Retelling the Tale of Taylor: A New Look at the Life of Warington Taylor

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arington Taylor was business manager of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. – also known as the Firm – from 1865 until his untimely death from tuberculosis in 1870 at the age of thirty-four. This article seeks to correct several inaccuracies relating to the received information about Taylor regarding his name and background, to shed a clearer light on how he came to be engaged by the Firm and to provide a more complete and accurate account of his life than has previously been published. Further, it seeks to revise the notion that he retired from the Firm to Hastings due to ill health as early as 1866 and from then on merely managed the business from a distance as a manager in name only.¹

In the first volume of his *Life of William Morris*, published in 1899, J. W. Mackail introduces Taylor as 'Mr. George Warrington Taylor, business manager of Morris & Company from 1865 until his illness and death at the beginning of 1870', and notes that:

it was mainly due [to him] that the business became organized and prosperous. Mr Taylor was a Catholic, of good family, who had been educated at Eton and was afterwards for some time in the army; but he had been unfortunate in his affairs and was then almost penniless [...]. In 1865 he was earning a scanty livelihood as a check taker at the Opera House in the Haymarket and gladly accepted a post under the firm. He was a man of great ability and sweetness of character, incapable of taking care of his own affairs, but shrewd and careful in the management of other people's business [...] a man who was not only a master of figures, but an expert in business methods.²

Mackail makes a couple of factual errors in this statement, starting with Taylor's first name which we will learn was not George. Several subsequent biographers and writers of books relating to Morris have repeated this mistake.³ Successive writers have also repeated Mackail's second error regarding the nature of Taylor's occupation at the theatre: he was not a check taker (usher) nor, as has been written, was he employed in the box office, as a cloakroom attendant or as a ticket collector.⁴ Neither was Taylor the son of a Devonshire squire, as Philip Henderson erroneously claimed.⁵ As a more complete account of Taylor's life is given in this article each of these inaccuracies will be corrected. To start with his name: Mackail refers to him as George Warrington Taylor but no primary source material names Taylor as George: he signed his letters 'W.T.' or 'Warington Taylor', his baptismal record lists him as Warrington (spelled with two 'r's) Taylor, the entrance register at Eton documents him as Warington (with a single 'r') Taylor as does his army record. His marriage and death certificates record him as Alphonse Warington Taylor (see Figure 1). It is likely that Mackail either made a typographical error or confused Taylor with the two other Georges who were part of the Firm at the time: George Campfield, foreman of the Firm, and George Wardle, who joined shortly after the move to Queen Square as a draughtsman, bookkeeper and general utility man.

Thus, Taylor was not George: he was Warington with one r, at least in his professional life. However, his first name is stated as Alphonse on his marriage and death certificates and gravestone. Returning to Mackail, Taylor is described as a Catholic. He was not a Catholic by birth. Taylor was baptised into the Church of England on 15 November 1835 at St. John the Baptist Church in Croydon. Sometime between his departure from the army in 1856 and his marriage in the Roman Catholic Church of the Oratory, Kensington, on 21 August 1861, Taylor converted to Catholicism. It is likely that Taylor chose the name Alphonse as a Roman Catholic confirmation name. Usually the confirmation name is used as a middle name, but Taylor chose to place Alphonse as a forename. There are two Catholic saints with the name Alphonsus: St. Alphonsus Rodriguez (1533-1617) and St. Alphonsus de Liguori (1696-1787).

Mackail described Taylor as coming 'of good family', and Philip Henderson expanded on this observation in a later publication to include the claim that Taylor was 'the son of a Devonshire squire'. This notion may have come from a letter William De Morgan wrote to Sydney Cockerell recalling, via Edward Burne-Jones, that Taylor was 'the son of a country squire with acres'. Taylor was actually from a dynasty of wealthy Surrey gunpowder mill owners. Born on 25 August 1835 in Ewell, Surrey, he was the second son of Frederick and Frances Mary Taylor. His parents were both from affluent families: his father, Frederick, was the second son of William Taylor of Worcester Park, Surrey, and a twin along with his brother Barrington. Warington Taylor's mother, Frances Mary, was the only child of Daniel Richard



 $\textbf{Figure 1:} \ \, \textbf{Carte-de-visite (calling card) of Warington Taylor, 1860s, by Mayer Brothers @ National Portrait Gallery, London$

Warrington of Waddon, Croydon.⁹ It was his mother's maiden name that gave Taylor his forename, although the forename was spelled with only one 'r', as shown above.

The Taylor family owned gunpowder mills in the area of Tolworth, Surrey, from 1720 to 1854. Taylor's great grandfather, ship chandler and Putney gentleman William Taylor (Senior), purchased the lease of the Tolworth Gunpowder Mill in 1720 and built a new gunpowder works, known as Malden or Worcester Park Mill, on either side of the Hogsmill River. His gunpowder works must have been very successful as in 1750 William Taylor Senior was able to purchase the freehold for much of Nonsuch Park in which the gunpowder works were located, including the site of the mill. In 1774, at the age of twenty-one, William Taylor Junior (Warington Taylor's grandfather) took over the running of the mills, and in 1797 built a mansion on the land 'under the superintendence of Mr Nash' with around 400 acres. His part of the mills are the superintendence of Mr Nash' with around 400 acres.

After the death of his father, Frederick (Warington Taylor's father) took over the running of the mills until they closed in 1854 following an explosion. During the 1840s Frederick was a member of several management committees for newly formed independent railways across the country. It is unclear exactly when the Taylor family sold Worcester Park House, but in 1862 it was bought by the architect Sir James Pennethorne. Worcester Park House then gradually slid into decline until in 1948 the house burnt down. The name of Taylor survived in the area until recently in Taylor's Shrubbery, a large wood in Kingston Road, Ewell, situated on either side of the Salisbury Road.

Taylor's mother, Frances Mary Warrington, was the only child of Surrey magistrate and landowner, Daniel Richard Warrington. In 1798 Warrington was appointed a trustee of the Henry Smith Charities' Deptford Estate, a trust for the benefit of the poor people of Croydon and in 1836 was President of the West Surrey Conservatives' Association.¹⁷ Taylor's maternal grandfather was a significant landowner in the Croydon area and Warrington Road in Croydon is named after him. Daniel Richard Warrington owned what was known during the nineteenth century as the Waddon Estate, an area now comprising part of Epsom Road, Warrington Road and Borough Hill. A Tithe Map of 1838 shows that land in the Epsom Road area of Waddon and Croydon was owned by, amongst others, the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Warrington family.¹⁸

Taylor joined his older brother at Eton College in 1848 where the archives show his father and grandfather as former pupils. Taylor was only at Eton for two years and in 1850 he was sent to school in Germany. His time there left a lasting impression on him: as an adult he wrote enthusiastically to his friend the architect Edward Robson about the free thinkers of nineteenth-century Germany. Taylor also urged Robson to listen to musical recordings of the German composer Richard

Wagner (1813-83), who was not well known in England at this time.²¹

After Germany, Taylor spent time in France at Dieppe as a pupil of the liberal Protestant Minister Rev. Jean Auguste Reville who 'took young Englishmen into his house'. ²² M. Reville was the father of Albert Reville (1826-1906), a pastor and distinguished Protestant theologian. This stage of Taylor's education was perhaps a prelude to entrance into the Church of England. It was common in Victorian England for second sons of the landed gentry either to take Holy Orders or to join the army, with first-born sons destined to manage the family's estate. Indeed, Taylor's uncle (his father's younger twin) Barrington Taylor, was curate of St. Giles, Ashtead, for forty-six years and chaplain to the inmates of the Epsom Workhouse from 1840-66. ²³ Taylor, however, chose to join the army.

His service in the military was short: he joined the 29th Regiment of Foot as Ensign, by purchase, on 20 January 1854 and was permitted to retire from service by the sale of his commission on 3 October 1856.²⁴ The 29th (Worcestershire) Regiment of Foot was, from 1694 to 1881, an infantry regiment of the British Army serving in Burma and India. Taylor had two years of peace-time service as the regiment was between campaigns. On 23 June 1855 he was made a Lieutenant without purchase, an arrangement which would have secured him a profit.²⁵ In March 1856, he was teaching troops at the School of Musketry at Hythe in the use and practice of the Enfield Rifle before their embarkation for foreign service.²⁶ However, something about the army did not agree with Taylor and whilst based at the Chatham Garrison in October 1856 he resigned from service. Reasons for early release usually involved illness or lack of suitability for regimental life. From his letters in later life to Edward Robson and Philip Webb we know that Taylor was well read, fluent in French and German, and interested in architecture, theology, philosophy, music and the arts: it is likely that the narrow constraints of army life did not suit Taylor.

Upon leaving the army at twenty-one, Taylor was flush with money of his own from the sale of his commission and released from the constraints of battalion life. May Morris wrote that Taylor 'got through his own fortune roaming about the world and enjoying himself'. ²⁷ We know from a letter that Taylor wrote to Philip Webb that he spent time in Hungary and Wallachia. ²⁸ How long he spent abroad is unknown. He does not appear in the records for the 1861 census taken on 7 April. He was back in England to marry twenty-one-year-old Fanny Florence Stent on 21 August 1861 in Kensington. Fanny came from humble origins: she was the eldest child of Henry Stent, a builder, and his wife Fanny. The Stents lived in Frome, Somerset, and had ten children. In a letter to Webb, Taylor described Fanny as 'a woman of exquisite beauty with a heart full of love'. ²⁹

The Taylors settled in London where in the early part of the 1860s Taylor started

to admire the work of the 'Red Lion People', as he called the partners of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. – the company's headquarters being in Red Lion Square, Bloomsbury. Writing to Robson in 1862 or 1863 he noted that 'the beauty of Red Lion woodwork is that you cannot say it has any style – it is original, it has its own style, it is in fact Victorian, it is individual'. 30 Around this time Taylor began to make acquaintance with members of the Morris circle. A large ebonised wooden bookcase in the William Burges Collection at the Higgins Museum, Bedford, led Taylor to Rossetti, and then to Morris.³¹ Attributed to William Burges, the bookcase's upper doors are gilded and painted with a processional frieze of figures personifying the signs of the zodiac. The figure for Capricorn shows a fool (or jester) riding a goat. In his book William Burges and the High Victorian Dream, J. Mordaunt Crook gives a fascinating account of the possible history of the bookcase suggesting that it had been owned by Taylor. Late in 1862 Taylor makes a brief appearance in Burges's diary. A reference to 'Taylor's bookcase' appears in the diary in January 1863, and at the same time Burges includes in his notebooks a sketch for a processional frieze, based on the German legend of a tailor riding a goat. Mordaunt Crook states that this may have been a preliminary draft for Taylor's bookcase and suggests that Dante Gabriel Rossetti was the artist responsible for the painted panels on Taylor's bookcase.³² Evidence comes from two quarters. Firstly, Taylor wrote a letter to Robson in which he states: 'Rossetti has done my panels [...]. The panels are superb.'33 Secondly, the sixth figure from the left on these panels bears a striking resemblance to Rossetti. Evidence shows that Taylor and Morris knew each other as early as the latter part of 1862. In an undated letter to Robson, Taylor writes that the Firm 'are getting out some wallpapers, flowers growing all over trellis work, naturally and birds in bushes, so jolly and no conventionalism' - this was the Trellis wallpaper designed by Morris in November 1862 and printed by Jeffrey and Co. in 1864.34 In the same letter Taylor writes about a visit to Red House: 'I went down to his place yesterday with the wife and I carried the baby five miles from Woolwich. Morris said he disliked flowers treated geometrically stiffly in patterns.' Red House is about five miles as the crow flies from Woolwich and Taylor's daughter – the above-mentioned babe-in-arms – was born on 7 May 1862.

At some time during this period Taylor became employed by Her Majesty's Theatre, not as a check taker as erroneously recorded by Mackail, but as the theatre's bookkeeper. Evidence for this comes from several quarters, most directly in a 1905 letter from Edward Robson to Georgiana Burne-Jones stating that Taylor was the bookkeeper at Her Majesty's Theatre in the Haymarket.³⁵ Other evidence comes in the form of a letter from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham dated 5 July 1864 where Rossetti refers to 'my friend Taylor of HM Theatre'. Rossetti, unable to

make use of Taylor's two reserved pit tickets for a performance by the Italian soprano Mirella Freni, offers them to Allingham. Rossetti reassures Allingham that there is no 'awkwardness about it, as my plan with him, at his own request, has always been to send friends if I wished, instead of going myself'.³⁶ It would seem unlikely that an usher at the theatre would have the benefit of regular reserved tickets. In a letter from Webb to Rossetti, dated 4 March 1865, discussing Taylor's proposed engagement by the Firm, Webb states: 'his salary should not be allowed to be a penny less than he is receiving at present'.³⁷ The business manager's salary at Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. would surely exceed that of a theatre usher. And finally, in a letter to Webb written during the late 1860s, Taylor refers to James Henry Mapleson, manager of Her Majesty's theatre from 1862 to 1867, stating: 'I once did the sauce thing for him' – 'sauce' being slang for money.³⁸

In early 1865 Taylor was in dire straits. He had lost his job at the theatre and, as Mackail diplomatically writes, 'he had been unfortunate in his affairs'. 39 I do not think this refers only to his unemployment. As mentioned earlier, Mackail also described Taylor as 'incapable of taking care of his own affairs, but shrewd and careful in the management of other people's business'. May Morris notes that Taylor, after returning from his travels around the world, 'inherited money a second time and dispersed that also'.40 It seems likely that during the years after his marriage and before his engagement at the Firm, in his enthusiasm for the arts and for beautiful furnishings, Taylor spent beyond his means. This, coupled with the loss of his job, was the misfortune in his affairs referred to by Mackail. In letters to Robson he writes about a large sideboard he wants Robson to design and a round table for 'tea and muffins in plain waxed wood'. 41 He also writes about his heavy coloured desk designed by Seddon.⁴² Commissioning such pieces of furniture would have been expensive and beyond the salary of a bookkeeper. From Robson we learn that Taylor had 'quarrelled irretrievably with his father', and so there was no safety net from his family.⁴³ Robson makes no mention of what the quarrel was about but later, when Taylor's wife left him, he wrote to Webb that he had 'sacrificed all for' her: his father did not approve of his bride.

In a 1905 letter to Georgiana Burne-Jones, Robson sheds light on how Taylor became engaged by the Firm. Robson moved to Liverpool in 1864 to become the city's architect and surveyor and whilst visiting London during the early months of 1865:

I met AWT walking like an absent-minded beggar in Piccadilly. He had lost his position at the theatre and was in direst want, his wife at home starving. Doing what I could, as to temporary help, I wrote him from Liverpool asking him to come to me as Secretary. Just then I was trying to get some of Morris's

glass and decoration for St George's Hall and Morris came to me. On hearing what I proposed, [he] exclaimed decisively, 'That won't do. We cannot let Taylor go out of London.' And it ended with the firm engaging him.⁴⁴

Taylor was astonished by Morris's offer and the generosity and kindness of Robson. He wrote to Robson:

The Red Lion Square affair takes me utterly by surprise. It appears that for some time they have had serious thoughts about me [...] I think I must be able to throw regularity and business habits into their affairs, as also the deep interest I take in the firm would give me an earnest activity in them [...] you know how utterly taken aback I am about this and you my dear good friend – best of friends – there are chances of my doing good service to the firm. ⁴⁵

Thus, Taylor's engagement with the Firm no longer seems such an unlikely recruitment: he had professional skills and experience as a bookkeeper, he was known to Morris and other partners of the Firm as a man of culture and taste who deeply admired the work at Red Lion Square and, following Charles Faulkner's departure into academia, he was in the right place at the right time. He was appointed on 3 March 1865 at a salary of £120 per annum and, as he wrote, he was very grateful for the chance of 'doing good service to the firm'. Asadly, tragedy struck within a few months of Taylor joining the Firm. His only child, the three-year-old Maud, described as 'much loved', died on 6 May 1865. Her death certificate gives the cause of death as whooping cough. Death was a frequent visitor to the Victorian household: during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century nearly one infant in three in England failed to reach the age of five.

Despite this painful event, Taylor took up his appointment at Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. with as much enthusiasm as he could muster under the circumstances. Georgiana Burne-Jones recalled:

Within a few weeks of his appointment the rumour spread amongst us that he was keeping the accounts of the firm like a dragon, attending to the orders of customers, and actually getting Morris to work at one thing at a time.⁵⁰

Taylor's letters to Philip Webb regarding what he felt was wrong in the way the Firm was being run between 1866 and 1869 have often been discussed, and it is not the purpose of this article to recapitulate such discussions.⁵¹ In summary, Taylor felt that Morris was not charging enough for the work undertaken, that some of the partners

were behaving in an unprofessional manner, that deadlines were not adhered to and that there was insufficient capital investment. May Morris wrote of Taylor's endeavours to introduce a more businesslike approach to the workings of the Firm: 'there was perhaps an amateurish element in the conduct of the business of the firm in those days, and it was due to Mr. Taylor's keen comprehension of the situation and the ability with which he pulled things together and put them on a firmer footing that the enterprise did not come to an abrupt finish'. 52 According to John Bruce Glasier, Morris himself admitted that until Taylor came along he 'never understood whether the business was paying its way or not'. 53 During the mid-1860s Morris was not yet the accomplished businessman he was to become over the course of the next two decades. When Taylor joined the Firm Morris had a cushion of private wealth, through the shares his family owned in the Devon Great Consols mine, which gave him the freedom to pursue a Life of Art. In 1865 his annual income from these shares was £682 but by 1870 it had fallen to £187, giving him an impetus during the 1870s to make the business pay, and in early 1874 he would begin negotiations to reconstitute the business under his sole ownership.⁵⁴ Sydney Cockerell recalled that Taylor's wellintentioned advice about improving the workings of the Firm was gratefully accepted: 'Morris and Webb always spoke gratefully and affectionately of Warington Taylor'.55 George Wardle remembered that in 1866 'certainly things were improving and always went forward afterwards'.56

Fiona MacCarthy has described Taylor as a visionary.⁵⁷ It was Taylor who as far back as 1862-63 saw the trend for functionality with lighter furniture: 'what about moveable furniture – light Sir – something you can pull about with one hand', as he put it in a letter to Robson.⁵⁸ He admired the simple light-weight rush-bottomed Sussex chairs he saw at Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co.: 'the old Sussex back chair, the common chair of Red Lion Square is essentially gentlemanly [...] it possesses poetry of simplicity'.⁵⁹ Until the mid-1860s, the furniture produced by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. had been dominated by the type Morris favoured: large, weighty, painted pieces inspired by the medieval period which, due to their massive size and price, were beyond the means of all but the well-to-do.⁶⁰ As MacCarthy noted, it was Taylor's achievement partially to readdress the balance.⁶¹ The ebonised Sussex chair, first marketed in 1865, was within reach of those with a more modest income and would remain in production until the early twentieth century and, as Mackail noted, 'of all the specific minor improvements in common household objects due to Morris, the rush-bottomed Sussex chair takes the first place'. 62 It was also Taylor who was instrumental in what was to become known as The Morris Chair. This reclining chair was a furniture staple of the Firm until it closed its doors in 1940. Taylor found the prototype for the Morris Chair in the workshop of an old carpenter, Ephraim Colman, in Herstmonceux, Sussex. He sketched the chair and sent it to Webb who modified the design slightly. The Morris Chair would go on to become immensely popular; indeed, it would become an icon of the Arts and Crafts Movement and was copied by Liberty, Heal's, and by Frank Lloyd Wright and Gustav Stickley in the United States. Michael Hall notes that Taylor, through a series of letters he had published in *Building News* in early 1865, foresaw the way in which the Gothic revival was to evolve over the next decade and beyond in a return to Englishness.

Taylor's death certificate states he was diagnosed with pulmonary tuberculosis sometime in 1865. It seems likely that the received idea that Taylor retired to Hastings in 1866 and was business manager of the Firm in name only is, in fact, inaccurate.⁶⁵ Evidence shows that he was a regular physical presence at Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. for at least the next two years. Indeed, Taylor first convalesced at Hastings in November 1866 but for at least the next eighteen months he spent only the winter period recuperating on the south coast, and the rest of the time he was in London engaged at first hand with the business. In a letter to Robson dated 27 October 1866 he writes: 'I am off to Hastings at the end of this week - wife and self will remain there during the winter'. 66 It was common practice during the nineteenth century for those suffering with tuberculosis to escape the often-lethal combination of London smog – fog mixed with pollution – during the winter months, provided they had the means to do so. It appears that Taylor was back in London by May 1867 as a letter to Webb, written on 17 May, is addressed from the Firm's address in Queen Square. He was still in London on 12 October 1867, as another letter is addressed from his lodgings at 190 Euston Road, and he is mentioned in William Allingham's diary entry for 16 October 1867, in which Allingham records that Taylor would not go away that winter. Taylor also wrote a letter to Webb at the end of June 1868 from the Euston Road address. In July 1868, he wrote to Webb from Bognor but was back in London during October 1868 putting in time at the Firm when a terrifying incident occurred. Taylor described the incident, a pulmonary haemorrhage, in a letter to Webb:

After leaving the offices today whilst walking for the bus I was seized with fits of coughing and apparently broke a stomach blood vessel – threw up blood copiously from stomach. Feeling of choking, it seems I better not come to London any more nor leave home unattended. I was rather frightened. The feeling of dying in the streets is rather a violent shock – let Morris know this in a quiet way.⁶⁷

From the address given on his subsequent letters to Webb, Taylor remained in London

from November 1868 until his death in February 1870.

Further evidence that Taylor was a presence at the Firm after 1866 can be found through a great misfortune that occurred in Taylor's marriage. On 30 June 1868 he wrote a frank letter to Webb explaining that his wife had been unfaithful to him with other lovers, and that she had left him.⁶⁸ He reflected that 'it was my fault I neglected her for my work I thought she would understand me – she did not poor silly child'.⁶⁹ However, a few weeks later Fanny returned to Taylor.

Tuberculosis was an especially cruel disease if one was the chief breadwinner in the family, as was Taylor: as one's condition declined, it became harder and harder to earn a living even as one's expenses increased. It was necessary to find the money required to purchase medicines and to pay doctors' fees, as well as to cover all the usual day-to-day living expenses. As his body wasted away, the image of degeneration haunted Taylor. He wrote to Webb as follows: 'I have seen so much of down-the-road life, when a man begins to descend in the world he must have unusual moral in his backbone to keep him straight'. He referred to men in advertising sandwich boards: 'sandwiches are often decayed gents. I did a good deal in the descending line myself.' Taylor knew that the spectre of the workhouse was at his door. Were it not for the integrity and kindness of his employers and the fact that his father had reinstated his allowance, Taylor knew he might easily have ended his days in the workhouse. He wrote to Webb in a letter dated November 1868, after his family had given him an allowance of £150 per year:

I cannot help thinking how happy events have been that this illness did not happen before, for I must have died in the workhouse – my father's affairs coming round just in time. He has been exceedingly kind to me and the shop have been to me as perfect angels of goodness.

To Webb, Taylor wrote: 'I am afraid. Afraid at night – the violent coughing – the sickness every night now' and 'my most distinct desire is to end life decently'.⁷⁰ In his last letter to Robson, dated October 1869, Taylor still had hope, but the direction of his hope had changed:

Many thanks for your kind note. As to myself I am one day very ill, the next a little easier – go from bed to sofa – it is long lingering, a sore trial to patience and perseverance. Sympathy my own friend is valuable and right good when subjected to will and duty. I hope and hope for the release of the soul from matter and for peace, rest – the peace I yearn for and fear for but hope – the one thing that holds one – hope.⁷¹

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Taylor died, aged thirty-four, on 12 February 1870 at his home in Turnham Green. According to probate records he left 'effects under £6,000'. His funeral and other expenses of £89 19s were paid by the Firm and personally by Philip Webb.⁷² Webb designed Taylor's gravestone made of Portland stone.⁷³ Six months and one day after Taylor died Fanny married again to a Walter Wieland, described as a gentleman on their marriage certificate. Sydney Cockerell noted a conversation about Fanny with William Rossetti in 1915, writing cryptically that she 'came to a miserable and shameful end ten or twelve years after Warington Taylor's death'.⁷⁴ Cockerell's allusion to Fanny's 'shameful end' can perhaps be explained with reference to the 1881 census where she is recorded as living in a cottage in Millbrook, Hampshire, with a gardener from Hammersmith, nine years her junior. The 'miserable' part is likely solved via Fanny's death certificate: she died on 9 August 1885, aged forty-four, the cause of death listed as cirrhosis of the liver certified twelve years.

NOTES

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- 14. Cambridge Independent Press, 4 October 1845, p. 4.

- 15. Jackson.
- 16. Dent, p. 218.
- 17. An Account of Public Charities in England and Wales: Abridged from the Reports of His Majesty's Commissioners on Charitable Foundations by the Editor of 'The Cabinet Lawyer' (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1828), p. 734.
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- 22. Ibid., XXIII 27.
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- 43. Ibid., XXIII 1.
- 44. Ibid., XXIII 1
- 45. Ibid., XXIII 20.
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