Charles Darwin's 'insufferable grief'

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Charles Darwin, forty-two years old, sat in his Down House study and wrote a sketch of his daughter's character several days after her illness and death. He was here, for the first time in his maturity, stimulated by death to express a cluster of new feelings. For although he had previously originated a new concept of life and death (how 'death, famine and the struggle for existence' had achieved the 'exalted' object of creating new species[2]) he had inhibited his feelings about the deaths of individuals. Now, in writing about Annie, he was expressing a grief which was extraordinary in its range and intensity and would persist and affect him in different areas of his life.

Darwin's grief has been noted only cursorily (and sometimes not at all) by his numerous biographers,[3] his sketch of Annie has been only partly transcribed,[4] and it has not been mentioned in two recent anthologies of the literature on death and mourning.[5] The following essay aims to describe in detail the history of Darwin's feelings for Annie during her life and after her death, and also for the deaths of others to whom he was close, and to offer psychological insights on his feelings. The essay is based mainly on Darwin's unpublished correspondence with his wife, relatives and friends, and on the manuscript of his sketch of Annie.

Our poor child, Annie, was born in Gower St. on March 2nd 1841 & expired at Malvern at midday on the 23rd of April 1851.

I write these few pages, as I think in after years, if we live, the impressions now put down will recall more vividly her chief characteristics. From whatever point I look [*back* inserted] *at her, the main feature in her disposition which at once rises*

before me is her buoyant joyousness tempered by two other characteristics, namely her sensitiveness, which might easily have been overlooked by a stranger[,] & her strong affection. Her joyousness and animal spirits radiated from her whole countenance, & rendered every movement elastic & full of life & vigour. It was delightful & cheerful to behold her. Her dear face now rises before me, as she used sometimes to come running down stairs with a stolen pinch of snuff for me, her whole form radiant with the pleasure of giving pleasure. Even when playing with her cousins[,] when her joyousness almost passed into boisterousness, a single glance of my eye, not of displeasure (for I thank God I hardly ever cast one on her) but of want of sympathy[,] would for some minutes alter her whole countenance. This sensitiveness to the least blame, made her most easy to manage & very good: she hardly ever required to be found fault with, & was never punished in any way whatever. Her sensitiveness appeared very early in life, & showed itself in crying bitterly over any story at all melancholy; or on parting with Emma even for the shortest interval. Once when she was very young she exclaimed "oh Mamma what shall we do if you were to die."

The other point in her character, which made her joyousness & spirits so delightful, was her strong affection, which was of a most clinging fondling nature. When quite a baby this showed itself in never being easy without touching Emma, when in bed with her, & quite lately she would when poorly fondle for any length of time one of Emma's arms. When very unwell, Emma lying down beside her, seemed to sooth her in a manner quite different from what it would have done for any of our other children. So again, she would at almost anytime spend half an hour in arranging my hair, "making it," as she called it, "beautiful," or in smoothing, the poor dear darling, my collar or cuffs, in short in fondling me. She liked being kissed: indeed every expression in her countenance beamed with affection & kindness, & all her habits were influenced by her loving disposition.

Besides her joyousness thus tempered, she was in her manners remarkably cordial, frank, open, straightforward [natural inserted] and without any shade of reserve. Her whole mind was pure & transparent. One felt one knew her thoroughly & could trust her: I always thought, that come what might, we should have had in our old age, at least one loving soul, which nothing could have changed. She was generous, handsome & Unsuspicious in all her conduct: free from envy & jealousy; goodtempered & never passionate. Hence she was very popular in the whole household, and strangers liked her & soon appreciated her. The very manner in which she shook hands with acquaintances showed her cordiality.

Her figure & appearance were clearly influenced by her character: her eyes

sparkled brightly; she often smiled; her step was elastic & firm: she held herself upright, & often threw her head a little backwards, as if she defied the world in her joyousness. For her age she was very tall, not thin & strong. Her hair was a nice brown & long; her complexion slightly brown; eyes, dark grey; teeth large & white. The Daguerrotype is very like her, but fails entirely in expression: having been made two years since, her face has become lengthened & better looking. All her movements were vigorous, active, & unusually graceful: when going round the sand-walk with me, although I walked fast, yet she often used to go before, pirouetting in the most elegant way, her dear face bright all the time with the sweetest smiles.

Occasionally she had a pretty coquettish manner towards me, the memory of which is charming: she often used exaggerated language, & when I quizzed her by exaggerating what she had said, how clearly can I see the little toss of the head & exclamation of "Oh Papa what a shame of you."

She had a truly feminine interest in dress, & was always neat: such undisguised satisfaction, escaping somehow all tinge of conceit & vanity, beamed from her face, when she had got hold of some ribbon or gay handkerchief of her Mamma's. One day she dressed herself up in a silk gown, cap, shawl & gloves of Emma, appearing in figure like a little old woman, but with her heightened colours, sparkling eyes & bridled smiles, she looked, as I thought, quite charming.

She cordially admired the younger children; how often have I heard her emphatically declare "what a little duck Betty is, is not she?"

She was very handy, doing everything neatly with her hands: she learnt music readily, & I am sure from watching her countenance, when listening to others playing, that she had a strong taste for it. She had some turn for drawing, & could copy faces very nicely. She danced well, & was extremely fond of it. She liked reading, but evinced no particular line of taste. She had one singular habit, which, I presume would ultimately have turned into some pursuit: namely a strong pleasure in looking at words or names in dictionaries, directories, gazeteers, & in the latter case finding out the places in the map: so also she would take a strange interest in comparing word by word two editions of the same book; and again she would spend hours in comparing the colours of any objects with a book of mine, in which all colours are arranged and named.

Her health failed in a slight degree for about nine months before her last illness; but it only occasionally gave her a day of discomfort: at such times, she was never in the least [degree inserted] cross, peevish, or impatient; & it was wonderful to see, as the discomfort passed, how quickly her elastic spirits brought back the joyousness

& happiness. In the last short illness, her conduct in simple truth was angelic; she never once complained; never became fretful; was ever considerate of others; & was thankful in the most gentle, pathetic manner for everything done for her. When so exhausted that she could hardly speak, she praised everything that was given her, & said some tea "was beautifully good." When I gave her some water, she said "I quite thank you"; & these, I believe, were the last precious words ever addressed by her dear lips to me.

But looking back, always the spirit of joyousness rises before me as her emblem and characteristic: she seemed formed to live a life of happiness: her spirits were always held in check by her sensitiveness lest she should displease those she loved, & her tender love was never weary of displaying itself by fondling & all the other little arts of affection. — We have lost the joy of the Household, and the solace of our old age: she must have known how we loved her; oh that she could now know how deeply, how tenderly we do still & shall ever love her dear joyous face. Blessings on her.
August 30, 1851.

1

One day early in July 1817, fifty-two-year-old Susannah Darwin – wife of Dr Robert Darwin and mother of Charles – suddenly became gravely ill from undetermined causes, and after about one week of great pain and prostration died. During her illness she was cared for by her physician husband, who quickly diagnosed her condition as hopeless; and she was nursed by her two eldest children, nineteen-year-old Marianne and seventeen-year-old Caroline, both of whom were barely able to control their anguished and depressed feelings. Susannah's four younger children – Susan, twelve; Erasmus, eleven; Charles, eight-and-a-half; Catherine, seven – were kept from seeing her.[6] Immediately following her death Charles talked to Caroline and the two did 'much crying' together.[7] Afterwards Marianne and Caroline became unable to talk about Susannah and her last illness. This caused Charles also to stop talking about his mother, then to deny and forget most of his associations with her. However, as a young man, and then in his old age, he remembered his period of 'much crying'.[8]

In the years when he was growing up he probably came to believe that crying was mainly confined to women and that men – especially

Englishmen – cried only 'under the pressure of the acutest grief'.[9] When he was in his twenties, and heard of the sudden deaths of his friends Marmaduke Ramsay and Charles Musters, he experienced feelings of shock and loss but did not grieve or try to remember them.[10]

Soon after he and Emma married they became the parents of two healthy children. Then a third child, Mary Eleanor, suffered from an undetermined illness and died in infancy in 1842. Emma, in a letter to a relative, described the feelings of herself and her husband over Mary Eleanor as follows: 'Our sorrow is nothing to what it would have been if she had lived longer and suffered more . . . With our two other dear little things you need not fear that our sorrow will last long, though it will be long indeed before either of us forget that poor little face.'[11] Darwin noted the dates of Mary Eleanor's birth and death in his *Journal*, without any comment.

In May and October 1848 Darwin visited his eighty-two-year-old father at The Mount, his family home in Shrewsbury. Dr Darwin, cared for by his daughters Susan and Catherine, was slowly dying – experiencing periods of a 'dying sensation'[12] and 'failing health'.[13] At this time father and son seem to have had especially affectionate feelings for each other[14] with son depending on father for money and for advice on his health, family affairs and financial investments. On 11 November Catherine wrote to Darwin that their father was becoming weaker.[15] On 12 November Dr Darwin experienced such severe 'suffering' that his daughters were relieved when he died on the following day.[16] Catherine reported his death to her brother, writing: 'God comfort you, my dearest Charles, you were so beloved by him.'[17]

Darwin then visited The Mount for eight days. During his stay he left no record of his thoughts and actions. His chronically upset stomach became worse and made him unable to act as one of the executors of his father's will.[18] His brother and sisters showed varying reactions: Erasmus was sick with unrecorded symptoms; Marianne was distraught; Caroline cried with anger at arriving too late to see her father alive; and Susan and Catherine restrained their grief so that they could carry out their father's wishes.[19]

Back at home Darwin's stomach illness worsened, with weekly episodes of 'violent vomiting', depression and inability to work.[20] He

then went with his family to Dr James Gully's hydropathy establishment at Malvern. There, after sixteen weeks of cold-water baths, he regained his health and was able to return to Down.

The exacerbation of his illness had most probably been caused by his inability fully to mourn for his father. In the months after Dr Darwin's death, he does not appear to have wept openly.[21] In his letters to his friends he avoided mention of his father's terminal sufferings and only recollected how, when he last saw his father alive, the latter appeared 'serene and cheerful'[22] and retained an 'unclouded sagacity' and 'affectionate disposition'.[23]

His inability to mourn fully for his father's death was caused by several factors. He viewed this death as an inevitable event,[24] which he must accept and not express feelings about. He wanted to avoid thinking about his father's terminal suffering. And then his brother and sisters had not set him an example of deep and protracted mourning.

After he returned to Down from Malvern Darwin maintained relatively good health for a time. He began finding solace in telling others about his father's remarkable character traits and wise ways.[25] In managing his finances – which included a large sum he had inherited from his father – he began displaying many of his father's talents as a financier.[26] He was happy with his scientific work and his family, and he found an especial happiness in his relationship with his daughter Annie.

2

Anne Elizabeth, Darwin's second child and first daughter, who was always called Annie, was born on 2 March, 1841. During her early years – although he expressed love for her[27] – Darwin did not observe her as closely and affectionately (or speak about her as proudly) as he had done previously with his son William.[28] As his son grew older Darwin's special feelings for him subsided and he experienced equally affectionate feelings for William, Anne, and then for his second (surviving) daughter, Henrietta, born in September 1843.

In February 1845, when Emma was visiting her family, Darwin wrote to her from Down how he and their children missed her: how Annie, 'many times', said that she would 'jump for joy' when her mother returned.[29] He was beginning to note that Annie was especially attached

to her parents. During his May 1848 visit to The Mount Darwin received a letter from Emma about their then five children (William, Annie, Henrietta, George and Bessy) and about the musical talents of Annie. In reply Darwin wrote: 'I suppose now and be-hanged to you, you will allow Annnie is "something". I believe as Sir J. L.[30] said of his friend, that she is a second Mozart; anyhow she is more than a Mozart considering her Darwin blood.'[31] Several days later he wrote to Emma: 'I am very sorry that Annie cannot sing, but do not give up too soon.'[32]

During the next three years Darwin came to favour Annie over his other children. What follows, based mainly on his sketch of Annie, will describe his interactions with her and how he observed and evaluated her different attributes.

He noted that 'a single glance of my eye, not of displeasure . . . but of want of sympathy would for some minutes alter her whole countenance.' With evident approval he described how 'This sensitiveness to the least blame, made her most easy to manage & very good: she hardly ever required to be found fault with.'[33] He approved of Annie's tractability because he disliked expressing anger to his children[34] and because Annie was a relief from Henrietta, with whom he sometimes became 'vexed'.[35]

Annie also had a 'cordial manner', which made her popular in the Down household and with relatives and visitors. Darwin delighted in what he called her 'buoyant joyousness' and 'ever passionate' nature.[36]

In his sketch he depicted some of her special attributes:

> She had a truly feminine interest in dress, & was always neat: such undisguised satisfaction . . . beamed from her face, when she got hold of some ribbon or gay handkerchief of her mamma's. One day she dressed herself up in a silk gown, cap, shawl & gloves of Emma, appearing in figure like a little old woman, but with her heightened colour, sparkling eyes & bridled smiles, she looked, as I thought, quite charming.

She 'was very handy, doing everything neatly with her hands.' She could draw, copy pictures, and dance. Darwin commented that she not only 'learnt music easily' but that 'I am sure from watching her countenance,

while listening to others playing, that she had a strong taste for it.' Although she showed no particular tastes in reading she would cry bitterly over any story at all melancholy; she feared separating from her mother, and that her mother would die.[37] Darwin did not comment on these fears.

'She had', he wrote,

> one singular habit, which, I presume would ultimately have turned into some pursuit: namely a strong pleasure in looking at words or names in dictionaries, directories, gazetteers, & in the latter case finding out the places in the map: so also she would take a strange interest in comparing word by word two editions of the same book; and again she would spend hours in comparing the colours of any objects with a book of mine, in which all colours are arranged & named.[38]

Annie's 'habit' of comparing words and colours, and locating places on the map, may have been influenced by her father's current work of comparing and then classifying barnacles from all over the world. In observing his daughter's habit father may have recollected how, when he was her age, he had formed a somewhat similar habit of collecting and comparing various objects and had talked about faraway places mentioned in *Wonders of the World*. He would later write that his habit was the beginning of his becoming a 'systematic naturalist';[39] that it had been inherited from his paternal grandfather and passed on to some of his sons, who had then achieved scientific careers.[40] In his sketch he predicted that Annie's habit would have become 'some pursuit', and does not appear to have thought of her as achieving a career. In his *Autobiography* he would write that she would have 'grown into a delightful woman'.[41] No woman in his family had achieved a career, and he did not think of women as having careers.

The daily interactions between the middle-aged father and his pre-adolescent daughter took several forms. In a passage in the sketch, in which his feelings of love became especially intense, father described how he and his daughter would touch, kiss, and look at each other.

> she would at almost any time spend half an-hour in arranging my hair, 'making it' as she called it 'beautiful', or in smoothing, the poor

> dear darling, my collar or cuffs, in short in fondling me. She liked being kissed: indeed every expression in her countenance beamed with affection and kindness, & all her habits were influenced by her loving disposition.[42]

He had begun kissing her when she was about one year old (perhaps earlier), and when she was away from him he missed kissing her.[43]

In a March 1849 letter to his sisters Susan and Catherine Darwin reported how Annie – several weeks after her eighth birthday – entered into his contradictory thoughts about undergoing, and then not undergoing, hydropathy at Malvern: 'Annie was telling Miss Thorley [the governess of the Darwin children] all her Papa had to do about the water cure & how he liked it. "And it makes Papa so angry." Miss T. must have thought it a very odd effect. He said it makes him feel very cross. Papa was present at this conversation.'[44] After returning home from his hydropathy at Malvern Darwin unsuccessfully tried to limit his intake of snuff, and in his sketch he recollected how Annie 'used sometimes to come running down stairs with a stolen pinch of snuff for me, her whole form radiant with the pleasure of giving pleasure.' He further recollected how, when Annie would accompany him on his daily walks around the circular and wooded Down path known as the sand-walk, 'although I walked fast, yet she often used to go before, pirouetting in the most elegant way, her dear face bright all the time with the sweetest smiles.'

'Occasionally,' he wrote, 'she had a pretty coquettish manner towards me; the memory of which is charming: she often used exaggerated language, and when I quizzed her by exaggerating what she had said, how clearly can I now see the little toss of the head & exclamation of "Oh Papa what a shame of you." '[45] Before his marriage he had been fearful of conversing with, and being dominated by, an intellectual woman such as Harriet Martineau.[46] His 'quizzings' of Annie seem to have influenced him to become coquettish towards some intellectual women, in real life or in books. In May 1848, when he was drawing close to Annie, he wrote to Emma that he was reading about Mme de Sévigné and that he was 'in love' with her – because 'she only shams a little virtue.'[47]

The feelings Darwin formed for Annie during her life were probably

the most intense he ever experienced for another person (although more remains to be known about the details of his feelings for Emma). In these feelings he appears to have projected two feminine parts of himself. In his pre-adolescent daughter he was loving a feminine part of his pre-adolescent self; and then, as a middle-aged parent, he was loving his daughter as he wished his middle-aged mother had loved him.[48]

3

Annie's health began to fail, 'in slight degree', from the summer of 1850 on.[49] Early in March 1851, after her tenth birthday, her illness worsened and she began to suffer from periods of vomiting.[50] Her parents decided that she should go to Dr Gully's Malvern hydropathy establishment, where just two years previously her father's vomiting had been successfully treated. At this time her mother was pregnant, expecting to be confined in May.

On 24 March Darwin left Emma at Down, brought Annie to Malvern, stayed with her for two days, and then returned home. He was concerned but not alarmed about her illness, believing that she had inherited his 'wretched digestion' and hoping she would benefit from Dr Gully's treatment.[51] Staying on at Malvern as companions for Annie – who suffered greatly from being separated from her parents – were her sister Henrietta, Brodie the family nurse, and her governess, Miss Thorley.

About the middle of April Miss Thorley wrote several letters to Emma, reporting that Annie's periods of vomiting were fluctuating, that Dr Gully was optimistic about her prognosis, and that he had diagnosed her illness as 'smart [severe] bilious gastric fever'.[52] This last meant that she was feverish and vomiting green ('bilious') contents.[53] Darwin then again left his wife, who was suffering from her pregnancy, and travelled to Malvern, arriving there on the afternoon of Thursday 17 April.

Over the next week he wrote Emma a series of letters from Malvern in which he clinically described what he would call Annie's 'sick life',[54] hour by hour and in precise and frequently vivid detail. He had known how to observe an illness clinically ever since his youth when he had studied to be a physician; and for the past two years he had compulsively recorded the daily symptoms of his own illness in his 'Diary of Health'. It also (as will be seen) afforded him emotional relief to write to Emma

in detail about Annie, and she felt a similar relief after reading what he had written. Along with his observations he also expressed in his letters a range of emotions: peaks of hope and depths of despair over Annie's prognosis, and complex shades of intermediate feelings.

And more than at any other time in his life he expressed different feelings of love. Anguished and cherishing love for his almost moribund daughter; loving dependence on, and concern for, his pregnant and physically and mentally suffering wife. What follows is a chronicle of, and commentary on, his Malvern letters and the letters of Emma and others.

4

In his first letter, written on Thursday afternoon hours after his arrival at Malvern, he informed Emma:

> I am assured that Annie is several degrees better . . . She looks very ill: her face lights up & she certainly knew me. She has not had wine but several spoon-fills of broth, & ordinary physic, & camphor & ammonia – Dr Gully is most confident there is strong hope. Thank God she does not suffer at all – half dozes all day long . . . My own dearest support yourself. On no account *for the sake of our other children I implore you* do not think of coming here.[55]

He shared with Emma his distress over Annie's appearance: 'You would not in the least recognize her, with her poor, hard, sharp pinched features; I could only bear to look at her by forgetting our former dear Annie. There is nothing in common between the two.'[56]

Throughout Friday, in his letters to Emma – which he wrote in the form of an hourly diary – he mainly expressed agonized feelings over Annie's symptoms, along with flickering hopes for her recovery.

> 12 o'clock [noon] . . . Dr Gully slept here last night & is most kind. After I wrote her pulse ceased to intermit & that encouraged Dr Gully a little: before three, when I wrote he did not think she would last out the night. Today he says she is no worse, & at present (12) this is the best which can be said. She does not suffer thank God. It is much bitterer & harder to bear than I expected. Your note made me cry much – but I must not give way & can avoid doing so by not

thinking about her. It is now from hour to hour a struggle between life & death. God only knows the issue. She has been very quiet all morning, but vomited badly at 6 a.m. which, however bad, shows she has more vital force than during the two previous days. Sometimes Dr G. exclaims she will get through the struggle; then, I see, he doubts. Oh my own it is very bitter indeed. God preserve & cherish you . . . Her one good point is her pulse, now regular & not very weak, excepting for this there would be no life. We give her spoonfuls of gruel with brandy every half hour. 1 o'clock, she keeps the same, quite easy, but I grieve to say she has vomited a large quantity of bright green fluid. Her case seems to me an exaggerated one of my Maer illness.[57] We must hope against hope, my own poor dear unhappy wife . . . [7 o'clock] She appears dreadfully exhausted, & I thought for some time she was sinking, but she has now rallied a little. The two symptoms Dr G. dreads most have *not* come on restlessness & coldness. If her three awful fits of vomiting were not of the nature of a crisis, I look at the case as hopeless. I cannot realize our position. God help us.

7.30

Dr Gully has been & thank God he says though the appearances are so bad: *positively* no one important symptom is worse, & that he yet has hopes – *positively he has Hopes.* Oh my dear be thankful[.]

Four deluges of vomiting she has had today – poor thing.

In the above letters Darwin cries and then checks his crying, he twice expresses 'bitterness' over Annie's condition, and then mutes this angry feeling. Confronting Dr Gully's therapeutic helplessness and doubts, he turns to God. During his discovery of natural selection, although his belief in Christianity had waned, he had retained a belief in God.[58] In his letters he now invokes God in several ways. God spares Annie suffering, 'knows' the outcome of her illness, and will preserve and cherish his suffering wife. And in a moment when he feels especially 'hopeless' about Annie he writes to Emma 'God help us': finding comfort in this feeling, and knowing that it will comfort his religious wife.

Emma responded to him with a short letter, expressing her love for him and Annie and her poignant understanding of how the two felt for each other:

> My own dearest,
> The conclusion of your letter does leave me with some hopes. Almost as much as I had yesterday. It is a blessing that our darling does not suffer, & I hope that even the vomiting does not cause much. . . . Poor little sweet child. I often think of the precious look she gave you the only one I suppose. No wonder she would brighten up at your light, you were always the tenderest of human beings to her & comforted her so on all occasions . . . Goodbye my dearest . . . God bless you I know you would suffer. You're my beloved.[59]

In writing to her husband 'God bless you I know you would suffer' Emma was expressing her appreciation that he had turned his suffering over to God. And then, in writing 'You're my beloved', she was expressing her deepest feeling: that she loved him more than any other person.

On Friday evening Annie's vomiting stopped, and after Dr Gully saw her he told her father: 'She is turning the corner.'[60] Darwin then imagined 'my own former Annie with her dear affectionate radiant face'.[61] On Saturday morning he sent Emma a telegram: 'Annie has rallied has passed good night danger much less imminent.'[62]

Emma then wrote to him:

> My dearest N [Nigger[63]]
> The message has just arrived. What happiness! How I do thank God! But I will not feel too hopeful. I was in the garden looking at my poor darling's little garden to find a flower of her's . . . I hardly dare think of such happiness. I hope you will sleep tonight my own. May the dreadful sickness [vomiting] keep off our child.[64]

On Saturday Darwin was joined at Malvern by Mrs Fanny Wedgwood. Fanny, married to Hensleigh Wedgwood, was his cousin and intellectual confidante. She was an intimate friend of his brother Erasmus, who was another of his confidants.[65] In his years of living in London, before and after his marriage, he had been a neighbour of Hensleigh and Fanny and frequently met them. Emma and Fanny had become friends and confidantes.[66] Fanny was the mother of six children, and had nursed them through various illnesses. She had nursed her husband through a long illness in the 1840s, and he and she had then sojourned at the

Darwin home.[67] Now Fanny came to Malvern at Emma's request. Emma feared that Annie's illness, like the terminal illness of Dr Darwin, would cause her husband to become severely ill; she hoped that Fanny would comfort him and aid in the care of Annie.

On Saturday evening Darwin wrote to Emma that Fanny was an 'infinite comfort'; and that Annie, 'thank God', had not vomited and seemed slightly better.[68] About the same time Fanny wrote to Emma that Annie looked better than she had expected, and then added:

> Dearest Emma how thankful I am to be able to be of the least use to Charles. He looks really not ill though sometimes of course most sadly overcome & shaken he has been two little walks today. I don't try to prevent him doing a good deal about dear Annie, it seems as if it was some relief to be doing something, tho' occasionally it may be too much. There is nobody to be pitied with you, but I know how much you will be able to bear for Charles's sake.[69]

Emma replied to Fanny:

> I must thank you for writing me so fully & for telling me about Charles. Your impressions of our poor dear child's looks were a comfort. Your being there is an immense comfort to Charles & I think you are quite right to let him do as much as he can, as it must be the greatest relief he has. If he should be ill your being there will be a double blessing.[70]

5

Early on Sunday morning Darwin began his letter to Emma by explaining why he wrote to her in such detail: 'I do not know but I think it best for you to know how every hour passes. It is such a relief for me to tell you: for whilst writing to you I can cry tranquilly.'[71] His letters were his way of mourning with his wife for their daughter's suffering, and of his beginning to mourn for the eventuality of Annie's death.

In his typically frank manner he described how Annie was catheterized: 'We . . . had to get Surgeon to draw her water off: this was done well & did not hurt her, but she struggled with surprising strength against being uncovered & soon it evidently relieved her.'[72]

After describing how Annie had vomited, and appeared 'fearfully

prostrated', he observed that she was clear in her mind and perceptions: 'She called Papa when I was out of the room unfortunately & then added "is he out?" ' 'When Brodie sponged her face,' he wrote to Emma, 'she asked to have her hands done & then thanked Brodie & put her arms around her neck, my poor dear child & kissed her.'

He reported how it was necessary again to call for the surgeon, Mr Coates, and his talks with him:

> Mr Coates has been & drawn off again much water, & this he says is a very good symptom. Last night he seemed astonished at her 'fearful illness' & he made me very low: so this morning I asked nothing & he then felt her pulse of his own accord & at once said, 'I declare I almost think she will recover.' Oh my dear was not this joyous to hear. He then went on to say (& I believe him from what my Father has said) the Fever at the same period is generally either fatal to many or though appearing very bad does not kill one: & how he himself has had 6 or 7 *most severe* cases in the low country beneath Malvern & not one has died.

He then added: 'But I must not hope too much. These alterations of no hopes & hopes sicken one's soul: I cannot help getting so sanguine every now & then to be disappointed.'[73]

He told Emma that when he was with Annie: 'I do not sit still all the while . . . but am constantly up and down: I cannot sit still.'[74] Moving about Annie's sickroom was one way of expressing his anxiety,[75] and also the anger which he did not express in his letters.[76]

Early on Monday morning he began his letter to Emma by reporting how, on Sunday evening, he and Fanny bathed Annie with vinegar and water, '& it was delicious to see how it soothed her.' Afterwards Fanny sat with Annie for most of the night. 'Fanny', Darwin commented, 'is devoting herself too much, sadly, but I cannot stop her . . . we are under deep obligation to Fanny never to be forgotten.'[77]

During the night Annie voided urine and had a loose bowel movement. Darwin first thought that because this was the first such movement in a week it was a good sign; and he told Annie that she would be better. She gently replied, 'Thank you'. But when Dr Gully came he found her pulse tremulous and thought her bowel discharge was a bad sign. Darwin then changed his view and expressed the hope that, if

Annie did not have further diarrhoea, 'I trust in God we are nearly safe.' He wrote to Emma that he cried when he read of her going to Annie's 'little garden' to find a flower.[78] He then wrote his wife his usual detailed report on Annie's condition, and of how he, Fanny, Brodie and Miss Thorley nursed her. It was destined to be his last such account.

> 12 o'clock – She has appeared rather more prostrate with knees & feet chilly & breathing laboured, but with some trouble we have got her right & she is now asleep & breathing well. She certainly relishes her gruel flavoured with orange juice & has taken table-spoon every hour. No sickness [vomiting], no purging [diarrhoea]: I wish there was a little less prostration. She wanders & talks more today & good deal. 3 o'clock. She is going on very nicely & sleeping capitally with breathing quite slow. We have changed the lower sheet [soiled by Annie's bowels] & cut off the tail of her clothing & she looks quite nice & got her bed flat & a little pillow between her two bony knees. – She is certainly now going on very well.[79]

At 7.30 in the evening he again assisted in giving Annie a vinegar bath.[80]

After reading his Monday letter Emma wrote to him that she felt hopeful, and: 'Your last minute accounts are such a comfort and I enjoyed the sponging of our dear one with vinegar as much as you did.'[81]

6

On Tuesday evening Fanny wrote to Emma that Annie was showing 'signs of sinking', that Dr Gully thought her 'in imminent danger', and: 'Charles has written this morning too hopefully & he will not send it & cannot write you this himself – he is gone to lie down & has gone through much fatigue . . . all our sorrowing anxiety is for you now my Emma in this great suffering – God support & save you for Charles sake.'[82]

During the final hours of Annie's illness Darwin suffered from stomach symptoms of moderate severity and undetermined specificity[83] (he does not appear to have vomited). In the hours after Annie's death he sat with Fanny and they wept together. He told her that his weeping was

'a relief'.[84] This meant that weeping eased him emotionally, and it may have also eased the physical discomfort of his upset stomach. Some immediate factors which enabled him to weep were his previous 'tranquil' crying over Annie in his letters; and Fanny first setting him an example of weeping, and then encouraging him to weep with her.

On Wednesday afternoon Darwin wrote to Emma stressing the peacefulness of Annie's death, and suggesting the goodness and wisdom of God: 'She went to her final sleep most tranquilly, and most sweetly . . . Our poor dear child has had a very short life but I trust happy, & God only knows what miseries might have been in store for her. She expired without a sigh . . . God bless her.'[85] He then wrote about Emma and himself, and his health: 'We must be more & more to each other my dear wife. Do what you can to bear up & think how invariably kind [and] tender you have been to her. I am in bed not very well with my stomach. When I shall return I cannot yet say.'[86] Several hours later Fanny wrote to Emma that Darwin had 'need I think to go to you', and that he might possibly try and return home on Thursday.[87]

Emma surmised that Annie had died when she failed to receive a letter from her husband in the Wednesday afternoon post. At this time she wrote to him: 'alas my own how shall we bear it. It is very bitter but I shall not get ill.'[88] On Thursday, before receiving Darwin's Wednesday letter, she wrote: 'My feeling of longing after my lost treasure makes me feel painfully indifferent to the other children, but I shall get right in my feelings to them before long. You must remember that you are my prime treasure (and always have been). My only hope of consolation is to have you safe home and weep together. I feel so full of fears about you.'[89] At this time she was especially fearful that her husband's stomach illness would worsen.

After receiving Darwin's letter Emma wrote the following addition to her Thursday letter: 'I feel less miserable a good deal in the hope of seeing you sooner than I expected, but do not be in a hurry to set off. I am perfectly well. You do give me the only comfort I can take in thinking of her happy innocent life . . . we shall be much less miserable together.'[90] On the same day Emma wrote to Fanny that Annie's death was 'worse to bear than I expected', and then added: 'I do feel very grateful to God that our darling was apparently spared all suffering & I hope I shall be able to attain some feeling of submission to the will of

Heaven.' She told Fanny of her fear for her husband's health, and her desire to have him home with her.[91]

Fanny and Darwin then arranged that he would return home on Thursday, while she would stay at Malvern and be present at the burial of Annie in the yard of Malvern's church on Friday.

Darwin arrived at Down on 6.30 on Thursday evening. Emma was surprised and overjoyed to observe that his stomach illness was not as severe as she had feared. All that Thursday evening he and she did 'little else but cry together', and talk about Annie.[92] The anger he had felt earlier now returned, and was partly expressed in weeping. He told his brother Erasmus that Emma felt 'bitterly', '& God knows we can neither see on any side a gleam of comfort.'[93] Several days later he told his old friend and relative, William Darwin Fox, that Annie's loss was 'bitter & cruel'.[94]

His weeping for the loss of his daughter was probably the most intense grief he had experienced since, as a small boy, he had wept for the loss of his mother with his sister Caroline. And whereas Caroline and Marianne had soon caused him to curtail his grief, he now found consolation not only in the act of weeping (which seems to have aborted his stomach illness and then kept it from recurring in the days following Annie's death[95]) but in weeping with Fanny and Emma; and then in remembering their weeping. Thus he told Erasmus: 'To the last day of my life it will be a comfort to me to think of the tears she [Fanny] so tenderly wept over our poor dear child, when all was over.'[96]

On Friday, the day of Annie's Malvern burial, Darwin wrote to Fanny in Malvern:

> The more I think of it, the greater the comfort is to me, that one who wept as tenderly as the tenderest parent over our poor child should follow her to the grave. I know of no other human being who I could have asked to have undertaken so painful a task. God bless you dearest Fanny for it . . . Sometimes I shd. wish to know on which side and part of the Churchyard, as far as you can describe it, the body of our dear joyous child rests.[97]

Fanny then sent him an account of Annie's funeral and a diagram of the Malvern churchyard indicating the location of her grave.[98] Her raised

tombstone, which may be seen today, bears her name, the dates of her birth and death, and the inscription: 'A Dear and Good Child'.

7

During his days at Malvern Darwin had frequently recalled Annie's pre-illness appearance and behaviour. At the moment of her death he had written to Emma that he was 'thankful' that he possessed a daguerreotype of her, made in 1849.[99] On the day after Annie's funeral he received a letter from Erasmus. 'Poor little thing,' Erasmus wrote of Annie, 'I keep thinking of her as I last saw her here [Erasmus's London home] and that last recollection is very pleasant to me. It is all bitterness to you now, but tender memories will revive and it will not be all loss.'[100]

Erasmus was prophetic. A week after Annie's death Darwin wrote his sketch of her chief characteristics so that he and Emma could remember her 'in after years, if we live'.[101]

In his sketch (as has been previously seen) he often strives to make his recollections precisely exact. Thus he evaluates Annie's photograph as follows: 'The Daguerreotype is very like her, but fails entirely in expression: having been made two years since, her face has become lengthened & better looking.'[102]

In his sketch he also wants to heighten his recollections so as to remember Annie 'vividly'. Thus he notes her frequent smiles, sparkling eyes, 'animal spirits', 'elastic spirits' – enabling her to recover quickly from a day of discomfort – 'elastic' movements, and way of holding her head 'a little backwards, as if she defied the world'. And then how her 'whole form' would become 'radiant with the pleasure of giving pleasure'.[103]

In describing her last days at Malvern he noted her 'gentle, pathetic' manner of thanking others for what they did for her: 'When I gave her some water, she said "I quite thank you"; & these I believe were the last precious words ever addressed by her dear lips to me.'[104]

In a long sentence he summarized Annie's main characteristics: 'Looking back, always the spirit of joyousness rises before me as her emblem . . . she seemed formed to live a life of happiness.' And then there was her combination of inhibition and physical expressiveness: 'her spirits were always held in check by her sensitiveness lest she should

displease those she loved, & her tender love was never weary of displaying itself by fondling & all the other little arts of affection.'[105]

In his grief he momentarily ignored the presence of his six other children; he wrote that he and Emma had lost the 'joy' of their present household and the child who would have become 'the solace of our old age'. Elaborating on this latter loss, he had observed that in Annie: 'One felt one knew her thoroughly & could trust her: I always thought, that come what might, we should have had in our old age, at least one loving soul, which nothing could have changed.'[106] His anticipation of his daughter remaining at home and becoming a mother and nurse to himself and Emma was probably most immediately influenced by example of his sisters Susan and Catherine, who had stayed on at The Mount happily devoting their best years to caring for their father.[107]

Early in his sketch, in describing how Annie brought him snuff, he wrote: 'her dear face now rises before me.' He had a penchant for visually remembering the faces of deceased persons, and for giving these faces special expressions.[108] Thus at the end of his sketch he expressed his feelings for his daughter by asserting that he and Emma 'shall ever love her dear joyous face.'[109] It will be seen that he would adhere to this assertion for the rest of his life.

His sketch was fragmentary, hurriedly written and never revised (it was his habit to revise extensively what he had first written). Yet in its selection of vivid and precise details, and its mood of passionate yet controlled grief and love, it shows what Darwin wanted it to show: Annie's personality and his involvement with her. It is one of the great writings by one human being about another.

8

After writing his sketch Darwin turned his attentions to his work and his family (Emma had her ninth child and fifth son, Horace, in May 1851). As the years passed he first thought that his grief for Annie was diminishing. In the summer of 1853, when his friend Fox wrote to him about the death of one of his (Fox's) children, Darwin replied as follows:

> Your letter affected me much. We both most truly sympathize with you and Mrs Fox. We too lost, as you may remember, not so very

> long ago, a most dear child, of whom I can hardly yet bear to think tranquilly; yet, as you must know from your own most painful experience, time softens and deadens, in a manner truly wonderful, one's feelings and regrets. At first it is indeed bitter.'

Thinking of himself, Emma, and their surviving children, he added: 'I can only hope . . . that time may do its work slowly, and bring you all together, once again, as the happy family, which . . . you so lately formed.'[110] Three years later, however, when Fox wrote to him that he had visited Annie's grave, Darwin wrote back: 'the thought' of Annie's death 'is yet most painful to me.'[111]

In September 1863 Darwin was again suffering from a period of protracted vomiting, and accompanied by Emma he again went to Malvern for hydropathy. After they arrived Emma went to Malvern's churchyard to visit Annie's grave, but was unable to find it. Darwin then wrote to Fox about the 'painful subject' of the grave's location.[112] Fox promptly wrote a letter of directions; and Emma, to her 'great relief', was then able to locate Annie's tombstone, which had become 'very much covered with trees'.[113] It is not known if Darwin – who was very ill and mainly confined to his bed – ever visited the tombstone.

In October 1863, while still a patient at Malvern, Darwin received a letter from Joseph Hooker – his scientific friend and confidant – reporting the sudden and relatively painless death, from a febrile illness, of Hooker's six-year-old daughter. 'She was my very own,' his friend wrote him, 'the flower of my flock in every one's eyes . . . the sweetest tempered, affectionate little thing that I ever knew. It will be long before I cease to hear her voice in my ears, or feel her little hand stealing into mine; by the fireside and in the Garden, wherever I go she is there.'[114] Darwin's response to this was at first sympathetic and gentle, and yet restrained:

> Your note is most pathetic. I understand well your words 'wherever I go she is there'. I am so deeply glad that she did not suffer much, as I feared was inevitable. This was to us with poor Annie the one great comfort. Trust to me time will do wonders, & without causing forgetfulness of your darling.[115]

In November 1863, after returning to Down from Malvern, Darwin reread Hooker's letter and wept for Annie; he then wrote about this to

Hooker: 'How well I remember your feeling when we lost Annie, then it was my greatest comfort that I had never spoken a harsh word to her. Your grief has made me shed a few tears over our poor darling; but believe me that these tears have lost that unutterable bitterness of former days.'[116]

In June 1864 James Mackintosh Wedgwood, the thirty-year-old son of Fanny and Hensleigh Wedgwood, died after a long and painful illness. Darwin then wrote to Fanny:

> I must tell you how sincerely I feel for all that you have gone through. The present times have called vividly to my mind, though it is never long forgotten, all that you did for us at Malvern with poor Annie, and the inexpressible stay and comfort you were then to me. I know how bitter your feelings must be; & I can only hope that you will pretty soon recover your bodily strength.[117]

In September 1865, following the death of Hooker's father, Darwin wrote his friend a letter comparing his feelings over the deaths of his father and Annie: 'one knows that for years previously . . . one's father's death is drawing slowly nearer and near, while the death of one's child is a sudden and dreadful wrench.' He called the latter an 'insufferable grief',[118] probably meaning that he feared that he could never recover from his grieving.

Over the next six years, when he heard about parents (whom he did not know, or knew only slightly) losing a child, he would be reminded of the pain he continued to feel for Annie. In September 1866, when Hooker reported that a friend had lost his three- or four-year-old daughter, Darwin commented: 'There is nothing in the world like the bitterness of such a loss, unless indeed the wife herself.'[119] In 1870, when a correspondent wrote to him about the loss of a daughter, Darwin replied: 'You have my heartfelt sympathy . . . I once lost a dear & good girl, & know what a dreadful grief it is . . .'[120] A year later, to another correspondent who had lost a daughter, Darwin wrote: 'I know from old experience how bitter a loss it is.'[121]

9

During the years Darwin continued to grieve over Annie he inhibited his feelings about the deaths of relatives and close friends.

In June 1858, Charles Waring Darwin (the tenth and last Darwin child) died in Down of scarlet fever. He was eighteen months old and mentally and physically retarded, never having learned to walk or talk. Darwin then wrote a two-page sketch describing some of Charles Waring's retarded ways, and how he suffered during the last twenty-four hours of his illness.[122] 'It was the most blessed relief' Darwin wrote to Hooker, 'to see his [Charles Waring's] poor little innocent face resume its sweet expression in the sleep of death. Thank God he will never suffer more in this world . . . Poor Emma behaved nobly and how she stood it all I cannot conceive. It was wonder relief when she could let her feelings break forth.'[123] It is not known if he wept with his wife over the death of their son. He then never seems to have mentioned the death of Charles Waring in his conversations or correspondence. Henrietta Darwin recollected that her parents, 'after their first sorrow', could 'only feel thankful' at his death.[124]

Three weeks after the death of his son Darwin heard of the death of his eldest sister, Marianne. He then commented to Fox that her death was 'a blessed relief after long-continued and latterly very severe suffering. She was an admirable woman; and I thank God is at rest.'[125] Several years later, when his sisters Catherine and Susan died, he commented that he was happy that they were 'at rest' and over the suffering of their terminal illnesses, and had little else to say.[126]

In the spring of 1861, when his old friend and mentor J.S. Henslow died, he wrote (on the request of Henslow's friends) an affectionate and insightful memoir of their 1830–1 associations.[127] He then wrote to Hooker, who had been distressed by Henslow's death:[128] 'you will soon get, I hope, into your regular frame of mind & look at poor Henslow's death as one of the inevitable events in this life.'[129] Early in 1875, when his friend and geological mentor Charles Lyell died, he expressed conflicting feelings in a letter to Hooker. While 'vividly' remembering Lyell's 'warm sympathy' for his early scientific work, he also commented: 'I cannot say that I felt his death much for I fully expected it, & had looked for some time at his career as finished.'[130]

In the spring of 1876, in writing the first draft of his *Autobiography*, Darwin included one paragraph about his children. He first mentioned his 'happy' family and the feelings of mutual affection between himself and his grown children. He made no mention of Mary Eleanor and

Charles Waring. 'We have suffered', he then wrote, 'only one very severe grief in the death of Annie at Malvern on April 24th, 1851, when she was just over ten years old.'[131] The date of April '24th', was an error. Darwin had written to Emma about Annie's death on 23 April and soon after had written the following entry about Annie in his *Journal*: 'April 16th started for Malvern, April 23rd our dear child expired: 24th I returned to Emma.'[132] The date of 23 April had been recorded on Annie's tombstone and in a notice in *The Times*.[133] Darwin may have made this *Autobiography* error because of his distress over remembering the 23 April realities of Malvern; and because it was pleasanter to think of 24 April, when he was away from Malvern and back in the comfort of his home with Emma.

In his *Autobiography*, after mentioning Annie's 'sweet and affectionate' nature, Darwin added: 'But I need say nothing of her character, as I wrote a short sketch of it shortly after her death. Tears still sometimes come into my eyes when I think of her sweet ways.'[134] This is the only place in the *Autobiography* where he records that he experienced tears. He (presumably) intended that his *Autobiography* and sketch of Annie should be read together by his children and grandchildren. He had been stimulated to write his *Autobiography* when he learned that his son Francis and Francis's wife Amy – who were living with him at Down – were expecting their first child and his first grandchild. Francis was a botanist and served as his secretary.

Five weeks after he finished his *Autobiography*, on 7 September 1876, Amy gave birth to a son, Bernard. On 11 September, at Down and in the presence of Darwin, she had convulsions, became comatose, and then died.[135] In a letter to his son William of 11 September Darwin commented on Amy's death as follows: '*It is the most dreadful thing which has ever happened, worse than poor Annie's death, though not as grievous to me*' (Darwin's emphasis).[136] William, who had been over eleven years old in April 1851, may have had strong memories of his parents' grief when Annie died and perhaps also memories of his father's subsequent episodes of grief over her.

Darwin then became concerned about the depressed state of his son Francis. He wrote to Hooker: 'I never saw anyone suffer so much as poor Frank . . . I am glad to hear that he is determined to exert himself & work in every way.'[137] He told Francis that scientific work 'is your only chance of forgetting for a short time your dreadful life.'[138]

In the years after Amy's death Francis did find some alleviation for his depression by assisting his father in the latter's botanical work, and he and his parents found great pleasure in caring for young Bernard Darwin.[139] After 1876 Darwin did not mention Amy in his letters, or in any of the several additions to his *Autobiography*. Thus, while he appears to have forgotten the death of Amy (as he had previously forgotten the deaths of Mary Eleanor and Charles Waring), the occurrence of this death had reminded him of the specialness of his memories of Annie.

Early in the summer of 1881, when he was nearly seventy-three, Darwin suffered the first symptoms of the coronary artery disease which would kill him eight months later.[140] Feeling despondent about his ability to work, and about what he sensed was the shortness of time he still had to live, he wrote to Hooker: 'I must look forward to Down grave-yard as the sweetest place on this earth.'[141]

At the end of summer 1881 his brother Erasmus died in London. Erasmus's body was then brought to Down and buried in the graveyard of Down's church, in the Darwin family plot containing the graves of Mary Eleanor and Charles Waring. Darwin and members of his family attended the burial, and Francis Darwin later 'most distinctly' remembered how his father stood in the graveyard, 'in the scattering of snow, wrapped in a long black funeral cloak, with a look of sad reverie'.[142]

Darwin's 'sad reverie' probably consisted of two groups of thoughts about death, which he had expressed in part in a letter to Hooker: sad and resigned thoughts about the closeness of his own death, and about the loss of Erasmus – whom he described to Hooker as 'the most pleasant and clearest headed man . . . I have ever known'.[143] At some time in 1881 he had written *aperçus* of the intellectual attributes of his father and Erasmus which he had then inserted into his *Autobiography*.[144]

His second group of thoughts was more sorrowful and more disquieting. In reply to Hooker's opinion that it was better for the survivors if a relative died young,[145] he wrote: 'I cannot quite agree with you about the death of the old and the young. Death in the latter case, where there is a bright future ahead, causes grief never to be wholly obliterated.'[146] His last words – 'grief never to be wholly obliterated' – refer to Annie. Thus at the moment when he was especially resigned to the deaths of himself and others he had come to realize again (perhaps more strongly

than previously) that he would always undergo moments of mental pain: moments when he pictured the 'dear joyous face' of his ten-year-old daughter and then experienced an amalgam of love and grief.

One reason for the persistence and intensity of his feelings for Annie (aside from the memories of his relationship with her) may have been that in grieving for her – whom he had come to regard in part as a future maternal figure – he may have also been expressing old feelings of grief for his mother which he had previously shown only incompletely and then denied.

The history of his feelings for Annie after her death may be summarized as follows. The amalgam of love and grief that he felt for her became – from the age of forty-two until his death at seventy-three – an addition to and then the most tender and feeling part of his adult character. This part contrasted strikingly with his usual tendency to react to grievous events by experiencing a variety of psychosomatic symptoms, or by denial.

10

Darwin's persisting grief for Annie may have caused him to undergo changes in four mental and emotional areas: his belief in Christianity; his thoughts about certain aspects of death; his capacity for higher aesthetic tastes; and his attitudes towards women. These will now be outlined.

James Moore has suggested that Annie's death, together with other factors, caused Darwin finally to give up his diminished belief in Christianity.[147] Dr Moore intends to discuss this, along with the evolution of Darwin's religious views, in a forthcoming study.

Before April 1851 Darwin does not seem to have been greatly concerned with the severity of the terminal sufferings of those who died. When Annie died one of his grim consolations had been that her death had been peaceful. It has then been seen how, when in his later years he commented on the death of an individual, he often saw this death as a 'blessed' and happy release from suffering. His concern about terminal suffering also influenced his imagery of the workings of the war of nature. In the 1844 sketch of his theory of natural selection he had mainly stressed the power of the war to create new species. In his 1859 *On the Origin of Species* he would then write: 'we may console ourselves

with the full belief, that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt.'[148]

In a revealing and puzzling section of his 1876 *Autobiography* Darwin wrote: 'in one respect my mind has changed during the last twenty or thirty years.' The change was that he had suffered the 'curious and lamentable' loss, or diminution, of what he called his 'higher aesthetic tastes' – his former feelings of 'great pleasure' in many kinds of poetry, 'very great delight' in music, 'considerable' delight in pictures, and 'exquisite delight' in scenery. He further described these changes as 'a loss of happiness', which had led to the 'enfeebling' of 'the emotional part' of his nature. He was puzzled about the psychological nature of these changes, and their cause.[149]

Mental changes which entail loss of happiness and emotional enfeebling suggest a form of depression. These changes occurred in the period 1846–56, approximating to the period of Annie's death and afterwards. It may be that the loss of a person who was the love and 'joy' of his life depressed his capacity to have positive feelings for objects which had formerly made him happy.

His 'coquettish' interactions with Annie – when each spoke to the other in 'exaggerated language' – carried over into his interactions with some adult women. In the late 1850s, when he was a patient at Moor Park taking hydropathy, he befriended a woman patient there, Miss Mary Butler. She believed in different supernatural stories and events, and thought that she saw the ghost of her father when the latter was still alive.[150] He enjoyed being coquettish with Miss Butler about magical transformations of species and ghosts at a time when he was writing the *Origin of Species* and disbelieved in ghosts. Thus in February 1859, after he returned to Down from Moor Park, he wrote to Miss Butler as follows:

> I make myself very pleasant at home with ghost stories & other plumes borrowed from you. I enjoyed my fortnight extremely at Moor Park, but if I were long exposed to the very pleasant temptation of sitting between Miss Craik[151] & you I wonder what I should not come to believe: Honeysuckles turning into oaks would be a mere trifle & new species springing up on every railway embankment.[152]

His son Francis recollects how, in his later years: 'when he was talking to a lady who pleased and amused him, the combination of raillery and deference in his manner was delightful to see.' He was 'particularly charming' when he was 'chaffing' such a lady.[153]

Real and imagined images of Annie probably influenced his preference for women characters in novels and the plots of novels. He disliked a novel if it did not have a lovable heroine and if it ended unhappily. He joked that 'a law ought to be passed' against unhappy endings. If a novel had a heroine who was 'pretty' and whom he could 'thoroughly love', and if it ended happily, it gave him 'wonderful relief and pleasure'.[154] Thus he found George Eliot's *Silas Marner* 'charming',[155] and was especially attracted to the character of Dolly. When he then read Eliot's *Mill on the Floss* he found it 'certainly most clever'; but disliked it because 'almost all the persons are odious, & there is no one so charming as Dolly.'[156]

Unhappy endings reminded him of the reality he had experienced in Malvern in April 1851, and behind this his experience of his mother's death in July 1817. In loving the heroines of novels with happy endings he was again loving Annie: sometimes as the nine-year-old he had known (before her last illness); sometimes as the 'delightful woman' he imagined she would have become.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

The following abbreviations have been used.

Publications

Autobiography: Nora Barlow, ed. *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin* (Collins, 1958).

Correspondence: Frederick Burkhardt and Sydney Smith, eds *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin: Volume 1 1821–1836* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Emma Darwin: Henrietta Litchfield, ed. *Emma Darwin: A Century of Family Letters* (John Murray, 1915), 2 vols.

LL: Francis Darwin, ed. *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* (New York: D. Appleton, 1896), 2 vols.

ML: Francis Darwin and A.C. Seward, eds *More Letters of Charles Darwin* (New York: D. Appleton, 1903), 2 vols.

Manuscripts

CCLC: Christ College Library, Cambridge.

DAR: The Darwin Archive, Manuscripts Room, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

Keele, W/M: Wedgwood Archives, Keele University Library, Keele, Staffordshire.

Whenever possible the dating of the letters cited here conforms to that given in Frederick Burkhardt and Sydney Smith, eds *A Calendar of the Correspondence of Charles Darwin: 1821–1882* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1985).

1. The manuscript of Darwin's sketch of Annie is written in his hand on twelve pages of black-bordered stationery, totals about 1,550 words, and is in DAR 210.13. The published version is about 800 words: printed first in LL, 1, pp. 109–11, and then in *Emma Darwin*, 2, pp. 137–9. All references to the sketch in this essay are based on the manuscript, and no attempts are made to compare the manuscript and published versions.
2. 'Charles Darwin's Essay of 1844', in Sir Gavin De Beer, ed. *Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace: Evolution by Natural Selection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 253.
3. Darwin's biographers have commented on the published version of his sketch of Annie as follows: 'His tender devotion to his own children comes out most perfectly in the exquisite sketch of his ten-year-old daughter Annie . . .' (Leonard Huxley, *Charles Darwin*, New York: Greenberg Publishers, 1927, p. 136.) 'The grief of the parents was never appeased . . . The father committed his feelings to writing, but never afterward wished to speak of them.' (Henshaw Ward, *Charles Darwin: The Man and His Warfare*, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1927, p. 255.) 'The most intimate of all the pictures of that [Down] household is found in a little passage written by Darwin himself a few days after the death of his ten-year-old daughter Annie.' Parts of the sketch are then quoted. (George A. Dorsey, *The Evolution of Charles Darwin*, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1927, pp. 107–8.) 'His ten-year-old daughter Annie died, and both parents were prostrated with grief. Darwin expressed his feelings on paper in words that are too intimate and pathetic to quote.' (L.B. Pekin, *Darwin*, Hogarth, 1937, p. 30.)

Darwin's sketch is quoted from 'as illustrating how any right-spirited father feels about his child, and how only a naturalist father can know his child.' (William Emerson Ritter, *Charles Darwin and the Golden Rule*, Washington/New York: Storm Publishers/Science Service, 1954, p. 62.) 'In this portrait there are united rare powers of observation and description, with a deep and penetrating warmth of parental affection.' (Sir Arthur Keith, *Darwin Revalued*, Watts, 1955, p. 65.) 'Characteristically, his grief expressed itself in terms of his powers of observation. He wrote a memorial in which he carefully described her ways and habits.' (William Irvine, *Apes, Angels, and Victorians*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1955, p. 124.) 'As soon as he felt strong enough, Darwin composed a little ode on the child they had loved so dearly, the most beautiful thing that he ever wrote.' (Sir Gavin De Beer, *Charles Darwin: Evolution by Natural Selection*, New York: Doubleday, 1964, p. 139.) 'A week after she died, as though in some private memorial service for a congregation of one, he wrote a eulogy for her . . . He tried to maintain her reality, to fix for ever the quality of her character and, even more, the physical fact of her, to hold on to her existence with cables of words.' (Peter Brent, *Charles Darwin: A Man of Enlarged Curiosity*, New York: Harper & Row, 1981, p. 351.) Each of the above comments – especially that of Keith – contains some validity. However, when considered together, they do not form a rounded and in-depth account of Darwin's relationship with Annie.

Darwin's sketch of Annie is summarized and quoted from, without comments, by: Sir Hedley Atkins, *Down the Home of the Darwins: The Story of a House and the People who Lived There* (The Royal College of Surgeons of England, 1974, p. 37); Mea Allan, *Darwin and his Flowers: The Key to Natural Selection* (Faber & Faber, 1977, p. 149); and John Chancellor, *Charles Darwin* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973, p. 200). There is brief passing mention of Darwin's grief for Annie – without mention of his sketch – in biographies of him by: Gamaliel Bradford (1926, p. 164); Geoffrey West (1938, American edition, p. 217); Sarah Riedman (1959, p. 139); Gertrude Himmelfarb (1959, p. 137); Phyllis Greenacre (1963, p. 65); H. E. L. Mellersh (1964, p. 65); Walter Karp (1968, p. 96); and Irving Stone (1980, p. 515). Annie's death is cited as a factual event in Darwin's life (without mention of his emotional reactions to this death) in Darwin biographies by: Ruth Moore (1955, p. 114) and Ronald W. Clark (1984, p. 72). Charles F. Holder, *Charles Darwin: His Life and Work* (New York, G.B. Putnam's Sons, 1890), states: 'Two children, a boy and a girl, were lost in infancy, one dying in 1842 and the other in 1858' (p. 212), and makes no mention of Annie. Alice Dickinson, *Charles Darwin and Natural Selection* (New York, Franklin Watts, 1964), states (p. 90) that three of Darwin's children died in childhood, but gives no names.

Many authors of biographical works on Darwin, and accounts of his personal life, omit mention of Annie's death. These include: G. T. Bettany (1887), Gerhard Wichler (1961), Julian Huxley and H. B. D. Kettlewell (1965), Robert Olby (1967), Howard E. Gruber and Paul H. Barrett (1974), L. Robert Stevens (1978) and George Gaylord Simpson (1982).

4. See note 1.
5. Mary Jane Moffat, ed. *In the Midst of Winter: Selections from the Literature of Mourning* (New York: Random House, 1982); D.J. Enright, ed. *The Oxford Book of Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983). The later book, under 'Definitions' of death, quotes Darwin's conclusion to *On the Origin of Species*: of how 'from the war of nature . . . and death' new species are produced (p. 5).
6. Catherine Wedgwood to her brother Josiah Wedgwood II, Etruria, Staffordshire, Monday evening, postmarked 14 July 1817. Keele, W/M 19835–27.
7. Darwin recorded three recollections of his reactions to his mother's death. In 1838, in a sketch of his life, he wrote: 'I scarcely recollect anything . . . except being sent for, the memory of going into her [his mother's] room, my father meeting me – crying afterwards' (ML, 1, pp. 2–3). In his 1876 *Autobiography* he stressed his lack of memories, and did not mention his crying. Five years later in a letter to his sister Caroline he wrote:

   > I grieve that I can remember hardly anything about my mother, except her black velvet gown and her work table and the death scene and talking to you of Marianne afterwards and our crying so much . . . I think my forgetfulness may be partly accounted for by none of you being able to endure speaking about so dreadful a loss. (Darwin to his sister Caroline (Darwin) Wedgwood, 20 September [1881] Down, DAR 153.)

8. Ibid.
9. Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (John Murray, 1872), pp. 154–5.
10. *Correspondence*, pp. 131 and 231.
11. Emma Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Wednesday [20 October 1842], *Emma Darwin*, 2, pp. 116–17.
12. Darwin to Emma Darwin [20–1 May 1848], [Shrewsbury], DAR 210:19, *Emma Darwin*, 2, pp. 116–17.
13. Darwin to Hooker, [25 February 1846], Shrewsbury, DAR 114:55, ML, 1, p. 55.
14. Julia Wedgwood, *The Personal Life of Josiah Wedgwood* (Macmillan, 1915), pp. 264–5.
15. Catherine Darwin to her brother Charles, 11 November 1848, *Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 119.
16. Erasmus Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Thursday [16 November 1848], [Shrewsbury], Keele, W/M 227.
17. Catherine Darwin to her brother Charles, 13 November 1848, *Emma Darwin*, 2, pp. 119–20.
18. *Autobiography*, p. 117.
19. Erasmus Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, [16 November 1848], [Shrewsbury]; Susan Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, 20 November [1848]. Keele, W/M 227.
20. Darwin to John Herschel, 13 June [1849], Malvern, Sir Gavin De Beer, ed. 'Some Unpublished Letters of Charles Darwin', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of*

London, 14, 1959, p. 34. Sir Gavin De Beer, ed. 'Darwin's Journal', *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History) Historical Series*, vol. 2, 1959, p. 12. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, 6 February [1849], Down, CCLC.

21. No account states that Darwin wept, or describes his appearance during the period of his father's death. Henrietta Darwin, who was then almost six years old, writes the following recollection: 'Dr Darwin died on November 13th . . . I remember feeling awe-struck, and crying bitterly out of sympathy with my father' (*Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 119). Whether this means that Darwin wept is unclear.
22. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, 6 February [1849] (note 20).
23. Darwin to Hooker, 28 March 1849, Malvern; DAR 114: 113; LL, 1, p. 340.
24. Darwin to Hooker, [28 September 1865], Down, DAR 114: 275; LL, 2, pp. 223–4.
25. LL, 1, p. 10.
26. Ralph Colp, Jr, 'Notes on Charles Darwin's *Autobiography*', *J. Hist. Biol.*, 18 (1985), p. 391.
27. 'I wish the Baby was livelier, for liveliness is an extreme charm in bab-chicks. Good-bye – I long to kiss Annie.' Darwin to Emma Darwin [May 1842], DAR 210.19, *Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 70.
28. Darwin experienced special feelings of pride for his baby son William, which he expressed as follows:

    > I defy anybody to flatter us on our baby, for I defy anyone to say anything in its praise of which we are not fully conscious. He is a charming little fellow and I had not the smallest conception there was so much in a five month baby. You will perceive by this that I have a fine degree of paternal fervour. (Darwin to William Darwin Fox [7 June 1840], [Maer], CCLC; LL, 1, p. 270.)

    As soon as William was born his father began making careful notes on the first appearance of his different expressions. For at this time Darwin had just originated his theory of transmutation, and he 'felt convinced . . . that the most complex and fine shades of expression must all have had a gradual and natural origin' (*Autobiography*, pp. 131–2). He made notes on William for about one year, and later published these as an article, 'A Biographical Sketch of an Infant', in *Mind Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy*, 1877. It has become a classic in child psychology: reprinted in William Kessen, ed. *The Child* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965, pp. 118–29); and later in Paul H. Barrett, ed. *The Collected Papers of Charles Darwin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, 2 vols, 2, pp. 191–200). Darwin never seems to have made such detailed scientific notes about any of his other babies as he did with William.
29. Darwin to Emma Darwin [early 1845], [Down], DAR 210.19, *Emma Darwin*, 2, pp. 94–5.
30. Probably Sir John William Lubbock (1803–65), astronomer, mathematician, banker, and Darwin's neighbour at Down.
31. Darwin to Emma Darwin, [20–1 May 1848], (see note 12).

32. Darwin to Emma Darwin, [25 May 1848], [Shrewsbury], DAR 210.19, *Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 118.
33. Darwin's sketch of Annie. Hereafter cited as 'Sketch'.
34. LL, 1, pp. 111–12, 115.
35. 'Trotty [Henrietta] is quite charming, though I am vexed how little I can stand of her; somehow I have been extra bothered and busy: and this morning I sent off five letters.' Darwin to Emma Darwin, [June 1846], [Down], DAR 210.19, *Emma Darwin*, 2, pp. 103–4.
36. 'Sketch'.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. *Autobiography*, pp. 22–3.
40. Colp, 'Notes on Charles Darwin's *Autobiography*', p. 363, note 25 (see note 26).
41. *Autobiography*, p. 97.
42. 'Sketch'.
43. See note 27. Darwin thought that kissing was not innate in mankind, and had to be learned (*The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, p. 216). Before Annie he had begun kissing his son William, who he nicknamed 'Doddy', when the latter was about one year old:

    > The first sign of moral sense was noticed at the age of nearly 13 months. I said 'Doddy . . . won't give poor papa a kiss, naughty Doddy.' These words without doubt, made him feel slightly uncomfortable; and at last when I had returned to my chair, he protruded his lips as a sign that he was ready to kiss me; and then he shook his hand in an angry manner until I came and received his kiss. Nearly the same little scene recurred in a few days, and the reconciliation seemed to give him so much satisfaction, that several times afterwards he pretended to be angry and slapped me, and then insisted on giving me a kiss. ('A Biographical Sketch of an Infant', Barrett, *The Collected Papers of Charles Darwin*, 2, p. 197.)

44. Darwin to his sister Susan Darwin, [19 March 1849], [Malvern], DAR 92: 7–8.
45. 'Sketch'.
46. *Correspondence*, pp. 518–19.
47. Darwin to Emma Darwin, [25 May 1848], (see note 32).
48. Susannah Darwin gave birth to her son Charles soon after her forty-fourth birthday.
49. 'Sketch'.
50. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, [27 March 1851], Malvern, CCLC.
51. Ibid.
52. Miss Thorley to Emma Darwin, Monday, [14 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.13.
53. Annie's death certificate, under the heading 'Cause of Death', states: 'Bilious

Fever with Typhoid character'. This means that in addition to being feverish and vomiting bilious contents, she had irregular bowel movements. For a discussion of contemporary accounts of fevers see John Conolly, MD and Robley Dunglison, MD, eds *The Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine* (Philadelphia, PA: Blanchard & Lea, editions of 1845 and 1854), 4 vols, vol. 2, 'Fever'.

54. Darwin to Emma Darwin, Monday [21 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.19.
55. Darwin to Emma Darwin, [17 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.13.
56. Darwin to Emma Darwin, 11 o'clock Saturday, [19 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.19.
57. This may refer to Darwin's April 26–May 13, 1839 visit to Maer. In his 'Journal' he first reported this visit as follows: 'Maer visit, some reading connected with Species but did very little on account of being unwell.' He then added this depressed and self-punitive passage: 'During my visit to Maer, read a little, was much unwell, & scandalously idle. I have derived this much good, that *nothing* is so intolerable as idleness' ('Darwin's Journal', p. 9; see note 20). Thus the symptoms of his 'Maer illness' seem to have consisted of bilious vomiting and depression.
58. *Autobiography*, pp. 85–6, 92–3.
59. Emma Darwin to her husband, Saturday, [19 April 1851], [Down], DAR 210.13.
60. Darwin to Emma Darwin, 11 o'clock Saturday, [19 April 1851], (see note 56).
61. Ibid.
62. Telegram from Darwin to Emma Darwin, 19 April 1851, DAR 210.19. Darwin instructed his brother Erasmus in London to send the telegram to Emma in Down.
63. 'Nigger' was a term of intimacy and endearment that Emma used for her husband (*Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 104).
64. Emma Darwin to her husband, 19 April 1851, Down, DAR 210.13, *Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 134.
65. Barbara and Hensleigh Wedgwood, *The Wedgwood Circle, 1730–1897: Four Generations of a Family and Their Friends* (Canada: Collier Macmillan Canada, 1980), pp. 261–3; Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle, ed. *Harriet Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgwood* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), p. xviii.
66. Emma's feelings of friendship for and confidence in Fanny were shown in the previously quoted October 1842 letter which she wrote to Fanny on the death of her infant daughter Mary Eleanor (see note 11).
67. Barbara and Hensleigh Wedgwood, *The Wedgwood Circle, 1730–1897* (see note 65), pp. 246–7.
68. Darwin to Emma Darwin, Saturday 2 o'clock, [19 April 1851], DAR 210.19.
69. Fanny Wedgwood to Emma Darwin, Saturday 7 o'clock [19 April 1851], DAR 210.13.
70. Emma Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Down, Tuesday before post time, [22 April 1851], Keele, W/M.

71. Darwin to Emma Darwin, [20 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.13.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Darwin often expressed his anxiety by pacing about a room. The artist William Richmond described how, when he was painting Darwin's portrait, his subject could 'sit for only a few minutes or so at a time . . .' (A.M.W. Stirling, *The Richmond Papers*, 1926, p. 264).
76. In his 1838 scientific notebooks Darwin had observed how, when angry, a person paces:

    When a man is in a passion he puts himself stiff & walks hard. (He cannot avoid sending will of actions to muscles any more than prevent heart beat.) Remember how Pincher does just the same. I noticed this by perceiving myself skipping when wanting not to feel angry – such efforts prevent anger, but observing eyes thus unconsciously discover struggle of feeling. It is as much effort to walk then lightly as to endeavour to stop heart beating: on ceasing, so does other. (Howard E. Gruber and Paul H. Barrett, *Darwin on Man: A Psychological Study of Scientific Creativity*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1974, p. 278.)

77. Darwin to Emma Darwin, [21 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.19.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Emma Darwin to her husband, Wednesday 23 [April] before post time, [Down], DAR 210.13.
82. Fanny Wedgwood to Emma Darwin, Tuesday 21 ('meant for 22nd?', written in unknown hand on this letter), [22 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.13.
83. 'Charles was very ill all yesterday with one of his stomach attacks w^{h} luckily made him not able to come into the room [Annie's room]' (Fanny Wedgwood to her husband Hensleigh Wedgwood, Wednesday evening 6 o'clock [23 April 1851], [Malvern], Keele W/M 310.) Darwin's 'Diary of Health' does not record any significant increase in his illness during his stay at Malvern. At this time he was not as attentive in keeping up his 'Diary' as he had been previously. However, it seems likely that if he had vomited he would have recorded it as an increase in 'unwellness'. Vomiting depressed him. The two stomach symptoms that he frequently suffered from, and that he may have experienced on 22–3 April, were pain (varying in intensity) and what he called 'flatulence' (mainly belching). Neither of these two symptoms distressed him mentally as much as vomiting, and he seems to have usually quickly recovered from their effects.
84. After her account of Darwin's 'stomach attacks' Fanny went on to write to Hensleigh: 'It's most affecting to me how he suffers constantly crying – but he says it's a relief.'
85. Darwin to Emma Darwin, Wednesday, [23 April 1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.13.

86. Ibid.
87. Fanny Wedgwood to Emma Darwin, Wednesday 6 o'clock, [23 April 1851], Malvern, DAR 210.13.
88. Emma Darwin to her husband, Wednesday 23 (see note 81).
89. Emma Darwin to her husband, [24 April 1851], Down, DAR 210.13.
90. Ibid.
91. Emma Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Thursday before post time, [24 April 1851], Down, Keele, W/M 310.
92. Emma Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Friday [25 April 1851], Down, Keele, W/M 310.
93. Darwin to his brother Erasmus Darwin, [25 April 1851], [Down], Keele, W/M 310.
94. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, 29 April [1851], Down, CCLC; LL, 1, p. 348.
95. Darwin makes no mention of illness in his 'Diary of Health' and letters, and Emma (who was sensitive to the least changes in her husband's health) makes no mention in her letters of illness in herself or her husband.
96. Darwin to his brother Erasmus Darwin, [25 April 1851], (see note 93).
97. Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Friday, [25 April 1851], [Down], Keele, W/M 310.
98. Fanny Wedgwood to Darwin, 25 April [1851], [Malvern], DAR 210.13.
99. Darwin to Emma Darwin, Wednesday, [23 April 1851], (see note 85).
100. Erasmus Darwin to his brother Charles, Friday night, [25 April 1851], [London], DAR 210.13.
101. 'Sketch'.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Susan never married. Catherine married for the first time at the age of fifty-three (fifteen years after the death of her father) and died three years later. 'He', Julia Wedgwood recollects of Dr Darwin, 'could . . . inspire warm love. I remember well the glow with which one of his daughters, who had preferred remaining with him to entering a home of her own, said to me in a somewhat lonely old age – "But I am glad my happy time came in my youth, when I had my father"' (Julia Wedgwood, *The Personal Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, see note 14), pp. 264–5.
108. 'I remember the faces of people formerly well-known vividly, and I can make them do anything I like' (Darwin's reply to Francis Galton's 'Questions on the Faculty of Visualizing', November 1879, LL, 2, p. 415.)
109. 'Sketch'.
110. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, 10 August [1853], Down, CCLC, LL, 1, p. 355.

111. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, 3 October [1856], Down, CCLC.
112. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, 4 [September 1863], Malvern Wells, CCLC.
113. Emma Darwin to William Darwin Fox, [29 September 1863], Malvern Wells, CCLC.
114. Hooker to Darwin, 1 October 1863, Kew, DAR 101: 160–2; Leonard Huxley, ed. *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker* (John Murray, 1918, 2 vols), 2, p. 62.
115. Darwin to Hooker, [4 October 1863], Malvern Wells, DAR 115: 206.
116. Darwin to Hooker, [22–3 November 1863], Down, DAR 115: 211.
117. Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, 28 June [1864], Down, American Philosophical Society.
118. Darwin to Hooker, [28 September 1865], (see note 24).
119. Darwin to Hooker, [9 April 1866], Down, DAR 115: 286.
120. Darwin to [F.C. Donders], 19 May 1870, Down, American Philosophical Society.
121. Darwin to [Henry?] Johnson, 25 April [1871], Down, Sotheby Catalogue (24 June 1975).
122. The sketch is in the Cambridge University Library, DAR 210.13.
123. Darwin to Hooker, [29 June 1858], Down, DAR 114: 239.
124. *Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 162.
125. Darwin to William Darwin Fox, 21 July [1858], Sandown, CCLC.
126. 'You will have heard of my sister Catherine's easy death last Friday morning. She suffered much, and we all look at her death as a blessing, for there was much fear of prolonged and greater suffering' (Darwin to Lyell, 7 February [1866], Down, American Philosophical Society; ML, 1, p. 476). '. . . my poor sister [Susan] is at rest & *thank God* has had no more suffering, having been tranquil and half unconscious for many days' (Darwin to Hooker, [4 October 1866], Down, DAR 115: 302).
127. Darwin's memoir was published in Leonard Jenyns, *Memoir of the Rev. John Stevens Henslow*, (Van Voorst, 1862), pp. 51–5. Reprinted in Barrett, *The Collected Papers of Charles Darwin*, 2, pp. 72–4 (see note 28).
128. Hooker was married to Henslow's daughter and had nursed Henslow during the latter's terminal illness.
129. Darwin to Hooker, 19 June [1861], Down, DAR 115: 103.
130. Darwin to Hooker, 23 February 1875, Down, DAR 95: 377–8 & DAR 97 (ser. 3): 13; ML, 2, p. 238.
131. *Autobiography*, pp. 97–8.
132. 'Darwin's Journal', p. 13 (see note 20).
133. On 25 April 1851 Darwin wrote to his brother Erasmus: 'Will you be so kind as to get inserted in places in Times & in any other one or two Papers of largest circulation. "At Malvern on the 23rd of Fever, Anne Elizabeth Darwin ['oldest' crossed out] aged ten years, eldest daughter of Charles Darwin Esquire of Down Kent" '

(see note 93). In *The Times*, 28 April 1851, Supplement, No. 20787, the notice reads: 'On the 23 inst, at Malvern of fever, Anne Elizabeth Darwin, aged 10 years, eldest daughter of Charles Darwin Esq. of Down, Kent.'

134. *Autobiography*, pp. 97–8.
135. Darwin to Hooker, 11 September [1876], Down. DAR 95: 417–18.
136. Darwin to his son William E. Darwin, 11 September [1876], Down. DAR 210.6.
137. Darwin to Hooker, 17 September, [1876], Down. DAR 95: 419–20.
138. Darwin to his son Francis Darwin, 20 September [1876], Down. DAR 211.
139. *Emma Darwin*, 2, p. 225.
140. Ralph Colp, Jr, *To Be an Invalid: The Illness of Charles Darwin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 92–3.
141. Darwin to Hooker, 15 June 1881, Patterdale. DAR 104: 152–3, ML, 2, p. 433.
142. LL, 1, pp. 105–6.
143. Darwin to Hooker, 30 August 1881, Down. DAR 95: 530–1, LL, 2, pp. 404–5.
144. *Autobiography*, pp. 28–43.
145. Hooker to Darwin, 29 August 1881, Kew Gardens. DAR 104: 166–7; Huxley, *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker*, 2, p. 258 (see note 114).
146. Darwin to Hooker, 30 August 1881 (see note 143).
147. James R. Moore, '1859 and all that: Remaking the Story of Evolution-and-Religion', in Roger G. Chapman and Cleveland T. Duval, eds *Charles Darwin 1809–1882: A Centennial Commemorative* (Wellington, New Zealand: Nova Pacifica Publishing, 1982), pp. 267–94, 189.
148. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*, a facsimile of the first edition, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964, p. 79.
149. *Autobiography*, pp. 138–9.
150. Francis Darwin, manuscript, 'Reminiscences of CD', DAR 40 (3) p. 86.
151. Darwin here refers to Georgiana Marion Craik (1831–95), an English author whose novels of romance he greatly enjoyed. In this passage he imagines himself sitting between Miss Craik – whom (presumably) he has never met (yet whom he feels he knows well) – and Mary Butler, and enjoying himself by conversing with them.
152. Darwin to Mary Butler, 20 February [1859], Down, Brown University.
153. LL, 1, p. 118.
154. *Autobiography*, pp. 138–9.
155. Darwin to Hooker, [28 September 1865], (see note 24).
156. Darwin to Hooker, 22 and 28 [October 1865], Down. DAR 115: 277. *The Mill on the Floss* had a murder and an unhappy ending. It was widely read and controversial (Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and their Reading*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1962, pp. 279, 285, 316, 414).

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