

Chapter 53

Literary Gossip and Life at The Knoll (1870-1873)

In March, Martineau asked Reeve about a Charles Boner claiming to know *him* and to be “an intimate friend of Miss Mitford’s.” Boner had offered to show Martineau letters from Mary Russell Mitford that related to *her*. “If he was such an intimate friend,” she wondered, “is it not strange that he sh^d be unaware of the 3 volume ‘Life & Letters’ published last year?” Indeed there seemed “something odd about Miss Mitford’s intimate friendships.” When “Payn, the poet & novelist,” lived near by, “he & his wife were constantly bringing me her letters to read . . . & lo! the Payns are not even mentioned in L’Estrange’s Memoir!” Martineau disliked Mitford’s “fawning ways, & her flattering letters” and “drew off from correspondence, & never saw her but once, - as far as I remember.” Mitford’s old friend, Rev. William Harness, “used to pour out his griefs & vexations about his most troublesome charge.” And Mitford *encouraged* her father’s unprincipled doings, “enjoying her share of the good things she begged in his name . . . for turtle, for a phaeton & pair, & so on.” She further deplored Mitford’s “literary quarrels & evil tempers” and “regardless of truth,” her memoirs swarming “with untrue statements.” Mitford’s culture was “merely literary, & very shallow, - & without any sub-stratum of either Science or philosophy” (Mitford believed in somnambulism but had seemed amused at Martineau’s Tynemouth investigations).¹

Fan Arnold reported that the *Quarterly* and *The Times* ‘predicted the book would be a classic - but was that possible? Unlike *herself*, Mitford had actually “begged outright, & desired her friends to beg on her behalf, for a pension, while I was repeatedly refusing one.”² Finally, there was Mitford’s “absolute malignity against Florence Nightingale & her parents & sister, & her Nurses & comrades.” With all Mitford’s “cleverness, the bright imagery, the amiability & cheerfulness (when nothing came in the way) . . . industry & domestic devotedness,” the book was dreary. “But what a froth of sentimentality” . . . had Reeve ever heard of a departed dog being mourned, “not only as ‘dear love!’ but as ‘sweet Saint’?” Just come in at The Knoll, Martineau added, was a “very pretty draft” from New York for the last half-year’s sale of *Biographical Sketches*. But was “M^r Chorley *lost in drink*?”³

Asked to send a “word of greeting” for a commemoration of Margaret Fuller “on the 23^d [of May],” Martineau dictated to Jenny her certainty of the “very remarkable effect on [Fuller’s] mind & character produced by her European experience.” In the ten years after Fuller’s visit to The Knoll, Martineau went on, she’d been “so engrossed by her favourite lines of thought & study” that she remained unconscious of “the crisis through w^h the mind & heart of her own country were passing, while Imaginative Literature, & an arbitrary Ideal philosophy occupied her.” In Italy, however, “the most natural & powerful of human affections” worked an astonishing change in her. “No such testimony as my Aunt thus received is necessary to those who have read the Memoir,” Jenny emphasized, repeating Martineau’s estimate of 1852.⁴

In June, Martineau went over her contract with Fields and Osgood for the publication of her autobiography in America. Signing the two copies in a businesslike manner, she mentioned reservations: the second clause, giving “sole right to publish,” should refer to the United States only; in the fourth clause, they had used “copyright,” which was *hers*, rather than right of

publication. A total of six verbal corrections were needed, and she was glad that by "joining M^{rs} Chapman's name with my own," they could secure the copyright there. For the illustrations, she understood they would be printed in London and sent over for the Boston edition, or the plates might be sent - this should be transacted with her nephew.⁵

"Jenny has been away from me for 5 weeks *extra*," Martineau wrote to Sarah's daughter Mary in August, "& I am very sure you feel with me that the coming autumn is not the season . . . to ask her Mother to give up [her daughter's] regular visit . . . to Edgbaston." Martineau was "markedly worse, & *growing* worse, through the late spring & present summer," and she thought Mary had the courage to relieve them at The Knoll. If she *could* come, all details would be at *her* choice. "Our Mary Anne," the "plump little cook," was all happiness from the visit of her parents to Ambleside," and Caroline's regular time to visit her family was not until April. But Jenny was to leave on "Monday next . . . for a fortnight's absence," to the end of the Birmingham Festival. "Would it be possible, or suitable & convenient to you to come to me from Liverpool [after] the Association meeting?" What a year for "home-tourists!" Jenny almost dreaded the next two months of peeping strangers or "bold venturers, sending in adoring messages, as an attempt at bribery!" Yet Martineau had "immensely enjoyed a visit from M^{rs} Butler;" and perhaps to entice Mary, she reeled off other friends who might call - the "Matt: Arnolds," Emily Napier and the Lyells. And "Lord Elgin (just come of age) inquired and wrote."⁶

"M^{rs} Jellicoe" and she had not "accomplished a meeting," Martineau informed her friend Graves in Dublin, though she felt "a high respect for her, & a deep interest in her work." Martineau was "quite past seeing any new face," having sunk that summer very much. Plus she was "totally without experience as an Educator, - (as deaf people must be)." Going on, she confessed "Our regret for your disappointment . . . about Berlin has been mingled with relief," but she couldn't "speak of this awful [Franco-Prussian] war . . . like 'Hell broke loose.'" While seeing "no rational ground of hope for France," she thought so ill of Bismarck, she was glad to think of the French as the wronged party.⁷

Josephine Butler had taken away Martineau's copy of the New York *Nation* with Richard Webb's letter on the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts - and she told Webb about her "heartfelt pleasure" in his act. For "above half a year" she fretted over the *Nation*, "so well-conducted, so upright, - so courageous, so well-informed, & so sensible" but calamitously misled about the movement. Twenty times on the point of writing a remonstrance, she stopped so as not to do mischief, being "far too ill to be trusted to conduct a controversy." Webb's letter was "*admirable* - for clearness, & for the grace of moderation & good temper." How could the editor, "or his contributor," claim to have read almost all the publications on the association and still treat it as "a disgusting bit of fuss, carried on by a handful of immodest old ladies?" The editor's response to Webb led her to think ill of both his "*morale* [and] ability by the extraor^y weakness" of his reply. Webb, she hoped, would "feel bound" to write again and as often as needful.⁸

In the event, Martineau could not resist writing to the *Nation* herself, declaring afterwards that she and Webb might "congratulate themselves":

Surely, the very slightest of its readers, - the most thoughtless & unreasoning [would] see how the paper [had] shifted its ground [from] traducing the women so lately insulted by its London Correspondent.

Yet the editor had not answered her complaints at being called indecent and treating the movement as "a Woman's agitation, exclusively." Instead, "he rides off upon [his] view of female suffrage, & quite separate agitation on political rights & experiences." By mixing her up with "an indiscreet American clique of women," the editor was trying to discredit her. He assumed their committee to be all "'excitable' women, meddling with things too bad" for them to understand, failing to mention "the public meetings of men all over the country, - of the 270 (or more) organisations in our towns, - of the six or seven hundred petitions to Parliament presented this session," and other such evidence including the professional men and clergy "heartily" helping the cause. "If M^r Godkin does not know these facts, how can he have read nearly all our publications?" She grieved to say that she had been compelled by the disclosures to think far worse of late than ever before of the life and mind, the character & conduct of men, even in Eng^d & America, than I ever did before.

Seven years ago, the peril was laid open to her by Florence Nightingale, who had supplied her with "confidential official Reports; & hard we worked, - but in vain, - against passage of the first Act." By his dishonest statements, Godkin now felt himself "in a scrape," but would probably not let them alone, as Leslie Stephen seemed to have done for some weeks.⁹

By February, Martineau's still rankling disgust with Godkin led her to send him a copy of Josephine Butler's book, *The Constitution Violated*, just published in London and producing an impression on "eminent lawyers." Ministers, she vaunted, were "at length aware of the tremendous mistake made in credulity & carelessness" in the 1869 Act, and it would "soon be repealed."¹⁰

"Your box arrived last evening; & much gratified I am . . . to your affect^e remembrance of an old coz," Martineau had exclaimed to Lucy (youngest daughter of her uncle David Martineau) in October. Inside were photographs, a colourful shawl once belonging to Lucy's sister Eliza and a "Mincing Machine." Martineau *had* such a machine, "bought as soon as I heard of it among my neighbours," to use in making "minced veal, or beef . . . the Christmas mincemeat, & potted meats." Twice a year when the farm pig was killed it was used it to make sausages and porkpies. Now Martineau was going "to try a grand experiment, - whether I can sleep any better on a spring-mattress than on my excellent hair-mattress" (she now rarely slept "an hour at a stretch"). Mary was there and "always cheerful & content."¹¹

A month later Martineau wondered to Mary how she kept so busy while "hindered in every thing by being unable to get warm." Just that week, she had been "reading hard at Lyulph Stanley's letters . . . from Florida, the Mississippi, the Rocky Mountains & California" - promised by his mother when she came. Happily, "Sir John & Lady Clark (she was Charlotte Coltman)" had offered to carry them back to London. "L^y Clark spent a week with me, some 20 years or more ago, with her aunt, Miss Duckworth, & she longs to see the place again," Martineau declared. And speaking of "reading with relish," had Mary read "Lowell's vol: (Mudie box)"? A "richer, & more complete achievement in criticism" she hadn't seen "for many a day." Did Rachel and Miss Pilkington enjoy it, she wondered? Sadly, she feared they'd hear "no disclaimer of the 'Edinb^h article' on the War being Gladstone's," it being "scarcely possible to mistake his detestable style." The recklessness of a minister writing such an article seemed "too monstrous even for Gladstone."¹² Forster, she gossiped on (obviously titillated), had "heartily enjoyed the love-affair at Balmoral" during his visit: the Queen had spoken to the Duke of Argyll some time ago, and "L^d Lorne made his offer."¹³

Martineau was sending items Mary might like to see in an envelope, "to come back," including a handbill by herself with telegrams explaining it. ("To the Women of Colchester" warned that Sir Henry Storks, "one of the candidates for the representatives of Colchester," believed prostitution should be recognized "as a necessity" and favoured the Contagious Diseases Acts). Several triumphs in their cause pleased Martineau, and "now - here is the second defeat of Sir H. Storks, - the main mover in the vile scheme." She would send copies of their "first Annual Report (21 p.p, & not disagreeable reading, & *most* encouraging)," if Mary, her mother or Rachel wanted to read it.¹⁴ Such a stream of presents Martineau had received! Mary's beautiful photographs and a pair from the Wedgwoods of

an antique mansion . . . The Mote, bridge & tower make one picture, - the courtyard, cloister & sunny front the other: & both have Eras^s Darwin & some Wedgwoods, - most life-like!

The "same E. Darwin" had sent her oysters, - such oysters!" Mary knew it was for Jenny she so desired them: instead of sending any to the Shepherds, she "made J. eat them." Then there was "a hamper of superb grapes from Beechwood [the Luptons]; & better than the finest grapes in the world, an affect^{te} letter from Fanny (Lissey's daughter) *to me*." Tomorrow, the Clarks had promised to bring game. Finally, Mary and her mother would be sorry "that one more batch of Champagne . . . is all that can be had" owing to the war.

To give Sarah's painful arm and wrist "a holiday," Martineau wrote to Mary again about champagne. She'd secured "the one remaining batch" her supplier had in his cellars, "2 dozen bottles, of w^h we have 13 bottles remaining." Shepherd said that a patient of his paid "15/ a dozen over & above what he had hitherto paid," and he recommended "*Chablis*, with brandy in it." To her surprise, her good wine man had called three days ago, having heard from his London agent, and "yes^y . . . brought the dozen & promises [another] soon," taking off, "as usual, the 1^o/ discount per dozen." Because she was "leaving off Turtle," it was also "of consequence to get prime arrow-root" for her supper, "always more or less adulterated" from any retail shop. Ellen had managed to get her a case "(14 lbs) direct from the West Indies," which Alfred examined by microscope, "& we have cooked it!" Nothing could be better, and she rejoiced to have "plenty for sick neighbours, as well as myself for my life & a good deal beyond." Early winter, "any part of winter," was the time for stopping the turtle - an "*extreme* expense." Harriet (Ellen's daughter) was coming on Thursday and would be a cheerful companion for Jenny and possibly Frank afterwards.

"*Private*," Martineau reported next: after "his failure about his degree at Midsummer," Philip was told he would surely get the "Hibbert fellowship" and declined aid from *her*. Fortunately she had not accepted his refusal but made him "leave it open till X^{mas}; & now, - the grant is refused *because* he failed of his degree." Philip seemed an "excellent fellow," but she'd like to know whether or not he was clever. She dared not enter on politics to Sarah, the urgent question being "how to be rid of Gladstone & others without losing Lord Granville." The "bad faith & reason of Russia & Prussia, the lying of France & U. S." called for "a rule in England very different from anything . . . at command."¹⁵

The following week Martineau confirmed her sense of responsibility to keep the public informed. In a letter to the *Daily News* she expressed hope for the future of Prussia under the liberal crown prince. "I don't write about the war to any body (except American friends)," she then told Reeve. "I vividly remember Waterloo, - & years of warfare before that date," but it

now felt "like the gates of Hell" had opened. She had expected Gladstone to win "our admiration by one or two, or three fine achievements; but . . . he was utterly untrustworthy for steady rule." In Forster's failure she saw "Quaker innocence," though the Arnolds were "proud & exultant, - revelling in the Queen's liking their great & glorious 'William.'" As a result of his act, the country would be "torn by religious strife . . . for a generation to come, - the issue being the Disestablishment of the Church, sooner than it need have been."

Indeed, her year had been full of anxiety & sorrow," with the death of her "excellent & dear brother Robert . . . in June, - carried off, in his weak state, by the oppressive thunder storm in the night of the 16-17th." Now the winter had "somewhat revived" her, and she'd had a cheerful week, with "Harriet, - & Jenny's brother Frank, to roam, & skate, & make fun for the cottagers below."¹⁶

(Matthew Arnold took up the gauntlet for Forster, saying he did not think Martineau should complain of "want of vigour and vitality of the best kind," when she continued to "think and write so clearly." He feared she would not get much satisfaction from his preface to *St. Paul and Protestantism* - those essays having failed to satisfy her in the *Cornhill*. Concerning the Education Act, he claimed that the Dissenters had only added to the blundering by Catholic and Anglican Churches).¹⁷

In March 1870, Martineau had dashed off a preface for a new edition of *Traditions of Palestine* to be brought out by Routledge. Informally, she told of the charm of learning about the reality of the holy land as a child and of an editor's urging her to portray life at the approach of "the Divine Personage." When a Rev. George Babb now queried her expression, she noted rather brusquely: "Surely it must be evident to all readers that the central figure of the whole picture was conceived of as a "Divine Personage." Her own convictions at present derived from "the fundamental principles of the Positive Philosophy - without accepting . . . the Religious & Social system of Comte." Babb might find something more definite about her "course of thought in this region of inquiry . . . in a volume published just 20 years ago by my friend M^r Atkinson & myself."¹⁸

Martineau's "vigour & vitality" as lauded by Arnold helped her to direct affairs at The Knoll as well as to care for herself. In March, however, she wrote to Sarah's daughter Mary that the "5th of April [church rate day]" was drawing near. Would David (Mary's brother) be at home then? Jenny was to leave the day before, and if Bell had returned, "I sh^d not mind encountering *him* alone." But Bell would not be back, so *Jenny* must meet the Curate, who would have to come "before Morning Service, as *J.* *must* go by the Midday train." *She* insisted on staying till "Wed^y noon," and they must make "the gentlemanly Curate understand" this. In any case, it was only "the certificate," and not the money that was urgent. Cousin Fanny of Bracondale had disappointed them saying she had "to get a housemaid."

Just then by "a happy accident," Martineau learned that Cousin Constance had . . . *longed* to come during one of my seasons of need." Jenny, meanwhile, was "much stronger than . . . a year ago," and today they were "finishing the round of spring observances, - cleaning, white washing, library & pictures, - seed sowing," and so on.

If Mary still saw the *Daily News*, she'd have noted Martineau's letter "(on Tues^y 21st) about the Earthquake here [that] injured several of our neighbours; & the bad atmospheric conditions [that] affected me a good deal." That was followed by another quake "on Monday evening," producing an "awe-striking 'roll' of sound." Shepherd's sick family had been

“affected . . . a good deal.” Though her doctor’s “very bad asthma” had become “most alarming” over the winter, he continued to make calls until forbidden to go out. Fortunately, his partner, “M^r King,” was well liked and “certainly a good deal cleverer, or more advanced than the Senior partner.”¹⁹

On politics, Gladstone infuriated her. Yet “*Our cause, - the Cause w^h outweighs all others, - gets on thoroughly well . . . the triumphant result of M^s Butler’s Evidence-giving before the Commission.*” Of books, Martineau wondered if Mary was “in the height of fever about Bret Harte?” *She was “happy in the reading of L^d Stanhope’s Queen Anne” and absorbed by “Cha^s Darwin’s ‘Descent of Man,’ in the reading of w^h there is no stopping.” Was ““Aunt Rachel’s Letters on Air & Water’ by Caroline M.?”*²⁰

A few days later Martineau sent Mary “the document for David.” The Ambleside Curate would come before the (Easter) service next day, so she “must be downstairs by 10 a.m.” Bret Harte had recently been the subject of a leading article in the *Daily News*, she explained, and she was sorry he was leaving California for Boston, where “Osgood & Co . . . have offered him 25,000 dollars a year.” Should she send Mary “The Luck of Roaring Camp, & other tales”? Caroline’s *Aunt Rachel’s Letters* was full of clever verbal illustrations, she thought.²¹

Hopes for the recovery of Martineau’s “good doctor” were sadly disappointed. After Shepherd’s death neighbours proposed a memorial fund for his gravestone, and in April Martineau advised “Mrs. Lloyd” that Hannah Nicholson would receive contributions. Shepherd had left a young family - the eldest boy, Jemmy, was very ill, and there were sisters of twelve and thirteen and a baby of nine months. Martineau urged they wait to hear the family circumstances before taking further action: the Shepherds had some property, but she feared it was small. Meanwhile, she felt satisfied with Mr. King, who had been about to become Shepherd’s partner and was doing all the work. King’s “beautiful little wife” was in bliss with her baby, while King’s sister wanted to be a nurse in the Liverpool poorhouse where Agnes Jones had lived and died (further proof of the Kings’ virtuousness).²²

Martineau’s obituary of the astronomer John Frederick Herschel in the *Daily News* of 13 May 1871 described in romantic terms his fortunate youth as son of the *more* famous astronomer Frederick William Herschel, his achievements - cataloguing the stars in both hemispheres and his important writings on science.²³

She “*very seldom*” passed a day “without writing letters, - or a letter,” she told Reeve, and Nicholas Trübner had written repeatedly about the republishing of Comte (to be delayed until 1875). Her other regular correspondents included Robinson of the *Daily News* and old friends like Lady Henrietta Maria Stanley, the Beaufort sisters and Harriet Grote.²⁴

“I should have written this week to inquire about your dear Mother,” Martineau scribbled to Spring in June (Helen Brown was suffering from a “sprain & other ailments”). Now she had “lighted on something” she wished to send Spring. In the “badly written . . . D^r Lonsdale’s Life of Rob^t Knox” she found “*two lines about your father*” that gratified her so much she asked Jenny to copy the paragraph for the Browns. Jenny was well, but “much too thin,” and *she* felt surprisingly weak in the brain some part of every day, caused by “failing circulation.” Soon she’d send the Browns a photograph of Josephine Butler, taken from the bust by Alexander Munro. And how did Spring like the “idol of the time in U. S. - Bret Harte? What gems some of those tales are!”²⁵

When Martineau’s old friend George Grote died on 18 June, she wrote to his widow to

confess that *her* interest had been in Grote's political life. Indeed she had praised Grote in her autobiography as "the leading member of the Radical party in parliament" though she *approved* too of his ambition to be the historian of Greece.²⁶

In addition to the deaths of old friends, Martineau told Rosa Beaufort she dreaded hearing of victims of smallpox. Cases had occurred at Grasmere and at Ambleside. *Her household* had all been vaccinated. Had Rosa seen any in Europe? She heard the disease was bad in Berlin in spite of vaccination - sunspots said to be the cause. Her niece Harriet had stayed with her at The Knoll until January. All her nieces *thrived* when there! Martineau's own "so-called 'nervous exhaustion' to w^h a bad circulation" subjected her, was "beyond control of the Will," but "prudence within, & openness to cheerfulness abroad" helped. She was confined "between sofa, chair & bed," but she and Rosa would have much to say to each other if they met. Had Rosa seen the Wedgwoods? Martineau now had Bret Harte's portrait and heard he was still unspoiled - yet his move from California to Boston for \$75,000 was dangerous.²⁷

Still on the watch to issues of public interest, Martineau wrote to Reeve at the end of June: "I am so struck by a topic & materials for its treatment . . . that I shall be haunted by it till I have suggested it to an Editor or two." She was not thinking of writing it herself any more than to "mount Helvellyn," but she urged Reeve to give the work to one of his "very ablest hands." The notice of a report of the Massachusetts "Bureau of Labour Statistics" published in the *Nation* opened up "some of the most interesting & *vital* questions" of the time. The "ignorant eagerness with w^h our people, - Irish & English workfolk, - are emigrating, *to the U.S.* instead of our North Amerⁿ colonies" was frightening. People were unaware of "the dearness of living in the U.S., the crushing taxation, the declining agriculture, manufacture & commerce, & wages, & the truly appalling hostility . . . between capitalists & labourers." As proof she cited the declining cotton and shoe manufactures, the latter owing to the importation of Chinese, and she could add the fishing interest, "so closely concerned with the new Washington Treaty: & the Shipping interest, - ruined by the Tariffs of late years." Such an article must tell of "the war in the coalfields of Pennsylvania," as well as of the "prospects of Western Agriculture, & settlement of European emigrants, under the Homestead law or otherwise." The "formidable & embarrassing" decline in wealth of the U.S., "& the ignorance of polit^l economy on the part of the 'Workies'" made her almost despair for "the great Republic."²⁸

Switching to the "odd engagement" of her nephew Henry Greenhow and "Jessie Taylor at Starston," Martineau conceded that while good-tempered and well-mannered, "neither [were] at all clever or wise . . . both caring only for amusement," so that "one can 'only hope the best.'"²⁹

Two days later a copy of the *Nation* belonging to "our Mechanics" went off to Reeve. The U.S. had "no financiers, except M^r Welles, & will not listen to him," she grumbled. If one could only insure that "emigrant 'Workies'" understood the benefits of settling in Canada. "I must remonstrate against Lombe Taylor's account of Henry & Jessie's position," she gossiped on. The "young man" was almost 41 and not "wanting employment," having been an army surgeon in India "since before the Mutiny w^h yields him already a good pension." He and his family thought he should complete his career in India, "which w^d send him home with a very large pension," and Jessie's parents "sh^d not speak as if Henry was inquiring for a clerkship of £200 a year." *She* thought "the life that officers' wives (the sillier sort) lead . . . w^d suit Jessie precisely."

The Lord Broughton article (in the *Edinburgh*) was remarkably interesting, she went on to Reeve. She had “always thought how it w^d be with L^d Grey,” having known him “before he got so sour.” With a different sort of wife, he might have been a grand success “for he was once very clever.” Reeve she knew had lapsed from his good state of health, while *she* often felt unable to live another day. “Yet here is M^{rs} Arnold, eleven years older than I . . . as brisk as at 40.”³⁰

After Fanny Wedgwood’s deeply religious daughter, Snow, published a book on John Wesley, Martineau had sent her an article from the *Monthly Repository* of May 1833 on Mehetabel, John Wesley’s sister. “I ought to have made it clear . . . that I sent you W^m Fox’s Wesley article merely for the interest of it,” she explained, “and no idea whatever of your altering, or adding to, your book.” Martineau had opened the *Monthly Repository* for June 1833 (evidently next on her shelf) with the review by Fox of “the first of my Poor-law tales” scolding William Empson as a reviewer. She *thought* she recalled Snow’s father reading out the article at the Wedgwoods’ in the presence of Empson and Malthus. “It was dreadful!” she exclaimed. “M^r Empson summoned up all his magnanimity . . . but he *was* vexatious with his meddling and advising ways.” Martineau wished Snow would write biography for the rest of her days. “Sagacity, dispassionateness, power of justice . . . analysis . . . appreciation [and] expression in a capital style” were Snow’s characteristics.³¹

Did the government know of opposition to the Contagious Diseases Act? Martineau bombarded “3 personal friends in the Cabinet” in mid-July. The appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the question implying the regulation and recognition of prostitution disgusted her, the ladies’ committee having been “trickily used.” Certain men of the upper and middle classes who went to church *accepted* that men’s passion must be gratified, she raged, and if women were ruined, no matter. *Their* committee would never give up the fight against the “Acts.” Gladstone was sympathetic - would he rid the country of the law of 1869? She didn’t know the recipient’s feelings on the subject, but this was the “gravest crisis witnessed in England for Centuries.”³²

In August, Martineau told Webb she’d sent a second copy of Butler’s book to Godkin’s “London correspondent, Leslie Stephen.” Stephen had written “like a gentleman, as he is,” and “will never write of us women again in the way you & I complained of.” Godkin was also convinced “of the importance & soundness” of their work and “on the first fair occasion” would probably put a “helpful notice” in the *Nation*. Two other men had taken “a very bad tone: - Sir John Clark . . . & Lyulph Stanley (of Alderley),” from whom she’d hoped better things. Gladstone was with the ladies “very strongly,” though “such a bad manager [and] so hardly placed! . . . in a minority in his Cabinet.” Her letters to Cabinet members were “not quite thrown away:” Stansfeld was wholly with them, “but he keeps one in constant fear, - he is so imprudent!” All the “Acts” she believed to be doomed, but it depended on “the ability & discretion of our leaders & managers whether the essential *pointe*” was carried at once or would go on for a year.³³

Lucy (Richard’s wife), Constance (his daughter), and Catherine Turner, staying together, wrote to Martineau in mid-September. “You were unquestionably right,” she answered Constance for all three “not to speak to me about seeing the James Ms; - if you had but kept to it! . . . the thing would have been done years ago” if practicable, but it was “not optional” under “the moral obligations which constitute the case.” Still she was thankful for their letters and

"especially for [Lucy's] genial hope of coming here with you & bringing 'Carry,' in case of my being (so very improbably!) here a year hence."³⁴

Dr. William Ogle, lecturer in physiology at St. George's Hospital, London, had sent Alexander Bain of Aberdeen his notes on the sense of *smell*, relating Martineau's inability to taste or smell. Martineau then wrote to Ogle that she was "greatly obliged" to her "old friend, Prof^r Bain," and to *him* for sending his pamphlet. The particulars of *her* case, however, seemed remarkable. For about half of one day in her life, "35 years ago," she could smell "the scent of "Eau-de-Cologne" heated in her hand, and she *could* taste "sweetness, sourness, bitterness & saltiness," but not "spices of any sort, except peppers, nor onions." Though she didn't know "one kind of meat from another," she could "instantly detect" if the cook, through laziness, had "baked instead of roasted the beef or mutton." In childhood, her brothers and sisters had teased her by poking "some asafetida" under her nose, which she failed to notice, and she could swallow "a brimming spoonful of strong mustard, without any effect on eyes or nose." Once at a lunch in America, she tasted roast mutton for the first time, "& c^d have eaten the whole leg." That night, she eagerly looked forward "to the grand dinner at Dan^l Webster's," but found by "the first mouthful . . . it was all over." Yet shellfish, "shrimps & cockles, crabs & lobsters" all had a distinctive taste to her. Ogle's study was the first useful one she'd seen on the subject. Correcting Bain, she affirmed that she had not been *deaf* in childhood, but could not *smell*. A similar case was that of her "neighbour, - Mr Wordsworth," who had no sense of smell, but "was a very large eater . . . of good plain food."³⁵

Scribbling thanks to Louisa McKee for "looking up M^r Paulding, - supposing him above the horizon in *our* day," she felt sure they had had nothing to do with him at Washington, where she'd only sought an "'interview' . . . with *Garrison*, - then in popular disgrace & danger." How nobly *he* now behaved in keeping silent toward his enemies! Caroline Jones (who corresponded with Louisa) was looking "so 'plump' & handsome." The Chicago fire had frightened Martineau for the sake of Caroline's brother-in-law and little nephew, but "that very peculiar man" had not been heard of "for above 3 years, - the last news being that he had left Chicago, - wishing to make a fresh start 'further west.'" He was always "(by his own acc^t) doing great things, & always disappearing, - to turn up further off!"³⁶

Acting as her aunt's "secretary," Jenny assured Holyoake in November that Martineau remained "*interested*" in public affairs. Indeed within a few weeks a voice from the past roused Martineau to remonstrate (in a letter to the *Daily News*) at "several inaccuracies in Lord Brougham's kindly intended representation of my 'case' to Lord Grey" concerning a pension. Her practice, she said stiffly, had always been "to let pass without notice any misstatement in print of my personal affairs," but her father had not failed "'in the panic' or otherwise," and she "never had the honour" of supporting her mother "for the simple reason that she did not need it."³⁷

Martineau's accounts for 1871, written in her own hand, seemed to illustrate household management skills *learned* from her mother. With an income of roughly £470 from dividends, annuity, interest, "Waggon Comp^y," works "(Comte's Pos: Phil^y last of edition)" and farm produce sold, she had spent £191 on "House & Selves," £102 on "Farm & Man," £2 1/2 on "Extra (Gravel)" and had given away £170."³⁸

In early December Martineau received "another Studley Game basket, - with glorious contents" from Lord Ripon (formerly Earl de Grey, on whose behalf Nightingale had urged her

to “agitate” in 1863). Mary Arnold, who was “very old, but neither feeble nor in seclusion,” was to share the gift. “We return the basket, as usual,” Martineau wrote to Ripon.³⁹

Posting a hurried message to Spring Brown on Christmas Eve (a Sunday) Martineau hoped “your strict official system will let you get our note tomorrow. I knew it w^d not today” (in Presbyterian Edinburgh). Spring’s “most apt & welcome present” had come and “fits like a skin!” She hadn’t imagined a slim jacket would suit her, but Spring’s mother must have judged the right size. She had worn it constantly and vowed “nothing but warm weather will put it out of daily use.” Jenny liked her “special share” of the box, and the cake was so good!

Spring’s mother should have received Martineau’s “Post office Order for £4.4.0, for the Library share & subscription.” Now she wanted to secure Spring for “2 clear weeks . . . in April,” when Harriet (Higginson) would “hold herself ready to come” a fortnight before and stay for perhaps “a week . . . before leaving me in your charge.”⁴⁰

Annoyingly, Martineau’s plan to introduce her young friends failed. She had “‘muddled’ (as Norfolk folk say)” Harriet’s April holiday, and Jenny’s “old mother” could not be kept waiting to see *her*. To prepare for Jenny’s going home, the pig would “bite the dust towards the end of February [so] the cooking & curing may be disposed of before the cleaning & spring wash,” the ceilings *must* be whitewashed and then the “gardening & live stock” would occupy Jenny and “the damsels” till she left to be home at Easter. But how grand the Manchester conference was! “Dean Stanley & wife” had been at The Knoll on Tuesday, but “the subject was not mentioned.” Martineau spoke of Dickens to *them*, and they told an anecdote of Dickens’s wife. Stanley, Martineau sniffed, had “rashly heaped honours upon [Dickens] of not the most appropriate sort.” At present she was not talking to the Arnolds about Forster’s Act (the Education Act), he having caused the “disruption of the Liberal party” and being “a lost man, as to statesmanship.” He and Gladstone had “the same mischievous combination of faults.” They were “obstinate & changeable, while very noble in diverse ways [yet] unfit to rule.” Cheerfully, Martineau changed the subject and then exclaimed over the “clumps of snowdrops! & large brilliant aconites! So early! & hepaticias!”⁴¹

In February the death of Matthew Arnold’s third son, “Budge” led Martineau to write to Fan: “Your tidings grieve us unspeakably.” Would Fan convey that to the parents?⁴² In March a letter from Richard Hengist Horne reminded Martineau of her vivid correspondence with him in 1844 over *A New Spirit of the Age*. Had he ever completed his work on the deformed and other “sufferers”? She felt privileged to have read his fine poem “the Great Peacemaker” (a dialogue between the transatlantic cable and the Atlantic). Anything she had said about personal infirmity he was free to publish, though her stories were taken from life and might cause the *subjects* to suffer. If still alive, however, she’d look at what he wrote. Moxon, she knew, had been “deeply interested” in their correspondence.⁴³

“I return the Fox & Clowes letters,” Martineau wrote to her nephew Tom in March; “the plates of the ‘Taxation’ series” being her property and “Mess^{rs} Routledge” and she having agreed “26 years ago . . . that the Series sh^d not be reprinted,” she was willing to let “Mess^{rs} Clowes” destroy the plates. “‘Political Economy’ abides, & needs ‘illustrations’ through all time . . . but stories about Tithes & Protective duties will not be wanted in England again, we may hope,” she sniffed. About the Clowes’s “warehouse room” she felt little compunction, “considering the gain they have got by me, - in regard to the stereotyping & sale of both Series, & other works of mine.”

Switching to the subject of Jenny (Tom's youngest sister), who was "still & always thin, & with patchy colour," Martineau "should like to hear of J having a few days at Malvern or somewhere." Meanwhile, she had thought of "David & co-believers in the Town hall," last evening: "Did the Unit^s: fill a 10th part of the space?"⁴⁴

Having asked Helen Brown to come during Jenny's time away, Martineau wrote to her in May that "Constance & her mother" would come in her place. Ellen "c^d not reconcile herself to the thought of your leaving home . . . after such an illness as Samuel's," Martineau sympathized. Then her "kind cousin's offer" crossed Ellen's letter on the road.⁴⁵

On 29 May 1872 the *Daily News* noted that "Mr. P. A. Taylor presented a petition, signed by Harriet Martineau and five hundred other women," against a bill proposing the extension of punishment by flogging for "certain cases of brutal attacks upon women and children." The women petitioners welcomed the attention of Parliament to the insufficient punishment for such offences, "but [they] utterly repudiated the infliction of torture by the 'Cat' as a protection to their sex."⁴⁶

Though summer was a bad time for Martineau, in early August she sent James's son, Basil, "a little wedding offering . . . to be laid out according to your pleasure." For Clara she had "a piece of work in hand [if] failure of sight & time" did not prevent her finishing it. Later in August, Martineau felt too unwell to read the 'slips' of Harriet Grote's "memoir." Troublingly too, Harriet Higginson reported that *Jenny* was too ill to come back to her aunt.⁴⁷

On a "dark, dreary morning" in the following autumn when the valley was "under water," and the cows "not milked, - at 11 a. m.," Martineau amused herself with "looking at the last five years' cost to this household of flour, yeast, biscuits, & any occasional loaf." She headed a note to Spring Brown with figures showing current expenses to be £7.18.8, compared to £10.4.3 1/2 five years earlier. Flour came from "the Carrs at Carlisle (the great Biscuit men.) 20 stone, three times a year," there being "much pudding- & pie-eating in the kitchen (apple pies & dumplings particularly;) but [also] a great love of *rice* [and] plenty of milk to indulge it with." Catherine Turner (staying with Martineau) noted *her* household's greater expense for meat. *They* spent only 7^s/6 week, owing to their "bacon & fowls," Martineau boasted.

Just then Catherine had come in to say the milking was done, but the weather remained dreadful. On the bright side, Martineau had "a cheery pair of notes from Susan & Jenny," who were surprised by "a small hamper with a porkpie & sausages from our pig." Spring's mother's letter that day had been a "substantial comfort," and Catherine had offered to stay until Ellen came on the 15th. Martineau's "plan" would no longer serve, it seemed, "in short, I ought not to be left without effectual companionship."⁴⁸

Martineau's mixed praise for Mary Somerville appeared in a *Daily News* obituary of 3 December 1872. While she admired Somerville's overcoming the difficulties for women to study mathematics and science, she decried her failure to explain difficult concepts in ordinary language. Moreover, by living in Italy where "her sympathies were with the princes," Somerville had missed seeing the comet of 1843 from being denied access to the telescope in "a Jesuit establishment."⁴⁹

Despite Martineau's plans, Ellen must have stayed at The Knoll until almost the end of December, Louisa having agreed to come afterwards for a fortnight. "I have no doubt of my sister & Caroline having fully explained . . . my present condition," Martineau warned Louisa. Caroline, whom she still sent out for "a ramble" on sunny days, would be delighted. Today

Ellen was “gathering some ‘such *beautiful* moss!’ & ordering the mighty goose for the kitchen party on X^{mas} day,” when the guests were to come “directly after Church, & stay till 10 p. m.!”⁵⁰

On the 27th, Martineau wrote to thank Mrs. Nichol (?) for a “beautiful shawl - so thoroughly tasteful,” that had “arrived in the Browns’ box on Christmas Eve, -just after tea.” A sheet had been spread over the hearth rug, and “the unpacking went on at my feet, to the delight of my little household,” she exclaimed.

Next day Martineau wrote feelingly to Josephine Butler, who had been ill. “With others who love you, I have had sorrow & joy about you,” she avowed. Butler must know from Frank, her nephew at Birmingham, of her “late ‘breakdown’, in w^h the long strain of anxiety about Jenny showed its severity.” Jenny’s family “*dare not tell* [her] how precarious it is,” while Jenny was confident of returning “in 2 or 3 months.” *Martineau* was “bound over to silence,” she noted gloomily, certain as she was that she and Jenny would not meet again.

Of public causes, a new example in *Punch* showed “how badly the present system of dole by favour or caprice” worked. “I have been thinking of writing to M^r Evans,” for “I am sorry, - everybody is sorry, - to see ‘Punch’ treat the Rochdale Oath as he does.” Was Butler aware “that thieves, & police, & low attorneys” now ascertained those “who cannot get justice?” And that “some of us, - & I for one, - have been pointed out in a newspaper as safe subjects for burglary, garrotting &c”? The case of “M^{rs} Maden . . . the most modest, quiet, harmless witness that could be,” infuriated her. “I never heard of her before; but I entirely respect her now; & I do *not* respect ‘Punch.’” But it was dark, and Martineau was tired as she hoped Butler never was, “toiler as you are,” and she sent “hearty New Year wishes” to “my dear & honoured friend!”⁵¹

On a happier note an unexpected treat for Martineau arrived on New Year’s day in the form of the Stockmar memoirs (Fan Arnold pointing to Forster as responsible). She and her niece had *thought* whether she should buy the book, she told Forster, which she was reading “as in the old days - quite fluently & *unconsciously*.” Indeed, Stockmar’s failures at the end seemed like hers.⁵²

¹ HM to HR, 15 March 1870, LMU 2/132 (partly pbd. CL 5: 267-69); Charles Boner, writer friend of Mary Russell Mitford; *The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, Authoress of "Our Village, &c."* Related in a Selection from Her Letters to Her Friends, ed. A. G. L'Estrange (London: Richard Bentley, 1870 [1869]); Mitford had called on Martineau at Fludyer Street (*Auto.* 1: 317-18), and in letters to Elizabeth Barrett (27 November 1844), Miss Jephson (winter 1845) and Mrs. Jennings (29 November 1854) [*Life of Mary Russell Mitford* 3: 181-82, 192-93 and 297-99] scoffed at Martineau's mesmeric cure and at "Lord Morpeth . . . on his knees . . . talking Greek and Latin, and three modern languages to the poor girl" (i.e., Jane Arrowsmith).

² See Henry Fothergill Chorley, “Miss Austen and Miss Mitford,” *QR* 128 (January 1870): 196-218, calling Mitford’s life a sad story of sacrifice for a coarse, worthless father; in “Mary Russell Mitford” [rev. of ‘Estrange: see last note] the *Times* praised the editor’s use of letters and Mitford’s characterizations of her contemporaries (21 December 1869: 4, cols. 1-3).

³ Following Mitford's expedition to the Crimea in 1854 she gossiped that the Nightingales shamelessly promoted Florence's frivolous nursing mission; William Harness, preparing a life of Mitford at the time of his death; in "Miss Austen and Miss Mitford" (*QR* 128 [January 1870]: 196-218); Henry Fothergill Chorley described Mitford's life as a sad sacrifice for a coarse,

worthless father; in "Mary Russell Mitford" [rev. of L'Estrange: see last note], *The Times* (21 December 1869: 4, cols. 1-3) praised the editor's use of letters and Mitford's characterizations of her contemporaries.

⁴ Jane (Jenny) Martineau to [Madam], 3 May, *CL* 5: 365-66 (for the "Memoir," see chap. 33, note 91).

⁵ HM to Mess^{rs} Fields & Osgood, 14 June 1870, *CL* 5: 269; *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, ed. Maria Weston Chapman (Boston: James R. Osgood . . . late Ticknor and Fields, and Fields, Osgood, 1877).

⁶ HM to Mary Martineau, 10 August 1870, *CL* 5: 273-74; The British Association for the Advancement of Science was to meet at Liverpool, 15-21 September 1870.

⁷ HM to Graves, 9 September 1870, *CL* 5: 274-75; Anne Jellicoe published books on the condition of female factory workers and on female education in Dublin (Martineau seemed to brush aside her own seven years' of successful lectures to "worky" neighbours); on 4 September 1870, Napoleon III was captured by the Prussians and declared deposed.

⁸ HM to Webb, 9 August 1870, *CL* 5: 271-72; "The English Women and the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Nation*, 21 July 1870): 40, col. 2 - 41, col. 2 (letter of 30 June 1870, signed "Richard D. Webb," followed by the editor's derisory comment on Josephine Butler's pamphlet on prostitution).

⁹ HM to Webb, 16 September 1870, *CL* 5: 275-76; Webb's second letter, of 13 August 1870, quoted Martineau and was followed by the editor's statement that he had not been "misled about the agitation," but did not think women fit to legislate or influence legislation on the subject ("The English Women and the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Nation*, 1 September 1870: 136, col. 2 - 137, col. 2); for Webb's letter of 8 November 1870, see note 14; Edwin Lawrence Godkin, former American correspondent for the *Daily News*, had helped to establish *The Nation* in 1865.

¹⁰ HM to Edwin Lawrence Godkin [no salutation], 27 February 1871, *CL* 5: 284; [Josephine Butler], *The Constitution Violated; An Essay by the Author of the "Memoir of John Grey of Dilston."* Dedicated to the Working Men and Women of Great Britain (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871) quoted clauses of Magna Carta that protected "freemen" from restraint without trial by peers.

¹¹ HM to Lucy Martineau, 12 October 1870, *CL* 5: 276.

¹² HM to Mary Martineau, 9 November 1870, *CL* 5: 277-79; Edward Lyulph Stanley, son of Lady Henrietta Maria Stanley; James Russell Lowell, *Among My Books* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, 1870; evocative essays on Dante, Spenser, Wordsworth, Milton and Keats); William Ewart Gladstone [prime minister, 1868-1874], "Germany, France, and England," *ER* 132 (October 1870): 554-93, a heightened account of initial events in the Franco-Prussian war.

¹³ The Royal Princess Louise (1848-1939) became engaged to John Douglas Sutherland Lorne (1845-1914), Marquess of Lorne, later 9th Duke of Argyll.

¹⁴ "To the Women of Colchester" [signed by Martineau, Ursula Bright - campaigner for women's rights and founder member of the Ladies' Association - and Josephine Butler], *Auto.* 3: 433-34 (Storks had earlier been forced to withdraw as a candidate for Newark; after Butler spoke out against him at the Colchester by-election of 1870 her hotel was mobbed: see "Mrs. Josephine Butler," *Nation*, 24 November 1870: 351, cols. 1-2 [letter signed "Richard D. Webb," dated 8 November 1870]).

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- ¹⁵ HM to Mary Martineau, 18 December 1870, BUL Add 88 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 279-81); 2nd Earl Granville, Foreign Secretary.
- ¹⁶ "THE FUTURE EMPEROR OF GERMANY" [letter signed "M.,"], *DN*, 26 December 1870 (*HM/DN* 429); HM to HR, 30 December 1870, *CL* 5: 281-83; the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871; Forster's Education Act of 1870 allowed Church of England schools to receive enlarged state aid and set up "Board Schools" where religious teaching was undenominational.
- ¹⁷ MA to HM, 28 December 1870, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 3: 463-64; *St. Paul and Protestantism; with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England* (London: Smith, Elder, 1870); Arnold's essays appeared in the *Cornhill* in October and November 1869; in the letter to Martineau, Arnold averred that the Church's perversion of Christianity to make it "an elaborate and speculative philosophy" had been heightened and prolonged by the Dissenters.
- ¹⁸ HM, "Preface," *Traditions of Palestine: Times of the Saviour* (London: Routledge, 1870) v-xii; HM to Rev. George Babb, 17 January 1871, *CL* 5: 283-84.
- ¹⁹ HM to Mary Martineau, [29] March 1871, *CL* 5: 285-87; for Rev. Bell, see chap. 47; "The Earthquake in the North of England" (*DN*, 21 March 1871)], letter from "H.M." dated "Ambleside, March 18" (see Appen., *HM/DN* 430); William Moore King succeeded Shepherd in 1872.
- ²⁰ Francis Bret Harte, *The Luck of Roaring Camp and Other Sketches* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1869); Philip Henry Stanhope, *History of England comprising the Reign of Queen Anne until the Peace of Utrecht; by Earl Stanhope . . . 1701-1713* (London: J. Murray 1870); Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (London: Murray, 1871); Caroline Anne Martineau [Richard's youngest daughter], *Aunt Rachel's Letters about Water and Air. A Few Facts about Heat in Relation to these Substances, told in Simple Language* (London: Longmans, Green, 1871), in which "Aunt Rachel" is introduced as an old maid aunt and former governess, possibly modeled on Rachel Martineau.
- ²¹ HM to Mary Martineau, 4 April 1871, *CL* 5: 285-87; Martineau seemed slightly envious of Harte whose later work in fact disappointed editors of the *Atlantic Monthly*.
- ²² HM to Mrs. Lloyd, 25 April 1871, *CL* 5: 288-89; Nightingale chose Agnes Jones as matron of the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary in 1865 (see Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale* 350-52 and 359).
- ²³ "THE LATE SIR JOHN FREDERICK HERSHEL, BART.," *DN*, 13 May 1871: 5, col. 6-6, cols. 1-3 (rptd. *BS* 450-67- wrongly dated, 29 November 1871).
- ²⁴ Trübner to HM, 12, 15, 17 May and 1 June 1871, BUL HM 911, 912, 913 and 914; *The Positive Philosophy of August Comte . . .* (London: Trübner, 1875); HM to Robinson, 22 May 1871, BUL 758.
- ²⁵ HM to Spring, 6 June 1871, *CL* 5: 289-90; Henry Lonsdale (*A Sketch of the Life and Writings of Robert Knox, the Anatomist* [London: Macmillan, 1871]) asked rhetorically: "Who lighted anew the torch of philosophical chemistry in the spirit that guided Dr. Samuel Brown?" [282]; in addition to "The Luck of Roaring Camp" Bret Harte's tales set in mining camps of northern California included "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," "Miggles," "Tennessee's Partner" and "The Idyl of Red Gulch."
- ²⁶ HM to Harriet Grote, 20 June 1871, *CL* 5: 290-91; Martineau may have wanted to please Grote's widow (see *Auto.* 1: 344-45): for wavering faith in his scholarship, see chap. 50.
- ²⁷ HM to Rosa Beaufort, 22 June 1871, *CL* 5: 291-93; citing cases, in May and June *The Times*

reported smallpox in South Shields and Southampton; for Bret Harte, see note 25.

²⁸ HM to HR, 26 and 28 June 1871, *CL* 5: 293-95 and 295-97; "The Labor Question in Massachusetts," *Nation*, 8 June 1871: 398, cols. 1-2 ("Lowell factory-girls" were contrasted to miserable present-day workers [see chap. 13, page]; other articles discussed the Washington Treaty over the *Alabama* claims [signed 8 May 1871], American fishing in Canadian waters and Fenian violence in Canada).

²⁹ In September 1871 Martineau sent Henry and Jessie a wedding gift chosen by his sister, Fanny - an inkstand "not likely to evaporate in any climate" (Henry had felt slighted ten years earlier when Martineau refused to recommend him for a post and was evidently surprised by the gift; Martineau assured him, however, that it had not been "any question of your personal merits" but that she "always declined to [beg] the patronage of friends high in function or in rank": HM to Henry M. Greenhow, 10 and 14 September 1871, *CL* 5: 303 and 303-304).

³⁰ For the *Nation*, see note 8; Gideon Welles, efficient secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson; for Lombe Taylor, see chap. 51; James's son Basil's engagement to Clara Fell was "another interest of the same kind" (Clara, possibly the daughter of Mrs. W. Fell, Willy Hill, Clappersgate); HR, "Lord Broughton's Recollections of a Long Life," *ER* 133 (April 1871): 287-337; Henry George Grey (Viscount Howick, later 3rd Earl Grey), formerly Martineau's frequent correspondent (she may refer to Grey's reluctance over the first Reform Bill; see *HM/FW* 78, note 14).

³¹ HM to Snow Wedgwood, 2 July 1871, *HM/FW* 306-307; Frances Julia Wedgwood, *John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1870); WJF, "A Victim," *MR* 3 (May 1833): 164-77 (on Metahetabel's forced marriage to an unsuitable husband) and WJF, "Poor Laws and Paupers," *MR* 3 (June 1833): 361-81; William Empson, "Illustrations of Political Economy: Mrs. Marce-Miss Martineau," *ER* 57 (April 1833): 1-39; Martineau seemed to praise qualities *she* had aspired to.

³² HM to George Frederick Samuel (1st marques of Ripon), 14 July 1871, *CL* 5: 297-99; HM to William Edward Forster, 16 July 1871, *CL* 5: 299-301; the third cabinet member was "the Home Sec^y [Henry Austin] Bruce" (in 1869 the law intended to regulate prostitution in garrison towns had been extended to cover areas around the towns).

³³ HM to Webb, 3 August 1871, *CL* 5: 302; no formal review of Butler's book appeared in the *Nation* in 1871; from March 1871 James Stansfeld served as president of the poor law board in Gladstone's cabinet (in 1886, he successfully moved a bill for repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts).

³⁴ HM to [Mary] Constance Martineau, 28 September 1871, *CL* 5: 304-305; for Martineau's refusal in 1854 to let James come in, see chap. 40); "Carry" must have been Richard and Lucy's youngest daughter, author of *Aunt Rachel's Letters about Water and Air* (see note 20).

³⁵ William Ogle to Alexander Bain, 11 August 1871, LMU 2/098787; HM to [Dr. William Ogle], 1 October 1871, *CL* 5: 305-307; William Ogle, *Anosmia; or, Cases Illustrating the Physiology and Pathology of the Sense of Smell* (London: J. E. Adlard, 1870).

³⁶ HM to Louisa, 2 November 1871, JRUL; Martineau might mean the popular writer of stories of American life, James Kirke Paulding, who died in 1860, and then be defending Garrison against fellow abolitionists for withdrawing from the cause of the former slaves; the Chicago fire began on the evening of 8 October 1871 and burned for two days destroying homes and the entire business district as well as causing 250 deaths; for Caroline's brother-in-law, see

chap. 51.

³⁷ Jane (Jenny) Martineau to Holyoake, 17 November 1871, *CL* 5: 366-67; *DN*, 26 December 1871: 5, col. 4; [letter signed "Harriet Martineau"] (rptd. *Auto.* 3: 443); see *The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood, 1871) 3: 302.

³⁸ "H. Martineau's a/c for 1871," BPL, Ms.A.9.2 Vol. 32 No. 8.

³⁹ HM to Ripon, 6 December 1871, *CL* 5: 307 (see note 31).

⁴⁰ HM to Spring, 24 December 1871, *CL* 5: 308.

⁴¹ HM to [Helen Brown], 28 January 1872, *CL* 5: 308 and 309-10; Martineau must mean "Nonconformist Meeting at Manchester" (see *The Times*, 24 January 1872: 5, cols. 5-6, 25 January 1872: 12, cols. 3-5 and 26 January: 12, cols. 4-5) challenging the Liberals and Forster's education bill and censuring dissenters for misunderstanding the terms of secular education ([leader] 25 January 1872: 9, cols. 2-3); in *Sermon Preached by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D. Dean of Westminster in Westminster Abbey June 19, 1870 [the first Sunday after Trinity] being the Sunday following the funeral of Charles Dickens* (London: Macmillan 1870) Stanley compared Dickens's fictions to Biblical parables, full of Evangelical truths.

⁴² See Park Honan, *Matthew Arnold. A Life* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981) 353-59; HM to F. [Fan Arnold], 18 February 1872, *CL* 5: 311.

⁴³ HM to Horne, 7 March 1872, *CL* 5: 311-312 (see chap. 26, note 18); Richard Hengist Horne, "Portions of lectures and writings, including chapters on 'Infancy', 'Schools', 'Dwarfs', 'Education of deformed children'. Design of the work with marginal notes by Harriet Martineau," Leigh Hunt Collection, LC MS H81p; Richard Hengist Horne, *The Great Peace Maker: A Sub-Marine Dialogue* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1872); after Edward Moxon's death in 1858, Bradbury and Evans managed the firm for his wife and son (Ward, Lock and Tyler, who bought the stock and copyrights in 1871 and continued to use the name Edward Moxon, Son, and Company until 1878).

⁴⁴ HM to [Helen Brown], 6 May 1872, *CL* 5: 313-14.

⁴⁵ "The 'Cat,'" *DN*, 29 May 1872: 2, col. 1.

⁴⁶ HM to Basil Martineau, 6 August 1872, *CL* 5: 314 (for Clara, see note 29); HM to Harriet Grote, 18 August 1872, *HM/FL* 337-38; Harriet Higginson to Harriet Grote, 18 August 1872, *CL* 5: 367.

⁴⁷ HM to Spring Brown, 6 November 1872, *CL* 5: 315.

⁴⁸ "THE LATE MRS. SOMERVILLE," *DN*, 3 December 1872: 2, cols. 1-3 (Martineau misspelled Somerville's first married name and failed to name her second husband (rptd. *BS* 488-99, where her death is misdated 1875).

⁴⁹ HM to Louisa, 4 December 1872, JRUL; HM to [Elizabeth Nichol?], 27 December 1872, *CL* 5: 316; HM to Josephine Butler, 28 December 1872, University of St. Andrews Library MS 30.070 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 316-17); for the "Rochdale Oath", see chap. 50; Frederick Evans, son of Frederick Mullet Evans and joint publisher of *Punch* in fact retired in 1872; Mrs. Maden has not been identified.

⁵⁰ HM to Forster, 4 January 1873, *CL* 5: 318; *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar. By His Son Baron E. von Stockmar. Translated from the German by G.A.M.*, ed. Max Müller (London: Longmans, Green, 1872; but Martineau must have received the original German version); Christian Friedrich Stockmar, advisor to King Leopold I of Belgium sent by him to serve Queen Victoria; Stockmar's health began to fail in 1855.

