

Chapter 54

Last Arrangements (1873-1876)

An air of anxiety seemed to preside at The Knoll in mid-January as a flurry of family letters concerned a permanent replacement for Jenny. Frank wrote to Louisa, who was still there, that he was “especially glad to hear about the Leeds lady.” He hoped “from the reliable quarter whence the recommendation comes that it will prove suitable & satisfactory.” He relied on Louisa to let him know “when any thing is finally decided in this our case” and was grateful to his aunt for what he feared might be “a painful & difficult task . . . undertaking to be the medium of letting Jenny know.” Next day a letter from Ellen revealed that a temporary companion, “M^{rs} Mc.D.,” had failed to offer “many elements of pleasure and interest,” but that Louisa would stay until “Miss G.” came on “Wednesday.” Privately, Ellen agreed with Louisa that Martineau’s “*own impressions*” of her condition were misleading. “I must reserve myself for a time which I too sadly fear will be long & weary when it comes,” she added stoically and wished “a clear line might be drawn for Miss Goodwin avoiding the *physical* considerations of the case” with those left to “Caroline and her mistress . . . keeping the external interests and intellectual matters sacred for the new companion.” At Edgbaston, only Jenny believed she would return to The Knoll that year. Meanwhile, Ellen had stopped the Weybridge people and “Miss Merryweather” from making further enquiries.

A last note from Ellen to Louisa reported Jenny’s knowing from Martineau she must not just now think of returning to The Knoll. Fanny Wedgwood had come to Ambleside to help find a suitable companion for her friend and addressed a rather formal note to “Dear Madam” (Louisa?) welcoming the satisfactory account of the “negotiation with Miss [Una M.] Goodwin.”¹

“I feared I must fail to-day. It is one of my worst days,” Martineau mourned to Maria Chapman in early March. Yet just ahead was a “busy month” of household cares: “the spring cleaning and whitewashing. . . . the new carpet for the drawing-room . . . the killing and curing the pig, and then my maid’s journey.” Did Chapman remember “the turning out of books on the terrace,” she thought so unnecessary?

Two weeks later, Martineau was immersed in John Forster’s *Life of Charles Dickens*, though thinking it “far too exclusively occupied by his personal relations with Forster” and likely to “lower Dickens in popular estimation.” She was “struck by [his] hysterical restlessness [surely] terribly wearing to his wife.” Indeed, his friends ought to have seen that “his brain was in danger, - from apoplexy, not insanity.” But how completely Forster ignored the women in Dickens’s family! Indeed the whole impression left by the work was very melancholy, especially since Dickens entirely “opposed and criticised all existing legal plans for the relief of the poor” (i.e., the new Poor Law). About the “Historiettes,” she admitted having “no copy of them” - but if they and “Representative Men” were worth republishing, she “should be quite willing.”²

Martineau’s depression seemed to extend to *failing* American statesmen: if only they could “be trained for their offices [to] fulfil the wishes of the best republicans in the commonwealth!” For her, “disgust at the evils of the present time” had risen as high as it would go. One day Americans would again have “real statesmen . . . and what nation has ever been so happy as yours may be then!” Today she had *meant* to speak of her parting with the

Arnolds, who would be away three months. They knew of “the great enterprise . . . the national association for the Promotion of Social Purity,” the materials she was sending to Chapman. *Trying* to help the active leaders was a blessing for it meant going “into a great cause, into conflict with the passions of the most unscrupulous men, - the influence of the medical profession in particular.”³

When Gladstone read about Martineau’s failing health in Harriet Grote's biography of her husband, he again offered a government pension, “so amply justified by her literary distinctions.” Martineau replied that his letter had reached her through her “brother and sister” and that Gladstone’s kindness compensated for the shock of seeing that “Mrs. Grote had published expressions on personal matters.” Now the work of her “busy years” supplied her with sufficient income: when she declined in the past she had been poor, “and it was a case of scruple (possibly cowardice).” Gallantly, Gladstone answered next day that she had deprived him of a pleasure but that her letter had enhanced his respect and regard for her.

Promptly, Martineau told Maria Chapman “a bit of a story that must no where and no how get into print in my lifetime.” Evidently enclosing Gladstone’s letter and a copy of her answer, she noted with amusement that “the queen and her premier would be . . . exposed to insult for showing friendliness to an infidel like me.”⁴

In July, Martineau told Chapman of being “in a state something like remorse” about a visitor who had come the week before: “Mrs. Wistar, once Anne.” That “*any*” Furness should not be welcomed in the way she wished and *they* so richly deserved was upsetting! On that day, she had been “so much more than usually ill and worn out,” she could only with difficulty see or hear. “How beautiful was Mrs. Furness when I saw her!” she reminisced. “I like to hear of her being so still.” Despite her bad state, Martineau urged Chapman to contradict a mistake she had seen in “an American paragraph,” that Grote had written (the atheistic) “An Analysis of the Operation of Natural Religion,” which was *not* by “either Mr. or Mrs. Grote,” but by Jeremy Bentham. On a similar theme, she had not only declined serving on “the Mill memorial committee” but was holding back her contribution to the memorial fund “to see what construction [was] put upon the act.” By late August, Martineau was still “failing [but happily] not always unable to read.”⁵

Lingering on favorite topics to her fellow sufferer Rosa Beaufort, Martineau noted the doings of her friends, books and current affairs. “M^{rs} Wedgwood & Effie (Farrar [sic]) & another daughter or two” were at the Birmingham Festival,” Fanny would spend the evening with Martineau’s sister-in-law Jane. Jenny’s recovery had been tedious, but she was “incessantly looking forward to coming back to her post.” Martineau herself failed weekly, the heart disease adversely affecting the brain. She took phosphates of iron, yet felt feeble “in standing & moving.” Of her latest reading, she thought *Middlemarch*, though painful, about the ablest book written by a woman. Along with *Romola*, she saw leading similar conceptions in the two books: Bardo and Casaubon, *Romola* and Dorothea; but *Middlemarch* was far superior. Had Rosa read “Old Kensington”? *The Village on the Cliff* gave her high expectations of Miss Thackeray. On Gladstone’s offer of a pension she refused, she boasted that *three* Lord Chancellors had offered: Earl Grey (twice), Lord Melbourne and now Gladstone.⁶

Rather brusquely, Martineau reported to Emily Holt at the end of September that “M^{rs} Arnold died in the night.” Having sent Martineau a basket of grapes, Emily must have offered

to call. Martineau could not see anyone after 2pm, however, when opiates exhausted her and could produce a “sort of seizure, more or less alarming, [with] loss of faculty, loss of power of speech &c.” Happily, Miss Goodwin would be back that day.⁷

As “deputy” for Harriet Grote, Alexander Bain in fact called a few days later. The interview indicated, however, that friends must hereafter overlook anything reported about her. A “personal & political” friend coming in a week would probably be her last visit with any but intimate friends. She *hoped*, however, to read Grote’s forthcoming volume and after what Bain had told her, had “no little curiosity about Mill’s Autobiog^y.”⁸

Martineau’s obituary of Edwin Landseer in the *Daily News* of 3 October 1873 movingly described his fondness for animals and Scottish subjects but his lack of “self-reliance,” incipient deafness and suffering from the failure of great men and “great ladies” to pay him - as well as his final depression (later expressing admiration for the memoir, Martineau wondered who had written it causing John Robinson to laugh heartily and say it was *hers*).⁹

As current president of the National Association for the Advancement of Social Science, meeting at Norwich, Milnes ended his opening remarks saying he knew of “no provincial city adorned with so many names illustrious in literature, the professions, and public life.” Though comprising the families of Taylor, Martineau, Austin, Alderson and Opie, for one family he wished to pass beyond “the expression of public esteem to that of private friendship” with an individual who “from a sick-bed of twenty years” still looked out at the world of action “with a mind interested in all that affects the well-being of humanity, - Harriet Martineau.” When Milne dispatched a copy of the tribute in his own hand, Martineau was touched and reminisced about going to the “old Hall [at Norwich] on the eve of ‘Guild Day,’ to see the tables spread for . . . hundreds of guests.” She wondered if he had seen “*Snap*,” who made her ill with terror. After the death of her old friend Mary Arnold, *she* was now “sinking.”¹⁰

Though feeling “[w]orse in health,” Martineau reported to Maria Chapman a week later on the election of Birmingham school boards, when the “League [had] an immense triumph, - eight League men and women heading the poll . . . My sister-in-law, aged eighty, went in a car, with an invalid friend, to vote.” Her nephew Frank, “an official in the League,” was “entreated by an elderly Quaker to write to his mother, a Quaker lady of ninety, imploring her to come some miles into Birmingham to vote.” No election in the country, Martineau avowed, was of “so much consequence.” The league cleverly had printed “as a prodigious poster, a passage from the Queen’s book about the Dublin schools [on] the true Christian way of combining religious education . . . with liberty of conscience.”

In addition to a still lively enthusiasm for reform, Martineau took pleasure in her well-run household. “Our superb meal-fed pig weighs nearly nineteen stone,” she added, and she had *just* had the ivy “clipped close; in mercy to the small birds.”¹¹

In November, Spring Brown sent Martineau a knitted [?] chemise that would be *warm* on a cold morning and “an immense comfort.” Spring must not send a “second, for Martineau could wash this first thing in the morning and let it dry till she dressed to come down at 11:00. She would also enjoy Helen’s double-knitted wristlets and *would* try Australian ox-tongue - but at her own expense. Including regards from Una Goodwin, Martineau daydreamed: “You two & Harriet are fit to make a trio - such as I sh^d like to see laying their heads together.”¹²

Martineau's exchange of opinions on new books with Harriet Grote in late December seemed to betray low spirits. The edited letters of Sara Coleridge's were "one of the most melancholy books I ever tried to read," she grouched, but Mary Somerville's autobiography and letters (volume 1) was "bright, gay, amusing . . . amiable & healthy, if superficial." She had known Sara Coleridge little, but Mary Somerville *well*. Julius Hare's recent memorials and letters and arguments against religion she deemed "unhealthy," self-absorbed and anti-science. In dispensing "scientific" information, Somerville had remained *cheerful* and unworried about an "intermediate state" (after death), as "the Coleridges & Hares had done." Now Martineau looked forward to Grote's new volume of "minor pieces." Was she "really going to review Mill's 'Autob'?"¹³

A sympathetic letter from her young cousin Kate Morgan at the end of December caused Martineau to respond that the end could not be far off. Now her suffering was "a horrid sensation of unreality, dreaminess, - as if I were not myself, & the place was not my familiar home." Yet what a blessing Miss Goodwin was: "I never saw such a girl before!" After living with her "tête-à-tête so many months," she could find no fault in her. "Miss G." was sadly delicate but was "decidedly better here than at Leeds."¹⁴

Offered a sketch by "Miss Stephen," Martineau sentimentalized the state of the dying "Lady S." A pet treat of her own, when a niece or cousin came, was the setting up "on sofa or desk, of a really good sketch, for the day's study."¹⁵

(An extant memo of Martineau's doctor's visits over the first half of 1874 noted "January 3, February 18, March 8, April 6, May 1, June 9, inc. 20th, 23rd, [45?]; How shall H.M. Proceed?" Written upside down at bottom was "Higginsons on Mr King. Midsummer, "1874." Another "prescription" read "Have a good strong brewage of beef Tea constantly in the House - & of this let Miss Martineau drink a Coffee cup three or four times a day."¹⁶)

In July, Martineau sent Mary Augusta Ward (admired by Maria) a hand-made "Baby's blanket" for her first-born. In August, Jemima Quillinan offered the loan of books and asked about Jenny. "If I were not so much worse of late, we should begin to think of her returning . . . at least for a visit," Martineau answered grimly. Meanwhile she would borrow books "without scruple" if the Mudie box were not now more than enough for her. Yet Anthony Trollope's new novel, *The Way We Live Now*, seemed "so inferior" to his others she was sorry to have ordered it. If Quillinan had "any inclination to read it," Martineau's copy was quite at her service.¹⁷

"How good you are to me!" Martineau gushed to Spring next day. "Such ministering is a sweetener of life [to] your failing but loving old Aunt Harriet." At noon she enjoyed her daily dose of champagne out of Spring's "elegant little glass," and the "greengage dainty" would be a real treat "for we have none of the higher order of plums here." Spring's mother was looking surprisingly well, and she hoped Samuel would come "while I am still here."¹⁸

In early September, Martineau sent thanks to Caroline Jones at Birmingham for a "breakfast (or supper!)" treat. In the midst of "tourist friends calling," Martineau reported that Frank was staying "for 2 days, & our dear J. for a limited time." Caroline's "interview with D^r Blake [seemed] encouraging, "if the two lumps [would] follow the way of the departed ones," and Martineau ended "I am, dear Car, Your affect^e old friend."

Next day, Martineau told Spring that Frank was "roving the mountains," cousin Constance was going "a long drive with Mrs Firth to Highclose & Redbank," and Jenny "flirting with the fowls" plus seeing the neighbours' new babies." Martineau's head was easier "under a

[third] increase of opiates" now of "11 drops of Batley." Spring's mother's "charming bunch of heather was admired by all comers." Coquettishly, Martineau noted that Constance was "behaving beautifully" at Jenny's return. Spring arrived at The Knoll two weeks later, and Martineau asked her to write to the Huttons about their "fine grapes": placed at her bedside, they would remind her of them.¹⁹ "So you & Mary really did think of looking in upon me in the summer!" Martineau exclaimed to Sarah in late September, though her "health & other conditions" had not been favourable at the time. "Dear Spring Brown leaves me on Wednesday morning: & M^{rs} Wedgwood is to arrive in the evening . . . to rooms in the house (Abbott's) by my gate" where she stayed before. "M^{rs} W's maid & my folk made such a warm friendship," and she and Fanny "need rest between our talks . . . to make the best use of our week . . . the last . . . that we shall be blest with. M^{rs} W is some years older than I am; & I am 72."

On "Monday 5th, - the day before M^{rs} Wedgwood leaves," Miss Goodwin was to "come home." Goodwin's delicate health improved at Ambleside, but she and Jenny knew *they* were meeting "for the last time." Indeed, she wanted to tell Sarah more about Jenny, "her noble & sweet mind, so equal to all calls." Now the "great anxiety (next to my known condition) is - to me - poor Rachel," whose "failing state" was "plainly owing to old age." Deplorably, Rachel was attempting to live alone and had gone to Malvern from Liverpool the day before "to get servants." Ellen, by contrast, was Martineau's "constant admiration," devoting herself "not only to her rheumatic husband, but to her failing old sisters." She thanked Sarah for calling "on the Barry Knights," whose story was "most interesting" but too long to tell in a letter. In Robert's family Edward's wife was "recovering well" and Tom's wife "still waiting." A story of "Edward's boy Charley [who] had his first sight of his (baby) 'brother' last week," was sweet and amusing. Charley "fetched & presented his Latin Exercise book [and] calculated how soon they might play cricket together." He asked persistently whether his mother was "'seriously ill'; ending with 'I *want* to know; because, 'if she is not seriously ill, - what is the Nurse here for?'"

About "a fortnight hence, - (Insurance & Dividend time)," Martineau would write to "kind cousin David at home."²⁰ Acknowledging a letter from "Mess^{rs} Trübner & Co., Publishers," Martineau proposed to forward their letter to her executors, being "so ill (*finally ill*) as to be unable to undertake the transaction of any business." Meantime, she would mention two points: any further condensation of *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* was out of the question, and next, could they give her an idea of the cost of producing the volume in the way they suggested, "in 1 vol: &c? Say an edition of 1500 copies." Without knowing the cost it would be difficult to make any suggestion, "while knowing the work is sure to go on selling for a very long time to come."²¹

Writing to Atkinson about her "cure" through mesmerism revived Martineau's anger with Greenhow, spurring her to look for copies of her *Letters to the Athenaeum*. If Atkinson sent Mr. Simpson's address, she'd forward the part relating to her case but could not send the whole and must have it back.²²

Martineau's last obituary for the *Daily News* before her own was "Death of Barry Cornwall [Bryan Walter Procter]" on 7 October 1874. Drawing on personal impressions, she declared Procter to have been "a charmer in his day" who inspired a gloomy people with his poems, but would best be remembered for his songs. Sadly, a "distrust of human nature" was owing to "a certain narrowness in himself," while his "one biographical work, the 'Life of

Edmund Kean’,” was a mistake that afforded the *Quarterly* “only too good a theme [for] satirizing a Whig poet.”²³

A new letter from Spring made Martineau “heartily glad.” Though she would *like* to send Spring “as long as one, her family and doctor had “made a stir about my writing so much!” For Jenny’s health, she and Caroline would go to Bournemouth *after* the Birmingham Municipal elections. Frank (who would accompany them) was likely to enter “that very important corporation.”

Martineau had “private” news for the Browns about her “big book, - Comte’s ‘Positive Philosophy.’” Seeming to be going out of print, it had made her tremble “to think how a new edition c^d be got out.” Now Trübner’s had got the book “by an accident [and the] dreaded news came, 3 weeks ago. There must be a new edition.” Chortling, Martineau added, “I found that my Ex^s have not the least notion of the way to go about the affair.” Trübner’s knew the sale would be slow and “several hundred pounds . . . locked up for a long time” before profits came in. Yet they proposed to bring out the work without troubling her to supervise and to divide the profits equally, “small, in any case, as the book is so cheap. Their half would be “lessened by their money being locked up for years,” yet by a sort of “romantic liberality,” they sent a £30 advance. So! The thing was done, “no toil or trouble in prospect, the book at the call of the working classes, & £30 in the Bank already!” Exulting over her success, she vowed she was “not praising H.M, but Comte.” Autumn cleaning was proceeding at the Knoll, “always a merry time,” she went on, “the odd sayings of maids & ‘help’” causing many a laugh. In a postscript, she added “What w^d my folk say to the length of this ‘note.’”²⁴

In early December, Martineau asked Sarah whether “poor Arthur’s arm” had recovered? And how did Fanny get on this winter, “so universal as cold & heavy snow seem to be abroad?” Ambleside had only a sprinkling of snow, and it *could* not be so cold “as it *always* was in winter in Norwich.” The water pipes were *never* frozen in the night as they used to be in her bedroom there. Jenny and Caroline were now comfortably settled at Bournemouth, and “I sh^d much like to make that establishment known to Ladies or their girls who may be in need of a winter refuge . . . or of a good school.” Perhaps identifying with her niece, Martineau added that Jenny was finding “amusement & much interest in the (few) school girls, & the foreign teachers, - in the intervals of her rambles on the glorious beach under her windows.”

Meanwhile, Caroline’s place at The Knoll was being filled by Mary Anne, “till lately our cook, dairy-woman &c [while] Little Lizzie, now 15,” had taken over as housemaid. According to her doctors, Martineau’s condition was “nervous exhaustion,” her pulse was weakening and her brain-circulation becoming more defective. Harriet and Susan would come in turn when “Miss Goodwin” left for a month over Christmas. Did Sarah know of the other *Arthur* in their clan, nephew Edward’s baby? It was “such a noble old name!”²⁵

On Christmas day, Martineau wrote to Spring of her heart being “so full [after] so much kindness, & so many greetings.” Just the day before, she mentioned her need for “winter black worsted stockings . . . & lo! here are yours - perfect of their sort!” Mary Anne (the “little cook”) had reported to Spring on “a remarkably good day” for Martineau, but today was “as remarkably bad.” However, the new phosphate helped to mitigate “brain mischief.”

Next day, Martineau seemed tired. She thanked Sarah “for the hundredth time” for her “watchful kindness” and explained that her short missive [four note-size pages!] was owing to

the "extraordinary influx of Christmas presents." Caroline had sent "slippers of her own work" in harmonious colors, and "Mary Anne . . . goes shares by having them made up."²⁶

In January, Martineau wrote to acknowledge a gift received "from the hands of my friend, M^r Forster . . . 'History of the Slave Power in the United States'" by the American Henry Wilson. While rejoicing in "the quality & the effects of the great work . . . given to the world," Martineau could not help to spread word of it, being "too far advanced in my illness."²⁷ In spite of her disclaimer, Martineau watched over copies of her own books. In March, she told Forster's adopted daughter, Frances, that "the Martyr Age," had arrived safely, Frances's wish to see it having led to its recovery. "A friend had borrowed it, & (unlike you) had forgotten to return it."²⁸

Martineau next wrote to Louisa McKee's daughter: "Dear Ellen (You will let me dispense with the 'Miss' I am sure)." She needed help with "writing letters, - as short as you please." The "next most prominent service" would be simply her "presence in the house" while Una Goodwin went home. May was "a delicious month" at the Lakes - though Ellen would have to like solitude. For how long did Ellen fancy staying? Martineau's young cousin Constance always came for a month in early June, and in an emergency her doctor, living nearby, could be called "at any hour, day or night." If Martineau became "suddenly or extremely ill," her sister or one of her nieces could be telegraphed for and would "come immediately." For Ellen's mother, Martineau reported receiving a letter, "the first . . . for 40 years [from] our old friend and host, M^r Furness!"

A half-penny postcard to Ellen confirmed her arrival "between May 5th & June 6th." A "London ticket" would carry her to Windermere Station, from where she *might* share the "carhire" with a fellow-passenger to The Knoll "(six miles)." There a servant would pay "(5.s & the tollbar 6d/, besides the driver)".²⁹

In early April, despite "brain-failure from defective circulation," Martineau wrote heatedly to Elizabeth Nichol about the unjust treatment of a local coachman, John Ewington, who had served faithfully for "24 years, - (till Mr Crosfield's death.). . . - Yet no provision whatever was made by his master, or any of the family." Ewington was allowed to remain only till the end of the quarter and to receive a legacy "(I think) of £5." *Could* Elizabeth show her how "to get at some of the Crosfields, - reputed so rich?"³⁰

Goodwin's time away would "be easily . . . filled by affectionate relatives & friends; - sister, nieces & nephews, cousins, old friends, & the children of comrades in early life," Martineau assured Harriet Grote. But *could* Grote tell a little of herself? When last heard from, Grote had been

entering on the Greville book, - the most scandalous & utterly indefensible book I am aware of having ever read. I sh^d have supposed H. Reeve too much a man of the world, & too cowardly, to have issued such a work.

Did Grote believe the book had caused Reeve's not being appointed Arthur Helps's successor? She had heard that the Queen refused to meet him in Cornwall, and *now* he may blame himself. "What superb spring weather we have - at last!" she then burst out. "Such a Cyclamen now before me!"³¹

Though quite ill, Sarah generously sent Martineau a cheque for champagne "towards the end of March." When another "cheque for £4" came in April, Martineau begged Sarah not to think of answering her note.³²

Continuing to look after Martineau's professional interests, John Robinson forwarded a letter from Ward, Lock (publishers). "It gives me much satisfaction," she answered, "that you are willing to assist me in my object of reissuing 'Eastern Life.'" She accepted their terms to publish in Moxon's name "a one volume Edition . . . upon (say) half profits," Ward, Lock "running all risks of Advertising, Paper, Print & Binding." If they wished for a "few lines of Introduction to the forthcoming edition," she would endeavour to write a short preface. But any paper requiring her signature should be forwarded to her without delay. Robinson could answer any further questions as well as herself.³³

In May, Martineau told Fanny Wedgwood she did not wish to meet Frances Power Cobbe (*James's* admirer), having "lost ground so much of late." Ellen McKee had left, and Martineau hurried to tell Sarah she had "been longing to write" about Sarah's charming invitation to Harriet Higginson. Rather contradictorily, she now claimed "to feel to the full the charm . . . in the last stage of life, in lying quietly on the verge of Life & the World." She was "anxious about Rachel," she went on, and wished "near relatives, - & above all nieces, - sh^d be frequently within her reach." Plans were laid for *her* "to have the blessing of a Niece's companionship this summer!" Jenny had "gained 6 lbs in weight in 5 weeks . . . & both her Doctors advise her coming here for the summer months." Frank would bring her in a fortnight, and she was "to live out of doors, - making her sketching an object." Constance, staying with Martineau, looked "sadly thin" but laughed heartily and told "droll anecdotes." Sister Ellen was coming too, and "in our greenest of valleys" Martineau hoped to see Jenny and Mary (Sarah's daughter) "enjoying themselves!"³⁴

Late in June, Martineau reported stoically to Ellen McKee that Caroline had left The Knoll for a new place in Birmingham, "'M^{rs} Player's," to be "amidst her own relations & mine, & under the eye of D^r Blake." In fact, Ellen's own recent stay at The Knoll had apparently not proved a happy one. Martineau felt she "grew tired of the dullness" and failed to enjoy "the charm that all others have found in the repose of a life of books, & conversation, & leisure." Ellen's successors, Martineau claimed, "one after another" were writing "in glee about the short interval w^h now remains before they find themselves here." And Fan Arnold (who was *content* to live in the Lake District) had just done a kind thing: "On my birthday - last Saturday, - she sent me a shawl, - new, & worn only 2 or 3 times by M^{rs} Arnold, just before her death." Was *not* that an act "of true friendship & sympathy?"³⁵

Early in July, Martineau commiserated with Sarah over her "strange, & most unlooked for trial" at having to leave her pleasant home. A financial loss in late spring owing to "the bad faith of the French & U. States Governments," was forcing the move. But Sarah and George had not always been rich, Martineau pointed out, and life could be happy "under straitened circumstances." That Mary's "Convalescent Cottage" was not to be given up was "the pleasantest thing we have heard since," she added. Mary would be welcome at The Knoll, where "a sketching time, & cheerful intercourse with Jenny" might help.³⁶

During the summer, Sarah's daughter Mary came to stay, along with a temporary "companion," Mrs C. Herford, Goodwin having been given "a 6th month at home (for family purposes)." Rather artfully, Martineau boasted to Ellen McKee in September that Jenny was now "better in every visible particular" and that *she* hoped to live "to witness the friendship w^h is sure to arise between her & Miss Goodwin." Goodwin was counting the days "till she finds herself here again," where she "never fails to rally . . . & gain flesh & colour & lose the pain in

head & back w^h her bad scarlet fever of 1871 burdened her with." Indeed, Martineau could "almost be content to live on for a time, to supply this much-beloved home to two such women as these." Succeeding Mary had been her "yearly visitor, - M^{rs} Sam^l Brown."

Of other tidbits: "All goes well in the kitchen; the preserves this year are prodigious! - the maids are good & gay; & Lizzie Bucknall has the luck of getting a place as under-housemaid at - - - Rydal Hall!" Sadly, poor Caroline was having attacks of diarrhea, and her old lady employer at Birmingham was not agreeable. "I am heartily glad you have been to France," Martineau ended to Ellen, "& have seen *some* of the beauties of poor Paris. I wish the Commune had let you see them all first."³⁷

In November, Martineau wondered if Ellen's mother, Louisa, could "*conveniently* spare her copy of 'Eastern Life,' w^h has lain there so long." She had received "the proof of the two Prefaces," and for "type, paging &c," she "must begin with the later imprint." Just now Martineau was annoyed

by the presence [at The Knoll] of a crazy Amerⁿ woman, - 'Miss Harriet Shippen of Phil^a,' who insists that she saw me there, - for w^h she is not old enough. She seems *very* poor, & is certainly too odd to be sane. We wish she was gone. (Perhaps she is, - since Friday.)³⁸

Later in November, in Martineau's name, Una Goodwin wrote to David Masson to thank him "for the opportunity of doing honour to Mr Carlyle." Martineau was sending her signature and would send a guinea "with great pleasure when she learns to whom it is to be paid."³⁹

Next Martineau apologized to friends for troubling them about a missing book (Henry Wilson's first volume?). She had heard "from two quarters . . . of the *two* volumes." Goodwin had been away until yesterday and was also

in consternation at the disappearance of 'the Martyr Age,' feeling that no other loss c^d be so grievous. . . .It was certainly in its place when she left me for the summer.⁴⁰

In January, Martineau confided to Harriet Grote: "In the midst of a severe fit of illness last week, a great pleasure reached me in the shape of this latest volume of M^r Grote's pieces." Grote's "'Fragments'" she would relish "more than even any of [his] preceding essays . . . 'Ethical Subjects' being so supremely interesting." Even now, when she could hardly hold up her head, she *gloated over* "the 'Contents,' & M^r Bain's Introduction." But how had Harriet Grote fared this winter? Such a climate as *theirs* at Ambleside was a blessing: Jenny continued to thrive and was "freely & joyfully allowed & encouraged to stay on, - for as long as I live, if she pleases." Goodwin would return from her month at home in a fortnight and was also "sure to rally."⁴¹

On 25 January, under the impulse of "self-will" learned from her mother, Martineau wrote to Maria Chapman that she had become "more rapidly worse within a fortnight," but did not *fear* death. "What would dear [mortally ill] Lady Augusta say, if she knew what I was writing to you?" Yet Lady Augusta should be "honoured and praised," for continuing to inspire and animate her husband for his "Eastern Church Lectures."

Chapman had found a good biographical dictionary to help with the "Memorials" volume of Martineau's autobiography, though Martineau recommended "the 'Biographie' from the 'Penny Cyclopædica,' expanded, corrected, and completed by Professor George Lord (South Carolinian)," in six volumes. Had she told Chapman she thought her "'Pierpont's-head' sonnet

quite beautiful?" Just now, though, she must knit diligently: Harriet's friend who lived nearby had her baby before its bassinet blanket was ready!

On 17 March, the baby was duly carried into The Knoll drawing-room with an envelope pinned to its cape containing "a bent sixpence, an egg, and a pinch of salt" received at the previous call - the custom of the village for a baby "to have a present of these on its first entrance of a house."⁴²

Though Rachel reported that Sarah had moved back into her home, Martineau deplored the "faithlessness of these foreign governments, w^h go on deferring the fulfillment of their engagements." She hoped Sarah would "yet see the Sugarhouse in full work" and her sons prospering. It was delightful to see how "active & cheerful" Sarah's children were "among their unselfish objects, - the schools, & the Homes of the Poor &c." Martineau had *her* share of pleasure in her "Aides" - Goodwin and Jenny were "remarkably happy" and able to sustain each other under alarms such as her attacks of "hæmorrhage &c." Jenny's vigour astonished her - the other day she had gone "sliding on Lily Farm, on the top of Loughrigg, - all alone, - nobody within sight!"

Martineau's doctor ascribed her condition to the recent cold affecting many of his patients "by *checking* the action of this or that organ." To be still alive seemed strange to Martineau, the past year had "swept away so many old comrades & friends." John Forster's death "at 63, & his work unfinished!" was grievous. Forster and Browning and she were almost "the only ones left of the group that used to enjoy meeting at the Macreadys." Did Sarah's daughter, Mary, remember the Quillinans? She must have seen that Rotha had died. Now all were anxious for "her lonely, desolate sister" who had no relations except for *one* cousin. Kind neighbours to her, the Quillinans had accompanied Jenny to Llandudno, "early in her illness." Perhaps Mary had seen their daffodil field "in beauty, when they always sent me a lapful of them" (in March, Jemima Quillinan sent Martineau flowers and a picture of her sister, Rotha).⁴³

Within little more than a week, Martineau proposed for publication to Mess^{rs} Trübner &c" a work "of remarkable interest," a translation from the German by Una M. Goodwin of the historian Reinhold Pauli's biography of Simon de Montfort, "Creator of House of Commons." In an introduction, Martineau pronounced biography to be the prime means of understanding history: the oldest readers appreciated that great movements in society were embodied and illustrated in the characters of pre-eminent men. Mankind's progress, from the valuing of *glory* to the valuing of *institutions and laws*, delighted her.⁴⁴

Jenny and Una Goodwin now wrote alternately from The Knoll to Martineau's friends. "My dear M^{rs} McKee," Jenny began on 25 March, "my aunt gladly takes you at your word & asks me to send you a few lines" (Louisa had forwarded the *Unitarian Herald*, remembering that Martineau wished to know more of Ellen's son, Phillip). The last "bad attack" left her aunt looking old and feeble, Jenny said, causing "M^r King to feel anxious & watch her with more than usual care." Her liver was the difficulty, and the winter cold was trying.

In spite of Martineau's state, everyone at The Knoll was to have a chosen holiday - Mary Ann for a fortnight at Easter "& Miss Goodwin . . . for her long absence afterwards." Ellen would come in May and Constance in June or July. Jenny confided they'd had hints that Mary Ann's engagement would "not be prolonged indefinitely," but Mary Ann declared she could not depart till she saw the right person to take over as cook. Since Caroline left, two long years had passed! *This* morning, Martineau had loved seeing *lambs* in the next field, and the birds were

singing. Happily, daffodils had come out "on the grassy slope, & the snowdrops [had] never been more abundant."⁴⁵

On 5 May, Ellen informed Louisa that Goodwin had left "on the previous Thursday" (*perhaps* carrying Martineau's last item of authorship). Martineau was losing ground, and the "zest" had departed from "attempts at conversation and at reading D.N. aloud." Martineau's own account to Mary of "the late increase of my illness" written two days later seemed in her old vigorous style. Mary was offering to come, but Martineau was *very* ill and felt Ellen had arrived "exactly as we c^d have wished, - to support & help Jenny at the close." Though "almost utterly deaf" and with her sight failing "so as to forbid much reading," Martineau still found "an inexhaustible pleasure" in the others' "enjoyment of our month of May, with its almost dazzling verdure, & *heaps* of blossom, & superb array of flowers." From the terrace Ellen could take in "sights & sounds . . . very charming after Liverpool. E.g. Here are *ten* ducklings, all alive & promising," plus other broods coming.⁴⁶

Vowing to Maria Chapman in mid-May that she would keep up their correspondence to the latest moment, Martineau said heart-action affecting her brain caused "the horrid sensation of not being quite myself . . . every evening." In a whimsical postscript, she added:

I am in a state of amazement at a discovery just made; I have read (after half a lifetime) Scott's "Bride of Lammermoor," and am utterly disappointed in it. The change in my taste is beyond accounting for, - almost beyond belief.

Jenny and Ellen were urging her to write to Atkinson.⁴⁷ Recently, Garrison had sent Martineau a memorial card of his "precious wife's departure and burial." Now he sent a "Memoir" citing the meeting in Boston Martineau had attended. "I wish I could convey to you any idea of the emotion excited in my household by the reading of this narrative," she answered. *She* was only thankful to have been in Boston at "the crisis."⁴⁸

On Sunday, 4 June, Greg's sister Susan called at The Knoll. From her window at the inn opposite the doctor's house, Susan could see into the Kings' nursery and told Martineau that if she were to stay a week longer she *must* have an introduction to that charming and fascinating baby! The doctor's wife was delighted when Martineau told the doctor. (On another occasion, King described Martineau's telling the story of "the little swing bridge in India, in connection with Lord Elgin," making him "hot all over!"). On Tuesday, Forster called - the last person to see Martineau other than her family members and servants.⁴⁹

Martineau's note to Maria Chapman on 14 June seemed to show her clear-headed as ever. "We have heartily enjoyed your couple of letters [and] your map of the family property," she chatted. Coincidentally, they'd come on her birthday. Now, though, a "constantly accelerated weakness" left her in no doubt she was dying, and her friend would sympathize with her desire for "rest." Chapman had asked about Macaulay (whom Martineau failed to flatter in her *Daily News* obituary). "Well! [she responded] his diary and letters describe my sensations as if the symptoms were a report of my case prepared by a professional man." Macaulay had been kindly, generous and "of less vulgar ambition than many supposed," *but* he never answered Forster's exposure of his slander of William Penn. Now Lady Charlotte Clark had written "in enthusiasm about the beautiful 'Life of Ticknor'," begging Martineau to read it. That day Martineau could not say more but next day bid Chapman farewell after "half a lifetime."⁵⁰

Martineau's death on 27 June 1876 came before Louisa's last note reached The Knoll. Next day, Ellen answered that Martineau had "died about 8 o'clock last evening, after only one week's and a day's absence from the drawing room." Ellen had "always anticipated months, if not years of a bedridden imprisonment" and was thankful that Harriet was spared "such a trial as that would have been." She and Jenny, Constance and Marianne (the "little cook") had *just* managed to carry on the nursing unaided. Tom and Frank were coming to help with funeral arrangements.

As Martineau lay for the last night at The Knoll, unknown neighbours decked the coffin with flowers. The morning after, the day seemed darkened [to] the Misses Backhouse, with beautiful singing voices, who used to come to The Knoll to see "Caroline" and "Marianne" on Sundays and New Year's days . . . the four widows who made a part of the [yearly] Christmas party [and to] Saul, the coachman [who would] wish her a happy New Year to the sound of his violin [on her terrace]. Among other sorrowing neighbors were Messrs. Stalker, Bell, Mason, Leighton, Newton, Hawkrigg [who had helped] to build and furnish her house . . . the inhabitants of her cottages [one of whom always gave her his rare pansies], Miss Nicholson and Mrs. Freeman, who retired from the post-office five years ago.⁵¹

Martineau's obituary of herself in the *Daily News* and another in *The Times* both appeared on 29 June 1876. Faithful to the slightly fabricated version of her "disease," Martineau asserted it was the result of "deterioration and enlargement of the heart . . . discovered in January, 1855," and having "declined throughout that and subsequent years," she "died ----" (Hunt kept the blank, adding a paragraph of stirring praise and a list of her published works as "drawn up by herself" beginning with "'My Servant Rachel,' 1827" and ending with "Four Letters of an Englishwoman, 'Daily News,' 1870").⁵²

Two days after Martineau's death, Susan wrote to Caroline's aunt:

I feel I must send a few words to you . . . Poor dear Caroline has been spared this watching & sorrow, - it seems very soon after her removal.

Emily Beaufort responded emotionally — "I seem now to have lost the last bit of my childhood" — while future historians would be surprised at what Martineau did for the world. Emily's sister, Rosa, commented on the "wonderful record of work and energy and talent, in the long and interesting notice of the 'Times'." George Eliot and Lewes, staying on the continent, read in *The Times* of both Martineau's and George Sand's deaths. A note from Jenny on the 29th caught Florence Nightingale by surprise, and she reacted devoutly: "how delightful the surprise to her!" Nightingale had in fact *just* quoted Martineau on "the Zemindar and Ryot question in India."⁵³

Martineau's current and former servants at The Knoll added to the chorus of her praises. Martha Andrews wrote twice to Jenny concerning "one of my dearest and best friends" for whom she began to work twenty-nine years ago. Marianne Matthews, the "little cook" who had postponed her wedding to stay at The Knoll termed Martineau a noble woman whose kindness she would never forget, Marianne's father adding his regrets.⁵⁴

In her "Memorials" Chapman cited further condolences from Helen Brown, Elizabeth Ker, James Payn, Mrs. Charles Knight, Catherine Turner, Emily Napier, Elizabeth Pease Nichol, Lady Elgin, Arthur Stanley and Lady Charlotte Clarke [sic], the last commenting wryly on

Martineau's self-estimate in the *Daily News* "I see how she enjoyed writing of H.M.'s shortcomings, - imagined only by herself." Garrison was stunned by the telegraphic announcement in Boston papers and eulogized Martineau to Jenny, saying the whole "civilized world" would *miss* her extraordinary talents.⁵⁵

Martineau had agreed to be buried in the family plot at Birmingham a few days before her death, and her body was taken to Frank's house in Highfield Road. On 1 July, the Unitarian *Inquirer* reported that Martineau would be buried that day "at the Old Cemetery, Birmingham, where lie buried her mother, a brother, a sister-in-law, and a niece." At her funeral in the Old Meeting House, the Reverend Charles Clarke read the burial service, lauding Martineau's life of good works. Her coffin, "made of oak, polished, and . . . ornamented with brass furniture," was then lowered into a bricked grave, "a little to the left of the chapel."⁵⁶

In Boston, Maria Chapman had been gathering materials for her volume of "Memorials," sending out pleas for information and now awaiting Jenny's arrival. Atkinson complained that people sought to idealize Martineau, but that her characteristic strength was supreme common sense. When a lady at dinner called Martineau insane for leaving her skull and brain to science, he retorted "'Madam, it was a noble sacrifice of feeling for the cause of science . . . an act that few are equal to, and an ordinary person cannot appreciate.'" The woman's response? "Silence," Atkinson triumphed to Chapman.⁵⁷

A number of major and lesser known British and European publications noticed Martineau's death, the latter including "Le Bulletin Continental," the "Kolnische Zeitung," the "London Leader," the "Aberdeen Journal" and the "Shield" (published by "the association in behalf of national purity"). In *The National Reformer*, Holyoake averred: "No woman more brave, or wise, or untiring in the public service, has lived this century" (in the *Index*, Holyoake reminisced about visiting Martineau in the Lake District). Notices in the "truly appreciative" American press included those in "the Boston 'Daily Advertiser,'" the "Nation" and "Harpers' publications."⁵⁸

Helen Brown helped Jenny sort the "treasures" Martineau wished to leave to friends, and Susan came to accompany Jenny home. "I must write to you before you sail," Constance wrote to Jenny, to tell Chapman "about Cousin Harriet's last days." *Constance's* strongest impression had been Martineau's "strong sense of duty and her thoughtfulness for others," persevering in coming down stairs "after it had become a painful effort," wanting to air her room for Marianne. She seemed pleased that after her death nothing would stand in the way of Marianne's marriage.⁵⁹

A new edition of *Biographical Sketches* in 1876 opened with "Autobiographical Sketch of Harriet Martineau," reprinted from the *Daily News* and styled by the editors a "singular autobiographical fragment." Martineau's will, proved in August, confirmed that she had left The Knoll to Ellen and Ellen's children. Her personal property, except for a few gifts to friends and to an old servant, was to be equally divided among her living brothers and sisters or their surviving children; her manuscripts and private papers were to go to Thomas, her executor. These should be revised and published according to her directions - though publication of her letters was strictly forbidden. Martineau further stipulated that Maria Chapman and her nephew, Thomas, were to publish her autobiography, Chapman to receive a fourth of the profits plus a legacy as editor. When friends like Henry Bright asked about sending papers to Maria Chapman, Alfred Higginson answered that Martineau's executor would accept them and

Jenny would carry them to Chapman in America. Thomas was surprised when Milnes said he had already read the autobiography!⁶⁰

¹ Robert Francis ("Frank") Martineau to Louisa, 12 January 1873, Ellen Higginson to Louisa, 13 January and "Tuesday" 1873, and FW to "Madam," 12 January [1873], JRUL; Una Goodwin was surely the "Miss Goodwin" who stayed with Martineau in 1869; Fanny Wedgwood "obtained for me, when I am past all other kinds of help . . . the companionship of Miss Goodwin," Martineau told a correspondent (HM to [Caroline Emelia?] Stephen [religious writer, daughter of Sir James Stephen], 5 February 1874, *CL* 5: 326-27).

² HM to [MWC], 6 and 20 March 1873 (*Auto.* 3: 416 and 416); John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872-1874).

³ HM to [MWC], 3 April 1873 (*Auto.* 3: 417); Martineau pointed to "Mr. Shaen, Mr. [George] Warr, Mrs. Butler and the Sheldon Amos family" and may have sent Chapman *Four Letters by "An Englishwoman" on the Contagious Diseases' Acts* (see chap. 53, note 48).

⁴ A letter from Martineau of 20 June 1871 had been partly reprinted in Harriet Grote's *The Personal Life of George Grote. Compiled from Family Documents, Private Memoranda, and Original Letters to and from Various Friends* (London: John Murray, 1873) 335; William Ewart Gladstone (prime minister) to JM, 6 June 1873, BUL 356-57; HM to Gladstone, 8 June 1873, *CL* 5: 319-20; Gladstone to HM, 9 June 1873, *Auto.* 3: 446; Gladstone had called on Harriet Grote to learn about Martineau.

⁵ HM to [MWC], 9 July and 21 August 1873, *Auto.* 3: 417-18 and 418; Anne was the daughter of William Henry and "Annie" Furness (née Annis Pauling Jenks); Martineau had heard Furness preach on her first Sunday in New York and then stayed with the Furnesses in Philadelphia (the doctor hero of *Deerbrook* was modeled on Furness); a committee of public men including Gladstone - agreeing to show *respect* without agreement with Mill's political opinions - determined to collect funds for a statue to be set in a public place and to found social science scholarships in his name: "Mr. Mill," *The Times*, 14 May 1873: 9, col. 6, and "The John Stuart Mill Memorial," *The Times*, 19 July 1873: 8, col. 2.

⁶ HM to Rosa Beaufort, 29 August 1873, *CL* 5: 320-22; Effie Wedgwood married Thomas Henry Farrer on 30 May 1873 at James's Unitarian chapel in London; George Eliot, *Middlemarch. A Study of Provincial Life* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1872) and *Romola* (London: Smith, Elder, 1863 [running in the *Cornhill*, July 1862-August 1863]); Anne Isabella Thackeray, *Old Kensington* (London: Smith, Elder, 1863 [for *The Village on the Cliff*, see chap. 51]).

⁷ HM to Miss Holt, 30 September 1873, *CL* 5: 322.

⁸ HM to Harriet Grote, 13 October 1873, *CL* 5: 323; for Bain, see chap. 51; the caller was likely John Richard Robinson who saw Martineau as late as spring 1875 (see *Fifty Years of Fleet Street, Being the Life and Recollections of Sir John R. Robinson*, ed. Frederick Moy Thomas [London: Macmillan, 1904] 200-201); Robinson was knighted in 1873 and became both editor and manager of the *Daily News*; for Harriet Grote's forthcoming volume, see chap. 53; John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography* (London: Longman, Green, Reader and Dryer, 1873) described his intellectual and moral development.

⁹ "Sir Edwin Landseer," *DN*, 3 October 1873: 5, cols. 2-3 (rptd. *BS* 475-87); see *Fifty Years of Fleet Street* 195 (after Martineau's death, the publishers' stated their indebtedness to Robinson

[BS, 4th ed. (London: Macmillan, 1876)], but he or *they* had let errors creep in such as the wrong *month* of death for Herschel and the wrong *year* of death for Somerville (see chap. 53).

¹⁰ "Social Science Congress," *The Times*, 2 October 1873: 7, cols. 1-6-8, cols. 1-4 (for Milnes's tribute, see *Auto*. 3: 445; the obituary of Martineau published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* [53 (October 1876): 715-19] was surely by Milnes); HM to Milnes, 13 October 1873, *CL* 5: 323-24). 'Snap' is a dragon figure, used in civic processions at Norwich.

¹¹ HM to [MWC], 21 October and 20 November 1873, *Auto*. 3: 418 and 418-19; the Birmingham Education League hoped to disestablish church schools, Liberal candidates for the school board addressing a town hall meeting at Birmingham on 7 October ("Birmingham School Board," *The Times*, 9 October 1873: 10, col. 6; [leading article] *The Times*, 25 October 1873: 9, cols. 3-4).

¹² HM to Spring Brown, 19 November 1873, *CL* 5: 324-25.

¹³ Harriet Grote to HM, 18 December 1873, *BUL* 415; HM to Harriet Grote, 23 December 1873, *CL* 5: 325-26); *Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge*, ed. "Her Daughter" (London: Henry S. King, 1873); *Personal Recollections from Early Life to Old Age, of Mary Somerville. With Selections from her Correspondence*, ed. Martha Somerville [Somerville's daughter] (London: John Murray, 1874); Julius Charles Hare, *Victory of Faith* (London: Macmillan, 1874), 3rd ed., ed. E. H. Plumptre, with notices by "Professor Maurice and Dean Stanley" [Hare died in 1855]; Martineau might mean George Grote's *Posthumous Papers: Comprising Selections from Familiar Correspondence . . . Some Youthful Compositions . . . with Portions of MSS. Notes, and Extracts from Authors Ancient and Modern*, ed. Harriet Grote (London: [printed by] William Clowes, 1874), but see also the 16-page pamphlet: H[arriet]. G[rote]., *I. The Greville Memoirs. 1874. II. Memoir of Viscount Althorp, the Third Earl Spencer. By Sir Denis le Marchant, Bart. 1876* (London: [printed by] William Clowes, n.d.) citing testimony of Alexander Bain, then a student at Aberdeen, and of Principal Dewar of Marischal College, Aberdeen.

¹⁴ HM to Kate Morgan [Catherine Wansey, widowed daughter of Martineau's cousin Peter, had married William Frank Morgan in 1870], 28 December [1873], *CL* 5: 317.

¹⁵ HM to Miss Stephen, 5 February 1874, *CL* 5: 326-27.

¹⁶ *BUL* 1230 and 1239.

¹⁷ HM to Mary Augusta Ward [Mrs. Humphry Ward, daughter of Tom Arnold], 7 July 1874, *CL* 5: 327; HM to Jemima Quillinan, 5 August 1874, *CL* 5: 328; Anthony Trollope, *The Way We Live Now* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875).

¹⁸ HM to Spring Brown, 6 August 1874, *CL* 5: 328-29.

¹⁹ HM to Caroline Jones, 6 September 1874, *CL* 5: 329 (Dr. Blake has not been identified); Caroline's "treat" must have been sausages from Birmingham: see chap. 51; HM to Spring, 7 September 1874, *CL* 5: 330; HM to [Caroline?] Hutton, 23 September 1874, *CL* 5: 331 (Caroline was the widow of Robert Hutton of Putney Park); Mrs. Firth has not been identified; High Close, with the view "reported the finest in Westmorland," and Red Bank, a "very steep descent" nearby (*Complete Guide to the English Lakes* 49-50 and 51).

²⁰ HM to Sarah, 27 September 1874, *CL* 5: 331-32; Martineau's 1855 guide lists a John Abbott, "sadler/ldgng hse Fairfield"; Fanny Wedgwood was two years older than Martineau; Barry Charles Knight, a partner of his father, Charles Knight, who died in 1873; David, Sarah's son.

²¹ HM to Mess^{rs} Trübner, 30 September, 9, 13 and 16 October 1874, *CL* 5: 332, 333, 334 and 334-35; *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte. Freely Translated and Condensed . . . Second Edition* (London: Trübner, 1875); by 9 October, Martineau had consulted her executors and

agreed to Trübners' terms: see "Mess^{rs} Trübner (new edition of Comte) October 1874" [Martineau's hand] (BUL 1212); a publisher's announcement stated that Comte had approved a retranslation of Martineau's version into French for ease of diffusion among his countrymen.

²² HM to HA, 10 August, 18 September, 1 October and 8 December 1874, *HM/FL* 348, 348-49, 349 and 349-50; Simpson has not been identified; for *Letters on Mesmerism*, see chap. 26, note 35.

²³ "Death of 'Barry Cornwall,'" *DN*, 7 October 1874: 2, cols. 1-2 (rptd. *BS* 475-87).

²⁴ HM to Spring Brown, 20 October 1874, *CL* 5: 335-36; *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte. Freely Translated and Condensed . . . Second Edition* (London: Trübner, 1875); HM to Sarah, 4 December 1874, *CL* 5: 337-38; Arthur (son of Edward Kentish, Robert's son), born 1874.

²⁵ HM to Sarah, 4 December 1874, *CL* 5: 337-38; Arthur (son of Edward Kentish Martineau, Robert's son), born 1874.

²⁶ HM to Spring Brown, "Christmas Day" 1874, *CL* 5: 338; HM to Sarah, 26 December 1874, *CL* 5: 339.

²⁷ HM to Henry Wilson [Republican senator from Massachusetts, former member of Lincoln's cabinet], 30 January 1875, LC Henry Wilson Papers 0215-2545 MMC 2545, ff. 195-196; Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1872).

²⁸ HM to Frances Forster, 5 March 1875, *CL* 5: 339.

²⁹ HM to Ellen McKee, 21, 24 March and 28 April 1875, JRUL (the McKees were living at 22 St. George's Square, Regent's Park Row, London, N.W.); Martineau had called Furness "and his wife . . . my American brother and sister" (*RWT* 1: 49); see, for example, note 5.

³⁰ HM to [Elizabeth Nichol?], 2 April 1875, *CL* 5: 340 (as a Quaker, Nichol was likely to know the family of John Crosfield, Martineau's Quaker neighbour).

³¹ HM to Harriet Grote, 16 April 1875, *CL* 5: 341 (Reeve apparently quoted Greville's diaries verbatim in contrast to Martineau's conviction concerning personal letters); Sir Arthur Helps (clerk of the privy council) died in March 1875.

³² HM to Sarah, 20 April 1875, *CL* 5: 342.

³³ HM to Mess^{rs} Ward, Lock, 25 May 1875, *CL* 5: 342-43 (for Ward, Lock, see chap. 53, note 42).

³⁴ FW to Frances Power Cobbe [religious writer and philanthropist], 25 May [1875], HL MS CB 825; HM to Sarah, 6 June 1875, *CL* 5: 343-44 (Martineau's concern for Rachel seemed sincere; Ellen's daughter, Harriet, may have gone to stay with her).

³⁵ HM to Ellen McKee, 15 June 1875, JRUL (for Dr. Blake, cf. note 19); in August, Arnold was to comment ironically that he had heard yesterday from the "indestructible Harriet Martineau": MA to George Smith, 20 August 1875, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 4: 278-79.

³⁶ HM to Sarah, 9 July 1875, *CL* 5: 344-45; on 3 January 1876, *The Times* announced sarcastically that mercantile failures in 1875 were owing to Englishmen's trust of unknown foreigners (3, col. 2), but that the depression in trade had multiple causes (7, col. 1).

³⁷ HM to Ellen McKee, 26 September 1875, JRUL; Lizzie, daughter? of Martineau's new farm man, Henry Bucknall; in 1871, historic buildings in Paris had been damaged in the struggles with the government by the Paris Commune.

³⁸ HM to Ellen McKee, 14 November 1875, JRUL; *Eastern Life, Present and Past. A New Edition, with Illustrations* (London: Moxon, n.d.) featured black and white drawings of Egyptian and Biblical scenes; in "Preface to the New Edition," dated 4 June 1875 (iii-vi), Martineau argued

that travel accounts lost pertinence when altered; the first Preface, dated 25 March 1848, followed (vii-viii); Harriet Shippen has not been identified.

³⁹ Una Goodwin to "Sir" [David Masson], 23 November [1875], NLS MS 1778, f. 73 (Masson was arranging for a medal and an address to Carlyle from his admirers, to be presented on Carlyle's eightieth birthday, 5 December 1875: see, for example, Gordon S. Haight, "The Carlyle's and the Leweses," *Carlyle and His Contemporaries. Essays in Honor of Richard Sanders* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke UP, 1976) 203.

⁴⁰ HM to "friends" [possibly the Foresters], 13 December 1875, CL 5: 345-46; for confusion over loaning *The Martyr Age*, see Martineau's note to "Frances," above.

⁴¹ HM to Harriet Grote, 6 January 1876, CL 5: 346; George Grote, *Fragments on Ethical Subjects. By the Late George Grote, F. R. S. being A Selection from His Posthumous Papers* (London: John Murray, 1876); in the Introduction (iii-vii), A[lexander] B[ain] pointed to Grote's hitherto unpublished essay on ethics.

⁴² HM to MWC, 25 January 1876, *Auto.* 3: 449-51; Augusta Stanley died in 1876; Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church: with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History*, 5th edition (London: John Murray, 1876); Martineau might mean *The English Cyclopædia. A New Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Conducted by Charles Knight, etc.* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1856), beginning vol. 1 with "Aaron, the first high-priest of the Jews"; *Auto.* 3: 457.

⁴³ HM to Sarah, 13 February 1876, CRO(K) 63 (partly pbd. CL 5: 347); Sarah's home was "Foxholes, n^r Walton on Thames," her sons David and George were sugar-refiners; John Forster died 1 February 1876 after publishing one volume of *The Life of Jonathan Swift* in 1875; HM to Jemima Quillinan, 29 and 31 March 1876, CL 5: 348 and 348 (Martineau probably received Rotha's *carte de viste*).

⁴⁴ HM to Mess^{rs} Trübner &c, 22 February 1876, UL, Hope Autographs [fragment]; Reinhold Pauli, *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, the Creator of the House of Commons. Translated by Una M. Goodwin. With Introduction by Harriet Martineau* (London: Trübner, 1876); "Introduction," dated May 1876 (iii-viii).

⁴⁵ Jane [Jenny] Martineau to Louisa, 25 March 1876, JRUL; see "Our Duties as Missionaries. [From a Paper by the Rev. P.M. Higginson, M.A. (Ellen's son), read at the recent Annual Meeting of the East Cheshire Christian Union.]," *Unitarian Herald*, 24 March 1876: 98, cols. 1-2.

⁴⁶ Ellen Higginson to Louisa, 5 May 1876, JRUL; HM to Mary Martineau, 7 May 1876, CL 5: 349.

⁴⁷ HM to MWC, 17 May 1876, CL 5:349-50 (Martineau's critical eye had not dimmed); HM to HGA, 19 May 1876, *Auto.* 3: 453-55.

⁴⁸ HM to WLG, 30 May 1876, CL 5: 350-51; WLG, *Helen Eliza Garrison. A Memorial* (Cambridge [U. S. A.]: Riverside Press, 1876); Garrison's pamphlet included poetry and accounts of his wife's antislavery antecedents as well as of their friends like Samuel May and George Thompson, the Boston mob scene, Charles Follen's death and "Tributes at the Funeral"; Martineau meant the meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, 18 November 1835, to which the heavily pregnant Helen had not come (see chap. 13).

⁴⁹ For Martineau's callers and King's baby, see *Auto.* 3: 457 (Elgin had been shaken by having to cross a fragile birch bridge in the Himalayas and died a few days later).

⁵⁰ HM to MWC, 14 June 1876, CL 5: 351-52; two weeks before Macaulay died, on 28 December 1859, he began to suffer from "irregularity of the pulse," depression, weakness, sinking of the

heart, fainting-fits and "incapacity to do anything that required steady exertion" (*The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay by His Nephew George Otto Trevelyan, M.P.* [London: Longmans, Green, 1876] 2: 475-78); Lady Charlotte Clark, wife of Sir John Clark, former minister to Paris (see *Auto.* 3: 484); like Martineau, Ticknor was said to wish to acquire knowledge for the benefit of others: George S. Hilliard, Preface, *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876) iv.

⁵¹ Ellen Higginson to Louisa, 28 June 1876, JRUL; *Auto.* 3: 492-93 (most neighbors and local workpeople appear in "Directory," *Guide to Windermere*).

⁵² "Harriet Martineau.," *DN*, 29 June 1876: 2, cols. 1-4 (rptd. [for example] "Autobiographical Sketch of Harriet Martineau," *BS* [1876] xix-xxxiv; "Harriet Martineau. An Autobiographic Memoir. [From the *Daily News*.]," *Inquirer*, 1 July 1876: 439-41, cols. 1-3, 1-3 and 1-2, and *Auto.* 3: 459-70); the obituary in *The Times*, ("Harriet Martineau," 29 June 1876: 8, cols. 5-6) quoted estimates from Lucy Aikin and Brougham and lauded Martineau's productivity, listing *most* of her main (signed) works but not all her work in journals or her antislavery writings.

⁵³ Martha Andrews to Jenny, n.d. and n.d., *Auto.* 3: 476 and 476-77; Marianne Matthews to Susan Martineau, 2 July 1876, and W. Matthews to [Jane] Martineau, n.d., *Auto.* 3: 477 and 477-78. *Auto.* 3: 481-84; Lady Charlotte Clark, wife of Sir John Clark (former minister to Paris); WLG to Jane Martineau, 4 July 1876, *Auto.* 3: 474-75.

⁵⁴ Susan Martineau to Mrs. Jones, 29 June 1876, *CL* 5: 367-38; Emily Beaufort (Lady Strangford) to Jane Martineau, [29 June 1876] and Rosa Beaufort to Jane Martineau, 29 June 1876, *Auto.* 3: 478 and 479; Rosemary Ashton, *George Eliot. A Life* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1996) 354; FN to Jane Martineau, 29 June 1876, *Auto.* 3: 475-76 (in "Beginning of a Revenue System. 1793," *British Rule in India*, 170-85, Martineau exposed the failures of opposing systems introduced by the well-meaning but ignorant British, the zemindar [middleman] and ryot [cultivator] systems).

⁵⁵ *Auto.* 3: 481-84; Lady Charlotte Clark, wife of Sir John Clark (former minister to Paris); WLG to Jane Martineau, 4 July 1876, *Auto.* 3: 474-75.

⁵⁶ "The Late Harriet Martineau," *Inquirer*, 8 July 1876: 455, cols. 1-2 (quoting modest laurels from both the *Saturday Review* that labeled the "views" of Martineau and Atkinson as "what is *now* called Agnosticism," or, the truth wherever one finds it, and the *Spectator*, which echoed her own judgment that she "could neither discover nor invent [but] could popularise" the ideas of others).

⁵⁷ Constance Martineau to Jane Martineau, n.d., *Auto.* 3: 481; HGA to MWC, 11 and 22 August 1876, *Auto.* 3: 486-87 and 487-88 (a codicil to Martineau's will dated 5 October 1872 revoked the bequest of her skull and brain to Atkinson).

⁵⁸ *Auto.* 3: 488-92; George Jacob Holyoake, "Harriet Martineau," *The National Reformer. Secular Advocate & Freethought Journal*, 9 July 1876 [front page]: 17-18 (slightly misquoting the motto on Martineau's sundial) and "Harriet Martineau," *The Index*, 29 December 1876: 619, cols. 1-2; for the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, the *Nation* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (53 [October 1876]: 715-19 [with portrait]), see *Auto.* 3: 491.

⁵⁹ Jenny to Louisa, 17 July 1876, JRUL; Constance Martineau to Jenny, n.d., *Auto.* 3: 481.

⁶⁰ For Martineau's "Autobiographical Sketch," see note 52; the fourth edition of *Biographical Sketches* (1876) contained new sketches of Herschel, Landseer, Cornwall, Somerville and Martineau: Preface v; *Inquirer*, 12 August 1876: 535, col. 1 (on Martineau's will); Alfred

Higginson to Henry Bright, 15 August 1876, TLC, Houghton 16/114; Thomas Martineau to Milnes, 2 September and 12 October 1876, TLC, Houghton 16/112 and 113.