

## Chapter 51: Resignation from the *Daily News* and general correspondence (1866-8)

Troublingly, Martineau's review of the year 1865 failed to appear in the *Daily News* owing to "a series of mistakes by poor dear Jenny." Unknown to Martineau, it had arrived too late for use, "after 13 years of irreproachable business-conduct," she told Fanny Wedgwood, and she feared the editor would think her "too weak to . . . be depended on." He had been "as generous as possible," however, saying she cared too much about it. "Ah yes! I dare say I *was* talked over at the P.A. Taylor Committee," Martineau went on. Conway, who led them "by the nose [and was] hopeless, from his ignorance and conceit," was still abusing the President, while in America men like Sumner were "failing in Congress and everywhere." As to Taylor's "failure in public life," *she* had never seen "any signs of thought or substance of any kind in him" but had not thought Forster "would so very far surpass him in parliament." Though never "frothy and sensational," Forster was "naturally impetuous." Cardwell's recent mediocre speech to his constituents at Oxford should show what Forster would have to do "to keep his *Chef* up to the mark."

Had Fanny read that "begging book" of "Miss Eyre's . . . 'A Lady's Walks in the South of France'"? It seemed a "disgusting book . . . disclosing the family poverty . . . and preaching and censoring right and left." What, Martineau wondered, did Margaret Davy now think about Governor Eyre, who "used to be such a pet of M<sup>rs</sup> Fletcher's and all of them?"<sup>1</sup>

Breaking off, Martineau commented slyly: "My doctor is not at the wedding, - for here he comes, past the window" (Shepherd reported *not* having received the "lymph" from "the Privy Council officer" to vaccinate her cows). Jenny had been out at 10am on the "first sunny morning" in weeks to allow both maids to go to a grand wedding of the parson's niece, who was marrying "a Cap<sup>n</sup> Dawson" and starting "at once for the Cape." The feasting today was enormous, at the great house opposite; and tomorrow . . . fasting and humiliation for the Cattle-plague. Will the parsonage fast on the drumsticks of the chickens they have bought up all round the country? [The parson] with his £16,000 house, and his 3 carriages, and his dozen servants, and his dainty table, had insisted last Sunday that the cattle plague was a judgment "on our sins, and especially on our addiction to luxury!" In the past, she added disgustedly, he had the nerve to scold "husbandmen and artisans [for their] pint of ale and pipe." Yet he was friendly with her, and had even asked her little favours.<sup>2</sup>

Still engrossed in Mary Berry's *Journals and Correspondence*, Martineau marveled at how mournful they were. "What a restless ambitious mind! . . . and the absurd discontent with their lot [the Berry sisters' as well as their father's], without power or will to raise or amend it!" To Martineau the interest was mainly in "old Horace and his love." But how badly Playfair appeared, so "adulatory and tiresome to blue-stocking ladies." She was "glad to meet L<sup>d</sup> Webb Seymour again," but liked him better in "Horner's Life." Speaking of elderly friends, Martineau had not heard from Elisabeth Reid, and Harriet Higginson thought her "very feeble" when she called.

Concerning her work, "You see those Amer<sup>n</sup> publishers have published my private letter of acknowledgement of their cheque!" Their "trumpery procedure" was meant "as an advertisement of the History" but at least stopped entreaties for her to work, she wishing to be "let alone" with *Daily News*. Now she had had a "honeysweet and oilymouth letter from M<sup>rs</sup> Farrar [who] was in a great fright [and] must be losing her faculties. She supposes me writing the History now."<sup>3</sup>

Martineau's tribute to William Lloyd Garrison in the *Daily News*, 9 January 1866, recaptured the spirit of her own long campaign against slavery. Garrison had lived to set in type with his own hands the announcement of the abolition of slavery in the United States, thereby ending publication of the *Liberator*. Though his first target (the Colonization Society) brought on a charge of libel, Garrison had not been deterred. Indeed, Martineau claimed, his voice helped to prevent slave insurrections in the South, while his present retirement characterized his clear-sightedness.<sup>4</sup>

Although Martineau had differed with the Unitarian minister at Nottingham, Peter William Clayden, over the American Civil War, Reeve now asked Clayden to send her a prospectus for an article on "Reconstruction." Clayden was anxious to do it well and "spare no pains," Martineau assured Reeve, "& really, he has a most capital batch of materials to work from." Though his former article "on Peel & Palmerston" looked like "the work of a "clever youth," he now "has substance enough on his study table . . . if he can but transmute it into an article." Her reports from America were "most cheerful," the "Negro Suffrage measure (for District of Columbia)" sure to pass the Senate.

"I wonder whether our queer cousin Helen Comte & her husband have yet arrived," Martineau added. They had the absurd idea of undertaking the management of a large estate after one *year* of learning - "an embarrassment to the T. Lombe Taylors."<sup>5</sup>

Apologizing to Sarah for not writing, Martineau explained that she was anxious "to carry on the American case as long as possible, - & some other topics" for *Daily News*. Two of her leaders had appeared the day before, on the "Jamaica constitution & Nagpore Exhibition." Though wanting to write on American reconstruction, "a most anxious & important subject [that] nobody who has not been in America understands . . . at all thoroughly," she could not do it. Hot-headed people who had abused her for months for her opinion of President Johnson were "beginning to doubt the prudence of . . . railing at him." Although he made mistakes, she admired his "honesty, disinterestedness, independ<sup>ce</sup> & good sense." It was good, moreover, for "insolent opposers of working-class suffrage to see, in two successive Presidents, what a rail-splitter & a journeyman tailor may be . . . after a training by a due exercise of political rights." But she "must not begin on Gov<sup>r</sup> Eyre or his sister." At the Knoll, her two cows had been vaccinated, "the very first in this neighbourhood," their county being "one of the 2 English counties as yet untouched by the disease." Their "J.Ps" were "oddly strict about some things: people could "not get hay or straw without a license, - even from hay merchants who [had] nothing to do with cows." Because of Martineau's new young cook, Caroline vowed that "the kitchen life was never before so comfortable, in the 13 years she has been here." Shepherd had just stopped with gossip that London police had "set Ambleside all astir about a Lady swindler . . . calling herself widow of Col<sup>l</sup> Webb of Ambleside."<sup>6</sup>

Having declined a reading of Clayden's manuscript before it went to Reeve, Martineau was glad to find he was "in his 40<sup>th</sup> year," so Reeve would "not have the disadvantage of youth

to deal with." Her article on "Sumner's view of the constituency question" and the President's possible difficulties with "Fred: Douglass's deputation" had just gone off to *Daily News*, she told Reeve. Had he not known about the fury of "a certain sort of Americans" against her? She had *not* spoken with severity of Americans, but had written that way *to them*. Telling them their mistakes was the way to be very unpopular, but personal friends *desired* to know what she thought. Indeed, the zealots in the *Anti-Slavery Standard* now preached her doctrines on free trade. Then came the *Trent* affair, when "the uproar" caused her to withdraw. A "horrible consequence of civil war" was the ravage of opposing passions within families: some "too wise for their generation, & too liberal for their country" had been "insulted, scorned, wounded in their feelings by near & dear relatives." John Jay, appointed minister to Austria and travelling in Europe, had asked "for letters to English *friends of his country*," and she was excluded. "The oddest bit of peevishness," however, was Laugel's. When she pointed out two omissions in his article on the United States in "the *Revue des deux Mondes*," including "the abundance of land and rapid development of the republic as causes of prosperity," he charged her with trying to defraud the founders of the republic of their honors. Was not that wonderful?<sup>7</sup>

Jenny's pleasure in her fowls and "fat ducks" delighted Martineau, so the news of three "precious ducks which thought proper not to come home last night" provoked a mild household crisis. Jenny could "see them from an upper window" and had "gone to 'circum-went' them" in the meadow, Martineau quipped. "Thence she goes to Fox How, to carry 2 vols of poetry . . . for Fan to read from . . . at the parson's tonight, where the Ladies have poetry meetings." Fan had been going to borrow "M<sup>rs</sup> Browning's," but the parson would probably read hers, so Martineau suggested Bryant's deistic "Thanatopsis." The next time the parson called, Martineau had "a good mind to tell him . . . that she [Browning] and her husband were both dissenters, - to see the effect of the shock."

Speaking of the Arnolds, she *hoped* Matthew's gibes at English complacency and mediocrity (in "My Countrymen") might "do more good than harm," but it *would* do harm. His "apparent insensibility to the qualities of character and privileges of life" valued by the English upset her. She found his seeming preference "for a life of drill and external uniformity" as in *A French Eton* offensive, though how he himself improved!<sup>8</sup> Charles Babbage's *Passages in the Life of a Philosopher* had come in "the Mudie box," and Martineau exclaimed: "His face and his voice come back with painful vividness while I read . . . the wild and weak and unaccountable bits here and there give me the old qualms." The book seemed inspired in a few places; nobody could estimate the man who was shattered by his wife's death, "the grand interest of his life." If she and Fanny met, she would relate an anecdote "about M<sup>r</sup> Ker, in regard to Babbage."<sup>9</sup>

Martineau's *Daily News* leader of 1 February 1866 had pointed to issues the new session of Parliament should address (Russell's new Cabinet formed in October after the death of Palmerston was expected to dissolve). She took no notice of "poor George Bancroft's exploit," she went on to Fanny, having known Bancroft first

in his student days, - when he'd left the Unitarian pulpit for his study and his History.

Then his wife died, he married the odious woman you probably saw when he was ambassador here; and he betook himself to political life, and lost himself utterly.

In the case of the "Lincoln éloge" the blame rested with those who had set him up "to 'orate' in the Capitol." Bancroft, who suffered from the "family lunacy," had been "one of a party who

took me to see a Lunatic Asylum in Mass<sup>ts</sup> [and] if I lived 1000 years I should never forget it." "How happy the College girls are!" Martineau ended: the letters of her "dear little niece overflow with happiness." Sadly, a note from Elisabeth Reid seemed to be the last she would write.<sup>10</sup>

Clayden had "taken to heart the American subject," and Martineau assured Reeve she would keep him supplied with materials "for a judgment on events as they pass." Clayden now proposing an article on freedmen as a continuation of her "Negro Race in America," she would be happy to read his proofs to point out "any serious difference that I may find between his views & my own," she added. Curious evidence of the "fickleness" of the Americans who insulted her had arrived that morning. *History of the Peace* was coming out there, "'by desire of many of the chief bankers & merchants of the U.S.," the--just out-third volume being favourably reviewed. Even the editor who had broken with her "about freetrade & the 'Trent'" (Greeley) had begged "a notice of practicable length" from a friend of hers. He was "amazingly civil, & means this as an *amende*," she sniffed.

Speaking of *history* reminded her of George Bancroft, "of whom she'd "been thinking much." (His first wife, while "not a very delightful woman," was still better than the second - "an ambitious coxcomb of a woman, - a scheming widow"). She had first met Bancroft as "a dusty, half shaven student, with an agonized countenance." When they drove through a Connecticut valley, he "got into frightful spirits, whooping & waving his handkerchief at the country people we met." Then he entered politics and as American ambassador came to England. After calling on the Wordsworths, he learned "how near I was [and] drove up at 10 one Saturday night, to beg me to make a tour with them next day, & act as guide [he being] elaborately cravatted & brushed, & most pompously affectionate." His *wife* proposed "to make my house her 'country retreat,' where she might come down, & enjoy rest & communion when worn with London!" Martineau had not encouraged the wife and afterwards saw the couple in London, "a pitiable sight, - stiffened up, - he trying to be dignified, & looking crazy with fear, - & she getting quizzed for bad manners." During the war, she observed Bancroft "pushing for notice, & pretending to be grand & ferocious on behalf of the negro . . . . And now he *has* done it!"<sup>11</sup>

Yes, Delane had made "an absurd & mischievous mistake," she continued to Reeve. "Well, we shall get Agricul<sup>l</sup> Statistics at last, for w<sup>h</sup> I have worked for years." *She* had just been "filling up" her "return of cows & pig," with great satisfaction.<sup>12</sup> Next she apologized for keeping the proof of Clayden's article for three days, but "the disease at present takes a fancy to my head, & I cannot for days together, read to any purpose." The article seemed *admirable*, but she found several faults. Was not Oliphant's name Laurence, & not Lawrence? "He was L. Elgin's sec<sup>y</sup> once; & I have known about him for years." She also questioned a wish for disunion in the North before the "collision," and there was "an enormous blunder" about the "Negro Suffrage Bill for the District of C.," which had *not* passed, having been delayed "by the Senate, in the knowledge that the President w<sup>d</sup> veto it." A mistake of that magnitude was astonishing in such an article.<sup>13</sup>

Thanking Sarah for an "enclosure" to buy champagne, Martineau reported new "bad circulation." When Jenny went home on 12 April, her "faithful & tender old Coz," Catherine, came; Martineau suffered another "head attack" but rallied quickly.<sup>14</sup> "No, we do not lament at dear M<sup>rs</sup> Reid's death," Martineau told Fanny Wedgwood in mid-April. The decay of her mind

painfully impressed a mutual friend, and "one c<sup>d</sup> only desire the end." Would the Wedgwoods go abroad this summer? Rome did not seem to suit English people this year, but the Wedgwoods wouldn't go *there*. "Poor M<sup>rs</sup> Davy, - feeble, infirm, & excessively deaf, is just gone, with the D<sup>r</sup> - to Rome!" Waggishly, Martineau told Catherine she better "behave pretty" as there was no "magistrate nearer than High Close. . . . the whole set of J.Ps wandering away, and leaving us to the rogues and vagabonds." No, she *wouldn't* begin on another sheet, so "not a word on books or politics this time!" Mary Arnold seemed to be the only person of her acquaintance, except MPs, who cared about the Reform Bill.<sup>15</sup>

Martineau's "head attacks" failed to go away and on 24 April she took the momentous step of sending in her resignation to the *Daily News*. Walker had been ill with influenza when the letter reached his office, and its effect made him "at the time quite unable to reply to it." Among his colleagues there was "only one feeling," he wrote: regret that the long, "pleasant & fruitful [connection] should terminate." If any of them could do anything for Martineau, he begged her to let them know.<sup>16</sup>

Two days later, Martineau answered a letter from Eliza Bostock that "c<sup>d</sup> not have come at a more welcome time." As ill as she was, she "must say a thing or two:" first, her "tender love to Miss Ellen Yates," whose sister had just died. "The most trying of the many departures lately," though, had been her "old friend, Jenny Carlyle[']s]" which took her by surprise in a newspaper paragraph. There was something "so strange about it, - her dying alone in a carriage, - her husband in Scotland." Jenny's voice and old sayings had come back to haunt her, "& the whole group of old friends who used to meet at that Chelsea house rise up till I can scarcely believe how many of them are dead."

What Bostock said of Elisabeth Reid was just what she wanted to know, including "the worthy & excellent provision she has made for good Howard." Being "so entirely out of the world," Martineau could not advise about a memorial for Reid, but she would bear her small part in it. Was Bostock "thinking of a scholarship or two at the College?" . . . a new "department of study" or the provision of some new "special advantage?" Reid had lately suffered needlessly about the "Negroes . . . being in intercourse with alarmists & fanatics who are too narrow & shallow to comprehend the case." *She* might have given Reid much comfort, but Reid "did witness Emancipation; & we must be thankful for that . . . disappointed as she declared herself about the education of girls."

Books promised to Bostock (no doubt including the new *History of the Peace*) had not come, and Martineau continued "I have today written a remonstrance to the publishers (Boston;) &, as soon as they arrive . . . a copy will be sent to you at the College." Despite doubts about resigning from the *Daily News*, she admitted to feeling a sense of relief. After exercising "free & constant speech for 45 years," she now found herself dumb - but *believed* she was content to be silent. Bostock had complimented her niece Harriet, of whom Martineau had a "very high opinion" and in whom she found "a *charm*" she had not heard about from others. "O yes," she ended, "I remember every thing about Carlyle's visit & that Tynemouth time."<sup>17</sup>

Copies of Walker's laudatory note to Martineau went out to friends, Nightingale responding that Martineau's work was *not* over. She was just mentally exhausted, and a period of complete rest might restore her mental powers. Continuing to work would be good for her. For *Nightingale*, there was a public health service to be organized in India - though the Indian

government puzzled her - and a bill promised for London uniform poor-rate for "sick & consolidated Hospitals under a central management" would not pass this season.<sup>18</sup>

Atkinson responded by lauding Martineau's "intellectual gifts, resources, and reliableness," as well as her kindness and helpfulness in taking on extra work for the editor. Without doubt she *had* been right to retire, he decreed and hailed her place "amongst the noble band of lookers-on."<sup>19</sup>

As soon as Martineau deemed Reeve must be home from Paris, she sent *him* a copy of Walker's letter. Though she had not wanted to trouble the *Daily News* editor just then by resigning and passing "the American subject into new & unknown hands before the end of the session of Congress," she had no choice. Walker's words proved "what such a connexion may be, - proceeding for fourteen years without a break or a ruffle." Having worked under three editors and their staff, "a company of high-hearted, upright, generous brethren," she had been treated with "respect & cordiality & gentleness" throughout.<sup>20</sup>

Reeve might be interested to hear that Clayden was "to try his hand at perhaps one American article per week for 3 months," she forwarding any materials she received "before my American friends can hear of my inability to help them further." Fortunately, her resignation had all been settled while Jenny was away - many in her family thinking she couldn't live without working. Perhaps she had more capacity for the "*far niente*" than they knew! The cold weather had revived her "as east winds always do." Yet today she was puzzled about "what to say to Lady Elgin," who had proposed to "take a lodging near me for two or three Weeks, - she & her little daughter."

In the new *Edinburgh*, she had turned first to the article on "the Windham Diary," about which she had a special interest. Windham, an MP, friend of Samuel Johnson and artistic and literary figures, had attended the Norwich sessions and owned property in Norfolk. "M<sup>rs</sup> H. Baring put that M.S. into my hands years ago - the year before her brother William's death," Martineau boasted casually. "I strongly advised trusting an honourable & capable man, not a stranger, with the entire M.S., to make selections in his own way." Now ten years had passed, "& after all, she has done it herself," and Martineau was "very curious to see it."<sup>21</sup>

Sending Graves (probably now settled in Ireland) a copy of Walker's letter, Martineau confessed that her friends dreaded the "*dumbness*, after a life time of full & free speech through the press." Yet it had been "a relief [with] liberty to be as languid & as silent as I need to be." Among local friends, Graves could imagine Frederika Meyer's "interest in the German war, & her glee at the supposed drubbing of the Prussians last week."

At The Knoll, Martineau's niece Susan (her companion in Ireland) was coming to replace Ellen. The last news of Greg was characteristic. "By all accounts, the Greggism so familiarly spoken of in Manchester has become something portentous . . . since he went to London." Through the publisher, he invited "the unknown author of 'Ecce Homo' to dine with him!" Of the reviews of that book she had seen "the worst was Thom's in the 'Theological,' & the best . . . in Fraser's mag<sup>ne</sup> for June." Graves would be amused at the "hubbub here about the book, - viz: Mr Bell, & Miss Morse & Miss Napier, & M<sup>r</sup> Crosfield & the book club."<sup>22</sup>

When Charles Bray sent Martineau a volume (probably *On Force, its Mental and Moral Correlative*, speculating on spiritualism and attacking Mill for *too* logical reasoning) she read it with much interest, though having "grown so slow" at reading. But it didn't trouble her, for

older women had an advantage over men in their handiworks: "When one cannot write, or read profitably, one may enjoy the needle."<sup>23</sup>

She also had to "say 'No' at last, to dear L<sup>y</sup> Elgin's offer to come to a lodging," being uncertain whether they "could get any talk." When Fanny Wedgwood offered to come in early August, Martineau then happily accepted. Though wanting to reply "on the instant," she waited a week to explain "precisely what *our* plans are:" Jenny regularly went home for "one month in six," but Caroline was "now so experienced, "& the Arnolds . . . so very very good," and there was far less business now that she did not write, she could spend a "week or so without a companion or guardian." Yesterday it was settled that Harriet Higginson would take Jenny's place for a fortnight "(Her brother comes with her, but will be roving almost all the time.)" And if Fanny could come for either the week "before the 8<sup>th</sup>, or that following the 22<sup>d</sup>," Martineau continued busily with her plans, she would find it a "miracle of comfort and pleasure." Would Fanny like to bring a daughter with her? Fanny would understand that Martineau's health was uncertain: "three head-attacks last week, & two more on Sunday." Yesterday, Rosa Beaufort and a niece called, and though she did not see them, they exchanged books. Impossible that a Beaufort could be at her old lodgings at Waterhead for two months without their meeting!<sup>24</sup>

"So you really are going!" Martineau exclaimed to Mary Carpenter, about to sail for India. "I saw mention of it in the 'Spectator' . . . & I did hope you would leave so very arduous an enterprise to younger [if less competent] hands." She had sent Mary's request to the *Daily News*, "by the first post," and hoped to hear of Mary, somehow.<sup>25</sup>

When a hamper from Caroline's aunt arrived in early September, Caroline opened it in the drawing room for Martineau's "amusement," to find "mushrooms & fruit [pears and peaches]: a real treat!" As Caroline took items out, she "put on one side the things that were for her." In half an hour she came back. Removing the lid from a box she had thought was notepaper she revealed sausages! "How we did laugh!" Martineau wrote merrily to Mrs. Jones. Unfortunately, Caroline's cousin was to come *that* week, when she could not go on long walks with him nor he sleep in "the little room . . . after Thursday night," because Martineau's nephew was coming. "Now that I am writing, I will say a confidential word about C, which is *for her uncle and yourself alone*," Martineau went on. Caroline, she was afraid, would be tempted to marry her brother-in-law in America, though *Martineau's* fear was "not for selfish reasons only, - nor chiefly." In England, Caroline could not legally be his wife because she was his deceased wife's sister; in America she could not "because he w<sup>d</sup> there marry under a false name." Moreover, Martineau felt sure Caroline "*could not* like life at Chicago." She hardly need say that she had remembered Caroline in her will. "Meantime, I really believe she is happy here; & I am sure she is very good."<sup>26</sup>

Chatting to Reeve in October, Martineau vowed an "east or north wind" made an astonishing difference to her well-being, "sending ease & vigour through me." Today it was raining, "favourably for our mangolds [but] unfavourably for our races. Yes, - our races! - deferred from a fortnight ago, when the field (between mine & Fox How) was a swamp." The "Low-church parson" was doubtless thankful for such a check to the "damnable sin," against which he preached every year. "The answer he gets," she chuckled, "is some young gentleman, or the naughty Squire asking him for a subscription "for the laudable object of improving the breed of horses &c." Yet the parson's luxurious life disgusted her. "What a novel one might

write from 20 years' observation of a place like this, - its Church & its churchyard, - its mushroom Squire, a helpless Parson, - its feudal Flemings . . . & its bran-new, millionaire," besides a drunken Quaker lady and "D<sup>r</sup> Davy, J.P."

Just now, however, her interests were far away from their narrow valley and on the news of the "drowning of D<sup>r</sup> Cotton in the Ganges." Reeve must know the story of Cotton's "connexion with D<sup>r</sup> Arnold's death, - his engagement to Jane A. for above two years, - his twice deferring the marriage in obedience to his jealous mother." Mary Arnold had poured out the whole story to her. Cotton's mother, "the ferocious old woman who caused all the misery," simply objected to her son's marrying at all.<sup>27</sup>

"D<sup>r</sup> Stanley & L<sup>y</sup> Aug<sup>a</sup> have been here," Martineau went on, "he looking dreadfully . . . & she quite blooming." What a queer book Thurlow's was! It was "mainly owing, no doubt to his having heard & spoken very little English since his boyhood till lately." Thurlow, she thought, showed "great courage in his outspoken descriptions of the *dramatis personae* on the great stage of India," she having had "some correspond<sup>ce</sup> with him at the time of L<sup>d</sup> Elgin's death."<sup>28</sup>

Knowing Reeve's interest in Saxony, Martineau felt he must be concerned for his German friend, Von Beust. If Reeve didn't have a good photograph, should she send him her good one? *Had* Reeve heard of Sumner's engagement to a rich widow "remarkable for her grace in holding a reception . . . & therefore a suitable wife for an expectant President?" Martineau hoped the widow had "great powers of consolation, in case of his being disappointed," as she imagined he would be. Meanwhile, the new *Edinburgh* had come and was "under the paper knife." She would be sitting up in bed reading it at midnight, "qualified by opiate for pleasurable reading." *Felix Holt* (just reviewed in the *Edinburgh*) was "immensely able; but the pervading, unescapable coarseness is more oppressive & vexatious than ever." Did Reeve know that Lewes was likely to die? "*All but* hopelessly ill," Arnold had told her. "What *will* she do? Take a successor, I sh<sup>d</sup> expect," Martineau gossiped maliciously.<sup>29</sup>

A week later, Martineau gushed to Erasmus "I was so glad to see 'E.D.' on the oyster barrel yesterday!" Erasmus's sister's illness must have been painful (Susan Darwin had just died), now that she and her sisters were at rest, Erasmus must have a sense of desolation. *She* felt "less subject to utter exhaustion than in the Spring," but "much less capable." To her surprise, Froude ("as Editor") had written to ask her for an article for *Fraser's*, saying that after the way in which he treated her formerly, it must rest with her "whether to acknowledge him as an acquaintance or not." She had not been angry, but "puzzled by a caprice which was new to me." Now after "long holding-out," she intended to order his "Queen Eliz<sup>th</sup>" from Mudie's.

Did Erasmus know "any of the Bedford Square students"? Martineau had never in her life been so enchanted with a girl the age of her niece, Harriet. It was curious, she said almost wistfully, to see how happy such girls were at the college - she remembered nothing like it.<sup>30</sup> Froude evidently wanted an article on the "the American War," but besides being too ill to work, Martineau could not help him. "I have not - & never have had - any feeling of personal offence in regard to you," she insisted (perhaps slightly deflating Froude's ego), but his latest letters showed that "there could be no security, in intercourse . . . from caprice which I did not understand."<sup>31</sup>

Despite Erasmus's gift, Martineau complained to Fanny Wedgwood ten days later that she did not often hear of their circle. "Dear M<sup>s</sup> Reid gone, - and Julia Smith so seldom in London, (in Algiers this winter) . . . and others dispersed." Of others, the increasing worldliness



of Sir Henry and Lady Holland seemed "rather sad" after their "lifelong pursuit of the great." She had known it in him "since years before I ever saw him; and in her when she was Saba Smith." It was plain "30 years ago, that they would miss the object for which they sacrificed so much, and be regarded as snobs after all." Yet their daughter, "M<sup>rs</sup> C. Buxton," seemed to be good and happy. Her husband was "a good fellow," though she wished he had an "abler intellect." He made such mistakes and was so forward in making them! Yet she liked and admired him. Her great interest now was the "Jamaica Committee" (Charles Buxton had resigned as chairman of the Jamaica Committee over the charge against Governor Eyre of capital offence). "I am very glad indeed to see Sir C. Lyell's name on the true side . . . F. Arnold tells me that in Bradford alone £1,000 were raised immediately." She had "a charming note from the Com<sup>ee</sup>" in reply to her small subscription. Arnold asked the other day if she had ever seen "anything so wretched as the figure the literary men cut in the affair."<sup>32</sup>

For Fanny's information, Martineau retold the history of Cotton's engagement to Jane Arnold: "a match made for her by circumstances (and père) when she was in her teens." Fanny had copied out the just published comments by Archbishop Richard Whately on Martineau's *Illustrations of Political Economy*, in which he complained that she wanted "the correct view" of political economy and "servilely" followed McCulloch and Ricardo. "How coolly he . . . overlooks the main fact that I was not myself a Polit<sup>l</sup> Econ<sup>t</sup>, but only an illustrator of the primary philosophers!" she exclaimed. Whately had also slandered the Unitarian John Hamilton Thom (James's colleague), but she knew "what good L<sup>d</sup> Carlisle thought of him in Ireland."<sup>33</sup>

The subject of Ireland reminded her of the Irish Arthur Macmorrough Kavanagh, recently elected MP for County Wexford. Fanny must remember "about his eastern travels, when he and party waited for us in the Desert." He had been "born without limbs" and was "inconceivably disgusting, - parading his monstrosity every where, - overbearing everybody . . . a gross and low gossip." He was, moreover, a "rank Irish tory," yet that was better than if he were "an English liberal." The blind MP Fawcett needed "only a friend's arm in and out" and had "such qualifications!" Kavanagh's Wexford peasantry adored him, "with some mixture of superstition, probably," she continued. "In India, where he went for sport, the Hindoos took him for a god" - but the whole subject was odious. Martineau's good news was that her nephew Philip "(Harriet's only brother, who was so anxious when here about his B.A. degree)" had passed with high credit.<sup>34</sup>

In November, Sarah sent Martineau money for champagne and for arrowroot (ordered by Shepherd "in all liquid food [beef tea &c] as well as with brandy or port wine"). In return, Martineau promised Sarah a copy of "a pamphlet of about 30 pages" she was sure would interest her: *A British Friendship*. After procuring a half dozen copies for Lady Elgin and Thurlow, she decided to write a conclusion "to the very striking story," and to append her obituary of Elgin from the *Daily News*. Jenny had been to the "good press in Windermere" and arranged it all.<sup>35</sup>

Exchanging news and small gifts with neighbors continued to delight Martineau. When a "barrel of the best American apples" arrived from Massachusetts, she sent some to the Misses Quillinan, having just "asked F. Arnold to offer you Trollope's 'Barset,' in case of your not having seen the 1<sup>st</sup> N<sup>o</sup>. . . . We think it begins charmingly."<sup>36</sup>

In mid-December, another gift from Erasmus surprised Martineau: "Here are your good oysters again! And they *are* good!" The doctor was pleased, as with the receipt of "a splendid

parcel of game . . . from Lincolnshire the same day." The American apples, however, "delicious beyond compare," were "forbidden fruit." She was urged to give them away, and there was "quite a fuss about them in the valley." Frederika Meyer thought them "the most pleasing representative of that nation," Americans not being popular in her country.

Charles Darwin's subscription to the Jamaica Committee was pleasant, she went on. His name and Lyell's would "more than neutralise all the Murchisons and Maurys" who failed to see the point at issue. In a week, she would send Erasmus a copy of a "Memoir of the 3 last Viceroy's of India" that she had written originally for *Once A Week*. Lady Elgin was having five hundred copies printed at the local Windermere press "for the three families of the Viceroy's, - for private circulation."<sup>37</sup>

Happily, "the Arnolds" were home, and Fox How would soon fill with "Forsters, and Toms [Tom Arnold's family], and Croppers &c." Martineau marveled at Mary Arnold's coming to see *her*, "just as if she was twenty years younger than I." The sharing of their "family interests, correspondence &c" afforded a great blessing, especially to Jenny, to whom the Arnolds were very kind. Since Forster had come among them, they and she even thought and felt "entirely alike about political and most public affairs," while the Arnolds heard Maria Chapman's "steady, noble, wide and cheerful views of American affairs." Martineau's health was "certainly not better," but she increased the opiates "without damage."<sup>38</sup>

(Martineau's old friend Crabb Robinson took a less Spartan view of his declining health, complaining ironically: "I am now *feeling* old age. Till lately, I was only *talking* about it." What he felt most was loss of memory and "an increasing defect of sight and hearing." On 1 November, however, he spoke spiritedly to the council of University College, London, in favor of the nomination of James Martineau to the professorship of logic and mental philosophy).<sup>39</sup>

"So it is you who send me the Pall Mall!" Martineau exclaimed to Fanny Wedgwood on the "shortest day of the year." Uncertain sight made the large type crucial for her as she spent "much time on the sofa," where only light reading served. For the sake of sending out more copies of *A British Friendship*, she was glad to know that Crabb Robinson was "up and about" and would "take the liberty of addressing his copy . . . to Miss Sturch's" (both lived in Regents Park). Having *promised* Fanny extra copies, she groaned at what might be said of "a person who makes an offer of a present, and then withdraws it?" Yet she hoped to reach "as large a variety of people as possible, - Mechanics, Ragged School masters, Peers, M.P's, literary folk &c."<sup>40</sup>

Did Fanny know of or have a copy of her story, *The Billow and the Rock*? "M<sup>r</sup> Clowes [the printer] asks £30 for a copy!" The local printer (Garnett) wanted to reprint it, and hers had disappeared from her shelves! "Very odd!"<sup>41</sup>

Responding to Milnes's thanks for his autographed copy of *A British Friendship* Martineau reported changes in her life. In the spring, thinking she was dying, she gave up her "career of authorship of 40 years." While not keen to live, she knew at least two people were better off if she *did*. Elgin's death, after a trek through the Himalayas, "13,000 feet above the plains," had been a terrible loss to his children. Now Martineau's great interest, the Jamaica Committee, seemed for "principle & procedure" to make the times comparable to the days of the Stuarts. Nightingale, she added, had been at her parents' home, Embley, for a dozen weeks. Martineau had always thought of her as sicker than herself, but Nightingale could not use opiates, so perhaps was not so ill as *she* was.<sup>42</sup>

Copies of *A British Friendship* continued to go out to Martineau's wide circle of friends. "I longed to answer your welcome letter the day it came," she told Rosa Beaufort, but she had "Christmas letters in a shoal [and] an avalanche of good things to be acknowledged, - game, oysters, fruit, confectionary &c &c." To Lord Belper, she confirmed that "the Memorial [had been] a fulfillment of a wish of Lady Elgin's."<sup>43</sup>

Reeve must have had "a joke at the tip of [his] tongue," Martineau thought, from the photograph he sent at the first of the year; then she broke off: "Here comes my doctor, sousing through the thaw, - all waterproof, from top to toe! - Poor man! & coughing so." Winter in their valley, however, was made splendid by evergreens and "the red bracken on the fells, the blue shadows among the rocks, the white waterfalls [and] the dazzling green mosses on the grey walls." This season the sun descended "behind the Furness Fells, & the reflection in the Lake of the black firs on their rock-promontories in the midst of the sheen from the scarlet sky, is like nothing I have seen elsewhere." Arnolds, old and young, had been skating on Rydal Mere; Jenny reported that the ice was so clear they seemed to be walking on water. Today, however, they had that "rarest of plagues," fog.

Except for "a crotchety half-Fenian Irishman" all the recipients of *A British Friendship* seemed "really moved," Martineau went on. He wrote he had been reading "a little-known but most effective book" which said that Canning and Elgin were bad men, and how could he learn the truth? The last *Edinburgh* seemed "remarkably interesting," Froude's *Elizabeth* was now her "night-reading, in bed . . . but growing more & more long-winded, & never a 'History of England,' but only of Courts & factions." Her "exultation" was in "Miss Thackeray's Cornhill novel, - especially the last month's portion." About the Jamaica Committee, she was "curious to see how far the self-styled Liberals" would discern the import of the occasion and their duty. The president of the

Anthropological Society, w<sup>h</sup> professes to be all for Science, goes off . . . into a - a member of the Anthropological Soc<sup>y</sup> - the noble Governor Eyre!

The cold weather was her time of least suffering, but she seldom wrote "so long a letter."<sup>44</sup>

A lively correspondence and exchange of books with Harriet Grote began for Martineau in January. Praising Grote's *moving* memoir of Ary Scheffer, she avowed that *George Grote's Plato* had been her greatest intellectual gratification during years of illness. In February, she acknowledged two additional books by (Harriet) Grote including a collection of prose and verse. In return, she sent a work by Gustave de Beaumont. "Since I heard first of your impaired health, I have told myself twenty times that there is no use hoping that you will have recourse to Mesmerism," Martineau went on, remembering they had talked it over "about a quarter of a century ago" at Tynemouth. Now she had "fresh evidences of its curative efficacy." Indeed, it was out of the question for *her*: she had a "grave organic disease, past all treatment," and mesmerism was dangerous for "heart disease." But if Grote tried it, she would find her "digestive system strengthened [and her] nerves calmed." On the "vast & strange calamities" that occurred late in people's lives, like Maria's death, she knew Maria's qualities extended to "her evident fitness & preparation for taking up Florence Nightingale's work." Grimly, she repeated, Maria had died of a fever "incurred by her ministrations to two invalids in the neighbourhood."

Martineau could *just* bear the loss. With Jenny to help her, she felt at times that the "opiates" might keep her alive for years. Another of the "most afflicted persons" she had "read

of or known was Moore's poor wife, - losing all her children, - then having an imbecile husband for her companion." She *liked* (Harriet) Grote's review of Moore, and "the story of Mendelssohn's bank & monument" was interesting and touching. She also liked Grote on Sydney Smith, and now she would read his views on women's property, *she* having just "been signing the petition for the suffrage."

Grote's "sketch of the time of the Philosophical Radicals" seemed of "deep interest." Martineau had written of them in her "Thirty Years' Peace," and her view was different, for "I wrote from the fullest private information . . . & from personal knowledge, as well as from careful study of materials accessible to all." Men like Roebuck and the "dupe" of Brougham - Durham, "murdered by Brougham as Peel "w<sup>d</sup> have been murdered by Disraeli" if he had had as delicate a frame - and Charles Buller, gone early, were sad results of their party. "Joe Parkes [was] "always a blemish on the party," and others failed to achieve to capacity. "I wonder what will happen at University College on Wednesday," Martineau changed the subject.<sup>45</sup>

John Hamilton Thom of Liverpool had sent Martineau a reprint of his article exposing the unjust accusations made against him by Archbishop Whately (Thom had edited the memoirs of Whately's former protégé, Blanco White). Whately's slanders then appeared in Whately's daughter's newly published *Life and Correspondence* of her father. Almost jubilantly, Martineau entered into an exchange of letters: "I have run through [the article]; & my niece is now carrying it to Fox How," she told Thom. Fan Arnold had suggested she ought to read the Whately "Life," but she told *Fan* "that she sh<sup>d</sup> read your statement." Years ago, Martineau declared her wish "never to meet the Archbishop again," but when she visited the "Model National Schools in Dublin . . . while the Archbishop was there," he followed her "curiously" from room to room. She learned, too, that "no clergyman at his table who differed in opinion from him on the smallest matter was ever invited by him again." Carlisle "(then Viceroy)" claimed that "the Archbishop's 'pride of opinion' was 'enormous.'" Whately's wife, Martineau went on, had "imperilled the National Schools by her Bible classes & evangelical teachings." She and her daughters were spoiled by poor and humble people who let them "meddle, & fancy they were saving souls" (like Mrs. Proudie?).

At last, Miss W. [Elizabeth Jane, Whately's daughter, and editor] met with a check in this house; & we were all surprised at the effect upon her. Calling on Martineau, "some 6 or 7 years ago," she had surprised them by "gross evangelical preachments on everything that turned up, - as if she was talking to children." When Martineau told her she was *intruding*, "a new idea to her," she "grasped my hands, & hoped I sh<sup>d</sup> forgive her. I said 'Certainly: but I hoped she felt that it was a case for forgiveness.'" Martineau also met with "an instance of the effect of the Archb<sup>p</sup>'s slanders in a novel of the season, not long after the appearance of B.W's Memoirs." Blanco White's "noble 'Adam' sonnet" was quoted, and he was called an atheist who had died insane. "I at once wrote to the publishers . . . requiring immediate action on their part," Martineau said, and they cancelled that leaf of the book. "I hope my letter is intelligible, but I am almost too ill today to attempt writing," she *almost* ended to Thom.

Thinking Thom would "like to hear what the Arnolds" said, she praised their "admirable candour" after having "suffered so bitterly from the antagonism between D<sup>r</sup> A. & the Tractarians," but "they were sadly cowardly." As intimacy increased between them, she "watched with deep interest the growth of moral courage . . . & their generosity comes into

play more & more." They agreed with Thom but wished he had let the matter drop, while Martineau argued he could not.

And O! how I wish Jane Whately w<sup>d</sup> consult them in her present strait! . . . she had no right to deal with other people as culprits at her bar, or as 'fools & blind,' provided they are not of the straitest sect of Evangelicals.

Finally, Martineau sent her respects to "Mr & Mrs Rathbone." She wondered if Greg had left Putney Heath and not received his copy of *A British Friendship*.

Within a week, two more letters went off to Thom, Martineau declaring "Fan says that Jane Whately is completely & indisputably wrong all through" [to publish her father's slanderous letters]. Mary Arnold, Martineau scoffed, believed "that the Archbishop loved the truth, & w<sup>d</sup> be glad to have it established &c," but Mary Arnold must be "allowed to flounder a little among incompatibilities . . . as long as she honours the memory of Blanco White." From the *Life*, a friend had copied out Whately's strictures on *Illustrations of Political Economy*, pronouncing the doctrines of Malthus and Ricardo wrong, whenever he differed from them. "I fancy it w<sup>d</sup> be easy, by a close analysis of his utterances in this book," she almost laughed, "to show him to have been perhaps the most over rated man of his time." In fact, "D<sup>r</sup> Arnold's forte was *not* the discernment of character," and he "made idols of the reflexions of his own generosity."

Thom had noted her address as "M<sup>rs</sup>," to which she *had* a right, "through years," she insisted. Also it was a matter of expediency: people scrupled to intrude on an "*old* lady." Finally, unwilling to let the subject drop, she had forced Fan Arnold to agree that Thom had not made any "insinuations" against Whately.<sup>46</sup>

A letter from Henry Bright of Liverpool led Martineau to warn him not to write "gaily" to John Payn, whose wife was dying of tuberculosis and the eldest of his six daughters just 12. Martineau herself now deputed nearly all correspondence to her niece.<sup>47</sup>

"Susan's birthday, & the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of my father & mother's wedding," Martineau wrote at the top of a letter to Sarah. Illnesses and unseasonable weather distressed her "like [that of] New England, stripped of the radiance out of doors & of the warmth within." Fan Arnold had come "in a car" at mid-day to collect Jenny for dinner and "3 or 4 hours of pleasant society." Jenny insisted "she sh<sup>d</sup> come home on foot, at sunset" - coming back to *her* for the evening. Before Jenny left, she "administered a glass of your good champagne, to enable me to write to you [and] have my dainties at home . . . half a Stilton cheese - such a treat!" from Mary Arnold, and from Catherine Turner, "a noble game-pie, w<sup>h</sup> we enjoy - parlor & kitchen," as well as "more oysters, game, rare preserves &c &c." She was sharing the scores of letters about "the Elgin Memorials" with Robert, Ellen, Catherine and the Arnolds. Outside, the rain had stopped, "a dozen or so of trees" had been cut down that winter, her cows were well and only one fowl was lost in the frost. "There! now you see us as we are!"<sup>48</sup>

Alexander Bain of Aberdeen had received a copy of the Elgin memorial and had begun a lively exchange with Martineau over James's failed candidacy for the philosophy chair at University College. At the meeting of the college council, Bain scoffed, "Hutton and Hodgson poured out all their spleen upon everybody that they chose to call 'positivists', including my unworthy self." One of "Hodgson's threats was that several members of the Unitarian body would change their wills" (possibly including Crabb Robinson). Having sent Martineau his copy of "the 'Statement' of the Senate" (supporting James) he commented that her being "in the

centre of the Unitarian connexion, although not retaining their specialities of creed," she was a valuable auxiliary in reconciling "the body generally to the college, from which they threatened to be divorced." University College was "avowedly" the only institution in the country ripe for "the divorce of mental philosophy from Theology . . . and there we have succeeded by just a *hair's breadth*," Bain boasted. In April, Sir Edward and Lady Caroline Romilly responded to Martineau's thanks "for securing the original principle of religious neutrality" at University College.<sup>49</sup>

After a "'bad time'" (?) early in April, a letter from Fanny Wedgwood had come as "a great blessing." Martineau had taken fright at Jenny's cold caught at Edgbaston "in the east winds of that exposed region," when "she and her brother Edw<sup>d</sup> walked miles in a drenching rain to M<sup>r</sup> Dawson's chapel." Jenny was hardly recovering until Martineau had "secret correspondence" with Robert's family's doctor, and Jenny was sent back to their "sheltered valley."

In Jenny's absence, "Cousin Fanny" of Bracondale stayed at The Knoll. Now Ellen wrote that "the first authority on eyes in Liverpool . . . had found a cataract forming" in one of her eyes, Cousin Fanny was then leaving to accompany Ellen to London, and nobody could come to take her place. Catherine Turner, "always most kind and ready," could not be asked, Martineau explained, because "at 70 . . . her age tells upon her in a way w<sup>h</sup> prevents . . . her [being] our guardian." Though devoted, Catherine gave out misleading bulletins on Martineau's condition. Meanwhile, "the very large opiating goes on. (127 drops per day.)"<sup>50</sup>

Martineau had evidently put a few pressed violets in a letter to Fanny Wedgwood. Jenny reported they were "everywhere, - even in the joins of the steps down from the terrace." But the spring was "backward . . . the 38 pear trees only just swelling their buds, & the larches barely showing their first green."

Fanny's offer to send a new publication led Martineau to explode "'The Reform Essays'? No, thank you! . . . I am so sick of that subject!" Of her recent reading, "Mr Proctor's 'Ch: Lamb' [was] so full of affecting signs of his own failure." But she "c<sup>d</sup> not help enjoying L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis, though half-ashamed to own it," as well as Harriet Grote's interesting "Collected Papers." In fact, she and the Grotes had "rushed into a more vigorous intercourse than ever, as by a sort of accident." Yes, she *would* enjoy "those vols of Miss Edgeworth." Was it from "Lady Strangford" Fanny had them? "Paris must be detestable just now," she opined. "I hope you will think well of it before M<sup>r</sup> W. ventures there."<sup>51</sup>

In late April, Martineau's comfortable life at The Knoll was unexpectedly threatened. "[S]o many things have happened in this strange & dreary spring," she lamented to Sarah: the cold was everywhere, "not a sign of Spring in Mass<sup>tts</sup> . . . on the 15<sup>th</sup>," bitter winds were reported in Cannes and chill in Italy. Ellen was ill just when Martineau's neighbour friends had been away, and "I was not fit to be alone." Now she had learned that her income from railway shares might be lost - though Walker at the *Daily News* did not believe "any present harm" would befall holders of preferential stock. Though glad Sarah had told her "of Johnny Wills & the Napier book," she must now turn to her Yankee friends, "for it was "American post-day."<sup>52</sup>

Within two or three days, the spell of bad news for Martineau was further broken by an acknowledgement from the Ireland Education Office for permission "to insert in the new edition of the Irish Lesson books the extract from [her] Book on 'Eastern life present and past.'"<sup>53</sup>

Jenny had "mended from day to day" as *soon* as she returned to Ambleside, Martineau boasted to Fanny Wedgwood. Yet a "strange perplexity" had arisen. "If there *was* an old lady in England comfortably & securely provided for, we sh<sup>d</sup> have supposed it was myself," she began. But £5,000 of her earnings were "in more or less jeopardy," and the interest of "£230 per an" was likely to fail if the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway suspended dividends. Her "prudent Cousin Richard M" had made the investment for her, but £230 was nearly two-thirds of her income, and she could not possibly live on what remained. In former times, she could work or "retrench." Now beyond "giving up the 'Times' & the Mudie box" there seemed nothing to be done. *She* wouldn't let Jenny give up her allowance, and her doctor wouldn't let her give up any of her wine (Sarah had just sent her a cheque for £25). However, the way had cleared by degrees. She had cash to carry on to November, and "*four* cousins, a nephew, & an old friend" had asked her to apply to them if needed. In the meantime, her sisters and cousins would not let her give up the Mudie box.

I fear - indeed I know - that women (single & widows) who have been misled into investing in the Great Eastern & G<sup>t</sup> Western are suffering very seriously, - having no income whatever.

For herself, this new dilemma led to seeing "strange sights," to "confused & broken nights" and "oppressive fears" of she didn't know what.

Of better news, a "charming note" from Mary Sturch had come, and Julia Smith had been at Liverpool with her exuberant energy "knocking up" Martineau's sister! *Did* Fanny remember the "prim, neat, bigoted, enormously pious, rich, proud Quakeress," Miss Head? She "died on Saturday . . . all alone for 3 days with her brother's cook, - the only person who c<sup>d</sup> endure to be near her; & she forbade all doctors." Now the kind cook was ill, "poisoned," Shepherd said. Of late, the woman had been "lying about on the roads - drunk." Martineau was glad the Arnolds were away. "I grieve to hear that Cath: Sedgwick . . . has sunk into a fatuous state," she gossiped on. "Her friends say it is *age*: but . . . the Sedgwick brain does not wear well."<sup>54</sup>

Without the *Daily News* or another platform for voicing her opinions, Martineau turned increasingly to friends. It had been "an immense time" since she had written" she began to Florence Nightingale, having had a "dreary Spring" full of "anxiety & trouble" with the debacle of her railway investments. Enemas and opiates kept her comfortable, but the good of their "strange [cold] Spring" would be lost with the first warm days, when her strength would run out "like water from a leak.

Julia Smith (Nightingale's aunt) amazed people by her "energy, - in the schools & C," Martineau went on, though she longed to induce order into Julia's thoughts and ways. Public affairs were in a "doleful" state, with "mightily religious Governm<sup>ts</sup> & Courts abroad [showing] a temper of heathen barbarianism." Parliament seemed full of the "dregs of the Palmerstonian system & period," *his* living so long having been a misfortune to the country. Lady Elgin deplored the contrast of the past statesmen, in the period of Lord Grey's book, to officials of the present day with their low morals and lacking of earnestness. Yet the court was better, and the middle and lower classes rising. "The aristocracy who consider themselves 'Society' had better look to themselves," Martineau declared.

After raging at scoundrels in government, she supposed Nightingale had not read Lady Herbert's book, *Impressions of Spain*. Martineau had *known* her since she was "Miss "A. Court"

and was puzzled that she denied plagiarism. "But one longs for *him* [Herbert] to have had another sort of wife."<sup>55</sup>

At the moment, Martineau was writing while she dined on boiled beef and custard. "Cow-keeping & poultry ditto give us such custards & other good things!" She had read "Dr Rennie's 'Peking,' & got his 'Bhoutan War,' & found the latter wonderfully poorer than the former," never before having heard sanitary action "reprobated *en bloc*." Nightingale must be unhappy about the famine in India. *If* she could, Martineau would tell a "glorious story - of the feeding of people of Portland (Maine) after their fire . . . by the organizing faculty of a Negro of the name of Smith . . . *a great man*, in more ways than one."<sup>56</sup>

In early spring, Martineau answered Philip Carpenter that her "small strength [was] only too little for heavy cares & the correspond<sup>ce</sup> they brought with them." Jenny's and *her* mother's illnesses had unnerved Martineau, as did Ellen's incipient cataracts. Yet Ellen had "two *such* children!" Ellen's son (aged 20) had preached at the old Octagon at Norwich, while her daughter was the "very most delightful young girl I have ever known." Martineau's railway shares, her main worry, would be resolved in three weeks or less. Unfortunately, "the reading of papers, & studying intricate matters, & writing about them," was impossible now. Carpenter's (probable) account of the political situation in Canada was "just what I had no means of hearing otherwise. It seemed

very curious, - the invariable repetition of the fancies & sayings of parties, - about the plots & devices of Gov<sup>t</sup>, & of enemies, & of foreigners, on all occasions of uniting or rearranging countries or interests, under the natural laws w<sup>h</sup> provide for the existence or welfare of future generations.

At home the "sudden, unannounced, uninitiated, unprepared plunge [by the new Reform Bill] into a democratic abyss w<sup>h</sup> the leaders and drivers regarded as Hell itself not many months ago" horrified her. Even Bright was dismayed at Disraeli and his colleagues' "reckless political profligacy . . . & well may the most confident of Liberals be so in the face of the evidence . . . of the class tyranny of the 'worky' leaders." Such a rash extension of the franchise "w<sup>d</sup> not take long to sink us to the political debasement of the U.S.," where infinite mischief was proposed by "Eight Hours Bills & Mass<sup>ts</sup> . . . Liquor legislation." Martineau's anger at a possible loss of income from her railway investments seemed to cloud all vestiges of her liberalism.<sup>57</sup>

When Henry Bright asked Martineau if she was still writing, she said: "No . . . nothing whatever . . . I can do very little in any way," and then she elaborated on slander of the Royal family, "on which I *am* in the way of knowing more than most people." Stories about the two princes had no foundation whatever, while the Queen had shown "a discretion, moderation, patience & wisdom" not expected of her. "I may add that not a word of the gossip about the Royal family ever passes out of this room." Parliament and people had more reason for shame at the moment, Palmerston having left "a tremendous legacy of mischief . . . in the utter disintegration of principle, policy & party."<sup>58</sup>

Next writing emotionally to Emily Anne Beaufort (Lady Strangford) and her sister, who had loaned Martineau the Maria Edgeworth memoir, she said for herself and *her* sisters, Edgeworth's books had formed "the life of our childhood." Modern children she knew "lived" less on those books. While Edgeworth's "idolatry of the world's opinion" disappointed Martineau, *now* all earlier appreciation and admiration were restored. Still, she deplored Edgeworth's want of "elevation," the forcing of her younger sisters on unwilling Londoners, and



her "absurd family self-esteem & vanity" making her unaware of Londoners' real feelings about her. Edgeworth had sneered at (earlier) female political economists but was otherwise "a true woman" - *as* were Joanna Baillie, "glorious M<sup>rs</sup> Barbauld (the very first of the order)" and "M<sup>rs</sup> Somerville" (the last weak except in mathematics and domestic management, however). These three women set a standard for neatness in dress and ways, not going into debt or being affected in manners, and for being good housewives and honourable women. *They* understood the "declining rôle of authoress," while Edgeworth sought "aristocratic intercourses." The Beaufort sisters' father had in fact been more worthy than the Edgeworths', who always bragged about *their* father. Indeed, Martineau found the book fatiguing because "it was all about persons, & not ideas," and there were "many, & some serious mistakes." Edgeworth took a wrong view of the slavery question, she and her sister not believing that Martineau's portrait of Toussaint could be true. Yet coming to Edgeworth's letters to "Basil Hall on his Amer<sup>n</sup> book [and] to Lockhart on Scott's Life, one springs forward delightfully, & longs for vol<sup>s</sup> full of that sort."<sup>59</sup>

In mid-May, Martineau's hero William Lloyd Garrison landed at Liverpool. Maria Chapman had shaken his hand as he left Boston on the *Cuba* accompanied by fellow abolitionist George Thompson. In August, Garrison was to attend the International Anti-Slavery Convention at Paris, to meet admirers like Tourgenieff and William Cullen Bryant (a fellow delegate) and to visit the Universal Exhibition (sniffed at by Martineau).

In June, Garrison wrote from London and Martineau responded excitedly: "Your letter has moved me deeply. I could write sheets full." Yet she must tell him the truth. No amount of fatigue would deter her from trying to see him, but the strong emotion might be dangerous for her heart. "If you do come, you had better not let me know the time," she added, "that there may be no exhaustion from expectation." Receiving a "likeness" of Garrison and his "dear wife" the following week, she commented that "[f]ew strangers would recognize the face as the same that hangs over my study chimney piece," though she *liked* knowing his later aspect. "I believe your decision about our not meeting is the right one," she went on, though the Arnolds would be delighted to see him. The eldest son once told me that he remembered the impression made on him in childhood . . . by his father's voice in reading to Mrs. A. 'The Martyr Age,' then just out in the *Westminster Review*."<sup>60</sup>

Through June and July, Garrison was fêted in cities throughout Britain (Forster declared meeting him was "like . . . talking with a great old Prophet") while Martineau plied him with letters. "I *must* write to you this once more," she scribbled on 7 July. "You told me that you hoped to call on M<sup>r</sup> Walker of 'Daily News.' What I have to say is that *I hope you will*." If Garrison had the "slightest conception of the treatment that *very best European friend of your country* has met with from Americans in England," he would hasten to acknowledge Walker's high services. Rehearsing her own campaign against slavery in the *Daily News*, she stressed that backing the North had been a heavy burden to a man of Walker's "delicate conscientiousness." Walker "had only me on the one side, & the whole public opinion of London, & the intense anxiety & doubt of the Proprietary of 'D. News' on the other," and the anxiety seriously affected his health. Then "on the entrance of two new Proprietors, he had to take his ground against a new enemy," and once "actually resigned the Editorship." He further roused the Lancashire people to stand firm against the South, yet none of the Americans in London "held out a hand to him, - - except to ask favours during the dark days of the struggle."

Indeed, "W.W. Story" fraudulently *claimed* to have influenced the *Daily News* on the *Trent* affair, and she ridiculed American journals for dismissing the *Daily News* as having "only 6,000 subscribers."

In his travels, Garrison had reached Edinburgh when Martineau wrote again: "I shall have an opportunity of informing M<sup>r</sup> Walker of the date of your intended arrival in London, & of your wish to make his acquaintance." *She* would like to see a letter from Garrison in the *Daily News* but feared "M<sup>r</sup> W's modesty, & his habitual abstinence from publishing praise of the paper" might prevent his printing it. Walker would be in London "on the 27<sup>th</sup> & onwards" and "'w<sup>d</sup> not miss seeing M<sup>r</sup> Garrison for a good deal.'" After receiving copies of newspaper reports of successful "Garrison meetings," Martineau promised to "send them forth among family & friends." In early August, she thanked Garrison "for what you have done about M<sup>r</sup> Walker," adding that Walker was "going to marry again, - most suitably, - an old friend, & an intimate friend of his dear wife's."

If Garrison should "be accosted by Tho<sup>s</sup>, Frank, or Edward Martineau" at Birmingham, would he shake their hands for her sake? Reverting to Walker, she thought Garrison must agree that his was "the most illegible hand you ever had to decypher." Jenny had been delighted with Garrison's ability to "set type without copy, - straight out of your brain."<sup>61</sup>

A surprise caller at The Knoll, a "Miss Atkins" claiming to be a friend of Sara Hennell's, amused Martineau because the woman did not know Martineau was ill. Yet of all the trying tourists who "peep about so, & look in at the windows," the clergy were the worst, Martineau groaned to Hennell. For weeks after the holiday season, she got "an influx of anonymous letters, - of insult for the most part, but some with recommendations of texts." The former incumbent at Ambleside, "a dull, timid, well-meaning man," had been "driven away by these anonymous letters." Letters to her were more brutal, assuring her "in the beautiful Oxford clerical handwriting," that she was "coarse & masculine in face & manners:" a miserable woman who was going to hell. The "(highly Evang<sup>l</sup>)" incumbent had been almost in tears at such things but thought they came from "'literary jealousy.'" Had Hennell received her copy of the Lord Elgin memoir?<sup>62</sup> "Tomorrow is Midsummer Day," Martineau groaned to Fanny Wedgwood, "& here we are . . . without a vegetable for table, & with none in the market, except a dear sprinkling of asparagus, & a bunch or two of infant carrots."

"Tomorrow morning . . . at 4 o'clock," the mowers were setting to work on her hay, coming "early, to finish their 5s/ job here in time to do a day's work in a larger field" (she hoped this read "all very rural," as her only excuse for scribbling it to a Londoner!). The *Pall Mall* had continued to be a great boon. She would have given up *The Times* long ago, "but for not liking to withdraw it from M<sup>r</sup> Shepherd, and a poor parson" who read her copy. Fanny "ought to know how our Mechanics delight in having the 'Pall Mall' the second day." Fan Arnold lent Martineau the *Spectator*; but its "smartness" was degenerating into "impertinence," not to speak of "its insolence [and] incredible ignorance of the world & of social matters!" But the *Spectator's* articles on India were of value to her.<sup>63</sup>

That morning had come the "Memoir of my old friend, 'Tho<sup>s</sup> Drummond, - with a portrait so like!" Also that morning, she received "the Defence of the Brighton Directors" and report by the investigators. To her relief, nobody proposed "to suspend the Preference Dividends," all assuming they would be paid. ("Here entered Doctor," she broke in, ordering "stimulant, rest &c, from the badness of the pulse"). The offers of help from friends in her

financial distress had been "a delicious experience, - such generosity, & delicacy, & tenderness!" Yet after all, she *might* get her dividends. Further good news was Maria Chapman's happiness "about her daughter's engagement to Mr Dicey!"

When Jenny went to "the Birmingham Festival (August)," Ellen's daughter, who had "gone admirably through her 2 years' course at the College," was coming to stay at The Knoll. Her Latin examination was to be on Tuesday, "& after that, she leaves, - closing the last educational experience." Rachel was *just* as impressed and charmed with her as *she* was. Of bad news, painful "accounts of M<sup>rs</sup> Bodichon" had reached Martineau. Would she get over that fever?<sup>64</sup>

In August when Martineau tried to renew her Mudie book subscription she learned of a mistake she could not explain, Louisa Claude being away. They now began "a fresh year, with the usual Five Guinea subscription; & if, on our side, the proper proportion between the *A & B* books are observed, I hope we shall get what we want with more regularity," Martineau wrote tartly to J.H. Brand, enclosing a money order for £5.6.1, for which she would like a receipt.<sup>65</sup>

On the death of her distant cousin, Sarah Austin, Martineau wrote dramatically to Reeve. "None of us were surprised when Rachel wrote us the news." After her "recent 'fit,'" the *surprise* was "that she c<sup>d</sup> dream of the journey to Switzerland... [and] be allowed to attempt it." She had been "much excited" by the arrival of her travel companion, M. St Hilaire, on Thursday morning, but "before breakfast Rachel heard she was seriously ill, & . . . c<sup>d</sup> not live many minutes . . . & expired soon after 10 o'clock." Austin's distinguished daughter and son-in-law, Lady Duff Gordon and "Sir A. Duff Gordon" had come, and "there was a skilled nurse." Austin had "departed in the easy way, w<sup>h</sup> may always be hoped for in her disease (& mine) but w<sup>h</sup> is not always the actual one." Martineau added rather lugubriously that "of the three modes of dying of that disease, she had the easiest, happily - due partly perhaps to her great age" (nine years older than Martineau, Austin died of heart and kidney failure).<sup>66</sup>

Harriet Higginson was coming next day having "just left the Bedford Square College, with the highest credit," Martineau boasted to Reeve, obtaining "the equivalent of the B.A. degree." This "*charming* young girl" was to "keep the house, & manage the pantry & yard & the dairy, & write my letters, & ply the sewing-machine, & sketch . . . just as if she had no learning." The experience would "test her coolness & courage," for Martineau was failing "in almost every way but understanding." The railway "perplexity" had not been solved but she would know her fate in "3 weeks or less." Amusingly, in the first half of the year, "the house, with its four inmates [had] been comfortably maintained on £92!" Meanwhile, her head was full of this wonderful year, including "the Queen's book." Further venting her dislike of Disraeli, Martineau then added, "I suppose we have all suffered agonies of shame & disgust about the form & character of the great revolution [called] the Reform Bill."<sup>67</sup>

Thanking Sarah for another "generous £10" for champagne, Martineau lamented Fanny's being ill (Sarah's daughter), Robert weak and using a cane while her own symptoms of "bowel complaint . . . drowsiness, broken sleep, varying sight, & increasing difficulty in reading &c" preoccupied her. Anxiety about her income had proved less than "the *worry* of all the wrangling," however, "& of the shocking exposure of the tricks of the late Board of Directors" of the railway company.<sup>68</sup>

A letter from Nightingale in September seemed "precious, - & indeed quite an event, - so unexpected as it was," Martineau avowed. Of William Rathbone's windily titled *Works of*

*Benevolence and Public Utility*, Martineau concluded that he was proposing a subversion of the social system but hoped the small practical part would do good. Yet the "amount of repetition, - of whole paragraphs & pages [seemed] unaccountable!" She missed the damning review in the *Pall Mall* but heard Rathbone had inquired by whom it was written and found it was his uncle, W.R. Greg!<sup>69</sup> Her not writing, she explained, was "owing partly to its seeming best to wait till after the decisive Meeting on the Railway matter." In health matters, she was more and more sensible of head failure with "little ability to read & to converse." She felt dreamy - as if everything was unreal or unaccustomed - and she suffered disorder of bowels (symptoms of the heavy use of "opiates?"). Doctors, however, said opiates gave "tone to the heart" and sustained "appetite & digestion." Even when drowsy she could not stay asleep and had four or five "wakings" in an hour, possibly from bad circulation. *Nightingale's* symptoms interested Martineau - a "terrible & peculiar" loss of hearing? Maria had told of *Nightingale's* nights. "As to the Railway affair, - how c<sup>d</sup> I have not told you . . . which Railway it is!" she remembered suddenly. "M<sup>rs</sup> Arnold's is the Great Western, - Blanche Clough's & Julia's, I am told, the Great Eastern, & mine the Brighton." *Martineau* usually got "just upon £200 a year," but she didn't believe the board would pay two half-yearly dividends. One gift had been impossible to refuse - though she would return it later:

M<sup>r</sup> Oc: H. Smith receives, as a creditor of D<sup>r</sup> Chapman, half the clear proceeds of the yearly sale of my Comte's "Positive Philos<sup>y</sup>," - the other half being mine. In the Spring, "Uncle Oc" sent me the whole proceeds for 1866, with a letter in w<sup>h</sup> he tried, most ingeniously, to make out somehow or other that I ought to have the whole. . . . I could not be so ungracious as to return the £8[odd?] on the instant. . . . And if I live to receive my dues, my first act will be to replace this money in his hands, for use à la Franklin.<sup>70</sup>

Aware of *Nightingale's* statements concerning India, Martineau assured her she had "held up Sir Bartle Frere (& lady) in 'Daily News.'" *Nightingale's* nursing news was always welcome - "Parsee, Austral<sup>n</sup>, & all everywhere" as well as her paper on workhouse nursing. In a "P.S.," Martineau lamented that "Lady Verney's [*Nightingale's* sister's] tale 'Stone Edge'" was coming to an end.<sup>71</sup>

Comparing *symptoms* with Harriet Grote later in September, Martineau censured Sarah Austin's "mischief . . . to the character & position of literary women." Their fathers were cousins (living within two streets of each other in Norwich), died on the same day and had a joint funeral. Martineau's family were friendly with Austin's sister and brother, but not with *her* - though she respected Austin's husband.<sup>72</sup>

"I am anxious about you," Martineau wrote to Julia Smith in October, "having heard . . . of your being ill & suffering." Catherine Turner had inquired, and Martineau did not wish to bother "F.N." (Julia's niece). What a wonderful woman *Nightingale* was! Her "latest production" absolutely delighted Martineau, and her letters like "M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman's" showed "sublime common sense." Jenny had been pleased to meet another of Julia's nieces, Amy Leigh Smith. Lately, Martineau had "heard a good deal of Isa: Rankin & her sisters from Ellen & daughter having been to Clifton. They are quite old ladies now."<sup>73</sup>

In September and October violent acts reported in newspapers - including the *Pall Mall* - alarmed Martineau. No sort of guard seemed provided "against an abduction of the Queen by Fenians," she noted to Lady Elgin, who could "carry her off in one of her daily drives." Though not likely to hurt a hair of the Queen's head, they were "so wild, as well as bold, in their

projects, so reckless, so clever," and the national humiliation would be unendurable. Sadly enough, the Queen was "roving the Highlands for ten weeks together" while the affairs of the nation were in a critical state. The best course, she avowed, would be to alert "Gen<sup>l</sup> Grey, or someone else about the Queen."<sup>74</sup>

Grey then responded through Lady Elgin, Martineau told Tom in October, begging her "to let him know of any incidents or impressions" of threats from Fenians. "When the Queen does go home," Martineau concluded primly, "I hope she will stay there & show some interest in public affairs, & conscience about her duties." Meanwhile, *she* had made alterations to her will in consultation with Shepherd. "Jenny & I read the draft last night," she reported, and though Jenny looked "grave about it," Martineau felt satisfied.<sup>75</sup>

By December, Martineau had found a new cause. "When I was in America in 1835," she began to Reeve, "I [met] a pleasant & rather scholarly clergyman Rev<sup>d</sup> Charles Upham of Salem." Upham had given her a volume of his lectures on witchcraft in Salem, the treatment being "of course superficial." This troubled him, but his sister married "D<sup>r</sup> Oliver Wendell Holmes, the physiological tale-writer," and that "may have helped to fit him for the great work he has now accomplished." The local records of New England townships were remarkable, she went on, which Upham and his two sons had now studied "line by line . . . to present the life of 200 years ago." The *Nation* described the work as "intensely and painfully interesting," presenting "a moral for centuries." At that moment, thousands were "in the lunatic asylums of U.S. [and] such people as the De Morgans & their clique" were doing their best "to bring us to the same pass, by their so-called study & practice of 'Spiritualism.'" Not many editors would have the courage to publish "a really philosophical article on this unexplored province of human nature," she challenged Reeve, the practices of the spiritualists being "almost as fearful as 'Witchcraft in Salem.'" Did Reeve see the *Nation*, "Godkin's weekly, (at New York)?" She could lend him her copy, if he liked.<sup>76</sup>

In answer, Reeve must have suggested that William Lecky might review Upham. Lecky's book on rationalism *had* interested Martineau, and she felt he might "go into this Witch story, & into some other passages of human life implicated with the same class of . . . unexplained facts." Reeve's reviewer of the "American Spiritualists" had admitted "'the powers of hypnotism' & Mesmerism 'over the deranged nervous system,'" and surely it was time to overtake Laplace and Cuvier, who accepted "the strange powers evoked by Mesmerism." She had *no* doubt about "the power of thought-reading, of insight into bodily conditions, of discerning things distant, & *things future*." Following this first stage, came a second stage when "the imagination & will get involved" and "the fatal last stage, - of invention w<sup>h</sup> is presently imposture." Martineau knew "two instances," of which she wished to leave a record as evidence of "the reality of clairvoyance." If Reeve's reviewer read her two stories, they would bring him "very near the Witches of Salem, & all sincere Witches & Seers everywhere." Her old friend Hallam was "the best man on the subject" she had known, having "studied the whole matter in Paris [and] once satisfied, fearless, outspoken, but moderate & *civil* in discussing it." Hallam and his wife had been uncivilly treated for telling what they had seen, "even in the case of (then) D<sup>r</sup> Holland [being] forced to remonstrate." Holland, she seemed to enjoy saying, "became *awkward*, then *silent*, then *respectful*, then *curious*, till, after many years, he c<sup>d</sup> *almost* bring himself to be philosoph<sup>l</sup> [about mesmerism], when quite sure he was safe in his company." From Hallam, she had valuable notes on mesmerism and allied matters, "indications

of some great law of human nature w<sup>h</sup> we are on the verge of discovering." He considered such phenomena to be "in close connexion w<sup>h</sup> the passages of history w<sup>h</sup> exhibit Witchcraft & the like."<sup>77</sup>

Despite her lively interest in current and "scientific" investigations, Martineau at first failed to answer Fanny Wedgwood's offer of the *Quarterly*. "I *could* not write," she explained. "The excessive cold of 10 days ago . . . damaged me much." Indeed she had the loan of the number for "the Talmud article for one day" and had found it a great treat. "I don't know whether I shall lose your good opinion for ever," she jested, "but I had rather you knew the worst: - that I am intensely enjoying . . . 'the Lost Tales of Miletus.'" Of course the characters all speak "Bulwer, - Jove, Hermes, Daphnis, Sisyphus and all," but she did relish them. Of the Arnolds' shares in the Great Western she had a bit of gossip: "D<sup>r</sup> A. invested there when the price was *enormous*," but Mary Arnold's executors secretly "laid by a certain surplus" to keep up the dividends - which Martineau feared wouldn't be for long.<sup>78</sup>

"How good you are to me!" Martineau exclaimed to Sarah in mid-December, for "you have really sent me too much money." Owing to Jenny's "capital management, & the care & zeal of my excellent servants," they were surviving. From their good cow, they sold "several lbs of butter per week," and from the pig, the hams were "bespoken, & will bring in £2." The cold was "really frightful," so on Christmas day, she and Jenny would be "as still as mice, & give the least possible trouble."<sup>79</sup>

In February, Martineau wrote happily to Fanny Wedgwood. "It was very kind of M<sup>r</sup> W. to send me that scrap from the *Times* City article" (on probable payment of interest on her railway stock). Next day had come "letters of joy and congratulation from M<sup>r</sup> Templer and M<sup>r</sup> Atkinson [both] assuming I should get my money." The Report looked well, her investments being "prior to 1865," though venomous and unscrupulous individuals might still cause wrangling and delay. For Jenny's sake, she hoped to go on living in her house.

"Yes - poor D<sup>r</sup> Davy lies in the churchyard yonder," Martineau seemed shaking her head. Local people had reported his being feeble, shrunken and sleeping in church. "The druggist could hardly read his prescriptions, - the hand was so tremulous." When he began ailing seriously, he "would not hear of having any advice," until a "new country doctor" was called: "vulgar, but clever [and] saw that it was too late." The Hawkshead surgeon confirmed that there was "nothing to be done; and in 3 days more he was dead." People said Margaret Davy thought "'nothing of the Doctor's death'" - which might be a mistake - but "in the case of her family, the head always has given way near the last." For the district, Davy's departure was "an immense relief . . . the removal of an incubus on the whole place."<sup>80</sup>

The Arnolds were mourning Matthew Arnold's baby son and Jane Forster had an eye ailment, Martineau went on. "A different and very great annoyance" for them was the daughter Mary's promised *third* marriage. Her late husband, "M<sup>r</sup> Hiley . . . became possessed of the beautiful place which is now [Mary's] by marrying, as a young curate, the middleaged widow of his incumbent." Now the present curate, "M<sup>r</sup> Hayes, is doing precisely the same thing . . . by marrying, at the age of 30, M<sup>r</sup> Hiley's widow, aged 42." The Arnolds seemed embarrassed, and Martineau thought it scandalous.<sup>81</sup>

Martineau wished Fanny could "speak well of Eras:," who she knew suffered in the cold. The "success and honours of the Cha<sup>s</sup>'s D's son" delighted her, however, and what was the niece's marriage? When Fanny next wrote, please say what she thought "of M<sup>r</sup>s Ed: Dicey's

beauty. As little Anne Chapman she was as beautiful at 12 . . . as could well be." Her mother said she had "'beauty enough for two;" others spoke of "Lizzie's beauty (M<sup>rs</sup> Laugel) but did not remark Anne's." Neither daughter would probably say much about *Martineau*. "Doubtless they would speak with respect of their Mother's nearest friend; but they took a youthful view of the *Trent* affair, and have never forgiven mine, - nor my thinking the North fallible in any way. *Maria Chapman* was "more glorious than ever," never having failed to write the weekly letter which was the luxury of Martineau's life. Of other news, she feared that Mary Arnold's prospects from "the Great Western" did not brighten."<sup>82</sup>

To Sarah, Martineau declared her relief over the railway shares but did not want to hurt her feelings by returning the last cheque for £25, begging her to let it "lie by here for champagne."<sup>83</sup> In fact, she later admitted, she was not taking less "but rather more [champagne], - often twice in the day" for a low pulse. Shepherd had advised chlorodyne to help her sleep, but that made her "markedly worse in the bowels." Yet the spring-like weather cheered her. After a trying winter, the meadows were "almost as green as in April," and she was "sending little boxes of flowers to town friends." Jenny would start for Edgbaston in three weeks, but Ellen would come for most of her absence. At 72, Catherine Turner "w<sup>d</sup> not do," but might come in the summer. Just now, Catherine was staying at Lea Hurst, "reading to M<sup>r</sup> Nightingale & Julia Smith," both failing in eyesight, "one much her senior, & the other 4 years younger."<sup>84</sup>

Martineau's letter to Fanny Wedgwood in February must have nudged Erasmus Darwin. "How bountiful you are - sending me oysters so often!" she wrote. Oysters pleased her doctor. Another of the doctor's patients of her age "but further gone" had been relieved by taking "8, 10 or more at a time, with bread and butter and champagne." A teething baby of distant cousins in Australia, moreover, had eaten eleven at a time and recovered from an illness.

Erasmus's probable *regular* shares in the "Brighton" railway would be slow to pay, she feared. "David M." gave "quite a pathetic picture [of various friends] waiting patiently for dividends, - from three different Railways." Jenny had brought home "a Manchester penny paper . . . unopened," a week ago, "that we might learn our fate together." In it, they read "some of M<sup>r</sup> Laing's speech, and then a telegram, declaring the Report adopted." But she *wished* the board "would go back to the good old practice of paying us not later than 4 days after the Half-yearly Meetings."<sup>85</sup>

Erasmus would be thinking more - and so perhaps was she - of the coming out of his brother's book. Of course he must have seen Monday's *Pall Mall*. "I do hope you have," she said. Their speaking of Charles Darwin's "noble calmness" had stayed in her mind, but his bad health

might easily render him more sensitive than in his earlier days. . . . Really - what nonsense it is to stop, and scream and struggle, and have a faction-fight at every mile on the road to knowledge! I dare say it is the easiest thing to your brother to hold on, - straight through the mob of them!

How would *The Times* review the work, she wondered. "The 'Edinburgh' does rash things enough . . . but it seems to me to sink lower and lower in its relations to science, and everything that requires manliness and courage" (the *Edinburgh* had published Richard Owen's damaging review of Darwin's *Origin of Species*). Göschen's articles were "capital in their way; and a *genre* article here and there," but she couldn't think it flourished otherwise, - as to quality."

Jenny, she ended, had gone to Fox How "after seeing Mary's marriage in the papers, - to get it over." Before the Arnolds left they were to lend Martineau their copy of Dean Stanley's "Abbey Memorial." How happy he was with the interest it had excited!<sup>86</sup>

Despite her disapproval of Reeve, within two weeks, Martineau had agreed to advise him on the *Edinburgh*. "Your packet arrived yesterday. . . . Jenny & I *have* thought a great deal about the reviewing of Upham's book." She saw "the singular opportunity afforded by this *historical* work for casting light on a subject of strong popular interest & importance." Three days ago she learned about "the article 'Witchcraft' in the new North Amer<sup>n</sup> Review, - on Upham's book," that made no attempt at a "scientific apprehension." Hence the "historical & moral or social character of the Salem narrative being first disposed of, the physiological features of M<sup>r</sup> Upham's representation" might well be treated in the *Edinburgh*. Indeed, the 1856 article "'Body and Mind'" might serve "as a sort of introduction to the physiological portion of the review of Upham and his brother-in-law, Holmes." She could not bear to think of "such an opening as this book affords being neglected," and *Clayden* was "not at all likely to succeed in that direction." He was "more & more engaged in political writing" and in fact leaving Nottingham for London. What would Reeve think of *her* trying this one more bit of work? "You see, - I know Salem so well, - & its traditions; - I know the dreary 'Witches Hill' so well, - the craggy bit of common where they were hanged in rows." Upham's mind on the witch question she understood, and she had "studied the physiological aspect of the 'spiritual' & mesmeric phenomena so long & so much," she did not fear making a fool of herself in a review. "But, what of my condition? you may well ask." She *could* see, hear and write better even than last autumn - though suffering more. Jenny would serve as amanuensis, and they believed she *might* while her mind was "full of the subject . . . My Doctor is the only person we need tell; & *he* can keep a secret." Upham's book should be sent her at once before Jenny left "in 3 weeks, for a month's absence." As to "the character & order of the treatment," she would review the book first as "a remarkably complete & elaborate History," followed by "consideration of the phenomena." Her article would be based on investigation and facts, and she cited three clear examples of clairvoyance: first was the story of "Emma," a girl at Bolton whom Martineau had mesmerized in 1849 and who first "saw" Atkinson in his rooms in the city and later "saw" Martineau in her home at Ambleside. Martineau's second example concerned "Lepsius being lost in Arabia, & tracked by the clairvoyance of a German lady," and the third was of Millais and a clairvoyant who assumed the position of a drawing of his painting, "Mariana in the Moated Grange."<sup>87</sup>

Saying she *must* stop, Martineau added hard words for Mill's latest pamphlet, *England and Ireland*, which she *hadn't* seen. When Mill entered Parliament she predicted he would "cut his throat (politically,)" within five years "by his mingled impressionableness & assumption of a philosophical bearing, - by his womanish temperament, his professional pedantry, his open vanity & latent self-distrust together" (a veiled, one-time estimate of Reeve?). "A man who wanted to injure Ireland & England . . . c<sup>d</sup> have done nothing so fitting as putting out this pamphlet," she declared. Yet Gladstone's seeming sympathy for the rights of trades unions was *almost* as bad and showed him to be unfit to administer affairs he did not understand.<sup>88</sup>

By early March, Martineau had written about half of her review and was "exhausted" but hoped to finish before Jenny left in ten days. Ellen was coming, and she didn't want her to know "our secret . . . because it w<sup>d</sup> be best for her to be innocent when she hears the article



discussed at Liverpool." Holland's old-fashioned elegance of "style of thought & expression" now seemed out of date: "We require more directness, & plain avowal, & clear distinction between what is known, & what is guessed," physiological inquiry being the "true avenue to satisfaction." On the subjects of "*Possession*" and clairvoyance, the "case of the Bolton clerk . . . was made public at the time," investigated and certified by the authorities, "& was the saving of a worthy family from ruin." Another clairvoyant saw a brother in India who was missing and supposed dead, but who had "only a wound in the chin."

Martineau's article had become rather long, "perhaps 40 p.p. or nearly," but was "so very interesting!" To her surprise, she saw no trace of Upham's brother Holmes in his new book. Holland's book was out of date, but Maudsley's might be put at the head of the article. "I must return Maudsley's book with yours," she added in a postscript. "It is not a book w<sup>h</sup> can be left accessible in a woman's library." (The "Physiological books" sent by Reeve must have included a book by Henry Holland and pamphlet by Henry Maudsley.)<sup>89</sup>

Reeve (suffering from gout) was going to Aix-la-Chapelle in mid-March just as Martineau was "entering upon [her] annual course of *sinking*." She would post the article next day, and if he accepted it, what should they do about the proof reading? She had no objection to look over the proofs, but was not now trustworthy for small details and preferred to leave it to "Spottiswoode's people." She had been "much interested by that page from Bunsen" (Reeve was reviewing the memoirs of Baron Bunsen and may have copied out Bunsen's statements on magic and somnambulism from when he stayed with the Arnolds in 1839). "While fully seeing how D<sup>r</sup> Arnold & a few others . . . c<sup>d</sup> think of him as they did," she had no confidence in Bunsen's *judgment* or statement of facts. On somnambulism, "D<sup>r</sup> Arnold [Bunsen's admirer] was not a good judge of character," and had "little knowledge of men (*or boys*)" and a narrow "range of thought & interest." Yet Matthew Arnold was "so genuine!" The de Fezensac article in the last *Edinburgh* had been "very interesting, - & I suppose very important," Martineau scribbled at the top of her letter. Glumly, at the bottom, she added "M<sup>rs</sup> John Martineau must have been very old. Hers seems to me about the dullest life I ever saw."<sup>90</sup>

At the end of March, Martineau wrote conspiratorially to Reeve again. "I hope to send off your book [Maudsley?] tomorrow or next day, - as soon as Ellen's back is turned," and also the "Salem book." She was worried that "if any of the family sh<sup>d</sup> ever find it on my shelves, they might draw an inference." One thing she had forgotten to say, "with some emphasis," about Upham's professing to be satisfied with "the frequent . . . *confessions* of the accused," as perplexing as they were. "The fact was, they found themselves actually in possession of powers new & strange," and supposed them to be from "'some bad spirit.'" Having witnessed "the exercise of powers so strange" she could not *tell* the individuals involved, but she could add that she had experienced "what I have no means of imparting, if I wished it."<sup>91</sup>

*Writing* was "fast becoming one of the difficult things to do" Martineau admitted to Fanny Wedgwood in early April. The "nightly chlorodyne now prescribed" she suspected did "some mischief to the head." At Ambleside, they had delightful early "snowdrops, mezereon &c &c - even violets," and now "rhododendrons, pyms, wild cherry, daffodils, jonquils &c." Not able to bear bright light, she had her sun blinds already up. Ellen's daughter had come after Ellen. "How I wish you knew that girl!" she exclaimed. In a week, Jenny would be home, where she was always "well & cheerful, & full of playfulness." Martineau mentioned this because Annie Clough had been "at her mischievous work again, - of speaking alarmingly of the effect of

J's anxieties &c &c," as she had done about Maria. Jenny's "loving family & her nearest friends know, - & tell me in all sincerity, - that she is *always* better & happier here than she *ever* is at home." Yet such family matters Martineau did not wish to explain to Clough, "in return for her intrusion," and it would be "a good thing for all parties if it c<sup>d</sup> somehow occur to A. Clough that she can form no judgment of the household arrangements . . . of families w<sup>h</sup> she knows only through a mere acquaintance with one member, - or possibly two." In the past, Martineau had found "how invariably wrong she was, - from self-confidence, weak judgment, & a wrong idea of the nature of evidence." Nobody respected Clough's benevolence more than *she* did, but she gave her as little opportunity as she could of reporting arrangements at The Knoll.

Fanny must know that that Mary Sturch had "taken **to** her bed, - never to leave it." Meanwhile, news of the college "dissentions" was troubling. Ellen heard Eliza Bostock say at Liverpool that *she* held the purse strings, making Martineau feel sorry about "Miss Martin & the school" and the notion of noble enterprises "marred by the infirmities of good people." Erasmus (vice-chairman of the council of the Ladies' College) must be right, she thought. Ellen had stressed that her daughter, Harriet, and James's daughter, Mary Ellen, were *not* opening a school. *Nothing* of the sort would ever take place.<sup>92</sup>

Further news for Fanny was that Mary Arnold appeared likely to receive her dividends from the Great Western, and *Martineau's* payments seemed somehow greater than before! "Ordinary Shareholders" (including Erasmus) she hoped would not wait long for *their* payments. Lately she had "looked in vain . . . in the usual account of Wills of newly deceased persons, for D<sup>r</sup> Davy's," being curious to know what he had left and not choosing to ask. Neighbours and servants reported the startling news that Margaret Davy had stopped "all the strong medicines he made her take," had come downstairs to meet friends and had dinner-parties "(two in one week) of 6 persons." If true, the story illustrated a "complete emancipation from galling tyranny, - & the tyranny of a fool." Next, on a scandalous review of the Edgeworth book, Martineau decried the "needless mention of 'the fourth M<sup>rs</sup> Edgeworth . . . in the explanatory note." Moreover, the Beauforts shared her dissatisfaction with the *choice* of letters, with hundreds of "really valuable" ones left out. "How I sh<sup>d</sup> like to talk over her & her letters, if you c<sup>d</sup> & w<sup>d</sup> but come here!" As soon as she finished "Matt: Arnold's Report, - so very valuable!" she was going to begin Stanley's "Abbey book," but his "Sion College Address" and his "W<sup>m</sup> the Conqueror sermon" would ruin him as well as the cause of peace, if he persisted in "trying to make a basis for union out of Sentiment instead of intellectual accord." A Unitarian friend of Martineau's declared there was "nothing to keep the Unit<sup>ns</sup> out of the Church - but - guess what - small thing! 'The Apostles' Creed"!<sup>93</sup>

When Martineau's early resolution about the destruction of her letters came under threat, she wrote angrily to the sons of Frederick Knight Hunt, her first editor at *Daily News*:

I have to request of you an immediate explanation of the fact that fifty-three letters of mine, - a portion of my confidential correspondence with your late father . . . were put up for sale at 47 Leicester Sq<sup>r</sup> & there sold on Monday the 6<sup>th</sup> instant.

No explanation was forthcoming, and Martineau consulted her nephew "of the firm of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ryland & M., solicitors," demanding that any letters remaining be sent with "an express & explicit *Declaration*" that there were no others and that "you defray the expenses incurred by me, amounting to £1..11..0.. Receiving only "bluster" from the Hunts, Martineau snarled: "your

evasion of the explanation for w<sup>h</sup> oppor<sup>y</sup> has been offered you shows but too plainly that you are unable to justify yourself." <sup>94</sup>

With the death of her old *bête noir*, Brougham on 7 May, Martineau had the last word. Although her obituary in the *Daily News* noted the former Lord Chancellor's accomplishments and deficiencies, Brougham's blurred image in a photograph, when he had "moved about too soon," exemplified his whole career. Owing to his "want of steadfastness," she scoffed, history would remember Brougham as a blur instead of as the central figure he should have been. <sup>95</sup>

Judging Reeve must be "back from Aix," in early June Martineau poured out her disgust at Disraeli, "a cause of patriotic shame to me for five-&-thirty years." Almost as painful, was the spectacle of "our scientific magnates . . . exposing themselves" over spiritualism in the chancery suit against the medium, Daniel Douglas Home. Everybody was glad of the verdict "for scientific & moral interests," research into the subject was secured (Jane Lyon, a wealthy widow who adopted Home as her son and then changed her mind, instituted "Lyon v. Home," witnesses for the defense included Robert Chambers testifying that Home was honorable and not a fake "spiritualist;" Home won, but was ruined financially). The best thing written on the affair, she thought, was by "Varley (the Electrician)" in the *Spiritual Magazine* for June. <sup>96</sup>

On another subject, Martineau asked if Reeve had "seen this (sort of) Autobiog<sup>y</sup> of Sir H<sup>y</sup> Holland's, - printed, but never to be published." He was taking "immense care of it, - to prevent its getting into Abr<sup>m</sup> Hayward's reach, I suppose" (Martineau must have been thinking of *her* two volumes waiting at the printer's). About the "eminently interesting" Bunsen memoir, she labeled Bunsen not a wise man but "the most self-confident, & even self-important man that I ever met with." If allowance were made for his "mistaking the world of metaphysics for the actual universe, & for his assumption that he was sent to save the human race," one could admire and sympathize with him. The value or "at least the charm" of the book, she thought, was its disclosure of his wife. "He was a brilliant, enthusiastic, self confident, innocent big boy: *she* . . . a perfect woman." The review in the *Edinburgh* (in fact, by Reeve) would set everybody reading the Bunsen memoir while his "archeological & theological writings" would immediately be forgotten.

The article on Disraeli's unfitness to be prime minister was delightful and "The Monks of the West" (mainly on Montalembert's life of St. Columba) remarkably interesting. Now she would give "due attention to the Comte article," having seen "some odd mistakes, here & there." It seemed "a perpetual wonder how Comte's religious institutions" should get a moment's notice in Britain. Her version of his *Cours de philosophie positive*, published over fourteen years ago, was "now selling more largely from year to year." "How I have scribbled on!" she almost ended. Jenny had lately been "roving the District . . . with her pet brother - Edward." Ellen's dear daughter was in London, "seeing pictures, hearing music &c." <sup>97</sup>

Sitting "enthroned among flowers" on her birthday (12 June) Martineau told Sarah that all her household "including the Bucknalls" had remembered the day. "I must learn," she switched topics, "what effect . . . has been produced by Matt: Arnold's present series of papers in the 'Cornhill' . . . especially the second [that] must rank with the national events of the time." Arnold had so grown "in grace & moderation & gentleness" within the last several years he "must be destined to influence largely the mind of his time." <sup>98</sup>

Martineau's "Salem Witchcraft" took pride of place in the *Edinburgh* of July 1868. With a gibe at Salem's present adversity caused by the tariff affecting its shipping trade, she

described Upham's historical account of Salem, attempted 37 years earlier and now minutely examining all aspects of its inhabitants and the trials and executions of "witches." Britain's current rage for spiritualism meant that Salem "witchcraft" trials could not be treated as a jest - as facts like somnambulism had not been explained. Upham was unaware of the latest "physiological" researches and held to "fraud and falsehood, as affording the true key." Yet phenomena like somnambulism, suspended consciousness, clairvoyance and mesmerism were probably illustrations of "some general law of nature" and must be *investigated*, Martineau urged.<sup>99</sup>

Martineau's concern to keep the authorship of her review a secret seemed to reveal the Arnolds' disdain for subjects like spiritualism. When the July *Edinburgh* arrived on 15 July, "punctual to the day," Martineau sent it to the Arnolds uncut, explaining to Reeve that she did not want to be detected as a contributor and hoped "to put off the scent the only people here who w<sup>d</sup> be likely to ascribe the article to me" (Fan glanced at the "interesting" Salem article but "c<sup>d</sup> not think of reading so painful a story," Martineau was to report). "I saw a good deal of my own article, however, without cutting," she went on to Reeve, and three times in one passage the word "law" had been written "cause," which was *not* what she meant.

That week, her hands were full of books for the Mudie box, but once she had the *Edinburgh*, she would turn to the "Church article, - w<sup>h</sup> is sure to be exceedingly interesting." If it was "Dean Stanley's," she would "find it out in a minute." She and the Arnolds regretted Stanley's course in Church matters, as in his "William the Conqueror sermon, - very pretty, but sadly unsound." Stanley seemed unaware that "while races & tongues may amalgamate, *incompatible opinions* cannot" and that a church required "as its most essential condition, a basis of *conviction*." Stanley simply did not understand the dissenters' convictions, the letters he had written to her being "a curious specimen of the clerical way of 'making things pleasant.'" She thought Stanley "most amiable, generous, liberal & sympathizing," but as a writer illogical. His "dear wife does not pretend to go beyond sentiment; but . . . often exceeds one's expectations," Martineau noted loyally about her old friend.

Locally, their pump had never been dry during the recent drought, while neighbours seriously lacked water. Meanwhile, her doctor ordered the only things he *could* order, "more opiates & more stimulants." And there were worrying rumors that "only half the Preference holders" of her railway stock would be paid this time. The Longman cheque (publishers of the *Edinburgh*) would thus enable her to get through the year, if she lived. For Reeve's sake, she worried that he might still be "haunted & persecuted by gout." *She* was just now "looking out the window at our capital downpour." A "charming spring of cold, clear water far away in the field below" had saved them, but her farm man - whose wife was a washerwoman - had to "wheel the barrel every morning & evening besides washing days." Sadly, her pears and apples she feared were lost.

Now that she knew Reeve had written "The National Church," she praised his doing "what was your task, with admirable clearness, closeness & grace." She missed "the vital consideration of individual conviction," but that was not his task. "As to the Irish Church question," it was "worse than useless to pare & prune the [Irish Anglican] Church. The grievance must simply be removed." An Irish parson, an old friend of hers, had called last week and vowed that the only just course was "to disconnect the Church from the State, & commit its religion to the hearts & minds of its members."<sup>100</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HM to FW, 11 January 1866, *HM/FW* 259-65; as colonial secretary Edward Cardwell headed the Gov. Eyre investigation; Mary Eyre, *A Lady's Walks in the South of France in 1863*. By Mary Eyre . . . (London: Richard Bentley, 1865).

<sup>2</sup> On cow disease (rinderpest) see *The Times*, 8 January 1866: 6, col. 1 (on cows lost in Cambridgeshire and on the Isle of Ely) and "Vaccination for Cattle Plague," *The Times*, 20 January 1866: 5, col. 3 (on the hope that smallpox vaccine might aid prevention); Rev. Charles Dent Bell arrived in Ambleside after Martineau's stand against church rates.

<sup>3</sup> Horace Walpole had wished one of the Berry sisters to inherit his title and fortune as his wife; John Playfair and Webb Seymour, their friends; for Francis Horner's "Life," see chap. 25, note 29; Martineau received £25 in partial payment for *History of the Peace: being a history of England from 1816 to 1854. With an introduction 1800 to 1815*. 4 vols. (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Company, 1865-66).

<sup>4</sup> "William Lloyd Garrison," *HM/DN* 307-14.

<sup>5</sup> HM to HR, 5 February 1866, *CL* 5: 130-31; Peter William Clayden, "The Reconstruction of the American Union," *ER* 123 (April 1866): 524-56; for a proposal by the Reconstruction Committee to exclude blacks from the suffrage and thus weaken Southern representation in the House, see *The Times*, 3 February: 12, col. 1; Helen Comte has not been identified; Thomas Lombe Taylor, related to the Taylors of Norwich, had taken over his elder brother's large estate at Diss.

<sup>6</sup> HM to Sarah, 23 February 1866, *CRO(K)WDX* 482/50 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 131-32; Jamaican planters had abolished the constitution which gave former slaves equal rights; the exhibition at Nagpore in India opened 26 December 1865 and featured hundreds of varieties of rice and other grains, raw silk, herbs, honey, wood, ores, stone, animals and manufactured work: a "first great landmark in the long line of their humble history," Martineau claimed (for her two leaders on 22 February 1866, see Appen., *HM/DN*); Lincoln had worked as a "rail-splitter," Andrew Johnson, a tailor, had never gone to school.

<sup>7</sup> HM to HR, 25 February 1866, *CL* 5: 132-35; Sumner and other Radicals protested at the reconstruction committee's failure to support black suffrage; *The Times* reported a deputation to the President of "coloured men" claiming that they paid taxes and should have suffrage (22 February 1866: 5, col. 1); John Jay, appointed minister to Austria; HM to August Laugel, [November 1863], *CL* 5: 42-43.

<sup>8</sup> HM to FW, 2 March 1866, *HM/FW* 265-69; MA, "My Countrymen," *Cornhill Magazine* 13 (February 1865): 153-72; in addition to *A French Eton* Arnold published *The Popular Education of France, with notices of that of Holland and Switzerland* (London: Longman, 1861); Arnold seemed to have charmed away Martineau's opposition to some of his ideas.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Babbage, *Passages from the Life of a Philosopher* (London: Longman, 1864).

<sup>10</sup> See Appen., *HM/DN*; George Bancroft's "Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln" delivered to Congress on 12 February 1866 (Lincoln's birthday) blamed England for recognizing the belligerent rights of a nation devoted to slavery and unfavorably contrasted Palmerston to Lincoln, who was the representative of all the people and was concerned for the future; Bancroft, a Jacksonian Democrat and second choice for orator, was reportedly asked because of his memorable address on the death of Andrew Jackson and

because he was known to have written President Andrew Johnson's conciliatory first message to Congress (Martineau likely echoed American friends in the Republican Party).

<sup>11</sup> HM to HR, 5 March 1866, *CL* 5: 135-36; Clayden, "The Southern States since the War," *ER* 136 (July 1872): 148-79; for Martineau's "The Negro Race in America," see chap. 48; for the republication of Martineau's history, see above; for Greeley's attack in 1861, see chap. 46, note 23.

<sup>12</sup> "Owlsight" [letter signed "The Owl" (i.e., Delane)], predicted Russell's retirement as prime minister along with other changes in the cabinet (which stayed in office until June 1866): *The Times*, 1 March 1866: 9, col. 5; a later letter in *The Times*, for example, questioned whether to report "lambs" as "sheep" ("Agricultural Statistics," *The Times*, 10 March 1866: 12, col. 3).

<sup>13</sup> HM to HR, 26 March 1866, *CL* 5: 136-37.

<sup>14</sup> HM to Sarah, 28 March 1866, BUL Add. 69.

<sup>15</sup> HM to FW, 16 April 1866, *HM/FW* 269-70; for Dr. Davy as justice of the peace (JP), see chap. 43; Gladstone's proposal of extensive reform of the franchise on 12 March 1866 led to the fall of Russell's government (see note 12).

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Walker to HM, 26 April 1866, *Auto.* 3: 424.

<sup>17</sup> HM to Elizabeth Ann Bostock, 26 April 1866, *CL* 5: 138-39; Anna Maria Yates died 3 April 1866 (her sister, Jane Ellen, died 22 December 1877): see chap. 6, note 35; Jane Carlyle died in her carriage on 21 April after jumping down for her little dog, hurt by a "swift brougham" (Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, ed. K.J. Fielding and Ian Campbell (Oxford UP 1997) 190; Martineau evidently asked that her new *History of the Peace* be sent to Bostock at the Ladies' College residence; for Carlyle's visit to Tynemouth, see chap. 22.

<sup>18</sup> FN to HM, 2 May 1866, BL Add MS45788/1 ff. 303-7.

<sup>19</sup> Henry Atkinson to HM, 3 May 1866, *Auto.* 3: 425-26.

<sup>20</sup> HM to HR, 6 May 1866, *CL* 5: 140-41; the editors were Frederick Knight Hunt, William Weir and Thomas Walker.

<sup>21</sup> Herman Merivale, "Diary of the Right Hon. W. Windham," *ER* 123 (April 1866): 557-85; [rev. of] *The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham 1784 to 1810*, ed. Cecilia Anne (Mrs. Henry) Baring (London: Longmans, Green, 1866); Merivale praised Windham's recording of *personal* trivia; the new *Edinburgh* included reviews of Grote's *Plato*, the correspondence of Marie Antoinette, the reform debate (the last two by Reeve), articles on London's water supply, the Irish church and (Clayden's) on American reconstruction, all surely of interest to Martineau.

<sup>22</sup> HM to Graves, 4 July 1866, *CL* 5: 141-42; John R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo. A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ* (London: Macmillan, 1866), aimed to trace the biography of Christ without discussing "theological questions"; J.H. Thom, "Ecce Homo," *Theological Review* 3 (April 1866): 161-87; James Fitzjames Stephens, "Ecce Homo: first notice" and "Ecce Homo: second [and last] notice," *Fraser's* 73 (June 1866): 746-65 and 74 (July 1866): 29-52; Bell, Morse, Napier and Crosfield, a selection of Martineau's middle-class neighbors.

<sup>23</sup> HM to Charles Bray, 13 July 1866, *CL* 5: 143; Charles Bray, *On Force, its Mental and Moral Correlates; and on that which is Supposed to Underlie all Phenomena: with Speculations on Spiritualism, and other Abnormal Conditions of Mind* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer; [1866]).

---

<sup>24</sup> HM to FW, 10 August 1866, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 270-71).

<sup>25</sup> HM to Mary Carpenter, 24 August 1866, *CL* 5: 143-44; no *Daily News* item concerning Carpenter has been identified; on 1 September, she left England for her first visit to India having been asked for advice on education and prison discipline; Carpenter then *returned* to Bombay in 1868 to help with the training of female teachers for girls' schools and (in 1870) to judge progress in female education: *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter* 319-77).

<sup>26</sup> HM to Mrs. Jones, 5 September 1866, *CL* 5: 144-45.

<sup>27</sup> HM to HR, 18 October 1866, *CL* 5: 145-47; George Edward Lynch Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta 1858-1866 (housemaster at Rugby for fifteen years under Dr. Thomas Arnold), fell from a river ferry on 6 October 1866 and his body was not recovered.

<sup>28</sup> T.J. Hovell-Thurlow (married to Emma Bruce, Lord Elgin's daughter), *The Company and the Crown* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1866) on India under the East India Company, citing Martineau's "A British Friendship" on page 7.

<sup>29</sup> Friedrich Ferdinand Von Beust, German (and later) Austrian statesman; Sumner's marriage to Alice Mason Hooper ended in divorce; [rev.] G.E. Venables, "*Felix Holt, the Radical*" [by George Eliot], *ER* 124 (October 1866): 435-49; Lewes lived to 1878.

<sup>30</sup> HM to ED, 25 October 1866, *HM/FW* 271-72; Susan was Erasmus's next elder sister, his eldest sister, Marianne, died in 1858 and his youngest sister, Catherine, in February 1866; Froude had edited *Fraser's Magazine* only since 1860, but for his attack on *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development*, see chap. 33, *Fraser's* regularly failing to take Martineau seriously; James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth: Reign of Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, Green, 1856-1870) vols. 7-12; Erasmus was chairman of the Ladies' College council.

<sup>31</sup> HM to James Anthony Froude, 26 October 1866, *CL* 5: 147-48.

<sup>32</sup> HM to FW, 5 November 1866, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 273-77); Henry Holland became physician in ordinary to Prince Albert in 1840 and to the Queen in 1852; for an exchange of letters between Charles Buxton and Lieutenant Herbert Charles Alexander Brand of the Royal Navy over the hangings carried out during the Jamaica uprising, see *The Times*, 22, 23, 26 November 1866; the Jamaica Committee under John Stuart Mill, was raising funds to appeal to judicial authority against Eyre if the government failed to do so (Dickens, Ruskin, Carlyle and others defended Eyre).

<sup>33</sup> *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D., Late Archbishop of Dublin*, ed. Elizabeth Jane Whately (London: Longmans, Green, 1866) 1: 178-180; in 1852 Whately resigned as head of a commission to administer a system of "united national education" when Roman Catholic members objected to the materials he prepared for use in the national schools.

<sup>34</sup> Arthur Macmorrough Kavanagh, Irish Conservative MP 1866-1880; Henry Fawcett, former professor of political economy at Cambridge, Radical MP, blinded in an accident in 1858; Phillip Martineau Higginson graduated from the University of London and later became a Unitarian minister.

<sup>35</sup> HM to Sarah, 26 November, 1866, *CL* 5: 148-50; for *A British Friendship* (Windermere, 1866) see note 37.

- 
- <sup>36</sup> HM to Miss Quillinan, 13 December 1866, *CL* 5: 151; Anthony Trollope, *The Last Chronicle of Barset* (London: Smith, Elder, 1867), published in weekly numbers, 1 December 1866--6 July 1867.
- <sup>37</sup> HM to ED, 16 December 1866, *HM/FW* 277-79; Sir Roderick Murchinson, wealthy gentleman-savant, a vice-president of the Eyre Defence Committee, and probably Matthew Fontaine Maury, American hydrographer and former commander in the Confederate Navy; for Martineau's leader on Maury of 1 January 1862, see Appen., *HM/DN*; "A British Friendship," *OW* 8 (18 April 1863): 452-56; *A British Friendship and Memoir of the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine* (Windermere: J. Garnett, 1866); Martineau praised Elgin's long career in diplomacy including his promotion of "responsible government" in Canada and the Victorian virtues of good sense, cheerfulness, practical judgment, experience, courage and steadfastness.
- <sup>38</sup> For Maria Chapman, see Annie Fields (diary extract, 2 March 1867), Houghton Library bMS Am 1854.1 (1293); in March a female admirer noted the still beautiful Maria Chapman playing on the floor with her grandchildren.
- <sup>39</sup> HCR to W. S. Cookson, 22 December 1866, and diary entry 1 November 1866, Sadler 3: 520-21 and 518-19 (born in 1775, Robinson died 5 February 1867).
- <sup>40</sup> HM to FW, "Shortest Day," 1866, (partly pub.) *HM/FW* 279-81 (UKL); the *Pall Mall Gazette*, begun 1 February 1865, provided an afternoon summary of the news with articles on social and political questions.
- <sup>41</sup> Volumes of the *Playfellow* series published by Charles Knight in 1866 featured notices of a new edition of *The Billow and the Rock* (not found, but see chap. 29, note 27).
- <sup>42</sup> HM to Milnes, 24 December 1866 and 5 January 1867, TLC, Houghton 38/31 and *CL* 5: 153-55; for *A British Friendship*, see note 37; Milnes had wished to marry Nightingale.
- <sup>43</sup> HM to Rosa Beaufort, 27 December 1866, *CL* 5: 152-53; HM to Belper, 8 January 1867, *CL* 5: 157.
- <sup>44</sup> HM to HR, 7 January 1867 LMU (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 155-56); Anne Isabella Thackeray's novel, *The Village on the Cliff* (London: Smith, Elder, 1867), ran in the *Cornhill* from July 1866 to February 1867; Martineau had evidently overcome her distaste for fictional governesses' falling in love with gentlemen: the novel's two heroines, an English governess and a beautiful French farm woman, both love an English gentleman artist; in the December installment, the English heroine (now married to a simple French *mairie*) encourages the French sweetheart and the artist, infuriating her French mother-in-law but consoled by her kindly husband.
- <sup>45</sup> See HM to Grote, January 1867, *HM/FL*, 307-308; HM to Harriet Grote, January [extract], 6, 13 and 23 February 1867, (first) BL Grote Add. MS 46691/21, (last three) *CL* 5: 162-63, 163-65 and 166-68; Harriet Grote, *Memoir of Ary Scheffer* (London: John Murray, 1860), *The Philosophical Radicals in 1832, comprising the life of Sir W. Molesworth, and some incidents connected with the Reform movement from 1832 to 1842* [a personal account including the Grotes' falling out with Molesworth] (London: Savell, 1866) and *Collected Papers, (Original and Reprinted,) in Prose and Verse. 1842-1862* (London: John Murray, 1862); Grote had reviewed the *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore* in the *Edinburgh* in 1854 (partly rptd. Grote, *Collected Papers* 81-131); "Poetical Pieces. Felix Mendelssohn," "Character of Sydney Smith," *Collected Papers* 278-79 and 210-14; Martineau might have sent Grote the



newly translated *Memoir, Letters, and Remains of Alexis de Tocqueville* (Cambridge and London: Macmillan, 1861) originally edited by Gustave de la Bonnière de Beaumont and including letters to both Grotes; Martineau had signed the petition to Parliament of 16 February 1856 circulated by Barbara Bodichon's committee on "The Laws of Property as They Affect Women"; for Martineau's estimate of the strengths and weaknesses of the "radical reformers," see *HP*, bk. 5, chap. 10; Joseph Parkes, Radical politician and parliamentary solicitor; at the University College meeting, James failed to be appointed to the non-sectarian institution: see note 49.

<sup>46</sup> HM to John Hamilton Thom [James Martineau's former colleague], 18, 24, 27 and 29 January 1867, (first three) *CL* 5: 157-58, 158-59 and 159-60, (last) *HM/FL* 308; John Hamilton Thom, "Archbishop Whately and the Life of Blanco White," *The Theological Review: A Journal of Religious Thought and Life* 4 (January 1867): 82-120; *The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, Written by Himself, with Portions of his Correspondence*, ed. John Hamilton Thom (London: John Chapman, 1845); Joseph Blanco White, a Catholic philosopher and priest, had become an Anglican, then a Unitarian; Mrs. Proudie, the Bishop's wife in Trollope's "Barchester" novels; Joseph Blanco White's sonnet, "Night and Death" (quoted by Thom in the obituary of his friend in *The Christian Teacher; A Theological and Literary Journal* 3 n. s. [1841]: 285-308) fails to mention God.

<sup>47</sup> HM to Henry Arthur Bright, 22 February 1867, *CL* 5: 166; Martineau seemed to forget the four long letters to Thom as well as those to a *number* of correspondents!

<sup>48</sup> HM to Sarah, 29 January 1867, BUL MS Harriet Martineau Add. 71 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 161-62).

<sup>49</sup> Alexander Bain to HM, 4 January, 12 and 23 February 1867, BUL 35, 36 and 37; James's defenders included Richard Holt and William Ballantyne Hodgson; when James's candidacy failed Hodgson resigned from the college council; Edward Romilly to HM and Caroline Charlotte Romilly to HM, [both] 24 April 1867, BUL 775 and 776 (Lady Romilly's father was first Principal of King's College, London, 1830-1836, and she served on the council of the Ladies' College, 1849-1853; Martineau's unflattering assessment of the Romilly brothers as [Whig] MPs was yet to appear: see *Auto.* 1: 329-30).

<sup>50</sup> HM to FW, 7 April 1867, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 281-83; George Dawson, preacher and lecturer in Birmingham known as a trenchant satirist.

<sup>51</sup> *Essays on Reform* (London: Macmillan, 1867) on Parliamentary reform by new "university liberals" like Richard Holt Hutton, Richard Monckton Milnes, Leslie Stephen and Goldwin Smith; Bryan Waller Procter, *Charles Lamb: A Memoir* (London: Edward, 1866); *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, ed. Charles Ross (London: John Murray, 1859; Martineau may have objected to Cornwallis's military exploits in America, India and Ireland); *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, with a Selection from Her Letters*, ed. M.P. Edgeworth, Harriet Butler, and Lucy J. (privately printed, n.p., n.d.); the Beaufort sisters' aunt, Frances Anne Beaufort, was the fourth wife of Richard Lovell Edgeworth - Maria Edgeworth's father (Maria had been a guest of the Mackintoshes, Fanny Wedgwood's family); a Great Exhibition for the display of arts and manufactures from all countries opened at Paris in the Champ de Mars on 1 April 1867.

<sup>52</sup> HM to Sarah, 28 April and 2 May 1867, *CL* 5: 169-70 and 170-71); Sarah's grandson Johnny Wills may have been reading Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, see chap. 49, note 5.

<sup>53</sup> Ireland Education Office to HM, 30 April 1867, BUL 524.

<sup>54</sup> HM to FW, 7 May 1867, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 283-85); Miss Head of Miller Bridge, Ambleside (?); Catharine Sedgwick suffered repeated attacks (strokes?) before her death in July 1867.

<sup>55</sup> HM to FN, 13 May 1867, *CL* 5: 171-74; Julia Smith served briefly on the council of the Ladies' College in Bedford Square and for five years as a lady visitor, chaperoning classes taught by male professors; Martineau must mean *The Reform Act, 1832. The Correspondence of the late Earl Grey with his Majesty King William IV. and with Sir Herbert Taylor from Nov. 1830 to June 1832*, ed. Henry, Earl Grey (London: John Murray, 1867); Nightingale's friend, Lady Mary Elizabeth Herbert (née 'A' Court), *Impressions of Spain in 1866* (London: Richard Bentley, 1867), a chatty travel account, with fifteen engravings.

<sup>56</sup> D.F. Rennie, M.D., *The British Arms in North China and Japan: Peking 1860; Kagosima 1862* (London: John Murray, 1864); Surgeon Rennie, M.D., *Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War including Sketches of a Three Months' Residence in the Himalayas, and Narrative of a Visit to Bhotan in May 1865* (London: John Murray, 1866) [seemingly objective, Rennie recorded an operation using chloroform and reported incidents of cholera]; providing food for hospital patients was one challenge to Nightingale in the Crimea (see Ruth Cowen, *The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2006]).

<sup>57</sup> HM to PPC, 2 June 1867, *CL* 5: 174-75; as leader of the Commons, Disraeli helped bring in the second Reform Act extending the suffrage to working-class men.

<sup>58</sup> HM to Henry Arthur Bright, 6 June 1867, *CL* 5: 176-77 (Martineau seemed to forget the tidbits she had circulated about the Queen and her family).

<sup>59</sup> HM to Emily Anne (Beaufort) Smythe, Viscountess Strangford, and Rosa Beaufort, 9 June 1867, *CL* 5: 178-81; for the Edgeworth memoir, see note [3x: n. 339] (Martineau seemed resentful of Edgeworth's social success); for her obituary of Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, see chap. 43, note 19.

<sup>60</sup> The International Anti-Slavery Conference, Paris, 26-27 August 1867; HM to WLG, 19 and 25 June 1867, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879. The Story of his Life Told by his Children* 4: 225-26 and *CL* 5: 182-83; for Martineau's "Martyr Age of the United States of America," see chap. 18; for Martineau's sniffing at the International Exhibition, see above.

<sup>61</sup> For Garrison's reception in London, see "Public Breakfast to Mr. Garrison," *Pall Mall* 9 (29 June 1867): 9, col. 1; HM to WLG, 7, 18, 21 July and 2 August 1867, *CL* 5: 184-86, 186-87, 187 and 188; Walker apparently did not attend the breakfast at St. James's Hall in Garrison's honor; for Martineau family enthusiasm for Garrison, see HM to Sarah, 20 October 1867, BUL Add 75 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 198).

<sup>62</sup> HM to Sara Hennell, 16 June 1867, *CL* 5: 181-82.

<sup>63</sup> HM to FW, 23 June 1867, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 285-88); the *Spectator* published "Our Indian Finances," "The Machinery of a Native State" and "The Main Defects of a Native State," 13, 27 April and 4 May 1867: 406-407, 462-63 and 492-93 (Crabb Robinson, mostly disagreeing with Martineau's judgments of popular journals, noted in January: "I seldom look at the *Times* now [but] retain my love for the *Spectator*, and find even the *Pall Mall Gazette* readable" [Crabb Robinson, Sadler (diary entry for 15 January 1866) 3: 507]).

<sup>64</sup> John F. MacLennan, *Memoir of Thomas Drummond . . . under secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1835 to 1840* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1867; for Martineau's estimate of Drummond see *History of the Peace*, pp. 173-74, 175-76, 255, 283, 312, 325-27 and 433); Anne Chapman was to marry Edward James Stephen Dicey (in 1862 Dicey contributed articles to the *Spectator* and *Macmillan's*); Barbara Bodichon lived with her French husband partly in Algiers.

<sup>65</sup> HM to R.H. Brand, 3 August 1867, *HM/FL* 309; "A & B" underlined twice (possibly like Mudie's 1882 offer of large subscriptions for five guineas a year of "Class A . . . fifteen volumes of the 'newest books' at one time [or] Class B . . . twenty-five volumes of 'older books'": see Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* [Bloomington/London: Indiana UP, 1970] 39).

<sup>66</sup> HM to HR, 15 August 1867, *CL* 5: 189-91; Sarah Austin was Reeve's maternal aunt and a cousin of Martineau's father who had earlier aroused her envy; Sarah's daughter was Lucie and her husband Sir Alexander Cornewall Duff Gordon.

<sup>67</sup> [Queen Victoria], *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1861. To Which are Prefixed and Added Extracts from the Same Journal Giving an Account of Earlier Visits to Scotland, and Tours in England and Ireland, and Yachting Excursions*, ed. Arthur Helps (London: Smith, Elder, 1868); [rev.] HR, "The Queen's Highland Journal," *ER* 127 (January 1868): 281-300 (Reeve may have lent Martineau an early copy).

<sup>68</sup> HM to Sarah, 28 August 1867, *BUL* Add 74 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 191).

<sup>69</sup> HM to FN, 6 September 1867, *CL* 5: 192-94; William Rathbone, *Social Duties Considered with Reference to the Organization of Effort in Works of Benevolence and Public Utility. By a Man of Business* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1867); Rathbone recommended a "combination of organized machinery with individual responsibility and freedom of action" (i.e., private charity supervised by government); in "Social Duties," *Pall Mall* (4 July 1867): 58, col. 2--59, col. 1, W.R. Greg (Rathbone's brother-in-law) called it a "good little book" offering commonplace ideas in an "execrable" style, the author failing to see the similarity between a paternalistic factory system and slavery.

<sup>70</sup> Chapman still edited the *Westminster* but had long been forced to give up his publishing business; Octavius H. Smith was Julia's brother, and for the mortgage on John Chapman's publishing business, cf. chap. 43.

<sup>71</sup> Nightingale praised Bartle Frere, governor of Bombay Presidency 1862-1867, for sanitary measures (Martineau noted Frere's "energy" as governor: *DN*, 13 December 1862 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); on the regulations for workhouse nursing proposed by Nightingale, see FN to Edwin Chadwick, 9 July 1866, *Ever Yours, Florence Nightingale* 270-74, and see [Florence Nightingale] *Suggestions on The Subject of Providing, Training, and Organizing Nurses for the Sick Poor in Workhouse Infirmarys* (privately printed, 1867); [Lady Verney], "Stone Edge," *Cornhill Magazine* 15 (January-June 1867): 586-605, 727-47 and 16 (July-December 1867): 54-73, 239-56 and 323-45 (rptd. *Stone Edge* [London: Smith, Elder, 1868]: a grim tale set in the moors, with dialect-speaking characters who finally emigrate to Canada.

<sup>72</sup> HM to Harriet Grote, 20 September 1867, *CL* 194-95.

<sup>73</sup> HM to Julia Smith, 8 October 1867, *CL* 5: 195-97; Nightingale lived into her ninetieth year.

<sup>74</sup> HM to Lady Elgin, 11 October 1867, *CL* 5: 197-98; see "New Aspects of Fenianism," *Pall Mall* 6 (1 October 1867): 1145-46; Charles Grey now served as private secretary to the Queen (despite early censure of Victoria, Martineau seemed to regard her as a national, even mythic mother figure).

<sup>75</sup> HM to Thomas Martineau, 25 October 1867, BULHM Add I ii 18 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 199).

<sup>76</sup> HM to HR, 3 and 15 December 1867, *CL* 5: 200-202 and 202-205; Charles W. Upham, *Salem Controversy. Pamphlets and Extras* (Salem, 1834) and *Salem Witchcraft; with an Account of Salem Village, and a history of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects* (Boston: Wiggin and Lunt, 1867); "Upham on Witchcraft," *The Nation*, 14 November 1867: 391, col. 1--392, cols. 1-2, described the three-part work on Salem village, the history of witchcraft in general and individual cases in Salem; see Sophia Elizabeth De Morgan (née Frennd), *From Matter to Spirit. The Result of Ten Years' Experience in Spirit Manifestations. Intended as a Guide to Enquirers. With a Preface by A B* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green; 1863).

<sup>77</sup> William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *The History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), included the chapter "The Declining Sense of the Miraculous;" William Walker Wilkins [Reeve's "reviewer"], "The American Psychomancy," *ER* 122 (October 1865): 565-604, objected to the atheistic nature of spiritualism.

<sup>78</sup> HM to FW, 13 December 1867, *HM/FW* 288-289; Emanuel Deutsch, "The Talmud," *QR* 123 (October 1867): 417-64; the Arnolds may have loaned the *Quarterly*: Matthew Arnold highly recommended the article (MA to Lady Louisa de Rothschild, 4 November 1867, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 3: 184-85); Edward Bulwer Lytton, *The Lost Tales of Miletus* (London: J. Murray, 1866).

<sup>79</sup> HM to Sarah, 16 December 1867, *CL* 5: 205.

<sup>80</sup> HM to FW, 2 February 1868, *HM/FW* 289-93; for probable full payment of interest on preference stock of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, see *The Times*, 28 January 1868: 5, cols. 5-6; Dr. John Davy died on 24 January 1868; the Hawkshead surgeon was probably W. Lane, Esq., of Walkerground; for Martineau's gossip about the final "madness" of Margaret Davy's mother, Mrs. Fletcher, see chap. 43.

<sup>81</sup> Mary Hiley inherited Woodhouse Eaves, near Loughborough, Leicestershire; Robert Hayes became curate in 1863.

<sup>82</sup> Charles Darwin's son George Howard Darwin became second wrangler in mathematics at Cambridge, January 1868.

<sup>83</sup> HM to Sarah, 6 February 1868, *CL* 5: 206.

<sup>84</sup> HM to Sarah, 25 February 1868, BUL Add 78 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 210); for an earlier complaint about Catherine, see above; at first, Martineau had planned to use part of Sarah's £25 to replace her "comfortable . . . old red cow."

<sup>85</sup> HM to ED, 12 February 1868, *HM/FW* 294-96; Liberal politician Samuel Laing (former chairman and managing director of the railway) must have spoken at the yearly meeting of the shareholders on 4 February 1868.

<sup>86</sup> "Darwin on Domestication and Variation," *Pall Mall*, 10 February 1868: 11, cols. 1-2 (on Darwin's "rare and noble calmness") and 15 February 1868: 12, cols. 1-2--13, col. 1; Charles

Darwin reacted with his customary illness to publication of *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London: John Murray, 1868); Martineau must have been thinking of the *Edinburgh's* review of the American spiritualists (see note 77); Richard Owen, "Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*," *ER* 111 (April 1860): 487-532; George Joachim Goschen, "Seven Per Cent" and "Two Per Cent," *ER* 121: 223-51 and 127: 242-80, describing the prosperity of 1865 and the following depression (quoting Martineau in the first article).

<sup>87</sup> HM to HR, 23 February 1868, *CL* 5: 206-210; "Witchcraft," *North American Review* 228 (January 1868): 178-232; Thomas Laycock, "Body and Mind," *ER* 103 (April 1856): 423-52 (reviewing studies of the brain, including dreaming); "Two True Stories About Clairvoyance," *Auto.* 3: 354-61.

<sup>88</sup> John Stuart Mill, *1868-1918, a Lesson for To-day; England and Ireland, the Separation of the Two Countries Considered* ([reprinted] Dublin: Wilson, Hartnell, 1918), in which Mill opposed home rule but favoured giving Irish tenants permanent tenure; in December 1867 Gladstone became leader of the liberal party, and in December 1868, prime minister.

<sup>89</sup> HM to HR, 6 and 11 March 1868, *CL* 5: 211-13, and 213-14; Henry Maudsley, *On the Method of the Study of Mind: an Introductory Chapter to a Physiology and Pathology of the Mind* (London: John Churchill, 1865): a survey from the Greeks of the study of the brain, the mind and consciousness; Sir Henry Holland, *Chapters on Mental Physiology* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858); see Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Miscellaneous Prose Works* (London: Richard Bentley, 1868) 3: 27-38.

<sup>90</sup> HM to HR, 15 March 1868, *CL* 5: 214-15; HR, "Bunsen's Memoirs," *ER* 127 (April 1868): 469-501; *A Memoir of Baron Bunsen. Late Minister-Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of His Majesty Frederic William IV at the Court of St. James*, ed. Frances Baroness Bunsen (London: Longmans, Green, 1868) 1: 469-72; Charles Cornwallis Chesney, *De Fezensac's Recollections of the Grand Army*, *ER* 127 (January 1868): 213-42 (a narrative of Napoleon's last campaigns by a young aristocratic officer); Mrs. John Martineau, née Jane Taylor, b. 1792 (Martineau's cousin by marriage), died 12 March 1868.

<sup>91</sup> HM to HR, 29 March 1868, *CL* 5: 216-17.

<sup>92</sup> HM to FW, 5 April 1868, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 296-300); after Reid's death, the three trustees of the Ladies' College wished to raise standards while the governing council focused on continuing the school - of which Frances Martin was superintendent; on 29 June 1868, the council was abolished (see Tuke, *A History of Bedford College for Women, 1849-1937* 99-103).

<sup>93</sup> Abraham Hayward, "Miss Edgeworth - her Life and Writings," *ER* 126 (October 1867): 458-98 (and see note 51); Matthew Arnold, *Schools and Universities on the Continent* (London: Macmillan, 1868); Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *An Address on the Connection of Church and State delivered at Sion College on February 15, 1868* (London: Macmillan, 1868) and *The Coronation of William the Conqueror and Its Consequences. A Sermon Preached in Westminster Abbey, on Christmas Day, 1866* (Oxford and London: James Parker, 1867): in the first, Stanley argued that the role of the Church ought to be strengthened in English society and in the second, that the successful blending of Saxons and Normans foretold a "mixed and double Church" to

encompass nonconformity (the Apostle's Creed comprised beliefs in the Trinity and Incarnation as followed in the Church of England).

<sup>94</sup> HM to Frederick Everard and Sydney Hunt (alternately), 21, 21, [24] and 24 April, 4 and 8 May 1868, *CL* 5: 217, 217, 218, 218, 218-219 and 219.

<sup>95</sup> "Lord Brougham," *DN*, 11 May 1868: 5, cols. 1-3 (Brougham's autobiography, which Martineau felt slighted her family, was to be succeeded by *hers*).

<sup>96</sup> HM to HR, 7 June 1868, *CL* 5: 220-22 (Martineau may refer partly to Disraeli's opposition to the disestablishment of the Irish Church); Home (lampooned by Robert Browning as "Mr. Sludge, the Medium" in 1864) seemed to have natural powers; the "Affidavit of Mr. C[romwell] F[leetwood] Varley" (consulting electrician of the Atlantic Telegraph Company and of the Electric and International Company) testified that "the manifestations . . . were not due to the operation of any of the recognized physical laws of nature," and in a letter reprinted from the *Pall Mall Gazette* he described two séances in which Home caused multiple "manifestations" (*Spiritual Magazine* 3, n.s. [June 1868]: 243-44 and 273-78).

<sup>97</sup> Abraham Hayward, a prolific reviewer of memoirs and literary remains who had just reviewed the Edgeworth memoirs (see note 93); *A Memoir of Baron Bunsen . . . Drawn Chiefly from Family Papers by his Widow, Frances, Baroness Bunsen* (London: Longmans, 1868); HR, "Bunsen's Memoirs," *ER* 127 (April 1868): 469-501; Charles John Bayley, "The Disraeli Ministry," *ER* 127 (April 1868): 559-81; George William Cox, "The Monks of the West," *ER* 127 (April 1868): 397-432; John Tulloch, "The Positive Philosophy of M. Auguste Comte," *ER* 127 (April 1868): 303-57 [including reviews of a history of philosophy by George Henry Lewes and *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (1865) by John Stuart Mill].

<sup>98</sup> HM to Sarah, 12 June 1868, BUL Add. 79 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 223-24); for Martineau's new farm couple, the Henry Bucknalls, see Brian G. Bucknall, "The Martineau/Bucknall Connection," *MSN* 31 (summer 2012): 16-21; Arnold's concluding lecture as professor of poetry at Oxford, "Culture and its Enemies," published in the *Cornhill* in July 1867, was succeeded by five parts of "Anarchy and Authority," in January, February, June, July and August 1868 (published as *Culture and Anarchy: an Essay in Political and Social Criticism* [London: Smith, Elder, 1869]); the second (later "Doing as One Likes") stressed the need for enlightened leaders; Arnold hoped Martineau would like his conclusion to *Culture and Anarchy* on the importance of "right reason" over activism.

<sup>99</sup> "Salem Witchcraft," *ER* 128 (July 1868): 1-48.

<sup>100</sup> HM to HR, 7 August 1868, *CL* 5: 227-29 (when Reeve's explanation of substituting "cause" for "law" in her "Salem Witchcraft" article did "not extenuate the mischief" Martineau lectured him on the *scientific* status of the phenomena she was describing); the "Irish parson" must have been Rev. Robert Perceval Graves, dean of Dublin's Chapel Royal since 1866.