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Messages from the Sea: New Dickens Letters to E. E. and W. D. Morgan

LEON LITVACK

IN 1838 DICKENS WROTE TO J. H. KUENZEL, a German writer, about his origins and early years: 'I was born at Portsmouth, an English Seaport town principally remarkable for mud, Jews, and Sailors'.¹ Such comments serve to emphasise the importance of seafaring in the author's life and work. Indeed he came to value certain qualities which the 'Jack-tar' (or 'Tar' for short)² was meant to embody: openness of feeling, comradeship, self-sacrifice, and yarning.³ A prime example from Dickens's fiction is Captain Silas Jorgan, the hero of *A Message from the Sea*, first published as an extra Christmas number of *All the Year Round* in 1860.⁴ This character was inspired by Dickens's friend Elisha Ely Morgan (?1805-64). Seven new letters from Dickens to Captain E.E. Morgan, and to his son William Dare Morgan (1838-87) have recently come to light, and are published here for the first time. Their existence was brought to the attention of the Dickens Letters project by Robin Morgan Lloyd, a descendant of the Captain, who researched Morgan's history in order to inform his work of historical fiction, *Rough Passage to London: A Sea Captain's Tale*, published in 2013. The letters, which are now in the possession of several Morgan descendants, provide new and vital information concerning the nature of Dickens's relationship with the Morgan family. He liked them immensely, and spent a good deal of time in their company on both sides of the Atlantic; they also proved to be trusted allies in helping to improve the employment prospects of one of Dickens's sons. When read alongside the communications already published in the twelve-volume Pilgrim edition, these new letters clearly demonstrate how much of his personal and professional life Dickens shared with these like-minded people; the letters also confirm the Morgans as amongst Dickens's dearest American friends.

The first new letter (currently in the possession of Robin Lloyd) pushes back the date of their first known correspondence from March 1850 to July 1849, though they clearly knew each other before then.⁵ Morgan (Fig. 1) was from Connecticut, and at an early age joined the Black X Line, famous for its swift-sailing packet ships, which conveyed goods, mails and passengers between London and New York.⁶ He started as a cabin boy in 1822, became first mate in 1829, and Captain in 1831; he commanded a succession of packets, including the *Hudson* (1831-3), The *Philadelphia* (1833-41), the

Hendrik Hudson (1841-3), the *Victoria* (1843-7)⁷, the *Devonshire* (1847-9) and the *Southampton* (1849-51). Among his more notable passengers were Joseph-Napoleon Bonaparte (brother of Napoleon, and at one time the King of Spain),⁸ and the painter Charles Robert Leslie,⁹ through whom Morgan was introduced to other prominent people in the London world of arts and letters, including several mutual friends of Dickens: Clarkson Stanfield, Edwin Landseer and W. M. Thackeray.¹⁰



Fig. 1: Elisha Ely Morgan (1840s). Oil on canvas; artist unknown.
By kind permission of Robin Morgan Lloyd.

While Dickens may well have encountered Morgan in the company of Leslie, he first met the Captain in late 1841, on board the *Hendrik Hudson*, which the author was keen to see, in advance of his first visit to the United States.¹¹ Throughout the 1840s, when Morgan was docked in London, he hosted many notable visitors aboard ship, including Queen Victoria.¹² Dickens had also been Morgan's guest,

and the first new letter expresses regret at his not being able to avail himself of the Captain's legendary hospitality:

Address: Captain E.E. Morgan | New York City | U.S. of America
Bonchurch, Isle of Wight¹³ | Twenty Seventh July 1849.

My Dear Sir

The date of this letter will I hope explain to you why we have not been able to avail ourselves of your kind and welcome invitation, which only arrived here last night.¹⁴

My ladies¹⁵ desire their cordial remembrances to you, and I am always

Very faithfully Yours
CHARLES DICKENS

Captain Morgan

Morgan was an affable companion: his daughter recalled that 'His humour was of the dry Yankee type, and his jokes and stories, of which he always had an unfailing supply, had always a flavour of the keen New England air'.¹⁶ Clearly this was part of what attracted Dickens, who used a funny story told to him by Morgan in several public speeches.¹⁷ The Captain not only entertained good friends like Dickens while his ship was docked; he also facilitated short voyages for them – either to Gravesend or Portsmouth – when he was returning to New York. These are the circumstances behind the second new letter (in the possession of Rev. Edward Morgan), in which Dickens confirms that he and his artist friends will join the *Southampton* on Tuesday 30 July 1850 for the journey from St Katharine Docks to Gravesend. It reads as follows:

Devonshire Terrace | Twenty Sixth July, 1850.

My Dear Captain Morgan.

Many thanks for your note. I purpose coming down on Tuesday, by the train which leaves town at 2, bringing Mr. Stone,¹⁸ Mr. Egg,¹⁹ (I dare say you know his pictures) and perhaps my own Illustrator, Mr. Browne,²⁰ with me. If the weight of our united intellects should not be too much for the *Southampton*,²¹ we shall be happy to go on to Gravesend.

Always Believe me
Faithfully Yours
CHARLES DICKENS

Dickens undertook this journey more than once, in the company of friends. In 1851 he travelled with Thackeray, whose daughter Anne recalled Dickens's buoyant mood, 'talking, arranging everything, in spirits gaily delightful [...] mysteriously dominant'.²² Charles Leslie's daughter Harriet, who was also a member of this party, wrote to

Morgan afterwards to say that ‘Dickens was in the best humour in the world’ after the voyage. These were clearly less formal occasions than the London dockside entertainments: Harriet Leslie assured Morgan that on their next trip, ‘We will have Dickens, Thackeray, and a blaze of genius, and not a single person or party of high principles admitted’.²³

Whether there was ever another river excursion is unclear, because Morgan made his last transatlantic crossing in 1851. He gave up seafaring to become a director of the Black X Line, and he eventually acquired sole ownership. By 1855 his personal fortune was estimated to be \$200,000.²⁴ His English friends missed him,²⁵ though he kept in touch by letter, and sent them gifts, such as barrels of apples,²⁶ and cigars (which Dickens called his ‘Morgans’).²⁷ The cigars in particular were an important reminder for Dickens of his strong bond with Morgan, and of how deeply the Captain penetrated his emotional and creative life. This may be seen in Dickens’s pledge to Morgan that he would ‘inaugurate the first chapter of the next book [...] by fumigating it in MS with a Cigar reserved from this very box’.²⁸

The next new letter (currently in the possession of Robin Lloyd) was written after Dickens had published *A Message from the Sea*, and had informed Morgan that he had endowed his ‘sea-going Hero’ (Captain Jorgan) with ‘a touch or two of remembrance of Somebody you know’.²⁹ The letter demonstrates that by the early 1860s Dickens wished to extend to Morgan’s children – in particular to his son – the same affection that he had shown towards their father. William Dare Morgan (Fig. 2) was born in New York City, and spent his youth in Saybrook, Connecticut. After graduating from Yale University in 1858, he joined his father’s shipping business. In order to safeguard the family’s business interests during the American Civil War, he spent most of the years 1861-4 in London, at the ship and insurance brokerage firm of Grinnell, Tinker & Morgan, located at 7 Leadenhall Street.³⁰ It was during these years that he saw a good deal of Dickens and his family, who had eagerly anticipated his arrival.³¹ The form of address used in this first known letter to William indicates that Dickens did not know him well, and was perhaps meeting him for the first time:

3 Hanover Terrace, Regents Park N.W.³²
Friday Eighth February 1861

My Dear Sir

We are in town for the season, at this address. If you have no better engagement for Sunday than to join our family dinner at 6 o’clock (exactly) we shall be truly glad to see you.

Faithfully Yours
CHARLES DICKENS

W. D. Morgan Esquire

By late June 1861 William had visited Gad's Hill, and had communicated his father's view that the Union would triumph in the



Fig. 2: William Dare Morgan (1850s). Steel engraving by John Chester Buttre.
By kind permission of Robin Morgan Lloyd.

War – a topic which greatly interested Dickens.³³ In October William's sisters Ruth (1841-83) and Mary (1844-1903) had arrived in England as part of a European tour. The three of them (who were all 'brought up to know Dickens by heart') attended the author's reading in Colchester, and met him privately afterwards. Mary recalled that what impressed her most about Dickens was 'his power of putting himself in complete sympathy with other people [...] he was literally[...] a boy beyond compare in exuberance of mirth, quickness of wit, and inexhaustible capacity for happiness'³⁴ – much as he had been on the river trips with her father.

The strength of the friendship between Dickens and the Morgan family may be appreciated from certain heartfelt remarks in the letters to the Captain, such as 'Your genial earnestness does me good to think of',³⁵ and 'I really cannot tell you how highly and heartily I esteem your friendship'.³⁶ The greatest testament to the strength of their bond is confirmed in a pair of new letters from Dickens to W. D. Morgan (or 'Will', as Dickens came to call him),³⁷ written in March 1863. They

bear out the confidence he placed in the twenty-five-year-old shipping broker, and indicate how impressed he was with young Morgan's maturity, independence and good counsel – all factors which he found lacking in his own sons. The letters concern the author's son Francis Jeffrey Dickens (1844-86), whose career path was a cause for concern for his father. By 1859 Frank had given up any thought of a medical career on account of his stammer, and he expressed a wish to become a 'gentleman farmer' in the colonies.³⁸ Dickens seems to have recognised Frank's desire to travel and work abroad, and so the boy was given opportunities to master European languages – with a view to working for the Foreign Office, or in international business. Frank was sent to France and Germany, and then worked in the same City office where his brother Charley had been employed.³⁹ While he privately called him 'that unaccountable, uninteresting, and impracticable boy',⁴⁰ Dickens did wish to make every effort to help Frank. Through the father's influence, the boy was, in 1862, nominated for the Foreign Office by Lord John Russell (then Foreign Secretary), but by March 1863 no appointment was forthcoming.⁴¹ Dickens therefore wrote to Will with a new idea:

OFFICE OF ALL THE YEAR ROUND,
Friday Thirteenth March 1863

My Dear Morgan

I think you may perhaps be able to help me in a matter I have at heart, and if you can, I am sure you will.

You know my son Frank, and you know that he is waiting for a Foreign Office vacancy. How long he may wait, Heaven knows; in the mean time he is tired of waiting, and I am still more tired of seeing him wait. I have not enough for him to do here, and he wants to be roused up, and thrown upon his own resources, and regularly employed in some routine duty. I should like him to go a long voyage,⁴² but that seems a difficult thing to attain just now: so I should like him to go a short voyage,⁴³ in default of a better. But it is essential that he should be employed aboard ship, and should not go as a gentleman-idler.

Could he go out to America in one of your vessels, and be set to work on board in any clerk-like capacity? Of course I propose to pay for him, but I want him to be kept at work on some pretence or other as if he were earning and fighting his own way.

This is the whole case. My son Charley will be very glad to confer with you upon it, if you think you can see any way towards the end I have before me.

Always Faithfully Yours
CHARLES DICKENS

W. D. Morgan Esquire

The letter (currently in the possession of Robin Lloyd) outlines in clear detail both how Dickens felt about his son's prospects, and about how he thought the Morgans could help.⁴⁴ The idea was to get Frank to engage in what might now be called 'make-work' or 'busy-work' – that is, tasks designed to give him the impression that he was usefully employed, in order to pass the time on the voyage to America, which could last nearly two weeks on the westward journey, and a week on the eastward crossing.

Dickens wrote again less than a week later, thanking Will for agreeing to the venture, and putting practical arrangements in place to ensure its effective implementation:

Address: W.D. Morgan Esquire

OFFICE OF ALL THE YEAR ROUND,
Thursday Nineteenth March 1863.

My Dear Morgan.

I should not find it easy to tell you if I tried – and I am not going to try – how very much obliged to you I feel for your prompt assistance and sound good sense in the matter of Frank. I do not write for any such impracticable purpose, but merely to advise you that Charley will give you my cheque for £20, for remittance to your good father.⁴⁵ If he will kindly undertake (as you suggest he will) to provide the boy with money according to his – your father's – discretion, I shall have a far higher reliance on its being a sound one in such a case, than I should have upon the soundness of my own. Nor should I think of questioning the expedience and advantage of any drafts that your father⁴⁶ might draw upon me, if he were satisfied that they were to Frank's real advantage.

This is not a likely time, I fear, for any thing to open out before Frank in America. If he could find any suitable way of life there, he would be better there than here; but if no such thing, or hope of it, comes to pass, I suppose he will return aboard the same ship. What I hope you will let your father know, with my love, is, that I send him out with perfect confidence in the novelty and discipline – and, not least of all, the check of having his money in such good keeping – doing him lasting service any way.

Faithfully Yours ever
CHARLES DICKENS

W.D. Morgan Esquire

There is a sense in the letter (currently in the possession of Robin Lloyd) that Dickens is resorting to desperate measures in order to secure Frank's future. It seems that Frank cannot be trusted with money, and so the responsibility for its effective disbursement is given over to the Morgans. Dickens also admits that he cannot trust himself to act prudently in matters relating to his son's finances. He was also

concerned about the timing of this voyage, on account of the American Civil War: not only was the economy severely affected by the conflict, but Confederate cruisers patrolled the Atlantic coast, attacking Union merchant and naval vessels.⁴⁷

Frank Dickens sailed to the United States, in the company of Will Morgan, some time after 19 March 1863; he was back in England by 5 July.⁴⁸ The ship on which they sailed out is not recorded, though Dickens is known to have visited the Black X Line's flagship, the *Amazon*, on 3 June 1863, the day before it left London for New York, carrying nearly nine hundred Mormon emigrants to the United States.⁴⁹ His observations were published in *The Uncommercial Traveller* on 4 July 1863, though there is no mention in the narrative of any crew member except the captain, so it is impossible to determine if the two young men were on board.⁵⁰ On 6 July Dickens wrote to Captain Morgan, to thank him for his kindness, and to say that Frank ('The Traveller') had returned, and was once again preparing for the Foreign Office competition.⁵¹

Dickens's patience with his son must have been tested to its limit through the summer and autumn of 1863 – particularly when Frank's pursuit of a place in the diplomatic service (which had dragged on for a year and a half) ended in failure. These sentiments are evoked in the next new letter (currently in the possession of Robin Lloyd) to Will:

OFFICE OF ALL THE YEAR ROUND,
Monday Second November, 1863

My Dear Morgan.

I am afraid this note may anticipate your return, but it will be none the worse for lying at your office for a while.

Frank has come out second, for the second time, in the competitive examination, and has therefore lost the Foreign Office for good; — or it would be more to the purpose to say, for bad.⁵²

He wants to be sent to try his fortune 'somewhere in the New World.' I am so completely at a loss to know where to send him with any one hope of his alighting on his legs, that I have been casting about in my mind for some sound adviser. Your means of knowing the ins and outs of such a matter are as good as anybody's whom I know and I⁵³ rely upon your good sense quite as much as on your readiness. I should very much like to have some talk with you at your convenience about him.

Faithfully Yours always
CHARLES DICKENS

W.D. Morgan Esquire

Once again, Dickens considers Will to have both the experience and sound judgement which could help Frank settle on a suitable destination where he could gain the kind of advancement which would

be apposite for the son, and agreeable to the father. It is, however, unclear whether any meeting between Will and Frank ever took place, because Dickens's approach to Morgan was only one of the strategies he explored to settle this conundrum. On 15 November 1863 Dickens wrote to Thomas George Baring (who was then Under Secretary of State at the India Office), and on 2 December he was able to tell Cecil Beadon (the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal) that Frank had decided to join the Bengal Mounted Police.⁵⁴ He finally left England for the Subcontinent on 20 December.

While there must have been contact between Dickens and the Morgan family in the wake of the Captain's death in April 1864, the next surviving letters were written while Dickens was in the United States on a reading tour in 1867-8. Will stayed with Dickens in Boston,⁵⁵ and his mother sent the author 'the finest and costliest basket of flowers ever seen'.⁵⁶ Will also became engaged at this time to Angelica Livingston Hoyt (1847-1933), of Staatsburg, New York, the daughter of a wealthy New York merchant.⁵⁷ This happy event is the occasion for the final new letter:

Address: W.D. Morgan Esquire | 70 South Street | New York City
Albany,⁵⁸ Thursday Nineteenth March | 1868

My Dear Morgan

I most heartily congratulate you on your happiness. None of your old and true friends can be more deeply interested in it than your undersigned correspondent and all the household at Gad's Hill. I look forward to being presented to Miss Hoyt, and to welcoming her, beforehand, to my Household Gods and Goddesses: — you know how warmly.

Dolby,⁵⁹ I, and our three men,⁶⁰ will mount guard over you all the way to Liverpool: and I mean to report to Miss Hoyt from the other side what excellent care we took of you. The Gasman (as the most reliable)⁶¹ already has orders — tell Miss Hoyt from me — never to take his eye off you, day or night.

All good be with you, and with the object of your love. With best wishes for both, Believe me always

Affectionately Yours
CHARLES DICKENS

Dickens wrote the letter (currently in the possession of Mrs Gerald Morgan) in response to a note sent to him by Will, announcing his engagement to Angelica Hoyt, confirming the author's promise to dine with him on 21 April (the day before he sailed for England), and saying that he would be accompanying Dickens on the voyage.⁶² When he left New York, Dickens was ferried from shore aboard Will's private tugboat⁶³ to the Cunard steamer *Russia*; together they travelled back to England.⁶⁴

There are no further letters extant from Dickens to Will Morgan, and it is unclear whether the author ever met his wife Angelica. This last letter of 1868 attests to Dickens's warm and genuine affection for his young friend, and his wish to include him and his new wife in the Dickens circle. The friendship between Will and Charley, established in the course of pooling efforts to assist Frank, continued after Dickens's death. Two letters survive from Charley to Will, written in 1882 and 1886; both feature family news, as well as words of appreciation for gifts of pippins from America.⁶⁵ Thus Will carried on the tradition established by his father, of offering tokens which would recall for the recipient the strong bonds of friendship which bound these two families together.

The seven letters published here for the first time add significantly to our knowledge of the terms of the relationship between Dickens and both E. E. and W. D. Morgan. He saw them as not only congenial companions and trusted allies, but also as people who personified the ideals he embodied in the protagonist of *A Message from the Sea*: 'He was an American born, was Captain Jorgan – a New Englander – but he was a citizen of the world, and a combination of most of the best qualities of most of its best countries'.⁶⁶

I am extremely grateful to Robin Morgan Lloyd for sharing the Morgan correspondence and portraits with me, and for providing me with much useful background information on the Morgan family. I am also grateful to Mark Dickens for granting permission to examine Dickens's account at Coutts's Bank.

¹Pilgrim Letters 1, p. 423.

²This was a common term for seamen of the Merchant or Royal Navy in the Victorian period. See John Laffin, *Jack Tar: The Story of the British Sailor* (London: Cassell, 1969).

³Anthea Trodd, 'Collaborating in Open Boats: Dickens, Collins, Franklin, and Bligh', *Victorian Studies* 42.2 (1999-2000): 210.

⁴*A Message from the Sea, All the Year Round* Extra Christmas Number, December 1860. The primary authors were Dickens and Wilkie Collins; the other collaborators were Charles Allston Collins, Harriet Parr, Henry Chorley (or possibly R. Buchanan), and Amelia Edwards. For a complete record of contributions to the narrative see Harry Stone, 'Dickens Rediscovered: Some Lost Writings Retrieved', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 24.4 (1970): 527-48.

⁵See, for example, Dickens's comment to Catherine in January 1849: 'I look forward to receiving some stupendous anecdotes of the Captain' (Pilgrim Letters 5, p. 470).

⁶The Black X Line, founded by John Griswold, ran between New York and London from 1824 to 1868. Its name derived from the ships' flying a house flag with a black 'X' on a red background. Before their eclipse by steamships, the American packets were unmatched for speed and reliability. See Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *Square-Riggers on Schedule: The New York Sailing Packets to England, France, and the Cotton Ports* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), and Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Jenny Barnes Pope, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939).

⁷The *Victoria* was named for the Queen, whose effigy was affixed to the prow of the ship. See 'The New American Line-Ship Victoria', *Illustrated London News*, 12 August 1843, p. 108.

⁸See [Mary Frances Armstrong], 'A Yankee Tar and His Friends', *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 14 [1877]: 762-3.

⁹Leslie sailed to the United States in 1833 aboard Morgan's ship the *Philadephia*, and returned to England with Morgan the following year. See William J. Carlton, 'Captain Morgan – *Alias* Jorgan', *Dickensian* 53 (1957): 76. For further details of the friendship between Leslie and Morgan see Robert C. Leslie, 'With Charles Leslie, R.A.', *Temple Bar* 107 (1896): 367-9.

¹⁰Morgan also knew J. M. W. Turner and Sydney Smith. Through Leslie's efforts Morgan was admitted in an honorary capacity to the London Sketching Club, whose members included the Chalon brothers and Clarkson Stanfield. The activities of the club are described by Robert Leslie (pp. 363-5).

¹¹Dickens was invited by Morgan to dine with him in the company of their mutual acquaintance, the cattle breeder William Sotham, who had crossed the Atlantic on board Morgan's ship the *Philadephia*. See *Pilgrim Letters* 2, p. 52, note 2.

¹²See Albion, p. 156, and Albion and Pope, p. 50. In her biographical sketch of E. E. Morgan, his daughter notes that when he was docked in London he issued breakfast invitations to guests 'ranging from royalty itself through the world of art and letters to the choice circle of personal friends' (Armstrong, p. 763; see also Carlton, p. 76). The *Illustrated London News* reported on a gala international luncheon aboard the *Victoria* on 5 August 1842, and the 'very hospitable reception' given to the guests by Captain Morgan ('The New American Line-Ship *Victoria*', p. 108).

¹³Dickens was on the Isle of Wight with his family from 26 July to 1 October.

¹⁴Morgan captained the *Southampton* on its inaugural voyage across the Atlantic in June 1849. It docked at Gravesend on 6 July ('Money-Market and City Intelligence', *Times*, 6 July 1849), and then travelled on to London. It left London for the return journey to New York on 28 July ('Regular Line of Packets between London and New York', *Times*, 4 June 1849).

¹⁵Catherine Dickens and Georgina Hogarth.

¹⁶Armstrong, p. 770.

¹⁷See *Pilgrim Letters* 6, p. 66, note 3, and *Letters* 6, p. 832. See also *The Speeches of Charles Dickens*, ed. K. J. Fielding (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988), pp. 113, 364-5.

¹⁸Frank Stone.

¹⁹Augustus Egg.

²⁰Hablot Knight Browne ('Phiz').

²¹Morgan took command of the *Southampton*, a packet ship belonging to the Black X Line, in June 1849. On this particular voyage the ship returned to New York from Gravesend on 31 July ('Ship News', *Times*, 1 August 1850).

²²Anne Thackeray Ritchie, *From the Porch* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1913), p. 35.

²³Quoted in Armstrong, pp. 764, 765, and in Carlton, p. 77.

²⁴Albion, pp. 138, 339.

²⁵Dickens wrote to Morgan in December 1852, to say 'All your friends here, have been quite amazed at your not sailing over the salt sea, backward and forward, perpetually. For when you began to talk about retiring from the watery plough, we all said "Lord bless you, he is going to begin to be *always* aboard ship now"; but our wisdom was at fault' (*Pilgrim Letters* 6, p. 832). Armstrong reproduces a letter from Leslie to Morgan in which he writes of the author's enthusiasm for their mutual friend: 'I sat next Dickens [*sic*] at a dinner-party lately, and he would talk of no one else' (p. 771).

²⁶Ritchie, p. 35.

²⁷See *Pilgrim Letters* 6, p. 832 (22 December 1852); *Letters* 8, p. 453 (24 September 1857); *Letters* 9, p. 360 (3 January 1861); *Letters* 10, p. 268 (6 July 1863).

²⁸*Pilgrim Letters* 8, p. 453; dated 4 September 1857. Dickens's next novel was *A Tale of Two Cities*.

²⁹*Pilgrim Letters* 9, p. 360; dated 3 January 1861.

³⁰*Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University, Deceased during the Academical Year ending in June 1887* (New Haven: Tuttle, Moorehouse & Taylor, 1887), p. 388.

³¹Dickens wrote to Morgan: 'We have always been expecting to receive some intelligence of your son. Pray let me know whether he has come to London, or is coming' (*Pilgrim Letters* 9, p. 360; dated 3 January 1861). W. D. Morgan celebrated Christmas and New Year 1862-3 at Gad's Hill (*Pilgrim Letters* 10, p. 190; dated 6 January 1863).

³²Dickens rented this property from 14 February to 15 June 1861, so that his daughter Mamie could enjoy the London 'Season' (see *Pilgrim Letters* 9, p. 382; dated 1 February 1861).

³³*Pilgrim Letters* 9, p. 433; dated 1 July 1861. See also letter to Forster in *Pilgrim Letters* 9, p. 433; dated 1 July 1861.

³⁴See M[ary] F[rances] Armstrong, 'Our Letter', *St Nicholas: Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys* 4 (1877): 438, 439. See also *Pilgrim Letters* 9, pp. 490, 491-2 (dated 31 October and 1 November 1861) and *Letters* 10, p. 34 (dated 10 February 1862).

³⁵*Pilgrim Letters* 7, p. 571; dated 19 March 1855.

³⁶*Pilgrim Letters* 8, p. 566; dated 20-22 May 1858.

³⁷*Pilgrim Letters* 10, p. 268; dated 6 July 1863.

³⁸*Pilgrim Letters* 8, p. 71; dated 31 May 1859.

³⁹*Pilgrim Letters* 9, pp. 247, 351; dated 3 May and 21 December 1860. Dickens also took him on periodically at the offices of *All the Year Round*, because he thought for a time that Frank had a 'natural literary taste' (*Pilgrim Letters* 9, p. 383; dated 1 February 1861. See also *Letters* 10, p. 191; dated 8 January 1863).

⁴⁰*Pilgrim Letters* 9, p. 439; dated 12 July 1861.

⁴¹See *Pilgrim Letters* 10, p. 133; dated 3 October 1862. See also *Letters* 10, pp. 194-5 (dated 17 January 1863), in which Dickens asks Lord Brougham (who had been Lord Chancellor in the 1830s) if a post could be obtained for Frank in the Registrar's Office.

⁴²Thus in MS.

⁴³Thus in MS.

⁴⁴Compare this appeal for assistance in advancing Frank's career with the one made by Mamie Dickens to her father's friend Lord Dufferin in the 1870s; see Leon Litvack, 'Dickens, Irish Friends, and Family Ties: New Letters to James Emerson Tennent and Lord Dufferin', *Dickensian* 110.1 (2014): 51.

⁴⁵Dickens paid W. D. Morgan £20 on 23 March 1863 (Dickens's account, Coutts's Bank). I am grateful to Tracey Earl (Archivist, Wealth Division Brand Communications, Coutts's Bank) for granting access to Dickens's account.

⁴⁶'He' cancelled; 'your father' added over caret.

⁴⁷The *CSS Alabama*, for example, burnt ten Union ships whilst on a raid in the waters off New England in October-November 1862, and the *CSS Tallahassee* set fire to one of Morgan's own packet ships, the *Adriatic*, on 12 August 1864. See 'America', *Times*, 29 August 1864. See also Paul H. Silverstone, *Civil War Navies, 1855-1883* (London: Routledge, 2006), and Raimondo Luraghi, *A History of the Confederate Navy* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996).

⁴⁸There is no mention of Frank in Dickens's surviving correspondence of this period. The *Pilgrim* editors surmised (incorrectly) that 'Frank may have been escorting Morgan's son Will on a tour round England' (*Pilgrim Letters* 10, p. 268, note 4).

⁴⁹'Ship News', *Times*, 5 June 1863. See also volume 4 of *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism*, ed. Michael Slater and John Drew (London: J. M. Dent, 2000), pp. 248-9, for contextual information regarding the *Amazon* and its passengers.

⁵⁰[Charles Dickens], *The Uncommercial Traveller, All the Year Round* 9 (4 July 1863), pp. 444-9. This narrative carried the title 'Bound for the Great Salt Lake' when it was published in the Charles Dickens Edition in 1868.

⁵¹*Pilgrim Letters* 10, p. 268.

⁵²By the early 1860s admission to the Foreign Office required not only nomination by the Foreign Secretary, but also success in an examination that included handwriting; English and French dictation; translation of French into English and vice versa; spoken French; translation in one of German, Latin, Spanish, or Italian; writing a précis; geography; and modern history since 1789. See Ray Jones, *The Nineteenth-Century Foreign Office: An Administrative History* (London: London School of Economics, 1971), p. 43. A new appointee was unwaged for the first five years of service. Frank Dickens's stammer may have been a factor in his failure.

⁵³Written after 'your' cancelled.

⁵⁴*Pilgrim Letters* 10, 314, 319.

⁵⁵See *Pilgrim Letters* 11, p. 488; dated 24 November 1867.

⁵⁶*Pilgrim Letters* 11, p. 513; dated 16 December 1867. See also letter to Eliza Morgan

in *Letters* 11, p. 510; dated 14 December 1867.

⁵⁷Lydig Monson Hoyt (1821-68).

⁵⁸Dickens read in Tweddle Hall, Albany, on 18 and 19 March.

⁵⁹George Dolby, Dickens's reading tour manager from 1866.

⁶⁰Aside from Dolby, the staff Dickens brought with him from England included Henry Scott (his valet), Richard Kelly (who arranged the preliminaries in each venue), and George Allison (the gasman). Kelly was discharged for speculating on tickets; see *Pilgrim Letters* 12, pp. 62, 96; dated 1-3 and 17 April 1869.

⁶¹Dickens called George Allison 'the steadiest and most reliable man I ever employed' (*Pilgrim Letters* 12, p. 92; dated 7 April 1868).

⁶²*Pilgrim Letters* 12, p. 78, note 4. The original of this letter from Will Morgan to Dickens is in the Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College; it appears on the same page as a letter Dickens wrote to Georgina Hogarth, dated 19 March 1868.

⁶³'Departure of Mr Dickens from the United States'. *Times*, 5 May 1868.

⁶⁴The *Russia* was the Cunard Line's first high-speed screw-propelled steamer. It docked in Liverpool on 2 May, after a brief stop in Queenstown (now Cobh); see 'Mercantile Ship News', *The Standard*, 4 May 1868.

⁶⁵The letters, dated 6 February 1882 and 24 November 1886, are in the possession of Robin Lloyd.

⁶⁶*A Message from the Sea*, p. 1.