Emily Bronte biography

Maureen Hayes Mansfield

The University of Montana

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd

Recommended Citation
EMILY BRONTE BIOGRAPHY

by

Maureen Hayes Mansfield

B.A., St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1926

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

State University of Montana

1934

Approved:

H.E. Merriam
Chairman of Board of Examiners.

W. G. Bateman
Chairman of Committee on Graduate Study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I  INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II CHARLOTTE BRONTE'S LETTERS</td>
<td>5 - 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III MRS. GASKELL</td>
<td>23 - 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV ELLEN HUSSEY</td>
<td>36 - 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V SIR. T. WEMYSS REID</td>
<td>41 - 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI A. MARY F. ROBINSON</td>
<td>50 - 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII A. C. SWINBURNE</td>
<td>66 - 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII MAURICE MAETERLINCK</td>
<td>68 - 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX AUGUSTINE BIRRELL</td>
<td>70 - 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X CLMENT SHORTER</td>
<td>73 - 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI MARION HARLAND</td>
<td>79 - 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII MRS. HUMPHREY WARD</td>
<td>82 - 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII ERNEST DIMNET</td>
<td>85 - 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV JOHN MALHAM-DAMBLEBY</td>
<td>91 - 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV MAY SINCLAIR</td>
<td>95 - 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI MRS. ELLIS H. CHADWICK</td>
<td>105 - 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII PRINCE D. S. MIRSKY</td>
<td>119 - 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII HERBERT READ</td>
<td>121 - 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX ROMER WILSON</td>
<td>123 - 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX LUCILE DOOLEY</td>
<td>137 - 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI CHARLES SIMPSON</td>
<td>141 - 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII EMILIE AND GEORGES ROMIEU</td>
<td>152 - 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII E. F. BENSON</td>
<td>160 - 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV CHARLES MORGAN</td>
<td>167 - 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV CONCLUSION</td>
<td>171 - 174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I

INTRODUCTION

Despite a growing number of biographies and critical studies of her poems and novels, Emily Bronte will probably remain, as Clement Shorter called her, the sphinx of literature. Admirers of her work have tried to break her silence by reading into Wuthering Heights and the poems characteristics which they say Emily Bronte possessed in life. Varied are the interpretations. Many of them contribute much to an understanding of her work but few to her life. Because so few facts about her remain to us, critics have had to rely on the theory that a novelist necessarily puts much of himself into his novel. The objective nature of Wuthering Heights has made this a difficult task; the subjectivity of the poems has yielded more. To see what research, scholarly criticism, and psychological analysis on the one hand, or pure invention and sensationalism on the other, can do with an author, living and dying in relative obscurity, is possible by glancing down the years at books written about Emily Bronte.

Emily has left little work behind her. Besides Wuthering Heights, the poems contained in Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell, which came out in 1846, and the
poems left in manuscript at her death but since published, only a few remaining fragments by her are extant. In The Life and Letters of the Brontes, edited by Thomas James Wise and John Alexander Symington, there are printed three of her brief notes to Ellen Hussey, her sister Charlotte's friend, a fragment of a diary dated November 24, 1834, written in conjunction with Anne Bronte and signed by both sisters, and two other manuscripts, also diaries, written by Emily in 1841, and in 1845. There is a large collection of juvenilia for Charlotte and Branwell, but only a few scraps of childhood writing belonging to Emily and Anne. Mr. Wise has promised a complete list of manuscripts of all the Brontes, which will appear in the volumes Unpublished Works in his edition. These have yet to be published. It is known that Emily and Anne collaborated in the writing of the Gondal Chronicles—tales of an imaginary race inhabiting an imaginary island—but these were destroyed by Emily or by Charlotte. Anne's diary of


2. These were sent to Clement K. Shorter by Mr. Nicholls, Charlotte Bronte's husband, and were not used by biographers before the publication of his book in 1896.
1845 shows that Emily is "engaged in writing the Emperor Julius's Life...and she is writing some poetry too." Consequently some of the Gondal legends were written in prose, but no such prose work has been yet revealed. In 1910 with the publication of Emily's poems, May Sinclair discovered that by tracing certain names through various poems one is able to get glimpses of a fragmentary epic on the Gondals. Whether there was ever a complete work in verse on them, or whether the poems were interspersed throughout a prose work, is not now known. Although she acknowledges the danger of assigning personal and biographical poems to the Gondal series, May Sinclair, we feel, often does this. Romer Wilson, on the other hand, often reads a subjective meaning into tales of the Gondolians.

The novel, poems, three diary fragments, and three letters have been the basis of many biographies. All of these sources have not been utilized by every person who has written about Emily Bronte. Furthermore, if these comprised the sole means of obtaining information regarding her, our libraries would lack dozens of volumes. It is to Mrs. Gaskell's Life of Charlotte Bronte that many critics have gone for the events of Emily's life. But since Mrs. Gaskell's narrative is for the most part built upon Charlotte's letters, the more discriminating writers have gone directly to those letters. As Charlotte makes
frequent mistakes, many writers, despairing of arrival at the truth of facts and admitting frankly that the most important part of Emily's history is her nature, have turned from Charlotte to study Emily's character from her own works.

My aim, in this paper, is to present chronologically the chief biographies of Emily Bronte in order to show the omissions, the suppressions, the additions, the expansions which have been made in her story. I have limited myself for the most part to the biographical matter and excluded interpretative and appreciative work on her novel and poems. To examine all the works was impossible. The bibliography which the Bronte Society compiled in 1895 enumerated nearly seven hundred items, and that was almost forty years ago. Most of the magazine articles which I have read were purely aesthetic; the ones which contributed to Emily's biography, I have listed in my references. The Publications of the Bronte Society, except for the Centenary Memorial of Charlotte Bronte, were not available; hence material that may be valuable in her history I have not seen.

Charlotte's letters cover a relatively long period of time, the earliest being one to her father, dated September 22, 1829, and the last one scribbled in pencil on her deathbed in February, 1848, to her friend Ellen Nussey. Most of her letters in the Wise collection were written to this friend. In them Emily is frequently mentioned. We see her name likewise in letters addressed to Mary Taylor and Miss Wooler, other life-long friends of Charlotte's. With her editors, Mr. W. S. Williams and Mr. George Smith, Charlotte discussed not only Emily's literary efforts but her personal characteristics as well. In 1850, two years after Emily's death, a second edition of *Wuthering Heights* came out for which Charlotte wrote a Preface and the Biographical Note of Ellis and Acton Bell. It is necessary to see in this earliest biographical matter the picture Charlotte draws of her sister, she who should have known and understood Emily best, if we are to have a basis for the development of Emily's story.

Charlotte has this to say about the personal appearance of Emily: "The aspect of [George Henry] Lewes' face almost moves me to tears—it is so wonderfully like Emily—her eyes, her features—even the very nose, the somewhat prominent mouth, the forehead—even at moments the expression;
whatever Lewes does or says I believe I cannot hate him."

It is told that Charlotte stood behind Richmond as he was finishing his now famous portrait of herself, and sobbing, said, "Excuse me - it is so like my sister Emily."

Apparently the dominant trait in Emily's character, as conceived by her sister, was the strength of her will. In her memoir Charlotte says, "Her will was not very flexible, and it generally opposed her interest. Her temper was magnanimous, but warm and sudden; her spirit altogether unbending." To Miss Wooler, who had given her financial advice, Charlotte complains that she would like to sell the stock she and her sisters had purchased with the money inherited from Miss Branwell, but that her sisters were not of the same persuasion. She says that if Emily "be not quite as tractable or open to conviction as I could wish I must remember perfection is not the lot of humanity and as long as we can regard those we love, and to whom we are closely

   On October 19th, 1896, Swinburne wrote to Clement K. Shorter, "I would give anything in reason to see what she was like. Charlotte's bad eyesight must have misled her to fancy a likeness between her sister and G.H. Lewes.... I no more believe in that likeness than I would believe that Homer or Sappho or Shakespeare or Vittoria Colonna would have been like that hideous smirking scribbler," Quoted from Wise, Life and Letters, II, p. 286.


allied, with profound and never-shaken esteem, it is a small thing that they should vex us occasionally by, what appear to us, unreasonable and headstrong notions." In the Preface already referred to, she tells us that on Emily's mind "time and experience alone could work; to the influence of other intellects, it was not amenable."

But it is in the account of events leading to Emily's death that this trait is most emphasized. When the cold which she caught at Branwell's funeral did not abate, Charlotte writes Ellen Nussey that Emily is "a real stoic in illness." She laments the fact that Emily will not permit her to do her service or offer her sympathy, but continues, "I think a certain harshness in her powerful character only makes me cling to her the more." And she adds significantly that Ellen should not allude to the illness or "to the name of Emily" in her answer.

Because Emily would not have any "poisoning doctor" near her, Charlotte was forced to allude to her sister's illness in a letter to a London physician which she wrote unknown to Emily. Maybe sheer exasperation prompted her to discuss her sister's character with her editor, "I put your most friendly letter in Emily's hands as soon as I had myself

perused it," she writes, "taking care, however, not to say a word in favor of homeopathy—that would not have answered. It is best usually to leave her to form her own judgment, and especially not to advocate the side you wish her to favor; if you do, she is sure to lean in the opposite direction, and ten to one will argue herself into noncompliance.... After reading your letter she said, 'Mr. Williams's intention was kind and good, but he was under a delusion. Homeopathy was only another form of quackery.' Yet she may reconsider this opinion and come to a different conclusion; her second thoughts are often the best."  

On December 15, 1848, Charlotte not knowing that Emily would be dead four days later, writes Ellen that she had suggested a visit from her to cheer Emily, but that she found it would not do. "Any, the slightest excitement or putting out of the way is not to be thought of....She is too intractable. I do wish I knew her state and feelings more clearly."

The will to live was strong in Emily. "She was torn conscious, panting, reluctant though resolute out of a

11. Ibid., p. 289.
happy life." In the Biographical Note Charlotte tells us how stoically Emily endured suffering; "the spirit was inexorable to the flesh; from the trembling hand, the unnerved limbs, the faded eyes, the same service was exacted as they had rendered in health."

That Emily's determination was often the source of pain for her elder sister is instanced in many letters. To view her sufferings and not "dare to remonstrate" was a "painful necessity for those to whom her health and existence" were as precious as the "life in their veins." When Anne fell ill, Charlotte felt a great consolation in being allowed to do all that she could for her younger sister's health. She writes, "The agony of forced, total neglect, is not now felt, as during Emily's illness. Never may we be doomed to feel such agony again!" Other letters written during this period frequently contrast the feeling of being permitted to serve Anne, with her helplessness before in the face of Emily's stronger will.

In these letters Mrs. Gaskell sees a certain selfishness in Emily's character. If Charlotte saw it too, she does not voice it in so many words. In fact, she often calls Emily generous. Writing to M. Heger in 1844 about their plans for

15. Ibid., p. 304.
a school she says, "Emily does not care much for teaching, but she would look after the housekeeping, and, although something of a recluse, she is too good-hearted not to do all she could for well-being of the children. Moreover, she is very generous." At least four of the nine letters which Charlotte wrote Emily, thank her sister for sending her paper, money, wearing-apparel; and when she complains of her hard lot of governess at Mrs. Sedgwick's and asks Emily not to show her letter to their father or aunt, Charlotte implies that Emily, for one, was capable of generous sympathy. Similarly, when she tells only Emily that she had gone to Confession to a Catholic priest while in Brussels, we feel that Emily possessed recesses of understanding which her sister was well aware of, as ordinarily confidences were rare among the Brontes.

Whether or not it was through motives of unselfishness, Emily and Anne on an occasion when Charlotte was anxious to visit her friend, put off a trip they had planned to Scarborough and substituted a shorter one in its place. Charlotte assigns no reason for it, but we know that Emily took upon herself the largest share of the housework. Emily is cooking, or baking, or sewing shirts, echoes through her sister's letters. "You call yourself idle! absurd, absurd!" she writes Emily from Brussels, and in a letter to the Rev. Henry Hussey, she says, "Emily is the only one left at home, where her

usefulness and willingness makes her indispensable."

Elsewhere she writes that to leave home was against every wish of Emily's nature. We do not know; we can only guess that self-knowledge must have prompted Emily to remain in surroundings which required all her energy but which did not deprive her of inspiration. We have Charlotte's word in the Biographical Note that Emily had ever cherished the desire to become an author. When Charlotte accidentally found the poems that her sister had been writing secretly for years, Emily was at first reluctant to publish them. "I knew, however, that a mind like hers could not be without some latent spark of honourable ambition, and refused to be discouraged in my attempts to fan that spark to flame."

This may be more descriptive of Charlotte's ambition, than of Emily's; we know only what the letters say and that Emily wrote a novel after she had consented to the publication of her poems. The account of Charlotte's discovery of the poems as written to Mr. Williams differs somewhat from that of the Note. She tells him that "by dint of entreaty and reason I at last wrung out a reluctant consent to have the 'rhymes,' as they were contemptuously termed, published. The author never alludes to them; or, when she does, it is with scorn."  

But in spite of this scorn and the cold reception which met her poems and novel, Charlotte tells us that Emily was prepared to write again. No part of a second book has yet been discovered.

When *Wuthering Heights* was taken as an earlier and less finished work by the author of *Jane Eyre*, Charlotte says, "We laughed at it at first, but I deeply lament it now." Whether Emily was scornful of contemporary criticism, knowing in her own heart the true and lasting worth of her book, or whether the last part of Charlotte's sentence implies that she was bitterly hurt, we shall probably never know. Nor to what extent she realized her own ability, or for what reasons she wrote, can we ever have clear answers. We know only what Charlotte said, and what authors have derived from what she said. The motive behind her anger when Charlotte in a letter to her editors referred to her as Emily Bronte instead of Ellis Bell, likewise, remains obscure.

Charlotte had many friends to preserve her letters and to furnish anecdotes for sympathetic biographies. Outside her family Emily had no social contacts except very casual ones with her sister's friends. In three or four of Charlotte's letters, Emily sends her love to Miss Mussey, but there are other letters in which only Anne begs to be

22. Ibid. p. 4.
remembered and at times when Emily was obviously at home. "My sister's disposition was not naturally gregarious," Charlotte writes in the Preface to Wuthering Heights, "except to go to church or take a walk on the hills, she rarely crossed the threshold of home. Though her feeling for the people round was benevolent, intercourse with them she never sought; nor, with very few exceptions, ever experienced. And yet she knew them; knew their ways, their language, their family histories; she could hear of them with interest, and talk of them with detail, minute, graphic, and accurate; but with them, she rarely exchanged a word."

Mr. Williams had written Charlotte of the value of seeing something of London society. She answers, "There would be an advantage in it—a great advantage; yet it is one that no power on earth could induce Ellis Bell[Emily Bronte] for instance, to avail himself of." And yet, she writes Branwell when Emily was at home alone, "I grieve only that Emily is so solitary." The passage quoted above from the Preface is borne out by letters from Charlotte. Emily disliked strange places and faces but was interested in hearing about them. The "secret annals of every rude vicinage" was her delight. She never went into society herself, but whenever Charlotte went she could on her return

"communicate to her a pleasure that suited her," by giving
the distinct faithful impression of each scene she had
witnessed. "When pressed to go, she would sometimes say,
'What is the use? Charlotte will bring it all home to me?'"

Consequently Charlotte wrote her a description of Queen
Victoria from Brussels at an evident request from Emily. She
wrote her freely news of M. Heger in the face of the fact
that M. Heger and Emily "had not drawn well together." She
tells her of Mary Taylor's decision to emigrate to Australia
and of a visit she intended to pay Ellen Nussey. In another
letter she asks what William Weightman, one of the curates
at Haworth, thought about Charlotte's and Emily's plans to
go to Brussels. These are the only names outside their
family which figure in Charlotte's letters to Emily.

From the letters it is difficult to choose illustrations
for a more social side of her nature than these. We might
add that Emily was "pleased," and she "smiled" when she
learned that Mr. Smith, one of Charlotte's publishers, was
going to send her some books. She also "smiled," when
Charlotte gave her the collar and apples which Ellen Nussey
had sent her, "with an expression at once well pleased and
slightly surprised."

That Emily may have wished to teach with Charlotte

28. Ibid., p. 128.
at Miss Wooler's school, while plans for their taking it over permanently were impending, finds some proof in a letter Charlotte writes to her. "Grieve not over Dewsbury Moor. You were cut out there to all intents and purposes, so in fact was Anne; Miss Wooler would hear of neither for the first half-year." Later writers who have insisted that the school scheme was Charlotte's and that Emily was indifferent to it should take account of these words. There is the possibility, of course, that Charlotte imagined others to feel the disappointment as she did. With Brussels in her mind at this time, however, it is very probable that she lost interest in Miss Wooler's offer; consequently her letter must refer to something Emily had written. This is the only instance I find in which Charlotte says that her sister expressed sorrow.

We do not know how intimate she was with her sisters. Charlotte's letters are affectionate enough with their salutations, "Dearest Lavinia" and "Mine bonnie love," and their confidences about her trials as governess and her "freak" of going to Confession. There are some passages in the letters which remain vague. If we knew why Charlotte thought Emily deserved to go to Brussels, we would have a clearer notion of their relationship. When she was planning to go there the first time, she wrote Ellen of her desire to take one of her sisters with her. "I fixed on Emily--she

The only reason she gives is to her aunt, and it is not very enlightening. She writes, "I say Emily instead of Anne; for Anne might take her turn at some future period, if our school answered."

Emily, writing to Miss Nussey when Charlotte was spending a week with her, says, "Papa misses Charlotte of course. Anne and I ditto." When her sister went to Brussels for a second term, Emily wrote, with what seems little affection, to Miss Nussey, "Charlotte has never mentioned a word about coming home, if you would go over for half a year perhaps you might be able to bring her back with you, otherwise she may vegetate there till the age of Methuselah for mere lack of courage to face the voyage."

Charlotte's name is passed over in the sisters' diaries, and we have Charlotte's word that Emily did not confide in her regarding the writing of her poems, and that she held her off during her mortal illness.

Charlotte is silent about Emily's relations with her father and Miss Branwell. After their aunt's death her name is conspicuously absent from the letters. Their brother's name occurs more frequently. In speaking of the misery in the house occasioned by Branwell's dissipation, Charlotte generally includes her sisters in her attitude toward him.

by employing the plural form of the pronoun. "We have had
sad work with Branwell," "No one in this house could have
rest," and "We must prepare for a season of distress."
Once she alludes to Emily's calling Branwell a "hopeless
being." If Emily looked upon her brother's misfortunes
more sympathetically than her sisters, Charlotte gives no
evidence, unless one can read such into these words to
Emily, "I have not heard from Branwell yet. It is to be
hoped that his removal to another station will turn out
for the best. As you say, it looks like getting on at any
rate."

The linking of Anne's name with Emily's is noticeable
in Charlotte's correspondence only in the mention of their
trip together. Charlotte probably knew that Emily and Anne
wrote their diaries for each other. Written four years
distant and to be opened on Emily's birthday, they relate
commonplace incidents at Haworth. In the one of 1845 Anne
says that Emily is writing some poetry and wonders what it
is about, proving that she was not entirely in Emily's con-
fidence. Emily closes her 1841 diary with the words,
"Sending from far my exhortation, 'Courage, courage,' to
exiled and harassed Anne, wishing she was here." But
Charlotte apparently had not seen these diaries.

37. See section on Clement K. Shorter.
Of Emily's social ideals we learn that she was "full of ruth for others," that she disdained "recourse to trickery," that "liberty was the breath of her nostrils," and that "nothing moved her more than any insinuation that the faithfulness and elemeoy, the long-suffering, and loving-kindness which are esteemed virtues in the daughters of Eve, become foibles in the sons of Adam." One recognizes Charlotte's own beliefs here. She was always interested in the woman question, which forms part of the theme of her novel, Shirley. Charlotte told Mrs. Gaskell that the heroine of this book was an idealized picture of Emily; consequently a reading of it is necessary for a complete picture of Emily as seen through her sister's eyes. Although Charlotte wove many facts of her own experience into the fabric of her novels, she has warned her readers that it was not in the nature of her creative faculty to furnish literal specimens of biography, a fact which some later interpreters of Emily have overlooked in their study of Shirley.

Charlotte makes only two comments on Emily's religious inclinations. When Emily was at Brussels, Charlotte says her homesickness was "heightened by the strong recoil of her upright heretic and English spirit from the gentle Jesuitry

of the foreign and Romish system." In the Preface to the 1850 edition of *Wuthering Heights* her statement is broader in its inclusions. "She held that mercy and forgiveness are the divinest attributes of the Great Being who made both man and woman, and what clothes the Godhead in glory, can disgrace no form of feeble humanity." Charlotte says that Anne's death was a quiet, Christian one, and she frequently refers to the Christian spirit of Anne. Emily's death was "stern, simple, undemonstrative." No mention of religion here.

Emily's love for the moors pervades all that Charlotte wrote about her after her death. Dying she turned her eyes reluctantly from the pleasant sun. The only allusion in the letters to the planting of flowers is a reference to Emily. Shirley's attachment to her dog has it prototype in Emily's devotion to her dog, Keeper. When Charlotte returned from Scarborough where Anne had died, she found awaiting her, at Haworth, Emily's large dog, "which lay at the side of her dying bed, and followed her funeral to the vault, lying in the pew couched at our feet while the

---


burial service was being read." Five years before she had written the following postscript in a letter to Ellen. "Our poor little cat has been ill two days, and is just dead. It is piteous to see even an animal lying lifeless. Emily is sorry."

Sometimes one feels that Charlotte assumes an apologetic tone in speaking of Emily. She writes Ellen from Brussels, where she and Emily were in school during the first half of 1842, that Madame Heger had made Emily a proposal to teach music for a part of each day, and that "Monsieur and Madame Heger begin to recognize the valuable points of her character under her singularities." My attention has been drawn to the negative manner Charlotte employs in the following description of her sister. "Under an unsophisticated culture, inartificial tastes, and an unpretending outside, lay a secret power and fire that might have informed the brain and kindled the veins of a hero; but she had no worldly wisdom; her powers were unadapted to the practical business of life; she would fail to defend her most manifest rights, to consult her most legitimate advantage. An interpreter ought always to have stood between her and the world."

43. Ibid., p. 5.
44. Ibid., p. 266.
45. Biographical Note in Wuthering Heights, Ed. by T. J. Wise, p. 5.
In writing of Emily's novel, Charlotte employs a note of apology for the creation of such a fierce character as Heathcliff; she falls back on the tradition that a genius is not always responsible for what he writes—he is frequently driven by a "something of which he is not always master—something that at times strangely wills and works for itself," an assertion which may have influenced Romer Wilson in her later biography of Emily. Although Charlotte unwaveringly praised her sister's verse, her alterations of it after Emily's death, brought to light recently by modern research, show her disapproval.

There is surprisingly little difference between the picture of Emily gained from Charlotte's informal letters and that from the memoirs of her sisters which she made public. Emily's love for the earth, for the moors, is more emphasized in the latter, but despite the certain amount of poetical treatment, it is possible to fuse the two and see an Emily whose spirit was "more sombre than sunny, more powerful than sportive;" whose will was strong; mind, original; and nature, introspective; who was "full of ruth for others."

Before turning to the next biography, The Life of

Charlotte Bronte by Mrs. Gaskell, it is interesting to see what Charlotte wrote of its author. "She is a good--she is a great woman--proud am I that I can touch a chord of sympathy in souls so noble. In Mrs. Gaskell's nature it mournfully pleases me to fancy a remote affinity to my sister Emily.... though there are wide differences." How "remote" the "affinity" one may judge after examining Mrs. Gaskell's book.

Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Bronte* came out in 1857, two years after Charlotte's death and nine years after Emily's. It gave the reading public its first full-length picture of the three mysterious sisters who wrote under the names of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell. Mr. Bronte, Mr. Nicholls, and Miss Nussey—Charlotte's father, husband, and friend—all felt that Mrs. Gaskell was well qualified to write a life of Charlotte largely because she had known her in life. Besides many, but not all, of Charlotte's letters, Mrs. Gaskell had access to Charlotte's childhood diaries and compositions; and Charlotte's friends willingly helped her with their reminiscences. She not only visited the places in England which figure in the lives of the Brontes, but she also went to Brussels to consult with M. Boger about the period Emily and Charlotte spent there at school.

49. Ibid., p. 187 ff.
50. Ibid., p. 203.
51. Ibid., p. 214 and 203.
52. Ibid., p. 201.
53. Ibid., p. 201.
Mrs. Gaskell states that during her visits with Charlotte they often spoke of the character of Emily of whom Charlotte never wearied of talking, "nor I of listening". One would imagine from this that Mrs. Gaskell had learned to know Emily's nature well, and that her knowledge could supplement Charlotte's letters to produce a truthful picture. That she tried to be fair in her treatment of Emily is shown in, "The character of Shirley herself is Charlotte's representation of Emily. I mention this because all I, a stranger, have been able to learn about her has not tended to give either me or my readers a pleasant impression of her. But we must remember how little we are acquainted with her, compared to that sister, who, out of her more intimate knowledge, says that she 'was genuinely good, and truly great', and who tried to depict her character in Shirley Keeldar as what Emily Bronte would have been had she been placed in health and prosperity."

Mrs. Gaskell quotes from Charlotte the more favorable traits of Emily's nature without comment; whenever she extends her informant's statements, she deals with only the less pleasant characteristics. For example, Mrs. Mussey said that Emily was reserved in manner; Mrs. 

55. Gaskell, op., cit., p. 324.
Gaskell adds, "I distinguish reserve from shyness because I imagine shyness would please, if it knew how; whereas reserve is indifferent whether it pleases or not. Anne like her eldest sister was shy; Emily was reserved."

A part of Mrs. Gaskell's method was to play both sisters off against Emily. In discussing Anne's behavior in allowing Charlotte to care for her during her illness, the author implied that Emily was selfish in rejecting the same care. When M. Heger made known his plan of instruction, Emily disagreed with him, arguing that it would deprive her of originality, while Charlotte, also disapproving, said that she would follow his advice "because she was bound to obey him while she was his pupil."

In Branwell's portrait of his sisters Mrs. Gaskell sees solicitude in Charlotte's countenance, tenderness in Anne's, and power in Emily's.

Besides this statement of Emily's appearance Mrs. Gaskell makes other comments. She speaks of Emily's "sad" eyes and quotes Charlotte's comparison of her sister's face to that of Lewes', an old nurse's contention that Emily was the prettiest of the Bronte children.

56. Ibid., p. 99.
57. Ibid., p. 315. Mrs. Gaskell says that Anne was "too unselfish to refuse trying means from which, if she herself had little hope of benefit, her friends might hereafter derive a mournful satisfaction," behavior directly opposed to that of Emily's.
59. Ibid., p. 107.
60. Ibid., p. 40.
Ellen Nussey's statement that in 1833 Emily was a tall, long-armed girl, more fully grown than her elder sister, and M. Heger's account of her as "wild and scared-looking" with the preposterous gigot sleeves which she persisted in wearing when they had long gone out of fashion, and her straight, long petticoats without a curve "clinging to her lank figure."

The section in which M. Heger's account of Emily is given is somewhat enigmatic because Mrs. Gaskell's inconsistent use of punctuation marks makes it difficult for the reader to differentiate her statements from M. Heger's. Mrs. Gaskell says M. Heger believed that Emily possessed unusual powers of logic and argument but that these gifts were impaired by a "stubborn tenacity of will which rendered her obtuse to all reasoning where her own wishes, or her own sense of right, was concerned." He thought that she should have been a man—a great navigator—for "her powerful reason would have deduced new spheres of discovery from the knowledge of the old; and her strong imperious will would never have been daunted by opposition or difficulty—never have given way but with life." Mrs. Gaskell continues, "And yet, moreover, her faculty of imagination was such that, if she had written a history, her view of scenes and characters would have been so vivid and

---

61. Ibid., p. 99.
so powerfully expressed, and supported by such a show of argument, that it would have dominated over the reader, whatever might have been his previous opinions or his cooler perceptions of its truth." Mrs. Gaskell states that it was M. Heger's testimony that Emily, compared to Charlotte, 63 appeared egotistical and exacting.

Charlotte wrote that Emily's will was not very flexible; Mrs. Gaskell enlarged the comment: "Emily was impervious to influence; she never came in contact with public opinions, and her own decision of what was right and fitting was a law for her own conduct and appearance, with which she allowed no one to interfere."

As proof that no one dared to cross Emily Mrs. Gaskell cites for the first time the incident, quoted by all following biographers of Emily, in which the girl in defiance of the ferocity of her dog, Keeper, punished him for disobeying her. The author tells us that one evening Tabby had reported to them the dog's repeated misdemeanor of lying on the white spread of the best bed, and that Charlotte did not dare to interfere with her sister's oncoming action: "No one dared when Emily's eyes glowed in that manner out of the paleness of her face, and when her lips were so compressed into stone." With grimness Mrs. Gaskell

64. Ibid., p. 130.
relates how Emily "punished" the dog with her bare clenched fist until his eyes were swelled up and half blind, and afterwards cared for his injuries herself. Her only comment is that the dog bore Emily no grudge, and that she herself hopes he may follow his mistress, unpunished, when he dies.

Another instance of Emily's stern will and courage occurred when she was bitten by a maddened dog to which she had offered water. With hot irons she seared the wound herself and kept all secret "for fear of the terrors that might beset their weaker minds." Charlotte had related this of her heroine in Shirley; Mrs. Gaskell says that it was modeled from an incident in Emily's life.

Although she follows Charlotte's letters in showing Emily's habits of independence and her "stern spirit" in the days preceding her death, she makes one addition: Charlotte had written that Emily refused to see a doctor; Mrs. Gaskell writes that on the afternoon of her death, when "it was too late," Emily said to Charlotte, "If you will send for a doctor, I will see him now."

From the reading of Charlotte's letters one is led to believe that Emily was indifferent to the poor reception Wuthering Heights had. Mrs. Gaskell testifies that

65. Ibid., p. 220.
67. Ibid., p. 302.
"poor Emily" suffered pangs of disappointment as reviews came out about her book, and adds that Charlotte could remember no pleasure occasioned by the success of Jane Eyre in "seeing Emily's resolute endurance yet knowing what she felt."

Of Emily's social attitude Mrs. Gaskell wrote that Emily because of reserve, avoided all friendships and intimacies beyond her family. "Miss Temple" of Cowan Bridge had told Mrs. Gaskell that Emily, under five years of age, was a darling child and quite the pet nursing of the school. Mrs. Gaskell says that the grown-up Emily was a "hater of strangers," and although she taught Sunday school, she never faced her kind voluntarily. She adds that in Brussels Emily "rarely spoke to anyone," that an answer to any remark addressed to both sisters was left for Charlotte to give, and that the cousins of Martha and Mary Taylor with whom Charlotte and Emily spent their weekly holiday for many months found Emily at the end of this time "as impenetrable to friendly advances as at the beginning." Charlotte's letters mention no friend of Emily's outside the family but Ellen Nussey. Mrs. Gaskell does not enlarge the circle.

68. Clement K. Shorter includes a letter from Mrs. Gaskell in his Introduction to the World's Classics Edition of The Life of Charlotte Bronte, in which this information is given. p. xlv.
69. Gaskell, op. cit., p. 130.
70. Ibid., p. 119.
71. Ibid., p. 98.
73. Ibid., p. 191.
The author's sense of contradictions, when

name, next to Rameswadi, was their name, repeated.

It heavily counseled upon By me, beakily, the author says that

the attitude of Matty toward members of her family.

as she went about her bread-making in the kitchen

deeded that she read a letter from a propped-up book

from where, during the family reunion and cooking!! me.

the letter's most frequent men-

and when contrasted returned to prepare a second time after

deeded, she that Matty found the attitude "masterful."

is, to receive her extensive there an "easier."

as teacher to wise pupils' school in Baxter's, once-

she was taught that Matty found the attitude "masterful."

she must remain there, where alone she could so far anticipate

by which, she decided to leave home, the attitudes deemed that

came at length so much an essay of read that whatsoever

considering several times under similar circumstances, woe.

she again ventured on, with deakly says the same concerning

years before the experiment or sending her from home was
drawn when she was at home bread and of the being devoted

gnome's wake of the projected surfer, Matty era.

30
Miss Branwell was occasionally unreasonable; she was met by Charlotte's and Emily's resistance. At such times, Mrs. Gaskell says, "Emily would express herself as strongly as Charlotte, although perhaps less frequently." It was Mrs. Gaskell's belief that Emily and Anne were "bound up in their interests like twins," and that Emily's love was poured out on Anne as Charlotte's was on her. Nothing in Charlotte's letters offers evidence of this. She follows Charlotte definitely in telling us that Branwell was mourned and wondered at by all three sisters alike. There are numerous instances in Mrs. Gaskell's narrative of Charlotte's affection for Emily, but except by implication there are few statements of Emily's feelings for Charlotte. In Brussels during their recreation the sisters walked about the garden together, "Emily, though so much the taller, leaning on her sister." Because Charlotte was so anxious to have Emily contented, "she allowed her to exercise a kind of unconscious tyranny over her."

"Someone" in a "careless kind of strength of expression" told Mrs. Gaskell that Emily "never showed regard to any human creature; all her love was reserved for animals."

78. Gaskell, op. cit., p. 150.
79. Ibid., p. 150.
80. Ibid., p. 193.
81. Ibid., p. 181.
She does not deny the statement, although Charlotte had written that her sister was full of ruth for others. Mrs. Gaskell says that Emily's affection for animals was a passion with her, and that their "fierce wild intractability was their only appeal. Although she states elsewhere that Shirley is the idealized Emily, she tells the reader that the tenderness toward animals evinced in the book is more indicative of Charlotte than of Emily.

Of Emily's religious beliefs Mrs. Gaskell asserts nothing, but she quotes from Charlotte's friend, Miss Wooler: "One time I mentioned that some one had asked me what religion I was of (with the view of getting me for a partisan) and that I had said that that was between God and me;—and Emily (who was lying on the hearth rug) exclaimed, 'That's right!' This was all I ever heard Emily say on religious subjects." Mrs. Gaskell avoids all comment on Emily's religious poems.

Mrs. Gaskell brings to light many fresh facts in the story of the Brontes. Charlotte's letters, written to people who for the most part were well acquainted with her, naturally do not go into detail about the ordinary surroundings and activities of their lives. Mrs. Gaskell gave to the reading public for the first time something

82. Ibid., p. 220.
83. Gaskell, op. cit., p. 113.
of the intimate family life of the Bronte sisters.

With skillful care she sketches the Yorkshire country, the stolid character of the inhabitants, the stories of superstition and violence which undoubtedly had "their influence on the writers of Wuthering Heights and The Tenant of Wildfell Hall," the smoky town of Keighley, some four miles distant, where the sisters often walked to secure books at its lending library, and the little town of Haworth with its gray stone houses and steep cobbled streets. Nor does she forget the heredity of the Bronte children, the quiet gentle mother, the erratic Irish father fond of firearms and solitude. The father's mode of instructing his children by letting them speak out from under a mask figures as one of the foremost anecdotes displaying his eccentricity. She shows the church of Haworth overlooking the village, the graveyard above it, and, higher still and all around, the rolling blue-green moors, which Emily so much loved. It was to the parsonage here that the Rev. Patrick Bronte in 1820 brought his delicate wife and six small children, and it was on these moors that the six little creatures used to walk so as not to disturb their father, restless and nervous in the parsonage below, and their mother, dying of cancer in her bedroom. Or, huddled together in their small room upstairs quaintly called the "children's
study," they began at an early age to write an infinite number of stories in microscopic handwriting. At this time the eldest "student" was Maria, aged seven; the others were Elizabeth, Charlotte, Patrick Branwell, Emily Jane, and Anne. All six were precocious, Maria being able at this period to discuss politics intelligently with her father.

In later years, after Maria and Elizabeth were dead, and Branwell was spending his reckless hours at the Black Bull, the three sisters walked around the table in the dining-room talking over past cares and planning for the future. This too was the time for discussion of their novels.

In telling the story of Charlotte, Mrs. Gaskell of necessity tells much of Emily's, because the sisters shared alike in the secluded existence of Haworth. Although an admirable book, The Life of Charlotte Bronte is an attempt to harmonize the life of an individual with some preconceived notion in the writer's mind. Mrs. Gaskell felt that Charlotte had a sorrowful life but that she bore all crosses bravely. Like an artist she blakens the shadows around her central image. Branwell and Mr. Bronte are the shadows. Partisans of Emily cannot help but feel that she is, also. According to Mrs. Gaskell she is everything that Charlotte was not. Charlotte's loving kindness is set off
against Emily's cold reserve; the elder sister's thought for others is contrasted with Emily's selfishness; and Charlotte's humanity with the titanic proportions of Emily—"great grand-daughter of the giants who used to inhabit the earth."
IV

ELLEN NUSSEY

Ellen Nussey to whom most of Charlotte Bronte's letters were addressed "was much chagrined that she received no mon-
etary reward from Mrs. Gaskell for the help she had given
her, and also she was hurt that none of the reviews refer-
red to her," according to Thomas James Wise in his edition
of The Life and Letters of the Brontes. He details the sub-
sequent attempts Miss Nussey made to get the letters not al-
ready used by Mrs. Gaskell before the public. Some of them
were published in Hours at Home in 1870. In 1871 she wrote
her Reminiscences for Scribner's Monthly.

During her life Miss Nussey aided many authors who were
writing books on the Brontes, among them Sir T. Wemyss Reid,
Miss Mary F. Robinson, William Scruton, J. Horsfall Turner,
and Dr. J. A. Erskine Stuart. In Charlotte Bronte and Her
Circle, which came out in 1896, Clement K. Shorter printed
a letter from Ellen Nussey to him concerning Emily. The dis-
cussion I shall make is an incorporation of this letter with
her Reminiscences.

On her first visit to Haworth, Ellen describes Emily as
possessing a lithesome, graceful figure, taller than anyone

85. Ibid., pp. 247-292.
in the house except her father. She had the same want of
complexion as Charlotte, and her hair, which was as beauti-
ful as Charlotte's, was worn in the same tight, unbecoming
frizz. Her beautiful eyes were "kind, kindling, liquid" and
varied in color—sometimes dark grey, sometimes dark
blue. "One of her rare expressive looks was something
to remember through life." Ordinarily, however, she did
not look at people or talk to them, because of "reserve".
Mrs. Gaskell mentioned only Emily's tallness and reserve
when she cited Ellen Nussey's impression, and she distin-
guished reserve from shyness, saying that shyness would
please if it knew how, but that reserve is indifferent
whether it pleases or not. Miss Nussey makes no such
distinction when she writes that Emily's reserve "seemed
impenetrable, yet she was intensely lovable", and in her
glance was "such a depth of soul and feeling, and yet a
shyness of revealing herself—a strength of self-contain-
ment seen in no other."

This reserve vanished on the moors where "she was a
child in spirit for glee and enjoyment." Miss Nussey
states that Emily especially took delight in the "nooks
of beauty" to which they often walked, and tells how on
one occasion Emily, "half reclining on a slab of stone,

86. Ellen Nussey, Reminiscences of Charlotte Bronte,
(Scribner's, 1871), p. 27.
87. Clement K. Shorter, Charlotte Bronte and Her Circle,
(New York, 1898), p. 179.
88. Shorter, op. cit., p. 179.
89. Ibid., p. 179.
played like a young child with the tadpoles in the water, making them swim about, and then fell to moralizing on the strong and the weak, the brave and the cowardly, as she chased them with her hand."

That Emily was not always the cold unsocial individual Mrs. Gaskell pictured is evidenced by Ellen Nussey's assertion that when Emily "was thrown entirely on her own resources to do a kindness, she could be vivacious in conversation and enjoy giving pleasure." She does say, however, that if Emily wanted a book which she had left in the sitting-room, she would "dart in again without looking at anyone, especially if any guest were present," and that among the curates Mr. Weightman, "was her only exception for any conventional courtesy."

The picture of their home life as Miss Nussey draws it is a cheerful one. All the Bronte children loved their father's tales of extraordinary people who lived in out-of-the-way places but in "contiguity with Haworth." It is

90. Nussey, op. cit., p. 22.
91. Shorter, op. cit., p. 179.
92. Ibid., p. 179.
93. Nussey, op. cit., p. 22. Miss Nussey was probably denying rumors current at this time that the course of Rutherford Heights was in an Irish tale told by Mr. Bronte to his children. In 1893 Dr. William Wright wrote The Brontes in Ireland; or, Facts Stranger than Fiction in which he professed to base the plot of Rutherford Heights in family history, and the other Bronte novels in Irish tales known to the Bronte family in Ireland. The best refutation of Dr. Wright's theories is The Brontes: Fact and Fiction (London, 1897) theories point by point.
opposition of Miss Mussey

and rear like a 'jion, a "particular attraction." In the

which the situation creates she had taught him to sit 

the creep, was so completely under her control that

louder only one pet, but later there were three. Even the

During the tide of their dream the brownie went

that the one choice was absolutely

the they shared with their do. That breakfast was

that in their lives and interests like this time. When before the

the source for Mrs. Cassett's sympathy and were bound up

which never had any interruption. "Opposite this was

inexperience companions and in the very closest sympathy

Miss Mussey wrote: "Emptv and alone were like times-

"Teaching at her house with great encouragement."

of her own free-will. "Good" need to lead the situation where she would not

in me. "Emptv and alone were like times."

Mrs. Cassett had written that Miss Mussey exerted an

suchness and attitude, asserting Miss Mussey

those people who were the prototypes of the characters I
Both Charlotte and Mrs. Gaskell had stressed the strength of Emily's will. Miss Nessey's statements are limited to: Emily "invited confidence in her moral power," and "she was law unto herself and a heroine in keeping to her law."

Emily's musical genius is barely mentioned by Charlotte and Mrs. Gaskell. A letter from M. Hegar in which he said that Emily was learning the piano under the instruction of the best professor in Belgium is quoted by Mrs. Gaskell without comment. Ellen's extension is: "The ability with which she took up music was amazing; the style, the touch, and the expression was that of a professor absorbed heart and soul in his theme."

Miss Nessey's story of Emily is a brief but happy one. The more human Emily—the girl like a child for joy on the moors, affectionate with Anne, sometimes mischievous with Charlotte, kind and generous always—is a necessary complement to Charlotte's dark picture of her death and Mrs. Gaskell's recital of her cold stern nature.

98. Shorter, op. cit., p. 179.
99. Ibid., p. 179.
SIR T. WEMYSS REID

In 1877 T. Wemyss Reid wrote Charlotte Bronte: A Monograph at the request of Miss Nussey, who felt that Mrs. Gaskell had not produced a true picture of her friend. In his Preface he acknowledges his indebtedness to Miss Nussey "for most of the original materials" and for "valuable counsel and advice in the decision of many difficult points." Besides the use of Miss Nussey's letters from Charlotte, Miss Wooler also obliged him with hers.

He asks the reader not to imagine that he is setting himself up as a rival of Mrs. Gaskell. Because many of the people about whom she wrote were still living, she was, says Reid, "crippled in her attempt to paint a full-length picture of a remarkable life, and her story was what Mr. Thackeray called it, 'necessarily incomplete, though most touching and most admirable.'" It is his object "to supplement" her picture by the "addition of one or two features, slight in themselves perhaps, and yet not unimportant when the effect of the whole as a faithful portrait is considered."

He deplores Mrs. Gaskell's emphasis on the romantic, mysterious, and sordid surroundings of their lives, although he does state that she rightfully stressed the influence of the moors

101. Ibid., p. ix.
102. Ibid., p. 2.
103. Ibid., p. 230.
and the father's temperament. He contends that Branwell's disgrace was not so tragic to his sisters as to Mrs. Gaskell, who was wrong in assigning to it "the powerful and all-pervading influence which made the career of the sisters what it was."

While most of his additions pertain to Charlotte, there are several concerning Emily which differ radically from Mrs. Gaskell's account. Since Miss Hussey was his chief source for information, his picture of Emily has its outlines in her Reminiscences.

Reid is the first of the Bronte biographers to use Wuthering Heights as a revelation of the character of Emily. Her later critics, despairing of the scarcity of biographical matter, have followed his example often to an extreme degree. Maybe it is on some of the "points" in his interpretation of the novel that Miss Hussey gave "valuable counsel and advice."

He differs from Mrs. Gaskell in his description of Emily which follows and amplifies Miss Hussey's. "Her wonderful eyes were brilliant and unfathomable as the pool at the foot of a waterfall, but radiant also with a wealth of tenderness and warmth." To Mrs. Gaskell, Emily's eyes were "sad."

Reid's phrase, "the firm elastic step of Emily," contrasts vividly with Mrs. Gaskell's picture of Emily in Brussels.

104. Reid, op. cit., p. 18.
105. Ibid., p. 74.
106. Ibid., p. 17.
107. Ibid., p. 31.
108. Ibid., p. 99.
languishing from homesickness and leaning on Charlotte's arm.

The author does not place the same emphasis on Emily's power of will that her sister and Mrs. Gaskell did. Mrs. Gaskell's phrase, "Emily—that free, wild, untamable spirit," echoes in his "a strange untamed and untamable character was hers." Saying that Emily's death was told with "simple pathos" by Mrs. Gaskell, he quotes her account of it and extracts from Charlotte's pen to illustrate his comment that "Emily's proud spirit refused to be conquered" even in death. While Anne was resigned and took consolation in religion, Emily was defiant, "but courage and fortitude were shown by each in accordance with her own special idiosyncrasy."

For her personal courage he repeats the incident of the maddened dog in *Shirley*.

He has little to say about Emily's religion. That Charlotte's abhorrence for the High Calvinism, which was the favorite creed around her, "was felt even more strongly by Emily" can be gleaned from her poems and novel, says Reid. Joseph, the pharamacical servant in *Wuthering Heights* "was a study from life, and he represented one of a class whom the author thoroughly disliked, but for whom at the same time she entertained a certain respect." Reid

---

109. Reid., op. cit., p. 43.
110. Ibid., p. 98.
111. Ibid., p. 211.
does not give the source of his information here. As Ellen Nussey never answered Mrs. Gaskell's question, "What were Emily's religious opinions?", it is unlikely that she was able to enlighten Reid. He adds that Emily lavished her humor on Joseph alone, "that humor which, according to her sisters, always lurked very near the surface of her character, ever ready to show itself when no stranger was at hand." I have been unable to find her sisters' recognition of this characteristic. Mrs. Gaskell certainly does not mention it in her discussion of Emily. Miss Nussey in her Reminiscences makes no such assertion, but she may have given Reid the information in their private correspondence.

However, there is a large body of evidence for his statement that before strangers Emily was extremely reserved. Miss Nussey had made exception of Mr. Weightman, but Reid states that Emily avoided the curates "as though they had brought the pestilence in their train." He says that she had inherited "not a little of her father's eccentricity untempered by his savoir faire." Charlotte wrote that she rarely went into company; Reid, that when she did, she remained absolutely silent in the presence of those unfamiliar to her. Charlotte and Mrs. Gaskell agree that Ellen

112. Reid, op. cit., p. 212.
113. Ibid., p. 42.
114. Ibid., p. 42.
Nussey was freely admitted by Emily. To illustrate his concurrence with them, Reid cites the following event, probably told him by Miss Nussey, which also casts more light on Charlotte's attitude toward Emily. On one occasion when Charlotte was unable to accompany her guest, Ellen, on a walk, "to the amazement of all" Emily volunteered to take her place. Ellen was charmed by the girl's intelligence and geniality; her reserve was thrown aside and she talked "with a freedom which gave evidence of the real strength of her character." Charlotte was anxiously awaiting them, and asked on their return, "How did Emily behave herself?"

Reid follows Charlotte and Mrs. Gaskell in saying that Emily sickened and pined away from Haworth, but the source is unknown for his assertion that she was "passionately fond" of the rough Yorkshire people among whom she had been reared. Charlotte had written that she was fond of "hearing" about them. And Mrs. Gaskell had said that she never showed regard to any human creature; all her love being reserved for animals. Reid states that her heart was indeed given to those dumb creatures, that she "never forgave those who ill-treated them or trusted those whom they disliked," and that her chief delight was to roam.

115. Reid, op. cit., p. 42.
116. Ibid., p. 42.
117. Ibid., p. 43.
with her dogs on the moors to which she would whistle in masculine fashion.

The Brontes may have been peculiar as children, but Reid accuses Mrs. Gaskell of overlooking the fact that only in the presence of a stranger were the sisters excessively shy; and that there was about them all a "wholesome, healthy happiness" that "gave promise of peaceful lives hereafter." He describes a trip the Brontes made to Ellen Nussey’s home, and says that if Emily did not join in the conversation with her sisters and brother on the way, she uttered "a strange, deep, guttural sound" which they who knew her best interpreted as "the language of joy too deep for articulate expression."

At home the girls were used to their father’s "coldness" and their aunt’s distaste for everything northern, "themselves included." Branwell’s disgrace had the effect which "Mrs. Gaskell depicts" on the gentle and sensitive mind of Anne, but Reid says that Charlotte and Emily "were of a stronger fibre" and "their predominant feeling as expressed in their letters is one of sheer disgust at their brother's weakness and of indignation against

118. Reid, op. cit., p. 33.
119. Ibid., p. 38.
120. Ibid., p. 39.
all who had in any way assisted in his downfall." The
author must have reference to Charlotte's letters here, as
there is no mention of Branwell in the three letters of
Emily's which are extant. He points out similarities in
expression between *Wuthering Heights*, and Branwell's letters,
but his belief is that Emily sought certain aspects of
her brother's style. He does not imply that he was author
of co-author.

The three sisters were devoted to each other. No one
but Charlotte and Anne, says Reid, seems to have appreciated
the remarkable merits of Emily. When Charlotte found
Emily's poems, she was hurt at first, "but mutual confes-
sions hastened her reconciliation." This account varies
from Charlotte's Preface stating that it took days to
pacify Emily, whose mind and feelings could not be in-
truded upon even by those "nearest and dearest to her."
Reid says that after the discovery the sisters consulted
together about the plots of their novels even to the names
of the different characters, and that *Wuthering Heights*
was "day by day . . . submitted to the revision of Char-
lotte and Anne." Consequently, he says, since Emily
concealed her deepest emotions even from her sisters, the
novel cannot reveal her inner nature in its entirety. For

---

121. Reid, op. cit., p. 75.
122. Ibid., p. 43.
these assertions of Reid's there is a partial basis in Mrs. Gaskell's words that the Brontes consulted with each other about the plots of their novels, but the source for their talking over the names of their characters is puzzling.

The author says that Emily wrote *Wuthering Heights*, not only because the Bronte sisters were in need of money, but also to relieve her pent-up feelings. None of the sisters worked for a personal fame; but the "call to work was irresistible." Before her death Emily realized the power that was within her, found joy in the exercise of it, and looked with confidence toward a sunny and prosperous future. Her book, he attests, is a work of genius, the more reason because she was absolutely ignorant of the "great movements of human nature"; love, except the love of nature and her nearest relatives, "was a passion unknown to her," and people such as her characters had no place in her circle of friends. The novel is consequently the work of one who, "in everything but years, was a mere child."

While Reid hails Charlotte as the greatest of the Brontes, he calls Emily "the brilliant but ill-fated child of genius." At his hands Emily loses some of the cold reserve and titanic proportions of Mrs. Gaskell's picture;

---

126. Ibid., p. 97.
127. Ibid., p. 204.
he follows Miss Mussey in sketching a happier background for her; in emphasizing the childishness of her novel, he leaves an opening for later corrections.
VI

A. MARY F. ROBINSON

In 1883 Mary F. Robinson issued the first biography of Emily Bronte. Her authorities were the works of the Brontes, Mrs. Gaskell's *Life*, Ellen Nussey, T. Wemyss Reid, A. C. Swinburne, F. H. Grundy's *Pictures of the Past*, and the personal reminiscences of Mrs. Wood, Mr. Brown, Mrs. Ratcliffe (sister of Martha Brown, the servant at the parsonage), and Mr. William Wood of Haworth.

Before the book appeared Miss Robinson had revealed her aim to Miss Nussey in a letter dated March 23, 1882:

"I am very anxious to give as clear an impression of the character of Emily Bronte as I can; for I have always believed that, had she lived longer and seen more, the integrity and passion of that character would have shown itself in a completer work than any she has left. When people die, having accomplished much, but with the capacity for accomplishing more, it seems to me a sort of duty to give the impression of that capacity as clearly as we can, and not to rest content with estimating the work

---

128. A. Mary F. Robinson (Madame Duessaux), *Emily Bronte*, (Boston, 1883).
129. F. H. Grundy, *Pictures of the Past*, (London, 1879). The author was a friend of Branwell's; his book tries to prove that Branwell and not Emily wrote *Wuthering Heights*. 
that is printed and published." And on April 16, 1882, she again writes Miss Hussey that she was determining as far as possible in her book "to tell the truth and avoid mere picturesque tradition."

Previous to the publication of the book the author told Miss Hussey that Emily's work had not yet been touched upon, and in dealing with it "and there alone" she intended to introduce her own theories. The thesis of her book—that Emily had more forbearance for the erring Branwell and that the "basenesses of her hero's character" are not "the gratuitous inventions of an inexperienced girl" but are the results of her brother's disgraceful conduct—is nevertheless original with her. When Miss Hussey read the manuscript, she evidently had objected to the prominence Branwell was given, for Miss Robinson

131. Ibid., p. 272. Despite this resolve the published book contains all the tales of violence which Mrs. Gaskell had recounted of Mr. Bronte in her first edition of the Life, but many of which she suppressed in the second edition.
132. T. Wemyss Reid discussed Wuthering Heights in relation to the character of its author.
134. Miss Robinson's book is 315 pages in length. 82 pages are concerned with Branwell, 20 are devoted to a discussion of Emily's poetry, and 56 give a synopsis of Wuthering Heights, leaving 157 pages only for biographical matter.
writes her, "I wish to deal a death-blow, once for all, to the absurd supposition that Branwell Bronte wrote 'Wuthering Heights,' and this can only be done by showing him gradually to the reader as he was, brilliant and clever but very weak and vain, utterly incapable of the sustained power and passion of Emily's book. It is a much more artistic and I think a surer way than to trust entirely to my powers of emphasis and denial."

Her method leads her to blacken Branwell's character unnecessarily at times. It leads her also to differ from Mrs. Gaskell. Whereas Mrs. Gaskell amplified only the less pleasant traits in Emily's nature, Miss Robinson goes to the opposite pole and enlarges only the pleasant, the ones which she finds suitable to her conception of Emily. This conception is based for the most part on Emily's poetry and on Charlotte's idealization of her sister in Shirley. She says that if Shirley baffles some, who like Mrs. Gaskell "have not a pleasant impression of Emily Bronte," nevertheless the disguise is easily penetrated by those who love her. She is aware that Emily's character

136. May Sinclair and E. F. Benson do not think an understanding of Emily's nature demands that her brother be the dissipated wretch others have pictured him, since they do not emphasize his influence on Emily's life as Miss Robinson, for instance, does.
as depicted in her sister's book, with "the silenced pride, the frank imperiousness caring not to please, the thwarted generosity, the unspoken power, the contained passion, the unyielding strength, the absence of submissive tenderness," are not qualities which will make her "a favorite with a modern public," and that Sydney Dobell, before he was aware of Shirley's real identity was somewhat justified in saying, "We have only to imagine Shirley Keeldar poor to imagine her repulsive;" but she believes that Emily makes amends for all this by her large humane and generous compassion.

In describing the Brontes at Brussels Mrs. Gaskell had excluded Charlotte in her comment on Emily's sleeves and straight long skirts. Miss Robinson does not. She says that they were "clumsy enough on round little Charlotte, but a very caricature of mediaevalism on Emily's tall, thin, slender figure." Certainly differing from most biographers, Miss Robinson, remembering Shirley's love for "splendid raiment," writes, "It was Emily, who shopping in Bradford with Charlotte and her friend, chose a white stuff patterned with lilac thunder and lightning.

137. Sydney Dobell was among the first of critics to give Wuthering Heights its proper place in literature. His article appeared in the Palladium in 1850. It is republished in the Bronte Society Transactions, Vol. V, Part XXVIII.
139. Ibid., p. 107.
to the scarcely concealed horror of her more sober companions. And she looked well in it; a tall, lithe creature, with a grace half-queenly, half-untamed in her sudden, supple movements, wearing with picturesque negligence her ample purple-splashed skirts; her face clear and pale; her dark and plenteous brown hair fastened up behind with a Spanish comb; her large gray-hazel eyes, now full of indolent, indulgent humor, now glimmering with hidden meanings, now quickened into flame of indignation, 'a red ray piercing the dew.'" Miss Hussey must have told Miss Robinson of this shopping trip; her description of it, however, is obviously colored by imagination.

The strength of Emily's will, which took so predominant a part in Charlotte's and Mrs. Gaskell's view, plays a minor role in Miss Robinson's biography, although she is the first to tell of Emily's trying to rise from the sofa to escape death. Charlotte alone of the Bronte children who reached maturity died in bed. For the most part, Emily's strength of will is disguised as resolute unselfishness and great physical and moral courage. There are one or two statements, however, which in their harshness are in keeping with Emily's earlier biographers. "Notwithstanding her genius she was very hard and narrow," writes Miss

140. Robinson, op. cit., p. 286.
Robinson of Emily, who was unaware in Brussels of all that was "grand, remarkable, passionate, under the surface of that conventional Pensionnat de Demoiselles." Charlotte wrote that Emily's mind was not amenable "to the influence of other intellects;" Miss Robinson alters this: "Her nature was susceptible to only kindred influences."

As evidence of Emily's courage, she relates an event which Charlotte later placed in Jane Eyre. One night Emily was roused by her sisters and the young servant who were terror-struck by a fire in Branwell's room. They managed to keep it secret from Mr. Bronte, who was afraid of fire. Unshrinking, Emily went immediately into the smoke-filled room, where drunken Branwell must have upset a lighted candle onto the sheets. Soon the fire ceased to flare, and she reappeared with singed clothes, half-carrying her drunken brother. She placed him in her bed and told the hysterical girls to go and rest, "but where she slept herself that night no one remembers now." Miss Robinson does not give her source here. Charlotte may have told Miss Hussey about an event which she found dramatic enough for inclusion in her novel, but it is more probable that

---

142. Ibid., p. 222. Miss Robinson shows that Emily's nature responded to the German Romantics. She says Hoffmann, especially, left his impression on her.
143. Ibid., p. 169.
Miss Robinson received her information directly from the "young servant's" sister, Mrs. Ratcliffe. Martha Brown was the Bronte servant at the time when the event occurred.

Charlotte and Mrs. Gaskell used Emily's behavior during her illness to illustrate not only her stoicism, but her intrastability as well. Miss Robinson says that it was not her independence alone which made her keep her illness to herself, but her unselfishness made her chary of giving trouble. That she who had always undertaken the management of the house, who had always been relied upon for strength and courage "should show herself unworthy of the trust that was placed in her" and should lay an extra burden on her sisters and father, all weakened in health since Branwell's death, was a thing impossible for her. Besides, she had always considered herself very strong.

Miss Robinson quotes a letter from Anne to show that at a time when an east wind brought influenza to Haworth, Emily alone was well and wondered why others were ill, "she considers it a very uninteresting wind; it does not affect her nervous system." As a patient suffering with consumption is generally full of hope, Miss Robinson says that it was extremely probable that Emily did not realize the extent of her malady, and she bolsters up this opinion by stating that Anne, whose behavior during her illness had been praised

144. Robinson, op. cit., p. 284.
by Charlotte and Mrs. Gaskell, was choosing her spring bonnet four days before her death.

Frequently the author refers to Emily's unselfishness. Sometimes we feel that she has evidence for her statements; at other times we are certain that her own feelings constitute the evidence as in the case when she says Emily was "more anxious to give than to receive." Most likely Mrs. Ratcliffe told her that Emily always got up first in the morning and did the roughest part of the day's labor before frail old Tabby came down; but it is Miss Robinson's intuition that sees the child Emily doing most of the housework so that she could feel that she was of importance to the household despite her "tongue-tied brooding." While she worked in the parsonage kitchen, she not only read German as Mrs. Gaskell had related, but she also kept pencil and paper handy to jot down thoughts as they came, says the present author.

At this time, although Emily wrote much, she had no dream of literary fame, asserts Miss Robinson—"Expression was at once a necessity and a regret." She hid her poems from all, but yet "acknowledged power would have been sweet to that dominant spirit." After Emily's death, Miss

146. Ibid., p. 60.
147. Ibid., p. 141.
148. Ibid., p. 90.
Robinson says the mourners put Emily's desk in order, the desk which she used to rest on her knees, sitting under the thorns, but they found no novel, half-finished or begun. She does not say with later critics that Charlotte destroyed the contents of Emily's desk and that if there was a second novel no one but Charlotte ever knew.

Emily had little sentiment or instinct for friendship, nor any desire to meet her fellows, her dislike of strangers being almost "violent." Miss Robinson calls this "an incurable defect, a congenital infirmity of nature," and in doing so adds little to the information given by earlier biographers. She says that the experience of losing their two older sisters at Cowan Bridge School gave both Charlotte and Emily a deep distrust of human kindness, and a difficult belief in sincere affection, not natural to their warm and passionate spirits, and that their father's quaint experiment of having them speak from under a mask taught them to cloak their passionate little hearts and to give bold expression to their feelings only in writing.

Mrs. Gaskell said that Emily, with her sisters, taught Sunday school; Miss Robinson denies this; William Brown, the sexton, could have been her source of information here.

149. Robinson, op. cit., 309.
150. Ibid., p. 71.
151. Ibid., p. 42.
152. Ibid., p. 125.
153. Ibid., p. 69.
However, the "someone" who told Mrs. Gaskell that Emily showed no regard for any human creature and that all her love was reserved for animals, was, in the opinion of Miss Robinson, "a shallow jumper at conclusions," because helping the sick and distressed and offering "stanch friendliness" to all in need was ever characteristic of Emily. It is true that she disliked M. Heger, says Miss Robinson, but not because he was a stranger; rather because his "masterfulness in little things" irritated her. The first curate, Mr. Weightman, was exempted from her "liberal scorn," and she enjoyed as much as her sisters the valentines the gay young man had sent them. Miss Robinson says that many pretty little stories of Emily's light-heartedness at this time exist; Emily received the title "The Major" in compliment to her "dauntless protection of the other girls from too pressing suitors."

Because the neighbors saw little of her, Miss Robinson thinks it probable that they thought more of her powers than of Charlotte's and Anne's, and she quotes them, "A deal o'folk thout her th' clever' st o' them a', hasumiver shoo wur so timid, shoo oudn't frame to let it aut."

Young girls who had helped in the parsonage kitchen told her that Emily was "so genial and kind, a little masculine."

155. Ibid., p. 108.
156. Ibid., p. 93.
157. Ibid., p. 141.
and that she was "pleasant, sometimes quite jovial like a boy." When the curates, looking for Mr. Bronte in his study, occasionally found Emily there instead, they made such a hasty retreat, that it became "an established joke at the Parsonage that Emily appeared to the outer world in the likeness of an old bear." Either Martha Brown or Miss Mussey, who made visits to the Parsonage while the curates were at Haworth, may be the source for this "joke." Ellen may have also told Miss Robinson that Miss Wooler did not care for Emily and was not sorry to lose her when homesickness took her back to Haworth. The author does not cite her authority for the statement, but Ellen, who was at Roe Head at the time, could have known Miss Wooler's opinion.

Regarding Emily's love for animals, Miss Robinson says that her devotion had "something pathetic, inexplicable, almost deranged" about it, and that between her nature and that of the "fierce, loving, faithful Keeper" and all wild animals there was a natural likeness. However, Mrs. Gaskell's statement that the fierce, wild, intractability of animals was their only appeal for Emily is disproved by Miss Robinson's picture of Emily, holding fledgling birds in her hands "so softly that they were not

159. Ibid., p. 70.
160. Ibid., p. 76.
161. Ibid., p. 142.
afraid and telling stories to them." The young servant, most likely Martha Brown, used to say to her, "Ee, Miss Emily, one would think the bird could understand you," and Emily would answer, "I am sure it can. Oh, I am sure it can."

At home Emily was intensely loved, although her aunt "never cared for her." Her father was always courteous but distant." Mrs. Gaskell said that when Aunt Branwell was unreasonable "Emily would express herself as strongly as Charlotte although perhaps less frequently." Miss Robinson's version differs: the aunt's little tyrannies revolted Charlotte and silenced Emily."

Miss Robinson makes few comments on Emily's attitude toward Charlotte and Anne. She was happy at Haworth pacing around the little parlor with her arm around Anne's waist, and when she left for Brussels she grieved to be separated from "her dear little sister," but there is no decided linking of their names. Although in one section of her book she states that Emily had Shirley's taste for the management of business, she apparently forgets and adds that Emily looked to Charlotte to choose the way in practical affairs. When Charlotte was at Brussels and their

163. Ibid., p. 69.
164. Ibid., p. 125.
165. Ibid., p. 99.
father had taken to whiskey drinking in his worry over
Branwell. Emily, "knowing herself deficient in that con-
trolling influence so characteristic of her elder sister," 166
wrote to Charlotte to return. Her letter referred to
here is not extant, but Charlotte's letters imply that she
wanted to go home long before she asked Emily if she
wished her to return. Miss Robinson makes one interesting
statement about Charlotte's and Anne's attitude toward
Emily. They proposed having a school at Haworth because
they "must have seen that such a temperament, if it made
her unlikely to attract a husband or to wish to attract
one, also rendered her lamentably unfit to earn her living
as a governess." 167

It was Branwell and Emily who meant the most to each
other. The author feels justified in assigning so large a
portion of her book to their relation because Branwell had
so great a share in determining the bent of Emily's genius,
and the shock of his downfall "turned the fantasy of the
'Poems' into the tragedy of 'Wuthering Heights.'" If she
had omitted this, she would have left untold the stages
by which "Emily's heroic character reached perfection,"
and have left her burdened with "the calumny of having
chosen to invent the crimes and violence of her dramatis
personae." Like Charlotte, Miss Robinson felt that she

166. Robinson, op. cit., p. 165.
167. Ibid., p. 71.
should apologize for the fierceness of the characters in *Wuthering Heights*. She says that Branwell's guilty passion revolted her sisters, but it was "a claim on Emily ever sympathetic to violent feeling;" that Emily endeavored to win him back by love at first, but that finally she had nothing but a patience of acquiescent and hopeless disdain, the same patience which she expressed in her poem for the leveret and the wolf, things contemptible and full of harm, yet not so by their own choice. When Branwell died, the motive of her life seemed gone, asserts the author.


**Stanzas to——(Branwell)**

"Well, some may hate, and some may scorn,
And some may quite forget thy name;
But my sad heart must ever mourn
Thy ruined hopes, thy blighted fame!
'Twas thus I thought, an hour ago,
Even weeping o'er that wretch's woe;
One word turned back my gushing tears,
And lit my altered eye with sneers.
Then, 'Bless the friendly dust,' I said,
'That hides thy lamented head!
Vain as thou wert, and weak as vain,
The slave of Falsehood, Pride, and Pain—
My heart has sought akin to thine;
Thy soul is powerless over mine.'
But these were thoughts that vanished too;
Unwise, unholy, and untrue;
Do I despise the timid deer,
Because his limbs are fleet with fear?
Or, would I mock the wolf's death-howl,
Because his form is gaunt and foul?
Or, hear with joy the leveret's cry,
Because it can not bravely die?
No! Then above his memory
Let Pity's heart as tender be;
Say, 'Earth, lie lightly on that breast,
And, kind Heaven, grant that spirit rest!'

169. Ibid., p. 299.
Miss Robinson gleans Emily's spiritual and religious ideals from her novel and poems. She says that Emily sheltered her true opinions from herself under the term "Broad Church," but in her writings we find, "no belief so strong as the belief in the present use and glory of life; no love so great as her love for earth--earth the mother and grave; no assertion of immortality, but a deep certainty of rest. There is no note so often struck with such variety of emphasis, as this: that good for goodness' sake is desirable, evil for evil's sake detestable, and that for the just and the unjust alike there is rest in the grave." According to the author, Emily's novel teaches the lessons of heredity, and the force of evil conquered only by the slow processes of nature.

Miss Robinson's Emily Bronte fulfills her desire to picture Emily not as "the fierce impassioned Vestal who has seated herself in Emily's place of remembrance" but "as she was"--to the present author--a girl gay at times and sparkling with humor; a woman tender above all others to her erring brother and to all weak things, but stern to herself; a silent creature, timid of strangers but courageous before fate. Feeling that Emily had not reached the height of her capacity in artistic achievement, Miss Robinson fails to see the greatness of her poetry. Because

171. A. C. Swinburne called Charlotte the "fiery-hearted Vestal of Haworth" and Emily, "the austere and fiery poetess."
her life was bleak and sordid in the author's eyes, she sees Emily escaping in the "fantasy" of her poems. It was for later writers to see in the same verse the expression of the greatest spiritual experience that is given humanity to know. She adds little that is new in the biography of Emily, but her love for her permits her to draw a sympathetic picture, a thing Mrs. Gaskell, in her antipathy, failed to do. She has left us one unforgettable picture—Emily on her death-day, combing her long hair before the fire and too weak to pick up the comb from the grate when it slipped from her trembling fingers.
It has been said that Emily Bronte is fortunate in her panegyrists. Chief among them is Algernon Charles Swinburne, who wrote of Charlotte in 1877 and of Emily in 1886. A Note on Charlotte Bronte, however, contains some penetrating comments on Emily's character. Swinburne says that Charlotte must have known as well as loved her sister; and that however hard it is to see in Shirley Keeldar "the austere and fiery poetess," the creature "of tragic genius and stoic heroism," the "jester of pleasantry so bitter and so grim in those brief flashes of northern humor" seen in Joseph in Wuthering Heights, without it we would have only an inadequate and mutilated picture of Emily. In her work he sees fortitude that is "anti-christian" and a "dark unconscious instinct as of primitive nature worship." This, then, is the picture with which Miss Robinson later found fault.

His essay, Emily Bronte, was written as a review of Miss Robinson's biography. She was interested and attracted, he affirms, where Mrs. Gaskell was scared and perplexed, her sweet nature not enabling her to see far into so "sublime a problem" as Emily's personality. While the main details of Emily's character were given by the first biographer, Swinburne says Miss Robinson made one notable

addition: "We all knew how great was Emily Bronte's tenderness for the lower animals; we find with surprise as well as admiration that the range of this charity was so vast as to include even her own miserable brother."

He disagrees with Miss Robinson's emphasis on Branwell's influence. *Wuthering Heights* is a tragedy not because of Branwell but "simply because it is the work of a writer whose genius is essentially tragic." In stating this he adds only fresh paint to his original picture—that of the fiery-hearted Vestal independent of all influence, goaded by her own force of spirit to write as she did. He thus prepares the path for Maeterlinck, May Sinclair, and Romer Wilson who analyze more deeply and explain more variously this inner fire by which Emily lived. Her novel "is what it is because the author is what she is," says Swinburne. He points out the weaknesses in structure and "the savage note or the sickly symptom of a morbid ferocity," in Emily's book but adds that its noble purity and passionate straightforwardness redeem it.
Another of Emily Bronte's eulogists is Maurice Masterlinck. In *Wisdom and Destiny* (1898) he sees the truth of Emily's life not in its dull and sorrowful material events but in the reality of her inner life. He is the first to see that Emily needed no external experience, that in fact, she never had joy or emotion, yet her destiny found fulfillment; "for the confidence within her, the eagerness, hope, animation, all were astir; and her heart was flooded with light, and radiant with silent gladness." Robinson had written that Emily, in the degradation of her surroundings, escaped into literary flight to reach happiness, sought solace in her "fantasy," but Masterlinck feels that her soul would have found happiness in its own self-sufficiency had she possessed no brilliant literary powers.

Miss Robinson had seen in *Wuthering Heights* the influence of Branwell's sad story primarily; Swinburne, the exercise of her tragic genius; but no one before Masterlinck saw in it so fully the revelation of Emily's soul. Knowing little of the external realities of life and love, she shows in her novel an expert knowledge of the inner realities. He says, "We feel that one must have lived for thirty years beneath chains of burning kisses to learn

---

what she has learned; to dare so confidently set forth, with such minuteness, such unerring certainty, the delirium of those two predestined lovers of 'Wuthering Heights' . . . . All the adventure, passion, energy, ardour, and love in the novel is the manifestation of Emily's nature—the true history of her soul.

He points out that her history is that of the too-meditative soul, and, in the light of his philosophy, does not feel it wise to hold it forth as an example to those already inclined 'overmuch to resignation.' His assumption is that in her life perhaps effort was lacking. "In her soul there was wealth of passion and freedom and daring, but in her life timidity, silence, inertness, conventions, and prejudice; the very things that in thought she despised."

In her twenty-ninth year she died a virgin, "and it is sad to die a virgin" because "is it not the paramount duty of every human being to offer to his destiny all that can be offered to the destiny of man?" Masterlinck urges that these remarks be understood generally only, because in Emily's case there is much to be said of her years of sacrifice and devotion for an undeserving, though unfortunate brother.
Augustine Birrell in his *Life of Charlotte Bronte*, printed in 1887, makes forceful, though few, statements about Emily Bronte's character. Her most obvious gift was silence, and her most marked aversion strangers, amongst whom, the author says, she included all near neighbors and her father's curates. This is an extension of the earlier biographers: Mrs. Gaskell and Sir Wemyss Reid, had excepted Ellen Nussey; and Miss Robinson, Ellen and many other neighbors. Emily was unwilling to publish her poetry, according to Charlotte, because of a reluctance to having the secret recesses of her mind and feelings intruded upon. According to Birrell she was averse to have it printed and sold "to that public she abhorred."

Birrell quotes Charlotte's word to show that Emily loved her home and the moors around it. He says that she loved her sisters and her dog, and they, in turn, loved her. Although he does not speak of their being twin-like in their interests as Mrs. Gaskell and Miss Nussey do, he states that Anne and Emily were the "fastest of friends."

175. Ibid., p. 87.
176. Ibid., p. 65.
"At one time" Emily loved her brother with "a silent passion." Earlier biographers made no distinction in time.

That Emily's strong will sometimes met its superior is evidenced when M. Heger made Emily, "the most untamed of mortals, do his will" although she disagreed with his method of teaching.

Miss Robinson said that Emily relied on Charlotte in all practical affairs. Birrell's opinion differs from hers: when an operation was suggested for Mr. Bronte's failing eyesight, "Charlotte and Emily took the matter up with their accustomed good sense and vigour." Emily, in Birrell's mind, shared these qualities with her sister. His source here may be Charlotte's letter telling of her trip with Emily to Manchester to consult a doctor for their father. After the arrangements had been made, Charlotte alone went with Mr. Bronte, but it is known that Emily was needed at home.

The author says that Anne only among the sisters had enough religion to give her pleasure. Mrs. Gaskell had quoted Miss Woeler's remarks that one time some one had asked her what religion she was of with the view of getting

177. Birrell, op. cit., p. 57.
179. Ibid., p. 95.
her for a partizan and that she had answered that that was between God and her. Emily, hearing this, exclaimed, "That's right!" Birrell likewise quotes this, but adds that it tells us little about Emily's religious beliefs "for the conduct it approved of was her friend's refusal to state what her own religious opinions were," a clear-sighted observation.

What Birrell says of Emily is reasonable and free of invention on his part, but there is no attempt to study her nature. His book, although witty and entertaining, adds little to our knowledge of Emily; its value lies in observations on Charlotte's character.

---

181. Birrell, op. cit., p. 60.
Thomas J. Wise in his edition of the *Life and Letters of the Brontes* calls Clement K. Shorter the pioneer of Bronte research. His Bronte publications appeared intermittently for twenty years or more. *Charlotte Bronte and Her Circle* came out in 1896. In it he tells of Ellen Nussey's gift to him of a printed volume of 400 letters from Charlotte, some of which she had lent to Mrs. Gaskell and Sir Wemyss Reid, and her request that he write something around the ones not already published. He personally interviewed Charlotte's husband, Mr. Nicholls, in Ireland, who gave him not only permission to print Miss Nussey's letters but all the papers he had in his possession relating to the Brontes. He obtained other letters from Miss Wheelwright, the family of Mr. W. S. Williams, the nephew of Mary Taylor, and the relatives of Mr. James Taylor. Much

188. Shorter's Bronte work besides numerous magazine articles and prefaces to editions of the Bronte works includes the following:

- *Charlotte Bronte and Her Circle*, (New York, 1896)
- *Charlotte Bronte and Her Sisters*, Literary Lives, (New York, 1905)
- *The Brontes: Lives and Letters*, (New York, 1908) This is a compilation of Bronte letters arranged chronologically.
- *The Complete Poems of the Brontes*, (New York, 1924)
of this material he used in his book, which, according to Mr. Wise, met with great success.

The greater part of his work in *The Brontës: Life and Letters*, together with much heretofore unpublished material, has been used in the 1932 edition of the *Life and Letters of the Brontës* by Mr. Thomas J. Wise. Shorter's book is now out of print. I have seen neither of his collections of the poems; consequently my account of his contribution to Emily's story is incomplete. The following is gathered from his books which were available to me.

He acknowledges that little is known about Emily. Whether Charlotte destroyed the manuscripts she left at her death will never be known, but it is probable, he thinks, that she did. It would be interesting to know what grounds he has for his assumption. The diaries of Emily and Anne which Mr. Nichols found and sent him were, in his opinion, overlooked by Charlotte or they would have met with the same fate. Of the diaries of the sisters, he says, "There is wonderfully little difference in the tone or spirit of the journals," a statement palpably untrue to anyone who will read them. The differences in the temperaments of Emily and Anne are easily apparent. He repeats Miss Hussey's comment that Anne and Emily were inseparable. If Emily's letters to her sisters remained, he is sure that

183. Shorter, *Charlotte Bronte and Her Circle*, p. 149.
they would "have been peculiarly tender and in no way lacking in abundant self-revelation,"--particularly those to Anne. This despite his comment that Charlotte never came very near to her in thought or sympathy. Unlike Miss Robinson he omits any special reference to Emily's love for Branwell, but agrees with Sir Wemyss Reid that Branwell disgusted his sisters.

Shorter's description of Emily's manner follows
Mrs. Gaskell's rather than Miss Nussey's, although he had the latter's very clear account in the form of a letter she sent him, which he includes in his first book. He repeats Mrs. Gaskell's comment that Emily loved dogs more than human beings. She left Roe Head not because she pined for Haworth, as Charlotte said, but because "she utterly broke down with this constant contact with strangers."

When Charlotte returned to Brussels, he writes, "Why not let Emily keep house and Charlotte be allowed to spend yet another year at Brussels in order to make herself more thoroughly proficient?" and we wonder whether this is his viewpoint as well as that of Emily's family.

Without citing any favorable impressions of Emily, he records that of the Wheelwrights, who thought her hard

185. This has been discussed in the section on Miss Nussey.
186. Shorter, op. cit., p. 42.
and unsympathetic. The youngest, who was compelled to take a music lesson from Emily every day during play hour thought Emily was not a "kindly" instructor. Shorter tries to soften this remark by reminding us that at this time Emily was "self-contained and homesick, pining for her native moors," "a fact which was "not evident to a girl of ten." Mr. Nicholls could offer little further knowledge of this "weird, eccentric" girl. He often took tea at the parsonage, and although Charlotte and Anne were always present, Emily preferred to have her tea alone in another room.

To clear Charlotte from the stigma of a love affair with M. Heger he points out that in writing Shirley Charlotte allowed herself to contemplate the "might-have-beens" by making M. Heger, under the guise of Louis Moore, the husband of her sister, who in the novel, is Shirley. To emphasize his view he recalls Mrs. Gaskell's words, but varies them slightly, "M. Heger . . . admired Emily Bronte very much more than he did her sister, and rated her genius higher." Mrs. Chadwick, writing later of Emily's love for the Belgian professor, possibly found suggestion for her theory here.

If Shorter fails to admire Emily's drawing—"that pathetic element in her always pathetic life"—he makes

187. Shorter, Charlotte Bronte and Her Circle, p. 111.
188. Shorter, Relics of Emily Bronte in The Bookman, Sept., 1897, p. 15.
up for it in praise of her novel. In his judgment it is the greatest book written by a woman. He discounts Robinson's and Wright's theories concerning its origin in Irish tales on the authority of Miss Mussey and Mr. Nicholls, to state that her influence was partly her life in Yorkshire and in Halifax and the German fiction of the Brussels period.

In his estimation any further work from Emily's pen "must almost have been in the nature of an anticlimax: "It were better that Wuthering Heights should stand, as does its author, in splendid isolation." Enthusiastic though this appreciation is, it would not be well met by critics who feel that Emily had just begun to show her powers.

Shorter maintains that Miss Mary F. Robinson should never have attempted a biography of Emily since she added nothing new to our knowledge of Emily. Critics might counter that he has added little to our knowledge, that the letters about her, the description Miss Mussey gave, the diaries, all need interpretation. There are those who may find fault with him as to the mystery of Emily's

---

189. Shorter, Charlotte Bronte and Her Sisters, p. 124.
190. Shorter, Charlotte Bronte and Her Circle, p. 158.
191. Shorter, Charlotte Bronte and Her Sisters, p. 127.
personality; others, again, who possess not the ability or inclination to cope with the problem she presents, have unsparedly utilized his phrase, "Emily Bronte is the Sphinx of our modern literature." All writers should be grateful for the material he unearthed; later biographies would be the poorer without it.
X

MARION HARLAND

Marion Harland's chief authority in her book Charlotte Bronte at Home was Mrs. Newsome, of Iowa City, Iowa, the former Sarah De Garris, who, with her sister Nancy, had been a maid at Haworth parsonage when the Brontes were children. Regarding Emily the only direct statements of Mrs. Newsome which the author quotes are: as a child Emily "was the only one of the children who ever required a hint as to forgotten bootlaces or a soiled pinafore, and then only when there was an interesting book in the way," and of her as a woman, "How can I describe the master-spirit of the talented trio? Will her character ever be fully apprehended? Other "humble neighbors" of the Brontes with whom the author had conversed had little more to add. Their reminiscences are summed up in, "She kept herself much to herself, and had little to say to anybody."

One of these neighbors told Harland that "some thought her the prettiest of the girls," but for his part, he "did not call her handsome, but she was, so to speak, 'high-looking'." The author says, however, that Miss Robinson had grown a partisan of Emily when she assigned to her Shirley's love of personal adornment. It was her custom at rising in the morning to don the gown she intended to wear.

---

192. Marion Harland, Charlotte Bronte at Home (New York, 1899)
193. Ibid., op. cit., p. 100.
194. Ibid., p. 100.
all day, and to dress her hair with the same intention; arrayed as Shirley was on fete-days, "Emily might have been a comedy." Madam Heger, her teachers, and her pupils, thought Emily was a "dowdy" and "farouche" in behavior.

Mrs. Gaskell had written that the Belgians thought the Bronte sisters wild and scowling-looking with queer ideas about dress, but Harland adds that if Emily had understood the "voluble French in which they exchanged witticisms upon her apparel and manners, she could not have been more obstinately taciturn." She repeats Mrs. Gaskell's statement that Emily made no friends while in Brussels. Moreover, she gives authority to another assertion of Mrs. Gaskell's that Emily never showed regard to human creatures by saying that the "someone" who had told it to Mrs. Gaskell was "a friend who had seen as much of her [Emily] as anyone not of her name and blood."

With many earlier biographers, Harland states that Emily was happy only at home. Charlotte had referred to Emily's existence at Miss Patchett's School in Halifax as "slavery," but there are no letters from her or Emily to testify how long Emily stayed there. The present biographer,

196. Ibid., p. 139.
197. Ibid., p. 100.
probably on the authority of Mrs. Gaskell, says that she remained there for six months, enduring exquisite suffering, before her "flat went forth" that "she must go back to Haworth if she would not be permanently invalided." Mrs. E. A. Chadwick and Charles Simpson, writing later, controvert this.

Concerning Emily's relations with her family Harland says that Mr. Bronte found her a poor substitute for Miss Branwell when Emily remained at home after her aunt's death; that her sisters understood Emily in her "dumbest moods" and she did not care who else misapprehended her; that proud and self-reliant to the rest of the world, she leaned "in spirit" upon Charlotte (a view which coincides with Miss Robinson's), and that as children she was Branwell's "chum" among his sisters and the one with whom he quarrelled the oftenest, a statement contrary to that of most biographers who grouped Emily and Anne, Branwell and Charlotte together. After Branwell's disgrace, says Harland, "Emily believed that she understood him best of all his kindred," and she "alone pitied him." The author adds equivocally, "He pitied himself too extravagantly to awaken generous compassion in a stronger nature."

199. Ibid., p. 180.
In 1899-1900 there was issued the Haworth edition of the Bronte novels with introductions to each written by Mary F. Ward. From a thorough and sympathetic study of *Lutherine Heights*, she assumes that Emily was influenced by the writings of Tieck and Hoffmann, not to the exclusion, however, of her Irish blood, the solitude of the moors, the ruggedness of Yorkshire life, and the degradation of her brother Branwell. Although Mrs. Caskell had mentioned Emily's reading German and Miss Robinson had pointed out Hoffmann's influence on Emily's novel, no one before Mrs. Ward went so thoroughly into a study of the German sources. She points out that there was much German poetry in the magazines which came to the Haworth Parsonage. That Emily's small library according to word given Mrs. Ward by Shorter, contained much German literature she finds of significance. She discards any French influence as being foreign to Emily's nature.

There is little of biographical or character interest in Mrs. Ward's Introduction beyond a statement that Emily was "physically delicate," a fact we are apt to forget after Miss Mussey's and Miss Robinson's picture of her gaiety on

the moors and her endurance in housework; and that when
Jane Eyre was accepted and Wuthering Heights rejected,
Emily, although she is not known to have written a second
novel, "seems to have shown not a touch of jealousy or dis-
couragement" but spent the last year of her life "supporting"
Branwell in the last stages of his "decay" and in giving"con-
sultation" and "sympathy" to Charlotte in the writing of
Shirley.

Mrs. Ward says that in life Emily's religious faith
was a mystery, but that her Last Lines give it voice--

201. Wuthering Heights was accepted by the publisher T. C.
Newby before Jane Eyre was completed, but he did not
publish it until the latter appeared.

202. "No coward soul is mine
No trembler in the world's storm troubled sphere.
I see Heaven's glories shine
And faith shines equal arming me from fear.

"O God within my breast,
Almighty, ever-present Deity!
Life, that in me hath rest,
As I--Undying Life, have power in thee:

"Vain are the thousand creeds
That move men's hearts, unutterably vain,
Worthless as withered weeds
Or idlest froth amid the boundless main,

"To waken doubt in one
Holding so fast by thy infinity,
So surely anchored on
The steadfast rock of immortality.

"With wide-embracing love
Thy Spirit animates eternal years,
Fervades and broods above,
Changes, sustains, dissolves, creates and rears.

(Cont. to next page.)
Though Earth and Moon were Gone
Ernest Dimnet's book, 1910, translated from the French by Louise Morgan Sill in 1924, despite its title *The Bronte Sisters*, is concerned principally with Charlotte. He refutes the remark that the Brontes had simple natures and sets out to show that only in their lives were they simple. Beyond this, he has no stated thesis; rather he would have the reader influenced by the documents themselves. Therefore as far as facts go, there are many similarities between his story and Mrs. Gaskell's. She had not "a pleasant impression" of Emily; Dimnet writes, "We may think what we will about the character of Emily, that she was strange and difficult to live with;" nevertheless he bows before her genius, and his method, influenced by his French nationality and his Catholicism, accounts for many points in Emily's personality. For example, Emily's "frigid exterior" was the sign of her "northern temperament with its aversion for strangers, its passionate attachment to birthplace, the impossibility for it to exist away from its own surroundings and customs, and above all its inborn sincerity developing, when necessary, into cynicism and brutality." He speaks of

her "arrogant Protestantism" and corrects a previous state-
ment of his that the stoicism which Emily imposed upon her
sisters could uplift the banality of their narrow lives,
by saying that stoicism never uplifts anything; "it does
nothing but for itself and there is no love in it." To
him the least original and most perishable parts of Emily's
talent are the scenes of terror in *Wuthering Heights*
influence by her reading in German literature. With his
French ideas of clarity he finds the "demon" Heathcliff
merely romantic.

Dinnet says that Matthew Arnold used easy metaphors
when he represented Emily as consuming herself and dying
of it. With stronger lungs the intensity of her impres-
sions would have left "intact a soul of the fibre of hers.
Her strong will had far-reaching influence on others.
According to him the "austerity of expression," which was
Emily's habit, was law at Haworth and influenced the family
relations of the Brontes. He says that Charlotte was not
naturally averse to softer ways, but that "everybody who

206. Ibid., p. 172.
207. Ibid., p. 122. Matthew Arnold, in *Haworth Churchyard*,
April 1855, wrote of Emily:

--and she

(How shall I sing her?) whose soul
Knew no fellow for might,
Passion, vehemence, grief,
Daring, since Byron died,
That world-famed son of fire--she, who sank
Baffled, unknown, self-consumed;
Whose too bold dying song
Stirr'd, like a clarion blast, my soul.

208. Ibid., p. 46.
knew Charlotte in the early days" said that she allowed herself to be easily influenced in little things, and he is willing to believe that the acidity expressed in her letters is a "softened reflection of Emily's "disdain and hauteur." However, after Charlotte came back from Brussels the second time, she found Emily's "childish inexperience...which was as characteristic as her... indomitable firmness" no longer "contagious." When both sisters were in Brussels, Emily found M. Heger's plan of teaching unprofitable and told him so. Mrs. Gaskell said that M. Heger had no time for argument with her but proceeded with his plan; Birrell said that Emily had found an equal in M. Heger's will when he forced her to do his bidding; but Dimnet writes that as soon as Emily declared his method deprived her of originality, "he at once agreed with her" and modified his plan. To show her originality of mind Dimnet contrasts the studied sketches of Charlotte with a painting of Keeper by Emily with its freedom of touch and its fullness of life and motion. When Mary Taylor took Charlotte and Emily to an art gallery in London

209. Dimnet, op. cit., p. 82.
210. Ibid., p. 102.
211. Ibid., p. 87.
212. Ibid., p. 45.
on their way to school at Brussels, all three were well informed about pictures, "but Emily had her opinion on every point."

The author feels that there was nothing rustic in Emily’s appearance and manner but rather an innate distinction and refinement which was Charlotte’s inspiration "when she desired to create a type of the true aristocrat" in Shirley. However, she was "cold" and "reserved," not "shy like Anne or fearful like Charlotte." She expressed her love of her family, her courage, and her genius in acts, never in words, an echo from Miss Robinson. At her death, her papers were burned, probably by her own orders, in Dimnet’s opinion. He lists no friends of Emily, not even Miss Hussey or Mr. Weightman. The latter is mentioned as sending a valentine to Charlotte and making love to Anne, but Emily’s name is excluded, although both Miss Hussey and Miss Robinson had said Emily enjoyed his good humor as much as her sisters did.

Biographers up to this time have insisted that Emily was miserable away from home. Dimnet says there is nothing in Charlotte’s letters while she was in Brussels to indicate that she and Emily were not happy while there. He implies that Emily would have liked to return: "Charlotte and Emily

213. Dimnet, op. cit., p. 78.
214. Ibid., p. 43.
must have re-read more than once with swelling heart a passage in M. Heger's letter— the offer for the two sisters to teach at the Pensionnat, or at least one of them, which Mrs. Gaskell had quoted in French but remarked on only Charlotte's share in it. "It was decided" at the parsonage that Charlotte alone would return to Brussels where the two sisters had "eagerly seized every opportunity to be in the company of M. Heger."

According to the present author all the Brontes loved each other. There is no more specific reference to their relationship beyond a sort of fearful respect for their sister when she was in communication with nature. When Emily was at home, where she was most of the time, she did the housework but always thought and led "a sort of somnambulistic existence," an addition to Emily's story which Dimnet does not explain.

Of her religious and spiritual life, Dimnet says, ostensibly on the basis of her poems, that she was stoical, but not pessimistic—in fact she was the happiest of the Brontes—and that at an early age she had adopted a "sullen belief in theism of which she never spoke."

M. Dimnet, agreeing with Mrs. Gaskell about Emily's

216. Ibid., p. 91.
217. Ibid., p. 85.
218. Ibid., p. 43.
219. Ibid., p. 44.
220. Ibid., p. 67.
221. Ibid., p. 56.
disdain and hauteur, but disagreeing with her on the rusticity of Emily's appearance and manner, is the first critic to excuse her reserve on the basis of her Yorkshire temperament, and the first to suggest that she liked M. Heger and found Brussels a congenial environment.
With the announcement that "truth will out" and an acknowledgment that "he cannot help it that more than sixty years of writing on the Brontës is placed out of date by his discoveries," John Malham-Demplby published, in 1911, The Key to the Bronte Works. The Key to Charlotte Bronte's "Wuthering Heights," "Jane Eyre," and her Other Works. He quotes the statements of other authors to bolster up his thesis that Charlotte and not Emily wrote Wuthering Heights. Clement Shorter, she says, stated that Wuthering Heights contains nothing biographically or in any way suggestive of Emily Bronte's personality, but that Charlotte's writings are full of personal incidents of her life. Clara Whitmore had written in Women's Work in English Fiction that Wuthering Heights revealed nothing of Emily Bronte and not one of the characters felt or thought as she did. Sydney Dobell and many critics contemporary with the Brontës insisted that Wuthering Heights was the product of the same pen as Jane Eyre. Some of these authors may have referred to the objectivity of Emily's novel. Malham-Demplby chooses to interpret their words otherwise. He takes it for granted that Wuthering Heights is not objective, but that it relates actual incidents of Charlotte's life written by her pen.
He says that she repudiated her authorship chiefly because it contained "too humiliating" a story of her heart-break for M. Heger. "The tone of ribald caricature in dealing with the Pharisee Joseph; the impatient vindicative pilloring of her own nervous and physical infirmities as "Catherine;" the ruthless baring of the flesh to show Heathcliff's heart was stone; the wilful plunging into an atmosphere of harsh levity, crude animalism, and repulsive hypochondria" is her retaliation, according to Malham-Dembleby. Lately she was remorseful, and determined not to use the story. "Indeed," says the author, "so largely is she now found to have used the work in Jane Eyre, we might say she once contemplated destroying the manuscript. She hesitated to do this, however, and took the alternative of sending it forth under the pseudonym of Ellis Bell, "part of which" had been used by Emily in their poem publishing project. The subsequent arrangement with the publisher, Mr. Newby, who accepted Wuthering Heights on the condition that the next book by the same author would go to him, made it impossible for Charlotte to acknowledge her authorship since Jane Eyre shortly after was accepted by Smith, Elder, and Co.

So much for Charlotte's reasons. On the other side, Malham-Dembleby sees very definite reasons why Emily did not write the novel. Emily had been known always to have liked Branwell, so that it is unlikely that she would
portray him in the miserable Hindley Earnshaw, "proved" to be Branwell by the present author in *Lifting of the Bronte Veil* in the *Fortnightly Review*, 1907. Furthermore, by standards of his own he shows that Emily was no poet; and since his definition of genius demands a message, he says having none, she had no genius. *Wuthering Heights* is a work of genius; therefore Emily is not its author. Referring to her diary of 1845 he asks "by what miracle the 'contented' Emily Bronte, who had collaborated three and a half years with Anne on the *Gondal Chronicles* and declared an intention at the end of July 1845 to 'stick firmly' to their composition, could come, in addition to preparing her poems for the press, to begin and to finish 'Wuthering Heights' by or before August 6, 1846." (A footnote shows evidence of Charlotte's being a voluminous writer.)

No answer is needed, for the real proof of the authorship is found, according to him, in the similarity of the passages from the novels. The lines from *The Professor*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Wuthering Heights* which he gives are often remarkable in their correspondence. He quotes

222. Romer Wilson admits the likenesses, while May Sinclair says the similarity is derived only by taking passages from out their context, and that the correspondence in incidents of the novels with *Gleanings in Craven* only testifies that both Emily and Charlotte read Montagu's work.
from *Gleanings in Craven* (1838) by Frederic Montagu to show that the author of *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights* derived much material for the plots of the novels from Montagu's work.

223. Charles Leonard Moore, in *The Dial*, October 16, 1912, says that as *Wuthering Heights* was undoubtedly written before *Jane Eyre*, Charlotte may have merely followed her sister's lead and taken Montagu's data at second hand. Apart from the external evidence, he gives four reasons to disprove Malham-Dembleby's theory: 1. the character of Emily herself with her love of honesty; 2., the poems and book are all of a piece; 3. the character of Heathcliff is dominantly male while that of Rochester is clothed in petticoats; and 4. Emily's prose is bare and devoid of imagery while Charlotte's contains many purple patches.
Miss Sinclair's concern in *The Three Brontes* is chiefly with Emily, whom "by the mercy of heaven the swarm of gossips and of theorists has passed by." She asserts that Emily has no legend, "or hardly any," that Miss Robinson could add nothing to Mrs. Gaskell except the picture of Emily combing her hair before her death, that Charlotte's reservation and reluctance in her Preface was owing to a kind of sacred terror which Emily's genius inspired, and that Charlotte's having destroyed all records of her sister except her poems, Emily stands apart in an enduring silence.

In her introduction Miss Sinclair makes war on several theories, chief of which is the influence of Brussels upon the life and work of Charlotte and to a lesser extent upon that of Emily. She realizes that she cannot escape a countercharge of theorizing along the following lines: The effect of *Wuthering Heights* on Charlotte Bronte's genius, the stress on the supernaturalism of the novel aroused by M. Dimnet's insistence on its brutality,

---

225. Whether Charlotte or Emily destroyed the papers has not yet been solved. Critics differ. There is no evidence in Charlotte's writings or in Emily's, yet brought to light, to answer the question.
the emphasis on Emily Bronte's mysticism because her paganism had been so much written of, the belief that Emily was in love with the Absolute, and finally the theory that many of Emily's poems link themselves with the small epic of the Gondal in which one must look for the first germs of *Wuthering Heights*.

There is little comment on Emily's personal appearance, except to extend Miss Nussey's description of her eyes by saying, "I have seen such kind and kindling eyes in the face of a visionary, born with a profound, insurmountable indifference to the material event."

That she was utterly removed from people, was the impression of her "scarcely human" remoteness on strangers, a fact in the author's opinion hard to reconcile with her known tenderness for every living thing. For Miss Nussey she felt no more than "an almost reluctant liking." Attacking M. Dimmet's assumption, she says that at Brussels Emily was not interested in M. Heger not in his wife, not in his educational system. She thought his system was no good and told him so. [Mrs. Gaskell had said this.] What she thought of his wife is not recorded, says Miss Sinclair, implying that Emily had no use for her. She rejoices

---

227. Ibid., p. 195.
228. Ibid., p. 24.
that no tale of passion such as they tell of Charlotte was ever told of Emily. However, her prophetic soul prompts her to add that "there may be somewhere some awful worshipper of Emily Bronte, impatient of her silence and unsatisfied with her strange, her virgin, and inaccessible beauty, who will some day make up some story of some love-affair, some passion kindred to Catherine Earnshaw's passion for Heathcliff, of which her moors have kept the secret; and he will tell his tale. But we shall at least know that he has made it up. And even so, it will

£29. Such a love story has been told by Isabel Clarke in *Haworth Parsonage*, Hutchinson (1927). Miss Clarke's book was not available; I am indebted to E. F. Benson's *Charlotte Bronte*, (London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green, & Co.) 1932, pp. 74-8 for the following account of Miss Clarke's theory. The romance of Emily Bronte and Mr. Weightman she bases on Miss Robinson's statement that "the first curate at Haworth was exempted from Emily's liberal scorn." She suggests that Miss Nussey gave her the information, for on her visits to Haworth Ellen went on walks with Mr. Weightman, Emily accompanying them "ostensibly in the capacity of chaperon, thereby earning for herself the nickname of the 'Major.'" As they walked, "he glanced with admiration and something of wonder at the tall slight form of the 'Major.' He noticed her dark, soft, kindling eyes, her thick hair, the strange, brooding, other-worldly look. He saw that this girl, destined to so tragic a doom, was not as the others. She loved him." Upon this subject Emily allowed no word to pass, and if she made "a confidante of Anne the younger sister never betrayed that confidence, even after she had gone to her grave." Evidently Charlotte knew, for she considered his flirtations with other girls "merely ephemeral, for it was still Emily who held his heart." If he had not been in love with her too, she would be "the last woman in the world to give her love unsought." Benson (Cont. on next page.)
have been better for that man if he had never been born. He will have done his best to destroy or to deface the loneliness of a figure unique in literature. And he will have ignored the one perfect, the one essentially true picture says it would evidently be profane to inquire why he did not declare his love and find that it was returned. Emily's poems were consequently written for him. When Charlotte took Emily to Brussels two years later it was that she might "take her sister away from a position that his (Weightman's) gay philandering had rendered untenable." Her homesickness there was really a wish for Weightman's presence. When he died, she wrote Remembrances, and in Wuthering Heights, Miss Clarke finds passages that were "indubitably wrought out of a passionately emotional experience which imagination alone could never have inspired." "Who else but Weightman could it have been?", and Benson says that to that certainly there is no answer, but that on the evidence there is no reason for believing that it was anybody. Keighley Snowden, in The Enigma of Emily Bronte, Fortnightly, Aug. 1, 1928, p. 195, says that Miss Clarke states that Emily in her grief after Weightman's death was prompted to seek somemystical contact with him. It was her suggestion that while Emily was in Brussels she read Ruysbroeck's book The Heavenly Consolations, that strange eulogy of the emotional visions of men who have experienced "the embrace of the soul and the Heavenly Spouse" and being a Protestant, she must have turned this esoteric love to a practice not orthodox. Snowden disagrees with the mysticism, but not altogether with the tale of love. He says that if they were intimate, there was no reason why Charlotte would have known it. The poems certainly are of high personal significance, and it is his opinion that she was reconciled to their publication, though anonymous, only when it appeared that Charlotte had not understood them.

Romer Wilson's assumptions, which are discussed later in the paper, must have shocked Miss Sinclair.

E. A. Chadwick, In the Footsteps of the Brontes, suggests that Emily may have been in love with M. Heger.
of Emily Bronte, which is to be found in Maurice Masterlinek's "Wisdom and Destiny."

Masterlinek, we have seen, showed that Emily had no need of ordinary experience in the light of her self-sufficient soul, but he is not so militant about making her the "poised and complete" person May Sinclair does. He said that it was sad to die a virgin; Miss Sinclair grows vehement over the thought of Emily's needing another individual to complete her happiness. Passion as she wrote about it not only was a thing that had never been, "but never could be." She does not deny Emily maternal qualities, however; "in the depths of her virginal nature there was something fiercely tender and maternal," and she cared far more for Anne "who was weak and helpless and for Branwell who was helpless and most weak" than for Charlotte.

All the Bronte girls "adored" each other, but the strongest spirit, which was Emily's, prevailed. Miss Sinclair proposes a theory that Charlotte possibly read "Wuthering Heights" before she wrote "Jane Eyre," her subject and style being greatly influenced thereby, and that some stray spark from Emily kindled Anne also. She says that Emily and Anne were inseparable, showing "the mysterious

\[\text{\textsuperscript{230}}\text{ May Sinclair, op. cit., p. 196.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{231}}\text{ Ibid., p. 95.}\]
attraction and affinity of opposites." At one time, the author asserts, Anne's faith was broken by contact with Emily's contempt for creeds, but she finally reached Emily's "repose" beyond the clash of "conquered good and conquering evil." Apropos of Miss Robinson's theory that Charlotte was inferior to Emily in tenderness, she says that Charlotte had nerves and Branwell was extremely trying, while Emily possibly had less to bear in that her detachment protected her from Branwell at his worst. With Miss Robinson, she agrees that the cause of Emily's death was Branwell's death.

Supremely indifferent to strangers, uninfluenced by any separation from home, Emily found her destiny at Haworth, says Miss Sinclair. When Emily was shamed by Charlotte's and Anne's example, she went to Halifax to teach "for six months and nearly died of Halifax." In Brussels her genius was blocked by "every conceivable hostile thing." M. Heger, Miss Sinclair thinks, was "purely obstructive," and disagrees with Shorter who believed that he was the inspirer of genius if not of passion. Emily saw through him and realized that in going to Brussels she had done her genius violence. At home nothing "frustrated the divine passion of her communion with their earth and sky." Here her soul attained great supernatural depth.

In Marty's anger, the anger of the transgressor, but she is sure
knowledge of what manner of suspected passion is symbolized
by this, and her consciousness of an image of a transcendent
reality which contains all the transcendent.

In the Passion, she sees Marty's soul burning for the
"remembrance" and by "ultimate vision." In the poem,
there is no more answer, the poet says, than in
the light of the sun.

May others believe this sinister and spoken of Marty's
her soul to the best—her remembrance or her passion,
and heaven; and it is difficult to decide which remains
securely and her heart in peace. She touches both earth
with the Spencer of light and in holding her spirit to
be Marty's, there is no incomprehensible in her
worship. But she says that to a comprehensible would
such

She belongs with the sinners about Marty's grave—
that is belongs to the same realm of the super-physical, although the spiritual experience is somewhat different, as The Dark Night of the Soul of St. John of the Cross, and that it is very far from Paganism.

The secret of Emily Bronte's genius and life was her acceptance and endurance of the event, "braver than all revolt and finer than all resignation," in Miss Sinclair's estimation. Fighting death--trying to rise from the sofa and to break from her sisters' arms--was the only event which she neither accepted nor endured. Earlier in her book she says that Miss Oliphant in censuring Emily for the manner of her dying might as well have censured Anne for drawing out the agony, yet here she says that there was something "shocking and repellent" in Emily's last defiance.

May Sinclair's contribution to the Bronte tradition is her interpretation of Emily Bronte's poems as a part of the Gondal legend. Owing to what she calls "a temporary decline of fervour" on the part of Clement Shorter, he missed the opportunity of picking out the fragments "of a Titanic epic" in the poems he published in 1840. She accuses him likewise of impiety in copying the text, in

234. Mrs. Oliphant's The Two Brontes (1897) not available. Chambers Encyclopedia of English Literature lists it with that of her books which "are marred by want of thoroughness though often containing interesting suggestions."
assigning to Anne four of Emily's poems and for undervaluing the collection, when he wrote that no one can deny to them a certain "bibliographical interest." Their value, in her analysis, lies in their being the source not only for Wuthering Heights, but for the love poems as well. When one realizes that Emily Bronte was a supreme creator, there is no necessity in looking for a lover in her life to whom she wrote her poems and who stood for Heathcliff. Her work contains little that is personal or biographical. Wuthering Heights is not a study of heredity as Miss Robinson had written; free of the physical, it deals with a spiritual world.

In asserting all this Miss Sinclair reiterates her thesis that Emily was dependent on no source but her native moors for her literary achievement, influenced by no contacts with people in her life, but was an inspired soul.

---

335. A review of May Sinclair's The Three Brontës in Current Literature for November, 1912, says that Sir William Robertson Nicoll, who wrote the essay to Shorter's edition of Emily Bronte's poems, although he finds Miss Sinclair's attempt to interpret the Gondal legend a "singularly ingenuous and plausible effort," and one which Bronte experts will be obliged to reckon, remains unconvinced.

G. K. Chesterton, in his review of the book in the London Nation, is quoted as saying that 'Emily Bronte was a splendid creature, and 'Wuthering Heights' is a splendid book; but there is nothing human about it; it might have been written by an eagle. Not only is there no happiness in it, but there is no hint that happiness is even possible. It is because 'Jane Eyre' has in it the whole human heart, the continual possibility of pleasure, as well as pain, that 'Jane Eyre' is a better human document.'
a mystic, a creator, kindled by some fire within, to whom the inner reality was more real than the material event. After Masterlinck, she is the first to penetrate the surface of Emily's personality and to unveil in it some of its mystery.
To the writing of her book, *In the Footsteps of the Brontes*, Mrs. Chadwick brings her years of residence in Haworth and surrounding Bronte country, her "pilgrimages to every Bronte shrine," both in England and abroad, and the reminiscences of many people who knew the Brontes in life. With almost endless research she has traced not only the footsteps of the Brontes, but those of many of their biographers as well. She has altered much of their material and added many facts and theories resulting from her own investigations.

Mrs. Chadwick lays no emphasis on Emily's will as Charlotte and Mrs. Gaskell had done, nor does she copy Swinburne's portrait of "the fiery-hearted Vestal" or May Sinclair's of the mystic cut off from all worldly experience. Although with less felicity of expression, she, like Miss Robinson, endues her with more human qualities. She denies her humor which Miss Nussey and Miss Robinson

---

236. Mrs. Ellis Chadwick, *In the Footsteps of the Brontes*, (New York, 1914)

237. Mrs. Chadwick says that Mrs. Gaskell never really grasped Emily's character, and her remarks on *Wuthering Heights* showed that she did not wholly approve of her novel, although the plot of the story appealed to her so forcibly that she modeled her *Sylvia's Lovers* on it. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 329.
had credited her and says she was reserved and proud, but she adds details about her home and school life which make her less remote and mysterious.

Emily, to Mrs. Chadwick, was a "brave, good woman, domesticated, affectionate, loyal and true, in spite of a certain harshness and masculine demeanour." Of her sisters she was the least efficient at needlework, a statement based on specimens of their work in the author's possession, but she was "especially clever in cooking and in making delicious Yorkshire bread and cakes. Mrs. Gaskell had mentioned only the cakes. Like Maria, her eldest sister, Emily was "untidy" and "fond of day-dreaming." M. Dimnet's remark of Emily's "somnambulistic" existence is evidently only a stronger way of stating it.

From certain indications in Emily's work, Mrs. Chadwick deduces that Emily always had literary ambitions. A poem of 1837 shows genius and high literary ideals.

238. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 329.
239. Ibid., p. 134.
   "I asked myself, O why has Heaven
   Denied the precious gift to me,
   The glorious gift to many given,
   To speak their thoughts in poetry?

   Dreams have encircled me, I said,
   From careless childhood's sunny time;
   Visions by ardent fancy fed
   Since life was in its morning prime.

   But now, when I had hoped to sing,
   My fingers strike a tuneless string;
   And still the burden of the strain--
   I strive no more; 'tis all in vain."
Basing her opinion on Emily's and Anne's diaries of 1845, the author disagrees with those who have thought Charlotte took the initiative in the sisters' literary venture, and avers that it was Emily who saw visions of herself and Anne coming before the world as authors. Emily sympathized with Anne when she was away from home, and when in 1845 she returned to Haworth for a vacation and no reason was given why she should remain there permanently, it was evidently Emily "who determined to try to direct their talents into other channels than teaching, in order to avoid their separation from the old home." In Emily's diary she spoke of the possibility of accumulating funds; this to Mrs. Chadwick could only have referred to money earned by writing because of Emily's previous statement that none of them had any great longing for a school now. When Charlotte found Emily's poetry, she wrote that it took hours to reconcile Emily; and critics have given varied reasons for Emily's anger. Chadwick suggests that if Charlotte had gone to Paris, as the diaries say she wanted to, Emily and Anne hoped to have a surprise for her as they were working with the intention of publishing. Later in her book, however, she says that it would be strange for Emily to object to Charlotte's seeing her poems, unless they contained something

which she wished to conceal. Chadwick fails to see that Emily would not withhold from her sister what she intended to let the public see. Even if they kept their anonymity, as she says they intended to, Charlotte would have learned Emily's secret when the sisters "surprised" her with the published volume. Chadwick confuses us here.

What Emily wished to conceal was probably a brief gleam of love she experienced in Brussels for M. Heger, but Chadwick is not very clear about this. Emily might have loved elsewhere, she acknowledges, but she sees in the poems written in 1843, a "longing for love and a still greater longing for death." The author maintains that Emily had loved, but the loved one was beyond here. Whether it was an ideal or a person matters not, she says. In Emily's early work there is evidence for an ideal, and in M. Heger, she suggests, Emily found a character which fitted in with the imaginary lover. However, she brings most evidence to bear upon a real love for the little professor—the first man to approach Emily's ideal, who found in her a

242. Ibid., op. cit., p. 332. Mrs. Chadwick refers to poems written "in Brussels in 1843 when she was with her father." Brussels is obviously a misprint for Haworth, because Emily returned from Brussels late in 1842. Mr. Bronte was in Brussels only over night when he accompanied his daughters to the Heger Pensionnat.
243. Ibid., p. 329.
spirit that could "mate with his own," who placed her not only above Charlotte, "but above all women; 'she should have been a man, a great navigator.'" She notes that Mrs. Gaskell never explained why M. Heger was so eager to praise Emily, and why he gave such scant praise to Charlotte. Emily, she observes, would not have been a woman if she had not recognized his admiration for her powers. Since Anne could have taken Emily's place at home, if Emily had chosen to return to Brussels, and since her father would have probably preferred Emily to accompany Charlotte, only Emily's "high moral rectitude" kept her from going back to Brussels. The author's implication is that Emily realized M. Heger's influence; her sentence, "It is very probably that Charlotte Bronte never found out Emily's secret, until she discovered the poems which Emily guarded so carefully," clinches it. No, the author is not sure yet. If Emily did not actually love M. Heger, we learn that she at any rate used his devotion to the memory of his first wife, his constancy to the lost love, which the Bronte sisters had learned of while they were in school, as the germ of the plot for her novel. Swinburne had said that \textit{Wuthering Heights} is a tragedy because the genius of its author was tragic;
Chadwick's addition is that the novel is what it is not only for Swinburne's reason but because "of what the author knew and experienced during her life. To see with May Sinclair that Emily did not receive much from her experience in Brussels that altered her whole outlook on life is "unthinkable" to Chadwick.

It is in Emily's social attitude that the author differs distinctly with most of the earlier biographers. Striking the Mey-note in "It is idle to think that Emily differed so much from her family," she quotes the opinions of numerous people who knew Emily to show that they, if not Mrs. Gaskell, had only "a pleasant impression of her." Martha Brown's sister told her that Emily was kind and generous to all in the home. Although she did not teach Sunday School or attend the village tea-meetings, she was a great favourite and everybody loved her. That many children in Haworth were christened Emily Jane after that author of Wuthering Heights, is proof of her popularity. At Law Hill where she taught at Miss Patchett's she was not "unpopular", the testimony of several old pupils with whom Chadwick talked. 

At Brussels Madame Hager gave Emily a

249. Ibid., p. 342.
250. Chadwick advances the theory that Emily was at Law Hill near Halifax for two and a half years instead of the six months which Mrs. Gaskell has said, quoting Ellen Nussey, the only authority for the statement Chadwick can find. (Letter from Ellen (Cont. to next page.)
book, a similar gift not being made to Charlotte.

Chadwick does not fail to give opposing views, but

Nussey to Mrs. Gaskell, dated Oct. 22, 1856.) The author bases her belief on the following: Charlotte wrote to Ellen Nussey that Emily had taken a situation in Halifax on 2nd October, 1856. Mrs. Gaskell quotes the letter dating it the 6th Oct., 1856. In the privately printed volume of Charlotte’s letters, which were compiled by Mr. Horfall Turner for Ellen Nussey, the letter bears the same date, Oct. 6, 1856, Mr. Shorter, in the Life and Letters, heads it Dewsbury Moor, and dates it 2nd April, 1857. Chadwick feels that there is some mistake, for Miss Wooler was at Roe Head when Charlotte wrote to Ellen telling of Emily’s situation.

Mrs. Gaskell implied that Emily left Law Hill in the spring of 1837. But, in a statement following a letter dated March, 1839, referring to Henry Nussey’s proposal of marriage to Charlotte, Mrs. Gaskell says: "Emily, who suffered and drooped more than her sisters when away from home, was the one appointed to remain. Anne was the first to meet with a situation." Anne accepted this appointment in April, 1839, according to Charlotte Bronte’s letter, which Mrs. Gaskell quotes. This would show that Emily Bronte stayed at Law Hill for two and a half years.

Again, Anne Bronte, writing in her journal on 30th July, 1841, says: "Four years ago I was at school . . . Emily has been a teacher at Miss Patchett’s and left it." As the second little journal was written exactly four years later, the one for 1841 points to the fact that the four years mentioned cover July, 1837, to July, 1841, showing that Emily was at Law Hill later than the spring of 1837. In support of this evidence, Mrs. Watkinson of Huddersfield, who first went as pupil to Law Hill in Oct., 1838, has kindly allowed me to see letters of hers written at that time from Law Hill, and she is absolutely certain that Emily Bronte was teacher during the winter, 1838-39.

Chadwick says that the friends and relations of the Patchetts refrained from discussing Emily Bronte for many years because they were offended at the publication of Charlotte’s letter by Mrs. Gaskell.

The original of Wuthering Heights seems to have been taken from Law Hill, says Chadwick, and controverts Charlotte’s words in her Preface that Emily (Cont. to next page.)
she usually adds a remark in extenuation. For example the little wheelwrights to whom Emily gave music lessons in Brussels during the recreation hour so that it would not interfere with her study hour, often came from their lessons in tears, and years afterwards declared unfavorably about Emily's ability as a musician and a teacher. Chadwick says they were much too young to judge. The elder Miss Wheelwright told Mrs. Chadwick that Emily was the direct opposite of Charlotte, who was always neat and ladylike in appearance, whilst Emily, tall and ungainly, always looked untidy, though dressed much like her sister, and that when the other girls teased her about her appearance, she would reply with warmth, "I wish to be as God made me."

Miss Wheelwright confessed to not liking Emily because she was distant with them and another English boarder, and to being pleased when Emily did not return with Charlotte. Chadwick finds it pleasant to state the

had no knowledge of the people among whom she lived on the basis of the knowledge she could have gained at Law Hill where there was a farm connected with the school, and where a possible original of "Joseph" could have worked.

Emily's life at Law Hill was hard for her in Chadwick's estimation as in Charlotte's. But, since Charlotte said the moors were Emily's inspiration, the author points out that the moorland surrounding Law Hill and not Roe Head or Brussels gave Emily material for her poems and novel. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 123-131.

251. Ibid., p. 225.
opinion of another pupil, Mlle. L. de Bassompierre, who was at school with the Brontës, and who was still living at the time Chadwick's book appeared. "Why do you English praise Charlotte so much?" she exclaimed. "It was Emily we all liked best. She was kinder and more sympathetic than Charlotte, and certainly cleverer; she could draw, play the piano and speak French and German far better than her sister." She noticed no aversion on the part of the Brontës for the Belgian girls. A drawing of a tree which Emily had done and presented to Mlle. de Bassompierre before she left Brussels was still cherished by this old school friend.

At Roe Head Emily was remembered slightly: "She kept herself to herself, and had little to say to anybody." Miss Wooler thought Charlotte alone of the sisters capable of becoming a teacher. Miss Robinson wrote that because Emily saw her neighbors little, they thought more of her powers than of her sisters' abilities; Chadwick thinks that in not seeing them often, Emily had fewer opportunities of offending them, a statement which contradicts much that she has said favorably about Emily's social side.

Chadwick, who believes that no one can love animals and truly dislike human beings, challenges Mrs. Gaskell in

---

252. R. A. Chadwick, Nineteenth Century and After, October, 1919, p. 681.
253. Ibid., p. 117.
254. Ibid., p. 167.
describing Emily as hard and giving all her love to animals, and maintains that the passage in Shirley depicting tenderness for animals which Mrs. Gaskell assigned to Charlotte refers to Emily. She repeats, however, without comment, Mrs. Watkinson's memory of Emily at Law Hill telling her little pupils that the house-dog was dearer to her than they were.

In the author's opinion, Emily had more affection for her family than writers have credited her with. She not only agrees with many earlier critics that Emily was devoted to Anne, but she makes a notable extension concerning her love. Emily "guarded" Ellen Nussey from Mr. Weightman's attentions, she possibly took this course because Mr. Weightman had paid some attention to Anne Brontë, and Emily wished to safeguard the interests of her sister.

So much for Clarke's theory. Chadwick points out the similarity in taste of the two sisters—their fondness for pets, collaboration in the Gondals, and sameness of subjects in many of their poems—although she is aware of the difference in their ability.

Emily "pitied" Brenwell in his disgrace, and she "would have scorned to write of him in such an unsisterly way" as Charlotte did. If she did tell Charlotte he was "a
hopeless being," Chadwick, excusing her, says that it was Charlotte who wrote of him as such and that Emily possibly interpreted the word "hopeless" as meaning that he himself had no hope. In the light of the poem she wrote at his death, the author sees no evidence for the contention that Emily was no more partial to her brother in his disgrace and weakness than the other sisters. Her saving his life when fire threatened it, first told by Miss Robinson and questioned by Mr. Shorter, was confirmed by Dr. Ingham, the Haworth doctor who attested some of the Brontës, says Chadwick.

Charlotte, in Chadwick's opinion, acted more the part of Emily's mother than sister, and there is not much evidence of their being in each other's confidence. As one bit of proof she draws attention to the mistakes Charlotte made in her Preface to the 1850 edition of *Wuthering Heights* regarding Emily's age when she wrote certain poems. On the basis of *The Times* letters in which Charlotte refers to her conversation with Emily about M. Heger, Chadwick feels that Charlotte must have told her sister about the unhappy love which brought her home from Brussels. Emily, knowing M. Heger, and hearing

259. Ibid., p. 309.
261. *Four Love letters from Charlotte Bronte to M. Heger.* Published on July 29, 1913 by M. H. Spielmann, the editor of *The Times*.

Charlotte wrote to M. Heger: "I have denied myself absolutely the pleasure of speaking about you--even to Emily."
Charlotte's crying herself to sleep at night and probably also the ravings of her tortured heart in deliriums she suffered, sympathized with Charlotte and made the great book *Wuthering Heights* from the experience. She never acknowledged the authorship "for a good reason known to Charlotte." Chadwick does not enlarge this tantalizing comment. We feel that some mysterious change must have been working in Emily since the years of her childhood, or some catastrophic event had occurred to lead her to leave not a single statement that she and she only wrote *Wuthering Heights*. Chadwick says that in the early day Emily seems to be the only one of the family who refused to use a nom de guerre; either she signed her own name, or left the poem unsigned.

That Charlotte spoke the truth when she denied herself the authorship of *Wuthering Heights* must stand for all time, Chadwick states; she explains Charlotte's statement to Mr. Williams that she had no real claim to it by suggesting that Charlotte's words uttered in her delirium appear in it, that its theme is somewhat associated with the personal experience in her life, and that she may have acted as editor and revised Emily's MS. before it went out, or even that Emily used some material which Charlotte had written at one

262. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 322.
263. Ibid., p. 324.
264. Ibid., p. 136.
265. Ibid., p. 626.
time and rewritten it in her own way. She agrees with Malham-Dumbleby that Heathcliff is M. Beger, the same model which Charlotte used for her heroes, and with Sir Wemyss Reid that certain phrases in Branwell's letters correspond to passages in the novel, but she utterly abandons all theories which place another hand in the writing of the book as it now stands. Instead of claiming that Charlotte wrote Wuthering Heights, she proposes that Emily assisted Charlotte in writing Jane Eyre, because after Emily's death, she refers to the terrible time she went through when writing Villette, no one being there to discuss the manuscript with her as was the case with Jane Eyre and two-thirds of Shirley.

Chadwick makes an important addition to Emily's story in her investigation of the Law Hill period, and in the sources of Wuthering Heights. While admitting that Emily's poems are mystical, she reacts, however, against the picture of the visionary mystic which May Sinclair gave. She rarely gets below the surface of Emily's nature; her contributions to the Bronte saga are more factual than interpretative. But she succeeds in showing us a very life-like woman and not the wild creature, independent of everyone for her happiness and inspiration and unhappy everywhere but at

265. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 325.
home. Many writers from Mary F. Robinson down have agreed that in genius Emily was superior to Charlotte; Mrs. Chadwick's desire is to show that Emily excelled over her sister also as a woman; but in no way does she demean Charlotte's character as writers following her have done.
In January, 1925, Prince D. S. Mirsky, writing on Emily Bronte in the London Mercury, fashions a link which somewhat connects Swinburne's and Mrs. Gaskell's view of Emily as a Titan and Romer Wilson's later theory of Emily's satanic possession.

He says that in Emily's "guessed-at" beauty there was a forbidding and inhuman perfection, the beauty of a fallen angel, the prettiness of Lucifer when only created. If such an angel had made his reappearance in Heaven, the author asserts that he would certainly have been kicked out by the other angels, like Catherine Earnshaw in Wuthering Heights.

Lacking the lovable characteristics of her sister Charlotte, profoundly unchristian in her attitude toward life, ignorant of the virtue of humility and "the noble Christian weakness which needs a neighbor's sympathy," Emily was to her critic here, that "terrible and inhuman thing... the perfect Stoic." He finds the contrast between the charitable Emily and her wicked and selfish characters not so great as many others have. The real difference lies, he says, in the superhuman will of Emily serving her stoical ideal of proud self-abnegation while the equally superhuman will of Heathcliff serves his superhuman passions.
The terms "superhuman" and "titanic" are justifiably applied to her, he maintains, on his finding in her "a deliberate desire to transcend humanity." May Sinclair stated that Emily had mystical experiences which transcended those of ordinary mankind, but it is obvious that Mirsky does not mean this. He comes much closer to Romer Wilson's identification of "the demon lover" and the soul of Emily, when he says that she learned her art from nobody—that the perfect proportions of her novel are of the same origin as the perfect features of her face—and that she was "genuinely akin to Lucifer."
The first analysis of Emily Bronte's character stated in scientific terms which I find is contained in Herbert Read's article, *Charlotte and Emily Bronte*, in the *Yale Review* for July, 1925. A close paraphrase of the essential points follows: Adler and Jung give basis for his observation that the early rupture of the maternal bond of affection and protection and the counteraction of a stern, impassive father, which was the case with the Brontes, would result in the formation of inferiority complexes and in subsequent compensations by fantasy. In Emily it took the form of a masculine protest, the features of which are typical of what the psychoanalyst calls "psychical hermaphroditism." The outward expression of this state is evident in Miss Robinson's remark that the girls in the Haworth kitchen thought Emily "a little masculine?" in M. Heger's comment, "She should have been a man; a great navigator!" in Charlotte's words, "There is a certain harshness in her powerful and peculiar character" and "Stronger than a man, simpler than a child, her nature stood alone." Mr. Read thinks that the masculine assumptions of Emily's mind were the deeper and more profound because she was not given to outward speech or action.

He does not expand his analysis. Homer Wilson and
Lucile Dooley, however, if they did not see his article, which is not likely and not at all necessary, were occupied with the same problem of Emily's personality and attacked it in the same general scientific mode.
Romer Wilson says that she had to rely upon "a thin stream of inaccuracies weakly diluted with truth" for the source of the incidents in The Life and Private History of Emily Jane Bronte. Charlotte, she finds unreliable: "It is safe to say that almost all dates, ages, or seasons referred to by Charlotte in recollection are incorrect." Most of her statements in reminiscence are tainted by what Charlotte "wished had been the case." She feels that Shirley is like the poems of Emily which Charlotte published after her sister's death--Emily edited and cut down. Almost the only thing about Emily which has not been lost or burnt or suppressed, is her capacity to do housework. Romer Wilson's chief source, then, is Emily's poems and novel, for the interpretation of which she sometimes had aid from "one who understands these things," regarding Emily's seraph-comforter, or help from "an eminent psychologist," concerning her theory of imprisonment, the theme of many of Emily's poems.

---

267. Devislon Cook, in The Nineteenth Century, August, 1926, tells of his finding the original MS. volume of Emily's verse in the Honresfeld library of A. J. Law, Esq. A comparison of it with the poems Charlotte edited (and editors following her) reveals, he says, an attempt to take away the "individuality of the line, as though she felt that her sister showed too much of her altogether unusual view of life." Romer Wilson mentions Mr. Cook's article in her list of references, and she quotes No Coward Soul Is Mine from a photograph which he gave her.
She considers the lines of Emily's character the important part of her history, caring little if the reader chooses to believe the details of Charlotte, "whose testimony in the dock so to speak, is not above suspicion," or of Mrs. Gaskell, "who thought that Emily in general deserved being disliked."

As partisan of Emily, she is particularly hard on Charlotte and Branwell. She writes, "I can't help siding with old Bronte and Tabby and Emily," queer words in a biography. Writers had blackened the characters of Mr. Bronte and Branwell before; the present author does not have time or inclination to deepen the black lines about the wildnesses of the male Brontes, her concern with them being only as they looked through Emily's eyes. It is this seeing life through Emily's eyes which distinguishes her method from those of preceding biographers. Having lived her own childhood in Yorkshire, she had memories of the moors; her love for them is Emily's love for them-- the two become confused. To a certain extent, we feel that this is an autobiography disguised as a biography, a type which Andre Maurois has written of. Speaking of the Satanic pride and loneliness which Emily felt as a young child, Miss Wilson says, "People no doubt will say that infants cannot realize loneliness nor

grasp the meaning of Hell. True, I was nine or thereabouts
when the black revelation was made to me, when my soul
itself was terrified," In the introduction she exclaims,
I know Emily herself now." In the conclusion we would be
little surprised if we were to see, "I am Emily herself now."

Her aim, we have said, is to depict the general lines
of Emily's character. Emily's is no ordinary one; to the
author she belongs to the group of great satanic artists as
Milton, Rimbaud, Melville, Dostoevski, etc., all of whom
Miss Wilson includes in her list of references. To show
how the Dark Hero of these men became also a part of Emily's
soul, she makes on the basis of the Brontes' work certain
assumptions in regard to Emily's life and nature.

As a child Emily was ardent, jealous, loving. Having
such a nature she would demand response to her emotions, or
feeling neglect, real or imagined, would become morose and
hard, at least in her own fancy and would fall back on self-
pity and exile herself in a "colossal loneliness." During
an age of worshipping sons, it was Branwell who was the
center of attention in the Bronte family. There is no
doubt, says Miss Wilson, that Emily craved his place, "the
wealth and riches that hung in the air for him," desired
his fair hair and skin—everything that she had not—and
was resentful of her female situation. She solaced her
jealousy "with contemplation of the unrelieved blackness
of her future in rivalry to the unrelieved brilliance of
his." With Emily's poems and ingenious use of Wuthering Heights as evidence, the author says that at this time
Emily began to welcome "a dirty, ragged, black-haired child," the later Heathcliff, "who fictitiously was the first favourite of her father and got the better of her elder brother," and who finally became "more myself than I am." Thus, she says, Emily began to love a dark soul that was within her—a Dark Hero—who ultimately possessed her body and soul.

Miss Wilson's explanation of the origin and nature of the Dark Hero is interesting: "there descends upon some men and women out of a mysterious region beyond what we know as rational, a dark spirit, which possesses itself of the most unlikely souls, and houses there to depart unbidden as it came. Sometimes this creature takes itself off on holiday, leaving its host in bewilderment and despair, sometimes it would seem to survive as 'ghost,' the mortal body in which it dwelt. Those in whom it condescends to take up its abode leave the pleasant ways of life and cleave to its dark ways." Such a person "possesses a perfect

269. Romer Wilson, op. cit., p. 54.
270. Ibid., p. 55.
certainly of his own damnation, and sees love which is identical with heaven in his mind, as the unattainable, the not-for-him. This spirit, this seraph, this redemption, this not-for-him, I call the Fair Lover."

Whether Emily knew what proportion the Dark Hero assumed in regard to her whole life, the author has no answer. As the demon-seraph is masculine in Miss Wilson's eyes, the remarks of the villagers, "she was more like a boy than a girl," and M. Heger's, "she should have been a man," are evidence that other people, however, knew of the two selves Emily possessed. She warns the reader, as he watches Emily's normal life, to remember that "within she is a boy beginning to seek the Fair Lover, the White Spirit, under cover of a darkness in which she knows hell."

All the actions of Emily's life, her relations with the members of her family, the themes of her poems and novel are affected by this possession, produced at first as a compensation mechanism against the envied brother Branwell.

Even in Emily's appearance the influence of Branwell is seen. Miss Wilson gives as reason for the frizzed hair Emily and Charlotte wore an admiration of Branwell's natural frizz.

271. Romer Wilson, op. cit., p. 50 ff.
272. Ibid., p. 55.
273. Ibid., p. 95.
Concerning Emily's manner, the author repeats with many—Gaskell, Harland, Miss Wheelwright among others—that she was "uncouth," but she, unlike them, gives the reason underlying the behavior. Emily was no stoic. Her poem The Stoic reveals a "renunciation rather than a fact," an opinion certainly different from all other biographers. To such a nature as hers, Miss Wilson says, unfulfilled riches and achievements lead to resentment and expression of it in silence and stiffness towards perfectly innocent contemporaries. They assume a Cinderella attitude, an inferiority complex. The author gives us to understand that signs of this complex appeared in Emily's "slaving" in the house, although, when she states elsewhere in the book that Emily "had to serve" her family "in the capacity of drudge," she contradicts herself by making the work involuntary on Emily's part.

With earlier biographers, Miss Wilson agrees that Emily loved the moors. Only on them and in the fantasy of her poetry could she escape for a time the seraph-demon who tormented her. Music, which Miss Huxley and Charles Simpson make so important a motive in Emily's life, is summarily dismissed by Miss Wilson—"Perhaps it gave her some pleasure," is her only comment.

274. Wilson, op. cit., p. 82.
Charlotte wrote that Emily pined for the moors when she was miserable at Roe Head. Romer Wilson says that it is more romantic to pine for the moors than to turn white with resentment because one is forced to do something against her will. Consequently Charlotte chose the more poetic method of expressing Emily's misery. In reality, Emily suffered a prison complex, a kind of claustrophobia, a theory which Miss Wilson reconstructs from a scene in *Jane Eyre* and Emily's earlier poems. When she was six years old, Emily was shut up in her dead mother's room as a punishment by Aunt Branwell, where in the growing darkness, she thought of her mother and feared the return of her dead. A lamp carried through the churchyard threw a reflection, and thinking the expected thing she dreaded had come, she shrieked and had a "species of fit." Consequently no absence away from home, where she was comparatively free, was advisable for Emily.

Halifax was no exception. Miss Wilson disagrees with May Sinclair regarding the length of time Emily stayed there. Upon internal evidence of the poems written during this period, she says that a town like Bradford rather than a small village as Southowran was the setting for them.

---

Moreover, The Wanderer, dated from Bradford, 1838, leads her to conclude that Emily spent some time of the year 1837 or 1838 there, where, from the poems again, something happened to her "in body or soul," which had dire results to herself. The poems "of guilt, of shame, of crime, and of a tarnished name," begin shortly after this, says the author.

Besides the evidence she states, Romer Wilson may have also used Emily's diary of 1845 in which she describes a trip she and Anne enjoyed "except during a few hours at Bradford." What the horror was which Emily experienced, the author does not say, but she states that it set the Dark Hero expressing himself. Emily became a poet.

These poems of "guilt" reached "melodramatic heights" in 1840 while William Weightman was curate at Haworth. If one expects an expansion of Miss Clarke's theory here, one will have to wait in vain. Miss Wilson confesses that some fond kiss of his might have set Emily to sighing sentimentally, but her aching heart which gave the poems life sought "not for this young man, but for the true, fair,

---

276. Ibid., p. 154. Most of the poems she refers to are Gondal, but she says that Emily often took the hero's sufferings to herself. It is difficult to differentiate between the personal passages and those descriptive of the Gondal people.

277. Ibid., p. 145.
heavenly lover of whom he was but a hint."

Nor does the author credit M. Heger with "bewitching" Emily as he did Charlotte. The poems of love and guilt and death have been too numerous before the Brussels period to interpret those of the years 1842 and 1843 in the light of any love affair in Brussels.

Under Miss Wilson's pen, Emily's relations with her family undergo a change. Her love for Branwell, the theme of Robinson's book, is banished from Romer Wilson's account. The latter acknowledges the poem Emily wrote at Branwell's death to be a tender manifestation of her regard, but she adds that to all intents and purposes Emily stood with Charlotte. We know Charlotte felt only disgust for her brother. Furthermore, the author repeats Emily's pronouncement that he was a "hopeless being" without softening the remark, as Mrs. Chadwick had done, and she states that Emily carried tales about him to Charlotte. (Charlotte's letter, evidently Miss Wilson's evidence here, says that Branwell had succeeded in getting a sovereign from her father during her absence.) So despite the poem, the author feels that "perhaps in life, Heathcliff did really triumph over Hindley Earnshaw's [Branwell Bronte's] fall."

If Miss Wilson differs from earlier biographers about

278. Wilson, op. cit., 145.
279. Ibid., p. 178.
the Emily-Bramwell relation, she allows Anne to retain her old place in her sister's affection. With Mrs. Chadwick she details the similarity of their tastes. Both were brave, she says, differing from Charlotte in writing what they liked without care of the world's approbation. While she expects no transcendentalism or genius of Anne, she nevertheless thinks that she has been dismissed too hastily in the past from Emily's company. She states flatly that Anne saw the Dark Hero in Emily. The reader, with the memory of previous portraits of her gentleness and piety, cannot help but wonder how Anne reacted to this knowledge. We cannot feel that there was great confidence between them, however, since Miss Wilson says that at the time Emily was expressing in her diary for Anne a desire for a pleasant and flourishing seminary of their own, she was apparently suffering "wild delirium and pain," (referring to the themes of her poems of the period, probably.)

Miss Wilson finds it difficult to analyze the relationship between Emily and Charlotte, there being so much "telepathy of familiarity" between them which the letters and opinions handed down do not explain. She gives Charlotte credit for the energy of getting the novels not only started but published, but she blames her for trying to manage Emily instead, I suppose, of allowing her to have her own way. May Sinclair wrote that "having your own way is the supreme test
of genius." We have said that Miss Wilson is hard on Charlotte. Although she writes, "I admire Charlotte tremendously, one has to admire such constancy, such bull-dog fortitude and tenacity," she adds jarringly, "but what a tragedy that she should have got her teeth into Emily and, I cannot help feeling, as the years went on torn pieces unwittingly out of her soul.

Charlotte probably sought a closer companionship because her nature demanded it, but Miss Wilson says that although Emily admired Charlotte for the new interest she brought to the family, she could not show herself to her sister. "Lucy Snowe would have tried to manage Heathcliff." To show that there was love, at least on Charlotte's part, but little confidence, the author cites the incident in Shirley where the heroine "without yielding an inch of her soul" obtains Mr. Moore's promise to give her "a dose of laudanum as shall leave no mistake," if complications occurred from the mad dog's bite. In real life, Miss Wilson feels that Charlotte promised Emily the same favor "and after the same fruitless attempt to break down her reserve.

Charlotte's discovery of Emily's verse, which has been so variously commented upon, but probably never so

281. Rome Wilson, op. cit., p. 66.
282. Ibid., p. 125.
283. Ibid., p. 216.
vehemently as here, was "a misfortune" which befell Emily, "a discovery which stinks of betrayal, for Charlotte got past Emily's reserve by something akin to treachery."

Miss Wilson writes, "Nothing to my mind can excuse this action of Charlotte's. Why was Emily reconciled if she were ever reconciled, you may ask, Water will wear away a stone. Stoics give up fights they cannot end." She is sure that Charlotte loved Emily in a new way after this, "with admiration and passion, with fear and pity," but she adds, "I hate to write the rest of this book in which Charlotte's love began to dawn too late." That Charlotte understood something of Emily's nature after her discovery is certain, or "why did she destroy, as she seems to have destroyed, every private paper of Emily's but a few poems," Miss Wilson has no basis for this opinion. Whether Emily herself destroyed her papers before she died, or left word for Charlotte to do so, or died utterly indifferent about them is not known.

Emily's spiritual and religious attitude, according to the author, cannot be stated in few words. Something can be gained of it from her description of Emily's death. "Heathcliff," she says, "had come to the time when he chose

---

to depart from this world and no pity or love on earth could restrain him." She doubts Charlotte's words that Emily was torn reluctant out of a happy life, when she asks how Catherine Barnshaw died. We know that the dying Catherine opened her windows and let death in on her from the moors. "Who can tell," asks Miss Wilson again, "how often Emily in those last days let the wind she had loved blow about her shoulders in the chill of a winter's night, Did Heathcliff, the Dark Horse, go down to the grave after his soul upon the wings of the wind," She thinks that when Emily wrote No Coward Soul Is Mine, she did not know what she did. There are numerous persons who will agree with this opinion, when they read next the "horrible suggestion" which she raises in "dread"—that the poem is "Satan's hymn to God, to himself as God."

Miss Wilson agrees with May Sinclair that there is a definite relation between the Gondal poems and Wuthering Heights, but unlike her she suggests a model for the framework of the story in The Entail, by E. T. W. Hoffmann.

She is the first of Emily's biographers to show completely the connection between the poems and the novel, the first one to state that Wuthering Heights is Emily's autobiography and that Heathcliff as well as Catherine is

287. Ibid., p. 267.
is Emily. In her chapter headed Reflections, she traces the identification. She is most certainly the first to get below the surface of Emily's nature, so that we see not only what Emily thinks but her motives for so thinking. Mrs. Gaskell was concerned only in what Emily did. The stream of consciousness method which Homer Wilson adopts is valuable if it is really Emily we see.
Lucile Dooley's paper, *Psychoanalysis of the Character of Emily Bronte*, although not published until April, 1930, was first read before the Washington Psychoanalytic Association May 19, 1928, a week before Romer Wilson's *The Life and Private History of Emily Jane Bronte* appeared. In a footnote to the published paper Dr. Dooley states that Miss Wilson's study is the completest yet made of the Brontes. Seeing many similarities between her theories and Miss Wilson's, her first thought was to rework her paper to point out the differences and likenesses, but, as it would mean an entire revision of the paper, she preferred to let it be published as it was. It is not my purpose to perform this task for her, but rather to show the conclusions she draws concerning Emily's personality.

Like Miss Wilson in her attempt to apply the principles of psychoanalysis to an explanation of Emily's life, she begins with the "doomed child" theme of the poems as the symbol of what all biographers have agreed upon to be Emily's dominant characteristics--her love of personal liberty and of the moors.

---

The author's guess is that the early loss of her mother, and then of her elder sister, heightened by experiences of coldness and severity from the father, gave Emily a tragic sense of deprivation. Dr. Dooley feels with Miss Wilson that Emily, as a child, was subjected to some unjust punishment which convinced her that she was unloved. Her father, respecting her genius, nevertheless chose Maria, and after her Charlotte, as his companion. Branwell, of course, was his favorite. The boy, with Anne, shared first place in their aunt's affection. Emily must have felt left out, unloved, and consequently unworthy of love. Knowing her own superiority and being highly intelligent, she saw the faults of her authoritative father and spoiled brother and felt the need of cutting herself off from them. In thus gaining her freedom she became the traitor, the unblessed, the doomed child. She disowned the cruel human parents and took Nature for her mother. The author points out that Emily's characters, products of the moors, could never have been created without her feeling a bond of soul to earth like the bond of child to parent.

289. Mr. Bronte in conversation with Mr. John Storey Smith said: "And I hadn't an idea of it. To think of me never even suspecting it. Strange! Strange!" And then he talked about Emily and the other sister, and told me how he had considered Emily the genius of the family, how he never fancied Charlotte capable of writing anything."
In saying that this doomed child, and later Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights*, is the "gloomy self-condemned other self of Emily," the author agrees with Miss Wilson, but in giving her reason for the masculine portrayal she disagrees with her. It is truer psychologically, she writes, for little girls to wish to be boys from a sense of rejection, of being unloved, than from any sense of inferiority due to their sex. Besides, she adds, Emily had too much contempt for Branwell to be envious of him.

Since Emily felt that she was not wanted, her pride never allowed her to make any attempt to prove herself attractive in appearance or manner. She sought independence of everyone. Anne, because she could be led, was her only friend; Charlotte, who tried to "manage" (Miss Wilson's word also) her, had none of her confidence. She created a world of her own where she shut out "all elements which challenged her self-mastery." Scientifically stated, the author says she did for herself what is done for the inmates of sanatoria in simplifying her environment.

Emily created a God of her own, too, "leaving out the submission of the orthodox Christian." Miss Wilson had said that Emily's dying song was Satan's hymn to God, to himself as God; but Dr. Dooley does not go to this extreme. To her it was a challenge to the Infinite proclaiming that Emily need not bow or tremble.
When one forgets the poetic treatment of the subject by Romer Wilson, the points of similarity between her work and Dr. Dooley's study are striking. The keynote of Emily's personality to the latter is compensation for many privations Emily suffered. Miss Wilson likewise shows the sublimation of desires on Emily's part. The difference between the two is that Dr. Dooley handles the subject scientifically, using language and a method we are accustomed to in this day, while Miss Wilson, employing a scientific basis, superimposes a theory, that of a dark spirit descending "out of a mysterious region beyond what is known as rational."

The next book to follow chronologically is K. A. R. Sugden's *A Short History of the Brontes* (London, 1929). Mr. Sugden thought, since people are beginning to write fanciful tales about the Brontes, there was room for a "slim, handy, frigid work" in which the details and events of the family are set down "without much embroidery or many theories." The book, containing an outline of the careers of all the Brontes, synopses of each of the novels, and indications of the existing Bronte problems, is a valuable hand-book for the foundation of wider study. The facts concerning Emily which are unquestioned by most Bronte authorities, are here, but for an understanding of her nature one must go to other works.
In turning to *Emily Bronte* by Charles Simpson, one is aware of a reaction away from the psychoanalytic method, although he does not entirely fail to seek underlying causes in Emily's unusual development. His book, dedicated to those who love the moors, illustrated with reproductions of paintings he had made of the Yorkshire landscape in all moods, is a verbal picture of Emily and the moors. In thus emphasizing the influence of the country around Haworth, on the genius of Emily, his book reminds us of May Sinclair's. His repudiation of any love affair in Emily's life, belief that the personal poems may be connected with a long and romantic story of the Gondals, stress on the element of mysticism in her nature, and exclusion of influences beyond her moors to inspire or exalt her, increase the likeness. Concerned only with Emily, he has more space than Miss Sinclair to expand his theories.

Nature at her wildest and grandest is seen at Haworth, he says. Here, Emily found an echo of her spiritual strength; for to such as Emily "peace and joy must come with sterner attributes than others find acceptable." Just as Romer Wilson sought cause in an undeserved punishment in Emily's

292. Ibid., p. 45.
early life to account for her inner rebellion against her
family, Mr. Simpson uses an incident which Emily experienced
as a child in order to explain her kinship with the strong
winds and wilder forms of nature, native to Haworth.

He describes a story of September 2, 1824, which made
so strong an impression on Mr. Bronte that he used it as a
subject for one of his later sermons. The great bog on the
summit of Crow Hill beyond Ponden Kirk had burst its bounds,
and the loosened mud and stones rolled down the hills upon
the hamlet of Ponden two miles from Haworth. The Bronte
children, walking on the moors with the servants, Nancy and
Sarah Carrs, took refuge in a neighboring farm kitchen. Mr.
Simpson says that Anne, huddled close to her sister, turned
her eyes away from the window, but that Emily was fascinated
by the fury of the lightning and at that moment there was
"kindled in her a response to the wildness of the moors, and
a longing, like the younger Catherine, to discover the
mysteries of Penistone Crag. But years of a happy childhood
and youth were yet to hold her, a willing prisoner in
Thurscross Grange, before she sought the atmosphere of
storms again. This explanation is very different from
inferiority complexes, feelings of rejection, and masculine
protests.

293. Simpson, op. cit., p. 23.
One may feel that an inferiority complex, for example, better explains Emily's behavior when the period of her youth was gone. Mr. Simpson acknowledges that as she grew older she was more than ever self-contained and that her self-repression had made her harsh and unapproachable, natural enough he says for one whose spirit, quoting Charlotte, "was more sombre than sunny." He adds that the explanation is to be found "in the mind of the artist, as a painter, who sees in dark and subdued tones a beauty that others find in brighter harmonies. Such are born, and no contact with a world outside their own can change them.

The author rejects the theory that any unkindness in Emily's childhood made her gloomy or morose. He harks back to Ellen Hussey's description of their comparatively happy homelife. The idea that Emily had been made a "drudge," as Romer Wilson claimed, is to Mr. Simpson "incongruous" and "far from the truth;" those who knew her, he says, testify that she was happy at her household work. Loving freedom as she did, she found that she gained the most by submitting to a dull routine. To think her own thoughts was as much freedom as she hoped for in her life, and at home she could do this as her work there made few demands for any response she could not make. Mr. Simpson's explanation is not far

removed from Dr. Dooley's that Emily simplified her environment in order to retain her feeling of superiority.

The author says that Emily's words in her diary of 1845 are at least entitled to be regarded as literally true. Emily wrote that she wished "everybody could be as comfortable as myself and as unresponsive and then we should have a very tolerable world of it." When she was alone at Haworth, except for her father and the servants, she said her music to console her. Mr. Simpson, feeling that this phase of Emily has been neglected, makes much of it. To one of Emily's temperament, he says, music can be a very great consolation. In his opinion her musical genius was great: the airs of Haydn and Mozart played with "tone and feeling... under the hands of a master" made Branwell, when he was there, walk about the room beating time to the music in the kind of ecstasy peculiar to him.

Mr. Simpson states that there is no reason to believe that Emily did not get along with her father for in many ways his character was like her own. Both were interested in music, poetry, and tales of wild Yorkshire life.

Of her sisters, Anne was Emily's favorite, a statement which follows the tradition. Contradicting Mrs. Chadwick, who thought that Charlotte confided in Emily regarding her love for Mr. Heger and revealed to her her feelings in a

---

296. Ibid., pp. 107 and 118.
delirium, Mr. Simpson says the first is impossible in the light of Charlotte's statement in her letter to M. Heger and the second supposition is groundless. He also disagrees with Romer Wilson and Mr. E.F. Benson regarding Charlotte's culpability in the discovery and use she made of Emily's poems. But for her, he says, the poems might have been destroyed, as the Gondal stories very possibly were, by Emily herself.

There is no emphasis on Emily's love for her brother here. She was sorry for him but regarded him as "hopeless." However, she felt more deeply than any of the others, and, although Mr. Simpson does not call it a maternal quality as does Miss Sinclair, displayed at the time of his disgrace "moods of strange tenderness."

Since Miss Robinson's biography few writers have stressed Emily's love for animals as much as Mr. Simpson. Quoting Miss Russey's description of Emily's making Keeper roar and leap, he says that Emily stood, an enchantress, "in a mood of wild exultation, of freakish humour," which was not an unfamiliar one to those who knew her. He points out that Emily's only existing reference to Brussels is her anxiety.

---

297. Simpson, op. cit., p. 121.
298. Ibid., pp. 40 and 151.
299. Ibid., p. 2.
over Hero, the hawk, that had been given away during her absence.

Emily was, according to the present author, one of those people, highly strung and physically frail, who keep fairly well when they are allowed to live their own lives quietly. In his description of her personal appearance, he emphasizes her delicacy and frailness. Although he says that she was seldom ill, he gives her lack of physical strength rather than a want of courage, as excuse for her inability to remain away from home. Frequently he speaks of "the dying down of the flame that animated the Brontes, the flicker of the light that too often threatened to smoulder and go out." Her homesickness at Roe Head and Brussels was caused not so much from proximity to strangers, as has been often suggested, as contact with an atmosphere alien to her nature. The smiling fields of Roe Head, the intensity of sunshine at Brussels were indications of a nature that was soft, and contrasted with her memories of the stern and rugged features of her native moors. At Law Hill, however, she found a place wilder and more desolate than Haworth, "truer to the colour of her genius." Her conflict there, says Mr. Simpson, was in surroundings more appropriate to her own emotions.

300. Simpson, op. cit., p. 34.
301. Ibid., p. 50.
A large portion of Mr. Simpson's book is devoted to Emily's life at Halifax, a period often neglected by biographers before Mrs. Chadwick. Like her he agrees that Emily was there longer than six months, which Miss Hussey and Mrs. Gaskell had stated, but since the confusion of dates of the letters can never be cleared up, he thinks that it is more probable that Emily remained there little over a year. He thinks also that Emily found life at Miss Patchett's congenial, her complaints of hard work being confined to a single letter and "it being quite uncertain" whether she wrote any others.

That Emily used the local color of Southowram in Wuthering Heights he thinks indisputable. He finds originals around Halifax for many places in her novel and in Jack Sharp, the builder of Law Hill, a prototype of Heathcliff. Points in their respective careers, particularly ones relating to property law suits correspond remarkably. That the name of the servant at the school while Emily was there was Mrs. Earnshaw is of significance to Mr. Simpson. Since Charlotte drew from life in her novels, there is no reason, in his estimation, that Emily did not do likewise, and he suggests that her refusal to disclose her identity as Ellis Bell, and her anger when Charlotte did so, was because of the fear that allusions in her novel might be recognized at Southowram, a possibility that would have

302. This was discussed in a footnote in Mrs. Chadwick's account.
been unbearable to such a character as Emily's.

From evidence of her poems during the year 1838, Mr. Simpson agrees with Romer Wilson that Emily's imaginative power grew surprisingly during this period, but he discounts any theory that something terrible to her occurred "in body or soul" either in Halifax, or Bradford, the place Romer Wilson suggests, or at Haworth. He acknowledges that we do not know either the context or the reason for the passion of such a fragment, for example, as Light up thy Halls but Emily's battling with the conception which inspired it and exhausted by the rigours of Law Hill, are reasons enough for the "grey melancholy" of her poems of the following year. Having just passed a summit in her poetic development to which she did not return until she wrote Wuthering Heights, she was passing to what Mr. Simpson calls the "Shirley" period of her life. Although other writers have denied Charlotte's understanding of Emily's nature, Mr. Simpson thinks she describes Emily's mystical mood faithfully in the following:

"In Shirley's nature prevailed at times an easy indulgence; there were periods when she took delight in perfect vacancy of hand and eye--moments when her thoughts, her simple existence, the fact of the world being around--and heaven above her, seemed to yield her such fullness of

303. Simpson, op. cit., p. 60.
304. Ibid., p. 88.
happlmeee, that she did not need to lift a finger to increase her joy....no spectacle did she ask but that of the deep blue sky, and such cloudlets as sailed afar and aloft across its span; no sound but that of the bee's hum, the leaf's whisper; her sole book in such hours was the dim chronicle of memory, or the sibyl page of anticipation;...round her lips at moments played a smile which revealed glimpses of the tale of prophecy; it was not sad, not dark." 305

To appreciate Emily's poetical genius, one must have a knowledge of mysticism, he says, for it is as "searching in the analysis of the mind, and far more comprehensive and profound, than any modern science such as psycho-analysis." Whether she had acquaintance with the writings of other mystics cannot be fully ascertained, but Mr. Simpson finds passages in Emily's poems which have resemblances in the Confessions of Saint Augustine, rather than affinity to the works of John Ruysbroeck, as was suggested by Miss Isabel Clarke. He recommends a reading of The Dark Night of the Soul in order to compare what St. John of the Cross describes as an experience of harrowing intensity that may last for years with much of Emily's poetry which suggests that she may have entered this "kingdom of shadows." What have been called her "poems of guilt" would thus be fully explained, he says. Emily's mysticism grew out of her love for the moors. The author points out that she entered

the confines of mysticism through pantheism.

With all of Emily's biographers, Mr. Simpson recognizes the power of Emily's will and intellect. Independence of thought she had, but arrogance of intellect was entirely lacking in her humility, a quality, says the author, which is inseparable from mysticism. He adds that her humility was one that bowed to no man on earth, however, and what she believed in life, she adhered to until death. As explanation of Emily's rejection of sympathy in her last illness and her stoical endurance of the agony leading to her death, Mr. Simpson uses her own words, "I wish to be as God made me."

Although his theory is that Emily's character can be more truly learned from the moors, "than from any repercussions it has left among those with whom she lived," he does not omit a discussion of her relations with people. As a child at Gowan Bridge, he says the teachers found her different from the other Brontes, and easier to understand. The evidence for this is obscure. According to Mrs. Gaskell, they had considered her a darling and quite the pet nurseling of the school; according to the official records of the school, she could read a little and sewed prettily. Mr. Simpson adds a new note when he says that the highest tribute which can be paid to Miss Mussey is her ability to understand Emily.

308. Simpson, op. cit., p. 146.
309. Ibid., p. 191.
310. Ibid., p. 114.
311. Ibid., p. 13.
312. Ibid., p. 32.
Most writers are agreed that no one understood Emily.
Mr. Simpson says that at Haworth the people considered Emily a comfort to her father when the others were away; at Brussels, she had friends, on the authority of Mrs. Chadwick, as well as foes; and at Law Hill, she was "so little remarkable that none of her pupils had much to say of her."

Mr. Simpson has for the first time supplied the reading public with a complete description of Emily Bronte's desk and its contents, given an authoritative account of the Bronte portraits known to be in existence, and explored the Halifax period in Emily's life in search for its influence on her genius. Disregarding the pictures of unhappy childhood which Romer Wilson and Inezle Dooley gave, recalling Ellen Russey's account of Emily, rapturous on the moors, expanding May Sinclair's statement of Emily's mysticism, he sums up his explanation of Emily's nature in saying that she was born with the poetic temperament which finds its inspiration and strength in nature.

With no other aim "than to make them be loved a bit longer," Emilie and Georges Romieu wrote of Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Bronte in 1911 under the title *Three Virgins of Haworth*. One hears in their book echoes of all the chief works so far discussed.

There is an attempt on the part of the authors to mold the facts, as we know them, into a more dramatic form; consequently parts of the book read like fiction. For example: Mrs. Gaskell had written that when the old servant Tabby had broken her leg, Mr. Bronte and Aunt Branwell were persuaded to allow her to remain at the parsonage only after the girls refused to eat. The Romieu version follows:

There was need, then, it seemed, for discussion. Very well. It was financially impossible to keep Tabby and hire an additional servant. If she was allowed to remain, who would nurse her, who would feed her, who would look after the two older people, who would do the housework, the cleaning, the scrubbing, the cooking, the strenuous work every week of kneading the bread. Well, who,

"I," said Emily simply.

And that closed the whole discussion, for she was a woman of her word. She was quite aware of the crushing task she assumed, and knew just what her life would
Charlotte had mentioned Emily's undertaking much of the housework, but related no such incident.

Another example of heightening the effect, this time with more distortion since Mrs. Gaskell had it from Charlotte that Keeper's offence was lying on the best bed, is:

One day shortly after Keeper had come to them, and when all were afraid of him, he committed a serious crime, so serious in fact that, since no one could discipline him, there was talk of having him killed.

Kill Keeper! Emily would not hear of the thing. She herself would proceed to teach the creature his lesson. She armed herself with a stout cudgel and, before the terrified gaze of her sisters, marched up to the beast, who was lurking under the stairs. The dog, it was clear, intended to leap at her throat. He rose, crouched for the spring, the hair bristling along his spine, eyes ablaze. Emily raised her club and struck hard on the creature's back, once, twice—ten times! 317

Mrs. Gaskell had written that Emily punished him with her bare clenched fist.

Another characteristic of the book is the stress on the lack of love in the lives of the Brontes. What gives

317. Ibid., p. 146.
a tragic ring to the authors' "Latin ears" is Emily's consciousness of an implacable destiny which deprived her of love, and recourse in the "pride of a haughty race for remonstratory firmness.  Orphaned of her mother, "hence of her happiness," she never knew love as "there is only one human love, and that of the mother introduces that of the sweetheart." The authors declare that Providence had miscalculated—on the one hand, "this wonder," and on the other, "mere men," that she was conscious from youth that she was without any equal, that she could love nothing but a "god or a monster, different manifestations of one and the same conception," and, since the gods have lost currency and the last of the monsters is dead in his lair, that she knew he would never come. Emily, however, was made of such clay that she could not live an hour without love. The moors took the place of her mother; her affection was poured out on the rocks, the wind, animals. Dr. Dooley explained Emily's love for the moors as a result of the loss of the mother and a feeling of rejection on the part of the father. Of Mr. Bronte, the present writers say, "That man is no father." They blame the "puritanical Aunt Branwell for

320. Ibid., p. 170.
removing everything that makes life worth while, every joy, every show of affection.

Since love was not for her, Emily felt she must die---her one wish throughout life, in the opinion of the authors. There is something reminiscent of Masterlinck's "It is sad to die a virgin" and "the paramount duty of every human being to offer to his destiny all that can be offered to the destiny of man," in this; also a relationship to his theories in their verdict that experience was not necessary to her, that imagination created fictions more true and lifelike even than truth or life because "fictions are naked, while truth and life are often tricked out with a mark." She "embraced a dream" and was scornful of such "vain frivolities" as Charlotte's flirtations with Mr. Bryce. She was even hostile to Charlotte's being in love.

Since she always had her dreams, the authors assert that Emily was content with a life divided between the moors, her pets, and her poetry. Because her created characters were so real she had no desire for friends. In vain did Madame Heger try to please; all M. Heger's flattery left her immovable. We have Mrs. Gaskell's word that

322. Ibid., p. xiii.
323. Ibid., p. 66.
324. Ibid., p. 103.
325. Ibid., p. 82 ff.
the Belgian professor thought well of Emily's intellectual powers, but that he tried to "beguile" her seems to be purely imaginative on the authors' part. In Brussels she forced no contacts; no mention of Mlle. de Bassompierre to whom Mrs. Chadwick introduced us. At Haworth no mention of Ellen, with whom most writers have allowed her a slight friendship. The authors apparently deplore Emily's prejudice in regard to the Belgian school girls for they espouse the cause of these young people who are "nowhere more healthy, more frank, more active of mind, more gay, more open and direct," against the "intolerant Huguenots."

As Emily walked ecstatic over the moors in a storm, the farm people, glimpsing her "weird form" Shorter also used this word in describing her in the distance, rushed in and looked their doors and folded "trembling hands in prayer," another example of the authors' imaginative powers. To illustrate Emily's only exchange with her fellow-men the present writers state that she cared for people in illness, or rocked a fretful baby, and that her hand did not tremble in dressing the most terrible wounds. Miss Robinson mentioned the first two activities, but the source

326. Romieu, op. cit., p. 87.
327. Ibid., p. 92.
of the last is obscure, unless the authors refer to Emily's treatment of her own would, the bite of the mad dog she had befriended.

Miss Robinson's account of Emily's holding fledgling birds in her hands and telling stories to them is obviously the basis for the Romieu picture; Emily, the friend of neighboring sparrows, surrounded by a cloud of fluttering wings, feeding the birds, unafraid in her hands.

At home Emily was the one to lead and direct. Mrs. Gaskell's assertion that Emily leaned on her sister's arm in their walks at the Heger Pensionnat is not adhered to by the Romieus. They say that Charlotte did the leaning. Branwell in his drunken rages terrified Charlotte and Anne, the authors declare, but he was like a child with Emily. May Sinclair wrote of Emily's maternal feeling for Branwell; the Romieus' expansion is: "Her suffering after Branwell's death was like that of one who had lost her baby; death had snatched away the better part of herself . . . She was struck at the source of life."

328. Romieu, op. cit.; p. 127.
329. Ibid., p. 82.
330. Ibid., p. 82.
331. Ibid., p. 121.
332. Ibid., p. 162.
Although Charlotte's reading of Emily's secret poems is labelled an "indelicacy" which Emily herself would never have been guilty of, Charlotte is not raked over the coals as in Romer Wilson's and E. F. Benson's book. The incident is taken good-naturedly here. Being a poet herself, Charlotte "could not forego the pleasure of reading her sister's verse. What was that? Had Charlotte been writing poems, too, on the sly? Then she should be pardoned only on the condition that she permit Emily a sight of her product . . . It began to seem funny" when Anne next brought her secret verse.

It is astonishing to see how beautiful Emily has grown since Charlotte compared her to George Henry Lewes. Although we have been accustomed to descriptions of her beautiful hair and lithe form since Miss Robinson's book, we are not prepared for: "She alone had beauty. Her touching face with carmine lips was as though it were cut out of marble; her eyes had an emerald light." This surprises us even when we recall Prince Mirsky's expression of her perfect features--the prettiness of Lucifer when only created--because we feel that he was describing her spirit as well as her face.

Emilie and Georges Romieu ally themselves with Masterlinck and May Sinclair in their pronouncement.

333. Romieu, op. cit., p. 75.
334. Ibid., p. 128.
that Emily needed nothing but her inner experience, her dreams, for inspiration; but they differ in their feeling that Emily was not happy, that her life was incomplete. Masterlinck asserted that she would have achieved her destiny if she had never written; the present authors, that she had to find outlet on the printed page for "life that burned within her unappeased." A tone of pathos pervades the book, different from the fine sorrow of Mrs. Gaskell's because all three sisters are loved and pitied. The authors' last sentence summarizes the book sufficiently; "they were never loved, and they never loved, which is worse."

Mr. E. F. Benson, in *Charlotte Bronte* rejects romantic conjectures given in "almost religious enthusiasm" by the partisans of the different members of the Bronte family unless, he says, they have a basis in Charlotte's letters or can be deduced with certainty from the books of the Brontes.

Since Charlotte herself makes mistakes, misstating Emily's age three times in her work, for example, he despairs of arriving at what he calls "trivial certainties," of importance only to pedants. Without "sentimentality or malice," he wishes to get as near as possible to the truth in a study of the intimate and psychical history of the Bronte sisters and their books.

His chief concern being with Charlotte, Emily is seen throughout the book in relation to Charlotte directly or as companion of Charlotte's detested brother. In describing this relationship we feel that Mr. Benson's deductions are not always so certain as we would wish. True, he uses Bronte work as his basis, but there is often room for a second interpretation as convincing as his. His discussion of Anne's diary will illustrate his method. Anne wrote,

"We are all of us doing something for our livelihood, except...

---

Emily, who, however, is as busy as any of us, and in reality earns her food and raiment as much as we do." Mr. Benson infers from this that there had been a feeling in "someone's mind—and there is no need to ask in whose—that Emily should not be idling at home while her sisters were earning their living." Anne is taking this way to speak up for Emily, he adds.

One may with equal "certainty," it seems to me, believe that Anne after enumerating the occupations of Charlotte, Branwell, and herself might have added the passage just quoted in order to dispel any remorse Emily might feel.

It "seems plain" to Mr. Benson that Charlotte took Emily, who was abjectly miserable away from Haworth, to Brussels, rather than Anne, because she thought Emily was wasting her time at home and Anne was already gaining experience in teaching which would be useful for their projected school. He fails to explain Charlotte's words on selecting Emily to accompany her: "I fixed on Emily—she deserved the reward I knew." What a hypocritical creature is this Charlotte of Mr. Benson's mind.

A prominent characteristic of the book is the pains the author takes to destroy the illusion which Mrs. Gaskell created of the deep and intense intimacy between Charlotte

---

238. Ibid., p. 99.
and Emily, and to revive Miss Robinson's picture of Emily's love for Branwell.

Mr. Benson says one seeks in vain for any expression of Charlotte's love during Emily's lifetime; her letters, although he acknowledges the one beginning "Mine bonnie love," contains no sign of affection "nor yet of the love that involuntarily betrays itself." He does not refer to letters including such advice as "show this only to Branwell," or relation of the confession she made to a Catholic priest in Brussels. As she did not tell even Ellen this, we may infer that there was some degree of confidence between the sisters. I think that Mr. Benson is nearer the truth when he says that Emily's letters show little affection for Charlotte. Written to Ellen Nussey as they are, they are curt and brief, but having the word of numerous biographers that Emily was reticent with people outside her family, we expect no expression of emotion. No letters from Emily to her family are known to exist.

Emily's diary of 1841, exhorting exiled and harrassed Anne to courage furnishes better evidence for Mr. Benson. He says that it is "just worth while to notice...without stressing" that Emily makes no allusion to the sufferings of Charlotte who at the time was exiled too.

Mr. Benson maintains that Emily's attitude towards

340. Ibid., p. 92.
Charlotte during her life was one of resentful indifference, and that not even at her death did she reach out her hand to her. One may recall from all given accounts that Emily held off Anne also, even though Mr. Benson states that she loved her younger sister.

That Charlotte and Emily were not intimate he asserts from the phrase "my discovery," which Charlotte used in reference to the finding of Emily's secret verse. The word would be inappropriate if she had seen Emily's poetry before, but she knew nothing of it "till she had rifled her desk," a description, by the way, which some recent critics have attacked as unfair to Charlotte. Nor did she know anything, says the author, of Emily's and Branwell's collaboration in _Wuthering Heights_, although she was intensely conscious of Emily's sisterly friendship for Branwell when she and Anne had cast him off. It was, asserts Mr. Benson, "a cause for the additional distance and estrangement" between them.

Understanding was also lacking between Charlotte and Emily, in Mr. Benson's opinion. _Shirley_ may have reproduced certain of Emily's characteristics, but its author "never got to the heart of Emily," and in her attempt to reveal the "pagan pan-theistic mysticism" of Emily "she only

---

342. Ibid., p. 179.
343. Ibid., p. 179.
344. Ibid., p. 158.
reveals her own incomprehension of her.

That Charlotte was incapable of understanding Emily's work is likewise evident to Mr. Benson. He berates the note of apology she uses in reference to Wuthering Heights, and after her statement, "I should say Ellis will not be seen in his full strength till he is seen as an essayist," Mr. Benson is left "vainly and impotently" wondering what sort of essay would show the strength of Emily Bronte which her novel has not disclosed.

Mr. Benson does not hesitate to recreate a scene which he thinks not only a possible but a very frequent one during the years 1845 and 1846. He writes that after Charlotte finished her writing for the night, she "went up stairs, pausing before she entered her room, once Aunt Branwell's, now occupied by her and Anne, for she heard Branwell's voice coming from Emily's room. It was strange that she could tolerate his disgusting presence." Mr. Benson suggests that Branwell aided Emily in her composition of Wuthering Heights during these visits. In chapter XI of his book there is a scholarly and valuable summary of the claims made by writers in support of Branwell's authorship. Accepting the evidence given by Leyland and Grundy to the extent that Branwell had a knowledge of the book

347. Ibid., p. 167.
348. F.A. Leyland, The Bronte Family, With Special Reference To Branwell Patrick Bronte, (London, 1885), is chief source.
before it was published and a hand in its writing, and ad\r\nducing theories of his own from internal evidence—simi\r\n\r\n\r\nlarity of phrase between the novel and Branwell's letters, a break in style denoting the work of two \r\n\r\nhands, etc.—he concludes that Branwell wrote the first \r\n\r\ntwo chapters of Wuthering Heights.

Emily's devotion to Branwell is distinctly marked in Mr. Benson's book. It was Emily who was indignant with Anne for using her brother as a model for Huntington in The Tenant of Wildfell Hall, although Charlotte's words in her memoir that Anne's resolution to do so "brought on her misconstruction and some abuse," do not so specify. Further evidence of Emily's affection is that she called Branwell a hopeless being "merely cursorily," and at her death would not accept Charlotte's compassion since it "had been withheld from Branwell.

Writers before Mr. Benson have felt the reserve between Emily and Charlotte, but have failed to seek for causes, Miss Robinson had stressed Emily's love for Branwell, but to use this as the cause of estrangement between Charlotte and Emily has been left for Mr. Benson. Although most of his book is devoted to Charlotte, it nevertheless gives

349. Sir Wemyss Reid, although not mentioned here by Mr. Benson, has pointed out this similarity.
351. Ibid., p. 186.
352. Ibid., p. 188.
353. Ibid., p. 216.
glimpses of Emily as seen through Mr. Benson's eyes—shy, not reserved as Mrs. Gaskell insisted, pagan in her mysticism, drawing her inspiration from within, unhappy except when home. He says that Brussels was "evidently an inferno" to her, and he conclusively refutes the idea that she was in love with William Weightman.
Charles Morgan in his essay on Emily Bronte agrees with May Sinclair that Emily was a great mystical poet "in love with the Absolute," but he deplores Miss Sinclair's "obsession" in advocating a virginal and sexless soul for Emily by explaining the passion of her verse as Gondal.

He sees in Emily's poems not paganism as Mr. Benson did but evidence of a mystical experience; and thinks that his theory, her "achievement of the Absolute" being an unforgettable reality "probably having anthropomorphic form," will account for the passion without requiring that she be in love with her father's curate or without assigning to it "the harsh outline of Romer Wilson's Demon Lover."

It is this reality which had once been Emily's that explains her indifference to people, the world had no power over such as she. All failure, writes Mr. Morgan, was less than her failure to recapture the mystical experience. He asserts that she did not know "whence her familiar spirit came, from heaven or from hell; she did not know whether, in the Christian view, her blisses were evil or good; she was not certain that going from this

---

world, she might have her ecstasy with her." From these words, Emily's reluctance to leave life, of which Charlotte had written, takes on new meaning.

Mr. Morgan says that Emily clung to the duties of her home as "visionary and contemplative men cling always to the discipline that they have cultivated as an enablement of their vision," an assertion varying greatly from Romer Wilson's that Emily made herself a drudge in order to heighten the contrast between her life and that of her envied brother's, or from Dr. Dooley's that to preserve her feeling of superiority, Emily simplified her environment so as to make all responses within her power.

Mr. Morgan believes Emily wrote *Wuthering Heights*, but with Mr. E. F. Benson and Alice Law, he admits that Branwell may have had a part in it. For those who are not convinced that it is the work of her pen, he advocates a comparison of the poems and novel; they are of a piece. He feels that letters of Emily's will yet come to light; if written to Charlotte, they will reveal little; if to Anne, "although Emily seems to have loved her, they will be as discreet as though they were addressed to a child;" but if to Branwell, a new biography may be necessary.

---


258. Mr. Morgan says that it is an instance of Shorter's obtuseness in all things relating to Emily Bronte that he should have written that Emily's letters to Anne, in particular, should in no way lack self-revelation. See section on Shorter in this paper.
From Mrs. Gaskell's time, writers have been preoccupied with the attitude of the Bronte sisters to Branwell, particularly Emily's attitude toward him. Miss Robinson started it with her assumption that Emily was more forebearing to him in his weaknesses. The pendulum swung in the opposite direction in May Sinclair's, Romer Wilson's and Charles Simpson's books; and back again once more in E. F. Benson's biography. Undoubtedly influenced by Mr. Benson, Mr. Morgan swings it farther in the same line. He suggests an extreme theory, but for lack of evidence, withdraws it. He remains, however, that he does suggest it. He writes,

"... though the closeness of Emily's later association with Branwell is deeply relevant to the authorship of Wuthering Heights, there is no just cause for assuming or suspecting that her love for him, if she loved him, was abnormal, except in the sense in which all emotional states were, by intensification and a disease of secrecy, made abnormal within the walls of Haworth. It is true that Charlotte's behavior to Branwell, her envenomed exclusion of him from her life during the period in which Wuthering Heights was being written, is not fully accounted for either by his pleasures of the inn or by the suggestion that, having been herself denied in her passion, she was made morally indignant and resentful by her brother's disgrace at Thorp Green. Charlotte had many faults, but she was not a petty, spiteful spinster; there
must have been better reasons than these for the long continuance of her hatred. It is true, also, that she displayed an extraordinary eagerness to obliterate all traces of her sister's private life, and that there is a hint of baffled terror in her reticences when she writes of Emily. On these and other indications it might be possible to build up a theory that the relationship of Branwell and Emily was one that displeased Charlotte, and that she wished to conceal the nature of it."
CONCLUSION

If one were making a study of biographical methods, a comparison between a modern interpretation of a life and a nineteenth century handling of it, the foregoing discussions would yield much, but because of the amount of fabrication added to the facts, they seem not to have arrived at a reliable picture of Emily Bronte.

If the reader is dissatisfied with any given portrait, he may form from the various traits a composite picture more in accordance with his idea of the truth. To get over the host of contradictions he must possess not only discrimination but ingenuity. If we believe Romer Wilson and Mr. Benson, not even Charlotte is to be trusted in all details. The Bronte biographers leave the reader with numerous inconsistencies to settle. An Emily, such as Mrs. Gaskell and Marion Harland paint, loving animals better than human beings, hating strangers, unhappy except when at home, posed against M. Dimnet's, Mrs. Chadwick's, and Charles Simpson's picture of Emily liking Law Hill, wanting to go back to Brussels, forming friendships there. Mrs. Gaskell declares that a bond of love and intimacy stronger than death existed between Charlotte and Emily; Mr. Benson, that Emily was resentfully indifferent to Charlotte during life and died without attempting to break down the barrier which Charlotte's ruthlessness had
built up between them. We have Mrs. Gaskell's word that Emily leaned on Charlotte's arm in Brussels, and Emilie and Georges Romieu's statement that Charlotte leaned on Emily's. Her sister declares that Emily had no knowledge of the world; the object of a 1926 Hogarth essay is to prove that her familiarity with legal practices was remarkable. Charlotte, Mrs. Gaskell, and T. Wemyss Reid give us the impression that Emily regarded Branwell with disgust; Miss Robinson, that knowing wildness in her own nature she sympathized with him; Swinburne, that her charity was so great it included even her besotted brother; Romer Wilson, that she was envious of him; May Sinclair and the Romieux, that she felt for him a maternal love and that his death caused hers; and Mr. Benson and Charles Morgan, that she was in love with him. According to Isabel Clarke, Emily was in love with Mr. Weightman; to Mrs. Chadwick it was with M. Heger; to the Romieux, her own soul; to Romer Wilson, the Dark Hero; and to May Sinclair, Emily's love was the Absolute. There is the discrepancy between her sources and inspiration for the poems and novel. Dr. Wright finds the source of Wuthering Heights in tales known to the Bronte family in Ireland; Miss Nussey, in Yorkshire tales; F. H. Grundy, F. A. Leyland, Mr. Benson see the hand of Branwell in the whole or

part of the novel. It is John Malham-Dembleby's contention that Charlotte wrote *Wuthering Heights*. Mrs. Chadwick and Clement Shorter notice the influence of Brussels on Emily's work, while Mrs. Humphrey Ward repudiates this in favor of a German influence. To May Sinclair, Emily's inspiration was her moors and her own creative gift; to Romer Wilson *Wuthering Heights* is Emily's autobiography. There is the conflict between Emily's paganism and her mysticism. Swinburne, for one, emphasizes the former, and Charles Simpson and May Sinclair stress the latter.

Winnowing fact from fancy is difficult. Writers on Emily have hesitated to do so because the obscurity concerning the facts of her life has forced them into imaginings and interpretations. A study of the main biographies of her convinces one that, although many details in her life and personality will remain controvertible, progress toward a better understanding of her nature and a clarification of biographical facts is going on.

Mrs. Gaskell, true to her notion that her heroine, Charlotte, remained brave and kind in spite of a sad life, purposely omitted the kindlier features in Charlotte's environment and, with the exception of Anne, in the people around her. Coming from Mrs. Gaskell's pen, Emily is stern, powerful, titanic. Miss Nussey, objecting to this harsh picture, persuaded T. Wemyss Reid to brighten its
colors; but Augustine Birrell, reviewing the result, thought the scenes of gaiety which Reid added darkened the original picture by contrast. Miss Robinson draws a more human Emily, kinder than her sisters to Branwell, a writer of tragedy because of his unhappy influence, and deprived by a cruel destiny of supreme literary achievement. Her book has stood the test of time inasmuch as Mr. E. F. Benson two years ago repeated her assertion of Emily's devotion to Branwell. Yet his theory that brother and sister actually collaborated in the writing of Wuthering Heights is opposed to Miss Robinson's main purpose, the showing of Emily's single authorship. To Swinburne Emily is the "austere and fiery poetess" influenced not by Branwell but fed by an inner fire. Masterlinck deepens this impression; to him the external events of Emily's life are nothing, neither retarding nor spurring on her literary powers. Her soul, he believes, would have found happiness in its own self-sufficiency. May Sinclair allies herself with Masterlinck in stating that the inner reality and not the material event was Emily's inspiration. She allows Emily no personal passion and assigns to the Gondal epic what writers before her regarded as personal poetry. The mystical traits of Emily's nature, of which she is the first commentator, are studied more completely by Charles Simpson. Prince D. S. Mirsky suggested Emily's
satanism, and Romer Wilson has pushed the theory to its limit. It is a far step from the prejudiced handling of Emily by Mrs. Gaskell to the twentieth century psycho-analysis of her character seen in Herbert Read's and Lucile Dooley's papers.

Research is constantly going on. Examination, by Mrs. Chadwick principally, of Emily's Brussels life, and Mrs. Chadwick's and Charles Simpson's investigations of her brief period in Halifax have added important biographical facts. The publication of Emily's poems in 1910 made possible an exploration of her inner nature by May Sinclair and Romer Wilson. Mr. Davison Cook's discovery in 1926 of Emily's original MS. volume of verse throws additional light on Charlotte's attitude toward Emily, since Charlotte changed many words when she published Emily's poems. Interest in the Brontes has gained force with the years; consequently we may feel hopeful of seeing wider rents in the veil that has hidden Emily Bronte from us.

Today, however, she remains shadowy. The incontestable facts concerning her given by a long line of Bronte specialists may be stated in few words. We know with certainty the dates of Emily's birth and death, and we may take Charlotte's, Mrs. Gaskell's, and Miss Nussey's word for the general nature of the Bronte family life. That Emily did most of the housework, that she loved animals, that she struggled against death is certain, but whether she liked household duties, or whether
The reader has already gathered some notes to fill in Nussell's novel, but the length of her stay at the last two days is depleted. The reader might have some knowledge of her life, her work, her friends, her M.I.T., and Bradford is known, but at this stage, she may be interested in her life stories, especially letters directed to the person addressed in her exact relation with members of her family. Here she reads, there are no letters to them extant. If not, they are not extant to them as unknown. If newly read she loved enacts for their wit and wisdom, and whether she could...
BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Only material that has been examined is listed here.)


Callahan, Margaret Glynn, Some Mystical Elements in Emily Bronte's Poems and in Wuthering Heights (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1928).

Chadwick, Mrs. Ellis H., In the Footsteps of the Brontes, (New York, Brentano's, 1914).


Robinson, A. Mary F. (Madame Ducaux), *Emily Bronte, Famous Women Series*, (Boston; Roberts Brothers, 1883).


Smith, J. C., *Emily Bronte--A Reconsideration*, in Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,

Spurgeon, Caroline, F. E., Mysticism in English Literature, (N. Y., G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913).


MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Bradby, G. F., Emily Bronte, Nineteenth Century, October, 1930.

Chadwick, E. A., Emily Bronte Life and Work, Nineteenth Century, October, 1919.

Cook, Davison, Emily Bronte's Poems, The Nineteenth Century, August, 1928.

Current Literature, November, 1912, May Sinclair's Discovery of the Sources of Wuthering Heights.

Dooley, Lucile, Psychoanalysis of the Character and Genius of Emily Bronte, in The Psychoanalytic Review, April, 1930.


MacKay, Angus M., On the Interpretation of Emily Bronte, Living Age, October 29, 1898.


Read, Herbert, *Charlotte and Emily Bronte*, *Yale Review*, July, 1925.


Snowden, Keighley, *The Enigma of Emily Bronte*, *Fortnightly*, August 1, 1926.

Symons, A., *Emily Bronte*, *Living Age*, October 12, 1918.