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## THE MAN WHO WAS WALTER

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*By John Patrick Pattinson*

His tall upright figure and quick penetrating glance indicate the man of energy and decision, and those who are most intimately acquainted with him know best that these qualities are combined with a large measure of kindness and breadth of view, and a readiness to be of use to such as are brought into contact with him in official capacity and in private life. (*Biograph* 158)

IT IS MY PURPOSE to demonstrate that the above paragraph, published in 1880, is a description of the man who wrote *My Secret Life*, the man who called himself Walter. I shall be very little concerned with literary or psychological analysis. I intend simply to present the process of research which led me to conclude, beyond reasonable doubt, that I have discovered the identity of the author, then to summarize such biographical information as I have been able to obtain from contemporary sources or archival records, and to comment, where necessary, on the correspondences or differences between Walter's narrative and the real man's outer life.

There are few external clues to Walter's identity. Such clues as there are can be found in Stephen Marcus's *The Other Victorians* (79) and in G. Legman's Introduction to the authoritative Grove Press edition of *My Secret Life* in 1966 (xxxv).<sup>1</sup> Both cite the publisher Charles Carrington, who in his 1902 catalog describes how, about the year 1888, an Amsterdam bookseller and publisher was summoned to London by a rich old Englishman who wanted six copies printed of his enormous manuscript, which contained "in the fullest detail all the secret venereal thoughts of his existence" (xxxv). A few years later, says Carrington, this "eccentric amateur shuffled off the mortal coil" (xxxv). That information is not much help in identifying Walter, but Legman also quotes an underground catalog called *Paris Galant*, which in its issues of 1910 and 1912, advertises the "Modern Casanova Memoirs" of the "Well. Knonn celebrates Col. W." (lvii). Legman thinks that this may refer to "some British celebrity then in the news, but now unidentifiable" (lviii), and he believes that the initial "W" refers to Walter. Legman, however, is also firmly convinced that Walter's real identity was that of "Pisanus Fraxi," the erotic bibliographer Henry Spencer Ashbee (1834–1900), whose birth was far too late to fit the chronological evidence within the work itself.<sup>2</sup> Legman was mistaken about Ashbee, but he was quite

correct in guessing that the “Col. W.” may refer to a prominent Victorian, who, as I shall show, is no longer unidentifiable.

The external clues being so sparse, anyone seeking to identify the author must examine the internal evidence, beginning with the chronology of events, Walter’s social status, and the location of his boyhood home.

The chronology presents little difficulty. Walter says that he was married in his twenty-sixth year (362), and it is evident that he had been married for a number of years before what is clearly London’s Great Exhibition of 1851 (823). Then he narrates Gertrude’s story, which he heard “two years after the Battle Solferino and I was then entering into middle age” (1274). Therefore, since the Battle of Solferino was in 1859, he heard Gertrude’s story in 1861. These dates, in conjunction with Walter’s confession a little later (1392) that he is forty-two years old, provide clear indications that he must have been born within a few years of 1820. Stephen Marcus has suggested the year 1822 (87), which turns out, in the light of my own research, to have been remarkably prescient.

With regard to Walter’s social status, it is clear from the description of his early memories of a large house with horses and grooms (18), and from his accounts of visits to his aunt’s manor house (106), that he is related to members of the landed gentry, though he and his immediate family are very much poor relations, largely because his father’s untimely death has left his mother with little money to support her three remaining children (57). Walter originally attended a public school (a private boarding school), but after his father’s death he goes to a local school (57). He says that he planned to become an army officer (63), but after inheriting money at the age of twenty-one he gives up his commission (194) and later has an unspecified occupation, which he deliberately obscures (396). He also belongs to London clubs (1219) and travels widely all his life, sometimes in Britain but more often abroad.

Locating the community in which Walter lived during his adolescence presented greater difficulties, but it was crucial to the search for Walter himself. Both Gordon Grimley and Donald Thomas, in the introductions to their respective editions of *My Secret Life*, while agreeing that Ashbee could not have been the author, believe that Walter’s home was in the East End of London (Grimley 8; Thomas xvii). This belief is based on their interpretation of some ambiguous details in Walter’s account of a visit which he makes with his friend Henry to Henry’s father’s gun-making factory in the “East End of London” (125). But, as I shall show, Walter’s home cannot have been there. He was simply visiting that factory with Henry, who lived in the same suburban community as Walter.

Walter sometimes calls this community his “village” (75), sometimes his “suburb” (143), and although he never mentions its name, there are scattered clues to its location in the early volumes of *My Secret Life*. He says that his family had come “to a small house nearer London” (57), and that one of his aunts lived “about one hour’s walk from us” (65) and “in the best quarter of London” (73), which then and even now would be the West End, mainly Mayfair. Since one hour’s walk in city conditions would probably be four miles at the most, I found that a four-mile radius on the map of London, with Berkeley Square at the center, would include Hampstead to the north, Hammersmith to the west, the Tower of London and Wapping Dock to the east, and the Surrey suburbs to the south. Further clues helped to narrow the search. Walter says, “Between London and our suburb, there were some lengths of road bounded by fields and only lighted feebly by oil-lamps” (143). This would eliminate the Wapping Dock and the East End generally, between

which and the West End there were no longer fields, even in the 1830's (Moule 107). Other clues served to pin-point the locations. The first is that Walter says, "There was a canal through our village" (505). Of the several canals in the London area at that time (Hadfield 97–98), the Regents Canal, to the north, was less than two miles away from Mayfair and hence too close to fit Walter's "one hour's walk." This left only two possible canals at that period: the Paddington Canal to the west and the Grand Surrey Canal to the Southeast, but since the Paddington Canal then ran through no discernible villages or suburbs, the Grand Surrey Canal was the only acceptable choice. This canal, filled up in 1972 (*Story of Peckham* 9), then ran along the northern edge of Camberwell, with a branch into Peckham, one mile to the east. One further clue was decisive. Walter says, "There was a fair held not far from us at that time" (180). There had been fairs at both these neighboring communities, but the Peckham fair had been abolished in 1827 (Dyos 33), whereas the fair on Camberwell Green continued until 1855 (Besant 126). This meant that the fair in Walter's adolescence could only have been the one at Camberwell. Moreover, the 1841 map by Benjamin Rees Davies shows fields between Camberwell and the Vauxhall Bridge over the Thames (Barker 112–13). Still another clue is Walter's remark that when he and a girl visited Vauxhall Gardens, they sometimes "walked instead of riding home" (520), and since Camberwell was less than two miles from Vauxhall Gardens, they could have done this quite easily. All these clues — the distance from Mayfair, the fields, the canal, the fair, the proximity of Vauxhall — provided clear indications that Camberwell was the place where Walter grew up.

Having determined that this was the right location, I obtained a copy of an 1842 map of Camberwell (Dewhurst) and visited the area, trying to locate Walter's house from his descriptions (57, 498). But the task was hopeless. Camberwell, which is now part of Greater London, has been vastly developed and rebuilt since the 1840s, with very few of the early nineteenth-century houses still standing. Even in 1841, according to the scholarly study by H. J. Dyos, the population of the sub-district of Camberwell was 14,176 (55). I wondered whether this could possibly be Walter's "village." But the 1841 census, the first British census recording individual names, does call it "The Village of Camberwell" (Census 107/1050/3), though Camberwell was in fact already a prosperous suburb, including among its residents two near-contemporaries of Walter's, Robert Browning (1812–1889) and John Ruskin (1819–1900). In 1841 the artisans, tradesmen, and laborers lived mainly to the north and northeast of Camberwell Green, while the middle class residents, the independents and professionals, lived mainly to the south of the Green and to the immediate east of it, near St. Giles Parish Church. Moreover, since the census shows the occupations of the residents, and since the Rates Books (property tax records) indicate financial status, I was able to concentrate my search on the better areas. Even so, trying to find Walter's family proved an impossible task. Walter says that after his father's death he lived with his mother, one sister, and "little brother Tom," another sister having been adopted by an aunt (57), but after studying and recording the profiles of scores of households, I had to abandon the search. Walter might not still be living at home in 1841, and since he says that he has "mystified family affairs" (9), I could not be sure that his family profile was accurate. He could even have invented his father's death.

I then turned my attention instead to ways of locating Walter indirectly. One was through his reference to a man called Courtauld, who was, he says, "our next door neighbour" (151). J. H. Plumb, in his review of the Grove Press edition in the *New York*

*Times Book Review*, believed that this name “should be easy to trace” (Plumb 1), but I knew, from Walter’s own warning in the Preface, that the real name, instead of being Courtauld, was much more likely to be one “phonetically resembling it” (9). I was therefore delighted to discover that a man called Courthope had been resident in Camberwell in 1851. But I could find no trace of him there in 1841.

A second indirect approach was through Walter’s cousin Fred and Fred’s widowed mother’s manor house, supposedly in Hertfordshire. Forgetting Walter’s other warning in the Preface that the names of counties might not be the true ones (10), I spent much time studying Hertfordshire County histories in an attempt to find a family like Fred’s, with a widowed Lady of the Manor and a young son in the army. I also tried to identify the farm woman at this manor called Pender, with whom Walter has an affair and whom he gets pregnant, but my researches here were equally in vain.

After the pursuit of these and other red herrings, I began to consider the reasons for Walter’s studied secrecy, particularly about his occupation, which he says he will “obscure” (396). He is quite open in his Preface about his fear of publicity, thinking that even “professed libertines” may condemn him for certain things he has done, certain “temporary aberrations” (9). But who were these readers whom he both feared and expected? If he had a wife and family, they would almost certainly never see his clandestinely published book, but it might well be read and talked about by a member of one of his clubs. He says, in fact, that he destroyed a large chunk of his manuscript dealing with his experiences in a foreign country (perhaps the United States) precisely because “I had already made them the subject of conversation at my clubs” (1220). Or the book might be read by one of his professional colleagues, and he may well have had professional as well as personal and social reasons for fearing exposure and prosecution. What, I wondered, was that profession, the occupation which he so carefully obscures? His obvious gifts — his intelligence, his audacity, his incredible energy — must surely, I thought, have brought him a degree of success, even prominence, in whatever career he pursued. With this in mind, I began to investigate the published biographical records of the men of Walter’s generation.

*Who’s Who* seemed the obvious place to begin, but *Who’s Who* in its present format, giving personal and family information, did not exist until 1897, by which time Walter could have been dead. Nevertheless, I went through the first volume of *Who Was Who*, 1897–1915, name by name, looking for a man who (a) was born between 1819 and 1823, (b) had some early connection with Camberwell, (c) had the opportunity to travel, and (d) was perhaps in some way associated with the military. I found one man who seemed right, a senior foreign office official, but I could trace no connection with Camberwell. I then examined another biographical source, Boase’s *Modern Biography*. This is a work in six volumes, containing thousands of names, selected apparently on the basis of articles and obituaries which had appeared in newspapers and periodicals. I plodded through them, page by page, name after name, all six volumes, making a short list of those who matched at least two of my criteria. When I came to the end of the sixth and final volume, I reviewed my short list of thirty-two names and found three who seemed the likeliest candidates. I eliminated two for various reasons, but the third was a man born in 1821, who had attended Camberwell Grammar School, was a prominent Civil Engineer and a Lt. Colonel of Volunteers. An entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Supplement 2: 407) confirmed the general information but gave fewer references. This looked very promising.

The man's name was William Haywood. The entry in Boase (5: 620) indicates that he was born on December 8, 1821, the son of William Haywood of Camberwell, educated at Camberwell Grammar School, and a pupil of George Aitchison, R. A., architect. He had been Chief Engineer for the Commissioners of Sewers in the City of London from 1846 until his death in 1894. Boase gives a brief account of Haywood's professional achievements and lists his formal qualifications in both Architecture and Civil Engineering. In addition, the entry shows that Haywood was an officer in the City of London Rifle Brigade Volunteers<sup>3</sup> from 1860, and a Lt. Colonel from 1876 until 1881. Boase gives his address and supplies references to published sources.

This man seemed perfect. He had the right birth date, the right connection with Camberwell, and a connection with the military, but I needed to know more about the personal aspects of his life and to see how far these corresponded with Walter's. If he really was Walter, for instance, he should have been married in his 26th year, which for Haywood would be between December 1846 and December 1847, and this was the first thing I tried to corroborate in the marriage registers at London's Family Record Centre. I found that there were no less than four William Haywoods married in that twelve-month period, three of them in the north of England, one in Surrey. I sent for the Surrey marriage certificate, but it turned out to be that of an illiterate laborer, who signed his name with an X. This was certainly not Walter. I began to wonder whether Haywood really was the right man, and I began to doubt, too, whether someone with a lifetime professional post in London could possibly have traveled abroad as widely and frequently as Walter did. But setting aside for the moment my doubts about this and about the uncorroborated marriage, I began to check the references in Boase.

The first was to an obituary notice in *the Illustrated London News*. This turned out to be a friendly tribute to "The late Colonel William Haywood" (*ILN* 478). The text is an amplification of the professional information in Boase, with nothing about Haywood's personal life, but it refers to him throughout as "Colonel Haywood" and expresses particular gratitude for his achievement in getting many of the London street covered in "asphalte"; it mentions his responsibility for the Holborn Viaduct and the completion of the Victoria Thames Embankment. There is also a photograph, showing a middle-aged man in uniform, wearing decorations and a short round beard (Figure 1). Could this be Walter, the man who wrote *My Secret Life*? He appeared very conventional, and I thought once again that his lifetime career as a City of London engineer would hardly have allowed him to take all those trips abroad.

The second reference in Boase was to a publication called *Biograph*, published in 1880 during Haywood's lifetime. This summarizes his career and lists his foreign awards, including his designation as a Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor. It also includes both the paragraph which I have placed at the head of this article and the following sentence:

He has all his life been in the habit of devoting his times of relaxation to foreign travel, having in this way visited all the important parts of the Continent and North America, and availed himself of his acquaintance with foreign cities in order to improve the arrangements of the City of London, so far as concerns his own special work. (158)

This was exactly the kind of information I needed.



*Photo by Bassano.*

THE LATE COLONEL WILLIAM HAYWOOD.

Figure 1. "The Late Colonel William Haywood." Illustration from a photograph, from *Illustrated London News* 21 April 1894.

I then returned to the 1841 census for Camberwell. I found that in the very early days of my research I had made notes on a Haywood family there and marked it "possible." The Haywoods were located at Vicarage Place, which no longer exists, but which the 1870 Ordnance Survey map shows on the south side of Church Street, close to the Church of St. Giles.<sup>4</sup> The family had a mother but no father, and three children, a boy named William, 15, a daughter Sarah, 15, a ten-year-old boy named Henry. This corresponded with Walter's description of his own family, which after his father's death consisted of his

mother, one sister at home and “little brother Tom” (57). But this William, at 15, whose occupation was listed as “Arch.,” was not the right age for Walter. For that reason I had not originally pursued the Haywood family further, and now that I returned to it I was puzzled. How could this 15-year-old William be the William Haywood who was born in December 1821? I then discovered that in the 1841 Census the ages for people over 15 were rounded down to the nearest five years. This meant that the Haywood mother Mary, listed as 40, could be as much as 44, and William and the other “15’s” could be any age between 15 and 20. William therefore had been correctly listed as 15, even though, when the census was taken on June 6, 1841, he was actually nineteen-and-a-half.<sup>5</sup> This then was the family I had been looking for — a widow and three resident children, just as Walter describes them (57). Confirmation of the children’s ages was found in the baptismal records of St. Giles Parish Church, Camberwell, at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA Microfilm X102/23). These showed that William was christened in March 1822, Sarah in December 1825, and Henry George in May 1831.

Since Walter mentions his father’s early death (55), I wanted to find out whether William Haywood senior had also died early. The national registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths began only in the third quarter of 1837, and there was no William Haywood of Camberwell who died either in that period or in 1838. But after locating in the London Metropolitan Archives the burial Registers for St. Giles Parish Church for the period 1835 to 1837, I found what I was looking for: the burial on March 11, 1837, of William Haywood, aged 45 (LMA P73/GIS/052). His son William would then have been fifteen and a quarter, and it is worth noting that Walter, when he speaks of his father’s death, speaks also of approaching his sixteenth year (55).

Further corroboration of the correspondence between Walter’s early life and William’s came from another source, his obituary in the *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*. This not only gives a full account of his professional achievements but also provides personal information. Of his family background it says,

The elder son of Mr. William Haywood of Camberwell, a man of business who earned a few hundreds a year by some subordinate employment and died in middle age before he had made sufficient provision for his widow and three children, the future engineer of the Holborn Viaduct received his education at the Camberwell Grammar School. (117: 176)

This corresponds exactly with Walter’s account of his father’s poverty and early death, leaving a widow and three children.

The reference in the obituary to William’s schooling led me back to Walter’s account of his schooldays. He says that after they had come to the small house nearer London, he went to “a neighbouring great school or college as it was termed” (57). The phrase “great school” at that time simply meant a secondary school (in American terms a high school), a phrase still used in one or two large British schools to distinguish the upper school from the junior, or preparatory, school; and in Britain the word “college” was often used then, and even now, for some schools which in America would be called Prep Schools. (Eton’s formal name, for example, is Eton College.) So even before I found the Haywood name, I had been looking for a secondary school in Camberwell. There were several, but I could not tell which was the right one. The obituary provided the answer: Camberwell Grammar School.



The name "Grammar School" also has different connotations in Britain and America. In Britain it denotes a selective secondary school, preparing students for higher education, and in the early 19th century even famous schools like Harrow and St. Paul's were originally called Grammar Schools (Allport 20). The Camberwell Grammar School therefore certainly qualifies as Walter's "great school." Located just to the east of St. Giles Church (Allport 14), it appears on the 1841 census immediately before the Haywood house on Vicarage Place, which stood just west of the church, and was thus very much a "neighbouring" school. It was a long-established school, sometimes called Wilson's Grammar School, founded by Edward Wilson in 1615, and sometimes called the Camberwell Free Grammar School (Brayley 14). According to Allport there were 43 boys there in 1833, with a curriculum which included heavy reading in the Greek and Latin classics (89). William Haywood was not only educated there but seems to have been a brilliant student. The Civil Engineering obituary says this of him at the Grammar School:

There he was grounded in Greek and Latin and instructed in the rudiments of mathematics before he was placed as a pupil in the office of the late Mr. Aitchison, resident architect and surveyor to the St. Katherine's Dock company, to whose instruction and influence Haywood thought himself largely indebted for his success in life. That the schoolboy was an apt and docile pupil may be inferred from the prizes which he won during his passage through the classes of the suburban seminary. (*Proceedings* 117: 376)

Walter says nothing about prizes, and "docile" is hardly the word which seems appropriate to his character in later life, but on the other hand Walter speaks of his own "quiet demure manner" at the age of seventeen (84), and despite his recent passionate affair with Charlotte, the family maid, he was thought by his mother to be "the quietest and best of sons, as innocent as a child" (82). Thus the description of William Haywood as a "docile pupil" is not at all inconsistent with Walter's account of the way he was then perceived. His secret life had already begun.

Walter, however, and one must presume William, needed more tuition than was provided by the heavily classical curriculum at the Grammar School. Walter says, "Soon I was to leave there and prepare for the Army" (63). Then at the time of his affair with Charlotte, when he was about seventeen, he says, "I had now special tutors at home" (88), and in the same paragraph he speaks of studying elementary chemistry. A little later he says, "I had then a tutor in mathematics" (101), and further on, "I was now approaching nineteen years, was at home doing nothing but study" (142). Still later, he says that his mother noticed his pallor, but she "put it down to my close attention to my studies, for I was preparing" (186). Was it really the Army that he was preparing for? This question leads to the first discrepancy between Walter's story and Williams's.

Walter's godfather was a retired Army Surgeon-Major (38), and Walter says that he himself was "intended for the Army" (124). If his father had lived and prospered, instead of dying "nearly bankrupt" (55), Walter would perhaps have been able to purchase a commission, which was the normal system at that time (Military 73). But such purchases were expensive. The parents of Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890), who was Haywood's exact contemporary, purchased a commission for him in the British Indian Army in 1842 at a cost of 500 pounds (Wright 67), about 25,000 pounds in today's money.<sup>6</sup> Commissions in elite British regiments would have been even more expensive, and Walter, living on an

allowance from his mother, could not possibly have afforded one. His godfather had left him a fortune, but he could not touch the money until he was twenty-one (145). Instead, he says that at the age of nineteen-and-a-half his “long-promised appointment came from the W\*\* Office” (145), which, in view of his earlier references to the Army, we are presumably meant to understand as the War Office, the Army’s political and military headquarters.

But what kind of appointment could this be? He does not say that he has purchased a commission, and he would not have gone to the War Office itself for military training. Then a little later he says that he “went daily to the W\*\* Office, returning at about half-past four,” and returning one day met Charlotte “about half-a-mile from home” (150). The half-mile distance is significant because, if one accepts the identity of Walter with William, the home to which he was returning was Vicarage Place, only about four hundred yards from the south end of Camberwell Green, the terminus for coaches from Charing Cross (Besant, *South* 128). If Walter had been coming from the War Office, which was in Pall Mall near Charing Cross (Wheatley 15), he would have taken a coach from there via Westminster Bridge — “the route still used by the 12 bus” (Boast 30) — and he would have been close to home when it stopped. So he must have alighted at the other coach stop in Peckham, almost a mile to the east of Vicarage Place, after travelling on a coach that had left Gracechurch Street, near London Bridge, in the East End of London (Beasley 13). So where was he really coming from, the day he met Charlotte?

The Army story ends when he reaches twenty-one. Walter says:

I came into my property, and, to the great horror of my mother and family, soon gave up my post at the \*\*\* and my intended career, and determined to live and enjoy myself. I had been all but posted to a regiment; that commission I resigned, though all my youth desiring it. I lost much money by doing so. (194)

It is not clear how he could resign a commission which he has never mentioned receiving. It would have cost him much money to purchase one, but he had no money to do so until he came into his inheritance at the age of twenty-one, the very point at which he resigned.

What are we to make of the War Office story? It is clearly flawed and illogical. Moreover, the index to Hart’s *Annual Army List* for 1842, the year of William’s twenty-first birthday, shows no commission held by anyone named Haywood (Hart List). My own belief is that the whole story is Walter’s (or William’s) first and rather clumsy piece of camouflage. He was extremely careful to obscure anything which would give any clue to his profession. He says a little later, “It is difficult to narrate more without divulging my outer life. I would fain keep that hidden” (396). The same impulse was no doubt operating here, and on the assumption that Walter was indeed William Haywood it would make sense for him to conceal his training as an architect under George Aitchison and his work as an architect before he became a surveyor and engineer (*Proceedings* 117: 378). As a man who later became a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (*Journal* 434), he could not possibly have allowed the story of his architectural training to appear in *My Secret Life*. It would be too strong a clue to his identity. But in fact Walter’s story of his appointment at nineteen-and-a-half, together with the account of his studying and preparation, makes much more sense for an architectural apprentice preparing for his professional examinations than for an unspecified job at the War Office. The Census shows

William Haywood's occupation as "Arch.," and the date the Census was taken was June 6, 1841, just two days before he became nineteen and a half, exactly the age at which Walter says he got his "long awaited appointment" (145). We also know that George Aitchison, who trained William in architecture, held the official title at the time of Clerk of the Works to the St. Katherine's Dock Company (*Proceedings* 21: 569), the man responsible for all the structures and all the architectural and engineering projects in his domain. It is thus possible, though there is no evidence, that Aitchison's office was referred to as the Works Office, and in any case Walter's references to the W\*\* Office, where he got his appointment and from which he was returning daily really meant, I submit, the office of St. Katherine's Dock, where Walter was completing his apprenticeship. And when Walter says that he gave up his post and resigned his commission, I suggest that what he really meant was that he, qua William, gave up an architectural commission and "lost much money by doing so" (194).

The meeting with Charlotte mentioned above is further confirmation both of this hypothesis and of the identity of Walter with William. As has been said, he must have been walking toward his house from the coach stop in Peckham, after traveling on the coach which departed from Gracechurch Street (Beasley 13), not far from St. Katherine's Dock. He was therefore walking westward when he met Charlotte "about half-a-mile from home" (150) and quickly took her up a side street, ending up by the pew opener's house at "the outskirts of the village" (152). A study of Dewhurst's 1842 map indicates that this would mean that they had walked up Havil Street, then along Southampton Street to the northern edge of Camberwell, near the boundary with Walworth. They took this diversion because they had met a man called "old Courtauld," who was Walter's "next door neighbour" (151), and Walter feared that he would recognize Charlotte. My previous attempts to trace this man had been unsuccessful, but when I looked again at the 1841 census I saw that the house next door but one to the Haywoods' on Vicarage Place was occupied by a man called Dorey, aged 50+, whose name could qualify as "phonetically resembling" (10) that of "old Courtauld."

All these aspects of Camberwell and of the Haywood family corroborate Walter's account of his life in the "village," even the apparently inconsistent W\*\* Office portion. But it is necessary to look at further aspects of both Walter's and William's early lives to see how far they correspond.

Walter says that after he received his fortune he gave up his post (194) and spent wildly: "Nearly a year went by and 4000 pounds" (201). He then says nothing for some time about any employment. Similarly, after William Haywood's architectural apprenticeship with George Aitchison, whom he later called his "dear old master" (*Proceedings* 107: 377), there is little documentation of his work as an architect. We know, however, that he did have occasional work. His Civil Engineering obituary says:

He found clients and commissions as soon as he had entered on the practice of the calling for which he had been specifically educated. One of the several stately houses built from his drawings, and under his personal supervision, was that of the Marquis of Downshire, at Easthampstead, Berks. (*Proceedings* 117: 377)

But in February 1845, Hawyood was recommended for the post of Assistant Surveyor to the Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London, and one of his sponsors was George

Aitchison. The appointment was delayed until June 17, 1845, when the thirty-seven voting members of the Court of Commissioners took a poll on three applicants for the position. Haywood won, with twenty-one votes, which was more than the other two combined.<sup>7</sup> Though he later regretted abandoning the architectural profession, he evidently needed the money. “The young architect,” says the Civil Engineering obituary, “was too desirous of the security and other advantages of a secure income in quarterly payments to decline the post” (*Proceedings* 117: 377).

One of William’s principal reasons for seeking such security was no doubt his impending marriage. The marriage certificate (FRC MC) shows the marriage of William Haywood, Architect, son of William Haywood, gentleman, deceased, to Jane Rosa Wake, daughter of William Wake, gentleman, on October 16, 1845, in the Parish Church, Kennington. William Haywood was thus two months short of his 24th birthday. But Walter says that when he committed this “fatal error” (362) he was in his 26th year, not his 24th. What was the reason for the discrepancy? It is not likely that Walter, with his superb memory, could have forgotten how old he was at his marriage, and the reason, particularly in the light of later information, was almost certainly Walter/William’s desire for secrecy, his determination to “obscure” (396) such details of his outer life as might lead to identification, and particularly the details of his marriage. It is thus the second discrepancy between Walter’s story and William’s history, Walter’s second piece of camouflage.

It is soon after the reference to his “fatal error” (362) that Walter says, “It is difficult to narrate more without divulging my outer life. I would fain keep that hidden” (396), but then he adds, “I was still poor, but had got into an employment, and was living in a small eight-roomed house. I kept one servant only” (397). The employment, for William, was his appointment as Assistant Surveyor, and the house in which William and Jane were living, at least until the census of March 1851, was at 4 Isabella Place, Kennington, South London, in the parish of St. Mark’s, near the church where they were married (1851 Census H107/1574). The census shows William and his wife there, plus one servant, a 14-year-old called Elizabeth, thus confirming Walter’s account. The one servant at an earlier date would have been the maid Mary, with whom Walter/William had an emotional affair (397-421), and who was “sacked” by her mistress as “not a good servant” (419).

William won promotion to Surveyor in 1846 (*Building News* 215), and at some point between 1851 and 1853 he and Jane Rosa moved to a new house at 23 Albert Square, also in Kennington, south of the Thames (POLD 1853). Walter’s account corresponds. He says that he was much better off and “now lived in a larger house with only three servants” (705). A little later he refers to “our new residence” (973) and tells someone that he lives “the other side of the water” (977), that is south of the river.

Williams’ professional career was developing well:

From November 1853 he was formally styled “Engineer and Surveyor,” some months after becoming a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers. In 1857 he became a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and in 1868 one of the founding members of the Surveyors Institution. (Freeman, *Origins* 3)

His duties for the City of London included not only the supervision and construction of sub-surface works but also the design and construction of “countless works above ground,

such as the better paving and lighting of the city, and . . . provisions for health and comfort in homes and offices and for the convenience of passengers through the public ways” (*Proceedings* 117: 177). In 1856 “he designed and set out the City of London Cemetery at Ilford” (*Times* Obituary 4.14.1894). Of this, Hugh Meller, in his *London Cemeteries*, says, “The mastermind behind the beautifully organized plan was William Haywood,” and he calls it Haywood’s “masterpiece” (106). Meller’s book has illustrations of the cemetery and of a monument there which Haywood designed. Meller also mentions, but does not illustrate, Haywood’s own self-designed “gothic mausoleum,” which stands near the entrance to the cemetery (Meller 106), and where his ashes were later to lie.

Despite the progress of his career in the 1850s, William’s alter ego, Walter, constantly records his misery as a married man. A few years after he and his wife had moved to their new house, Walter says, “My home life at length became so unbearable, that I at one time thought of realizing all I had, of throwing up all chance of advancement and a promising career which then was before me, and going for ever abroad I knew not where, nor cared” (762). But although Walter does go abroad, both then and later, he does not abandon his career and does not immediately abandon his home. It is on a later trip abroad that he receives news by messenger that his wife is dead. “Death had done its work,” he says. “Hurrah! I was free at last” (1192). This seems to have occurred after he and his wife had been living for several years in the house with three servants. But I could find no evidence of the death of Jane Rosa Haywood, either in the late 1850s or in the early 1860s. Here was another discrepancy between Walter’s story and William’s, and it began to look as though Walter’s account of his wife’s death was yet another piece of camouflage, yet another way in which he had “mystified family affairs” (9). Walter/William certainly felt himself free and enjoyed “four years of freedom” (1388). But was his wife really dead?

A telling reference to the nature of Walter’s freedom occurs soon after he has recounted Gertrude’s story, which Walter says he heard “two years after the Battle of Solferino” (1274), therefore in 1861. He has renewed acquaintance with a young woman called Madeline S\*\*\*h, who “had worked at my house for years previously. . . . I lost sight of her when I gave up that home as a freed man” (1319). The phrasing here, with no mention of his wife’s death, strongly suggests that he has found another way of freeing himself from his wife and his home. Was it a divorce? Divorce was possible, though difficult, after the Divorce Act of 1857, but there is no court record of a Decree Absolute for William and Jane Rosa Haywood between 1858 and 1894, the year of Haywood’s death.<sup>8</sup> If it was a private arrangement, however, such as a formal deed of separation drawn up by solicitors and agreed to by both parties, there would be no public record. Such an arrangement, though unproven, is highly plausible and would accord with Walter/William’s joy on receiving the news from the messenger. What set him free may not have been the death of his wife but the news of some legal document, finally signed and delivered, even though it left him, in the eyes of the law, still married to Jane Rosa.<sup>9</sup> It is possible of course that he had simply abandoned his wife and home. But Walter records something said by Madeline S\*\*\*h which suggests otherwise. “She remarked that she knew that I could do as I liked now” (1320). This implies a knowledge of some definitive separation.

An investigation of William Haywood’s domestic situation at that period has been made by Eric Freeman, who believes Haywood to have been the author of a letter which

led to the founding of the Geologists Association. In the course of his research for his article, “The Founders of the Geologists Association,” Freeman discovered that while Haywood was registered as an elector at 23 Albert Square in the years 1855–58, he was not found in the electoral lists after November 30, 1858 (CLRO Research Papers 13.8 No. 19). Freeman says of William and his wife:

The couple lived in a comfortable Georgian Terrace House (23 Albert Square, Kennington) from 1852 to c.1858, when the marriage seems to have broken down. The evidence of trade directories, electoral rolls, and the 1861 census returns, suggests that William then moved out, initially taking lodgings in the Strand, but later re-establishing as a single gentleman in a house near Regents Park. (“Founders” 163)

The 1861 census for that house, 7 Park Village East, shows Haywood there as head of the household, listed as married, along with two single women, aged 25 and 26, listed as general servants (RG/97 82). It is possible that at least one of these women was more than a servant to Haywood, but certainly Haywood’s listing as “married” is a clear indication that his wife was still alive, though living elsewhere. Such a set-up, though not described in *My Secret Life*, would be quite consistent with the promiscuous life that Walter led after his wife’s supposed death. The date of the census, too, in March 1861, was almost two years after Solferino, when Walter “was entering into middle age” (1274). Haywood is listed on the census as 39. He would be 40 in December of that year.

Further evidence of Jane Rosa’s survival comes from a will drawn up in her favor by her father, William Wake, in 1863 (PSR folio 609, 1865). This will excludes her husband William Haywood from any right to share in the inheritance, “notwithstanding her coverture,” i.e., despite her husband’s legal authority over her. The will specifically protects Jane Rosa from any control or “interference” on William’s part. This wording implies the *de facto* breakup of the marriage at least by 1863, the year the will was signed, and that date, combined with the evidence of William’s absence from the electoral rolls after 1858, suggests that Walter/ William’s “four years of freedom” (1388) were almost certainly the years between 1859 and 1863. By the end of 1863 William was forty-two years old, and Walter, just before admitting that he is forty-two (1392), says that he fell in love:

[With Winifred terminated my four years of freedom. I fell in love and was changed, yet my amorous frailty clung to me. — I loved deeply, truly, shall love to my dying hour, and, spite of my infidelity, would at any time have slain any one of my paramours rather than give *her* pain.] (1388)

This passage is enclosed in brackets, and Walter says lower down,

All paragraphs enclosed with brackets thus [ ] have been written since the manuscript of my life was finished, and have been added at this revision, when the narrative is put into form, revised, and much of the manuscript destroyed. (1388–89)

This means that he wrote those bracketed paragraphs while proofreading, presumably in the late 1880s, and while he was still living with his beloved. He also refers to her as “the legitimate one” (1396) and later speaks of “the one woman whom I adore” (1757) and of

himself “loving as I ever shall one woman to the end of my life” (1765). Still later, again in a bracketed passage, he says that his lapses from chastity have been less frequent, perhaps from “having one voluptuous, lascivious beauty always available” (2111). All this seems to imply a firm continuing relationship.

My assumption was that Walter/William must have contracted a second marriage before his forty-third birthday in December 1864, particularly since Walter refers to a “change in my social life” (1389), and soon after this to “a change in my residence” (1396), which suggests a new establishment. But although the marriage registers showed more than twenty William Haywoods married in England between 1861 and 1864, not one of them was the right man. I therefore turned to the 1891 census, using the address supplied by Boase: 56 Hamilton Terrace, Maida Vale, in northwest London. That census (RG12/105 134) shows William Haywood there, along with his wife Emma J., age 51, and five servants. The census specifically lists them both as “married.” They are similarly shown as man and wife at Hamilton Terrace in both the 1881 census (RG 11/188 55) and the 1871 census (RG10 188 55). These records mean that William and Emma had certainly been together since 1871 and probably before that. The Post Office London Directory has no listing for Haywood between 1858 (Albert Square) and 1867, where he is shown at Hamilton Terrace. Walter’s narrative is corroborative. Many pages after he reported his last change of residence (1396), he says “Two years ago I moved to another quarter of town” (2118). That ties in with William’s move from central London to northwest London, and it is likely that William and Emma had been living together since 1867, and perhaps since 1863 or 1864. But when were they married and what of Jane Rosa? I discovered the answers later. Meanwhile something must be said about William Haywood’s career.

Between 1864 and 1869 William Haywood was fully engaged in what he later called “an historic work,” perhaps his greatest achievement (*Proceedings* 117: 376). This was the design and construction of the Holborn Viaduct and bridge over the Fleet Valley in central London (see Figure 2). It was a tremendously expensive project, which “involved the purchase of valuable property; the total cost was £2,552,407” (Besant, *Nineteenth Century* 140). The equivalent sum today would be about 160 million pounds, even more if one calculates the current price of London real estate. It “not only swept away from the northside some of the most villainous criminal haunts in London, but also made a much more humane route for the unfortunate horses. . . . The whole viaduct is 1400 feet long and 80 feet wide” (Dalzell 434). It was such an important project that it was opened by Queen Victoria on November 6, 1869. The London *Times* of November 8 has a detailed account of the ceremony, which included the introduction of William Haywood to the Queen, and after the Queen had gone there was a dinner at the Mansion House, at which tributes were paid to Haywood’s “talent, intelligence, energy, and zeal” (8). Haywood’s speech in response is summarized on the same page of the *Times*. He defended himself against the possible charge that he had been both a competitor and an employee of the London Corporation by saying that it was “a fair and honourable competition” and that his bid was unknown to anyone in the Corporation until after the award was made. The *Times* report continues:

There had been nothing [said Haywood] so large and so comprehensive in its range in the present century, and no works with which he was acquainted had anything like the variety of

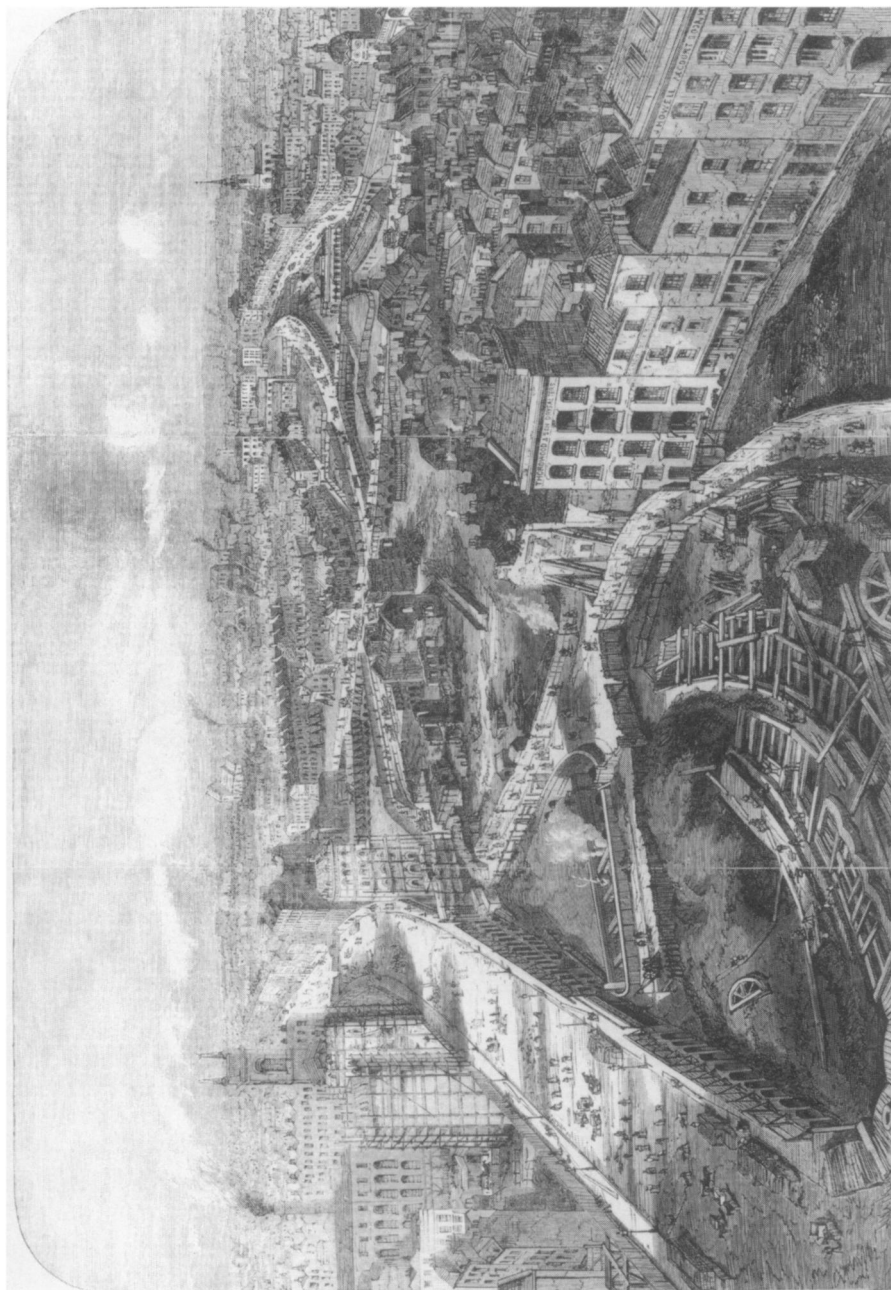


Figure 2. “The Holborn Valley Viaduct, from St. Sepulchre’s Church” at the time of its completion, 1869. Illustration, from *Illustrated Times* 18 September 1869. Courtesy of Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.



construction within a comparatively limited space that they had. (Hear, hear.) Many of them demanded the treatment of the architect as well as of the engineer. (8)

But despite Haywood's assertion that the competition was fair and honorable, there was one losing competitor, Frederick Marrable, who brought a charge of plagiarism and complained in a letter to the *Builder* of the conflict of interest between Haywood's role as competitor and his salaried position in the Corporation of London (11.20.1869). Haywood defended himself eloquently and at length in a letter to the same publication on November 27, 1869 (*Builder* 11.27.1868).

Whatever the justification for his protest, Marrable was correct in saying that by winning the competition Haywood "derived a world-wide fame and very substantial pecuniary benefit" (*Builder* 11.29.1869). Haywood continued to hold his position as Chief Engineer to the Commissioners of Sewers until his death, and he continued to combine his duties there with a variety of projects both at home and abroad. The Civil Engineering obituary says:

Throughout the greater part of the long term of forty-nine years, during which he did so much for the improvement of the central quarter of the metropolis, William Haywood had a large and lucrative practice in no way connected with the interest of London. Often consulted by the engineers of other countries he was rewarded by foreign governments with knightly distinctions. (*Proceedings* 117: 378).

The awards which he received were as follows: In Germany, in 1876, he was honored as a Chevalier of the Ernestine Order of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; from Portugal, in 1880, he received the *Ordem Militar de Cristo*; in Belgium, in 1881, he was honored as an Officer of the Order of Leopold; and in France, in 1885, he became a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Correspondence with the embassies and other agencies of the countries concerned has confirmed the dates of these awards, but although this has not produced detailed citations, it seems likely that they were made for services in the area of Haywood's special expertise in public works and municipal planning. The Portuguese award, for example, though of a military order, is listed along with the same award on the same date to Haywood's distinguished Civil Engineering colleague, Sir Joseph Bazalgette, which implies services to the State of just that sort (*Diario* 181).

Walter, of course, makes no mention of such projects or awards, but his narrative is constantly interspersed with references to trips to foreign countries. "I was obliged to go abroad for a time" (420), he says, and then he records over thirty similar trips between then and the end of his narrative. Some of these are of considerable length. "I was recalled after seven months," he says on one occasion (489), and on another: "Some months elapsed during which I was much abroad, and I went a long voyage across the sea" (1214). The latter was perhaps to America, though he does not specifically say so. He also visits Russia and the Orient, but his travels are mostly in Europe, to Belgium, Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, and to France most frequently of all, especially Paris. He does not mention Portugal, perhaps because to do so would have given a clue to his identity, just as he assigned to the flames an account of his adventures after that long voyage because "I made them the subject of conversation at my clubs, and told some of the incidents to friends and relatives" (1219). Those clubs, for William Haywood, were the Reform and the Gresham (*Biograph* 158).

In addition to his duties as Chief Engineer to the Commissioner of Sewers, and in addition to his work and travels abroad, William Haywood was active in the Volunteer London Rifle Brigade. He had joined as a Private in 1859, become a Lieutenant in 1860, a Captain the same year, a Major in 1872, a Lt. Colonel in 1876, and Commandant in 1881 (*History* 456). Walter naturally says nothing about all this, but he occasionally betrays an interest in the military. One day, for instance, he is returning from Aldershot, the large Army base in Hampshire. The young woman with him on the train (whom he is about to seduce) describes the situation at the camp, and Walter says, "All was I knew quite in the order of things, when a regiment was changing quarters" (1310). Later he says, "I was in camp several times afterwards" (1318). This is just before his meeting with Madeline S\*\*\*h, soon after the end of his marriage, and just before he says, "I approach middle age" (1318). It was thus probably in 1861, when William Haywood held the rank of Captain in the Volunteer Rifle Brigade, and it would no doubt be in that capacity that he visited Aldershot and had a knowledge of regimental matters.

It was to be another twenty years before William Haywood became Commandant of his own regiment. That was quite an achievement. All previous Commandants had been full-time professional soldiers, and Haywood was the first volunteer to reach that position (*History* 16). It was perhaps after his retirement as Commandant in 1882 that he began preparing the manuscript of *My Secret Life* for publication.<sup>10</sup> Various comments suggest that he was editing or proofreading in the 1880s. For example, there is a bracketed insert that states, "It is a quarter of a century since this was written." This is followed immediately by the interrupted narrative, which reads, "I am forty-two years old" (1392), and since he was forty-two in December 1863, that insert must have been added in late 1888 or in 1889. This also corroborates Carrington's statement (xxxv) that about the year 1888 the Amsterdam publisher was summoned to London by a rich old Englishman.

William Haywood, though both old and rich, continued to retain his position as Engineer-in-Chief until three weeks before his death, when he became Consultant Engineer (Archives, Corporation of London Records Office), and he seems in the last decade of his life to have attained both an unchallenged authority at work and a degree of social contentment. Of his work, an obituary in the *City Press* says:

Perhaps one of the most conspicuous features of his capacity as engineer and surveyor was his remarkable grasp of detail, and nothing was ever submitted to "the Colonel" (as he was always known) without his quickly conquering the material aspects of the case. . . . This [capacity] inspired the utmost confidence in his powers among the members of the Commission and those associated with him in his department; and the confidence was always justified.  
(5)

The same obituary mentions his "continued ill-health" and "the fact that he was frequently required to seek the renewal of health abroad, where repose was complete and the climate less rigorous" (5). This tallies with Walter's remarks near the end of his narrative, where he speaks of being "on my way to the sweet south, to get the sun in the months it's denied us here. . . . Tired, worn out, ill, and alas getting older, I was nevertheless again at the lapunar [brothel] one night" (2047). The writer of the *City Press* obituary would no doubt have been startled to learn that the ailing Colonel's "repose" had included such activity.

An idea of William's (and presumably Emma's) social life can be gained from the Civil Engineering obituary:

A man of good presence, whose countenance was suggestive of intellectual distinction, William Haywood possessed a cordial manner which rendered him a social favourite. The pleasant people who gathered about him in Hamilton Terrace, and in summer flocked to his garden parties at Cheshunt Cottage, comprised some of the brightest notabilities of the literary coteries, who valued him for higher accomplishments than his personal comeliness and genial address; for together with the foibles, he possessed some of the noblest qualities of human nature. (*Proceedings* 117: 378)

It is tempting to speculate about the identity of these literary luminaries, and it is interesting to note that Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, is only two miles from Waltham Cross, where Anthony Trollope lived until 1871 (Glendinning 406). But unfortunately there is no information either about the guests or about the dates of William Haywood's summer residence in Cheshunt.

He died at his house in Hamilton Terrace on April 13, 1894, of chronic cystitis and asthenia (FRC DC). The *City Press* obituary gives this account of his last hours:

Owing to the low state of health to which he had been brought in the last week or two, Mr. J. Pope, who is employed at his office in town, had been in continual attendance upon him, and in fact had been in the habit of sitting up with him during the night. He did so on Thursday night as usual, and about five o'clock brought him a cup of beef tea, which he drank, at the same time speaking a few words. Shortly after eight o'clock Mr. Pope returned, bringing some coffee, Mrs. Haywood being also present. But just as he was about to partake of some nourishment his head fell back. Dr. Lewis was immediately summoned, his efforts to revive the deceased were unavailing. (5)

In accordance with the terms of his will (PSR Folio 677, 1894), William Haywood's funeral service was to be conducted at the Church of St. Mark, Hamilton Terrace, and after cremation at Woking his ashes were to be interred in his tomb at the City of London Cemetery, Ilford, the tomb and cemetery which he himself had created.

The will had been signed on the 7th of April 1894, just six days before his death. He left an estate of just over 42,000 pounds, which in today's money would be about two and a half million pounds, and he left to Jemima Emma Haywood his house and a trust providing her with an income of twenty-two hundred pounds a year, about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds today. I had expected something like this. The surprise was that the lady to whom he left so much is not referred to as his wife but as "my dear friend and companion Jemima Emma Haywood otherwise Jemima Emma Elbrow (hereinafter called Jemima Emma Haywood simply)." This meant that the censuses for 1871, 1881, and 1891 had been wrong to record them as "married." It meant that Emma<sup>11</sup> was a Common Law wife, fully entitled to inherit but not legally married to William Haywood. It also meant, in all likelihood, that at least one of the parties was married to someone else, and that possibly both of them were.

I looked again at Walter's text and saw that my assumption about his second marriage was incorrect. Despite his expressions of lifelong affection, he nowhere specifically states that he has married his new love. So what had happened to William's Jane Rosa? She had

not died when Walter/William says she did, and the registers at the Family Record Centre had no record of her death prior to 1894. I eventually discovered that she did not die until December 1909, at the age of eighty-nine (FRC DR).<sup>12</sup> Her will (PSR Folio 56 1910) shows her address as 296 Kennington Park Road, and she seems to have lived in Kennington, south London, all her life.

The implications of these discoveries are significant. The first is that William/Walter, despite his continuing infidelities and despite the lack of marriage vows, had managed to sustain an apparently happy and socially acceptable relationship with his beloved Emma. The second is that the survival of Jane Rosa, her presence in south London throughout William's life, helps to explain how important it was for William to conceal his identity. There must have been a number of people who knew about the existence of both his legal wife, Jane Rosa, and his Common Law wife, Emma. But by laying false trails in *My Secret Life* — the fake death of the author reported by his "oldest friend" (5), the adoption of the name Walter, the spurious War Office story, the false age at marriage, the announcement of his wife's death — William could at least prevent fingers being pointed directly at him. These were matters where camouflage was absolutely necessary. Jane Rosa, better than anyone else, would have known his age at marriage, the details of his professional training, and the truth of his relationship with Emma.

Moreover, among those who knew William Haywood's marital secrets there were no doubt some members of his club, the Reform (*Biograph* 158), which had been founded in 1830 by the Liberal Party Members of Parliament to promote the Reform Bill (Timbs 227), and to which the Liberal Prime Minister Gladstone and other prominent politicians belonged (*Everyman's* 10: 275). Certainly his irregular marital situation, which was no bar to awards from foreign countries, would have been known to enough eminent people in London to debar him from receiving British honors. His engineering colleague, Sir Joseph Bazalgette, received a knighthood in 1874 (Boase 4: 318) for work very similar to Haywood's, but in the Britain of that time — and much later too — even a legally divorced man was not respectable enough to be honored with a knighthood or an order of chivalry, and someone who was in an illicit or ambiguous marital relationship like Haywood's would have stood no chance of official recognition, however distinguished his achievements.<sup>13</sup>

Emma Haywood died just two years after William. In her will (PSR Folio 589, 1896) she directs that her ashes be placed in the tomb at Ilford, where the ashes of "Lieutenant Colonel William Haywood" have been deposited. She does not, because legally she could not, describe herself as William Haywood's widow. Jane Rosa on the other hand describes herself in her will, perhaps triumphantly, as "the widow of Colonel William Haywood" (PSR Folio 56, 1910).

As the *City Press* obituary indicates (5), William Haywood was always in his later years called "the Colonel." Other obituaries too refer to him as Colonel Haywood. It is thus almost certain that he would have used that title in his contacts with his Amsterdam publisher, and if that publisher came to visit him in London, as Carrington asserts (xxxv), he would have been looking for the Colonel, or Colonel William Haywood, or Colonel W. Haywood. The publisher was presumably bound by his contract to preserve the author's anonymity, but the French bookseller who advertised in *Paris Galant* (lvii), several years after Haywood's death, may have felt free to hint at his knowledge of the author's identity and numerous awards. His claim that the author was the "Well. Knonn celebrates Colonel

W.” was not just a bookseller’s puff. The obituary in the respected *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* includes the following:

Colonel Haywood’s reputation was not confined to this country; his name was well known in engineering circles all over Europe, and it is said that few works of importance were carried out in France or Austria without his being consulted. (434)

The obituary continues with a summary of his professional honors and achievements and a list of his knightly awards from France, Germany, Portugal, and Belgium.

It is not inconceivable that William Haywood himself, a man much given to subterfuge and no stranger to the uses of an alias,<sup>14</sup> may have encouraged the adoption of “Colonel W.” as his Gallic sobriquet. Be that as it may, even his formal title, Colonel W. Haywood, is as close to the “Well. Knonn celebrates Colonel W.” as Legman could have imagined. Legman was absolutely right to postulate a “British celebrity then in the news” (lvii), though he would perhaps much regret the eclipse of his favorite candidate, the notorious Pisanus Fraxi.

But then, why “Walter”? Perhaps this we shall never know.

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## NOTES

1. Unattributed page numbers in parentheses are from the 1966 Grove Press Edition of *My Secret Life*.
2. Legman’s claim for Ashbee is supported in a recent biography by Ian Gibson, who believes that *My Secret Life* is a work of fiction (Gibson 163–234).
3. Volunteers: “Soldiers who are not professionals nor permanently embodied under arms in peace” (Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Edition, Vol. 28: 208–09). They were later called “Territorials.”
4. An enlarged copy of this map was provided by the Southwark Local Studies Library, 21 Borough Street, London. On the 1841 census the Haywood house appears first in the row, immediately after the Grammar School, which was the other side of the church.
5. Information on the procedures and dates of British censuses is to be found in the leaflet “Censuses of Population 1801–1891,” issued by the Family Record Centre, Myddleton Street, London.
6. Comparative values of the pound in the year 2000, here and elsewhere in the text, come from “How Much is That Worth Today?” Economic History Services at <http://www.eh.net.ehresources/howmuch/poundq.php>.
7. The information on William Haywood’s appointment comes from the 1845 Minutes of the Court of the Commissioners of Sewers, held at the Corporation of London Records Office, Guildhall, London (CLRO CS JORS Vol. 80, 1845).
8. A copy of the search report from the Divorce Registry at Somerset House is held at the Corporation of London Records Office (Research Papers 13, No. 22). The Somerset House divorce records have now been transferred to the Court Service, Principal Registry, Family Division, 42–49 High Holborn, London.
9. Charles Dickens’s marriage was ended in 1858 by just such a deed of formal separation (Hibbert 252).

10. Haywood's decision to publish may have been influenced by the death in 1881 of his younger brother Henry, who could have identified the author immediately. Henry (Walter's "little brother Tom") had even witnessed one of the romps with Charlotte (73–74).
11. She seems not to have used the name Jemima, and seems to have been uncertain or evasive about her name, age, and birth-place. In the 1871 census she is listed as "Haywood, Emma J., age 35, born Monmouthshire, Chepstow." In 1881 she is "Emma Jemima, age 42, born in Wiltshire." In 1891 she is "Emma J., age 51, born in Wiltshire." Her legal name, according to Haywood's will, was Jemima Emma Elbrow, but research has so far failed to uncover either her actual place and date of birth or her prior marital status. In view of the 1871 census entry and her habit of lowering her age, she was probably born not later than 1835.
12. I owe this discovery to Eric Freeman's pamphlet, "The Founders of the Geologists Association" ("Founders" 163).
13. A cartoon in the *Hornet* shows Haywood with Gladstone and Queen Victoria, satirizing Haywood's omission from the list of Honours commemorating the Holborn Viaduct. In the same issue, a *City Press* extract regrets that "Mr. William Haywood . . . has been left out in the cold" (*Hornet* 1 Dec. 1869): 299–301.
14. Walter frequently gives a false name, for example to Mrs. M\*\*\*l\*\*d (868) and to Winifred (1387).

### ABBREVIATIONS

CLRO.	Corporation of London Records Office. Guildhall, London.
DC/DR.	Death Certificate or Death Registry entry.
FRC.	Family Records Centre. Myddleton Street, London.
LMA.	London Metropolitan Archives. Northampton Road, London.
POLD.	Post Office London Directories.
PRO.	Public Record Office. Kew, Surrey.
PSR.	Public Search Room. High Holborn, London.

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