NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THE 'MEMOIRS'

The text of the Memoirs I have chosen to reprint here is that of Godwin's first edition, published by Joseph Johnson in January 1798. It is in fact the first reprint of this edition, unamended (apart from a very few spellings, which have been modernized), to appear since that date.

As explained in the Introduction, Godwin responded to the storm of criticism it aroused, by swiftly publishing a second edition with various alterations, deletions and additions, in the summer of 1798. (The text that William Clark Durant published in 1927 is an amalgam of the two.) I have decided to maintain the integrity of the first edition, and handle the text of the second edition in the following way.

(a) Wherever Godwin added a new passage, of whatever length, it has been printed as a footnote at the place it occurs in the original text. (b) Where Godwin made small cuts, or alterations of phrase, I have indicated the most important of these in the footnotes as well. These footnotes are indicated in the text by a superior letter. I have ignored what I consider insignificant (often stylistic) changes, as these would unduly clutter the reader's text; but have faithfully recorded significant ones however small, even a single adjective. (c) In the three places where Godwin substantially rewrote (as explained in the Introduction, section 7), I have reprinted the two longest as an Appendix to the text, and the other in footnotes.

The reader thus has an authoritative and readable first-edition text; together with an accurate impression, from the footnotes, of what changes were made in the second edition. I hope the scholar in William Godwin would have approved.

Finally, the small numbers in the body of the text (as in A Short Residence) indicate where further information or commentary is available in my editorial notes at the back of the book. In general, I have tried to sketch in the background to contemporary names or references; and also added further observations on Godwin's technique as a biographer, which seems to me of the greatest historical interest in the development of the form itself. Once again, I have been enormously helped by the work of previous scholars in the field, notably William Clark Durant and Claire Tomalin; and by some shrewd remarks of William St Clair.

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But the principal work, in which she was engaged for more than twelve months before her decease, was a novel, entitled, *The Wrongs of Woman.* I shall not stop here to explain the nature of the work, as so much of it as was already written, is now given to the public. I shall only observe that, impressed, as she could not fail to be, with the consciousness of her talents, she was desirous, in this instance, that they should effect what they were capable of effecting. She was sensible how arduous a task it is to produce a truly excellent novel; and she roused her faculties to grapple with it. All her other works were produced with a rapidity, that did not give her powers time fully to expand. But this was written slowly and with mature considerations. She began it in several forms, which she successively rejected, after they were considerably advanced. She wrote many parts of the work again and again, and, when she had finished what she intended for the first part, she felt herself more urgently stimulated to revise and improve what she had written, than to proceed, with constancy of application, in the parts that were to follow.

Chapter Ten

I am now led, by the course of my narrative, to the last fatal scene of her life. She was taken in labour on Wednesday, the thirtieth of August. She had been somewhat indisposed on the preceding Friday, the consequence, I believe, of a sudden alarm. But from that time she was in perfect health. She was so far from being under any apprehension as to the difficulties of child-birth, as frequently to ridicule the fashion of ladies in England, who keep their chamber for one full month after delivery. For herself, she proposed coming down to dinner on the day immediately following. She had already had some experience on the subject in the case of Fanny; and I cheerfully submitted in every point to her judgment and her wisdom. She hired no nurse. Influenced by ideas of decorum, which certainly ought to have no place, at least in cases of danger, she determined to have a woman to attend her in the capacity of midwife. She was sensible that the proper business of a midwife, in the instance of a natural labour, is to sit by and wait for the operations of nature, which seldom, in these affairs, demand the interposition of art.

At five o'clock in the morning of the day of delivery, she felt what she conceived to be some notices of the approaching labour. Mrs Blenkinsop, matron and midwife to the Westminster Lying-in Hospital, who had seen Mary several times previous to her delivery, was soon after sent for, and arrived about nine. During the whole day Mary was perfectly cheerful. Her pains came on slowly; and, in the morning, she wrote several notes, three addressed to me, who had gone, as usual, to my apartments, for the purpose of study. About two o'clock in the afternoon, she went up to her chamber, — never more to ascend.

The child was born at twenty minutes after eleven at night. Mary had requested that I would not come into the chamber till all was over, and signified her intention of then performing the interesting
office of presenting the new-born child to its father. I was sitting in a parlour; and it was not till after two o'clock on Thursday morning, that I received the alarming intelligence, that the placenta was not yet removed, and that the midwife dared not proceed any further, and gave her opinion for calling in a male practitioner. I accordingly went for Dr Poignand, physician and man-midwife to the same hospital, who arrived between three and four hours after the birth of the child. He immediately proceeded to the extraction of the placenta, which he brought away in pieces, till he was satisfied that the whole was removed. In that point however it afterwards appeared that he was mistaken.

The period from the birth of the child till about eight o'clock the next morning, was a period full of peril and alarm. The loss of blood was considerable, and produced an almost uninterrupted series of fainting fits. I went to the chamber soon after four in the morning, and found her in this state. She told me some time on Thursday, 'that she should have died the preceding night, but that she was determined not to leave me.' She added, with one of those smiles which so eminently illuminated her countenance, 'that I should not be like Porson,\textsuperscript{32} alluding to the circumstance of that great man having lost his wife, after being only a few months married. Speaking of what she had already passed through, she declared, 'that she had never known what bodily pain was before.'

On Thursday morning Dr Poignand repeated his visit. Mary had just before expressed some inclination to see Dr George Fordyce,\textsuperscript{33} a man probably of more science than any other medical professor in England, and between whom and herself there had long subsisted a mutual friendship. I mentioned this to Dr Poignand, but he rather discountenanced the idea, observing that he saw no necessity for it, and that he supposed Dr Fordyce was not particularly conversant with obstetrical cases; but that I would do as I pleased. After Dr Poignand was gone, I determined to send for Dr Fordyce. He accordingly saw the patient about three o'clock on Thursday afternoon. He however perceived no particular cause of alarm; and, on that or the next day, quoted, as I am told, Mary's case, in a mixed company, as a corroboration of a favourite idea of his, of the propriety of employing females in the capacity of midwives. Mary 'had had a woman, and was doing extremely well.'

What had passed however in the night between Wednesday and Thursday, had so far alarmed me, that I did not quit the house, and scarcely the chamber, during the following day. But my alarms were off, as time advanced. Appearances were more favourable, than the exhausted state of the patient would almost have permitted me to expect. Friday morning therefore I devoted to a business of some urgency, which called me to different parts of the town, and which, before dinner, I happily completed. On my return, and during the evening, I received the most pleasurable sensations from the promising state of the patient. I was now perfectly satisfied that everything was safe, and that, if she did not take cold, or suffer from any external accident, her speedy recovery was certain.

Saturday was a day less auspicious than Friday, but not absolutely alarming.

Sunday, the third of September, I now regard as the day, that finally decided on the fate of the object dearest to my heart that the universe contained. Encouraged by what I considered as the progress of her recovery, I accompanied a friend in the morning in several calls, one of them as far as Kensington, and did not return till dinner-time. On my return I found a degree of anxiety in every face, and was told that she had had a sort of shivering fit, and had expressed some anxiety at the length of my absence. My sister and a friend of hers, had been engaged to dine below stairs, but a message was sent to put them off, and Mary ordered that the cloth should not be laid, as usual, in the room immediately under her on the first floor, but in the ground-floor parlour. I felt a pang at having been so long and so unreasonably absent, and determined that I would not repeat the fault.

In the evening she had a second shivering fit, the symptoms of which were in the highest degree alarming. Every muscle of the body trembled, the teeth chattered, and the bed shook under her. This continued probably for five minutes. She told me, after it was over, that it had been a struggle between life and death, and that she had been more than once, in the course of it, at the point of expiring. I now apprehend these to have been the symptoms of a decided mortification, occasioned by the part of the placenta that remained in the womb. At the time however I was far from considering it in that light. When I went for Dr Poignand, between two and three o'clock
on the morning of Thursday, despair was in my heart. The fact of the adhesion of the placenta was stated to me; and, ignorant as I was of obstetrical science, I felt as if the death of Mary was in a manner decided. But hope had re-visited my bosom; and her cheeries were so delightful, that I hugged her obstinately to my heart. I was only mortified at what appeared to me a new delay in the recovery I so earnestly longed for. I immediately sent for Dr Fordyce, who had been with her in the morning, as well as on the three preceding days. Dr Poignand had also called this morning, but declined paying any further visits, as we had thought proper to call in Dr Fordyce.

The progress of the disease was now uninterrupted. On Tuesday I found it necessary again to call in Dr Fordyce in the afternoon, who brought with him Dr Clarke of New Burlington-street, under the idea that some operation might be necessary. I have already said, that I pertinaciously persisted in viewing the fair side of things; and therefore the interval between Sunday and Tuesday evening, did not pass without some mixture of cheerfulness. On Monday, Dr Fordyce forbade the child’s having the breast, and we therefore procured puppies to draw off the milk. This occasioned some pleasantry of Mary with me and the other attendants. Nothing could exceed the equanimity, the patience and affectionateness of the poor sufferer. I intreated her to recover; I dwelt with trembling fondness on every favourable circumstance; and, as far as it was possible in so dreadful a situation, she, by her smiles and kind speeches, rewarded my affection.

Wednesday was to me the day of greatest torture in the melancholy series. It was now decided that the only chance of supporting her through what she had to suffer, was by supplying her rather freely with wine. This task was devolved upon me. I began about four o’clock in the afternoon. But for me, totally ignorant of the nature of diseases and of the human frame, thus to play with a life that now seemed all that was dear to me in the universe, was too dreadful a task. I knew neither what was too much, nor what was too little. Having begun, I felt compelled, under every disadvantage, to go on. This lasted for three hours. Towards the end of that time, I happened foolishly to ask the servant who came out of the room, ‘What she thought of her mistress?’ she replied, ‘that, in her judgment, she was going as fast as possible.’ There are moments, when any creature that lives, has power to drive one into madness. I seemed to know the absurdity of this reply, but that was of no consequence. It added to the measure of my distraction. A little after seven I intreated a friend to go for Mr Carlisle and bring him instantly wherever he was to be found. He had voluntarily called on the patient on the preceding Saturday, and two or three times since. He had seen her that morning, and had been earnest in recommending the wine-diet. That day he dined four miles out of town, on the side of the metropolis, which was furthest from us. Notwithstanding this, my friend returned with him after three-quarters of an hour’s absence. No one who knows my friend, will wonder either at his eagerness or success, when I name Mr Basil Montagu. The sight of Mr Carlisle thus unexpectedly, gave me a stronger alleviating sensation, that I thought it possible to experience.

Mr Carlisle left us no more from Wednesday evening, to the hour of her death. It was impossible to exceed his kindness and affectionate attention. It excited in every spectator a sentiment like adoration. His conduct was uniformly tender and anxious, ever upon the watch, observing every symptom, and eager to improve every favourable appearance. If skill or attention could have saved her, Mary would still live.

In addition to Mr Carlisle’s constant presence, she had Dr Fordyce and Dr Clarke every day. She had for nurses, or rather for friends, watching every occasion to serve her, Mrs Fenwick, author of an excellent novel, entitled Serency, another very kind and judicious lady, and a favourite female servant. I was scarcely ever out of the room. Four friends, Mr Fenwick, Mr Basil Montagu, Mr Marshal, and Mr Dyson, sat up nearly the whole of the last week of her existence in the house, to be dispatched, on any errand, to any part of the metropolis, at a moment’s warning.

Mr Carlisle being in the chamber, I retired to bed for a few hours on Wednesday night. Towards morning he came into my room with an account that the patient was surprisingly better. I went instantly into the chamber. But I now sought to suppress every idea of hope. The greatest anguish I have any conception of, consists in that crushing of a new-born hope which I had already two or three times experienced. If Mary recovered, it was well, and I should see it time
enough. But it was too mighty a thought to bear being trilled with, and turned out and admitted in this abrupt way.

I had reason to rejoice in the firmness of my gloomy thoughts, when, about ten o’clock on Thursday evening, Mr Carlisle told us to prepare ourselves, for we had reason to expect the fatal event every moment. To my thinking, she did not appear to be in that state of total exhaustion, which I supposed to precede death; but it is probable that death does not always take place by that gradual process I had pictured to myself; a sudden pang may accelerate his arrival. She did not die on Thursday night.

Till now it does not appear that she had any serious thoughts of dying; but on Friday and Saturday, the two last days of her life, she occasionally spoke as if she expected it. This was however only at intervals; the thought did not seem to dwell upon her mind. Mr Carlisle rejoiced in this. He observed, and there is great force in the suggestion, that there is no more pitiable object, than a sick man, that knows he is dying. The thought must be expected to destroy his courage, to co-operate with the disease, and to counteract every favourable effort of nature.

On these two days her faculties were in too decayed a state, to be able to follow any train of ideas with force or any accuracy of connection. Her religion, as I have already shown, was not calculated to be the torment of a sick bed; and, in fact, during her whole illness, not one word of a religious cast fell from her lips.  

She was affectionate and complaisant to the last. I observed on Friday and Saturday nights, that, whenever her attendants recommended her to sleep, she discovered her willingness to yield, by breathing, perhaps for the space of a minute, in the manner of a person that sleeps, though the effort, from the state of her disorder, usually proved ineffectual.

She was not tormented by useless contradiction. One night the servant, from an error in judgment teased her with idle expostulations, but she complained of it grievously, and it was corrected. ‘Pray, pray, do not let her reason with me,’ was her expression. Death itself is scarcely so dreadful to the enfeebled frame, as the monotonous importunity of nurses everlastingly repeated.

Seeing that every hope was extinct, I was very desirous of obtaining from her any directions, that she might wish to have followed after her decease. Accordingly, on Saturday morning, I talked to her for a good while of the two children. In conformity to Mr Carlisle’s maxim of not impressing the idea of death, I was obliged to manage my expressions. I therefore affected to proceed wholly upon the ground of her having been very ill, and that it would be some time before she could expect to be well; wishing her to tell me anything that she would choose to have done respecting the children, as they would now be principally under my care. After having repeated this idea to her in a great variety of forms, she at length said, with a significant tone of voice, ‘I know what you are thinking of,’ but added, that she had nothing to communicate to me upon the subject.

The shivering fits had ceased entirely for the two last days. Mr Carlisle observed that her continuance was almost miraculous, and he was on the watch for favourable appearances, believing it highly improper to give up all hope, and remarking, that perhaps one in a million, of persons in her state might possibly recover. I conceive that not one in a million, unites so good a constitution of body and of mind.

These were the amusements of persons in the very gulph of despair. At six o’clock on Sunday morning, September the tenth, Mr Carlisle called me from my bed to which I had retired at one, in conformity to my request, that I might not be left to receive all at once the intelligence that she was no more. She expired at twenty minutes before eight.

Her remains were deposited, on the fifteenth of September, at ten o’clock in the morning, in the church-yard of the parish church of St Pancras, Middlesex. A few of the persons she most esteemed, attended the ceremony; and a plain monument is now erecting on the spot, by some of her friends, with the following inscription:

Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin,  
Author of  
A Vindication  
of the Rights of Woman:  
Born 27 April, 1759:  
Died 10 September, 1797.
The loss of the world in this admirable woman, I leave to other men to collect; my own I well know, nor can it be improper to describe it. I do not here allude to the personal pleasures I enjoyed in her conversation: these increased every day, in proportion as we knew each other better, and as our mutual confidence increased. They can be measured only by the treasures of her mind, and the virtues of her heart. But this is a subject for meditation, not for words. What I purposed alluding to, was the improvement that I have for ever lost.

We had cultivated our powers (if I may venture to use this sort of language) in different directions; I chiefly an attempt at logical and metaphysical distinction, she a taste for the picturesque. One of the leading passions of my mind has been an anxious desire not to be deceived. This has led me to view the topics of my reflection on all sides; and to examine and re-examine without end, the questions that interest me.

But it was not merely (to judge at least from all the reports of my memory in this respect) the difference of propensities, that made the difference in our intellectual habits. I have been stimulated, as long as I can remember, by an ambition for intellectual distinction; but, as long as I can remember, I have been discouraged, when I have endeavoured to cast the sum of my intellectual value, by finding that I did not possess, in the degree of some other men, an intuitive perception of intellectual beauty. I have perhaps a strong and lively sense of the pleasures of the imagination; but I have seldom been right in assigning to them their proportionate value, but by dint of persevering examination, and the change and correction of my first opinions.

What I wanted in this respect, Mary possessed, in a degree superior to any other person I ever knew. The strength of her mind lay in intuition. She was often right, by this means only, in matters of mere speculation. Her religion, her philosophy, (in both of which the errors were comparatively few, and the strain dignified and generous) were, as I have already said, the pure result of feeling and taste. She adopted one opinion, and rejected another, spontaneously, by a sort of tact, and the force of a cultivated imagination; and yet, though

a. Godwin's revision, for the second edition, of the summary which follows can be found in the Appendix.

perhaps, in the strict sense of the term, she reasoned little, it is surprising what a degree of soundness is to be found in her determinations. But, if this quality was of use to her in topics that seem the proper province of reasoning, it was much more so in matters directly appealing to the intellectual taste. In a robust and unwavering judgment of this sort, there is a kind of witchcraft; when it decides justly, it produces a responsive vibration in every ingenious mind. In this sense, my oscillation and scepticism were fixed by her boldness. When a true opinion emanated in this way from another mind, the conviction produced in my own assumed a similar character, instantaneous and firm. This species of intellect probably differs from the other, chiefly in the relation of earlier and later. What the one perceives instantaneously (circumstances having produced in it, either a premature attention to objects of this sort, or a greater boldness of decision) the other receives only by degrees. What it wants, seems to be nothing more than a minute attention to first impressions, and a just appreciation of them; habits that are never so effectually generated, as by the daily recurrence of a striking example.

This light was lent to me for a very short period, and is now extinguished for ever!

While I have described the improvement I was in the act of receiving, I believe I have put down the leading traits of her intellectual character.
CHAPTER NINE
75. Godwin seems to have been doing some emotional stocktaking on this visit out of town: he was reconciled with his old political friend John Thelwall (with whom he had quarrelled), and went to see the father of Amelia Alderson (whom he had courted); he also probably saw his old mother, Ann Godwin, who lived at Guestwick, near Norwich. The abrupt changes which Godwin made in the second edition, to this eloquent defence of two lovers living together in an unmarried state, are discussed in the Introduction, section 7. He also deleted an entire paragraph, a little further on, frankly describing his own ‘apprehension’ of marriage. It is easy to charge him (as his enemies did) with hypocrisy; less easy to appreciate the extreme sensitivity of the issue in English society at that time. However, a close reading of the rather tortuous defence of his ‘prejudices’ in the second edition, will show that he still felt that the conventional institution of marriage was something to be ‘negatived’. Moreover, he made no attempt in either edition to disguise the fact that he and Mary Wollstonecraft had lived together ‘an experiment of seven months’ in a free union, and were supremely happy.
77. No. 29 Polygon Buildings, Chalton Street, Somers Town. Godwin explains later that he also took a working apartment near by, at No. 17 Evesham Buildings.
78. Elizabeth Inchbald (1753–1821), actress and novelist, renowned in youth for her beauty, and in middle age for her prim respectability. She was the author of A Simple Story (1791) and Nature and Art (1796). Charles Kemble had once been her lover, and Godwin her suitor. She was evidently jealous of Wollstonecraft. Sarah Siddons (1755–1831) was the greatest tragic actress of her age, the daughter of Roger Kemble. She was renowned for her roles as Jane Shore and Calista in Nicholas Rowe’s plays; as Belvidera in Otway’s Venice Preserved; and as Lady Macbeth. She introduced a new, brooding and inward interpretation of the tragic heroine, and critics from Dr Johnson to Hazlitt praised her for her solemn power. Gainsborough painted her portrait (National Portrait Gallery) and Reynolds depicted her as ‘The Tragic Muse’ (Dulwich Art Gallery). She was an intelligent and generous woman, who much admired Wollstonecraft’s work, especially A Short Residence; so that her decision to close her doors socially on the marriage gives some indication of the pressures under which the couple lived (and under which Godwin wrote this chapter of the Memoirs).
79. Compare this emotionally revealing passage of Godwin’s, with Wollstonecraft on the same subject of ‘domestic happiness’ in A Short Residence, Letter 12, p. 136, and note 86.

CHAPTER TEN
80. ‘Lessons for Children’, which Godwin suggests in an editorial note in the Posthumous Works were probably ‘written in a period of desperation in the month of October 1795’; that is, at the same time as A Short Residence was being prepared for the press. They give a rare and touching picture of Mary Wollstonecraft as a mother; and of little Fanny Imlay.
81. Published, unfinished, in the Posthumous Works, 1798.
82. Richard Porson (1759–1808), Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, classical scholar and – after his wife’s death – an exquisite drunkard. He edited the plays of Euripides, contributed to the Gentleman’s Magazine and was affectionately remembered for his witicism and eccentricities. When Coleridge won the University Medal for his Greek Sapphic Ode on the Slave Trade in 1792, Professor Porson expressed his praise of the undergraduate’s genius by offering to show 134 examples of bad Greek in the poem.
83. This is her old friend George Fordeyce the doctor, not James Fordyce the tiresome author. See Chapter 5, note 35. Dr Fordyce or Dr Carlisle probably provided Godwin with the gynaecological information which makes this final chapter so harrowing.
84. Basil Montagu (1770–1851), barrister, legal author and in his youth a radical friend of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Godwin and their circle. He published works on bankruptcy, copyright and the death penalty, and a mock-heroic poem Railroad Eclogues (1846). He was renowned both for his generosity and his indiscretion, being the cause of the rupture between Coleridge and Wordsworth in 1812. He was also probably responsible for the cruel story in the Milnes–Gaskell manuscript, quoted by Durant, which purports to show Godwin correcting Wollstonecraft’s religious sentiments on her deathbed. ‘Basil Montagu brought Dr A. Carlisle who prescribed a soothing draught. — “I feel in Heaven,” said Mrs Godwin to her husband who entered the room. “I suppose, my dear, that that is a form of saying you are less in pain.”’ (Durant, p. 324.)
85. The quiet, factual quality of the narrative should not hide the truth that Godwin was beside himself with anxiety and frustration at not being able to help his beloved wife. He had called, in succession, four different doctors – Pouginard, Fordyce, Clarke and Carlisle; he had a relay of three different nurses to attend her (Elizabeth Penwick, incidentally, was a feminist novelist); and several friends on constant standby to run errands. Most revealing of all perhaps, the gentle and stoic Godwin had almost completely lost his temper with his favourite servant, during that little exchange outside the sickroom.
86. Godwin was bitterly criticized for not suggesting at least the form of
some Christian sentiment at Wollstonecraft's deathbed. But gives what he had already said about her religious beliefs in Chapter 3, and his scrupulosity as a biographer in recording elsewhere her views when he did not agree with them, I find this evidence of Wollstonecraft's absence of religious concerns as she lay dying both convincing and strangely moving. (James Boswell's account of the philosopher David Hume's death as 'a good atheist' in 1776, was already well known.) It may be objected that the point of the Montagu anecdote was that Godwin would not allow Mary Wollstonecraft to express Christian sentiments. But this seems to misunderstand utterly the depth of mutual trust between husband and wife.

87. Old St Pancras Church still stands on St Pancras Way, Somers Town, next to the public garden adjoining St Pancras Hospital. Wollstonecraft's tomb was sacred to the entire Godwin family, and it was there, in 1814, that Shelley took Mary Godwin on the memorable afternoon when they declared their love for each other. The tomb itself was broken up to make way for the railway in 1866; the young architect supervising the destruction was Thomas Hardy. He later wrote a poem about it, 'The Levelled Churchyard'.

88. This concluding summary, and its revision, is discussed in the Introduction, section 8.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


For readers requiring more specialist studies, editions and sources, those listed below will prove stimulating and suggest further lines of inquiry:

William Clark Durant, *Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft Written by William Godwin*, 1927. (This is both a variorum edition and a biographical study.)