt. Went to mother. Warm bath. Revue des Cours.

WEDNESDAY 26.

Thornie uneasy all day without appetite. Methylene several times. No dinner. Read Mill, & began again to work at Problems. Hyde Park with Polly. Sat till 10 with Thornie when Mr & Mrs Trübner came.

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415 Mrs. Arthur Hugh (Blanch Smith) Clough (Haight, Letters IX, 402).
416 The Linnean Society of London, established 1788 (linnean.org).
417 Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron Lytton, novelist, poet, playwright, and politician (victorianweb.org).
418 Wilhelm Wundt, eminent physiologist (Baker, Lewes: Letters, Ill, 546).
THURSDAY 27.

Thornie passed a very quiet night, and was better all day, though capricious about food.

Breakfasted with Sir H. Holland. His sister, son, & daughters. Lecky\(^{420}\) there. Called on Paget-\nCovent Garden Market- Barbara sat with me & Thornie all the afternoon. Evening music & read \n*La Revue Positive*.

FRIDAY 28.

Thornie has a bad attack this morning. Methylene of no avail; gave him morphia. Felt lifeless & \nunable to work. In the evening Thornie revived greatly & we chatted with him till 10. Read \n*Revue Positive*

SATURDAY 29. 29\(^{th}\) Week.

At ½ past 1 Thornie had another attack. Gave him Morphia. His shrieks made me feel very sick \n& I awoke this morning with headache. Read Fechner’s *Central Blatt*; \(^{421}\) & papers. Went to \nmatinée musicale at the Benzons— [Lord Wentworth].\(^{422}\) Mrs. Senior, Mr. Brookfield, the \nLehmanns & c. Very lifeless after dinner & went to bed early.

\(^{419}\) See n168.  
\(^{420}\) William Edward Hartpole Lecky, historian. GE and GHL had some of his books. (Baker, *The Libraries of GE-GHL*).  
\(^{422}\) Assumed reading. See Appendix E.
SUNDAY 30. 1ST Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie restless & in pain all night, but no bad attack. All day languid & sleepy. Better in the evening. Deutsch, Pigott, Trübner, Barbara; Lord Houghton,\(^{423}\) the Fields, Miss Lowell, Crompton, Spencer, Burton, Browning. Bed at 10.

MONDAY 31.

Thornie had Methylene every 2 hours & then managed to get through the night. Went to Paget. Bought Longet 3\(^{rd}\) ed.\(^{424}\) & found myself quoted in it. Sat with Thornie Barbara came to sit with him while Polly and I took a lunch in the Park. Read Montaigne.\(^{425}\) Towards night Thornie got bad again & had Methylene & Morphia.

JUNE 1869

TUESDAY, June 1.

Thornie passed a quiet night. and was unusually well all day. Charles came home. Much shocked fainted. – Minnie & Miranda\(^{426}\) called & saw Thornie.- Polly & I took a walk. Paget came. His report unfavorable. Spent the evening with Thornie.

\(^{423}\) Lord Henry Houghton (Haight, Letters IX, 452).

\(^{424}\) Longet, Francois-Achille. *Traité de Psychologie par F. A. Longet, Troisième Édition, Tome Troisième.* Paris 1869 (hathitrust.org). This volume references GHL on pages 184 and 185. GHL has 13 volumes, 1861-9, likely including this one in his library (Baker, 1320 in GE-GHL Library).


\(^{426}\) Emily (Minnie) and Miranda Hill, Gertrude’s sisters (Haight, GE Letters IX, 449-50).
WEDNESDAY 2.

Thornie passed a tolerable night Methylene every two hours. I was bilious all day & incompetent. Gertrude & Charles dined with us. Gertrude sang to Thornie who passed a quiet day. Read La Revue Positive.

THURSDAY 3. Prince George Frederick of Wales b., 1865.

[Something is written above the entry in a different hand then removed.]

Thornie had a tolerable night but was heavy & sleepy all day. Trollope came to lunch. Barbara called. Walk with Polly. In the evening went to Linnaean Society.

FRIDAY 4.

I had a severe shock last night, suddenly wakened by the nurse calling to me to give Thornie morphia. It seemed to ice my heart. & I was a long while getting over it. Thornie in great pain, shooting thru’ the chest. The morphia quieted him. Read Biéchy: Induction427. Went with Polly to Broadwood’s. Benedict428 met us, to choose a new piano.

428 John Broadwood & Sons, prestigious piano manufacturers since 1700s (broadwood.co.uk) Benedict might have been a member of the Broadwood family or a friend of GE and GHL.
SATURDAY 5. 23rd Week.

Mrs. Hill\textsuperscript{429} called, also Mrs Davies\textsuperscript{430}. In the evening Thornie after having been very cheerful had an attack. Gave him Morphia, but at $\frac{1}{2}$ l had another attack necessitated fresh Morphia. He then slept till 3 when he ate some chicken & bread & butter & slept till 10 when he awoke with dull pain in the spine. Read Biéchy. Unable to work Polly & I went to Mother. Thornie better after lunch. Florence\textsuperscript{431} and Mrs Schmitz\textsuperscript{432} called. Charles dined with us. He chatted with Thornie till 10. Then read \textit{Archives de Physiologie}\textsuperscript{433}.

SUNDAY 6. 2nd Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie had a quiet night; & passed the day without pain; appetite good.—Mrs. Trübner, Mrs. Leighton, Spencer, George Howard, Sanderson, Mr and Mrs. Lehmann. Gertrude & Charles sat with Thornie in the evening & we walked part of the way home with them.

\textsuperscript{429}Mrs. Caroline (Southwood Smith) Hill, Gertrude’s mother (Baker, Lewes: \textit{Letters II}, 265).
\textsuperscript{430}Mrs. John Llewellyn Davies (Haight, \textit{GE Letters IX}, 413).
\textsuperscript{431}Florence Hill, Gertrude’s sister (Haight, \textit{GE Letters IX}, 450).
\textsuperscript{432}Mrs. Dora Schmitz, who knew Thornton as a boy in school (Haight, \textit{GE Letters VIII}, 286).
\textsuperscript{433}Brown-Séquard, Charles Éduoard, ed.\textit{Archives de physiologie normale et pathologique}. 9 sets of 4. Paris, 1868, 69, 70, 73-78. (316 in Baker, \textit{GE-GHL Library}). GHL could only have been reading the volume previous to or printed at the time of the diary entry, but apparently collected the volumes as they were printed.
MONDAY 7.

Thornie slept till 4 when he awoke in pain—10 drops of Morphia quieted him. Very well all day appetite large. Read ‘Revue Positive’—Headache. Went to Broadwoods London Library & Ned Chapman—Spent the afternoon with Thornie. In the evening Pigott came to play whist but after one game Thornie has a slight attack of pain; quieted him with Chloric Ether. Read Jessen ‘Psychologie’.

TUESDAY 8.

Thornie restless at night but not in much pain. Read ‘Revue Positive.’ Headache. Went to Mother. Polly & I went into town & then sat with Thornie till Paget came. Very favorable report. In the evening just after we left him Thornie had a slight attack. 10 drops of morphia & Chloric Ether quieted him. Read Jessen Psychologie.

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434 Sir Edward Francis Chapman, a British officer and son of Henry Frederick Chapman (Google).
435 Chloroform (Google).
WEDNESDAY 9.

Thornie did not sleep all night but was not in pain. This morning after soup & bread & butter he dropped asleep. Read ‘Revue Positive.’ Worked at ‘Problems’—Wrote to Agnes.—Walk in the Park. Thornie not very well all day & in the evening after Polly had played Beethoven some time to him, he had an attack; gave him Chloric Ether; then 10 drops of morphia; then 20, & finally 20 more before he grew quiet. His shouts very distressing—Pigott came in but would not stay as Thornie was in pain. About ½ past 10 he seemed at ease and at ½ 11 we went to bed. He passed a quiet night.

THURSDAY 10.

Read ‘Chimie Anatomique’ & worked on ‘Problems’ till I had to sit with Thornie who had dull pain & itching all over. Walk in the Park. Sat with Thornie till Charles & Gertrude came to dinner. Very lively in the evening but about – 10 much distended with wind which gave him great discomfort. Hot water & rubbing. Bed at 12.

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FRIDAY 11.

Thornie passed a painless but windy night; and all day he was feeble and sleepy. Mrs. Nassau Senior came & sat with him & sang to him. We had a walk in the Park. Susanna came to Lunch.

Read Aeby ‘Der Bau d. Menschlichin Körers’\textsuperscript{438} worked at ‘Problems’ In the evening music, & singing. Read Jessen’s Psychologie.

SATURDAY 12. 24\textsuperscript{th} Week. Trinity Term ends.

Thornie had a good night. Wrote to Tom Trollope. Went to Mother. Sat with Thornie the rest of the day, he heavy and dull, but not in pain. In the evening he had pains in the neck & went early to bed. I also went early to bed with headache.

[The following two entries were apparently crossed out by Lewes himself. New ones follow.]

SUNDAY 13. 3\textsuperscript{rd} Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie bilious & without appetite, sick after dinner. but revived at night. Spencer to lunch. Barbara, Mr. and Mrs. Fields, Mabel Lowell, Pigott, Blackwood, & Lever (your hat sir,\textsuperscript{439} obviously not!) Vivian spent the day with Thornie.

MONDAY 14.

Thornie awoke hungry & in high spirits, singing & joking.—Mill’s Analysis. Finished reading of Problems.

\textsuperscript{439}This may possibly be a humorous comment among friends.
[New and/or corrected entries. Lewes wrote in the days and dates for these entries. ]

**SUNDAY 13**

Thornie passed very quiet night. and well all day. ‘Problems.’ Barbara, Stanley, Mr. & Mrs. G. Howard, Alice Helps, Barton, Mr & Mrs Theodore Martin, Mr & Mrs. Burne-Jones, Colvin, Spencer, Mr & Mrs Bain, Sir H. Thompson;-- Deutsch to dinner.

**MONDAY [NO DATE].**

Thornie good night. ‘Problems.’ Charles & Gertrude music.

**TUESDAY 15.**

Thornie who was surprisingly well all yesterday had a slight attack at night. 15 drops of Morphia. Read Bernard ‘Rapport.’441 - ‘Problems’- About 12 Thornie had a bad attack; Morphia again but all day he was uneasy or in pain. Paget came& thought so seriously of the case that he proposed J Reynolds442 should also be consulted. Polly much affected by attending to him.- Octavia443 & Madame Belloc444 called. Mrs Congreve to dinner. Polly went to bed immediately after dinner, & I at 9.

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440 A note on a letter to Barbara Bodichon from GE lists the guests at this dinner party, including Alice Helps (Haight, *GE Letters V*, 45 n4).
442 John Russell Reynolds, physician and neurologist (Haight 45 n.5). See extended note 7 in Introduction.
WEDNESDAY 16.

Thornie passed a sleepless night. Morphia. This morning he was itching & with flying pains preventing sleep. At 11 he had another attack. Morphia. Pigott came. Went into town. Dr. Reynolds, Paget, & Roberts had a consultation.—Gertrude came. Charles in the evening. We sat with Thornie from 7 till 10 he having recovered his spirits & being free from pain.

THURSDAY 17.

Thornie last night had 30 drops of Morphia & was quiet till 7 when he had 30 more; & at ½ past 8 pain returned & he had 20 more. Read Bernard’s ‘Rapport’- ‘Problems.’ Thornie sleepy. Went into town to get pillow & c for him. Met Vivian & Mrs. Hill. Gertrude & Charles to dinner. Thornie had a slight attack in the evening.

FRIDAY 18.

Thornie passed a quiet night, but this morning again had Morphia; Read ‘What is Matter?’—worked at ‘Problems’ Sir J. Clark to lunch. Gertrude came. Went to town; met Erasmus Wilson. Thornie quiet all day; but had Morphia in the evening. Bain & Pigott came in.

SATURDAY 19. 25th Week.

Thornie had a good night; but in the morning about 11 Morphia & again at 4. Read “What is Matter?“ Amelia taken ill & went to bed. Sat with Thornie all day. Mrs Congreve to lunch & dinner. We all sat with Thornie till tea when Mrs C went home. Read Jessen Psychologie.

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445 Possibly a journal article in one of the many scientific journals Lewes read.
446 Sir James Clark, physician, who was “physician-in-ordinary to Queen Victoria (Google).
447 Sir William James Erasmus Wilson, surgeon and “dominant dermatologist of his time” (Powers, Oxford DNB).
SUNDAY 20. *4th Sunday after Trinity. Queen’s Ascension, 1837.*

Thornie restless all night. Morphia. Paget came at 10. After he left- Morphia again—50 drops & Methylene. Read Tyndall on ‘Faraday’ Problems; Charles to lunch. Barbara, Lord & Lady Houghton, Burton, Dr Jackson Armstrong, Mr & Mrs Call, Mrs Clough, Oscar Browning, Beesly, Crompton, Sanderson, Colvin.

MONDAY 21.

Thornie had Mophia at 11 last night & after that he slept quietly till morning. All day he was unusually well, but about 9 had Morphia. I had headache all day. Forced to go to bed between 2 & 5.30. In the evening, sat with Thornie & read Jessen.

TUESDAY 22. *Cambridge commencement.*

Thornie restless & in pain last night. Languid all day. Passed a quantity of (cross out) mucous & bile. Empson came to see him. Also Charles & Gertrude spent the evening with him. ‘Problems.’ Walk with Polly in Park. Amelia got up today; still very feeble.

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450 John Hughlings Jackson, neurologist (Haight, *GE Letters IX*, 454; also Google)
451 This might be Dr. Alexander Armstrong, who is famous for his research about venereal diseases in the navy. There is a Dr. Armstrong who appears in *The Lancet, vol I* (books.google.com) along with Dr. Hughlings Jackson, Dr. Broadbent (see note 266), and Dr. Bastian, albeit separate articles. Considering Dr. Jackson’s presence at lunch, as well as GHL’s interest in medical research, this is an interesting possibility.
452 Oscar Browning, writer, historian, and educational reformer (Google).
453 Empson (he is only called by his last name) was a friend of Thornie’s at Hofwyl and one of the first to know about GE and GHL’s relationship (Haight, *Letters VIII*, 259-60).
WEDNESDAY 23.

Thornie has an indifferent night. 15 drops of Morphia. Good day. Paget called. Report more favorable. We went into town. Mrs. Hill came to sit with Thornie. In the evening after leaving him Polly played to him Beethoven & Haydn. Read Despine ‘Psychologie’. At 11 Thornie again had Morphia, 70 drops before he was quieted; these 40 drops necessary.

THURSDAY 24. Midsummer Day.


FRIDAY 25. Cambridge Easter Term ends.

Thornie had a fair night—wind but- no spinal pain. Headache & sickness; Violent purging kept me from all work. Went to bed between 2 & 5. Gertrude & Charles came in the evening.

Thornie was quiet & out of pain.

456 Lewes kept Agnes updated on Thornie’s illness, but apparently, she did not visit often. It is unknown whose choice that may have been.
SATURDAY 26. 26th Week.


SUNDAY 27. 5th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie had good night. Paget came, report more favorable. Mr & Mrs Pattison, Burton, Deutsch, Mr Leighton, Mrs. Orr,⁴⁵⁸ Dr & Mr. Bastian, Woolner,⁴⁵⁹ M. J. Clark, G. Smith,⁴⁶⁰ Dr. B. saw Thornie & Mrs. P. sat with him. Fearful headache all day.

MONDAY 28. Queen’s Coronation, 1838.

Thornie had a bad attack last night. –110 drops of Morphia & much Methylene. This morning “feels better that he has felt since his return.” Headache better. But still present. Polly & I went to Sevenoaks. Gertrude & Charles taking our posts.

TUESDAY 29.

Sevenoaks ‘Royal Oak’ Faire day; delicious walk,. Read Boismont “Hallucinations”⁴⁶¹ and Hillern Arzt der Seele.⁴⁶² Polly read Thackeray’s ‘Georges’⁴⁶³ aloud.

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⁴⁵⁷ An essay by John Stuart Mill first published in 1869 (www.constitution.org)
⁴⁵⁸ Mrs. Alexandra Sutherland (Leighton) Orr (Baker, Lewes: Letters II, 272).
⁴⁶⁰ George Smith (Baker, Lewes: Letters II, 275).
WEDNESDAY 30.


462 Hildern, Willhemina von. *Ein Arzt der Seele*. (A doctor for the soul; a satire of bluestockings) Berlin, 1869. (http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de). It looks to be a popular novel of the time by a German actress and novelist (Google)

JULY-AUGUST

“Spent the morning in the Park . . . Thornie . . . slept without interruption all night” (14 July).

As often happens with long illness, family and friends become used to it. But it is quite a tribute to Lewes, Eliot, and Thornton that their friends continued to visit and sit with Thornton. At times, he felt well enough to sit outside and could still be distracted from his discomfort by music and games.

Lewes continued to monitor Thornton’s treatments, but now there was a certain familiarity with the disease that allowed Lewes and Eliot to periodically take short trips for respite, especially when Charles and Gertrude would stay with Thornton in their stead.

By mid-August, Thornton’s condition worsened. The stress of caring for his son begins to show in Lewes’s descriptions of Thornton’s care and in his own wavering health.
JULY, 1869

THURSDAY, JULY 1.

The weather so cold we insisted on coming home. Found Thornie flourishing. Gertrude & Charles dined with us. Read Hugo’s ‘L’Homme qui Rit’.

FRIDAY 2.


SATURDAY 3. 27th WEEK. Dog Days Begin.

Thornie restless but without pain. Read Gall ‘Fonctions’—‘Problems’. Walk in the Park. & sat with Thornie all the afternoon till Mr & Mrs Theodore Martin came, first of details about the Court. Read Despine Psychologie Naturelle. Thornie had morphia at 12 & then slept.

SUNDAY 4. 6th Sunday after Trinity.


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MONDAY 5. Dividends due at Bank.

Spoke to him about effort at self control with effect. Mrs Congreve to dinner. Read Victor Hugo ‘L’Homme qui rit’ & Esquinol ‘Maladies Mentales’. Thornie in pain about 11 but resolved to bear it & not take Morphia if possible.

TUESDAY 6.


WEDNESDAY 7.

Thornie had no Morphia but twice had pain & then slept well. Gall: ‘Fonctions’. ‘Problems.’– Mother returned from Richmond; went to her. Walk in Park & sat all the afternoon with Thornie who was fidgety & hysterical. Finished L’homme qui rit. Paget came. Reported no change. Esquirol ‘Maladies Mentales.’ Thornie had 30 drops of Morphia & slept.

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467 William Ralston Shedden-Ralston, scholar and Russian translator (Haight, Letters IX,501; also Google).
468 Sir James FitzJames Steven, judge and criminal law reformer (Britannica.com).
THURSDAY 8.

Last night Thornie had a very bad attack. 80 drops of Morphia unavailing & then we found there was no more in the house. Tried Methylene without effect & after 60 drops of Laudanum he was quiet. Read Maudsley ‘Pathology of the Mind’—‘Problems’ London Library. G. Smith. Sat with Thornie. Read ‘De l’Organicisme’ Gertrude came in the evening. Esquirol.


Bad night again from 2-5. Took 110 drops of Morphia. This morning better again. Maudsley. ‘Problems’ Went to town: Alderman, Ellis, Covent Garden. In the evening Mrs Bray Esquirol. Thornie had 30 Morphia. Retention of urine & difficulty of movement.

SATURDAY 10. 28th WEEK. Oxford Trinity Term ends.

Thornie had no pain last night but complained of imperfect motor power. Maudsley. ‘Problems.’ Mother. Thornie was carried down & passed the afternoon on a sofa on the Lawn; enjoyed it; not fatigued. Read & finished Esquirol. Thornie quiet & comfortable night.

SUNDAY 11. 7th Sunday after Trinity.

Paget came & agreed that Roberts need not call every day as Thornie was so much better.

Gertrude & Charles to lunch. Burton, Appleton, Mrs Orr, Mr. Leighton, Dr Broadbent Read Revue Positive.

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472 According to the Journal of the Royal Society of the Arts, v 25, p. 17, Arthur William Ellis was the Alderman of London in 1869 (books.google.com).

473 Mrs. Charles (Caroline Hennell) Bray, GE’s very close friend.
MONDAY 12.

Thornie had 150 drops of Morphia but this morning quite lively. Gertrude & Charles took our places and we went to St. Albans. Found the Inn uninhabitable & came back to Hatfield. Park exquisite. Read Trousseau.  

TUESDAY 13.


WEDNESDAY 14.

Spent the morning in the Park. Home at 2. Found Thornie on the lawn having slept without interruption all night—11- to 8. No pain or discomfort. Paget & Roberts came: reported decided progress in every aspect. Read ‘Revue Positive’ & Trelat ‘La Folie Lucide.’

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475 Dr. William Henry Broadbent was a prominent physician involved in the fields of brain function and speech. (Brown, Oxford dictionary of National Biography). He appears in an article with Dr. Bastian in *The Lancet*, a medical journal (books.google.com), and may be acquainted with other physicians and researchers that have graced GHL’s table (see note 243). There are many medical references to him on the web, and it must be a sign of great respect that he is referred to in all of them only and always as “Dr. Broadbent.”


477 Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin. “*Causeries du lundi*.” Critical and biographical essays published by various French magazines. In 1869, Le Temps was the publisher (Fleishman)

THURSDAY 15.

Thornie had excellent night till 5 when he had slight pain. Morphia. Read Bastian on the ‘Muscular Sense.’\textsuperscript{479} ‘Problems.’ Called on Mother. Wrote to Agnes. Thornie out on the lawn till 5. Read Macnish on ‘Sleep’\textsuperscript{480} & Ferriar’s ‘Apparitions.’\textsuperscript{481} Trelat: \textit{Folie Lucide}.

FRIDAY 16.

Thornie has tolerable night Morphia in the morning. Read Greisinger \textit{Archiv}.\textsuperscript{482} Problems. Barbara came. Bought an iron bedstead for Thornie. Thornie sleepy all day & inclined to sickness. I sat on the lawn reading all afternoon. In the evening Thornie sick. Read Spencer’s ‘Psychology.’\textsuperscript{483}

SATURDAY 17. 29\textsuperscript{th} WEEK.

Thornie tolerable night, but 70 drops of Morphia at 4. Read Comte: \textit{Politique}.\textsuperscript{484} ‘Problems’ Thornie on the lawn all day. Mrs Congreve came to dinner. Pigott. Did not stir out. Read Spencer’s ‘Psychology.’

\textsuperscript{479} Bastian, Henry Charlton. \textit{On the Muscular Sense}. 1869. (144 in Baker, \textit{GE-GHL Library}).
\textsuperscript{480} Macnish, Robert. \textit{The philosophy of sleep}. Glasgow, 1836. (archive.org).
\textsuperscript{482} Griesinger, Wilhelm. (Lewes sometimes reverses the I and E, as he does above). Griesinger’s articles appeared over a number of years in German medical and psychological journals, both called “Archiv.” Lewes owns one work by Griesinger that was published later: \textit{Gesammelte Abhandlungen}. 2 vols., Berlin, 1872 (888 in Baker, \textit{GE-GHL Library}).
\textsuperscript{483} Spencer, Herbert. \textit{The Principles of Psychology. 2nd edition}. 2 vols., 1870-2 (2064 in Baker, \textit{GE-GHL Library}) GHL obviously read a first edition at this time, which he may not have owned or sold to buy the second edition that is in the collection.
\textsuperscript{484} Comte, Isidore Auguste Marie François Xavier. Système de \textit{politique positive} (1854). This essay is included in \textit{Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle, en onze Entretiens Systematiques entre une Femme et un Père de l’Humanité}. Paris, 1852. (468 in Baker, \textit{GE-GHL Library}).
SUNDAY 18. 8th Sunday after Trinity.


MONDAY 19.

Thornie had two night attacks last night. 90 drops. Spencer. ‘Problems.’ We went to the Water Colors Exhibition. Thornie sleepy all day & unwilling to eat until dinner after which he rallied & was chatty. Read Abercrombie on Intellectual Powers.  

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485 David Masson (Haight, GE Letters IX, 480).
486 Information on the specific exhibition could not be found in either historical sources or on the web. More information, such as artists and location, was needed.
TUESDAY 20.
Thornie had a very good night. Read George: Die Fünf Sinne.488 ‘Problems’—We went to the Academy489 & came home knocked up. Shortly after two ladies/Mrs Gordon Smithies [sic]490 called with a letter of intro. from Mrs Milner Gibson491 who wished to call on Polly. Declined. Gave Mrs G. S. a letter to William[s] as she desired. Read Wigan ‘Duality of the Mind’492

WEDNESDAY 21.
Thornie had a good night. Read George: Die Sinne. ‘Problems’- Thornie on the lawn from 12 till 5. Gertrude & Mary called. Headache. Walk in the Park. In the evening finished Wigan “Duality of the Mind”.

489 The Royal Academy of the Arts.
490 Mrs. Gordon (Harriet Maria) Smythies, one of the ladies who wanted to meet GE, was a popular novelist of the time. She is all but forgotten today, though with titles like Aquitted and Guilty. or Not Guilty (Summers 359-64), crime drama buffs might enjoy reading her work. It seems obvious that Mrs. G. S. (as GHL refers to her later in the entry) was looking for some respectability, and it is understandable that GHL would decline an introduction to GE. However, Mrs. G. S. was savvy enough to understand how she could cement her reputation as a serious writer by getting published by a firm of great repute. As GHL writes, he provides her, as she requests, with a letter to “William(s),” (hard to tell if there is really an ‘s’ at the end of the word or just a flourish), which could either be William Blackwood or Edmund Sydney Williams, of Williams and Norgate. Since she claimed to write ‘true crime’ stories based on evidence, having her work published by Williams and Norgate, who specifically handled scientific works, would definitely give credence to her books. On the other hand, getting published by Blackwood would allow her entry into any market. The reason it is unclear to whom GHL sent the letter is that GHL rarely calls anyone outside the family by his or her first name, so that would make ‘William’ even without the “s’ at the end, mean “Williams,” because William Blackwood should have been just Blackwood. Or GHL could have written ‘William’ to differentiate between the Blackwoods themselves, who sometimes divided the kinds of works they publish into specialties of their own. The story is extrapolated from the diary entry and the actual letter could not be found. In any case, poor Mrs. G.S. did not have the success she craved.
491 Mrs. Thomas (Susannah Arethusa Cullum) Milnor-Gibson, wife of a member of Parliament (paulfrecker.com)
492 Wigan, Arthur Ladbroose. A New View Of Insanity: The Duality Of Mind: Proved By The Structure, Functions, And Diseases Of The Brain And By The Phenomena Of Mental Derangement, And Shown To Be Essential To Moral Responsibility. 1844.
THURSDAY 22.

Letter from Susanna, wanting money for travelling. declined [sic]. Thornie had very good night. Read George: “Die Sinne.” ‘Problems.’ Thornie from eating current tart after breakfast had a bad fit of indigestion & could not come down. Mrs Peter Taylor called. Read Müller’s ‘Physiology’. 493

FRIDAY 23.

Thornie restless till 2. Then slept. Read George: Die Sinne.—‘Problems.’ Called on Dr Broadbent & spent the afternoon with him over the Brain. Showed me his discoveries of optic nucleus & convolutions having no direct central connections. Third convolution the most complex in its connections. Mrs. F. Malleson494 called. Thornie bilious. Read Müller’s Physiology.

SATURDAY 24. 30th WEEK.


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493 There are a few possibilities for this book. Müller, Johannes. Elements of Physiology. London, 1838-1842 (biodiversitylibrary.com). GHL had two books by Müller about the phsiology of the face: Über die phantastischen Gesichterscheinungen. Eine physiologische Urkunde de Aristoteles über den Traum. Coblenz, 1826 and Über die phantastischen Gesichterscheinungen: Eine physiologische Untersuchung. Coblenz, 1826. (1528 and 1529 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). Since GHL abbreviates the title to such a degree, it is difficult to determine which book he is actually reading.

494 Elizabeth Whitehead Malleson assisted Barbara Bodichon in establishing Portman Hall School and taught there for ten years (Harris and Johnston 424).

SUNDAY 25. 9th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie very flatulent & restless last night. Paget came. Called on Trübner & Mother, Nancy Smith, Isabella Blythe, Burton & Deutsch. Read Wundt ‘Sinneswahmehler’. 496

MONDAY 26.

Thornie tolerable night, but languid. Read George: Die Sinne. ‘Problems’ Shopping. London Library. Lady Houghton sent invitation to a dinner party on the 6th but we declined, not likely to be leave Thornie & not caring to go out. Read Carpenter’s Physiol 498 Thornie had a slight attack of pain.

TUESDAY 27.

Thornie passed a tolerable night. Read Georges: Die Sinne. ‘Problems’ Thornie came down, but was lethargic & inert all day. We went to the British Museum to see the new Bronzes with Deutsch. Story 499 there with Newton, S. working with clay at one of the statues. Read Carpenter’s Physiology; & Revue des Cours Scientifiques

WEDNESDAY, 28.


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496 A friend of Nannie Leigh Smith (Haight, GE Letters, IV, 109 n5).
497 Wundt, Wilhelm. Beiträge zur Theorie der Sinneswahmehler (Lewes adds en). 1858.(books.google.com)
498 Carpenter, William Benjamin. The Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence. 1853. (380 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). Lewes seems to have abbreviated the word “Physiology,” perhaps inadvertently.
499 William Wetmore Story, American sculptor, art critic, and poet (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 523; also Google).
500 Sir Charles Thomas Newton, archeologist and curator (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 489; also Britannica.com).
THURSDAY 29.

Thornie flatulent last night & torpid all day. Read Tyndall on Sound.\textsuperscript{501} Headache. We called on Mother. Sir H. Holland—Mrs. Hill—Charles & Gertrude to dinner. Pigott in the evening.

FRIDAY 30.

Thornie had a bad night from flatulence & restlessness. Headache. Thornie refusing to take the medicines prescribed because they are nasty, we resolved to stop Mr. Roberts’ visits. Polly read aloud St. Beuve.

SATURDAY 31. 31\textsuperscript{st} WEEK.

Thornie had a bad night. Flatulence. Wrote to Mr. Roberts. Headache again prevented all work. Mrs. Congreve to dinner. In the evening Polly read aloud St. Beuve.

AUGUST 1869\textsuperscript{502}

SUNDAY, August 1. 1\textsuperscript{st} Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie better night. On the lawn from 2-3. My headache very bad– unable to read. Charles & Gertrude to lunch Burton, Nancy, Miss Blythe, Mr. and Mrs. Burne-Jones, Sanderson. –Read Maury ‘Du Sommeil’\textsuperscript{503}


\textsuperscript{502}During August, Thornton had a severe decline. The stress of his illness becomes obvious in Lewes’s handwriting which becomes very small and hard to read, not only because Lewes was apparently agitated, but also because he tried to fit so many details into the small space allotted for the daily entry.

\textsuperscript{503}Maury, Louis Ferdinand Alfred. *Le sommeil et les rêves (Sleep and Dreams)*, Paris, 1861. (books.google.fr). Lewes seems to have mistaken the article in the title.
MONDAY 2.

Thornie had slight diarrhea. 5 drops Laudenum quieted it. Read Hamilton: *Metaphysic*.\(^504\)

Problems. Went into town. Owen Jones. Thornie less torpid today. Read Maury ‘*Du Sommeil’

TUESDAY 3.

Thornie flatulent & had pain. Morphia. Read Hamilton but unable to work. Trollope to lunch.

Thornie revived greatly. Read Maury ‘*Du Sommeil.’’ Letter from Paget en route to Germany.

WEDNESDAY 4.

Thornie passed a good night. Read Wundt ‘*Thierseele’*.\(^505\) Wrote to Paget. Problems. Linnaean Society & Royal Society. Thornie very much better: sat up for 1 hour. On the lawn from 12 till 4. Read Greisinger ‘*Maladies Mentales’*.\(^506\) Mayer ‘*Hallucinationen’*.\(^507\) Thornie had a slight attack of pain about 8 Morphia quieted him.

THURSDAY 5.

Thornie had a tolerable night. Mayer: *Die Hallucinationen; Problems*. Thornie very much better today; Lawn from 12 to 4. Went to Mother. Finished Mayer. Read Greisinger *Maladies Mentales*.

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FRIDAY 6.

Thornie had a good night again. Read Ulrici. Thornie came down at 10 but pain at 12 drove him in. He was laid on the sofa in the drawing room where he stayed till 5. Polly played Beethoven & Schubert to him. Read to][illegible] Read Greisinger Maladies Mentales.

SATURDAY 7. 32nd Week.

Thornie another good night. Read Ulrici. Problems—Thornie had a slight attack at 10 and on our return from Hyde Park at 3 we found him writhing & shouting loud enough to be heard in the garden. The pain continued with intervals all day. Read Greisinger.

SUNDAY 8. 11th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie in pain all night. Morphia 3 times. This morning looking haggard & weak from the pain. As the day wore on he became very hysterical, unable to pass his urine. Very flatulent. Charles to lunch. After dinner Thornie still unable to make water. I went to Dr. Reynolds—out. To Sir H. Holland who recommended castor oil. After taking a dose he became quieter.

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509 Title is rubbed out and hard to read.
510 Thornie had spinal tuberculosis, but he also apparently had kidney stones, which would have caused this kind of a problem. In a letter to John Blackwood, dated 8 January, 1869, just two days after Thornie informed him of his illness, GHL wrote, “I have just had sorrowful intelligence from Thornton . . . The poor fellow has a stone in his kidney” (Haight, GE Letters V, 4).
511 It is unclear exactly how the castor oil was administered, since castor oil can be toxic in high doses. Modern homeopathic and medical sites provide a possible answer. While the general assumption is that is was taken orally, and indeed, it does seem to be, especially when Thornie’s situation is dire, in actuality, the castor oil may have been applied directly to the area, either covered by or on a warm cloth. Such compresses have been used since ancient times. The compress would reduce pain and swelling associated with both kidney stones and urinary tract infections and provide relief. Because of its anti-inflammatory properties, castor oil packs are advocated even today by many homeopathic and urology sites for pain associated with urinary tract infections and/or kidney stones. (healthcommunities.com; naturalhealthtechniques.com; brandywineurology.com).
MONDAY 9.\textsuperscript{512}

Thornie passed a quiet night & passed a little water. Very languid and distended. I went to Sir H. H. and Roberts. There to Mother. Sir Henry came up to see Thornie; ordered another dose of castor oil. At 6 Mr. Roberts came and passed the catheter. At 8 he had a motion in bed involuntary & insensible. At 11 another. Seemed better and we tried to talk a little; but legs numb & powerless. The night quiet; at 4 another involuntary insensible motion.

TUESDAY 10.

Thornie but little better. Some hyperesthesia in the feet. Bladder distended & water dribbling. Went out & got him fruit & other things. Sir H. Holland: nothing but quiet & patience. Wrote to Agnes. Mr. Roberts came & passed a catheter. Polly & I went out to get him fruit & rusks & on our return found him reading the paper & in every way greatly improved. Wrote again to Agnes. Thornie able to turn himself in bed; ate mutton chop for dinner.

WEDNESDAY 11.

Passed a quiet night able to move & a slight power over the bladder. Read Wuntz—Problems—went to Sir H Holland with question [four illegible words] We sat with Thornie some time. Mrs. R. Lehman called. Charles & Gertrude looked in. Thornie ate good dinner & revived in the evening. He passed a restless night horrible perspiring profusely but was calm & [illegible].

\textsuperscript{512}The next four days, August 9, 10, 11, and 12, Thornie was very ill, and Lewes details everything that happened, his words spilling over into the next entry space in his effort to include everything. His writing is cramped and the pen often seems to skip, making these entries extremely hard to read. See Image 22 in Appendix A.
THURSDAY 12. *Grouse Shooting begins.*


FRIDAY 13.

Thornie restless all night. Read *Fortnightly.* Went to Sir H. Holland & Covent Garden for fruit. Rain all day. Thornie lively in the afternoon. Sir H.H. came to see him & Roberts did not pass catheter. Insulating broken. Charles & Gertrude to dinner but as they arrived Thornie had bad attack of pain. 100 drops Morphia before he was quiet, then breathing with difficulty & looking ghastly. But by 10 he was reading the paper. Wrote to Agnes.

SATURDAY 14. 33rd Week.

Thornie passed a quiet night & this morning greatly improved. Nurse laid up with Diarrhea.

Went to Mrs. Hill after a woman to assist. Went to Mother. Sat with Thornie all the day. Mary came at night to sit up with him. He manifestly improving. No catheter required. Read Greissinger: ‘*Maladies Mentales*’ and Guitrac: ‘*Maladies Nerveusas.*’

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513 This book is not in the libraries and was not found on the web.
514 Possibly one of the science journals Lewes read. Research kept bringing up *Weiner Journal* from World War II.
515 This might mean incapacitated.
516 Guitrac, Henri. This may be an article or chapter in his work “*Maladies Observes.*”
SUNDAY 15.  12th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie excellent night: passed urine freely. Voluntary Motion. Charles to lunch. Polly not well & sat in her room. Barbara, Burton, Colvin & two young Contists, Kaines & Sulman.\textsuperscript{517} Read Griesinger.

MONDAY 16.


TUESDAY 17.

Thornie had three motions in his bed last night, not involuntary, but too slight owing to the pill he had taken. Resolved to fetch a new nurse as Charlotte\textsuperscript{519} was ill. Read George ‘Die Malerie’—Problems. Went to the Institution for Nurses but the grandeur of the pretensions alarmed us, so we sent to Mrs. Hill and with her I went to see a friend of hers. There engaged Beale,\textsuperscript{520} as nurse. Read Baillager on Paralysis\textsuperscript{521} & Helmholtz ‘La illud fere’\textsuperscript{522}

\textsuperscript{517}Family name, or maybe position. Not enough context for identity.
\textsuperscript{518}George, Leopold. Entwickelung einer neuen Theorie der Materie. Berlin : Nauck, 1850
\textsuperscript{519}Charlotte Lee, a nurse at St. George’s hospital (Haight, GE Letters, V, 52 n1).
\textsuperscript{520}No other information is given.
\textsuperscript{522}Helmholtz, Hermann. Appears to be a chapter or article in one of his books. Lewis owned six (977-982 in Baker, GE-GHL Library).
WEDNESDAY 18.


THURSDAY 19.

Thornie had a restless night. Read Moreau *Psychologie Morbide*. Problems. Wrote to Bertie. Royal Society & London Library. Read an article in the ‘*Quarterly* ‘against me ‘On Design.’ Thornie who was very chatty & cheerful after lunch grew uneasy & looked ghastly before dinner; could not eat but took Morphia; & by 9 o’clock was lively again reading the paper. I felt irritable & feeble & went to bed at 9:30.

FRIDAY 20.

Thornie passed a better night. My headache prevented work. Called on Sir H. Holland about Thornie’s passing mucous & gravel in his urine. Comforted by his report. Thornie much better all day.

SATURDAY 21. 34th Week.

Thornie had good night. Headache: couldn’t read. Wrote to Agnes & went with Polly for a 3 hour walk. Hampstead Heath. Mrs Congreve. Thornie very much better. Passed the afternoon with him.

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525  *The Quarterly* was a journal that Lewes read; “On Design’ was one of his Darwin articles.
SUNDAY 22. 13th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie had an attack of pain. 110 drops. Headache mainly gone. Read George ‘Die Sinne’
Went to Mother. Charles to lunch. No one called! Read St. Beuve & Funke. \(^{526}\) Thornie much better tho’ passed more gravel. Wrote to Paget.

MONDAY 23. Black Cock Shooting begins.

Excellent night; & sleepy this morning. Read Wundt ‘Thierseele’ Problems. We went to

TUESDAY 24.

Thornie had bad pain in his glands & took 130 drops of Morphia. This morning lively. Read
Wundt. ‘Problems’ We went to Chislehurst, rambled over the common, lunched at the Inn &
back. Thornie much better. Read Funke & Wagner’s ‘Wörterbuch’ (Pinkinze).\(^{527}\)

WEDNESDAY 25.

Thornie had excellent night. Read Wudnt. Problems. Mrs Senior sent grapes & flowers to
Thornie. Gertrude to lunch. Park. Read Henle ‘Rationellen Pathologie’.\(^{528}\) Thornie who has
been torpid & sat all day had pain in his glands & flatulence at dinner time; but got better at
about 9. Read Weber’s ‘Tastsinne’.\(^{529}\)

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\(^{527}\) This is a dictionary, but the exact version is unidentified. The name in parentheses may have been the publisher.

\(^{528}\) Henle, Fredrich Gustav Jacob. Handbuch der rationellen Pathologie. 1846. (amazon.uk.co).
THURSDAY 26.

Thornie passed an excellent night. Read Wundt. *Problems*. Sciatica rather troublesome. Warm bath. Stayed in all afternoon, sleeping & reading Littré ‘*Les Barbares*’ & my own m.s. on the Middle Ages.\(^{530}\) In the evening read Littré & went early to bed.

FRIDAY 27.

Thornie quiet night but took 80 drops of Morphia at once to arrest pain in his glands. Sciatica better. Read Wundt. ‘Problems’ Went to Mother. Sat with Thornie on the lawn. Polly read Littré aloud and I Boileau.\(^{531}\) In the evening music. Weber on *Tastsinn*.

SATURDAY 28. 35\(^{\text{th}}\) WEEK.

Thornie quiet night. Read Spencer ‘*Psychology*.\(^{532}\) Problems. Mrs Nassau Senior called. Park. Read Henle ‘*Rationellen Pathologie*’ In the evening read Funke ‘*Physiologie*.’

SUNDAY 29. 14\(^{\text{th}}\) Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie excellent night. Improvement rapid. Read Spencer ‘*Psychology*.\(^{532}\) Problems. Mr. Cross\(^{533}\) the only visitor. Read Lotze ‘*Psychologie*.\(^{534}\) Music. Thornie languid all day & had pain in the neck in the evening 160 drops of Morphia.

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\(^{526}\) Weber, Erich Heinrich. *Der Lehre vom Tatsinn und Gemeingefühl*. 1851. This work was published jointly with his brothers, Wilhelm and Eduard Weber (netlibrary.net).


\(^{532}\) GHL was apparently writing on the Middle Ages as well as working on *Problems of Life and the Mind*.

\(^{533}\) Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, a French poet and critic (Google).

\(^{534}\) Spencer, Herbert. *The Principles of Psychology. 2nd edition. 2 vols.*., 1870-2. (2064 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). GHL must have been reading an earlier edition and later purchased this one.

\(^{531}\) John Walter Cross. He was already acting as Lewes and Eliot’s banker. Later, after Lewes’s death, he married Eliot.
MONDAY 30. *Dividends due at Bank.*

Thornie passed a good night & quite lively after the Morphia. Read Spencer *‘Psychology’ Problems.* London Library & Bank. Margaret & Mary called. Read Lotze *‘Psychologie’*

TUESDAY 31.

Thornie good night. Polly & I went to Weybridge—delicious day—ramble on St. Georges Hill. Lunched with the Crosses who drove us about the country & to the Walton Station. Home at 6. Read Magazines.\(^{535}\) Thornie bilious. Read Lotze; *‘Psychologie.’*


\(^{535}\) These would include the literary and science journals Lewes read.
SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER

“Thornie bad night—240 drops, but this morning very much better” (8 October)

By now, Thornton and his treatments have become the focus of Lewes’s life; he meticulously records morphia doses and changes in Thornton’s mood, activity, appetite, and sleep patterns, as if he is doing a case study. For this reason, some critics consider him cold and unfeeling, but in reality, he is agitated and terrified. His fear is contained in the short comments he makes on the increased doses of morphia and in the small changes that he notes so carefully. In the original diary, it is possible to see how Lewes’s writing changes on bad days, as well as how often he finds himself unable to work. Most people would not find the inability to work to be a problem under the circumstances, but Lewes, who believes that work is his service to humanity, is torn between his love for his son and his obligations to others.

Some people might find Lewes’s attitude about his work vain and distasteful, but two important facts must be remembered: first, Lewes was a Victorian; second, he needed to be useful to mankind.

Both these facts are connected. Kitchel says: “What is a ‘Victorian?’ It is no one stream of tendencies . . . but a whole current of mingled efforts and achievements . . . George Henry Lewes can show us many aspects of the Victorian era. His accomplishment was, perhaps, less
than great in all the fields he entered, but he entered many fields and did good work in all” (Kitchel, *GHL and GE* 302).

The need to be useful is best expressed through Lewes’s own explanation of Moral Life: “[it] is a feeling for others, working for others, aiding others quite irrespective of any personal good beyond the satisfaction for social impuse . . . Feeling the need of mutual help, we are prompted by it to labour for others” (*Problems* 1 166).

It was not enough for Lewes just to take care of his son, though, of course, it was of the utmost importance. By recording every detail about Thornton’s condition, Lewes would be able to give valuable information to the doctors who were treating his son, but who could also use the information to help others. The ability to share intensely private information about a personal tragedy in the hope of benefitting others is the ultimate level of selflessness, and to Lewes, the moral responsibility of all human beings.
SEPTEMBER 1869

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1. *Partridge Shooting begins.*

Thornie tolerable night but took 100 drops in one dose. Read Spencer. ‘*Problems*’ Sat with Thornie. We walked in the Hampstead Fields. Read Meissner’s ‘*Bericht*’ & Lotze *Psychologie*.

THURSDAY 2.

Thornie good night. Read Spencer. At 10 Polly & I went to Hatfield & walked in the park for two hours. Sat under a beech by the water & Polly read aloud Shelley’s *Letters*. Home at 4. Miss Davis called. Charles & Gertrude. Read Lotze *Psychologie*. Owen Jones came in the evening.

FRIDAY 3.


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536*Meissner, Georg and Jacob Henle. *Bericht über die Fortschritte der Anatomy und Physiologie*. 1856-1871. This was a series of reports detailing the advances made in these fields over the course of each year. Meissner wrote on Physiology and Henle on Anatomy. They were later joined by Moritz Keferstein. (amazon.com).*

537*Miss Emily Davies (Haight, *GE Letters*, IX, 413).*

538*Professor Franz Cornelis Donders. GHL had three of his books, one about anomalies of the eye (603,604, and 605 in Baker, *GH-GHL Library*).*
SATURDAY 4. 36th WEEK.

Thornie had slight pain in the neck last night. But this morning very lively; glands remarkably reduced. Read Donder on “Schnelligkeit dir psychischen processe” Problems. After lunch we went to see the house Owen Jones is decorating in Carlton Gardens. Read Comte Phil. Positive on “Mathematics” and Athenaeum In the evening read Pflüger’s Archiv & Comte.

SUNDAY 5. 15th Sunday after Trinity.


MONDAY 6.


TUESDAY 7.

Thornie had quiet night. Read Vierordt ‘Zeitsinn. unable to work. Walked in Park & went to Mother. In the afternoon read ‘Romola.’ In the evening Lotze.
WEDNESDAY 8.

Thornie quiet night. Read Vierordt. Unable to work. Went to Hampstead—Susanna—Looked in on Mrs. Call. Read Romola. In the evening read Fichte’s Anthropologie. 546

THURSDAY 9.

Thornie good night. Read Vierordt—Problems --- Hansom to Kensington Gardens. Sat down & rambled. Read ‘Revue des Cours Scientifiques.’ In the evening continued Romola.

FRIDAY 10.


SATURDAY 11. 37th WEEK.


SUNDAY 12. 16th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie dropsical & sleepy. Headache lessened; but unable to work. Finished Romola. Charles, Burton, Mr. & Mrs. Call. Polly read aloud ‘The Russell’s Heroes of Medicine’. 548

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547 Henry (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 529).
MONDAY 13.

Thornie still dropsical. My headache rather better; but too bad for work. Read Comte ‘Synthese’\textsuperscript{549} Went to bed after lunch & got up at 5 somewhat better. Read Ott: Hegel.\textsuperscript{550} In the evening Music. Read Gall.\textsuperscript{551} Thornie much more lively all day & evening.

TUESDAY 14.

Thornie slept all night. Headache gone. Read Wundt. Problems. We went to see Burne Jones’s pictures at his studio. Read Czolbe: Grenzen du Erkenntiss.\textsuperscript{552}

WEDNESDAY 15.

Thornie had a tolerable night. Read Wundt. Started at 11 for Sevenoaks.\textsuperscript{553}

THURSDAY 16.

Delicious day. 5 hours in the open air. Park & Weald.\textsuperscript{554} Read Wundt & S’Beuve.

FRIDAY 17.

The rain again came down in torrents & we resolved on returning home. Had a walk in the drizzle & got home by 3. Found Thornie lively. Blackwood called. Read Gall ‘Fonctions’\textsuperscript{555}


\textsuperscript{551}Gall, Franz Joseph. \textit{Sur les fonctions du cerveau et sur celles de chacune de ses parties}. 6 vols., Paris, 1822-25. (778 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). It is possible to assume this is the correct book because GHL gives this title in the entry on Friday, 17 September, four days later.

\textsuperscript{552}Czolbe, Heinrich. \textit{Die Grenzen und der Ursprung der Menschlichin Erkenntiss}. Leipzig, 1865. (amazon.com).

\textsuperscript{553}Country area where GE and GHL went for a few days. See McCormack.

\textsuperscript{554}Wooded area often used for vacations.
SATURDAY 18. 38th WEEK.


SUNDAY 19. 17th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie good night.—Read Wundt. Problems. Mrs Burne Jones, Burton. In the evening read Gall ‘Fonctions.’ George ‘Psychologie.’

MONDAY 20.

Not feeling well. breakfasted [sic] in bed. Thornie had a good night. Wrote to Agnes. Polly & I took a long walk to Willesden. I sat with Thornie in the afternoon. Read Gall.

TUESDAY 21.

Thornie had an indifferent night & looks very weak. My head troubles me, so I went to Watford to see if it would suit me: rambled in the park & home at 3. Mrs. Congreve & Miss Bury. Read Gall.

555 See note 341.
559 This is the same book recorded previously (and later) as “Die Sinne.”
560 At the time, a rural area. (Google)
561 A town in Hertfordshire. (Google)
WEDNESDAY 22.

Thornie better, but haggard. Polly & I went to Watford—Clarendon Hotel. Delicious day in the Park.

THURSDAY 23.

Another delicious morning but the afternoon cloudy. Read ‘Revue Positive’ & St. Beuve

FRIDAY 24.

Cloudy & damp. Came home at 1. Found Thornie much better. Went to Mother. Read George Psychologie. In the evening Music Read Gall ‘Fonctions’

SATURDAY 25. 39th WEEK.


SUNDAY 26. 18th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie languid all day. Paget saw him in afternoon. Headache prevented my working. Mr. & Mrs. P. Taylor, Forman, Spencer, Rudolph Lehmann, Barbara & Nancy.—Went to bed at 6:30.
MONDAY 27.


TUESDAY 28.

Thornie had pain in the neck. 160 drops. Much better this morning & glands less. Read Wundt ‘Sinneswahrnehmung’. Problems. Read Cornhill & Ruine ‘Mate[ric]hsmin’ In the evening read Spiess Nervenphysiologie. Thornie had a slight reoccurrence of pain in the neck & slept all the evening.

WEDNESDAY 29. Michaelmas Day.

Thornie had a very quiet night. Read Wundt Sinne. ‘Problems’ Park with Polly. After lunch went to see the Calls. Read Helmholtz ‘Optik.’ Thornie sat up in the chair but found his legs swell & a burning sensation occur which forced him to lie down again after an hour. Music. Longet.

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562 Mr. Charles William Shirley Brooks, an author (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 125).
565 Since this is illegible, it is not clear whether this is a title or an author.
566 Title was partly illegible and author was not found in either the Annotated Libraries or the databases.
THURSDAY 30.

Thornie had a tolerable night. Read George ‘Die Sinne’ Interested to go to Windsor but on arriving at the station observed drops of rain. Turned back and went to Mother. Read St. Paul’s [Magazine] & Lotze ‘Streitschriften.’ In the evening Music & Helmholtz Optik.

OCTOBER, 1869


Thornie had a bad night. Neck. Read George “Die Sinne” ‘Problems.’ Dr. Congreve to lunch & sat with us till 5. Bullock came & told us of the sudden death of his wife. Read Sophie Germain ‘Considerations sur les Sciences’

SATURDAY 2. 40th WEEK.


SUNDAY 3. 19th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie had quiet night. Threats of headache prevented my working. Rambled with Polly. Spencer to lunch. Mr. & Mrs. Kovalevsky, Dr. G. Beard (from America) Ralston, Nancy, Miss Blythe, Mrs Mathews.

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571 Mr. Vladimir O. and Mrs. Sonya Kovalevski. (Haight, GE Letters V, 59 n6).
MONDAY 4.

Thornie very good night. Read Wundt: 'Sinne’ Problems. Went to Windsor & looked up the Bones. Walked in the Park. Home by 5. Sat with Thornie who was unusually well. Read Taine Essais de Critiques. 575

TUESDAY 5.


WEDNESDAY 6.

Thornie restless at night but this morning much better. Read Wundt. ‘Sinne’. Went to Godstone & has a dogcart drive to Limpsfield to see the lodgings. Delicious walk back to the station. Supreme weather. Home at 5:30. Found Thornie somnolent. Went to bed soon after dinner thoroughly tired.

THURSDAY 7.

Thornie perfectly quiet night. Read George ‘Die Sinne.’ Problems. Shopping with Polly & then went to Cooperative Store for purchases. In the evening, Music & Cour des sciences

572Dr. George Beard, American neurologist (Google).
573William Ralston Shedden-Ralston (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 501).
574Mrs. Charles James (Lucia Elizabeth) Mathews (Haight GE Letters, IX, 480), whom GHL and GE met in Italy.
575Taine, Hippolyte. Essais de Critique et d'Histoire. 1858-1882. (archive.org). Taine wrote these essays periodically over a course of years. They are not listed separately in the references or in the online book sources, so while it is certain that GHL did not read any of the ones after 1869 at the time of this diary entry, he might have read any of the previous ones.
FRIDAY 8.

Thornie bad night—240 drops, but this morning very much better then he has been for three or four days. Dropsey less. Headache prevented all work. Ramble on Hampstead Heath with Polly.

SATURDAY 9. 41st WEEK.

Thornie better. Headache.

SUNDAY 10. 20th Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie somnolent all day. Headache continued. Mother came. Mrs. Orr, Burton. Went to bed after dinner.


Thornie puffy & sleepy. Headache continued. Paget came & confirmed my suspicion that Thornie was drifting away. The only chance lies in the shifting character of the disease. Mrs. Congreve to lunch.

TUESDAY 12.

Thornie much better. My headache better but not gone! W.G. Clark to lunch. Told us of his contemplated resignation of office & avowal of no longer belonging to the Church. Went to Mother. Read Taine on Balzac.\textsuperscript{577}

\textsuperscript{576}William George Clark, Public Orator of Cambridge (Haight, \textit{GE Letters}, V, 68 n1).
WEDNESDAY  13.

Thornie greatly improved. Headache gone, but (illegible)⁵⁷⁸ remaining. Read Scenes of Clerical Life,⁵⁷⁹ -- Went shopping with Polly. In the evening read Taine on Racine.⁵⁸⁰


Thornie excellent night. Read Haeckel ‘Morphologie’⁵⁸¹ Polly not feeling well. we rambled in Kensington Gardens. After lunch I went into town to buy the boy fruit & c. In the evening read Taine ‘Essais de Critique.’

FRIDAY  15.

Thornie had a quiet night but his face & neck enormously infiltrated. Went again to Paget. Trollope came to lunch. Mrs Schmitz called to see Thornie. In the evening Deutsch came in & Pigott. Thornie evidently sinking.

SATURDAY  16. 42nd WEEK.

Thornie worse; face & neck very much enlarged; breathing difficult; apathetic but occasionally reviving to make a joke. Read Tyndale on “Sound”—Problems. Went to Bank & London Library. Read Weiss ‘Literature Francaises’⁵⁸² Paget came; gave little hopes.

⁵⁷¹Haeckel, Ernst Heinrich Phillip Auguste. Generelle Morphologie der Organismen. Berlin, 1866. (archive.com). This may be part of the two volume set, Allgemeine Anatomie der Anatomie der Organismen (915 in Baker, GE-GHL Library) that GHL owned.
SUNDAY  17.  21st Sunday after Trinity.

Thornie sinking visibly. Wrote to Agnes. [scratched out] Went to Mother. Spencer & Colvin called. Thornie never spoke nor ate nor drank all day; swelled enormously; scratched incessantly but was always conscious & knew us. About 10 he had two or three spoonfuls of lemonade; then drank twice from the glass, drew deep breath & exclaimed ‘How nice!’ Profuse perspiration & urination. Swelling visibly decreased; began to talk; asked for food, ate Charlotte Russe & tapioca pudding, & passed a quiet night.

MONDAY  18.  Fox Hunting begins.

This morning his ribs could be felt, swelling everywhere greatly diminished; pulse feeble, urine abundant & clear; liquid motions; perspirations gone; breathing easy. Read Wundt. Problems. Went to the Calls. After lunch Thornie seemed worse again. speech incoherent; sometimes he knew us sometimes not. Wrote to Paget & Agnes. His face towards night had almost resumed its original look. Neck no longer swelled.

TUESDAY  19.

Thornie had a restless night. Pain returned in the right shoulder; breathing hard. Motions liquid & involuntary; did not seem to know me this morning.

Died at 7 this morning.

WEDNESDAY  20- SUNDAY 31

NO ENTRIES

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NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

“Profound peace leaves only a beautiful image of the dear boy” (13 November).

The strange thing about death is that no matter how much one expects it, it is still always a shock. It took a while for Lewes and Eliot to recover from the blow of Thornton’s death; no entries at all were made in the diary from the day Thornton died until three weeks later, when Lewes and Eliot returned home from Limpsfield, where they had gone to mourn. The beauty of the area allowed them the ability to assimilate their loss and even to remember Thornton, not just suffering through the last days of his short life, but from better times.

Eliot had a particularly hard time getting over Thornton’s loss. As Lewes wrote to Call on 22 October, 1869: “Polly is terribly shaken. She lavished a mother’s love & feels a mother’s grief” (Baker GHL Letter 370). She herself wrote to Mrs. Charles Bray the day after Thornton died, “I am too crushed now to feel that the dear boy is saved from a life of almost certain deprivation and helplessness” (Baker Note to Letter 370).

By December, life was getting back to normal. Even the Sunday dinners were resuming at the Priory.\(^{583}\) Lewes was back on his reading and working schedule. Eliot, however, would take another six months before she would go back to working on *Middlemarch*, though she had begun reading again.

\(^{583}\) See McCormack’s *Travels Abroad and Sundays at the Priory* (2013).
MONDAY NOVEMBER 1 -- FRIDAY NOVEMBER 12. NO ENTRIES.

SATURDAY 13. 46th WEEK.

Returned home today after a three weeks stay at Park Farm Limesfield where the profound peace enabled us to transmute our sorrow into a calmness which leaves only a beautiful image of the dear boy. Went to see Mother as soon as we came back.

SUNDAY 14. 25th Sunday after Trinity.


MONDAY 15.


586 Mrs. James (Lydia North) Paget and daughter (Google).
TUESDAY 16.

Read Wundt. Problems.’ Read Quarterly Rev. We went to Mother after our walk. Read Bain ‘Compendium.’ In the evening, Polly read aloud Deutsch’s article on ‘Islam’ & I read Golz ‘Central Nervensystem des Frosches.’

WEDNESDAY 17.


THURSDAY 18.


FRIDAY 19.


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587 A literary and political magazine founded in 1809. (Google). The official report claims that it ceased publication in 1967, but there seems to be an online revival by Dr. Leslie Jones, who serves as editor (quarterlyreview.org).
589 The article was published in The Quarterly Review (jewishencyclopedia.com)
SATURDAY 20. 47th WEEK.

Read Mill. *Problems*. We went to see Susana & the Misses Gillies.\(^{594}\) *Read Revue Positive*. In the evening Polly read Maine *Ancient Law* & I *Revue des Cours*.

SUNDAY 21. 26th *Sunday after Trinity*.


MONDAY 22.

Read Mill. Problems. Wrote to Tom Trollope. Rain all day. *New piano came*. Music. Read Chauvet: Lelut\(^{595}\) In the evening, Polly read Maine & I read Gotz & finished it.

TUESDAY 23.


Read Chauvet: Lelut.

WEDNESDAY 24.

Read Volkmann *Psychologie* \(^{596}\) *Problems*. – Went to Mother. Mrs Congreve & Emily to lunch. Mrs. Call came in & we walked home with her. In the evening read Chauvet:*Lelut*.

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\(^{594}\) Mary Gilles and her sister, Margaret. See note 397.

\(^{595}\) Chauvet, Emmanuel. *Lés Médecine—philosophes contemporaines. M. Lélut*. Paris, 1870. (422 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). This seems to be the first edition publication date according to various internet sources. GHL must have received an advance copy. GHL does not use the accént mark in Lélut.

THURSDAY 25.


FRIDAY 26.

Read Volkmann. *Problems*. Read Scèr: *Leib ü Seele*. We went to Mr Tomes but he had not come to town. Read *Revue des Cours*. In the evening Polly cont Maine. Read Moreau *Folie Nevropathique*.

SATURDAY 27. 48th WEEK.

Read Volkmann. ‘*Problems*’ Rain & fog all day prevented our going out. Music. Read *Vierteljahrschrift für Psychiatrie* in the evening Polly cont Maine. Read Moreau *Lettres sur les Animaux* [ours]. *Vierteljahrschrift*.
SUNDAY 28. Advent Sunday.

Read Volkmann. Problems. Vivian called. We went to Mother. Charles to lunch. Polly read aloud ‘Jubal’ & “Middlemarch.”

MONDAY 29.

Read Volkmann. Problems. Wrote to Fiske about Comte. We went to Mr Tomes. Introduced to his son. Read Vierteljahrschrift für Psychiatrie. In the evening Polly cont Maine. Read Viertel f. Psychiatrie.

TUESDAY 30. St. Andrew.


Polly cont Maine. Read Büchner ‘Matter and Force.’

DECEMBER, 1869.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1. Princess of Wales born, 1844.


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605 Eliot begins to share Middlemarch what she has already written, but at this point, according to all scholars, she does not continue to write for at least six months.
606 John Fiske (Google).
608 ___. Kraft und Stoff (Force and Matter). 1855. Originally published in German (britannica.com), it was translated and published in London by Trübner & Co. in 1864. From GHL’s use of the English title, which he reverses, it would seem that he read this book in English.
THURSDAY 2.


FRIDAY 3.


SATURDAY 4. 49th WEEK.


SUNDAY 5. 2nd Sunday in Advent.

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609 Pflüger’s *Archiv für die gesamte Physiologie des Menschen und der Tiere* is a scientific journal, first published in 1868, but is still being published today online by Springer International Publishing Company (springer.com).

610 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *Epistles*. Since GHL did not own a copy of Seneca’s *Epistles*, it is difficult to pinpoint a possible text.


615 The *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 36, lists numerous articles and biographies about Michael Faraday (spelled with one ‘r,’ not two, as GHL does), but the only one called *Life of Faraday* was a series of lectures by John Hall Gladstone, published in *Science Lectures*, Series 4, 8 vol. in 1866, and later compiled as a book, *Michael Faraday*, in 1872. There is also an article by A, de la Rive, “The Life and Works of M. Faraday,” published in both French and English in 1868, and one by Jean Baptiste Dumas, “Discours prononcé à la mémoire de Faraday, devant la Société chimique de Londres, le jeudi 17 juin 1869, published in their journal. (books.google.com) Even though GE read some aloud, it is still likely that she was reading the Gladstone, as she continued for some time. Moreover, even though GHL does at times shorten titles in his diary, his references are still mostly recognizable.

Read Schaller. *Problems.* Mr & Mrs. Beesly, Harrison, Mr & Mrs Burne Jones, Horne,617

Spencer. Polly cont *Farraday.* I read Ranke ‘Physiologie’

**MONDAY 6.**

Read Schaller. *Problems.* Warm bath. Sat on Inquest of babies found dead in their beds.

Lankester618 coroner. Suffocation the cause; no crime committed. Polly read Mad. Roland.

Read Spencer’s *Psychology.*619

**TUESDAY 7.**

Finished Schaller & began Apelt: *Die Metephysik*620—*Problems.* Went to Mother. We went to the Bazaars looking after Christmas presents. Read *Farraday’s Life*621 or rather skimmed it. In the evening Polly read Mad. Roland. Read Spencer’s *Psychology.*

**WEDNESDAY 8.**

Read Apelt. *Problems.* Went to Westell’s, Nutt, and Ellis;622 bringing many books, Spenser, [cross out], George Herbert, Herrick, Piers Plowman &e. Read Swineburnes’ *Ballads.* Polly read Mad. Roland. Ranke’s *Physiologie.*

---

618Edwin Lankester,F.R.S. (Google),
621See note 338.
622Well-known bookstores in London.
THURSDAY 9.


FRIDAY 10. Grouse Shooting ends.


SATURDAY 11. 50th WEEK.

Apelt-- Problems. We went to the Water Color Exhibition. Met Ruskin\textsuperscript{623} there. Read ‘Academy’ \textsuperscript{624} & ‘Athenaeum.’\textsuperscript{625} Polly cont. Mad. Roland. Finished Leroy sur les Animaux & Faraday’s Life.

SUNDAY 12. 3rd Sunday in Advent.

Read Frauenstädt. Materialismus.\textsuperscript{626} Walk with Polly. Called on Mother. Charles to lunch. Spencer. Dr. Bastian, Crompton, & Forman. Finished Mad. Roland’ Began Reimarus.\textsuperscript{627}

\textsuperscript{623}John Ruskin, leading art critic of the time (Google).
\textsuperscript{624}One of the many journals Lewes read.
\textsuperscript{625}A literary magazine.
\textsuperscript{626}Frauenstädt, Julius. \textit{Der Materialismus; seine Wahrheit und sein Irrthum: eine Erwiderung auf Dr. Büchner’s "Kraft und Stoff"}. Leipzig, 1856. (762 in Baker, GE-GHL Library).
MONDAY 13. Fox Hunting Begins.

Finished Frauenstädt — Problems. Mrs Benz on called & persuaded us to dine there on Thursday. Read Reimarus. Polly read St. Bauve on Mad. Roland. Miüller’s Archiv. Letter from Bertie to Thornie.628

TUESDAY 14.


WEDNESDAY 15.


THURSDAY 16. Cambridge Michaelmas Term ends.

Headache all day. Polly & I dined with the Benzons. Prof Deutsch, R. Lehmann & Mrs. [Ripon.]635

628 The letter had just arrived, though it had been sent before Thornie’s death.
630 Sir Joseph Norman Lockyer (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 474)
631 Lockyer founded Nature in 1869 and was the original editor almost until his death (britannica.com).
634 Epic poem by William Morris. (sacredtexts.com).
635 The name is hard to make out, but possibly Henrietta Vyner, Marchioness of Ripon (Haight, GE Letters, IX, 503).
FRIDAY 17. Oxford Michaelmas Term ends.

Breakfasted with Paget. Czermak\textsuperscript{636} did not come, tho’ it was to bring us together that the breakfast was arranged. Headache all day. Polly read ‘Earthly Paradise’

SATURDAY 18. 51\textsuperscript{st} WEEK.

Headache cont. Went to Dramatic Authors Society\textsuperscript{637} to sign the deed for Australia\textsuperscript{638} & see to any fees. Owen Jones called. Polly read “Earthly Paradise”: I went early to bed.

SUNDAY 19. 4\textsuperscript{th} Sunday in Advent.

Read Hartmann. Went to Mother and Trübner. Charles and Gertrude to lunch; Benzon, Czermak, Oscar Browning,\textsuperscript{639} Mrs. Leighton, Mrs. Orr, Mr. & Mrs. G. Howard. Martin. Deutsch: In the evening ‘Earthly Paradise’

MONDAY 20.


---

\textsuperscript{636}Johann Nepomuk Czermak, Bohemian pshysiologist (Haight,\textit{GE Letters, IX}, 12).

\textsuperscript{637}A society originally formed in 1833 by informal playwrights to protect their rights to their plays. They soon established fees and created a format to produce specific dramatic genres (Moody 100).

\textsuperscript{638}Lewes had the authority to direct business.

\textsuperscript{639}Oscar Browning, writer, historian, and educational reformer (Google).

\textsuperscript{640}The Journal of Anatomy and Physiology, a peer-reviewed scientific journal published by Blackwell. (Google)

\textsuperscript{641}One of the oldest scholarly journals in history, it was originally named the \textit{Journal de Ţçavans} in 1665, then changed to the \textit{Journal des Savants} in 1816 (scholarly-socities.org).
TUESDAY 21.

Read Hartmann. ‘Problems’ Rain & fog all day. Music; Read 1st vol of Wenderholme642 by Hamerton. Polly read ‘Earthly Paradise’ Finished Caspari on Leibnitz.

WEDNESDAY 22.


THURSDAY 23.

Read Hartmann. Spent the day with the Congreves. Polly cont Tennyson ‘Holy Grail.’ Read Grove ‘Correlation of Forces’644

FRIDAY 24.

Read Hartmann. Problems. We went to Mother. We went to the Benzos—Xmas Eve. Supper there. Dr. DeMussy, Priestley, Deutsch, Princep,645 Leighton, Mrs. Orr, Mrs. Senior, & many others. The Leightons drove me home at 11.

---

643Mrs. William James (Eliza Lynn) (Haight, GE Letters IX, 473).
645Valentine Cameron Princep, known as Val Princep, artist and friend of Burne Jones (Haight, GE Letters, V, 387 n6, also pevenseybaylife.co.uk)
SATURDAY 25. 52nd WEEK. Christmas Day.

Walked to Rosslyn Chapel where we heard Anthems& the service. Lunch with Charles who walked with us to the Highgate Cemetery to see Thornie’s grave. Spent an hour on my return with Susanna. Dined with Charles and Gertrude.

SUNDAY 26. 1st Sunday after Christmas.


MONDAY 27.


TUESDAY 28.


---

646 Choral presentations.
647 While she might have been famous at the time, no record exists of this communication, nor was she found in any databases used for this research. Most research seems more concentrated on modern stories.
648 Heine, Heinrich. Reisebilder. 1869. (gutenberg.spiegel.de)
649 Secchi, Angelo. Sulla Unità delle Forze Fisiche (On the Unity of Physical Forces). Rome. 1864. (maremagnum.com)
650 Soly, Henri. L’Instinct ses rapports avec la vie et l’intelligence. 1869 (books.google.com). This listing was found in the Peabody Institute Catalogue. Many references were found in later (1877 and on) issues of various scientific journals arguing with Joly, but this was the only reference found to his actual book was in this listing. GHL did not own the book as it is not listed in the Annotated Libraries.
WEDNESDAY 29.


Heine ‘*Reisebilder*’ Joly.

THURSDAY 30.


FRIDAY 31.

Read Secchi. *Problems*. Called on R. Lehmann, smoked a cigar in his studio. Called on Mrs. Benzon. Polly cont Heine’s ‘*Reisbilder*’ Read Flügel ‘*Materialismus*’⁶⁵²—Read Tennyson’s “Ring out the old, ring in the new” as the clock was on the stoke of 12.

---

⁶⁵¹ Probably means *Blackwood’s Magazine*.
1870
OPENING JOURNAL ENTRY

“Our deepening love sustained us” (1 January).

Nothing can surpass the poignancy of Lewes’s journal entry for the New Year. His own words, as always, reflect the kind of man he truly was: a man who accepted what could not be changed, while looking with hope to the future. The loss of his son was devastating, but in the midst of mourning, he forged a richer relationship with Eliot.

Most importantly, he believed that work must be continued. Eliot and he have returned from Limpisfield, altered, yet strengthened. Eliot would perhaps find comfort or catharsis in writing Middlemarch, which she would continue writing within the year, but it is clear that Problems of Life and Mind, sparingly touched during the course of Thornton’s illness, had and would be Lewes’s main focus. For the rest of his days, Lewes would continue to express his ideas, to teach from his experiences and feelings, and to be of useful service to humanity.
1 JANUARY 1870

The past year has been a wasted and painful one. Thornie’s terrible illness lasted six months, during which little work was done by either Polly or me, and after his death we went to Limpsfield to recover in the peace & beauty of that place some of the necessary strength to fit us for work. Our deepening love sustained us. It is something as the years pass on, & one feels conscious of declining powers, to know that love increases instead of diminishing.

No money earned this year at all, except 20£ from Dramatic Authors’ Society. Such work as I have done has been solely relating to the ‘Problems of Life & Mind.’
WORKS CONSULTED


Heini, reservation manager. Phone conversation regarding age of the *Hotel l’Universe* in Marseilles. 15 March 2015.


Kitchel, Anna Theresa. *George Lewes and George Eliot: A Review of Records*. New York:


SEARCH ENGINES AND WEB DATABASES

Amazon Books. Amazon.com

Archive.org
Biodiversity Heritage Library. Biodiversity.com
Encyclopedia Britannica Online. ebonline.com
Encyclopedia Britannica. Britannica.org
Google Books. Books.google.com
Google. google.com
Hathi Trust. Hathitrust.org
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.odnb.org
Past Masters@niulib.edu
Sacred Destinations.sacreddestinations.org
Scientific American. Scientificamerican.com
Theodora. theodora.com
Victorian Web. Victorianweb.org
APPENDIX A

IMAGES OF THE DIARY AND JOURNAL
Image 1: Front Cover of Diary
Image 2: End Papers

Image 3: Lewes’s Name
# Table of Contents

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POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK.

The Post Office Savings Bank is located at the head post office. It is open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. each day except on Sundays, when it is open from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. The bank is staffed by two clerks.

BOOK POSTAGE.

A Book, or any number of Books, Publications, or Works of 14 days, and unstamped Newspapers published within a cover open at the ends, provided that the packet do not exceed 12 in length, and 1 foot in width, may be transmitted by post within the United Kingdom at the following rates:

4 oz. and under 1d.
8 oz. 2d.
12 oz. 3d.
and every additional 5d.

or fractional part thereof, 1d.

if stamped at the value of 6d. or more, may contain books, bound or written, printed or plain, pamphlets, maps, books, maps, book-stickers, print, etc., and the address must contain printed matter only, and be written on both sides of the envelope. Newspapers, however, unstamped and not exceeding 12 in length, may be transmitted at the rate of 1d. per thousand words, in weight.

1 Street, is now the Rathbone Place Money Order Office.
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**Term Dates:**
- **Half Term:**
  - End of Term: December 11th, 1884
- **Term:**
  - beginnings: December 12th, 1884

**Eclipses:**
- None during the term.

**High Water at London Bridge:**

**Quarter and Half Quarter Days:**
- **February 28th, Half Quarter Day.**
- **March 25th, Lady Day.**
- **May 5th, Half Quarter Day.**
- **June 21st, Midsummer Day.**

**Important Dates:**
- **31st:** Finish of term.
- **31st:** Midsummer Day.

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### December 1884

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**Term Dates:**
- **Half Term:**
  - End of Term: December 11th, 1884
- **Term:**
  - beginnings: December 12th, 1884

**Eclipses:**
- None during the term.

**High Water at London Bridge:**

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- **June 21st, Midsummer Day.**

**Important Dates:**
- **31st:** Finish of term.
- **31st:** Midsummer Day.

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DUTIES ON LEGACIES, VALUES £20, OR MORE.

To Children or their Descendants 1
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To Husband or Wife, and their
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To Grandfather or Aunt, and their
Descendants 5
To all other Relations of
Strangers 10
Husbands, Wives, and Royal Family, exempt.

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Images 11-16: End Matter
LETTER-PRESS PRINTING

Pamphlets, testimonials, printing bills of all kinds, blank forms, catalogues, circulars, bills, handbills, etc., etc., all the work, on the shortest notice, and at the lowest possible rates.

NOTE CIRCULARS.

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LITHOGRAPHIC PRINTING.

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NOTE CIRCULARS, 2 in. x 4 in.

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Writing and printing inside or outside of 1,000 envelopes.

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INVOICE AND BILL HEADS.

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Programmes, Bills of Fare, Fancy and Ornamental Printing, tastefully executed in Gold, Silver, and Colours.
SCHOOL STATIONERY.

Copy Book and Paper (300 sheets).................. 1s. 9d.
Copy Books and Paper (600 sheets).............. 2s. 6d.
Copy Book and Paper (900 sheets).............. 4s. 6d.
Copy Book and Paper (1200 sheets)......... 7s. 6d.

REPRODUCTION WORK.

Original Copy Book and Paper............... 5s.
Original Copy Book and Paper............... 10s.

LETTER COPYING PRESS.

Copying Books, (one page).................. 1s. 2d.
Copying 150, per line..................... 1s. 5d.
Drying Papers.................................. 1s. 9d.
Brushes........................................... 2s.
Water Wells for Brush.......................... 2s.
Quarto Stand, with Drawer, from 15s.

A LARGE STOCK OF ACCOUNT BOOKS

THE GUINEA,
SET OF BOOKS,
comprising,
Day Book (350 pages), Cash Book (300), and Ledger (570), in Green or
White Binding, size 13 in. by 8 in.
POCKET LEDGERS & CASH BOOKS,
With Lock, from 24s. 6d.

Manuscript and Note Books,

LEDGERS, JOURNALS, CASH BOOKS, &c., of every description, kept in
Stock or made to Order at the shortest Notice, and at
the lowest possible prices.

VISITING CARDS.

To Engraved, and 100 very best Thin Ivory Cards, 3s.
Addressed, 2d. per Line extra.
Ladies' Best Thin Ivory Cards from own Plate, 1s. 9d. per 100.
Black Bordering, any width, 1s. per 100.

2s. PRIZE WRITING CASE.

The Society of Arts' Silver Medal, & the Prize of Twenty Pounds
were awarded to

Messes. PARKINS & GOTTO, of Oxford Street,

For this Case, for its "Utility, Durability, and Cheapness."

2s., fitted with Writing Paper, Envelopes, Blotting Book,
&c., &c., &c., (by P. Penholder and reserve of Pens, Pencils, &c., &c., 28 Stamps.)

Towards of 1,000,000 have already been
STRAW WRITING PAPER

This paper was introduced by P. & G. expresses a general demand for every description of Writing, Letter, and Copy Paper, which possesses a superior air of grandeur, and is particularly suitable for the purposes of the largest and cheapest kind of letter writing. It is more durable and will keep longer than any other Writing Paper. Note, Letter, Pooles & Sarram Sizes at the wholesale from 5s. per dozen, 5s. per case.

Also Outside of Letter Paper, 6s. per case of 200 pieces.

Pooles Straw Paper Best for Exercises, 6s. per case.

The Public are cautioned against spurious imitations of P. & G.’s Straw Paper advertised at lower prices.

CURL OR WASTE PAPER.

Turkey-Brown Paper of a firm, tough quality, cut into squares. 400 Pieces in each Bundle, 6d., or 1 Dozen for 5s.

Criclage or Liquid Gum, with Brush and Metal Stopper, 6d. per Bottle.

MISCELLANEOUS STATIONERY, &c.

A large Assortment of Embossed Paper, Fish, Dessert, Bouquets, &c., also Harmonic Cases, from 1s. per 12.

Ramikan Cases, from 1s. per 12.
MEMORANDA, 1869.

[Text not legible due to image quality]
Image 17: Different Ink Colors

Image 18: Layout of the Week (Scanned Copy with Paper Insert)
Image 20: Original Diary Week with Blotting Paper.
JANUARY, 1869.

SUNDAY 3.

MONDAY 4.
Jewish Anathahm 17. 11.

TUESDAY 5.
Dividends due at the Bank.

WEDNESDAY 6.
Epiphany.

1st letter from home made me very miserable. Went out to buy 6-200l. and have £250. Barabara called. In the evening well began from some small but serious cholera. Charles came in with measles yesterday.
AUGUST, 1869.


11th Sunday after Trinity. Siledome & read a little. In the Afternoon read a little. After dinner Thornie became quiet.

MONDAY 10. Thornie found quiet night expected a little. In the fore part of the evening set to get up & Robert. Was to do it. Sturdy came up again & carried another. So beter & went to bed. But the evening was very mild. The night quiet, as to not hear any thing by myself.

TUESDAY 10. Thornie but a little better. Some spots. His feet. He had a little fever. To bed & took his medicine. Man called. Wve. H. & J. Mr. & Mrs. Overholt. His feet were very black. He had fever & were very hot. He was about 80 years old & was taken off by his wife.

WEDNESDAY 11. Passed a quiet night. In the Afternoon Dog Days ended. Wve. M. called. Charles Shurtleff cooked a dinner for Thornie at 9 o'clock. He passed a quiet night. A very quiet evening, and was called at 2 oclock. No cold.
THURSDAY 18. Read John Mill's Logic.  
Problems.  
Wrote letter.  
Hyde Park.  
Read 'River des Cours scientifique'.  
Read 'Maine'.  
Read 'Rolle'. Read memoria.

FRIDAY 19. Read Mill.  
Rolle.  
Wrote letter.  
Went into town.  
Charlie & I went to dinner.  
Read 'Rolle'.

SATURDAY 20. 47th Week. Read Mill.  
Rolle.  
The went to the cinema & the ship.  
Read 'Rolle.  
In the evening Polly read 'Maine'.
Image 24: Journal Cover (Front and Back Are the Same)

Image 25: Journal Spine
Image 26: End Papers

Image 27: Paper Edges
XII

June 1866
May 1870.
Image 29: Inside Sheet of Ruled Writing Paper
APPENDIX B

BOOKS READ BY GEORGE HENRY LEWES IN 1869


Apelt, Ernst Friedrich. *Metaphysik.* 1857. (archive.org)


*Athenaeum*, a literary magazine.


——. *The Senses and the Intellect.* 1855. (archive.com). This was not in their library


Brown-Séquard, Charles Éduoard, ed. *Archives de physiologie normale et pathologique*. 9 sets of 4. Paris, 1868, 69, 70, 73-78. (316 in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*). GHL could only have been reading the volume previous to or printed at the time of the diary entry, but apparently collected the volumes as they were printed.


*Cambridge Essays* are an ongoing forum, now online, of all topics. Two books are contained in their library, one about poets seem to be irrelevant to GHL’s work at the time and the second was published too late to be included in this diary (1407 and 407 respectively in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*).

Carpenter, William Benjamin. *The Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence*. 1853. (380 in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*). Lewes seems to have abbreviated the word “Physiology,” perhaps inadvertently.


Chauvet, Emmanuel. *Lés Médecine—philosophes contemporaines. M. Lélut*. Paris, 1870. (422 in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*). This seems to be the first edition publication date according to various internet sources. GHL must have received an advance copy. GHL does not use the accent mark in Lélut.


Principes de Philosophie Positive. Précédés de la Préface d'un Disciple, par E. Littré.

Système de politque positive (1854). This essay is included in Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle, en onze Entretiens Systematiques entre une Femme et un Père de l'Humanité. Paris, 1852. (468 in Baker, GE-GHL Library).


Deutsch, Emanuel. “Islam.” The article was published in The Quarterly Review (jewishencyclopedia.com)


Eliot, George. “How Lisa Loved the King.”

_____ “Agatha.”

_____ “Jubal”

_____ Middlemarch (Vincy and Featherstone parts).


*Fortnightly Review.*


Freimuth, E.W. Die wichtigsten Grundlehren und Vorzüge der neuen Psychologie. Dr. Beneke. Bautzen, 1845. (765 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). The book in the collection is not the original; it is unclear which book GHL was actually reading.


Goldoni, Carlo. Memorie. First published in 1787, the full text ultimately comprised of memoirs written in French for Louis XVI, and later in Italian, connected with his plays and experiences in the theater (einaudi.it; also amazon.it). GHL owned Goldoni’s Works, a translated 3 volume set (92 in Baker, The Libraries of GE and GHL), but it is unknown if Memorie is among those books, as they are not listed individually.


Note: Griesinger’s articles appeared over a number of years in German medical and psychological journals, both called “Archiv.” It is hard to guess to which Lewes may have been referring here, because even the last one was written in 1868, the year before the diary was written.


Guitrac, Henri. This may be an article or chapter in his work “Maladies Observes.”


Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Encyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse.* Berlin, 1870. (974 in Baker, GE-GHL Library). Though this is the book GHL must have been reading, the publishing date shows that this could not be the correct copy that GHL was using at the time he was writing this diary entry. See n109.

Heine, Heinrich. *Reisebilder.* 1869. (gutenberg.spiegel.de)


GHL also read individual essays, such as “Forces of Inorganic Nature,” originally given as a lecture. It is possibly included in *Populäre Wissenschaftliche Vorträge,* 3 vols. in 1. Braunschweig, 1865-76. (980 in Baker, GE-GHL Library).

Henle, Fredriech Gustav Jacob. *Handbuch der rationellen Pathologie.* 1846. (amazon.uk.co).

Herzen, Alexandre. “Soula Veloute.”
Hillern, Willhemina von. Ein Arzt der Seele. (A doctor for the soul; a satire of bluestockings) Berlin, 1869. (http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de). It looks to be a popular novel of the time by a German actress and novelist (Google)


Hume, David. The Philosophical Works, including all the Essays, and exhibiting the more important Alterations and Corrections in the successive editions published by the Author. 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1854. (1069 in Baker, GE-GHL).


Journal des Savants.

Journal of Anatomy and Physiology, a peer-reviewed scientific journal published by Blackwell. (Google).


Le Revue Positive.


Macnish, Robert. *The philosophy of sleep*. Glasgow, 1836. (archive.org)


Maury, Louis Ferdinand *Alfred, Le sommeil et les rêves (Sleep and Dreams)*, Paris, 1861. (books.google.fr). Lewes seems to have mistaken the article in the title.


Meissner, Georg and Jacob Henle. *Bericht uber die Fortschritte der Anatomy und Physiologie*. 1856-1871. This was a series of reports detailing the advances made in these fields over the course of each year. Meissner wrote on Physiology and Henle on Anatomy. They were later joined by Moritz Keferstein. (amazon.com).


*______. “Subjection of Women”* An essay by John Stuart Mill first published in 1869 (www.constitution.org)


*______. Utilitarianism.* London, 1863. Mill first published this in installments in *Fraser’s Magazine* in 1861, and in book form in 1863 (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy). GE was probably reading from a copy of the book, even though she and GHL did not actually own one.

Milne-Edwards, Henri. *Annales des Sciences naturelles Zoologie et Paleontologie.* (1474 in Baker GE-GHL Library). GHL read articles during the year which may have been included in the work.


*North British Review.*


*Pfüger’s Archiv : European Journal of Physiology*. Originally founded in 1868, it is now available online, and contains all the volumes ever published. (springer.com).


Preyer, Wilhelm Thierry. *Die Blausaure. Physiologisch untersucht*. 2 vols. Bonn, 1868-70. (1735 in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*). GHL must have read or owned a previous edition or only the first volume at the time he wrote this entry. GHL uses the à in the title, though it does not appear in the Baker entry.


Rossi, Antonio. *Opusculi Filosofici, scelti di S. Anselm, di S. Tommaso, di S. Bonaventura e d i Giov. Gersone.* Tradotti da. Firenze, 1864 (1879 in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*), but even though it has some parts about St Thomas, this does not appear to be the book about Thomas Aquinas that he read in Rome on 6 April.


Schiff, Moritz. “Sulla Digetione.”


Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *Epistles.* Since GHL did not own a copy of Seneca’s *Epistles,* it is not possible to pinpoint a possible text.


Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 36, lists numerous articles and biographies about Michael Faraday (spelled with one ‘r,’ not two, as GHL does), but the only one called *Life of Faraday* was a series of lectures by John Hall Gladstone, published in *Science Lectures,* Series 4, 8 vol. in 1866, and later compiled as a book, *Michael Faraday,* in 1872. There is also an article by A, de la Rive, “The Life and Works of M. Faraday,” published in both French and English in 1868, and one by Jean Baptiste Dumas,”Discours prononcé à la mémoire de Faraday, devant la Société chimique de Londres, le jeudi 17 juin 1869, published in their journal. (books.google.com) Even though GE read some aloud, it is still likely that she was reading the Gladstone, as she continued for some time. Moreover, even though GHL does at times shorten titles in his diary, his references are still mostly recognizable.

______ . *The Principles of Psychology*. 2nd edition. 2 vols., 1870-2 (2064 in Baker, *GE-GHL Library*). GHL obviously read a first edition at this time, perhaps even an advance copy considering his friendship with Spencer, which he may not have owned or sold later to buy the second edition that is in the collection.


Swinbune, Algernon Charles. *Ballads*. These were possibly read from the edition titled *Poems and Ballads*, 1866 (880 in Baker, *Libraries of GE-GHL*).


______. *Essais de Critique et d’Histoire*. 1858-1882. (archive.org). Taine wrote these essays periodically over a course of years. They are not listed separately in the references or in the online book sources, so while it is certain that GHL did not read any of the ones after 1869 at the time of this diary entry, he might have read any of the previous ones.


Weber, Erich Heinrich. *Der Lehre vom Tatsinn und Gemeingfühl*. 1851. This work was published jointly with his brothers, Wilhelm and Eduard Weber (netlibrary.net).


*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie and Sprachwissenschaft*, that was founded by Moritz Lazarus, the creator of völkerpsychologie, and Heymann Steinthal in 1859. It ran until 1890. (Theodora.com).

*Books also read by GE.*
APPENDIX C

MAPS OF THE TRIP TO ITALY AND BACK AGAIN, 1869
Please note that the travel times shown here are for modern conveyances. It no doubt took Lewes and Eliot quite a bit longer to travel from place to place.

Boulogne to Paris
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Boulogne,+France/Paris,+France/@47.79172,-1.8346357,7z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x48042a8645473caf:0x40d37521e09bbe0!2m2!1d-1.320679!2d46.794617!1m5!1m1!1s0x47e66e1f06e2b70f:0x40b82c3688c9460!2m2!1d2.3522219!2d48.856614
Paris to Lyon
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Paris,+France/Lyon,+France/@47.2784414,1.2423,7z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!m12!m1!1s0x47e66e1f06e2b70f:0x40b82c3688c9460!2m2!1d2.352219!2d48.856614!1m5!1m1!1s0x47f4ea516ae88797:0x408ab2ae4bb21f0!2m2!1d4.835659!2d45.764043
Lyon to Avignon
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Lyon,+France/Avignon,+France/@44.8438268,2.7933731,7z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x47f4ea516ae88797:0x408ab2ae4bb21f0!2m2!3d4.835659!4d45.764043!1m5!1m1!1s0x12b5eb8739bc9d07:0xe6429b6efa1d7b36!2m2!1d4.805528!2d43.949317
Avignon to Marseille
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Avignon,+France/Marseille,+France/@43.6373804,4.4955362,9z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x12b5eb8739bc9d07:0xe6429b6efa1d7b36!2m2!1d4.805528!2d43.949317!1m5!1m1!1s0x12c9bf4344da5333:0x40819a5fd970220!2m2!1d5.36978!2d43.296482
Marseille to Nice
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Marseille,+France/Nice,+France/@43.4086936,5.121789,8z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m12!1m5!1s0x12c9bf4344da5333:0x40819a5fd970220!2m2!1d5.36978!2d43.29648!1m5!1s0x12cdd0106a852d31:0x40819a5fd979a70!2m2!1d7.2619532!2d43.7101728
Nice to Montone

https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Nice,+France/Montone+Perugia,+Italy/@44.1934191,7.4180554,7z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m12!3m2!1m1!1s0x12cdd0106a852d31:0x40819a5fd979a70!2m2!1d7.2619532!2d43.701728!1m5!1m1!1s0x132c13dd620d8ed5:0x3385cd4d78b94c1d!2m2!1d12.3236873!2d43.3623228
Montone to Sanremo

https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Montone+Perugia,+Italy/Sanremo+Imperia,+Italy/@44.4561269,7.525268,7z/data=!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x132c13dd620d8ed5:0x3385cd4d78b94c1d!2m2!1d12.3236873!2d43.3623228!1m5!1m1!1s0x12cdf5450348b727:0x3c017283ac41265d!2m2!1d7.7760567!2d43.8159671
Sanremo to Oneglia
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Sanremo+Imperia,+Italy/Oneglia,+Italy/@43.855373,7.7403689,11z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m12!3m4!1m1!1s0x12cdf5450348b727:0x3c017283ac41265d!2m2!1d7.7760567!2d4.8159671!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d26eab5cbe9e7d:0xe4de672357bf8df!2m2!1d8.045431!2d43.893036
Oneglia to Savona
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Oneglia,+Italy/Savona,+Italy/@44.0936948,7.954441,10z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d26eab5cbe9e7d:0xe4de672357bf8df!2m2!1d8.045431!2d43.893036!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d2e2194379ba8d:0xe35a73e8b9959237!2m2!1d8.4645!2d44.2975603
Savona to Genoa

https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Savona,+Italy/Genoa,+Italy/@44.3588522,8.3978577,10z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!s0x12d2e2194379ba8d:0xe35a73e8b9959237!2m2!1d8.4645!2d44.2975603!1m5!1m1!s0x12d34152dcd49aad:0x236a84f11881620a!2m2!1d8.946256!2d44.4056499
Genoa to Sestri
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Genoa,+Italy/Sestri+Levante,+Genoa,+Italy/@44.3396243,8.8859916,10z/data=!3m1!4b14m134m12l1m5l1m11l1s0x12d34152dcd49aad:0x236a84f11881620a!2m2!1d8.946256!2d44.4056499!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d496ff0e5eaf51:0xa6cc1c02c290cc18l2m21l9.4008281!2d44.2763654
Sestri to Spezzia
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Sestri+Levante,+Genoa,+Italy/La+Spezia,+Italy/@44.1833686,9.3098232,10z/data=!3m1!4m1!4m12!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d496ff0e5eaf51:0xa6cc1c02c290cc18!2m2!1d9.4008281!2d44.2763654!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d4e6f63081fe9f:0x305e67d473c7e10l2m2!1d9.7678687!2d44.2447913
Spezzia to Pisa
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/La+Spezia,+Italy/Pisa+PI,+Italy/@43.9778529,9.4664692,9z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d4e6f63081fe9f:0x305e67d473c7e10!2m2!1d9.7678687!2d44.2447913!1m5!1m1!1s0x12d5919af0f6598f:0xaab80fb5a78478c8!2m2!1d10.4016888!2d43.7228386
Rome to Foligno

https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Rome,+Italy/Foligno+PG,+Italy/@42.4205164,11.4493238,8z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x132f6196f9928ebb:0xb90f770693656e38!2m2!1d12.4963655!2d41.907873!1m5!1m1!1s0x132e85dbc3e8962b:0x70c0d02e4829ab2f!2m2!1d12.7014749!2d42.9508683?hl=en
Foligno to Narni
https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Foligno+Perugia,+Italy/Narni+Terni,+Italy/@42.7341488,12.347257,10z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m13!4m12!1m5!1m1!1s0x132e85dbc3e8962b:0x70c0d02e4829ab2f!2m2!1d12.7014749!2d42.9508683!1m5!1m1!1s0x132ee187279ff577:0x5bd102dd7e5ff12m2!1d12.5156299!2d42.5176022?hl=en
Narni to Assisi
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Assisi to Perugia

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Perugia to Florence

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Florence to Bologna
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Bologna to Ravenna
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Bologna to Verona
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Verona to Munich

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Munich to Strassbourg

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Strasbourg to Paris
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Paris to Calais
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APPENDIX D

FRIENDS, ACQUAINTANCES, AND VISITORS
Please note that the numbers correspond to the footnotes in the transcription.

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APPENDIX E

FURTHER RESEARCH REQUIRED
Within the separated sections, the following people, plays and books are in order of their appearance within the diary and journal entries. It would be greatly appreciated if any future researchers could provide the identity and contexts for these items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOTE NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Arthur Beciri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88, 91</td>
<td>Jici or Jisi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Hibberts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Miss Lette,</td>
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<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Ludwig the violinist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Lauret (artist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Pansier, possibly a musician or composer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Carpey</td>
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<td>177</td>
<td>Miss Banks</td>
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<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Pardini, opera tenor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Butti, baritone</td>
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<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>Count’s daughter</td>
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<tr>
<td>422</td>
<td>Lord Wentworth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>517</td>
<td>Comtists, Kaines &amp; Sulman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>646</td>
<td>Lucy Laid</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOTE NUMBER</td>
<td>PERFORMANCE</td>
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<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>‘Luatre hermes de Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>Lèau le Cocher</td>
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<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>Lafraude de Rachese de Ferstein</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOTE NUMBER</th>
<th>PUBLICATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Mirror</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>New Phedu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Cabrius.[not sure of spelling]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Novelleiri Italiene</td>
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