Chapter 52
Obituaries from the *Daily News*, Other Works Reissued and a New Cause (1868-1870)

In late August, a letter from John Richard Robinson of the *Daily News* held out an enticing offer. "It seems a thousand pities that the biographical sketches which you have contributed to the Daily News should remain in the newspaper only," he commented. *Many* would benefit if Martineau allowed them to be published in a volume. The project would be subject to her "wish and judgment" and the whole profit hers.[1]

After five days, Martineau agreed "very heartily" to Robinson's suggestion, having tried "the effect of your proposal on my friend Matt: Arnold . . . now at Fox How." Indeed, there had been "an idea in the family that my Ex^{rs} would propose this publication to the proprietors of 'Daily News'" immediately after my death," but that the sketches should appear during her lifetime hadn't occurred to her. The property of the articles, she concluded, was in the hands of the proprietors of *Daily News*. Hunt, her first editor, had spoken "glowingly of the ultimate republication of these Memoirs [but] never made any express provision for such a result." What would Robinson advise on number of volumes (two?) and arrangement - chronologically or by classification? "There must be a few lines of Preface, to explain what the book is, & why it appears," she went on. And what was her own opinion of the memoirs? "Frankly . . . I am not uneasy as to their quality being inferior to that of my other writings; & I do not like them less now than when they were written. There then!" As a matter of curiosity, she could say that she considered "the *Humboldt* to be, on the whole, the best of the set."[2]

Robinson promised to see "Longman's people or Murray's" when he returned to town and to let her know if the old proprietors of *Daily News* might bring out the work themselves. If she decided to retain the copyright, he guaranteed her against loss and promised the whole profits would be hers after printing and publishing expenses. Though he didn't think *one* article could be spared, "it would not do to have small print and crowded lines." An arrangement might also be made to issue the work simultaneously in America: his friends of the *Boston Weekly Advertiser* would ascertain this for him at once. "Ticknor & Fields, I fancy, would offer you a sum for this advantage, presuming you had retained the copyright."[3]

Cordial letters exchanged with Robinson seemed to justify favours Martineau had asked of other publishers. "I hear today from my friend, M^{r} Barry Knight, that the parcel of books for New York is actually gone," she wrote to Routledge in August. The story of this apparently "strange & unreasonable . . . commission" was that an American friend, to whom she was "under obligations," wished to present "M^{r} Chapman of Staten Island with a good beginning of a family library" and had asked her "to send over the *first editions* of all my works."[4]

While Jenny was away, Ellen and Fanny Wedgwood took turns staying with Martineau. In early October she again wrote to Reeve (evidently just back from Russia) about her witchcraft article. "One ev^{g} last month," Jenny had amazed her by saying that her aunt had never told her she had "reviewed 'Salem Witchcraft' before." Jenny promptly got out Martineau's *Miscellanies* "published at Boston *in 1835*" with the article on Upham from

> the poor little Unitarian "Monthly Repository," w^{h} had the most petty sectarian circulation; & I don't suppose any body living remembers the review. . . . So the matter is practically of no consequence.

Now she had a new topic to suggest for the *Edinburgh*, thinking Reeve did not see "the New York 'Nation,'" that had printed "an article in the N^{o} of September 10th, of very great interest indeed." Just now, when there was strong concern over "our Military system & affairs," the *Edinburgh* might "do great good by a worthy review of that Report - done by some experienced physician, or sound Sanitary official." If Reeve would like to see the article, "& its all-important point of view," she could borrow that number of the *Nation* from their Mechanics Institute.[5]

Martineau had had a pleasant exchange with Robinson, "Editor of 'the Express,'" concerning publication of her biographical sketches, "he taking all trouble & risk, & I all the profits." Her first sketch had been of Mary Berry in 1852, and "the Editor was so struck" he asked her to go on," and now there were forty-six: "Macmillan jumps at it, & agrees to handsome terms . . . . So I am looking over the Memoirs, & am two-thirds through . . . & I suppose the book will be out before the Christmas holidays" No doubt there would be "criticism & contradiction," as "every one of the personages will be too much praised for some readers, & too little for others." Still, *others* felt confident and she was willing to share their cheerfulness.[6]

By mid-November Martineau felt "less discomfort than usual" but was threatened by a new "mischief . . . a state of brain [congestion], hearing being (for me) acute, taste & touch very sensitive, & sight confused . . . with floating spiders &c." Despite that, she found the new number of the *Edinburgh* "full of interesting subjects" and "hardly knew w^{h} to turn to first." She still had "the Expiring Parliament" and "The Agricultural Labourers of England" to read, but "thought 'the Spanish Gypsy' very good indeed, & Kinglake at least as favourable as he deserves." Kinglake was singularly disagreeable to her, "personally, & in his habit of mind:" clever and entertaining as his books were, they were hopeless in regard to justice! And "W.R. Greg's 'Judgments'" were spoken of "with such deference & admiration" in the *Saturday Review*! Greg "began life with an immense opinion of himself," almost upsetting "the balance of reason in his comparison of himself with other men." Because women were superior, "men, or at least superior men, sh^{d} have two women at command," Greg claimed, "the wife for partnership & companionship, & her sister, to set her at liberty, give her leisure, or be his companion when she is disabled!" (Greg's essay exempted female *servants*.) Now, by the notices she had seen, Greg was as unsound in his facts as ever about "the negroes," not having learned anything of the accomplishments of the freed slaves since "he came into his plantation & negroes in his youth." When Greg and Carlyle were "in their insolent moods," one could show them "negroes considerably less 'savage' than themselves." Yet towards women, Carlyle's behavior was "generally beautiful: where W.R. Greg philanders vulgarly, & . . . regards them insultingly." Greg's recent political letters also seemed extraordinarily weak. "And one wonders what they are for."[7]

Despite the "hubbub & excitement all over the kingdom!" Ambleside remained quiet for the coming elections, Martineau went on. Robert's sons would take him to vote as soon as the polling booth opened, being "spacious & in an open place near his house . . . quite feasible for infirm old gentlemen!" No one had the least idea of the outcome, so the hourly returns would

be exciting. Macmillan was holding back her *Biographical Sketches* - wisely, she thought. More pleasing was the new edition of *Household Education* that her old friend "L^{y} Stanley of Alderley" had spoken of as "reissued 'last year.'"[8]

From Katherine Euphemia ("Effie"), Fanny Wedgwood's second daughter, a set of photographs arrived at The Knoll, and Martineau exclaimed "You have sent me the very last present I should have thought of looking for; - but so welcome!" At Ambleside they had not passed beyond their "autumn homeliness yet, - beyond apples, and late flowers and gay foliage, and sausages and pork-pies, and custards and the like." Effie must tell her mother that the best sparerib was going in next door, "to kind M^{rs} Irton Fell and the lesser one to Fox How ."[9]

To Reeve, Martineau had explained that *Household Education* was reprinted in 1849 from the *People's Journal*, then "bought by Smith & Elder on poor Moxon's death." After Smith's re-issue of a new edition in 1861 she heard nothing of it, but she was *pleased* the new generation was "growing up by thousands within the sound of my voice." Just now, there seemed to be "a curious rush . . . after several of my books," Comte doing wonderfully well.[10]

While agreeing to Macmillan's delay in getting out *Biographical Sketches*, by mid-December Martineau began to fret over the "non-appearance" of a book advertised "many weeks ago." When Robinson assured her the remaining sheets could be printed quickly, she wrote to Macmillan. In October and November, she had given the elections as an excuse for delay, but might they advertise the *probable date* of publication? Peremptorily, she asked for twelve free copies to be sent *to her* to inscribe for her family, and eight or ten copies sent directly to people whom she would specify, inscribed "from the author."[11]

In the Preface to *Biographical Sketches*, dated December 1868 (v-vi), Martineau credited Robinson with suggesting and taking over "all the trouble and responsibility" of publication. Though the essays were unaltered, in a few cases "sentences or expressions" might have been different if written at the later time. That would be "to tamper with the truth," however, each essay having conveyed the impression of a completed life on her mind.

Next a letter from Macmillan brought "surprise & admiration" - his was the first time she had received her share of the profits "before the book was sold." Robinson had correctly reported the share she received for books "for a long course of years . . . viz., two-thirds of the profits." In the past she waited till money came in and now hoped he might be repaid by a speedy sale.

After “arterial” bleeding in late January (described grimly to Sarah), Martineau rallied and told Macmillan jovially he was "a great hand at pleasant surprises" but reminded him of his fair profits. Robinson must "greatly enjoy his enterprise," and a second edition so soon would be "quite a triumph" for him. His taking on the proof-work again frightened her, but she was utterly unable to help beyond showing a few misprints such as "*solitude* for *solicitude*."[12]

News of Martineau’s new work came from unexpected sources. Macmillan sent notices from the *Nonconformist*, the *Illustrated London News* (by Shirley Brooks) and one that pleased Martineau most, by Henry Bright in the *Examiner*. Jenny cashed the draft at the bank, and Martineau planned to write to Leypoldt and Holt. Notices in March in the *British Quarterly*, *Spectator* and *Saturday Review* praised Martineau's style and estimates of character, the *Spectator* pointing wryly to her tone of "pleasant masculine irony" for those she disliked.[13]

At the end of February, Martineau wondered what “Mess^{rs} Leypoldt & Holt” intended by the £10 Macmillan had forwarded? Was it for the author or the concern? "Do speak frankly!"

Feeling she had Macmillan's ear, she asked his advice. In 1834 she had written "(in one day, lest I sh^{d} lose courage) a 'Letter to the Deaf' w^{h} was published by M^{r} Tait of E dinburgh [and] a few years after [by] Charles Knight [as] a neat little square sixpenny book, in grey paper cover." None of Knight's people could now give an account of it, nor did she get any response from a notice in "Publishers' Circular." For years Americans had driven up to her door to beg a copy, and the Bellenden Kers (living at Cannes, and both deaf), wanted a copy for "a very accomplished gentleman" there who had "an intense longing to see that 'Letter.'" She *knew* its cheapness was impractical, but the Kers thought her success with *Biographical Sketches* made a reissue practicable, though *she* preferred to think *it was wanted*. Recently, she had been surprised at Smith and Elder's reissuing *Household Education* without telling her and she made the same discoveries about *British Rule in India* and *Deerbrook* (both originally published by Smith and Elder, and *their* property). Boasting further, she was

> rather amused at the revival of an old form of fame,- which I remember encountering above 30 years ago, - the naming of a racehorse after one. I see "Miss Martineau 7 st:" in the Sporting column: not yet, as before "Miss Martineau won by half a neck."

Recently the London correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* had sent her "a very pretty account" of *Biographical Sketches*. "Let us hope it is not [by] M^{r} Robinson, - or you. It is not I!" In a postscript, Martineau provided specifications for *Letter to the Deaf*, asking Macmillan how many "sh^{d} one should print of such a special thing, - 1,000 copies, or less?"[14]

In mid-February, Martineau thanked Bright for his review of the *Biographical Sketches*, especially for his tribute to her "just & faithful remembrance" of Lord Elgin. Robinson and the two literary men she had consulted about the book, Matthew Arnold and Hensleigh Wedgwood, *had* anticipated its success, but she was taken quite by surprise (on receiving his copy, Arnold had risen early to send her his thanks). Ellen was to come tomorrow and could tell her about the Holts and other Liverpool friends Bright must know.[15]

Of the two Beaufort sisters, Martineau most often exchanged letters with Emily. On the death of Emily's husband, Jenny must have written of her aunt's "deep & painful sympathy" to Rosa (Beaufort) for a man who had caused her sister seven years of suffering. Although her sister's life might "now seem mere desolation," bereavement was more endurable than "moral ruin" in the home. Would Emily feel up to giving her husband's valuable work to the world? For Rosa's sake, Martineau noted that *she* had witnessed the "peculiar trials to the sister of a lonely (childless) widow." Martineau was losing ground: it was not now "a question of hemorrhage but whether the heart can rally."[16] Emily wrote repeatedly from early February.[17]

"I dare say you have heard from Rachel," Martineau next wrote to Sarah; "kind Cousin Fanny" of Bracondale would come in March, Jenny would then go to Edgbaston, Caroline to see her sisters, and the "little cook's turn" to go to Nottingham would be in April. Four days later, writing "*Confidential*" at the top of her letter, Martineau begged Sarah to invite Susan (Robert's eldest daughter) for a visit - Susan's expected hostess had just been thrown from her horse, and Martineau thought she *should* have a holiday.[18]

Beyond concocting a holiday for her niece, Martineau continued to swamp Macmillan with details of her former works that might be republished. Sending "'Letter to the Deaf', *the only copy in existence*, as far as we know, - in separate form," she wondered who owned the copyright and supposed it was Tait, "who died 4 years ago." Should she ask Knight if Tait made it over to *her* or to him when it was reprinted? Knight was "extremely infirm," but she might

ask his son, Barry, or his wife. "'The Billow and the Rock' *was* his property," but she didn't know whether he had sold the copyrights along with the *Weekly Volume*. Wishing to lay hands on a list of her books, she recalled that a lady who hoped to get *The Billow and the Rock* reprinted wrote to a printer "in this neighbourhood," and thought the offer was for "£14; but that was too high. I wonder who has the 'Playfellow'," she went on. Knight had thrown "away a little fortune in selling that," it having "gone from hand to hand, - ever since I sold the copyright (for a handsome sum) some dozen years ago." How *Forest and Game Law Tales* would read now she didn't know, but *the* book to reissue was *Eastern Life, Present and Past*. Moxon's death had "spoiled its career, when it reached a 3^{d} edition." Evans, "no man of business," proposed to reprint in "(in 1860, I think)," but she found no trace of it. From Lady Strangford and other Eastern travellers' accounts she concluded it had been pirated "& largely sold as a Guide-book." The copyright was hers, and Moxon's shop said only that the stock was exhausted years ago.[19]

Martineau agreed with Macmillan about her new memoir of Lady Byron. Lord Wentworth and Lady Annabella Noel (grandchildren) had been deeply moved, "appearing as it does, in counteraction of the Guiccioli slanders," allowing their grandmother to "speak for *herself*, in letters, poems &c," Dr. Lushington and Miss Carr having always held them back. ("I am very glad to have your kind letter," Martineau had written to Lady Annabella Noel, assuring her she had tried to right "the cruel injustice done to Lady Byron's reputation"). Finally, Martineau advised Macmillan that Thomas Martineau would now represent her in business.

After Macmillan agreed to republish "Letter to the Deaf," Martineau asked Jenny's substitute "to look over the proof," and *she* inconveniently "put marks of her own." Now those corrections "made it look rather a mess." If Macmillan didn't "approve or like the Preface" she now sent, she could state simply how it came to be republished. "What a notice there is of the 'Sketches' in the 'Spectator!'" she added. "I hear from U.S. that the book is likely to have a great run there."[20] Letters about the new publication poured into Martineau's mailbox. "I have never seen Sir John Barrow's Autobiography; & no statement in the Beaufort Memoir is taken from it," Martineau responded hotly to Lady Diana Belcher (daughter of an accused *Bounty* mutineer). Though the matter was of "no consequence either to the subject or the readers of the Memoir," Martineau had altered the passage and "thus it will stand."[21]

In her Preface to the second edition (dated April 1869), Martineau added a topic she had "most at heart, - the true principle of Biographical delineation." Men and women "of social prominence enough to be subjects of published Biography" had given themselves to society "for better for worse," she declared. The *characters* of distinguished men and women being more important than what they *did*, sincerity was "the true purpose and character of Biographical portraiture." For a biographer to tell "what a man did, and to conceal or falsify what he was," was wrong. Solace to mourners was no excuse for overpraise; faults should not be charitably hidden, and "the lustre of intellectual ability" should not blind the biographer.[22]

At Ambleside, Jenny had contrived a plan "to take a lodging here for a month" for four "hard-worked governesses, & poor young artists," Martineau told Sarah, *she* offering to provide "capital butter, milk, eggs & vegetables, so that the ladies will board cheaply." By April, two sisters, who could "rarely spend a month together," had "eagerly accepted the invitation." Surprisingly, Martineau added: "Last evening, I had the treat of hearing some really good music." Caroline Napier was "at her sister's; & they have musical inmates, & had the Miss Fells, who play and sing well."

On public affairs, Martineau lamented a “Royal family so absurdly inadequate to the time.”[23] Martineau’s various correspondents continued to petition and to write: for example, Lady Henrietta Maria Stanley.[24]

"There is no use in taking a small sheet when I write to you," Martineau gushed to Fanny Wedgwood in May: she must "take a sheet of the Chapman paper at once [and] run on till . . . in opera fashion ‘I can no more - I can - I can - I can no more.’" Maria Chapman had asked what Martineau thought of Sumner's speech opposing the settlement of claims with Great Britain over the rams. "I cannot think the Amer^{ns} will really go to war on such a basis as that speech," she sniffed. Sumner was a "shallow, conceited, unstatesmanlike man . . . who only wants to gesticulate, and spout Latin, and get admired by the Vulgar, at any cost!" On the "Neutrality question," John Jay was "obstinately wrong." The unanimity "on this side, - 'Spectator' and 'Star' included, she hoped would "act as a shower bath over yonder, and reduce Sumner to the position of poor Cha^{s} Wilkes, after the restoration of Slidell Mason and party." At home, John Bright's speeches worried her, the "one bright spot, while the black clouds are hurrying up," was Gladstone's management of his "Great Bill."[25]

Martineau had a *pound* from Sarah’s overpayment for champagne, the cost being £4.10.0. Drinking "much less, as the digestive system gives way," she was taking "Pepsine three times a day" and less food, her main comfort being "turtle (1/4 of a pint per day)." Jenny was looking "quite remarkably well," and the Arnolds were coming soon. Next week they hoped for "the treat of a sight of M^{rs} Bruce (Norah Napier, - now wife of the Home Secretary)."

Responding to Sarah on public affairs, Martineau groaned that "the vastness of the subject [being] so agitating,” she dared not “dwell upon it," with a continental war, "wide-spread & desperate, impending." An American war was also probable "at the shortest notice, - vulnerable as we are at present in Ireland, our N. Amer^{n} colonies, & the West Indies." The former American ambassador (Reverdy Johnson) knowing nothing of diplomacy, was "violent & indiscreet & insulting," nor could Motley (who succeeded him) “keep his temper . . . pleasant as he is as a literary man.” The "frontier fishery quarrel," between the United States and Canada, was getting worse daily; "the organisation of War office & the army hardly begun;" and Ireland "abundantly desperate." All this, “just when we are involved in the vital struggle between the employers & employed [and] in the very first step in the new path of democratic gov^{t} . . . manufactures & trade are in the lowest depression.” Pauperism had increased and the working-class, "hitherto . . . our hope & pride," was rotting away. "At such a time, we have no statesmen" except (the unpredictable) Gladstone. Bright was worse than no statesman, "so conservative that he dares not touch anything."[26]

Almost ending her gloomy forecast, Martineau repeated her "black outlook as regards the Royal family" - her concern being "purely & wholly for the country." *Good* news was her *Biographical Sketches’* "spreading every where," reviewed again in both the *Spectator* and the *Pall Mall*. The reviewers’ “laying hold of the particular point of that [second] Preface pleases me exceedingly," she ended smugly.[27] (A week later, James Thomas Fields of Boston indirectly confirmed Martineau’s continuing popularity, regretting that “you cannot again enrich the columns of the Atlantic Monthly with your contributions”).[28]

Unusually, Martineau reported her new panacea, turtle soup, to *Reeve*; Rachel was "strong on the question," as was her doctor. All believed that by "a daily cupful . . . I am saved

much of the unbearable 'distress' of extreme exhaustion." It was "terribly costly," but Robert, her sisters and her "Cousin Fanny" had arranged a regular supply from Liverpool.

On another topic, literary people had oddly taken a fancy to urge her to write. Her books *had* been "going into new editions" for the past two years with "occasional proposals" coming in. And now the success of *Biographical Sketches* was "a fresh beginning." Recently, she had to rub up her memory, after Sumner's speech "made such a hubbub," to put a stop to the American outcry over Britain's intent with the rams. Forster had done an "infinity of good at one stroke" to avert the danger of war (before his speech, she urged him to check on the list of ships). Another "point of self-defence" not mentioned was the British sea captains' "importuning the authorities for instructions what to do, on the institution of the blockage by the Washington Gov^{t}." Sneering at the American ambassador, Martineau noted that liveries reportedly brought by Reverdy Johnson's wife, "to dress up nigger 'boys'" to serve her caused Johnson to forfeit $2,000. "Perhaps Barnum w^{d} take them, & make a show of them, as a badge of servitude in Britishers' houses," she ended sarcastically.[29] Almost ending her gloomy forecast, Martineau repeated her "black outlook as regards the Royal family" - her concern being "purely & wholly for the country."

Having seen a notice of Mary Sturch's death, Martineau was relieved to hear from Fanny Wedgwood. Before the Wedgwoods went abroad, however, she wanted to know if there would be someone left at home "to receive & unpack your divan?" The local cabinet maker was slow, but "*so* good . . . as to be employed by all the gentry round," and she hoped Fanny might "truly & honestly like the work!" *She* had been taken with his preceding work, "the cushion for M^{rs} Sam^{l} Brown." Next day, Jenny added that the "ottoman" was on its way and that Mr. Stalker had been asked "to put some tassels at the corners . . . if he had any of the right kind."

Doing needlework for the Homeopathic Hospital at Birmingham, Martineau felt she was sinking in what looked like "brain-failure [with] head-sensations . . . extreme deafness . . . weakness of hands & limbs . . . odd sorts of sleep . . . & the returning 'distress' from weakness." Pleasantly, the Arnolds were home, and Fanny might imagine their feelings about Forster's speech. It was not often that "a man of no rank, & without genius, connexion, or . . . distinctive quality" did such a deed. Though the threat of war had ended, "the Amer^{ns} must be taught that England [was] not the table or the floor," to be thumped by them whenever they were in a pet! Fan Arnold just now came in bringing "a bulky case full of photos," while Atkinson's "scientific Committee" had obtained some "strong phenomena," Martineau ended - but while they *couldn't* reject the spirits, *he could*. That evening, to Martineau's satisfaction, the *Daily News* carried a leader on the American ships, including information she had sent the editors claiming that only the *Alabama* was technically open to a charge of belligerency towards the north.[30]

Probably in early summer, Fields called at The Knoll with his wife and "Miss [Mabel] Lowell" to say that his firm would publish Martineau's autobiography. Her executor approved, she apprised him in July. Rather tartly, she added that her "Ex^{r}" was "*not*" her brother, but her nephew: she felt that "elderly people sh^{d} take their Ex^{rs} from a younger generation [to forestall] an Ex^{r} dying before the Testator." While Maria Chapman was finishing her part, there would be ample time to make arrangements with a London firm, and plenty of publishers "outside the theological pale [would] gladly undertake the enterprise." As to Ticknor and Field's beginning the printing right away, Martineau had uncharacteristically forgotten that Chapman held a fully

corrected copy of the manuscript, which "saves the evil, & the great risk, of breaking the seals, & taking out any of the contents . . . w^{h} ought not to be opened till I am gone." Giving the exact numbers of pages in each of the two volumes, "of a convenient quarto size," she noted six plates she wished to include, none yet printed. Should she not send Fields the original engravings, "lest a rapid demand for a 2^{d} edition sh^{d} arise while the plates are 3000 miles off?"[31]

(Martineau's summer correspondents included Lady Augusta Stanley and Emily Beaufort [Lady Strangford]. "You bade me let you know of my movements," Emily wrote - complaining of toothache and "a detestable maid." Distraught over the loss of her husband, she sent Martineau a copy of the edition of his papers she had hardheadedly worked on).[32]

In August, Martineau was both pleased and vexed to receive a packet forwarded by Macmillan from Leypoldt and Holt of New York reporting on sales of *Biographical Sketches* and "no less than 19 notices of the volume, from leading U.S. newspapers." Seeing the announcement of her autobiography, Leypoldt and Holt offered terms for publication of the work in America. To Macmillan Martineau then groused that until Fields had "opportunity to deny it," she would not charge him with letting out the *fact* of her autobiography but the "blabbing [corresponded] remarkably with his presence in England." Indeed *some* notices "drolly" contradicted each other. Among the accounts of her life one said she began as a teacher of music, "an odd vocation . . . seeing that I was deaf from infancy" [*not* quite true]. Of the *Biographical Sketches*, she repeated that she liked the Humboldt best - the only one not noted by the English press - "whereas it is conspicuously distinguished by almost all these American reviewers." Letters about *Biographical Sketches* had come from Germany, Naples, "far away in the West &c."[33] Next day thanking Leypoldt and Holt, Martineau did not mince her words:

> Your inquiry about my Autobiog^{y} surprises me a good deal. . . . There never was any idea of its coming out during my life; my family & I have taken pains to keep the matter as private as possible [and] arrangements were made for its publication in the U.S. at the same time as in England.

All the rest was left to her executors. Some critical notices sent by Leypoldt and Holt amused her: for instance, that she had been "for a time a personal friend of L^{d} Brougham's," with whom she had never had "more than a drawing room acquaintance.[34]

(Later in August, Maria Chapman initiated an excited series of letters to her "dearest Friend" concerning Harriet Beecher Stowe's "True Story of Lady Byron's Life" in the September *Atlantic Monthly*. "You will have seen the article in the Nation," Chapman wrote. "That is by Edmund Quincy, as I suppose. Only two papers are in favor of believing Lady Byron's story [of Byron's incest], although every one has its article," the rest being "vexed to find themselves so distanced by Mrs. Stowe."

Chapman had thanked Stowe for her "courage & fidelity" and was asked to write to Martineau and to Lady Byron's daughter. "It tells very badly," Chapman snorted, for the morals of any country that sets aside 'Mrs. Stowe . . . for Madame Guiccioli [Byron's mistress], even tho' that country should be my own." Stowe had cited Martineau's 1861 *Atlantic Monthly* piece on Lady Byron, and Chapman feared Martineau "would have to bear the brunt alone." But she did not believe Fields had "blabbed" to Leypoldt and Holt about Martineau's *Autobiography*, for "it was in all the papers, as long ago as '55, that you were writing your life [and] it is *business* in

the eye of the trade." Chapman had heard too that Charles Follen was in Elizabethtown, New York).[35]

The Times had entered the fray over Stowe's article, and in the next six weeks the *Daily News* printed no fewer than 25 letters on the subject, including those from the Byron family solicitors. Martineau responded angrily to the charge of stirring up scandal over Byron. "Nothing but the fear of injury to M^{rs} Stowe or to the memory of Lady Byron would induce me to reply to your letter," she raged to a James Sinclair. *He* had "not read M^{rs} Stowe's statement with the requisite care," nor did Lady Byron's conduct need "such vindication as you suppose." Nevertheless, she had to deny as impracticable Stowe's request that she convince "Lady Byron's grandchildren to issue a Memoir of her, & letters &c of her own." That was forbidden by Lady Byron's will, and her papers were held by her trustees. In October, Chapman forwarded copies of letters she had received from Stowe. If Martineau had "strength for it," Chapman could still help by a word to *The Times* that Stowe's profits would all go to the Freedmen.[36]

In November, Chapman reported on "co-operative housekeeping" extolled in the *Atlantic Monthly* by Mrs. Charles F. Peirce. Now Peirce was "busy in instituting a [national] *woman's parliament*" to choose subjects to present to Congress. Stowe meanwhile *insisted* that Lady Byron had put no restrictions on her. Finally, Chapman promised to send Martineau Emerson's latest volume.[37]

Even Shepherd, Martineau's doctor, asked about the *Quarterly* article on the Byron/Stowe affair. It was coming to her "(in scraps)" on a Saturday, she told him, and "of course it is at your service, - next week, when I have read it." The article in *Fraser's* was "very bad: - badly written, badly reasoned, & essentially mistaken about the facts." American newspapers, meanwhile, had announced that "M^{rs} Stowe's narrative" was "'substantially guaranteed'" by *Martineau*.[38]

Sarah's daughter Mary was staying at The Knoll in Jenny's absence. Martineau reported, however, that her "pretty house" had been spoiled by "the ivy being lopped off, - every spray of it" (it was "cruel to clip in April," when there were nests "with eggs in them"). In last week's heavy flood, she went on, the "cows c^{d} not be milked (or Henry thought they c^{d} not)" until she insisted, and the little pig was brought up to the woodshed.

"M^{rs} Butler of Liverpool" had become one of Martineau's "chief correspondents" after she gave her name to the "Committee" on the Contagious Diseases Acts with the understanding that she could "undertake no work (nor involve Jenny in it)." But the *Daily News* would allow "M^{rs} Butler to print as a pamphlet five [of her] 'leaders'" on the subject.[39] "M^{rs} B's parentage" was the most interesting thing, Martineau went on, her "glorious father [being] Grey of Dilston." Now she wanted to read Butler's recent "Memoir . . . & sketch of British Agriculture." Fan Arnold called Butler "the most fascinating woman conceivable, - in appearance, manner, conversation & ways."[40]

Next, Martineau copied out a "remarkable" note from Macmillan, "w^{h} we think Miss Pilkington & Rachel will like to see [concerning] the Byron-Stowe affair. Macmillan's mind was evidently full of Stowe's article "his great & anxious subject," while *Martineau* was troubled at "the great injustice to Mary Carpenter" and could not explain the case to Macmillan, which "w^{d} involve his being told what M^{y} Carpenter's late illness was." Nor had she responded to the book Macmillan "threw out" for her opinion. In respect to her recent publications, this "fearful depression" would not, surprisingly, stop a third edition of *Biographical Sketches*, which was to

be stereotyped on less expensive paper and to sell "at 6^{s}." Recently, she had sent Maria Chapman the *Quarterly* "with L^{y} Byron's letters to M^{rs} Leigh." Stowe was requesting readers "to suspend their judgment" (on the truthfulness of her account of Byron), being at present occupied by the "Woman's Parliament" conference. "What a capital article . . . in 'the Nation', on that conference!" Martineau ended to Mary.[41]

Learning that Reeve's "obstinate gout" was better, Martineau said *she* had begun to mend with "the departure of visitors - Lake travellers - & the heat." Had she mentioned "Jenny's pretty plan for last summer?" Of the last *Edinburgh*, she thought "Dean Stanley's [article] very useful . . . to many who had grown tired of hearing of the Pope & his Council before they had any idea what the latter was." Who wrote "Count Bismark," she wondered? It was "extremely interesting, - strongly as I still care for continental politic." And the review of Crabb Robinson seemed true and fair.

> I glanced over the 3rd vol, to see whether there were any serious mistakes about affairs here [but] the complaints [and] many mistakes [disinclined her to read it]. I liked & respected the old man . . . but I *was* weary of his oft-repeated stories.

Indeed, she felt remiss "in omitting to tell D^{r} Sadler [editor] what might have put him on the watch for mistakes." Sadler had wished to print a letter of hers to Robinson, but gave it up when he saw her permission was "from duty, & not inclination."

How, she wondered next, could "Ministers get on with a man so imprudent as John Bright in the Cabinet?" That he had been overheard talking loudly about the Cabinet's indecision on the "Irish Land Measure" shocked her. But she must stop. A "Memorial" had just come in requiring study, & my signature: - a remonstrance to Lord Lonsdale for . . . appropriating some open land at the head of Windermere.[42] Feeling sure a "pretty box of French plums must come from M^{rs} [George] Holt," Martineau wrote to her daughter, Emily Holt. "What a pretty casket it is too!" How had Emily's mother borne the recent "trying weather?" *They* hadn't suffered by "gales & storms," but Martineau was glad "for our Fox How friends" that the Christmas family gathering was near. "I never before saw M^{rs} Arnold & Fan so unhappy," fearing "the decline & ruin of the beloved Rugby School." Did Emily know "the Butlers, - *the* M^{rs} Butler & her husband, the Rev^{d} George?"[43]

To Maria Chapman, Martineau described the "dreadful effort" of writing letters on the Contagious Diseases Acts for the *Daily News*. "Happily I thought of Godiva; and that helped me through." The editor, Walker, had been ill and one proprietor "was dead against the insertion of any of them," but Walker was adamant. Recently Martineau's "aged cousin . . . Peter Martineau," had died. He had been "the head of the family" and always good to her.[44.]

When Grace Ogden (unadvisedly) wrote to Jenny about the campaign against the "Act," Martineau snapped that the subject was "not one for her [niece] to touch." Nor could *she* do anything beyond giving them her "name & influence, while *they* do the fighting." But country people could get up petitions and spread publications of the "Association," she hinted. To the shame of London papers, they were refusing to publish anything on the committee's side of the question. Even the *Daily News* "under the new Editor, after inserting attacks, suppresses the replies." If Ogden could use copies of "the Four Letters of 'An Englishwoman' [hers], reprinted from the *Daily News*," Martineau would send half-a-dozen or more. People could help too in "obtaining money for the Committee," whose expenses would be enormous, for

> Com[ees] in both Houses of Parliament, - the bringing over of witnesses from the Continent, the expenses of witnesses from all parts of the country, the Agencies now in action, the public meetings, the printing of documents, legal advice &c require large amounts.

If Ogden could raise money, it would be "of the utmost use.[45]

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[1] John Richard Robinson to HM, 30 August [plus copy] [1868], BUL 736 (Robinson became manager of the *Daily News* in 1868).

[2] HM to Robinson, 5 September 1868, *CL* 5: 230-31; for Martineau's glowing tribute to Alexander Von Humboldt, see chap. 44.

[3] Robinson to HM, 7 September [1868], BUL 740.

[4] HM to Mess[rs] Routledge, 6 August 1868, *CL* 5: 227; Mr. [H. G.] Chapman, Maria Chapman's son.

[5] HM to HR, 6 October,1868, *CL* 5: 231-33; for the earlier review of Upham, "On Witchcraft," see chap. 6, (Martineau seemed slightly worried about Reeve's reaction); "Effects of Soldiering on Character and Physique," *Nation*, 10 September 1868: 214, cols. 1-2--215, cols. 1-2 [review of *Contributions relating to the Causation and Prevention of Disease, and to Camp Diseases*, ed. Austin Flint (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867), a comparison of mortality and resistance to disease by Northern soldiers on the basis of race and of city- or country-dwelling].

[6] Robinson had become editor of the *Express*, an evening version of the *Daily News*, in 1855; one publisher refused *Biographical Sketches* (see Thomas, *Fifty Years of Fleet Street* 194-95).

[7] HM to HR, 17 November 1868, *CL* 5: 233-35; James Moncreiff, "The Expiring Parliament;" George Kettilby Rickards, "The Agricultural Labourers of England;" Richard Monckton Milnes, "The Spanish Gypsy" (Milnes referred to the author of George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* as "he" and objected to the mixture of poetry and prose but quoted at length from the romantic tale); Edward Bruce Hamley, "Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea* (vols. III and IV)," *ER* 128 (October 1868): 539-76 (Hamley scorned Kinglake's inaccuracies but acknowledged his lively style); see "Greg's Literary and Social Judgments," *SR*, 7 November 1868: 625, cols. 1-2-626, col. 1 (review of *Literary and Social Judgments* [London: Trübner, 1868]); W.R. Greg, *Why are Women Redundant* (London: N. Trübner, 1869); Greg's most recent *signed* political essays included "England's Future Attitude towards the World" and "The Jamaica Problem," *Fraser's* 71 (June 1865): 719-35 and 73 (March 1866): 277-305; Greg had published *Essays on Political and Social Science, Contributed Chiefly to the Edinburgh Review*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853).

[8] *Household Education* (London: Smith, Elder, 1867), and see chap. 33; Lady Henrietta Maria Stanley to HM, 26 October, 2 and 9 November 1868, BUL 855, 856 and 857; Lady Stanley admitted to *mixed* success in educating her nine children as well as "100 children" in local parish schools where older girls learned to read music, sew and knit; Martineau then sent her a copy of Ellen's book (Ellen [Martineau] Higginson, *The English School-Girl. Her Position and Duties* [London: Chapman and Hall, 1859 [1858]) which Lady Stanley meant to try.

[9] HM to "Effie" Wedgwood, 10 November 1868, *HM/FW* 300-301 (Thomas Wedgwood, Effie's great uncle, was termed "the first photographer"); Martineau's *Guide to Windermere* (1854)

lists the Rev. S. Irton Fell, Sweden How, Ambleside, with whom she battled over church rates (see chap. 43).

[10] For *Household Education*, see chap. 33; for Comte, chap. 51.

[11] HM to Macmillan, 13 and 15 December 1868, *CL* 5: 236 and 236-37; Macmillan to HM, 14 December 1868, BUL 611.

[12] HM to Macmillan, 13 January and 4 February 1869, *CL* 5: 238 and 239.

[13] "Miss Martineau's Sketches," *Nonconformist*, 20 January 1869: 65, col. 3--66, col. 1; Shirley Brooks, "'Nothing in the Papers,'" *Illustrated London News*, 30 January 1869: 119, col. 1 [item 3] (Martineau had "done more for the instruction of men in political economy than any woman we have had among us," Brooks began, and readers should now be glad to hear the opinions of an accomplished and independent thinker); Henry Arthur Bright, *Examiner*, 23 January 1869: 51, col. 3--52, col. 1; Leypoldt & Holt, American publishers of *Biographical Sketches*; later reviews included *British Quarterly Review* 4 (1 April 1869): 554-55; "Miss Martineau's Biographical Sketches," *Spec*., 13 March 1869: 330, col. 1-331, cols. 1-2; and "Miss Martineau's Biographical Sketches," *SR*, 20 March 1869: 394, cols. 1-2 - 395, col. 1.

[14] HM to Macmillan, 28 February 1869, *CL* 5: 240-41; for "Letter to the Deaf" (*Tait's*, April 1834), see chap. 7, note 49 (neither Knight's edition nor an edition issued by Macmillan has been found, but see *Letter to the Deaf; an Essay* (New York: New York League for the Hard of Hearing, 1920): Rivlin 104; Martineau must mean *Household Education* (1867) and *Deerbrook* (1866); for re-issue of *British Rule in India* see Rivlin 15.

[15] HM to Henry Arthur Bright, 15 February 1869, *CL* 5: 239-40; Hensleigh Wedgwood's publications included *A Dictionary of English Etymology* (London: Trübner, 1859-1865), a (three-volume) precedent of the *Oxford English Dictionary*; MA to Mary Penrose Arnold, 16 January 1869, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 3: 307-8.

[16] HM to Rosa Beaufort, 7 January 1869, *CL* 5: 237-38; in her preface dated April 1969 to *A Selection from the Writings of Viscount Strangford on Political, Geographical, and Social Subjects*, ed. Viscountess Strangford (London: Richard Bentley, 1869), Emily modestly noted her husband's intention to edit his articles before illness unexpectedly carried him off (Martineau's reference to a sister's "peculiar trials" may be a veiled reference to her brother Henry's possible alcoholism).

[17] Emily Anne Beaufort (Lady Strangford) to HM, 2 February, 10 April, 24 June, 7 July and n.d. 1869, BUL 876, 877, 878, 879, 880 and 881 [not ssen].

[18] HM to Sarah, 1 and 4 March 1869, BULAdd. 80 (party pbd. *CL* 5: 242 and *HM/FL* 311-12.

[19] HM to Macmillan, 5 and 19 March 1869, *CL* 5: 244-45 and 246; for multiple publication of *The Playfellow* stories, see Rivlin (Mrs. S.C. Hall *borrowed* the title in *The Playfellow and Other Stories* [London: T. Nelson, 1866]); other republications of Martineau's works included *Forest and Game Law Tales* (London: Nattali, 1849) and *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1876).

[20] "Lady Noel Byron," *BS* 316-25 (not published in *Daily News*); Teresa Guiccioli, *My Recollections of Lord Byron: and those of Eye-Witnesses of his Life*, trans. H.E.H. Jerningham (New York: Harper, 1869) [and *Lord Byron jugé par les témoins de sa vie. My Recollections . . .* (London: Richard Bentley, 1869)]; HM to Annabella Noel, 5 March 1869, *CL* 5: 243; for the *Spectator*, see note 13.

[21] *An Auto-biographical Memoir of Sir John Barrow, bart., late of the Admiralty; including reflections, observations, and reminiscences at home and abroad, from early life to advanced age* (London: John Murray, 1847); HM to Lady Diana Belcher, 13 and 28 March 1869, *CL* 5: 245-46 and 247.

[22] "Preface to the Second Edition," *Biographical Sketches. 1852-1868* (London: Macmillan, 1869) v-vii.

[23] HM to Sarah, 20 April 1869, *CL* 5: 247-48); (Jenny evidently hoped to make a small profit, two cousins of the sisters then accepting); Martineau's *Guide to Windermere* of 1854 lists various Fells throughout the district.

[24] Lady Henrietta Maria Stanley to HM, [5 May ? (BUL HM 858)].

[25] HM to FW, 9 May 1869, *HM/FW* 301 -303; for Sumner and the rams treaty, see *Letters of Charles Sumner* 2; John Jay (*Remarks on the Clarendon-Johnson Treaty for Adjusting the* Alabama *Claims* [New York: C. Scribner, 1869; reprinted from the *New York Daily Tribune*]) asserted that Britain had failed to do justice to American claims because of its "looser code" with regard to laws of international neutrality; two articles in the *Spectator*: "Mr. Sumner on England's Obligations to the United States" (1 May 1869: 528-29) and "England and America" (8 May 1869: 556-57) were conciliatory but firm, as was a leader in the *Morning Star*, 6 May 1869: 4, cols. 4-5; for Wilkes, Mason and Slidell and the *Trent* affair, see chap. 47; Martineau may refer to John Bright's unpopular speech in favor of the government's buying out large Irish land-owners (*The Times*, 8 May 1869: 8, col. 6--9, col. 1); on 1 March, Gladstone introduced a bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

[26] HM to Sarah, 22 May 1869, BUL Add 83 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 250-52); Norah Napier, daughter of William Napier and the second wife of Henry Austin Bruce (in the impending Franco-Prussian War, Britain was pledged to protect Belgian neutrality; for mention in the House of Lords of the Eastern question concerning the boundary between Russia and Turkey, see *The Times*, 4 May 1869: 8, col. 4 [Martineau seemed to project her own physical discomfort onto national affairs]).

[27] *Spec*. 15 May 1869: 601, col. 1; "Miss Martineau's Biographical Sketches," *Pall Mall*, 11 February 1869: 493, col. 2--494, col. 1 (praising the truth and thoughtfulness of her obituaries) and a paragraph under "New Books and New Editions," *Pall Mall*, 18 May 1869: 1708, col. 2, lauding her aim as stated in the Preface to tell the *whole* truth about individuals.

[28] Fields to HM, 29 May 1869, BUL 304.

[29] HM to HR, 31 May 1869, *CL* 5: 252-53; Forster to HM, 25 May 1869, BUL 312; for the rams, see chap. 49; at Bradford on 20 May 1869, Forster offered a painstaking rebuttal of Sumner's charges and assured Americans of unchanging British friendship (the British having seen Lincoln's policy of blockading Confederate ports as a de facto recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent state: see HM to MWC, 16 June 1869, *HM/FL* 312-15); the story of the liveries has not been verified.

[30] HM to FW, 8 June 1869, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 303-305); Jane (Jenny) Martineau to FW, 9 June 1869, *HM/FW* 305-306); "Stalker & Higgins, joiners" at Ambleside, listed in Martineau's 1855 Directory of the Lake District; *DN*, 8 June 1869 [naming all ships built in Britain for the Confederacy] (see Appen., *HM/DN).*

[31] HM to [James Thomas] Fields, 9 July 1869, *CL* 5: 254-55; Martineau's "Prefatory Note" of 22 June 1869 declares "Messrs/ Fields, Osgood, & Co." to be the authorized publishers in the

United States (HM to Fields, 22 July 1869, HL MS F1 5399 and *Auto*. [Boston: James R. Osgood, 1877] 1: v); the plates comprised "the two portraits, - the house in w^{h} I was born, - the view from my Tynemouth window . . . & two wood engravings of this house."

[32] Lady Augusta Stanley to HM, 16 April 1869 (BUL 854); HM to Lady Stanley, 30 September 1864, NYPL/Montague/Malthus/box6 (on Lord Elgin; partly pbd. *CL* 5, 82); Emily Anne Beaufort to HM, 30 July 1869, BUL 880 and 881; Percy Ellen Frederick Smythe, *A Selection from the Writings of Viscount Strangford on Political, Geographical, and Social Subjects. Edited by the Viscountess Strangford* (London: R. Bentley, 1869) comprised witty observations on Greek, Turkish and other recent near eastern contacts with the English.

[33] HM to Macmillan, 24 August 1869, *CL* 5: 256-57 (Martineau *had* claimed she was musical as a young person: see chap. 45.

[34] HM to Leypoldt & Holt, 25 August 1869, *CL* 5: 257-58 (a number of people in fact knew of Martineau's autobiography).

[35] MWC to HM, 30 August, 6, 10, 19, 26 September, 11, 14 and 25 October 1869, BUL 137, 140, 142, 146, 149, 153, 154 and 157; [Harriet Beecher Stowe], "The True Story of Lady Byron's Life," *Atlantic Monthly* 24 (September 1869): 295-313 (for Guiccioli, see note 20); [Edmund Quincy], "The Byron Horror," *Nation* 9 (26 August 1869): 167, cols. 1-2 (followed by "Was It a Mystification?" on 2 September 1869 [189, cols. 1-2] and "Supposing It to be True," on 9 September 1869 [208, cols. 1-2--209, col. 10]), decrying Stowe's publication of an unreliable story and ending with a hit at "Messrs. Fields, Osgood & Company [for] making money by the article . . . enough to kindle righteous indignation in the breasts of the most depraved lookers--On."

[36] See "The True Story of Lady Byron's Life," *The Times*, 30 August 1869: 8, cols. 4-5 (quoting Martineau), followed by "Lord Byron's Memory" [letters from the Byron family lawyers], *The Times*, 1 September 1869: 8, col. 3, and *The Times*, 21 October 1869: 8, col. 2 (report on Stowe's "card" addressed to "Friends of Justice and Fair Play," on her present silence and plan to add to the story of Lady Byron - from "an American Correspondent"); HM to James Sinclair, 4 September 1869, *CL* 5: 258; Martineau may have written the short, low-key letter weighing evidence in favor of Lady Byron: "Lady Byron and Mrs. Stowe" [signed "M," the fourth of five letters], *DN*, 11 September 1869: 5, col. 4; see HM to MWC, 26 September 1869, *CL* 5: 258-60.

[37] MWC to HM, 1 November 1869, BUL 158; [Mrs. Charles F. Peirce], "Co-operative Housekeeping. I-V" appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1868 to March 1869, stressing its cheapness, utility and social benefits; RWE, *May-day, and Other Pieces* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields; London: Routledge, 1867).

[38] HM to Shepherd, [1869], *CL* 5: 265-66; Abraham Hayward, "The Byron Mystery," *QR* 127 (October 1869): 400-44 [and "The Byron Mystery: Mrs. Stowe's Vindication," *QR* 128 (January 1870): 218-50 (rev. of *Lady Byron Vindicated: A History of the Byron Controversy, from the beginning in 1816 to the Present Time. By Harriet Beecher Stowe* [Boston: Osgood, Fields, 1870]) sneering at Stowe's unproven charge of incest); "Lord Byron Vindicated," *Fraser's* 80 (November 1869): 598-617 (calling Lady Byron "[a] woman of a cold correct temperament, unable to make allowances").

[39] HM to Mary Martineau, 21 November 1869, *CL* 5: 260-62; Martineau's new farm man, Henry Bucknall; see Josephine Elizabeth Butler to HM, 29 July and 3 August 1869, BUL 720 and 721; Butler's committee concerned the Ladies National Association for Repeal of the Contagious

Diseases Acts; see *The Contagious Diseases Acts as Applied to Garrison Towns and Naval Stations: being a Series of Leading Articles from the "Daily News" of 1863* (Liverpool: T. Brakell, 1870); Martineau published three letters and a statement in the *Daily News* (see note 47); members of the committee were "Mrs. Reid, Mrs. Nichol, Miss E. Wolstenholme, Mrs. Jacob Bright and Mrs. George Butler."

[40] Josephine Butler (née Grey), was descended from Huguenot silk weavers on her mother's side, her father an agricultural reformer and anti-slavery advocate; *Memoir of John Grey of Dilston. By his daughter, Josephine E. Butler* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1869).

[41] See Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The True Story of Lady Byron's Life," *Macmillan's* 20 (September 1869): 378-96 (with slight changes from the *Atlantic Monthly*); Martineau must mean that Carpenter (who suffered from rheumatic fever in 1854 and died of rheumatic heart disease in 1877) would be implicated as one of Lady Byron's executors; see "Mrs. Stowe's 'Vindication,'" *The Times*, 20 January 1870: 5, cols. 1-5 (judging Stowe to be truthful but misguided - and Lord Byron *innocent*); for the *Quarterly*, see note 40; "The 'Woman's Parliament,'" *Nation* (28 October 1869): 358, cols. 1-2 (skeptical of mere *talk* by women's rights advocates).

[42] HM to HR, 10 December 1869, *CL* 5: 262-64; Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, "The OEcumenical Council," *ER* 130 (October 1869): 297-336 (on points that *should* be taken up by the General council called by the Pope for December 1869); Friedrich Heinrich Geffcken, "Count Bismark," *ER* 130 (October 1869): 417-58 (a detailed account of his rise to power); Herman Merivale, "Diaries of Henry Crabb Robinson," *ER* 130 (October 1869): 509-539 (rev. of *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*); for Bright, see note 25.

[43] HM to Emily Sarah Holt, 18 December 1869, *CL* 5: 364-65.

[44] HM to MWC, [31 December 1869], *Auto*. 3: 438-39; "The Contagious Diseases Acts [letter signed An Englishwoman],” "The Contagious Diseases Acts. II," "The Contagious Diseases Acts. III," *DN* 28, 29, 30 December 1869: 6, cols. 2-3; 3, col. 4; 2, cols. 3-4, and "The Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts," *DN*, 31 December 1869: 5 col. 6 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); Peter Martineau died shortly before his 84th birthday.

[45] HM to Grace Ogden, 12 February 1870, *CL* 5: 266-67; Martineau's 18-page pamphlet, *Four Letters by "An Englishwoman" on the Contagious Diseases' Acts* (Bristol: Issac Arrowsmith, n.d.), included 8 statements followed by 128 signatures beginning with Martineau and Butler.