HARRIET MARTINEAU'S LETTERS TO FANNY WEDGWOOD
1837-1871

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Abstract

The dissertation attempts to provide a readable annotated edition of nearly one-hundred and twenty letters written by Harriet Martineau (1802-76), between 1837 and 1871, to Frances and Hensleigh Wedgwood (1800-89, 1803-91), their daughter Julia (1833-1913), and their cousin and friend, Erasmus Alvey Darwin (1804-31). These new letters are the largest single collection of the extant letters of Harriet Martineau, and have not been seen by any of her biographers. Written to sympathetic and trusted friends, the letters illuminate some of the more attractive aspects of Harriet Martineau's forceful personality, while they also provide a chronicle of her opinions, her reading and writing, and her unusual medical history during most of her career as a respected radical journalist. The letters of Harriet Martineau also allow some insight into the lives of the rather retiring Wedgwood-Darwin clan, among whose distinguished family members and friends were Charles Darwin and Jane and Thomas Carlyle.

The mutual friendship of the Carlyles, Wedgewoods, Erasmus Darwin and Harriet Martineau is the first interest in these letters, for Harriet Martineau recalls and repeats anecdotes about the Carlyles with entire freedom—as she continues to do about other contemporary figures. Among those whom she knew or with whom she corresponded, were Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Matthew Arnold, Charles Dickens, Florence Nightingale, and politicians such as Richard Cobden, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Brougham, W.E. Forster and many others. She also
kept up a correspondence with leaders of the radical abolitionists led by William Lloyd Garrison in the United States.

Harriet Martineau and the Wedgwoods shared an allegiance to religious dissent and radical, middle-class dominated reform. Her faith in the middle classes and her strict adherence to the "laws" of political economy, however, did not prevent her support for various schemes to aid the working classes, which she recounts with infectious enthusiasm. In addition to their narrative appeal, the letters are in fact a compendium of a particular range of Victorian interests, and offer a fertile ground of investigation for the social history of the Victorian period.
Introduction

The letters in this collection are the result of a friendship between two middle-class Victorian women of lively intelligence and strict social conscience. Although they were not of the first significance, they were in close touch with some of the primary movers of the age such as the Carlyles, Charles Darwin, Charlotte Brontë, and Florence Nightingale. The intellectual life of the Post-Romantic period is one about which we are possibly less well informed than about the preceeding or following ages. But it is clear that even within such a minor circle as that of the Wedgwoods and Darwins and their immediate friends, with whom these letters are concerned, it was tenacious, fruitful, varied and closely interwoven. The present collection helps to fill in the picture of the day-to-day life of these energetic people and to show their relation to major nineteenth-century happenings, such as the work of Charles Darwin and Harriet Martineau's remarkable journalistic achievement.

The reputation of Harriet Martineau (1802-76), herself, was almost as high in her own age as it has since fallen into obscurity. Her autobiography, which was written twenty years before her death, gives the best record of her family background and early life. Her ancestors were Huguenot settlers in Norwich, professional and commercial people who became Unitarians. Her personal disabilities
(deafness and long periods of invalidism), and her success first as a popularizer of the new "science" of political economy, and later as an interpreter of American culture, as a domestic authority, Eastern traveller, spokesman for agnosticism, and translator of Comte are all told with forceful objectivity. We have known much less about the period after the autobiography, when she reached her maturity as a political and social commentator. In this period she contributed leaders to the London Daily News, started by Dickens in 1846 as a liberal counterblast to the Times, and articles to a number of major journals and magazines. R.K. Webb has discussed her writings in this period in Harriet Martineau: a Radical Victorian, but her personal life has been less well documented.

Fame and strength of character, rural isolation and dogmatism notwithstanding, Harriet Martineau had a vigorous capacity for friendship. Her steadfastness is evident in the letters to Fanny Wedgwood, with several to her husband Hensleigh, her daughter Julia ("Snow"), and to their close friend Erasmus Alvey Darwin. All of the letters included here are part of the Wedgwood Papers, deposited at the University of Keele, Staffordshire, by Josiah Wedgwood and Co., Barlaston, Stoke-on-Trent. They have not been seen by any of Harriet Martineau's past biographers, and are of special interest because they span almost the whole period of her public life, and were apparently saved against her early request that they be destroyed. The subject matter of the letters often parallels that in other extant letters of Harriet
Martineau's; sometimes words and expressions are repeated verbatim, yet much is new. In this way, the collection can be seen as a reasonable index to her thoughts and ideas for the most important thirty years of her life. Letters to another group of friends might have shown different aspects of Harriet Martineau's interests, remarkably consistent though she was; but it is clear that the Wedgwoods brought out the best in her. In thought they belong to the liberal tradition; they are not as a rule products of Oxford or Cambridge, but are persistent inquirers after truth. This quality is combined with a stern religious conscience, intellectual nonconformity and curiosity, allied to strong affections and a generous concern with good causes. All of Harriet Martineau’s friends were outside the conventional mainstream, in politics, religion, and education; but, individualistic as they were, they were powerful enough to form a group of their own.

Harriet's main correspondent is Frances Wedgwood, "Fanny" (1800–89), who is at present most accessible through a book of family letters edited by her niece, Henrietta Litchfield, the daughter of Charles Darwin. *Emma Darwin: a Century of Family Letters* gives an insight into lives that might have come from the pages of Jane Austen. They were from large, comfortably well-off but isolated country families who had connections in London and were often well travelled, but who were dependent on each other for entertainment; closely-knit but interested in the outside world, cultured, devout religious dissenters and morally upright
in all their behavior, yet lively and tolerant of ideas. The letters concern three central families—the Allens, Wedgwoods and Darwins—as well as their friends and the colorful outsiders who came into the families by marriage. Among these were the Swiss historian Sismondi and the Scottish-born Whig statesman and historian, Sir James Mackintosh, Fanny's father. One of the Mackintoshes' house-guests in 1822, the much loved novelist Maria Edgeworth, describes Fanny as "one of the best informed and most unaffected girls I ever saw—not handsome nor ugly—with a sweet voice and admirable conversation." 1

Fanny Mackintosh and her husband Hensleigh Wedgwood were first cousins; their mothers, Elizabeth ("Bessy") and Catherine ("Kitty") Allen, were the two eldest daughters of John Bartlett Allen of Cresselly, Pembrokeshire. Hensleigh was the grandson of Josiah Wedgwood, famous for his development of the family pottery business at Etruria. Josiah had become a self-made millionaire through "fashion and patronage." He was also an amateur scientist and co-religionist friend of Joseph Priestley, a promoter of public projects, modified free-trader, antislavery sympathizer, writer, artist and family man—an ideal self-made man of the eighteenth century. 2 Hensleigh's father, Josiah Wedgwood of Maer, continued in the family business, but Hensleigh, the fourth son, was sent to Cambridge and later

called to the bar. His appointment as a stipendiary Police Magistrate in 1831, when he was twenty-eight, enabled him to marry Fanny Mackintosh, then thirty-one.

Fanny and Hensleigh had known each other well since early childhood, when her mother Kitty Mackintosh brought her three children and three step-daughters home from India in advance of Sir James in 1810. He had gone to India in hopes of writing works on history and ethics, and to recoup his fortunes, none of which he achieved. His brilliant but intermittent presence over the years does not seem to have disturbed the domestic serenity of his wife Kitty, who is periodically glimpsed being presented to the Queen, then having to give up house and furniture in London for the move to India, moving in with relations, translating and copying letters for Sir James' unfinished history, tirelessly reading newspapers, taking up the cause of mistreated animals, giving her teen-aged children a multitude of directions—and then taking their failure to comply with entire good nature. When Fanny's mother died in 1830 the Mackintoshes were living in Clapham. There Sir James played the genial host to public men, poets and critics, visiting cousins were asked downstairs to meet famous Whig dignitaries and reformers, while Fanny and her sisters were increasingly absorbed by intensely devout religious sects, such as the ones led by the Rev. Edward Irving and later the Rev. Alexander Scott. Fanny had always been close to her father, and when she and Hensleigh married they all continued to live together until his death. The Wedgwoods were living in Clapham when Harriet
Martineau reached the first flush of her success with *Illustrations of Political Economy*.

Yet Hensleigh's career as a political appointee was broken off abruptly in 1837 when he resigned his post (worth £800 a year) because he felt strongly that the administering of judicial oaths was a sacrilege. He had delayed the painful decision for some years for the sake of his wife and children, and though his family were shocked they were full of admiration: "The first instance I have known of a great sacrifice made to a Christian principle," his aunt exclaimed.

Harriet Martineau's notes and letters to Fanny Wedgwood begin several years before Hensleigh's resignation, and after their first meeting which was probably at the Wedgwoods' home in Clapham, early in March 1833, when Harriet came to dinner with Mrs. Anne Marsh. Mrs. Marsh was an amateur authoress and an old family friend of the Wedgwoods and Allens. Harriet, then a young celebrity, "took a fancy" to Fanny, though she knew that Fanny had disapproved of some of her opinions on matrimony and divorce. Perhaps she felt in Fanny the spark of her father's altruism and her mother's charm and aplomb. A note from Harriet to Fanny in May 1834 (not included in the present collection) congratulates her on the birth of her first son, and they must have met socially on various occasions before Harriet's departure for America in August, 1834.

The early years of Harriet's and Fanny's friendship are rather amusingly illuminated by Harriet's early acquaintance with the Carlyles, whom she went to see
soon after her return from America. Thomas Carlyle wrote to his mother,

Two or three days ago, there came to call on us a Miss Martineau, whom you have perhaps often heard of in the *Examiner*; a hideous Portrait of her was given in *Fraser*, one month. She is a notable Literary woman of her day; has been travelling in America these two years, and is now come home to write a Book about it. She pleased us far beyond expectation: she is very intelligent-looking, really of pleasant countenance; and was full of talk, tho' unhappily deaf almost as a post, so that you have to speak to her through an ear-trumpet. . . . As she professes very "favourable sentiments" towards this side of the street, I mean to cultivate the acquaintance a little . . .

Harriet's recent exposure to the American enthusiasm for *Sartor Resartus* may have helped to make her think highly of Carlyle, for she noted his "enviable sway" over thinking Americans in her book, *Society in America*, 1837. Carlyle, on the other hand, did not admire *Society in America*, a theoretical examination of the American experiment in democracy, but approved of her less ambitious *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 1838. As with Harriet and the Wedgwoods, something more than a mutual liking brought them together, but, in the case of the Carlyles, it was not to be enduring. Harriet Martineau's scrupulous, driving, Puritan conscience made her as concerned about belief, conduct and public welfare
as Carlyle. And their peculiar stubborness made them as independent of public opinion as the integrity, private incomes, and family affections of the Wedgwoods and Darwins. This spirit of mutual admiration between Harriet and the Carlyles survived almost wholly intact through the summer of 1841, when Carlyle visited her in Tynemouth twice—once on his way north to a summer holiday in Scotland, and again on his return with Jane. In the beginning of the friendship, Jane had been even more enthusiastic about Harriet than Thomas, and pronounced her "good-looking, warm-hearted even to a pitch of romance, witty as well as wise, very entertaining and entertainable in spite of the deadening appendage of an ear-trumpet, and finally ... very fond of ME." But the course of the friendship of three such strongly opinionated individuals was predictably unsmooth. Jane and Harriet were both too outspoken: each complained of the other's trying to monopolize the conversation and attention. Carlyle was generally entertained by Harriet, but at times he was nonplussed. In a letter to his brother John, February 1838, Carlyle has been speaking of their relative lack of company in the cold season, though he has seen the "Scotch Saint" Thomas Erskine and the Rev. Alexander Scott, then preaching at Woolwich "twice weekly to thirteen persons, the rich portion of whom maintain him for doing it," and also other

Saint people ... brought into our sphere by a couple called "the Wedgwoods" ... One Erasums Darwin ... comes here often ... an Italian, German travelling University sort of man, who "keeps a cab," if you
know what that means: a very polite, good, quiet man. — At this point enter visibly Miss Martineau with ear-trumpet, muff and cloak, who has sat talking for an hour and half in her deft Unitarian-Poetic way; and left us, my hand all thrown out!"

Eventually, incompatibility of political and social convictions made honest friendship impossible. Many of the friends who were drawn towards Carlyle as a radical could not accept his scorn for democracy, *laissez-faire*, and the disinclination of the government to take positive action. Harriet Martineau retreated or was repulsed, but she did not forget about Jane.

The Wedgwoods and Carlyles, however, continued to be friends. Notes from the Carlyles to Fanny and Hensleigh acknowledge the loan of books, invitations to dine, and offers of services such as the use of their coach. Hensleigh was respected for his philological knowledge and for his ethical strictness. Carlyle is heard apologizing, on one occasion, for supposedly having spoken near blasphemy. Fanny was appreciated for her intelligent sympathy; Carlyle calls her a "genuine woman"—a rarity in London. Jane sends Fanny whimsical answers to invitations and outpourings of wifely concerns, accepts Fanny's patronage and presents with delight, and eventually keeps us a distanced friendship with Harriet through Fanny. The sense of loss shown by Harriet, when the Wedgwoods were to leave London at the time of Hensleigh's resignation, is echoed by Jane. She writes to Fanny who was staying at the Wedgwood family home at Maer with her children, while
Hensleigh was job-hunting in London, 10 March 1838:

My husband is gone to dine with your husband, and "Erasmus" at Mr. Erskine's. Thence they proceed together to a "flare up" at Miss Martineau's . . . And now . . . a pretty idea is come to me, that I all alone here will have a little quiet talk with you all alone there. For I feel a sympathetic assurance that you are alone at this moment even as I am . . .

Dear Mrs. Wedgwood when shall I see you again?

Jane writes repeatedly to Fanny in the same spirit, and yet, though nothing occurred to alter their friendship, it somehow stayed at its first slightly restrained level of intimacy. In Jane's letters, Fanny and Hensleigh are always addressed as Mr. and Mrs. Wedgwood.

Fanny's charm and interest in others, and Carlyle's pleasure in an appreciative audience might have sustained this mild friendship, but Erasmus Darwin provided a mutually loyal and indisputably permanent link between them. Erasmus was also a faithful attendant on Harriet Martineau for as long as she lived in London, causing amusement in others at their domestic-like give and take, and speculation about Erasmus' sisters' probable acceptance of Harriet into the distinguished Darwin family. Erasmus never married, and in spite of some comical reserve about Harriet's domineering manner, he continued to be her devoted friend. It was presumably the fact that he felt safe from romance with her that allowed their friendship to last. He offered to pay for the costs of adding a second room to her accommodations
in Tynemouth, where she lived as an invalid from 1840 to 1844, and he probably originated the collection of a testimonial fund for her in 1843. Later Harriet acknowledges the receipt from him of books, champagne and oysters; she asks after his welfare and hastens to tell him of her physical and financial state over the years.

As a young man Erasmus had been sent to study medicine in Edinburgh, where he was followed by his younger brother Charles in 1825. But ill-health and a retiring nature, a comfortable income and an established social position seem to have pre-empted any serious effort on his part for a medical career. Instead, Erasmus devoted himself to his family and friends, patiently delighting in their children, always a welcome guest at dinners, and willing to send his cab for their use, with or without himself. Although he otherwise enjoyed a life of bourgeois comfort, Erasmus' adult years were spent, as were those of his brother Charles, in a more or less permanent state of invalidism. That he maintained a lifelong warm friendship with Carlyle is proof of his integrity and equanimity, and may remind us that his gloom and intolerance has been exaggerated.

When Charles Darwin moved to London in 1838, soon to begin work on his journals of the voyage in the Beagle, he spoke amusingly of Erasmus visiting Harriet at all hours of the day and endangering her reputation—if it had not been so safely unassailable. Although Dr. Robert Darwin, Erasmus' father, was wary of her radicalism, he could put aside his annoyance to admit, good-naturedly, that she was
a force to be reckoned with. When Charles became engaged to Emma Wedgwood, Hensleigh's younger sister, Dr. Darwin expressed his high gratification to Emma's father, "as if" he said, it had been "Martineau herself that Charles had obtained."

These new letters show Harriet and Fanny, over the years, exchanging running accounts of their families and mutual acquaintances. When she met Fanny, Harriet was living with her rather formidable mother in a house in Fludyer Street; when she became ill in 1839, she at first planned to go back there. The friends they shared were centered in London, but some lived out of London and abroad. A number of the women were writers, or were actively involved in causes such as education and antislavery. Several of the unmarried women were really satellites of Harriet's, serving as audience and mirror of her opinions, and offering themselves as nurses and companions when she was ill. Harriet Martineau was often quoted in Florence Nightingale's family, because Florence's aunt Julia Smith was one of Harriet's confidantes. Another friend, Emily Taylor, had known Harriet as a child in Norwich and had been her Unitarian "disciple." Emily's ministrations and "meddling," while Harriet was prostrated with a condition diagnosed as prolapse of the uterus, in Tynemouth, allow us a frightening glimpse of the kind of desperate boredom which must have been felt by many of Harriet's and Fanny's contemporaries who did not have enough to do to occupy their time.

As a journalist, Harriet corresponded with a great number of public figures, usually participants in some
phase of the vast field of nineteenth-century reform. But the motives and actions of these public figures did not go unquestioned, and she subjects them in her letters to severe ethical and radical analysis. Given Harriet Martineau’s materialism and pragmatism, it was perhaps inevitable that her association with major literary figures should almost all end disastrously. Although she continued to value their works, she became disparaging of Carlyle; her brief connection with Dickens ended in a violent clash over social dogma; a genuine short friendship with George Eliot was unequivocally broken off after Eliot’s liaison with G.H. Lewes (yet she later pronounced *Middlemarch* the ablest book written by a woman); and a quite intimate friendship with Charlotte Brontë was destroyed by Harriet’s censure of *Villette*. Her long acquaintance with Matthew Arnold can best be described as an armed truce.

Several of Harriet’s most lasting associations were accidental. Mrs. Mary Arnold, Matthew’s mother, lived nearby at Loughrigg, in the Lake District. Other notable neighbors of Harriet’s, in Ambleside, with whom she did not entirely keep up amiable relations, were the sister-in-law of Sir Humphrey Davy, and Annie Clough, sister of Arthur Hugh Clough. She was indignant at the unfavorable criticism of her declaration of rational agnosticism in 1851, by Mrs. Davy’s mother, Mrs. Eliza Fletcher, a former friend of the Lake poets and early nineteenth-century notables. She also quarreled with the essayist and political economist, W.R. Greg, who lived at Windermere
and had been responsible for bringing her into the neighborhood in the 1840's. To his credit, Greg wrote one of the most perceptive and yet appreciative estimates of Harriet Martineau's character and work by any of her contemporaries, after her death.3

Harriet and Fanny also shared a particular interest in American affairs. Fanny's attractive and romantic younger brother, Robert, married into a wealthy merchant family of Boston, and it was in Boston, in 1835, that Harriet had formally aligned herself with the radical abolitionists led by William Lloyd Garrison. She idolized Garrison for the rest of her life, and joined wholeheartedly in the battles between rival abolitionist groups in the United States and Britain, on his side. Two other American abolitionists who were also of special significance to Harriet were Dr. Charles Follen, who died tragically in 1840, and the (to Harriet) beautiful and powerful Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, the only woman whom she consistently and astonishingly acknowledged as her superior in judgment. Mrs. Chapman was one of Harriet Martineau's major informants of events in the United States, in Harriet's long association with the Daily News as a specialist in American affairs. She undoubtedly influenced Harriet's views on America, including her enthusiasm for the new Republican Party, and in countless other ways, which became part of her writings about the United States. The effectiveness of Harriet Martineau's campaign against American slavery and

in favor of the North, in the *Daily News* and elsewhere, has not yet been fully evaluated, but may have been a significant factor in keeping Britain neutral during the American Civil War, when the sympathy of the *Times* and of many public men was for the South. Yet Harriet's choice of Maria Chapman as the executrix of her private papers and editor of the volume of posthumous memoirs was a truly crushing error of judgment. Her reputation has suffered badly from Mrs. Chapman's capricious choice of material to be preserved, from her inaccuracy and her irresponsible garbling of facts.

Below the portraits of Garrison and Dr. Follen which hung over Harriet's study mantel in her Ambleside home, was the bust of a younger English friend, Henry Atkinson, who was her mesmeric adviser and loyal correspondent of thirty years. He dedicated himself to the investigation of mesmeric phenomena and phrenology, lived as a bachelor in London, and occasionally made mysterious trips to the coast of France for "sea bathing." Harriet thought his masculine beauty made him look like Christ. But he figures in only a minor way in the letters to Fanny; and we are never quite sure how he was regarded by the Wedgwoods.

Despite such a difference of wealth and social position between Harriet Martineau and the Wedgwoods, their friendship survived largely because they shared an ideological background. Harriet's radicalism was a blend of the "work ethic" and a belief in free enterprise, an implicit faith in a commercial basis for civilized progress throughout
the world. Noel Annan notes that the Wedgwoods were one of several provincial dissenting families who rose to prominence in the nineteenth century through the entrepreneurial success of a forefather, to become cultural mentors of society. An urge to improve society was at the root of their shared ideology. Sir James Mackintosh had been an eloquent Parliamentary speaker and agitator for reform causes: and the Darwin letters show Fanny as a youthful zealot following in her father’s footsteps. Marianne Thornton, Fanny’s friend and a member of the socially conscious "Clapham sect," describes Fanny in 1827 as everything Sir James’ daughter should be: clever, full of information, spirited, pious and "anxious to do good. . . . She canter here on any cart-or-coach-horse she can find, and returns loaded with good books and advice as to how to proceed."

Later, Fanny’s life as a wife and mother left her less leisure to follow her instincts for social betterment. She and Hensleigh lived, apparently happily, surrounded by their six children, household servants, and by endlessly visiting relatives and friends. And yet, in addition to her cares as a matron, Fanny found the time to attend anti-slavery meetings, to belong to Mazzini’s London Committee, and to involve herself in other questions of the day which are brought out in the letters. Not least was the Allen-Darwin-Wedgwood concern for politics, and in bringing about social change through political means. The roots of this went back to the original Josiah Wedgwood and Dr.

Erasmus Darwin (the Wedgwoods' friend and family physician, grandfather of Erasmus Alvey and Charles). They were also founding members, with Joseph Priestley and others, of the Lunar Society of Birmingham, dedicated to the strengthening of manufacturing and commerce by means of scientific invention and technology. Wedgwood and Dr. Darwin were fanatics about the quality and usefulness of the education they gave both their sons and daughters. The Lunar Society's concern with education as a cure for man's problems emphasizes the members' optimistic confidence in the value of individual inquiry, and in the value of an enlightened conscience. Their preoccupation with science, and its technological potential, illustrates their intellectual awareness and practicality.

At a later date, the women in the family are seen in keen suspense over the great Reform Bill, debated in March 1831. Sir James, an MP, had "been up almost every night till near 4 o'clock," and was in high mettle. Fanny spent the two nights of the second reading of the Bill sitting up with friends who lived near the House of Commons, even the servants being caught up in the excitement as they brought news of the progress of the debate.

Although differences of opinion between Harriet and the Wedgwood-Darwin clan were inescapable, it seems likely that Fanny would have concurred with most of Harriet's judgments of people and events. And even, possibly, that she identified herself with Harriet's privileged involvement with MP's, publishers, and those who were shaping the dynamic changes of the period. Fanny's life, on the other
hand, provided Harriet with a partial substitute for the things missing from her single, isolated life: the love and nurture of growing children, the excitement of a large, busy, social household, and finally, loyalty to a "worthy" husband. For Harriet, writing to Fanny is always a recreation; she asks avidly for news of the Wedgwoods' and Darwins' doings and for information about the children; she enjoys hearing of their social life, and shares household gossip. Harriet also looks to Fanny for an interest in her well-being, and keeps Fanny informed of her symptoms and precarious state of health.

For us, Harriet's letters to Fanny help to balance the rather austere portrait of herself in the autobiography, and to adjust the sentimental and one-sided account put together by Mrs. Chapman—who saw her primarily as an antislavery worker. Harriet Martineau was not only an opinionated and mechanical theoretician of society—who could defame even fellow radicals when they differed from her narrow path of prescribed action. Her professional importance was as the quintessential journalist; she reflected and propagated certain beliefs and ideas of her time. And although many of those beliefs and ideas have gone or taken new forms, yet she remains an individual of value and interest, and of warmth and distinction. Her relationship to the Wedgwood-Darwin circle enhances that broader characterization of Harriet Martineau, and it also brings us directly into an untypical but nevertheless significant pocket of Victorian belief and behavior.
In addition to the collection in the Wedgwood Papers at the University of Keele, a number of extant letters of Harriet Martineau exist in private and public collections. Those which have been used here are from the University of Birmingham, the British Library, Dr. Williams's Library, the Huntington Library, the National Library of Scotland, and from papers in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Hensleigh Wedgwood and Mr. and Mrs. J.E. Martineau. The Carlyle and other letters referred to in the notes, which are not otherwise identified, are in the Wedgwood Papers, University of Keele. Unless specifically indicated by their salutation or a headnote, all of the letters are from Harriet Martineau to Fanny Wedgwood. The letters are in their original form in respect to spelling, use of abbreviations and punctuation, with the following exceptions: raised letters have been brought down to the line, abbreviations of common words have been spelled out (including "and" for "&"), and, in a few places, missing or indecipherable punctuation has been supplied for the sake of clarity. The paragraphing of the manuscript letters is sometimes not clear, and that has (but only rarely) been supplied. For the sake of reducing the collection of letters in the Wedgwood Papers to a publishable length, a minimum number of passages judged to be of little interest or that were repetitious have been cut, and these excisions have been marked and summarized. No other liberties have been taken with the text.

Of course, a special acknowledgement of gratitude is due to Josiah Wedgwood and Co., for making possible the
opportunity to consult and use the extensive collection of papers now at the University of Keele. Sincere thanks are given to Dr. Ian Fraser, archivist of the Library, University of Keele, who has been most helpful in arranging for access to the papers and in offering the benefit of his considerable knowledge of the family background and period of the letters. Thanks are also given to the officials of the Library of the University of Birmingham, the British Library, Dr. Williams's Library, the Huntington Library, and the National Library of Scotland. Others who have been of great help are Prof. R.K. Webb, University of Maryland Baltimore County, Mr. and Mrs. Hensleigh Wedgwood, Mr. and Mrs. J.E. Martineau, and most importantly, my supervisor Prof. K.J. Fielding, University of Edinburgh, without whose advice and help the work would not have been undertaken.

Unless otherwise noted, Daily News citations are by Harriet Martineau. An index of persons, works by Harriet Martineau, and other items of special interest, as well as a select bibliography appear at the end of the letters. The publisher and place of publication of books cited in the notes have been omitted except in a few cases where it was pertinent to the text, or where the place of publication was not London. Titles and full documentation of books are often silently shortened to their customary form, or after the first mention. The following abbreviations are used:
Harriet Martineau
Jane Welsh Carlyle
Harriet Martineau's Autobiography: with Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman, 3 vols, 1877.
Eliza Fletcher, Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher with Letters and Other Family Memorials, ed. Lady Mary Richardson, Edinburgh, 1875.
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Chronology of the Life of Harriet Martineau

1802  Birth

1832-34  Illustrations of Political Economy, lionization in London

1834-36  Visit to the United States

1836-39  Society in America, Retrospect of Western Travel, Deerbrook

1839-44  Invalid life in Tynemouth, The Hour and the Men

1845  Move to The Knoll, Ambleside

1846-47  Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land

1849  History of the Peace

1851  Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development

1852-66  Daily News leaders

1853  The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte

1855  Autobiography (published 1877)

1855-76  Second period of invalidism, continuing journalism until as late as 1873
Tuesday morn [1833-34]

Dear Cousin.¹

Thank you for your note. My head and heart are too full of its contents to let me say anything now further than that if I do not come tomorrow, I shall not be able to see you till Sat._ I trust to Eras:² to get this to you. Send me a line, either by him, or by the first post tomorrow, to say whether I may come tomorrow. Also, whether you had rather, and Eras: too, that I should come alone this time, or as usual, — that I may arrange for getting home at night.

God bless you! My kind regards to Mr Wedgwood.

Ever yours affectionately

H. Martineau

Date: see below. Address: Mrs. Hensleigh Wedgwood.

1. The unusual salutation was not repeated. Perhaps it was a girlish sentimentalism soon after they became friends. The handwriting differs slightly from that in other letters and might mean that this is 1833-34, before HM left England for two years. On the other hand, the content could refer to Hensleigh Wedgwood's (1803-91; DNB), resignation from his Police Magistracy, some time in December 1837.

2. Erasmus Alvey Darwin (1804-1881), was HM's constant escort. The complacency of their relationship is amusingly noted by Fanny Wedgwood: "Miss Martineau . . . came with Erasmus — it is curious to see what good order she
is in when she jumps up when he makes her a sign that the
cab is waiting and declines taking her home by Tulse Hill
as she proposed. She had been staying with the Button's,
Anne Marsh's friend and he mentioned his being asked to
dine there, when she exclaimed 'how odd they did not ask
me' . . . . It is amusing to see how entirely married
they seem and he minds it as little as she does." To
Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood, 3 May 1837.

__________________________

July 1837

Dear Fanny

I did fully intend to come to you this morning; but
a heap of business has risen up before me to prevent.
If tomorrow morning is fine, I will try to get out to you
directly after breakfast, (being engaged at home from
2 o'clock till night.) Rather than not see you, I will
come on Sunday morning, if anything should prevent me
tomorrow. I conclude you will be too "prudent" to leave
home for church, on Sunday. But tomorrow shall be the
time, if I can manage it. On Monday morning I go down
to Macready's, and thence to Norwich, so that we shall
not meet again till after the 3th of July, when I come
up to meet my glorious brother James. You must be well
by that time, so as to hear him preach. I really mean
to settle after that, — for a vision of a huge mass of
work has risen up before me. Thank you for your note.
My book succeeds so as to gladden my heart and our house.

God bless you!

Ever your affects.

H. Martineau

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Date: postmarked 2 July 1837. Address: Mrs. Hensleigh Wedgwood / Lark Hall Lane / Clapham.


2. William Charles Macready (1793-1873; DNB), actor and manager. HM's stay with Macreadys in July is not mentioned in published versions of his diary, but she saw much of them socially: on 6 June to Ascot and on 11 July to dine in their company. The friendship appears to have ended with HM's publication of her agnostic Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development, 1851. Earlier, Macready speaks of sending her tickets for a stage box so she can hear his performance, naming a child after her, and paying visits to her in Tynemouth and Ambleside; The Diaries of William Charles Macready, 1833-1851, 2 vols, ed. William Toynbee, 1912.

3. James Martineau (1805-1900; DNB), was at this time pastor of the Protestant Dissenters meeting in Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool. While he was in London, July 1837, he joined "the deputation of English Presbyterian Ministers, who, on the 21st of that month, proceeded to St. James Palace to present an address to the Queen on her accession to the throne," Drummond and C.B. Upton, I, 93-4.

4. Retrospect of Western Travel, 3 vols, 1838, How to Observe:
Morals and Manners, 1838, and a large number of other projects detailed by Webb, pp. 176-77. In August 1837 HM was asked to review the works of Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867; DAB), for the Oct Westminster Review. In Sept she began to keep a diary, and wrote articles for the Penny Magazine which included "A Month at Sea," rptd. as Appx B, Auto., II, 466-99; see also, pp. 106-7.  
5. Society in America, 3 vols, 1837, reviewed Athenaeum, 13 May, and by Disraeli in the Times, 30 May. Hensleigh called it "a most remarkable book." Fanny was "delighted except for a foolish little chapter about women's voting which does not signify ("Political Non-Existence of Women," I, 199-207) and I was much relieved at the marriage and divorce parts considering what we had expected ("Marriage," III, 119-30) it is impossible not to catch some of her hopefulness on Slavery though for one's own taste I should have liked some harder name than anomaly for it" (see "Conclusion," III, 298-99), Fanny to Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood, 25 May 1837. 

Tuesday —, December 19th.  
[1837]

Dear Fanny,  

Your note makes my heart very heavy, — more even than it was before about you. The children being unwell is an aggravation. It is better that I should not come; so I send you now my temporary farewell.¹ I have a strong hope that it will not be for long, and that you will be settled near us by and bye. If you can give me a line when
you see your way more or less, I shall be very thankful.
You shall not want for news of us. — I think I need
not say that Mr W. and you have my hearty sympathy as
well as love and "approbation", as people say. All
my feelings are on your side. There can be no doubt of
your peace of mind under all that this change will bring
upon you.

Thank you for remembering my little affair. I have
just written to decline the enterprise, on James' strongly
expressed opinion, which is right, I am confident.

Give my best regards to Mr W., and my love to the
dear children. Remember me too to Mrs. Rich. Heaven
bless you all! Ever your affection.

H. Martineau

If you can ever make me of the least use, only ask
me.

Date: year added in another hand.

1. HM's 'Farewell' must be for the Wedgwoods' temporary
move to Hensleigh's father's home at Maer, Staffordshire.
Hensleigh's letter telling his father of his decision to
resign from his Police Magistracy is dated "Monday" Dec
1837 in Josiah C. Wedgwood, A History of the Wedgwood
Family, 1908, p. 202. He asks if he can send Fanny with
nurse and baby. The "Monday" of that letter, however,
was evidently 4 Dec or 11 Dec as a letter in Darwin
Letters, I, 285-86, of 17 Dec 1837 says that Hensleigh's
father has taken it well. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881;
DNB), also noted the Wedgwoods' retirement to the
country "in poverty" because of Hensleigh's scruples about administering oaths, in a letter to his brother 1 Feb 1838 (New Letters, I, 109-10).

2. The "little affair" was HM's possible editorship of an Economical Magazine, turned down at James' recommendation. See Auto., II, 109-11, for a fuller and less complacent account written after HM's break with her brother.

3. Mrs. Mary Rich (1789-1876), Fanny's half-sister, eldest daughter of Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832; DNB), by his first wife. She had married Claudius Rich (1787-1821), a promising young Orientalist, in 1808, after his stay at the Mackintosh home in Bombay.

January 16th 38

My dear Fanny,

I got this frank intending to write you at length about things in general. Eras: has come in since, and told me that you would much like to see Mr. Loring's letter. ¹ I earnestly desire to give you pleasure, be it the least in the world, whenever I can find opportunity; and I therefore send you the letter, though with some qualms about forwarding anything which has so much about me in it. However, there is much of other things, happily; and particularly of Carlyle and Mr Lovejoy. ² Can you let me have the letter again soon? Carlyle has furnished the desired list, ³ with a few whimsies which will delight my correspondent. The precious sheet is already on the
Atlantic. — I heard from Cincinnati, a few days ago, from a gentleman who thanked me for introducing your brother to him. I suppose we shall soon be seeing him now. I do trust he will say nothing to put America into your heads again. The more I think of you, the more convinced I am that your going would be a thoroughly foolish scheme. I trust, dear Fanny, that as soon as you see a glimpse of light about what you will do, you will kindly let me know, — for my private satisfaction, of course. I look around incessantly with your eyes for some home for you where your anxieties may be as much at rest as your consciences must be. I have little hope of ever being able to serve you, more or less: but if you see a chance of it, use me as if I were your sister. I find full as much sympathy as anything else expressed for you, wherever I hear strangers speak of Mr W's case; and in no one instance have I heard him blamed. Though I know praise and blame have nothing to do with his case, it is pleasant, on his account as well as that of the discoursers, to see conscientiousness honoured. My mother sends her best regards to you both, and assurances of her high respect. The robbery was a sad finish. I should not wonder if we were almost as sorry as you about it. I am afraid you have no black gown with a hole in it at present, and that all you have looks sadly new. I wonder who is wearing the pretty blue you came in when you last entered our doors. I am glad we none of us knew how long it would be before you would be here again.

Eras: was here today, wondering how he should manage
tomorrow, when he has promised to breakfast at Sir R. Inglis's at 9 o'clock! How could he enter into so rash a promise? I see nothing for it but his sitting up all night, or sending his groom instead. He looks much better, we think, and is in good spirits. The intimacy with the Carlyles is a good thing for him; and I hope all his friends will watch him more carefully than ever now that your home is lost to him. He was to have been here on Wedy evening last; but did not come. As we could not learn that he was ill, the only remaining supposition was that he was busy putting out the fire at the Royal Exchange. Not so, however. He mistook the day, and came on Thursday when we were out. He missed seeing a scene between Mr. Procter and a young American who was delighted to be in the room with three or four poets, and confidently asked Procter to be so good as to tell him which of the gentlemen was Barry Cornwall. Their mutual bowing and blushing was capital. Eras: and I am plotting to get Mrs Rich here for a call, at least I hope we shall succeed. I should be very sorry to lose sight of her.

I wonder whether you can find time to write more or less to me. I want to know everything you can tell me about yourselves and the children. Don't let them forget me. Are they learning to slide? I see both girls and boys no bigger than they sliding very merrily in our park; and I have much ado not to go and join them. My ladies are sadly pinched with the extreme cold, but they have no illness. I find I do not like cold better than I did as
a child; but I should be ashamed to think of any such thing at all seriously, in the presence of the shivering multitude that are before my mind’s eye night and day. How do the poor live on through such weather as this? I wonder they do not die by hundreds every night. And can nothing be done? With all the forests and mines that there are on earth, is it not a grievous sin and shame that any one infant or old person should want for warmth. I wonder whether we shall need faith as much in the next life as we do here. — We are all uncomfortable about Canada. My own conviction is that the Canadians are mainly right; and that the government, both here and there, is unfathomably wrong. As a letter I have just received says, ”What definition of a "rebel" could be given which would not include Lord John Russell?”^10 All agree that an amicable separation is possible, is most desirable; but nobody on the British side will stir to effect it, you will see. In our insolence and vanity we shall insult and despise the Canadians till we are over head and ears in guilt towards them.

Farewell, my very dear Fanny. Kiss your children for me, and give my kindest regards to Mr. Wedgwood. I am ever your affectionate and true

H. Martineau

1. Ellis Grey Loring (1803–58; DAB), Boston lawyer and antislavery Brahmin whom HM met in 1835.
2. Almost certainly Elijah Parish Lovejoy (1802–37; DAB), murdered in a dramatic defense of his antislavery press
Nov 1837, in Akron, Ohio.

3. Of his articles, to be sent to Loring. Carlyle noted this in his diary, 14 Feb 1838. He had written to his brother Alexander, 10 Jan 1838, that an American lawyer had asked for a list of his articles to get them published in the U.S. "at a good profit—$500?" (New Letters, I, 106-7). Loring did not publish Carlyle's articles, however, for his friend Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82; DAB), had already arranged for their publication by James Monroe of Boston, the publisher of the first edition in book form of Sartor Resartus, 1836; Marrs, pp. 434, 435n, 420n.

4. HM had visited Cincinnati in 1835. Robert James Mackintosh (1806-64), Fanny's younger brother, also visited friends of HM's in Boston, where he met his future bride, Mary Appleton. He was back in London by the summer of 1838 (Darwin Letters, I, 287), and brought back copies of Sartor Resartus for HM to distribute and sell.

For HM's praise of Cincinnati as a place to settle, see Society in America, I, 137-93, and a long chapter in Retrospect of Western Travel, II, 215-54, with the remark, "For more reasons than one I should prefer Cincinnati as a residence to any other large city of the United States" (p. 254).

5. Although they were in London at times, Fanny and the children may have lived at Maer until Hensleigh obtained a post as Registrar of Cabs, 8 Feb 1839, at £400 per year. His appointment was probably arranged by Lord Russell and/or Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland (1770-1845; DNB)—see Darwin Letters, II, 32. Hensleigh was hoping for a
"Secretaryship" early in 1838, when he was in London to dine with Carlyle and Erasmus Darwin at HM's. On that day Jane Baillie (Welsh) Carlyle (1801-66; DNB), wrote to Fanny that she hoped they would be back in London permanently, for others were "demoralized" in their absence. JW C to Fanny Wedgwood, 10 March 1838.

6. Sir Robert Inglis (1786-1855; DNB), well-known Tory MP, acquainted with Carlyle, Dickens, et al. Though an arch-conservative in politics, Inglis was genial and popular, enjoyed membership in a number of societies, and published works on various subjects.

7. The Royal Exchange burned down on 10 Jan 1838. See Auto., III, 215, for a detailed account.

8. Bryan Waller Procter (1787-1874; DNB), "Barry Cornwall," poet, playwright, and later biographer of Charles Lamb. He was part of the circle of HM's London acquaintances. The American was Mr. Osgood; see HM's diary (10 Jan 1838), Auto., III, 215.

9. HM's mother, Elizabeth (Rankin) Martineau (d. 1848), and Aunt Lee (d. 1840), sister of Thomas Martineau, HM's father, who had come to live with them at the death of her son in 1827. See Auto., I, 141.

10. Rebellions in both the Upper Province of Canada—among English-speaking settlers—and in the Lower Province—among the French—had flared up in 1837, over grievances against corrupt executive powers. John Russell, 1st Earl (1792-1878; DNB), who had played a vital part in the British Reform Bill of 1832, condemned the protesters and introduced a bill, 10 Jan 1838, to suspend the Constitution of Lower Canada. HM
makes this point about Lord Russell in *History of the Peace*, I, 330: "to call that treason in them ^the Canadians^ which he lauded as patriotism in analogous circumstances."

Febry 20th 38

Dear Fanny

I am going to dine at Col Fox's, and he will frank a parcel of any size; (except books,) and it is a good opportunity to send you a few things which may beguile an hour or two. But I am thinking that you may be better beguiled by your brother being with you. A. Ashburner arrived on Friday night; and Eras: and I think it very probable that your brother came in "the Europe" too. I should have known by this time, but that A.A. went into the country directly; so that I can't see her till Thursday. If he is with you, give my kind regards to him. — The things I send are in no hurry. Carlyle's note I forward in spite of the praise in it, because it is most characteristic; and because you know the difference between his views and mine too well to suppose that I say Amen to what he thinks of me and my business in life. The Pollens' letter is not like their usual letters, — it is so short and hurried, and so full of public affairs. They are very full of public affairs at present, evidently, and I think you will like to see what they say. Mrs. Chapman's letter I send as characteristic of a strong-minded abolition woman. You remember she was the
Secretary who read the Report, the day the ladies were mobbed. Was not she a noble soul? The clergy have begun a regular warfare against the women, offering resolutions against their activity in the General association of Clergy of Massachusetts, and several preaching against the teaching of women — (women teaching) aiming pointedly at the Grimkes and myself. This is the reason of the Liberator taking up the Rights of Women, as you will see in its Prospectus. It is already clear that the women will carry the day: and I anticipate that America will get right before we do about both the philosophy and practice of priesthood and womanhood. Edmund Quincy (see Liberator) is son of the Pres' of Harvard University! who, (the Pres') with wife and daughters, has ever been most insolent towards abolitionism. Whatever you may think of the taste of the speakers and writers, I think their industrious ascertainment of principle, their zeal, fortitude, and noble candour, and mutual plain-speaking, must interest you deeply. These arri'vals send a stream of fire thro' my whole soul. — The tract is to be shown to any who will help to circulate it. You have it already, I know.

Well, dear, how are you? I fear you have to support something of a struggle in spirits, in this time of doubt and suspense. Your husband looks well and cheerful too. I wish I could help him in his object, — help any of you anyhow. He talks of going into the pottery. Surely, with £500 pr an: and a house you would have enough to save you from all present anxiety. He would be busy
about business, and you with the bairns; and all you would have to bear would be the loss of London society, — a great loss, certainly; but not too much to bear for the privilege of a released conscience. We do and shall feel the loss of you very sadly; but we never complain. We should make ourselves unworthy of you if we did.

Eras: has borne it far better than I at all expected. He speaks often of you, which is good for him; and (I need not say) with all tenderness. He looks better than usual, and is in fine spirits. We had on Saty the best evening at the Carlyles* that we have had yet, talking chiefly on death, — kinds of death, anecdotes, ways of viewing it, ways of taking it, the true crucifixion story & c. Why do not people talk oftener of this matter which is, I am certain, the most interesting to anybody that the lips can open upon? I like Carlyle more and more, but — not his wife (entre nous.) She is so coquettish, so different when she and I are alone, and when others are by; and she breaks in with little jokes and wanting notice when we are talking as above. Yet I know her as a good, supporting wife to him, and a hopeful, efficient, lightedhearted pilgrim, who would come out noblest in the hardest turns of the journey. We go again on Monday next. — My book thrives marvellously;¹³ I should say gloriously, except that I have not the same interest in it as in the other.¹⁴ This will bring me literary success, — ie, staring and money, which I really think I don't care for, for many minutes together. I hope to see the other work for some time yet. — Do you
care about Toussaint L'Ouverture? I have been doing a
life of him (much wanted) for the Penny Magne. My
chief object is to get at the Southern States, where they
reprint the P.M. fearlessly, and will never dream of meeting
me. I hope a few hundred people there will learn
what a negro has been, and what other negros therefore may
be. I have only just sent my paper, and it may be re-
jected, so don't set anybody expecting it till it appears.
The old negro has given me three happy days, if he does no
further good. — John Mill did Canada in the London &
Westr, and I think very well. I am wholly a rebel in
the Canada affair. — Eras: pleads that there was no
freewill in his taking Mr Scott to Chelsea: but he
does not seem a whit the worse for it, — he neither hates
Mr S, nor has grown a saint. — Mrs Hutton thought Mrs
Marsh sadly excited and restless when she passed through.
I suppose it is a matter of nerves with her, and uncon-
trollable; but how weak seems interior agitation when our
doings are such trifles, and our objects of contemplation
so vast and serene! My sympathies are with the quietists,
while only they are active enough to be just to their
neighbors. I believe, more and more, that life and the
world are made to be a preparatory heaven for men who are
serene workers by day and sound sleepers at night. And
truly there must be much that is infernal in it to the
restless. But I know the nervous system has much to do
with the contrast: but how even that may be brought under
management by filling one's self with an Idea!

I did begin to hope that Ld Durham would not go to
Canada, where he will have no more power than a Commis-
of Inquiry, after all: but Lady Durham has engaged a
French milliner at £100 a year, — which looks too like
going.

I don't like to urge you to write; you have so much
to do; but I enjoy hearing from you very much. I hope
to have always a pretty clear view of your concerns as
they open out. — My mother and aunt have felt the cold
a good deal, and have neither gone out nor had anybody
here: and I have not urged either. I go out, to dinner
or evening, almost every day, and now and then bask all
the evening in study fire and books.

Good bye, dear Fanny, and Heaven bless you all!

Ever yours

H.M.

1. Col. Charles Richard Fox (1796-1873), son of Lord
Henry Holland, born (before his marriage) to Elizabeth
Vassall Fox, then wife of Sir Godfrey Webster. As MP
for Stroud 1835 he could frank HM's letter. Although not
a great intellect, he tried to make his home a literary
center. In a diary entry of 27 Dec 1837 HM speaks of
meeting him at the home of mutual friends, Auto., III, 208.
HM refers to a General Fox in Auto., I, 334, written 1855,
but this must be a mistake. Col. Charles Fox became a
general in 1863.

2. Not identified.

3. Dr. Charles Theodore Christian Follen (1796-1840; DAB),
German immigrant, first professor of German literature at
Harvard University, Unitarian preacher, lecturer on law, ethics and history. Eliza Lee (Cabot) Pollen (1787-1860; DAB), writer of children's books, antislavery tracts. When HM met the Pollens in 1835 Dr. Pollen had been forced out of Harvard for his stand in favor of abolition.


5. An account of the attempt of the Massachusetts clergymen to check the activites of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is in "The Martyr Age of the United States," pp. 37-40. Angelina (1805-79; DAB), and Sarah Grimké (1792-1873; DAB), daughters of a South Carolina slave-holding family who became Quakers, and then taught and freed their slaves. They later moved to Philadelphia and lectured widely on evils of the slave system.

6. The Liberator was the antislavery paper of William Lloyd Garrison (1805-79; DAB), radical leader of the Massachusetts abolitionists. One of several goals for 1838 stated in the "Prospectus" 29 Dec 1837, is to "redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition."

7. Edmund Quincy (1808-77; DAB), son of Harvard President Josiah Quincy (1772-1864; DAB), dedicated himself to the abolition cause as a result of the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy. He was a follower and co-worker of Garrison's.
See HM's diary entry for 18 Feb 1838, Auto., III, 219.
8. Blot in MS.
9. Not identified.
10. The family pottery business at Etruria.
11. Carlyle was shortly to begin the series of lectures (intended to relieve his financial distress), arranged for by HM and others. His subject was the whole of German literature from its beginning to the present.
13. Retrospect of Western Travel; see Auto., II, 106.
14. Society in America, which had a didactic purpose (see I, iv).
16. HM's work was no longer circulated in the South as a result of Society in America, an extended indictment of slavery.
18. The Rev. Alexander John Scott (1805-66; DNB), former assistant to the Rev. Edward Irving (1792-1834; DNB), who had been a friend of the Carlyles, a highly successful preacher, and founder of the Holy Catholic Apostolic
Dear Fanny,

The sight of your handwriting again made my heart leap. Thanks to Eras: D., I was pretty easy about you before; but this made me think I might see you before I go, — a thing I had quite given up.¹ I thought you would be too tired.

I will come and dine on Thursday. I will be with you

¹
by 5; but it does not follow that you may not dine later, if you like. I will not prevent your evening walk, but either walk with you or come home. Kiss poor Bro. for me, and believe me yours affectionately.

H. Martineau

Date: postmarked 3 June 1838. Address: Mrs H. Wedgwood / 43 Great Marlboro' St.

1. HM's destination for her short absence from London was a "Box Hill expedition" with friends, Auto., II, 118.

2. While the Wedgwoods were staying in London, the illness of Fanny's youngest son "Bro," James Mackintosh Wedgwood (1834-64), caused much anxiety. Hensleigh's sister Emma commented that Fanny was "overdone with the night's watching...

... It was the only time I saw her crying," Darwin Letters, I, 287-88.

In the year between these two letters HM contributed The Lady's Maid to Charles Knight's Guide to Service, 1838, and wrote a novel of domestic realism, Deerbrook, 3 vols., 1839. She attended the meeting of the British Association in Newcastle, 1838, and travelled in the Lake District and Scotland. In the spring of 1839 she went to the continent. As she travelled she absorbed impressions of localities to be used in her writing—for Knight's Pictorial Shakspere and, in a remote fortress in the Jura, France, for The Hour and the Man. In Venice, June 1839, HM's health collapsed. She was brought back to England by her brother James and
her brother-in-law Alfred Higginson, and taken immediately to Newcastle. There she was put under the care of Michael Thomas Greenhow, (1792-1881) surgeon and husband of her sister Elizabeth (1794-1850). She stayed with the Greenhow family until the end of 1839.

Newcastle. Sepr 14th 1839

My dear friend.

It is impossible to tell you what a pleasure your letter has been to me. What a luxury is such sympathy as yours! I am afraid I have given you pain on my account: but yet I do not repent it, for I am sure we both feel that to understand one another is far better, under any circumstances, than not feeling together. I am impatient to write to you, not only to thank you, but to assure you of my sympathy in your present uncomfortable feelings, and to give you all the comfort I can about myself. — I was at first sorry to hear that you were going to have another baby so soon, — (though I wish you plenty in the long run), — but a letter has just come in which has made me very happy for you, in prospect: James's wife was confined (at L.pool) yesterday morning, of a fine boy; and her little Herbert's (4 years old) first timid question, on seeing the baby, was, "but, mama, is it quite our own, to keep always?" Is not this delicious? This has made the aspect of your affairs very bright to me. I shall think of you perpetually till your time of relief and bliss comes, when I do trust Mr W. or somebody will write me the
news. The more I hear from any of you, before and after, the more thankful I shall be. — Somehow or other, my case seems more serious to you than to me, though all I wrote you is strictly true. I suppose one's own case, gradually recognized, naturally seems less worth feeling about than another person's: but I really cannot feel any fear or trouble yet about the future. How it may be when it overtakes me is another affair, but I believe I have suffered too much in life, in all manner of ways, to shrink from any prospect. My case remains as it was, — unless that I have, on the whole, rather more uneasiness and pain, am oftener faint &c, though sometimes, for days together, I feel almost well. I make myself as little as I can of an invalid, — come down to breakfast, walk a little, every day that I can, and scribble (as now) on all my best days. As for the rest, I read a little, work slippers, talk and enjoy extremely the talk of the children, — innocent, frank, affectionate thinking boys, of 8 and 10, full of schemes and speculations, and original thoughts. I have been reading the chief part of Pellico to them, and it has roused them from their depths, which are far from shallow. Fanny G. is the very most delicious girl (18) that ever came in my way; and she is always beside me. You speak of speculating on the happiness that may be mixed with my present experience. I will tell you wherein much of it lies. I am beyond expression thankful to find that both the kinds of life I have tried are as much as ever mine; — the literary and the domestic. You know what the literary has been, — how full of the pleasure of pursuit,
of intellectual exercise and success, and of the luxury of good society. Well: I now find that the domestic is just as good as ever. I have dropped back into it with intense satisfaction. They are all as kind and familiar as if I had never left them, and here is an unprovided future, just as before, and the sweet religious influences of daily life, as it is in the most domestic classes, and the absence of praise and publicity, and that close dependence upon the unseen which sickness and passive existence induce, — all these as of old, so familiar and dear, while there is leisure for ripening schemes for future work, whenever working days come again, as I feel pretty confident they will. I do not feel that I have brought away any clogs from my last state of existence, — no quarrels, no pension, (what a comfort!) no restless ambition, — only a strong and sometimes painful desire to know more of what my London friends are doing, and how they are faring. The only tender place is my anxiety about my mother. But that will be settled somehow, and we must be satisfied with the best we can devise for her. This is a terrible deal about myself, but I know you will like it better than less, — so I write it. — I shall beg Julia to answer anything you (your ownself) ask about me, and I tell you to ask what you like. You shall also hear from me, as I feel able to write. Today I am almost like other people. Say what you think proper to Eras: and other friends, for I know it will be exactly what is proper.

We hope to see Dr. Kay here, when he returns from
abroad, to see about improving our Newcastle education. It is a fine spirited place (glorious in its street architecture, as Julia will tell you) and capable of everything, if only there were less religious bigotry. The Dissenters happen to be the wisest folk, — the Evangelists and Puseyites the most numerous; so that there is so much counteraction, that very little is done. — I am going to begin Strauss, and see what I can make of him. — Have you seen the Opium-Eater's papers on the Lakers in Tait? They are very interesting, but, it seems to me, the most tremendous breech of confidence ever committed; — particularly the giving an account of the "most sublime passage" of Wordsworth's great posthumous work. I wonder what you think of Chorley's "Lion." I don't think it can live, but that there is good enough in it to make one hope he may do something that will. This reminds me, — you will like to know that Deerbrook keeps rising, slowly, but still indubitably rising. This is another thing which pleases me well. — I wanted, before I left, to know the grounds of Carlyle's condemnation of it, and was just going to talk it over with him, (for I know he would have told me, to my great benefit) when we were interrupted. I will make it out some day. I imagine he must think it of the wrong sort altogether, — too analytical, — and, I am not myself sure but that it is. — I must leave off, and send the hair to say the rest. My love and kisses to Snow and Bro, and kindest regards to Mr. W. and Eras: if he is at home. God bless you, my dear friend!

Yours ever,

H. Martineau
1. Fanny was in her seventh month of pregnancy; Katherine Euphemia, "Effie," was born Nov 1839. HM's condition had been diagnosed by a Venetian physician as either prolapse of the uterus or polypus tumour.

2. Née Helen Higginson (1804-77).

3. Silvio Pellico (1789-1854), The Imprisonments of Silvio Pellico . . . a New Translation, Edinburgh, 1839, "mental and moral autobiography" of a "Christian sufferer" during ten years as a political prisoner in Milan.

4. Although HM was not finally offered a pension after her Illustrations of Political Economy, 9 vols, 1834, the subject was brought up several times by influential friends. Her decision not to accept one is described in Auto., II, 174-79. She refused again in 1840 and 1841.

5. Julia Smith (1799-1883), youngest daughter of William Smith (1756-1835; DNB), Liberal MP for Norwich.

6. Dr. Sir James Phillips Kay, 1st baronet (1804-77; DNB), Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education which administered grants to school Societies. In 1842 he added his wife's name to his, which became Kay-Shuttleworth.

7. HM may have read a French translation of David Friedrich Strauss (1808-74), Das Leben Jesu, translated into English 1846.

8. Thomas De Quincey's (1785-1859; DNB), personal reminiscences and account of the "daily life and habits" of Wordsworth, his sister Dorothy, Coleridge and Southey appeared in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Jan-Dec 1838.

9. Wordsworth was still living; De Quincey, who admits not knowing whether he is "entitled to," quotes from the
"great philosophical poem" /The Prelude/ to be published after Wordsworth's death (p. 97).

10. Henry Fothergill Chorley (1808-72; DNB), The Lion: A Tale of the Coteries, 3 vols, 1839, a romance of a literary poseur. HM's later description of Chorley himself was "The most complete specimen of the literary adventurer of our time," Auto., I, 421.

11. Carlyle's recorded opinion of Deerbrook was "Very ligneous, very trivial-didactic, in fact very absurd for the most part," Webb, p. 185.

12. Frances Julia Wedgwood, "Snow" (1833-1913), Fanny's eldest daughter.

Newcastle upon Tyne
October 27th 39

My dear friend
I was somewhat disappointed, in the midst of my pleasure, at seeing your hand-writing this morning. I hoped a few lines from Mr W. or Eras: would be the next; and I have been looking for such these three weeks. /She is still concerned about Fanny's discomfort. Her sister Elizabeth joins in wishing Fanny "well through" her confinement./ I just heard from the Marshal, from Hallsteads, that Carlyle had spoken of me to them,1 — but not another word of him. 0 those 4 vols.!2 I hope, to be sure, that he has sent them to me. Don't you suppose he has? If so, I hope I may soon see them — but not otherwise, for I can't afford any luxuries with such a dark future before
me. But I think he certainly would send them to me. I have not seen the L. & Westr yet either, but hope to do so this week. I do sometimes wish for my library here, where it costs trouble to other people to get books for me, and yet I have done well enough of late with Montaigne, and a bit of Molière with the boys, now and then, and I Promessi Sposi with Fanny, discovering thereby that I can read Italian almost like French or English, which I was not aware of. This seems to open much pleasure.

[She is now too ill to go out; her brother-in-law worries about her lack of "air and exercise." There is no suffering at present worth afflicting oneself about; and indeed, except crowds of bad dreams, and the surprise of a sense of incapacity sometimes, there is little to quarrel with in my state. I am even doing the Dress-maker for Knight's series, — by slow degrees, — a few pp. as I feel able: but it is tiresome being so long about a thing, and I doubt whether I shall attempt anything more. And yet again, it is difficult to refuse an easy thing like that, sure to be useful when time is given, and full liberty in every way. The technical details are furnished (subject to my selection &c) by a professional person: and I think the morals of needle-women a subject of such immense importance, that I am thankful to have this vehicle for some of the things I want to say. When this is done, I think I shall just dream over the subject of my next novel, and write no more till my hand is strong, if ever that time is to come. I gave Knight some scraps of notes for his Pictorial Shakspere —, — the Shrew, Merchant, and Othello,
pretty work, which steeped me in Italy for the hour.

Did you ever study fully any girl of 18? (I don't mean such silent ones as that desolate Scotch girl you had so long with you once.) Is there any study so charming — in the world? I wonder whether you or I ever were worth so much to anybody at 18 as this niece of mine is to me. I do not treat her rightly though. She is so melting, that I have the constant feeling that she must find out all I think of her. She is wholly unspoiled, however, and to meet her angel countenance at every turn, to have her hand smoothing everything for me, all day long, and to hear her voice, reasoning or laughing with her little brother, is almost an oppression of luxury. I cannot think how her parents bear the passion of love they must have for her. It is delicious to be always talking with her as with a woman, sure of sympathy, while she has all the freshness of an infant; and the fun of a school girl. I think I never saw such an only daughter. — You will excuse all this, and even like it as an account of one of my great pleasures.

My mother will not be home these two or three weeks. She leaves us for Liverpool tomorrow, — improved in spirits, and certainly not worse in sight. One at a time of my sisters will be with her this winter, and we avoid thinking of the Spring till we see what happens first. — What a funny idea is that of Carlyle being Moral Philosophy Professor, — a business which requires logic so especially! What fatal rhapsodies would he have given instead! fatal to his reputation with all but too few to sustain a professor, and to the youths under him, except one in a thousand who might be born and reared so inveterately reasonable as to
take home all that would be glorious, and, though youthful, eschew all that would be irreconcileable, and arrange all that would be confused. It seems, however, as if we must get a seraph down to undertake our Moral Philosophy, — such a state as it is in between the old intentions, and the middle-time expediency, and the still cloudy advent of new or (renovated) principles of a higher order. I trust some genius is in the quarry of this or the next century, destined to present some ideal of Morals which we may recognize, tho' at present merely waiting for it: but Carlyle is not that one, must assuredly. Yet how thankful he makes one for even his partial sympathy! What a heart-warming it gives me to read him — to read any of his former things for one cannot say much for his later. I sometimes sadly doubt his doing much more. However, few of us are so wise as not to have to get much yet from his old writings.

Is not "Cinq Mars" very fine? I should like to read more of De Vigny. — We were too near to Penrith, as to time, by rail-road, to be taken in about L. Brougham. Don't you think it was his own doing? The Follens write that the Anti-Slavery cause prospers, in the midst of every sort of difficulty. I don't see when they are likely to come, and I quite look to the next life as our greeting place or time. Though we carry our heaven and hell about with us here, and so far should perhaps need no change, if our bodies would serve us for 1000 years, yet this free meeting and greeting which we hope for beyond these is enough to make us eager, and glad that we get on so quickly
towards our graves. Don't you like to feel the Token certainty that, at the utmost, we are above half way through our beginning times — our embarrassed introduction to one another, and that the real intimacy becomes more and more of a prospect, and less of a vision every year?

I wish Eras would manage himself as he likes. He was better last year than usual, don't you think so? If worse under new treatment, why not go back to the old? I wish he would. Do let us have one another's thoughts of James's lectures, some day. He is making a hymn-book, a rare beauty of a collection, I hear.¹³

You must be tired by this time, and I ought to go to bed, so good night!

I shall fancy you tonight with your baby on your arm. My blessing on it. Love to the other children and kindest regards to Mr W. and Erasmus. God bless you!

Ever your affec

H. Martineau

No letter from the Carlyles yet.

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Address: Mrs Hensleigh Wedgwood/16 Gower St.
1. John Marshall, former MP for Yorkshire, linen and flax manufacturer; used as the type of a model factory owner by Carlyle in Past and Present. His son, James Garth Marshall (1802-73), later MP for Leeds, also a manufacturer and long-time friend and patron of HM and her causes. They had a home at Hallsteads, Cumberland.
2. Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Boston, 1838.
3. HM had studied Italian some years before; see Auto.
4. Charles Knight (1791-1873; DNB), publisher; The Guide to Trade, 10 parts, 1838-1844; see diary entry 1839, Auto., III, 227. HM also wrote The Milliner, 1840.

5. The Hour and the Man, 1841.

6. 8 vols, 1839; see Auto., II, 134-5.

7. She was developing cataracts.

8. Carlyle had unsuccessfully applied for a Professorship at St. Andrews University Jan-Feb 1823. When his "admirer," John Fringle Nichol (1804-59; DNB), Regius Professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow, recommended that he become a candidate for the Moral Philosophy Professorship fallen vacant there, Carlyle declined; Marrs, pp. 255-56, 258-60, 262, 472.

9. Blot in MS.

10. The Marquis de Cinq-Mars' story is told by Alfred deVigny (1797-1863), in works reviewed by John Stuart Mill, Westminster Review, 29 (April 1833), 1-44. Cinq-Mars was a late favorite of Louis XIV, supported and then betrayed by Richelieu.

11. Lord Henry Peter Brougham, Baron Brougham and Vaux (1773-1868; DNB), controversial Whig politician, one of HM's bête noires; see Auto., I, 175-76, 217-24, 309-14, 322, 350; II, 174-77. Brougham was overturned in his carriage 21 Oct 1839 and next day London papers carried his obituary notice, with some uncomplimentary remarks. It was claimed that he had planned the mistake to see public reaction. His home was Brougham Hall, near Penrith, Cumberland.
12. Dr. Follen hoped to lecture in England.

13. James was lecturing on the "Liverpool Controversy," a series which began 3 Feb, on the infallibility of inspired authors, atonement, the Christian view of evil, and the truth of prophetic Christianity. *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home*, 1840, was introduced to his chapel 1 Nov. See Drummond and C.P. Upton, I, 97-106, 112.

Newcastle Decbr 12th [1839]

Dear Fanny

I could hardly have believed beforehand that I should let your baby be six weeks old before I wrote to welcome her into this wondrous life of ours: but I could not help it; and — you must give her a kiss and blessing for me now, if you have not done it before; from a certainty that I was thinking of her and you. Pray thank Mr. Wedgwood from me for writing to tell me the news. I was much obliged to him, and also for the kindness of his letter. Dear Fanny, why do you let those eternal morning callers weary you, and break up your time and your rest? Why don't you shut them out sometimes, or for some hours of every day till you get strong? I want you to like a London life, and to settle down into it till you never dream of living further off; and for this, as well as other reasons, rather less selfish, I should like you to keep well and strong this first winter. We have notice to quit our house next Michaelmas, as the rest of our street is coming down. I have been thinking how nice it would be
for us to live somewhere near you. So many of my mother's and aunt's, as well as my friends live thereabouts, that I think it would suit us all. I believe there are some pretty cheap houses about Regent Square, or some unfashionable parts near. But her future is "totally obscure;" the last seven years "of ease, health and worldly prosperity" having been "a wonderful exception to the usual course of my life." I could and should have written sooner but that the little use I could make of the pen was all due, in the first place, to the affair of the Oberlin. I have done my utmost for that, and, I trust, with good promise of success. Many seem to be at work about it, and with good effect now that the Corporation of London has done itself such honor by the support it has given to the object. Did you hear that they have presented the Oberlin with £200, and passed a strong vote in honor of the abolitionists? Some time ago, the delegates had sent over £1700. I was very glad to see Miss Wedgwood's name in the list of donors. The delegates are coming here, and I mean to see them. I dreamed, the other night, that they were here, and Garrison with them. Alas! when he was just beginning to speak to me, it proved only a dream. There is to be a public meeting here about it, when W.E. Dawes comes, and the Mayor is coming to talk it over with me. I hope for a good harvest from it. I trust there is now no fear of our being disgraced by carelessness in a matter on which we have spoken so many words that we may now bear out by deeds. I much wish to see the institution extended so as to bear some proportion to the wants of the anti-slavery cause; and
it is a yet greater object than this to make our testimony shine in the eyes and ring in the ears of the slave-holders. Every £100 sent from this country, in these times, will be the writing on the wall to the Southern legislatures. — By the way, I wish for Capn Marryat's own sake, that he had taken pains to get good information about my intercourse with slave-holders before he committed himself against me in print. In no transaction of my life have I been more scrupulous and deliberate than in those of my southern journey. If he had asked any one of my hosts and hostesses, he would have heard from them that they invited me to their homes because I had written "Demerara," and they wished me to see slavery more closely than I could have done as an ordinary traveller, passing from inn to inn: that, it was agreed between us beforehand that I was at perfect liberty to give the results of my enquiry in any form; and that I warned all that I intended, when I should reach the northern states, to hear the abolitionist side of the question. The matter is of little or no importance to me, because the gossip of foes was current before, and the case is fully understood by all really concerned; but I am sorry that Capn M. should have done what it will, sooner or later, give him pain to think of. I have not seen his book, and speak now from the quotations and animadversions I have seen in reviews. I have sometimes thought I ought to write down a brief statement of what I did, and what others did to me, in that slavery matter. It seems a sort of duty to protect from degrading imputation the character of any advocate of a great moral cause, even if it be one's
own: and if I were to die, leaving only one witness of
the whole of my conduct on that question, and no statement
of my own, it might appear as if a good end had been sought
by unjustifiable means, by one person who was honored by
the confidence of the abolitionists. I had much rather
not; but don't you think I ought?

I beg you to thank E. Darwin from me for his very kind
letter. It gave me very great pleasure, and the more
because it was quite unexpected. I shall certainly not
scruple to ask anything of him that he can do for me.
To begin, will he or you tell me in your next what Italian
dictionary you consider the best? Our Fanny's is a bad
one, and I want a better for her. If I can devise any
means of procuring myself the only indulgence I have not,
a good supply of books, without much cost, — I shall
probably ask E. D's help about a London arrangement. The
Literary Society here buys only one copy of each new book,
and it is weeks, or more likely months, before we can
get any. The circulating libraries have nothing but bad
novels; and the book societies are in the hands of evan-
gelical folk, who admit only religious biographies & c.
I must see if I cannot open some channel; and if I can,
I won't scruple troubling my friends with an errand or two.
But I have little hope. Meantime, I have Carlyle's 4 vols, I
am thankful to say. — I dread seeing his pamphlet or book. 8
But he tells me the matter in it has been lying heavy in his
head and heart for 10, 20 or 40 years. If so, one cannot
object to the utterance. He says I shall believe some,
and forgive the rest. I doubt not either, but still there
may be much to grieve for. I may be quite wrong in my forebodings, however. He has sent me a most kind and beautiful letter.

My love to Snow and Bro. Of the others, the one won't remember me, and the other is "rather new," as Fanny⁹ said of a baby, when she was little better herself. Farewell, dear friend. My kind regards to Mr. W.

Yours ever affectly

H. Martineau

1. HM's mother and aunt lived at 17 Fludyer St., London, in a house HM had occupied with them from Sept 1833 until her move to Newcastle; Auto., I, 180.

2. See The Martyr Age of the United States of America. With an appeal on behalf of the Oberlin Institute in aid of the abolition of slavery . . . by the Newcastle on Tyne Emancipation and Aborigines Protection Society, Newcastle on Tyne, 1840.

3. Hensleigh's eldest sister, Sarah Elizabeth (1793-1880). The Wedgwood family's support of the antislavery cause dated from their grandfather's, Josiah Wedgwood's (1730-95; DNB), contribution to the movement.

4. William E. Dawes and John Keep collected £30,000 (£6,000) for the Oberlin cause in Great Britain, 1839-40; see Temperley, p. 206.

5. Frederick Marryat (1792-1848; DNB), A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions, 3 vols, 1839, a pro-slavery, unfavorable view of American democracy. He claims that HM was in the South under false colors.
6. Illustrations of Political Economy, IV, has a slave heroine. It condemns slavery from a Utilitarian point of view.

7. HM did retell her antislavery story in Auto., II, 1-92.

8. Chartism, 1840 ⏷ 1839 ⏷


Newcastle

Jan'ry 17 ⏷ 1840 ⏷

My dear friend.

The sight of your handwriting is delightful. I should have written again and again, but that I had a misgiving that all was not right, and did not know at what moment a letter might drop in: I hope you will all go on better than you have done. I did not know about Mrs Charles.¹ My best wishes to them and their baby. I shall be sure to think of them on the 29th.² But I most want to write about Mary Appleton, — sweet creature as she is! It was no news to me,³ for the Follens had written as follows. After saying that Mr. Furness⁴ had preached an Abolition sermon, and how Fanny Butler⁵ felt about it, Mrs Pollen goes on, "Her heart is all right about it. So is Mary Appleton's. Think of her being engaged to Mr. Mackintosh. Never was man more improved by being engaged, and never did two people seem happier than they. They came out here (East Lexington) the day after it was made public, saying they knew none of their friends would be so much interested as we. We saw much of the Appletons⁶ last
winter. They are of the right sort, and we love them dearly.” Mary A. is beautiful in my eyes. Fanny Butler used to say she was Portia. She is winning, sweet, simple, and most thoroughly domestic. Never was a more beautiful sight than her nursing of a brother who died of consumption, — her cheerfulness, and the perfect understanding between them as to what was to be the end, and how it was to be regarded. It was summer time; and she had a cot for him put by the window, that he might enjoy to the last the air and flowers; and, shrunk as he was, she could carry him to and fro, and did so, even with gaiety, and never let him have a dull hour. I believe there is not a sweeter creature breathing. Yet she has been a belle for long. How glad I am that I know these things! How you will enjoy reading them! I am sorry there is no post today. You need not have five minutes' constraint with her. She is simple, frank and affectionate as can be, and I never saw or heard of a fault in her. She was at the Stockbridge wedding I told of in the "Retrospect;" and before we went (or else another evening) we read one of Carlyle's articles, at the T. Sedgwicks. My pleasure was seeing Mary A's face every time I looked up from my reading, — so beautiful, so all alive, as Cath: Sedgwick was caressing her. She seems to belong to everybody she comes near. How proud I shall be henceforth of having helped your brother over to America, — by answering his questions: — I fear that is the extent of my merit: but that was doing something. — He will be a happy man, I doubt not: for the thing he most wanted was to be heartily
and worthily in love. When I was in America, Mr Appleton was considered very rich: but there is no telling how anyone stands, as to fortune, since the recent changes. But they have the air of prudent, well-doing people. I see no reason to doubt that all will be well with them. Pray tell them, when you write, of my hearty pleasure at the news, and of my good wishes.

"Chartism" gave me more pleasure and less pain than I expected in the reading: but the more I think it over, the worse it looks. There is a fine sympathy with the many at the bottom; but it is stuck all thro', with prejudices and bits of injustice, as thick as a tipsy cake with almonds; and the excessive conceit, connected with want of knowledge, will do him harm. I think it will do no other harm, and a great deal of good. Nobody will follow him where he is wrong; and, tho' his truths have been said before, and in plainer English, they will, I think, strike and work upon many who have passed over other expositions and remonstrances. Of the many bad things in it, nothing is worse than his overlooking what the Poor Law Commissioners have done for Education, and, again, his insolence to the Irish. I don't believe in the excessive immigration of Irish, nor (supposing we managed wisely) in the overpeopling of England. But I need not point out these things to you. There is a quantity of beauty in it, after all. Robertson complains bitterly that Carlyle will go on declaring (against warning) that the London & West is to cease, — whereas no such thing is yet settled. It so happens, Carlyle told me so, as a matter of fact, but I have not let R. know
this. If it is as R. says, it is too bad of Carlyle; and indeed, amidst all the beauty and glory that is in him, I fear we cannot but see a great increase of self-will and conceit of late. Yet I struggle against this.

As to Capn Marryat, — his last attack must satisfy everybody that he is too low for notice. I fear he does not himself believe that I reviewed him in the Edinburgh: I never wrote a line there, and have not, to this hour, seen either of his books on America. I did not before think of exactly answering him, because it is a rule with me never to do so: but I thought of leaving, or preparing in case of need, a statement of the terms I was on with the slave holders: but I think there is enough in my books to satisfy fair-minded people. Attacks which have no truth in them are not irritating at all. The irritation is in the mixture of truth which makes one doubt one's self. At least, so I find it. Capn M's are most satisfactorily false throughout. I find reports are abroad, (it is supposed from him) that I am in an awful state of depression of spirits, in consequence of uncomfortable letters from America. It so happens that all the letters I have had for many months have been full of good news, without any mixture of bad. One thing you will like to know. "Deerbrook" has converted my enemies in multitudes, — people, I suppose, who believed all the idle things they heard upon the abolition subject, and have now begun to read for themselves. As for spirits, I have not had a heavy day ever since I entered this house. There is not, I believe, a merrier family party in England.
HM is philosophical about her suffering; she plans a move to Tynemouth, for a sea view. I think it likely I may write one other book, let this matter end as it may. I have it full in my head and heart; and I fancy that I may do it gently and easily in my seaside lodging, where I think I shall go about the end of March. But I won't hurt myself with work — I think the Pollens want to come, if he could be engaged to lecture in London, so as to pay expenses. What think you? I will soon write a bit more about this and the Oberlin, which is too long a story for today.

You shall hear often, and sometimes very briefly. I could not deny myself today.

God bless you all! My kindest regards to Eras: and Mr Wedgwood. I fear E.D. is very word blotted] Mention him fully whenever you write. I should like to see that Athenaeum. I see it often but have not seen that. Love to the children.

Yours ever —

H.M.

What is "Ernest," and what about the author? I am wholly ignorant as far as I know. — No, I now remember all about it. I do know him, but not the review. Where is it?

Date: from her allusion to Wedgwood family events, see below.
1. A baby was born to Hensleigh's sister Emma (1808-96), now Mrs. Charles Darwin, 27 Dec 1839. He was William Erasmus (1839-1914), Darwin Letters, II, 44.
2. Unidentified allusion.
3. Mary Appleton had become the wife of Robert, Fanny's
4. The Rev. William Henry Furness (1802-96; DAB), Unitarian minister from Philadelphia visiting in New York on HM's arrival Sept 1834; Auto., III, 113. In 1825 he had become the first pastor of the church established by Joseph Priestley 1796. He was the model for HM's idealistic hero, Edward Hope, in Deerbrook.

5. The former Frances Anne Kemble (1809-93; DNB), daughter of actor Charles Kemble, who had performed on the American stage and had married an American Southerner, Pierce Butler, in 1834. She had shown HM her antislavery Journal of F.A. Butler, 1835, before its publication.

6. Nathan Appleton (1779-1861; DAB), had built a fortune on cotton cloth manufacture. With associates he had founded Lowell, Massachusetts, the model factory community visited by HM (see Mind Amongst the Spindles: a selection from the Lowell Offering, 1844, pp. xvii-xxii) as well as other manufacturing centers, using power machinery operated by cheap female labor.

7. Retrospect of Western Travel, I, 100-5.

8. Theodore Sedgwick (1780-1839; DAB), brother of Catherine Maria Sedgwick. The friendship with Catherine did not outlive HM's published comments that she compromised with public opinion (Society in America, III, 261n) and that her books were "humble but vital little works," Westminster Review, 28.

9. MS reads "emigration."

10. John Robertson (d. 1875), protegé of John Stuart Mill, nominal editor of Westminster Review from April 1837 to
1840, when Mill gave up control.

11. The Westminster Review was sold to William Edward Hickson (1803–70; DNB), June 1840.

12. In a letter to Lady Blessington, Marryat claimed that HM had "unsexed" herself by writing on the U.S. and that she was a "champion of the worst species of democracy and infidelity;" he believed that she had "paid him off" in the Edinburgh Review. See Oliver Warner, Captain Marryat. A Rediscovery, 1953, pp. 133–35, and William Empson, "Captain Marryat's Diary in America" Edinburgh Review, 70 (Oct 1839), 123–49. The "other" book was A Diary in America ... Part Second, 3 vols, 1839.

13. After publication of Society in America, 1836, HM received insulting letters from the U.S., as well as packets with dirt or stones in them on which postage was due.


15. Capel Lofft, the younger (1806–73; DNB), Ernest; or, Political Regeneration, 1839, a "Chartist epic poem," badly printed and withdrawn from circulation; reviewed by Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868; DNB), Quarterly, 65 (Oct 1838), 133–93. HM admired Lofft but later labelled this work "too seditious for publication," Auto., I, 416–17.
My dear friend.

The sight of your handwriting gave me so much pleasure that I cannot but hope soon to see it again. I guessed why you did not write, and would have sent you a line but that I could not to you write without mentioning what my whole heart was occupied with (as I easily could to some people,) and was not quite equal to it; and I have also been very uneasy about the state of things at home. There is now little suspense there. We feel that we must lose our dear old aunt,¹ who, has been more to us than you could easily believe, — as you must have looked upon her merely as a very old lady. A more benignant being does not exist, and her example of a placid and self-forgetting old age will not be lost upon any of us who may live to be old. The account today leaves little or no hope that we shall ever see her again. If so, we trust my mother will break up housekeeping and commit herself to the care of her children for the rest of her days. My sister Ellen is there, and a good nurse besides, so my mother will have leisure to get well herself, after having been, to judge from her letters, very much otherwise.

I have had no letters from America yet, and never did I so hunger for tidings. I only know one particular, — that at first Charley comforted his mother, talking according to his habitual belief and hope: but on thinking more, he recoiled, and said "it was too horrible:" "he never should think God good again."² There is a strange comfort in knowing even this much. The bitterest thought is that
boy. I had the highest hopes from him: and now I must to a great extent, give them up. His desolate mother will do all she can; but no one who knew what his father's influence was can hope for anything like it from any other. Considering his mother's frail health, I doubt her long surviving; and then, who is there? She describes Dr. Follen as her "very nearest friend, guide and guardian" whom she now looks forward to meeting in another life.

You will soon have from Julia Smith a beautiful sermon of Mr. Dewey's on the event, with some accounts of Dr. F. I thought you would like to see them. When read, please forward them to "Mrs. G.R. Porter / Norwood Lane, Dulwich."

It has been a real comfort to talk over Charles with the dear children here, whose little hearts are still full of it. Their great festival of the year is Valentine's Eve, and I took the greatest care that the merriment should not be the less for one of my cares. It went off well: but a fortnight after, Willy said "What a pity, aunt, that your Valentine's Eve should have been all spoiled!" I asked him what made him think so. "Oh, I sat near you, and I knew, all the evening, what you were thinking about."

I saw that he took a great deal of care of me, but I never suspected he was reading my thoughts, while his 12 presents were pouring in. — I have told you so much about myself, dear Fanny, just because I could not help it. I have said nothing to many whom I know perhaps better, and love very much. Her state is much the same although just now she is "above par." On the 16th, I move to Tynemouth, after which my address will be at "12 Front St.
Tynemouth, Northumberland. I shall, however, be in constant communication with this house.

Pray thank Eras: D. for sending me Mazzini's review. It delighted us, and I have told Mrs. Carlyle, who quizzed it to me, that she won't get me to laugh at it. I should like to know what you think of her. She is most kind to me, and I honour her on some accounts, but her scepticism is, with me, a bar to all confidence. Her inaccuracy is mischievous; but that might be mended. I grieve more over the scepticism she strives to manifest, while I fully believe that there is some sound faith at the bottom of her soul. She could not have sustained herself and him all this time without it. I am glad she considered my note "a long letter." I shall feel more easy under my poor replies to her very kind and entertaining letters.

Pray let me know as soon as you have anything to tell of your brother and his Mary. How their new happiness would be sobered by the loss which you must be feeling on their account, as well as mine and the world's! The Follens loved Mary Appleton. Tell me always of Eras: He has had a sad winter of it, I fear. Let us hope that the summer may do much. — James has no thought whatever of leaving Liverpool. He may probably take the Intellectual Philosophy chair at the Manchester College, if it involves only one day's absence from Liverpool per week. Otherwise not. I wish it may be so, that his rich and rare powers may be made of their full use. — The article on American Philosophy is Milnes'. I have not seen it yet, but a parcel is coming from Fludyer St in a few days, when I hope to
have it and other treasures. How do you like the Robin Hood?  

I liked the Athenaeum on Chartism much. Thank you for sending it. One has great pleasure in reading the Athenaeum, — the spirit is so good. We like Blackwood on Deerbrook. I wonder who did it. I was not surprised; for I knew the tone of Blackwood himself in private about me.  

My love to the children. Is it true that you are going to remove?  

With kindest regards to Mr. W, I am ever your affectionate

H.M.

The Oberlin cause flourishes. There are strong hopes of doubling the £3000 sent out.

Date: from her reference to Dr. Follen’s death, see below.

1. Aunt Lee.

2. HM has been shaken by the death of Dr. Follen, in the explosion of the steamboat Lexington, 13 Jan 1840. "Charley" was Charles Christopher Follen (b. 1830), who had figured rather charmingly in HM’s account of a trip taken with the Follens to Niagara Falls and through Lake Michigan to Mackinaw Island in 1836; Society in America, I, 312–64; II, 1–28.

3. Mrs Follen lived until 1860.

4. The Rev. Orville Dewey (1794–1882; DAB), Unitarian minister, correspondent of James Martineau. HM must have sent Dewey’s sermon to make the rounds of her friends.

5. Sarah (Ricardo) Porter (1791–1862; DNB), writer on education; sister of David Ricardo and wife of George Richardson Porter (1792–1852; DNB), political economist.
and co-founder of the Statistical Society (of which HM was dubious).

6. Guiseppe Mazzini (1805-72), Italian political exile, arrived in London 1837 to carry on a campaign for Italian freedom through his writings. He became a friend and admirer of Carlyle, and the center of a group of devoted supporters, including Jane Carlyle and Fanny Wedgwood. "Carlyle's Chartism" laments the unclear and inconclusive nature of Carlyle's beliefs and ideas though conceding that Chartism is thought-provoking and bound to do good; Tait's, 7 (Feb 1840), 115-20.

7. Robert passed the place where the Lexington had sunk an hour afterwards; Robert Mackintosh to Emma Darwin, 1 April 1840.

8. Manchester College affiliated with the University of London Oct 1840. James became Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy.

9. Monckton Milnes, later 1st Baron Houghton (1809-85; DNB), "Indication of Philosohic Progress in America," Foreign Quarterly Review, 24 (Jan 1840), 279-87, praises the moral idealism of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888; DAB), transcendental philosopher. For HM's friendship with Milnes see Auto., I, 342-44; III, 238, 240-41, and (for the poem he wrote to her), 243.


11. George Stovin Venables (1810-88; DNB), "Miss Martineau—Deerbrook," Blackwoods, 47 (18 Feb 1840), 177-83, an
opinionated survey of HM's books: Illustrations of Political Economy have good descriptions but artificial teaching; her two books on America show disloyalty to her own country, religious permissiveness, and no understanding of the aristocracy or respect for opposing views; Deerbrook, however, shows a high sense of morality and approaches Austin [sic] in its portrayal of children, domestic life, and ordinary people. HM probably means John Blackwood (1818–79; DNB), in charge of the London office of Blackwoods; he succeeded his brother Alexander as editor of the magazine 1845.

12. Fanny and Hensleigh lived in a number of different houses over the years.

Tynemouth
May 30th [1840]

Dear Fanny,

HM is greatly troubled about Erasmus' deteriorating health. I hope your sister-in-law's illness will prove of little consequence. There is no wonder in it after beating up the channel for five days. I trust she is well by this time. Pray do give my kind regards and hearty good wishes to them both.

From dear Snow's letter and yours together I gather that you have been fancying coming here. I dare not now hope that it can be. If it could, it would be truly a joyful event, both for its own sake, and because then Eras: must be better.
Farewell, dear friend. I love your letters, whether they bring pleasure or sorrow. With kindest regards to Mr. W. I am your affectionately,

H.M.

Snow's was a nice letter, and I do like children's letters: so I hope it will not be the last.

Date: see next letter, note 2.
1. Robert and his new bride had returned to England.

Saty night (?summer 1840)

Dear friend

I must send one line of thanks and guidance, tho' my poor weak head is bewildered, — with a proof still to do, and Robertson just come, with a huge pile of new books and letters, — overpowering to look at.¹ — I write to say, not merely "welcome" by anticipation, but to beg you to drop one line to my sister, — "Mrs T.M. Greenhow — Eldon Square, Newcastle," if it is possible for you to tell the time of your arrival at Newcastle. Her husband will meet you, and put you into the Tynemouth train:² — or, at worst, her servant will. If you cannot do this, you have only to go straight to the Shields railway station, whence trains start for Tynemouth every half hour, I think: and then the cars and omnibus will bring you within a few doors of me.

I should advise your coming straight here, (No 12) whatever time of day you arrive. I can ensure you a clean
attic, with a good bed in it, under this roof; so that you can take time to suit yourself with a lodging, with the advantage of my landlady for your guide. In my sitting-room, O how welcome you will be, dear Fanny! None of my friends have found the least difficulty in getting here. I shall tell my sister to expect to hear from you. She knows you well, and will enjoy shaking hands with you, and helping you in any way. — Eras: must understand the same on his own account, when he comes.

All my dear friends are welcome to my sister and her husband.

Poor Snow! My love to her. I hope she is well again. I wrote to you last night to Maer. Ever yours, kind friend,

H. Martineau

Date: see below, note 2.

1. HM had begun The Hour and the Man 2 May 1840. Although feeling "extreme exhaustion," she succeeded in finishing the last proof-sheet 17 Nov 1840; Auto., II, 156-57. Robertson's editorship of the Westminster Review had ended; his activities at this time have not been traced.

2. HM had moved to Tynemouth, 16 March 1840.

3. Mrs. Halliday.

Tynemouth
Sept. 30th [1840]

Dear Snow,

I was very glad to have your note, and I should have
been more glad still if it had not brought the bad news that
your papa was very ill.² I am very sorry indeed. I hope
somebody will send me just a few lines soon, to tell me
how he is.

I have a favour to ask of you, dear Snow. Will you,
when you have time, make a list for me of the stories and
story-books that you and Bro like best? I should like,
too, to know what you like least. If you put down
"Parents' Assistant,"³ put down not only the book itself,
but how you like the separate stories in it. I have been
asking my nephews and nieces everywhere to do the same
thing; and it will be of use to me. When I have your
list, I will tell you what I want it for.⁴ I assure you,
however, that I am not going to print it.

EM tells the story of the "little maid" Jane Arrowsmith,
aged fifteen, who has a "very wicked father" and whose
mother is dead. In two recent emergencies, Jane quietly
and bravely cared for bedridden patients while keeping
the rest of the household going. She is also watchful
of HM's condition and "wishes I would ring for her in the
night, to make me comfortable." ⁵

Jane is very fond of reading, — clever as she is
about the house. Her aunt says her greatest temptation
is to be at her book when there is work to be done. But
I never see her out of her duty. She can be merry too;
and I like to make her laugh sometimes, she has so many
things to make her grave. I see her sometimes as she
goes for the milk, or to the post-office, and she trips
along, as if she felt merry; and I hope she does, for she
deserves to be very happy.

Would not you like, dear Snow, to come next summer and see Jane? I should not be very much surprised if you do.

Give my love to Bro, and kiss Erny and baby. I do not think anybody has told me her name yet; and I should like to know it.

I am, dear Snow,

Your affectionate friend,
Harriet Martineau

Date: a contemporary note remarks "Answered . . . 23 Nov 40." Address: Miss F. J. Wedgwood.
1. The first of several extant letters to Snow, ending 1871.
2. Hensleigh also suffered rather chronic ill-health.
3. Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849; DNB), The Parent’s Assistant, 1796 6 vols, 1800, stories meant to teach by example, with a conscious application of Locke’s theories about the development of the faculties.
4. HM is evidently planning The Playfellow, 4 vols, 1841, “the light and easy work, (for which alone I was now fit)”; see Auto., II, 159-61, 168-69. The tales are summarized by Webb, pp. 204-5.

Tynemouth

Febry 17th 1841

Dear Snow

I really am much obliged to you for sending me letters,
particularly as you do not expect me to answer every one. If you or Bro (whom I find, I must now call Macky) will write to me sometimes when your mama is ill or busy, I shall be very much pleased. It is rather sad, however, that somebody is always ill when you write. If your mama had not been able to put in that she was better, your last would have made me very sad. — I am glad you like my stories, — particularly the last, as there are not to be any more.

I find I like reading stories far better than writing them. I have been reading a very sad one lately, — Capn Grey's discoveries in Australia. There is an anecdote there which shows how little some people are in the habit of regarding savages as men. Capn Grey had been obliged in self-defence to kill a native. He was very sorry for this: and when he was lying, wounded and ill and in low spirits, in his tent, a kind-hearted sailor, named Ruston, came often to talk to him and serve him. Ruston thought he saw that the death of this native weighed on Capn Grey's mind, and so he tried to comfort him, and said, "I say, Sir, I should not think so much of having shot that there black man. They seem to me very thick and plentiful up the country." — I am afraid the black man's mother and wife would not find it any comfort that a good many more were left when he was killed.

I am glad to hear that Erasmus is a member of the Athenaeum. I am not at all surprised that there was not one black ball. I never heard of anybody that did not like him; and he is always so kind to everybody that it
would be a wonder if he had an enemy in the world.

I wish you could see my flowers, now so brilliant in
the sun. I have ten tulips in full blow, and three noble
hyacinths, and a few crocuses. Some fine narcissus, and
more hyacinths are coming forward nicely. Have you any
flowers at home?

Or do you do what I cannot, — walk out to gardens to
see them? I hope Effie² will be better long before you
write again. Give her a kiss for me, and believe me, dear
Snow,

Your affectionate friend

Harriet Martineau.

Date: consistent with "1841" added in another hand.

1. Sir George Grey, Journals of Two Expeditions of
Discovery in North West and Western Australia, 1837-1839,
2 vols, 1841.
2. The baby, Katherine Euphemia.

Friday night /"Aug-Sept 1841/

Dear friend

I take a mere morsel of paper, because I must not
enlarge tonight, — though my head and heart are full of
things that want expression. I trust we shall soon have
everything out in a more satisfactory way than on paper.¹

/She forwards an appeal to Hensleigh for "a public
object."/

I find the alarmist article in the Edinburgh is by
Senior. Every day now brings me token of the expectation entertained by all sorts of people of the convulsion which ought to have been foreseen long ago by those who might have obviated it. I have a very alarming letter tonight, from one who knows well, and who doubts whether Sir R. Peel will, with all his cleverness, have nerve to manage affairs during the coming revolution, I suppose we may call it. I always feared that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be put off till a vast deal more would come down with them, in far too great a hurry. — You remember my asking you who wrote the Baxter art: in the Edinburgh? It was Rev'd Joseph Sortein of Brighton, who has an art: on the Port Royal folk in the present No. "Justice in India," by Macaulay they say. How the Edinburgh has come round about the condition of India!

Have you read Emerson's Essays? I suppose it is the first immortal American book. It has come to me like a visitation of health.

I hope you will tell me what you think and hear of Elphinstone's India, which Lord Murray has sent me. He likes it extremely.

I am quite at my best, except for appetite, (which I don't care about.)

I think the comfort of the last few weeks is owing to rest from the pen. My comfort under my supposed losses by poor Knight's failure was (selfishly enough) that I might rest. But he and the chief creditors have resolved that I am not to lose, nor even to wait for my money; and the first bill is actually cashed. At such a moment, and
after such a proof that my work is valuable to the interests of my poor friend Knight, I cannot think of stopping; and so I resumed this morning. It is something better than rest, and even health, to have one's duty made clear and indisputable; and for this I ought to be, and am, very thankful. When do you begin to pack? Here is Augst. But I will not urge: — only hope and trust. — I have thoroughly enjoyed a visit from my cousin, Rich — Martineau. I am hourly looking for Robertson. — I had a merry letter from Mrs Jenny the other day. Their sea is "like coffee grounds." On this I ground my hopes of having them here; for he was delighted with the glorious waters of this coast. —

Goodbye, dear friend, — for a short space. My love to Snow and Bro. and all. Kindest regards to Mr. W. He is independent of a Govt. I trust. The Tories may have a long reign if the first risings are put down.

Ever yours,

affectionately

H.M.

Date: from her reference to the current number of the Edinburgh Review, see below.

1. A reference to what was to be a second visit by Fanny and perhaps Erasmus Darwin who says, in a letter, probably jokingly, that he "trembles at the thought of Tynemouth" as much as Fanny does, but will go with her; Erasmus Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Sat 31\textsuperscript{a}Aug–Sept 1841\textsuperscript{a}. HM later describes herself as "very ill" at this time, Auto., II, 169.
2. Nassau William Senior, "Grounds and Objects of the Budget," 73 (July 1841), 502-61, on the danger to law and order of England's non-propertied population, the evils of a protectionist tariff, rising sugar prices, and the advantages of a liberal commercial policy towards ending slavery—all ideas compatible with HM's political economy.

3. Sir Robert Peel, 2nd Baronet (1788-1850; DNB), Prime Minister, Sept 1841 to June 1846.

4. The Corn Laws were abolished 26 June 1846, three days before the resignation of the ministry.

5. In fact by James Stephen, "Life and Times of Richard Baxter," 70 (Oct 1839), 181-221. Baxter (b. 1615), was a Nonconformist minister and prolific writer on the Church. The source of HM's attributions is unknown. Joseph Sortain (1809-60), was pastor of the North Street Chapel, Brighton, from 1832 to his death; he wrote Lectures on Romanism and Anglo-Catholicism, 1841. James Stephen also wrote "The Port Royalists," 73 (July 1841), 309-65, on the Jesuit monastery where many famous French seventeenth-century writers had studied.

6. In fact by Ross Donnelly Mangles (1801-77; DNB), "Administration of Justice in India,“ Edinburgh Review, 73 (July 1841), 425-60; it outlines needed judicial reforms and urges the extension of good government to India. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-59; DNB), appointed Member of the Supreme Council of India 1834-37; HM is scornful of Macaulay's achievements, Auto., I, 346-50. Mangles had also contributed the two preceding articles on India in the Edinburgh Review, Jan 1841 and Jan 1840, which made Utilitarian recommendations
for its economic problems.

7. Ralph Waldo Emerson had sent HM an inscribed copy of his *Essays*, Boston, 1841, which included "Self-Reliance," "Compensation," "The Over-Soul," and others. She replied that she thought the book would live "1,000 years." She also described its effect on Carlyle, saying it had made him happy for two days (a rare condition for him), HM to Ralph Waldo Emerson, MS Houghton Library.


9. Charles Knight's failure was apparently only temporary.

10. Richard Martineau (1804-65), partner, then managing director of Whitbread's Brewery.

11. Jane Carlyle must have written from Newby on the Solway Firth, Scotland. Carlyle had visited HM earlier in the summer (when she showed him Emerson's essays), and on his return trip home with Jane, they "passed a few days in lodgings beside Harriet Martineau at Tynemouth;" Marrs, pp. 523, 526. Jane's reaction to this visit was that it was *impossible* to write from Tynemouth, where Harriet Martineau exhausted in talk my every particle of intellect, imagination, and common sense," to Helen Welsh, 11 Oct 1841, Huxley, p. 5.

12. In his post as Registrar of Cabs.
HM's invalid life at Tynemouth was a well-established legend by the time of the following letter.

Tynemouth

Janry 7th 1843

Of the pleasure of writing to you, my dearest Fanny! A holiday pleasure it always is; and never so much so as today. I will tell you why when you have heard about Emily, for whom you may be a little anxious. HM's distant cousin, Emily Taylor, has been recuperating in lodgings next door to her in Tynemouth. Emily's "health having been injured by her rambles in London last year";

HM's concern for Emily's recovery, however, is mixed with annoyance at her indefatigable "meddling." We have just heard from Julia, — one of her charming long pictorial letters; — setting us down in Genoa in a minute. She gives a poor account of the health of the party, — a feverish attack having reduced some of them to their beds, while others are so languid as to prefer the sofa to Genoa sights.

I wish their abominable scheme were closed, and the children safe at home again. One may ask if people can ever learn by experience while parents continue to drag a caravan of children about the continent, to the destruction of the bodily and mental regularity of habits so essential to juvenile health. (This does not apply to Mrs. S. Smith's little girls, who since the journey to Lausanne have slept in the same bed almost every night.) — Ever since I read Sydney Smith's words in your father's Life, about destroying Letters, I have been haunted by the consciousness
that S. S. was right: and many are now the hours of thought
I have spent on my own duty: and from it I am therefore
not likely to be shaken: especially as I find, from the
extraordinary variety of opinions which has come to me,
that scarcely anybody has considered the matter, so as to
have any clear principle upon it. Of late, my determination
has been quickened and revived by seeing some facts in
regard to Dr Channing's letters, — very striking as a
warning. — The principle and purpose of epistolary corres-
dpondence I take to be to supply the place of speech.
Letters are written speech, except when on business, or
intended by the writers to be Essays. My letters are all
written speech, except the business ones. It is a clear
perversion of the whole arrangement to make such letters
serve as material for biography hereafter, against or without
the will of the writer: and this is what I am now preparing
to assert. 

HIM states the legal basis for her position
and her intention to leave a "copious autobiography." She
burns all the letters she receives, and hopes Fanny does
the same. — Will you (at your leisure) read this part
of my letter to all of our coterie who may chance to have
any letters or notes of mine? — Eras — The R.J.M's, —
the Carlyles. I have mentioned it to dear Jenny, but not
at sufficient length, — I do get so tired of writing my
reasons over and over.

Where is Mrs Rich? She spoke of the 3rd as her latest
time: but here is the 7th, and no news of her! I am not
sorry, if she comes, and lets us lose nothing; for my
nephews have been here for nearly a fortnight, — going
home tomorrow. They cause me little or no fatigue, now that I can shut myself into my warm recess when tired: and they are out most of the sunshiny hours, — which are always from sunrise till 6. Wise and happy boys they are, and very dear to me. I let them sit in the new year by my sofa, — the first time I had let anyone be with me since that night with the Follens, — the new 1836. For the pleasure and honour of these boys I gave up the solitude to which that night had hitherto been sacred and I don't think they will forget it. They and I were heartily glad to let the old year go: but Oh! for what different reasons! May your present and all coming years be happy, my friends! No more fevers, — Bro happy at school, — all peaceful and progressive with you! My love to Snow and Bro. It will be a memorable time to them, Bro's going to school. I wish I knew the very day, that I might think of him. — I have had Molly's letter, — kind and pleasant, — and have just written to her. — I did mean to describe all my new comforts and luxuries, for yourselves and Eras: but I had better leave them to dear Emily's descriptive powers. I do mightily enjoy the space and the elegance. I feel more respectable to myself since the vulgar lodging-house ugliness and discomfort gave place to nicer arrangements. I do hope Mrs Rich will give us more than one day. — No news of me as to health. The tumour is still tangible, but has not been examined: nor do I believe any light would be thrown on it, if it had. I have been but poorly, for some time past. Hope soon to be alone and quiet, for months to come.
With love to you all, I am dear friend, yr affec _

H. Martineau.

I don't trouble my poor mother about the letter affair. She knows nothing of it, my letters to her being secured.

Date: from her discussion of the destruction of her letters, which particularly concerned her at this time; see below, note 7.

1. Julia's nieces and nephews.

2. Probably the large travelling carriage built for William Edward Nightingale (d. 1874), father of Florence, and Julia's brother-in-law; see Cecil Woodham-Smith, Florence Nightingale, 1950, p. 16.

3. Mrs. Samuel Smith, née Mai Shore (?1799-1889), Julia's sister-in-law; her daughters were Bertha and Blanch.

4. The Rev. Sydney Smith (1771-1845; DNB), Canon of St. Paul's, had answered Robert Mackintosh's request for letters to aid in writing the Memoirs of his father that "upon principle" he kept no letters "except those on business," R.J. Mackintosh, II, 498.

5. The Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing (1780-1842; DAB), Unitarian leader, had separately published a number of his letters. HM had been the guest of the Channings in 1835, Auto., II, 47-50; her high estimate of him can be seen in numerous references in Society in America and a chap. in Retrospect of Western Travel, III, 72-91.


7. The R.J.M's were Robert and Molly. Jane Carlyle's reaction was quite clear: "Poor Harriet seems to me to
be got into a dreadful state of 'self-consciousness' of late—to be fancying always that the world has nothing more important to do than to occupy itself with her, and her 'principles of action'; ... She is demanding throughout the whole circle of her correspondence which is almost as wide as the world—that there should be a general thorough conflagration of her letters—in fear of their publication at her death ... 'she perceives that I think her a little mad—morally', but the only inference she has drawn from that is that I must be a little mad—morally;”

To Jennie Welsh, 26 Jan 1843, Huxley, p. 86.

8. The Greenhow sons.

9. HM’s lodging in Tynemouth had been enlarged by means of an opening into the adjoining house.

10. Of. HM’s diary entry for 1 Jan 1838, "I had read in bed last night ... and thought of my beloved Pollens, to whom I think this hour of the year will ever be consecrated," Auto., III, 212.

My dearest Fanny, I feel moved to break through the absurd sort of hypocrisy under which I have been silent so long, and to say (in spite of a sick headache tonight,) the few words needful to set us on, talking as usual. You know very well that I am not ignorant of the doings of you and yours on my behalf, — of my immense debt to you.¹ I cannot, if it were necessary, tell you how I feel towards you about it. That you must imagine, by the help of your
own heart. — Let me only explain a thing or two, and then we shall be free to talk as usual. — I have been uneasy, these 5 weeks past, at having been told much that I never ought to have known. 

Emily Taylor has not only discussed the Testimonial openly, but has written to Lord Murray to ask the reasons for his objection to the Circular. 

I have scarcely seen E. lately, but with some third person present, — she has been so perfectly deaf, — temporarily. It is better now, but she is very delicate. Last evening, she spoke for the first time of leaving, — of going in May to Liverpool; — thence to Dublin, for a visit to her cousins; thence to the north of Ireland, crossing from Belfast to Scotland, and then travelling there. Any or all of this plan is better for her than the bustle of London, which I am glad she does not think of encountering this season. I think she is, on the whole, very much better than on her first coming; but the last two or three weeks have revived some of my uneasiness about her. 

—And poor Mrs Reid, — how ill she has been! My friends who pity me are often suffering more themselves, I fear. But dear J. Carlyle comforts me. Her letters are better; — there is no question of it. Her last did my heart good. I suppose his book is really coming out soon. 

Today a prospect has opened upon me of seeing two books out of three that I am longing for, — perhaps all three: — Horner, of course, — Macaulay's Essays, — and Christopher North. 

The good angel of this district, Miss Annie Clayton, came with pencil and tablets, to ask what I had a fancy for, from Cawthorne's; and she had Horner down already. Last
week, she sent me a Camellia, almost as tall as myself, in full flower, and a hamper of slips, roots and plants for the garden Emily has laid out so industriously. The Lambtoneº sent me the last Edinburgh, prematurely brought out for the Eastern article.º That art: was bad enough; but Northº did me good, like a canter over a Scotch moor: and Mrs Austin's "Social Life in Germany" has some interest:º and that on the Manufacturing folk is delightful.¹⁰ — I fancy Borrow laughing in his sleeve at the determination of these reviews to make him out a Saint.¹¹ How droll it is, in contrast with their horror at some heretics who are far more saint-like: I fancy I hear now James's school boy complaints of him; and Wm Taylor's (of Norwich) nasal naming of "George Borrow" as his most promising protégé.¹² There is nothing in these things to prove that he may not have become a Saint since but his book seems to me redolent of hoax and humbug in every page. What would the Quarterly¹³ think of any heretic who pretended to take a man's snoring as a judgement for not having said one's prayers? Or of calling the Testament "soap to wash souls clean"? — The word "prayers" reminds me of a letter this evening from Chas Buller, who asks my prayers on the 6th till 8 or 9 o'clock, on occasion of his great Colonization speech. He fully approves and agrees in my hopefulness about public affairs, and thinks liberal principles were never before getting on so fast.¹⁴ Nothing dashes my hopes. My fears are many years old, and have stopped growing; whereas my hopes multiply and strengthen, — yea, even at this moment, when I am so vilely sick that I am afraid I must crawl to
bed, instead of finishing. — The mention of a moor above, reminds me of the Archer Clives,¹⁵ who have taken a great Scotch moor and house, and are going to shoot from July to Octbr. I hope he will not shoot her, as I always fear husbands doing when their wives go out to watch their sport. Only, a wife on a pony on a moor is more visible than one loitering along a hedgerow; — Mrs Clive than Mrs Ker.¹⁶ I am writing out of an elegant papier maché inkstand Mrs A.C. has sent me, — the last arrived of the many pretty ornaments of my pretty rooms. — Have you seen the Memorial addressed to Mr Everett by the American claimants?¹⁷ I have not yet, but shall soon. I am sadly afraid of finding a repetition of the incurable mistake of English people, — not recognizing the bounds of the power of the General Govt. In spite of all that has been written and explained, I find the English still incessantly blaming the Genl Govt about State Debts and Repudiation. Mr Everett has, as Minister, no more to do with the State debts than with Portuguese State debts: but they may address him merely as the most influential American they can get at. I wish we could see that by refusing American natural produce, we have compelled them to bring their Stocks to market. We should have been better employed in buying food from them than dabbling in their funds.

Dear Fanny, of course you will let me know of Molly's confinement. I hope it is not absurd to think that she may be much better after that than for a long time past. She will be prudent this time, and her husband, no doubt: and if better days are before them, how happy shall we all
I do very much like and admire her: — the more the better I know her. — My love to Mrs Rich. I hope we may renew some of our subjects, one day. Of this Massachusetts Anti-slavery Report for last year is so beautiful: It is by Edmund Quincy. The strength of the slave power shows "what an uprooting will be required," but the "primary abolitionists" are "majestic," etc. HM is not "worse than usual" at present.

Date: from her reference to the current number of the Edinburgh Review, see below.

1. Early in 1843 Erasmus, Hensleigh and others who were aware of HM's suffering and precarious financial state conceived the idea of raising a public subscription in her honor. A handwritten Circular was sent out, saying that "many friends . . . had intimated a wish . . . of expressing their sympathy and esteem, and of giving some Testimonial of the sense they entertain of the exalted motives which have uniformly influenced her conduct." Subscriptions would be received by a committee of managers and by Coutts bank; the sum subscribed would be "handed over without delay to Miss Martineau" who would have "the disposition of it entirely to herself;" To Henry Crabb Robinson, MS Dr. Williams's Library.

2. Elisabeth Jesser Reid (1789-1866), daughter of William Sturch, ironmonger and theological writer, and wife of Dr. John Reid (1776-1822; DNB); she was a supporter of charitable causes and companion of HM on her trip to the continent 1839.

3. Past and Present, 1843.


6. Lord Durham's three daughters by his second wife, the former Lady Louisa Elizabeth Grey: Mary Louisa (d. 1898), married Lord Elgin 1846; Emily Augusta (d. 1886), married Col. William Frederick Cavendish 1843; and Alice Anne Caroline (d. 1907), married Sholto, 20th Earl of Morton, 1853. HM's friendship with the Lambtons had begun in 1832, and she stayed with them at Lambton Castle 1833. She was urged to stay with them again when she arrived in Newcastle 1839, "but I was too ill to leave the house;" see *Auto.*, I, 254-56; II, 132-33.


8. George Moir, review of *The Recreations of Christopher North*, pp. 72-104.

9. Sarah Austin (1793-1867; *DNB*), distant cousin of HM's;
translator and author. "Social Life in Germany," pp. 138-69, compares continental and old-fashioned English customs such as the Norwich festival dragon which terrified HM as a child.

10. Thomas Spring-Rice, "Distresses of the Manufacturing Districts—Causes and Remedies," pp. 190-227, includes grim case histories of the effects of the recession on manufacturing laborers, but emphasizes their high social and moral state as compared to that of agricultural laborers—one of HM's favorite themes.

11. George Borrow (1803-31; DNB), linguist and author. His The Bible in Spain, 3 vols, 1843 reviewed by Richard Ford, Edinburgh Review, 77, 105-38 is an account of his adventures as a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society; see Auto., I, 301.

12. William Taylor (1765-1836; DNB), Norwich manufacturer's son who became a distinguished German scholar and man of letters, pillar of the Norwich Philosophical Society. HM scorns his "wine-bibbing," his bigotry in religion and politics, and his "mischief to young men" because of his "lack of conviction," Auto., I, 298, 300-1.

13. HM is unaware that John Gibson Lockhart's review of Borrow had appeared in the Quarterly, 71 (Dec 1842), 169-97.

14. Charles Buller (1806-48; DNB), friend of Carlyle and his former pupil, radical MP, assistant to Lord Durham on his Canadian mission. His speech before the Commons, 6 April 1843, urged the government to support education, fair wages, and emigration to the Colonies as a solution
for unemployment among the laboring classes.


17. Edward Everett (1794–1865; DAB), statesman and orator, American Minister to Great Britain, 1841–45. The memorial has not been identified but must have concerned repudiation of state bonds within the U.S. HM blames European investors for their ignorance of the American political system, History of the Peace, II, 655–56.


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Tynemouth

Febry 11th \(\sqrt{1843}\)

My dear Fanny

I hoped to see Mrs Rich before beginning another gossip with you; but she bids us, after all, not expect her till we see her, and I believe that will be the wisest way. I do long to see her; but I have always had a strong sense of the uncertainty of it; and I hope to be grateful for the pleasure whenever it does come, without counting too much upon it. She has been "unusually bad" but wants Fanny to know that she has felt "great comfort and satisfaction" at the response to her plea for destruction of her letters—with two exceptions. It is very curious, —
the opposition of opinion. Some are almost angry at the thought that they would ever allow a letter of mine to be seen even by my Executor; while others protest against the idea of keeping back from publication any letter which could be made available in a book. Some plead that I might trust my survivors to print only letters of criticism, or on public affairs: while others have burned all such, but hoped that my most intimate and personal letters would be printed, — to show the world my domestic aspect! Some would have me leave the whole to the discretion of my Executors; while others write that they don't wonder I would not leave such a matter to others' judgments, but urge my calling in my own letters, and arranging them myself for publication. This last proposition is truly astonishing; and the wide opposition of others shows how necessary it is to make one's arrangements one's self: and, as I said, I am thereby bound the more to everybody but one or two. — From you, dear friend, busy and engrossed as you are, I merely wish to hear, whenever you do write, whether you have letters of mine or not. My part is done; and Emily stands laughing at the precision of my arrangements, — in their outward tokens of labels and red tape. — I think I may really say that she is much better of late. Her continuing quietly here is a sort of proof of it: and she looks differently, to my eyes. I think I see composure and quietness coming over her; and I am sure she looks more healthy. She has greatly enjoyed laying out the garden: and I'm sure everybody who hoes within sight of it must enjoy it too. Has she told you that the
three untidy ugly strips are laid into one? and that we have turf and flower beds, and are to have gravel-walks? Gravel from Devonshire is coming to a neighbor's garden; and we may have the little we want.

Oh! my pretty 'toonis! I hope I shall not weary my friends with my delight in them: but really, I did not at all imagine how great the comfort and refreshment would be. I seem to enjoy them more every day; and to such an extent that I have no misgivings about its being all right. I am sure that the general effect upon my health must be very great, — not only of having air and space, but of having my books and no little elegance about me. Now the days are lengthening, I get into my new window-seat for an hour or two before sunset, without turning away my plants from the other.

Emily sent in, for my amusement, your envelope to her — so wonderfully directed! Shall I once more say (for the sake of not losing your letters) that we live, not at Newcastle, but at Tynemouth; and that we have no more to do with Newcastle than with York? Don't let that letter miscarry which tells me how Bro likes school, and how school suits him. Is Snow's heart very anxious for him? I know what that is. Oh! what I suffered for Jas when he went to the grammar school at Norwich! I trust (but it is a case in which I could never be sure) that she will not have to endure what most sisters have to go through from the school boy shame at sisters. Few boys are strong enough to eschew that weakness. But perhaps circumstances may, in Bro's case, save him and
Snow from the temptation and the misery. When Julia and I talked over that evil of juvenile life, it was surprizing to me to find how many instances she and I knew, — how many pathetic stories we had to tell, under this head.

We hope Julia is pretty well; — as well yonder as she would be here. But the caravan seems never very comfortable; and I have not pleasant impressions of their travels, on the whole. Some of them are always ill; and they are so uncertain in their plans and doings that one is tired for them. No doubt they will bring home a multitude of valuable ideas and a treasure of images to beautify their future years: and in these, discomforts and anxieties will be forgotten. A great friend of theirs, at Genoa, a catholic priest, guessing their ages lately, guessed Julia to be a little older than she is (her new hair being very grey) and my cousin Isa Rankin (cured, you remember, by the Somnambulists)² to be ten years younger than she is! So we may conclude her to be prospering in health. She looked 70 during her illness. The party must now be suffering under the sad news of the Parker & Shore failure.³ "HM gossips about the Shore family's finances."³ For old Mr Parker everybody grieves, and for his four unmarried daughters. I wonder what will become of them. — And I often wonder what will become of society in England if the non-marrying of the middle and upper classes goes much further. Do not you think that, leaving out the vast considerations of Morals concerned in this, our political state will be much affected, in a generation or two, by the practice of marriage going on,
as before, among the lower classes, while it is already
lessened one half among the middle and higher classes, and
is still on the decrease? To me, the fact is most
portentous: but I doubt whether it is attended to, by
moralists and politicians, to nearly the extent it deserves.
—Is it true that Lockhart and Elizth Rigby are going to
marry? What a shame it is of her to insinuate all
manner of things against her sister Justina’s husband
(in “The Jewess”) in a way which allows him no means of
defence! I always felt that about Mr De Wahl, — her
sister Anne’s husband, who has no means of replying to the
accusations of all the ladies of the family. Gertrude,
who was visited abroad, at her house, by Elizth, is
wholly passed over, in both books! As Emily Taylor
says, “Let us hope she is happy, as her woes do not appear
in print.” I hope it is true about Lockhart and E.R, as
it will save the rest of the world from the awful peril of
marrying either of them.

Do you fancy that Carlyle is really getting on with
his “Cromwell”? She ends with news of the uncertain health of her
cousin Fanny Anne Martineau (1812-77). H. Martineau

Date: see below, note 3.

1. HM now has two windows.

2. Isabella Rankin had accompanied HM on her trip to the
continent 1839 but became ill in Switzerland. At the advice
of Lady and Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid (1778-1859; DNB), in
whose family she was a governess, she consulted Dr. John Elliotson (1791-1868; DNB), founder of the London Phrenological Society 1824 and a convinced mesmerist; he sent her to Paris where a cure was dictated by a somnambule.


4. John Gibson Lockhart (1794-1854; DNB), editor of the Quarterly 1825-53, previously married to the daughter of Sir Walter Scott, who had died 1837. Elizabeth Rigby (1809-93; DNB), writer and critic, daughter of Dr. Edward Rigby (1747-1821; DNB), physician and mayor of Norwich 1805 (who had sent HM material for Illustrations of Political Economy, Auto., I, 197). Miss Rigby had been welcomed into the literary society of Edinburgh 1842; Lockhart admired her writing and met her socially. In her journal she describes him as physically attractive but emotionally cold. She later married Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (1793-1865; DNB), painter. HM's animosity may be explained by what Miss Rigby says about her. In a journal entry of Nov 1842 she describes HM's refusal of a pension, but willingness to accept a Testimonial as clever confidence in "the mob," whose "subscription will probably be larger than what the Government proposed in their name;" Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake, ed. Charles Eastlake Smith, 2 vols, 1895, I, 113-14, 37.

5. Elizabeth Rigby's Novel, The Jewess, 1843, is based on
an event which took place during her stay with her sister on the Baltic. But the insinuation against another sister’s husband is not at all clear. The English woman who is the principal character in The Jewess, has an absent and possibly unkind husband. Mr. De Wahl is not otherwise identified. The other book was A Residence on the Baltic, 1841, which has few personal references.

6. HM protests at the "prejudices indecently and maliciously raised against me" by Lockhart and John Wilson Croker (1780-1857; DNB), in the Quarterly’s review of Illustrations of Political Economy, 49 (April 1833), 136-52; Auto., I, 199, 209-11. The review was in fact by George Poulett Scrope.

7. Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches: With Elucidations, 2 vols; not published until 1845, as the work had been put aside while he felt compelled to write Past and Present.

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Saty night 711 Feb 1843/

Dearest Fanny

Don’t be alarmed at a second note. Since closing my letter to you, I have received (at my own request) a regular, proper A.B, statement of the law of Epistoly correspondence, whereby I find myself not entitled to demand the destruction of letters written by me, — though I have the sole copyright property of them, and power to prevent their being printed, during my life or after it. In short, I find the law does completely protect me in my purpose, though the immediate security of destruction depends on the will of the receiver. I have nothing to alter of
what I have said to you, I believe, but thought it right to let you know the above. Ever yours

H. Martineau

Date: see last letter.

Wednesday (?)spring 1843

Dear Fanny,

I hope I am not to be disappointed any longer about writing to you. Every day have I been thinking of you, and longing for a gossip; but I have been completely overdone with writing, on public and private matters, and have neglected many people, — but worst, you and Jenny. I will pass over the account of my letters to M.P’s and others, and tell as briefly as I can about the private correspondence which has so occupied me. My poor mother’s case is turning out exactly as I have always feared; and, besides the almost daily long scribble for her amusement, I have been corresponding with my brothers about plans for her solace and companionship, in case of the blindness which it now seems too plain is to be her fate. I am glad now that I never did hope. (She holds up her own "acquiescence to suffering" as an example for her mother.) Soon, after I wrote an account of her to Eras:, when the second rupturing of the film was taking place, the oculist Mr Hodgson found he must remove the hard nucleus of the cataract. It was done perfectly well, but he was startled at her showing no sensibility to light. That was nearly
3 weeks ago and she has seen nothing yet. She reports that her sister Ellen, caring for their mother, "has no hope"; HM has been sending her mother various interesting letters she has received. Here is a fresh one today.

I have a packet of letters, about 20, from the boys of a charity school at Bristol, about the "Crofton Boys." They tell me they are called the Croft Boys, "so," says one, "it would be the very same, if the last syllable of one word were not attached." The master tells me that he read the story to the school, and so engrossed were they that when he read "the first class stand out," his own first class all jumped from their seats. They begged to write to me, next exercise day, and he sends their letters uncorrected. They are capital, and kept me laughing and crying all the way through. One says "I cannot believe but you are a boy yourself." Another says "Everything is just like we do here." Their way of telling my story is so droll! "A lot of fellows got hold of Hugh" &c. They are all full of concern at my page missing.

Horner, and on public affairs, or I should have said nothing else.

Did you let Bulwer call. I am glad that mystery ("Sir Success") is solved, tho' I don't know how we came by the name.

R. M. Milnes is very kind to me.

"Past and Present," very bad, insolent, one-sided, and full of weary repetitions. I found it weary and irritating reading, except abbot Samson and some few
passages. His injustice to the aristocracy is shameful, — and his conceit. And how weary one is of Burns and the Champion &c. Why does he not get new types? — Emily says, (but in this view I don't agree) that it will be the best part of the copyright Bill if it enables people to stop in time. C. will not stop, but say the same things over and over (till he dies) once a year.

Jenny deserves all you say, — bless her! I want to hear of Mack and school. My love to you all.

Ever your affecte

H.M. —

Date: see below, note 5.

1. ?Joseph Hodgson (1788-1869; DNB), co-founder of Birmingham Eye Infirmary.
2. Last of the stories in The Playfellow, 1841, about school life and a childhood amputation. For HM's juvenile fascination for such a martyrdom, see Auto., I, 44-48.
3. Sir Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron Lytton (1803-73; DNB), novelist. The allusion to "Sir Success" is unidentified.
4. Milnes visited HM in Tynemouth during her illness. She read and made notes on his poems, Auto., I, 343-44.
5. Past and Present appeared at the beginning of April 1843. Abbot Samson, the benevolent dictator, is the hero of Book II, "The Ancient Monk;" Burns is an example of rustic genious at the mercy of wealth and power in "The Landed" (Book IV, "Horoscope"); the Champion of England is representative of outworn customs in "Phenomena" (Book III,
HM was pleased to accept the testimonial fund of more than £1,300, finally presented in the summer of 1843. She took it as a tribute to her talent and usefulness, "for never was anything clearer to me than the honour and delightfulness of what is intended for me." She then had to decide on a proper disposition of the fund. At the suggestion of Mrs. Reid, and to the consternation of Erasmus and Hensleigh, she determined to use some of the money to buy a service of silverplate for herself, asking them to make the purchase for her.

[To Erasmus]

Sunday evg J 23 July 1843

My dear friend

I am truly thankful for the speed of your reply. I have had a letter from Cox Savoury which called up many blushes, — telling me that, as no answer had arrived, a book of rich and rare designs would, in a few days, arrive from Ireland, &c &c. Of course, I wrote to explain. Now all seems plain and easy. I write so immediately because an unrivalled opportunity is close at hand for the plate to come safely. The Ladies Lambton write me an entreaty to bring any parcels for me from London, and next, to come and visit me immediately. They will probably be leaving town about the beginning or middle of next week; and if the plate could be ready, no plan would be so safe; and
it would please Lady Mary to serve me. I have to write to her tomorrow; and I will, at least, mention it. Mrs Reid thinks there can be no difficulty, considering what a stock Savoury has. The way will be, I suppose, for Savoury to send the package to Lord Durham's, Cleveland Row, St James's; and I will ask Ly M. Lambton to cause one of her servants to let Savoury know her day of departure.

So much for that.

I will tomorrow write to Mr Wedgwood a formal request to execute this commission, assigning my reasons, which note will be produceable, if needful. I think you and he are quite right in your scruple, and I hope now all will be well. — I am not up to writing said formal request tonight: but it shall certainly come, and I write this scrawl tonight to save time. — Mrs Reid and I agree that the following inscription will answer all purposes: and I think it would so ill become a tea or coffee pot, that it really must be on a small cake-basket.

Memorial

of a

Testimonial

H.M.

1843

So much for that.

I doubt sadly about our having the fête, which I had prodigiously reckoned on, — (and some other grown people too.) On Friday, 6 people came in, without notice, to lunch, and it upset me so that I fear we must not try such
a number again. — Mrs Reid and maid are by no means recovered from their shake; but I trust a few quiet days will restore them.

I beg my kindest regards to Mr Wedgwood, for the few hours till I write to him. I shall soon be writing to Fanny. Good night, dear friend. I am truly your grateful

H. Martineau.

P.S. One of the lunchers was Revd Mr Murch of Bath, who asked me, "Pray do you know a gentleman of the name of Darwin"?

Date: See next letter but one, written on the following day.

1. H.M.'s first letter on ordering the silverplate is missing
2. Thomas Cox Savoury, silversmith, 47 & 54 Cornhill, London
3. George Frederick D'Arcy Lambton (1828-79), succeeded to the title on the death of his father 1840; H.M is simply identifying the Lambtons' home; see Auto. II, 131.
4. Erasmus' view of this matter is described by Jane Carlyle: "Darwin was very much out of humour yesterday about Harriet Martineau! ... She had Cox the great Jeweller's list sent her by Mrs. Reid; and had marked off various articles, silver teapot, £45, etc., etc. Darwin 'thought at first she must have gone mad'; then he fancied she wished, in spending the rest of the money, to preserve this much of it in shape of a testimonial; then that she wished to leave it in a legacy to her Brother James! Anyhow, after some days' deliberation, Mr. Wedgwood and he,
who were required to do this thing in their official capacity peremptorily declined it: if Miss Martineau chose to buy £100 worth of plate, she must do it herself after she entered into possession of the money; as they had expressly stated, the money, not plate, was to be given to her. Certainly Harriet is going all to nonsense with her vanities. Now she will probably be quite angry at these men who have done so much for her—because they refuse to comply with her whim" (Jane Carlyle to Carlyle, 17 July 1843, New Letters of JWC, I, 119-20).

6. The Rev. Sir Jerom Murch (1807-95), Unitarian clergyman in Norfolk and then Bath, banker, mayor of Bath, writer.

[To Hensleigh] Monday. 24 July 1843

Dear friend

Here you have a full authorization from me to execute the commission you so kindly undertake.¹ The more I think of it, the more sure I feel that this proceeding is fit and proper, as expressing a part of my feelings on this gratifying business.

I hope that some opportunity of direct speech will be afforded me, when the affair is closed. I dislike the thought of speaking thro' a newspaper; but perhaps I may be so addressed as to be able, naturally and easily, to reply in a note which might be lithographed, — in as many copies as there are entries of Contributors' names. I can engage some cousin, or friend not concerned, to do the
business part of this; and I mention it now as a suggestion to which I hope you will object if you see reason for objection.

As to the appropriation of the rest of the fund, (on which it is necessary to have some ideas, before making my acknowledgment) — I was formally told, towards the beginning (by Miss Taylor) that the object was to improve my present comfort: — that I should best please the contributors by extracting from the fund the largest amount of immediate advantage. Considering the precariousness of my life, and that in 7 years I come into the enjoyment of a life annuity of £100, I have of late invested what little money I could command in the Long Annuities which yield 3 pr/ct, but expire in the end of 1859. My independent income now is, altogether, about £130. (It has for 2 years, been eked out to the extent of my wants, by presents from very kind cousins and an uncle, — which presents, of course, I shall henceforth decline.) I propose to invest the Testimonial money also in the Long Annuities, whereby I shall be sufficiently provided for till 1860. And, if I should live so long as that, which seems very improbable, I shall have saved during the preceding 9 years of abundance (after entering upon my life annuity) enough to purchase a sufficient addition to that annuity. Thus, I may consider myself sufficiently provided for, for life, and without the waste, which would probably be incurred by the purchase of an annuity for a person in my state of health.

If you approve of this plan, I shall be well pleased. If in any respect it is inconsistent with the views of the
contributors, I hope you will tell me so, with all freedom. I shall not act, in regard to the investment, till I have your opinion.

You are at liberty to impart this statement wherever you may wish. I make no secret of my affairs; and least of all could I do so in regard to friends who have so taken charge of my interests as to make me independent. I wish you could all know how cheering is this thought to me, night and day.

You will believe, my dear friend, that I have thought much of you and yours, during the last fortnight. Now I know where Fanny is, I will write to her.

I find, on looking at Lady Mary Lambton's letter, that it is uncertain whether they leave town next week or the week after. — I am writing to her by this post, in reply to her kind wish to bring parcels for me, proposing that her servants shall bring the plate. If she agrees, her servants will doubtless let Cox Savory know when they leave town; or it may be learned by enquiry in Cleveland Row, — in my name, if you like.

I am yours most truly

H. Martineau.

________________________________________
Date: see next letter, note 1.
1. See next letter.
2. A kind of British Government annuity which expired 1860.
3. HM's uncle Peter Martineau (1755-1847).
4. A statement of purchase of Long Annuities is dated 14
Dear Mr Wedgwood

The Managers of the Testimonial having kindly and delicately determined that the appropriation of the fund is to be left entirely to myself, I find I must take the initiative in regard to the disposal of a small part of it.

It is my wish that out of this fund should be provided some permanent Memorial of the transaction, in token of my respect and gratitude to the Managers and Contributors, and as a lasting record in my family, by whom such a Memorial may be preserved, from generation to generation. — The best form for such a Memorial seems to be plate; and my family and I think that a tea service would be the best choice of plate. It will be useful, as well as ornamental; — it will give me pleasure, as often as it is used, in reviving the remembrance of its origin; and it will go down, from one family to another of my nephews, as a legacy of peculiar honour and value.

I had rather that this purchase should be made by some one of the Managers than by anyone else; and it will greatly oblige me if you will assume the trouble. I have elsewhere provided you with a specification of what articles of plate I wish to have, and have estimated the cost at somewhere about £100, which sum I have no objection slightly to exceed, if necessary to the purchase of the
Besides the Tea Service, I have specified other articles, of the commonest use, which I need for comfort. This authorization will serve for the whole.

Believe me, dear friend, very truly and gratefully yours

Harriet Martineau.

1. Additional letters about purchasing of the silverplate evidently passed between HM and Hensleigh Wedgwood, and he seems to have agreed to do this for her without any expressed resistance. A receipt of 9 Aug 1843 from T. Cox Savoury's Show Rooms, 47 Cornhill, lists seventeen items sent to HM, including tea and coffee pots, sets of twelve of various sizes of forks and spoons, serving pieces, basins, etc., totalling £104.12.8; MS University of Birmingham.

A formal letter of presentation to HM of the money raised as a Testimonial is dated 10 Aug 1843 and signed by R. Hutton, William Harness, John Robertson, Samuel Smith, H.W. Wedgwood, Joseph Hutton, W.E. Hickson and E. Darwin. Hensleigh's covering letter of 22 Aug says he is glad she approved of the plate, "especially of the cake basket in whose ears I had so strong a personal interest"; MS University of Birmingham.
Tyneouth

[To Hensleigh]

My dear friend

I am sorry to intrude upon your holiday; but, as my correspondence has hitherto been with you on this matter, I feel that I must go on to trouble you to the end.

May I ask you to let me know whether you think Coutts's people could and would address to all the contributors (from the entries in their books) copies of the accompanying letter, if lithographed for the purpose?

If so, I shall find somebody, unconnected with the business, to look after the lithographing and posting, or could you (by means of money) get it done for me? If you could and would pay every expense handsomely out of the "few odd pounds" you mention, I should be still more than ever obliged to you.

If, as is very probable, you had rather decline this, pray say so; and, when my acquaintance return to London, I will find someone to see to it.

Our fête went off admirably, — my dear people gracefully adorning it with full dress. They appeared in ball trim, — in honour of you and me, — produced and sang a song written for the occasion, and were very merry. For my part, I produced champagne, (among other good things) for the first time in my whole hostess-existence; and we drank your healths, and that of my nephew Tom, who is to inherit the outward and tangible sign of the Testimonial. As you have to answer this, sooner or later, I will put in my dear old uncle's (aged, 88) note, — which you will think
worth returning. I am sure it will gratify you. — I have much to say, but am tired. My niece, arrived a few days since, now tells me that she has already written to my dictation, twenty three letters and more are pressing. So, with love to Fanny, good night.

I am ever gratefully yours

H. Martineau

Date: see next letter.

1. The Wedgwoods were staying at the home of Dr. Robert Waring Darwin (1766-1848), Shrewsbury.


3. Hensleigh accepted "with pleasure" HM's "commission of lithographing and dispatching the circulars" thanking her donors, but said he would have to send part of the list to her to be addressed; Coutts had no addresses and could not be asked to do it. He also suggested that a shorter version, without mention of how the funds were spent, would be better for the subscribers; Hensleigh Wedgwood to HM, 30 Aug [1843], MS University of Birmingham.

4. The Ladies Lambton came to the fête and the silver service was used for the first time, Auto., III, 271.

5. Thomas Martineau (1828-93), son of her elder brother Robert.

6. A note from Peter Martineau to HM, 14 Aug 1843, acknowledges HM's refusal to accept further gifts of money from him now that she has received the Testimonial, and expresses sorrow over the unsuccessful operation for cataracts.
performed on her mother the previous spring, MS University of Birmingham.

To the Managers of the Testimonial.

Tynemouth

August 25th 1843

My dear friends,

"Faithful friends" you may indeed sign yourselves, — watching over me as you have done, in my season of incapacity and retirement, — cheering my spirits, and supporting my fortunes! I wish I could convey to you any idea of the comfort and solace you have afforded me by this effort of your kindness, — When, in the days of my activity, I laboured at various objects, I had no thought of any consequences to myself: and this visitation of sympathy, from such numbers, when I can do nothing more to serve them or society, comes to me as a wholly unlooked for blessing. — When, too, in the days of my activity, I longed for a small independence which would enable me to disregard in my aims all considerations of money, I little thought that such independence would arise to me out of my very helplessness, — appealing, as it has done, to generous and faithful hearts. That I shall ever again be capable of more than very trifling services seems improbable: but, for what I can do, I am free. I possess now, through you that independence which sets me above the need of any personal consideration; — a blessing of which I am keenly sensible, from day to day, — and shall be, for the rest
of my life.

I have devoted about One Hundred Guineas of the present you announce to me to the purchase of a permanent Memorial of this transaction, in the form of a provision of Plate (partly needful and partly luxurious.) which may tell the tale of your kindness and my honours to future generations of my name. —

The rest I have invested in the Funds, in such a mode as to give me the largest immediate addition possible to my income; — a plan indicated to me by the state of my health, and by my expectation of (if I live) entering upon a Deferred Annuity, some years hence.

I am assured that this proceeding is in accordance with your wishes and intentions: and when you learn that under this arrangement I feel myself secure of a sufficient income for life, you will feel, I am confident, as I do, that, with regard to my external circumstances, there is nothing within human power left to wish.

I trust you will not object to my addressing a copy of this letter to every contributor to the fund, as the only method by which I can extend, as widely as they are due, my acknowledgements, and the statement of my comforts; and, I may add, of my feelings towards yourselves.

With grateful esteem, and cordial affection,

I am, my dear friends ever your

Harriet Martineau.
1. As well as proposing a letter to be lithographed and sent to all subscribers to the fund, HM sent copies of this longer letter to the Managers, written out by herself and perhaps her niece Fanny. Erasmus was pleased with this letter (which exists in two different hands); he and Hensleigh promised to distribute the copies to the Managers; Hensleigh Wedgwood to HM, 30 Aug 1843, MS University of Birmingham.
Dear Mr Wedgwood

I need not say that you would have heard from me sooner but that I have been too ill to write.

I agree in all you say about the expediency of a second letter & c. I was, I believe, of the same opinion at the time; but I was quite worn out, and incapable of another line. I hope you will approve of what I send.¹ If not, do me the favour to object freely, and I will alter.

I am very greatly obliged by your kind consent to see the affair finished, which crowns my obligations to you.² It is particularly satisfactory to me to have the finishing stroke put by the friend with whom I have communicated throughout. Pray take no trouble that can be saved by money, and spend freely for me at this close of the business.

I am better, these two days past, having rested from the pen for nearly four days. During the first four days of my niece's coming to Tynemouth, she wrote, to my dictation, 23 letters and notes, — besides the private ones I wrote myself: and so I go on:

I begin sadly to fear that I shall see none of your clan this year. I hear nothing from the R.J.Ms or Erasmus. I have no right to expect it, but I never can help hoping.

I trust you are enjoying the country, now that at last you have got away from town.

I have been thinking whether or not to say on paper what I should certainly have said here, if I had had the
pleasure of seeing Fanny or you. I think I will, — on the understanding that it is quite private, please, — between Fanny, you and me. I was dismayed to find, in the winter, that not only had Emily Taylor got acquainted herself with Fanny, but was thrusting her sister's family upon you. Although Emily Taylor's nieces, whom she is trying to help socially, come from "good-hearted people," they are "of the most ordinary sort,—from whom neither you nor your children are likely to gain anything whatever." HM urges Fanny not to let Emily impose them on her. I have no doubt whatever of the goodness of her heart; but the quality of our minds will never agree. No gratitude for her personal kindness can reconcile me to the repugnant intrusion I find she has been in the practice of, in and by my name.

Please burn this, and do not think me ungrateful, if you can help it. I cannot feel myself so. — With best love to Fanny, I am ever

Yours very gratefully

H. Martineau

Date: the first Sunday after Hensleigh's letter of 30 Aug, in which he suggested a shortened note to the subscribers.
1. See next letter.
2. A few days earlier, Hensleigh had alluded to Erasmus' still barely mollified objections to the silver service: "I wish I were with you and you and we should soon sift to the bottom of the Shrewsbury [the Darwins' family home]
criticism or higher criticism - valeat quantum. I only hope you will not consider it too bothersome." To HM, Sunday ∼27 Aug 1843, MS University of Birmingham.

TO THE CONTRIBUTORS TO A TESTIMONIAL
TO H. MARTINEAU

My dear Friends,

To reach you individually from my retirement is not easy; and to convey to you the feelings with which I accept your kindness is impossible: yet I cannot but attempt to present to each of you my acknowledgements, and the assurance of the comfort I feel, from day to day, in the honour and independence which you have conferred upon me. By your generous testimony to my past services you have set me free from all personal considerations, in case of my becoming capable of future exertion. The assurance which I possess of your esteem and sympathy, will be a stimulus to labour, if I find I have still work to do; and if I remain in my present useless condition, it will be a solace to me under suffering, and a cordial under the depressions of illness and confinement.

I am, with affectionate gratitude,

Your Friend and Servant,

Harriet Martineau

Tynemouth,
October 22, 1843.

1. The final printed version to reach the subscribers;
also published, with a statement of total funds collected £1,358. 8.10), and congratulations to the Managers of the Testimonial in "Critical and Miscellaneous Notices," Westminster Review, 40 (Dec 1843), 522, and in Auto., II, 181. A handwritten version is dated 1 Sept 1843, MS University of Birmingham.

Tynemouth

Friday 8th Nov-Dec 1843

My dear Fanny

Must I suppose that you are all vehement followers of Carlyle's doctrine of Silence, — not Platonic, like himself, but quite of a different sort? — or are you all dead? — which you may be sure I should not ask, if I did not well know that you are alive and as usual. A whiff of news of you comes, once in a while, — now by an aunt Kentish, now by Molly, — now by Jenny or by Mrs Reid. I know you are always busy; but there are so many of you! — and Mrs Rich, and Snow — are they always busy? It is months now since I heard anything reliable of your doings; and now it will soon be impossible for me to hear from your pen for a whole month;³ so I hope this petition may be in time to obtain some few distinct revelations of your doings and interests. — Is it to be a Christmas rose this time, — or a New Year's gift, — or a Valentine, dear Fanny? God bless it!

HM continues to receive contributions to her Testimonial fund at first hand as well as a complaint from
Mrs. Archer Clive that she was not asked to contribute. — I am giving you only the fag end of an evening, after writing about an anti-slavery matter, on which I have written sheetsful lately, — our Unitarian Ministers being roused (some of them) to communicate with the brethren in Americ, and the more zealous wishing for a true understanding of the matter. I really think Dr. Dewey's visit, with his scattered sayings, all full of nonsense, and mutually contradictory, has done good in setting people wondering at such stuff coming from a solemn leading minister. Since his return, he has sported our sayings, and is reported of as becoming an abolitionist, — to which those who know him and the cause say "fudge!" 

I could say a vast deal about this, and the aspect of things in Americ, but I seem to shrink from writing fully of anything till I know how all is with you and yours. — This Education question is another great interest. Again is the printing of that letter of mine in question. 

If I let it go, I think I shall add a P.S. on the mournful mischief now incurred by the rejection of the last opportunity of letting children of different beliefs grow up side by side, — by consigning over future generations to the sectarian rancour, the deadly misunderstanding and hatred which grows up out of such partition as we have doomed them to. 

When I think of this, and of how completely we have thrown the matter into the hands of the Church, causing the land to be overstrewn with bad National Schools instead of the self restraining mixed ones, I groan in spirit over the worst insane deed ever
done by the dissenters. They have indeed strengthened the hands of the Church. They have put it into her hands to train the young to be docile subjects instead of rational and free men and women. It remains to be seen what the obstructors will do, in apparent reparation of their mischief, — which is truly irreparable, I too plainly see. At present, I can't learn that anything is done, in all these months, while the Church is busy enough in the use of her new and unexpectedly reinforced vigour. It is all over, I fear; but yet one strives to work, in a vague hope of some remaining chance. — My lamp is burning out, and it is time I was going to my chamber fireside, — there to finish the last 1/2 vol of "Clarissa Harlowe" which I have borrowed from Lambton. What a very bad book it is! — and I expected quite the contrary, tho' hating Grandison. Clarissa herself is odious, — with her rash actions suiting so ill with her passionless, reasoning self-possessed character. The want of all real deference to her family, amidst all her cant and preachments is very bad, and her constant decline, all the way thro', into the preaching actress, very disgusting. I believe there is many a woman in Doctors Commons of a far higher order. And the improbabilities are too gross to be connived at, in the most rapid reading. A word from Miss Howe to Dr. Lewen, or to any Magistrate, would have saved all the adventures: and for months, Clarissa had nothing to do but to save herself, — without difficulty if she had chosen, from all improper compulsion. Is it possible this should ever have been widely considered a moral book!
Now good night, my friend! My love to Snow and all
the tribe, — and to Mr W, and Mrs Rich, and Eras. Above
all, to yourself.

Ever your affectly

H. Martineau

I have a merry letter from Julia, from Berlin, —
all well. I am much as usual, — much enjoying my winter
quiet, — together with charming spring weather, — like
April.

Date: It is winter (last paragraph), but not yet
Christmas (first paragraph). The Testimonial and
Fanny's pregnancy identify it as 1843.
1. Said in Sartor Resartus, to be the golden element in
which "great things fashion themselves together," ed.
Charles Frederick Harrold, New York, 1937, Book III,

2. Wife of HM's maternal uncle, friend of Sydney Smith;
HM had attended her school in Bristol for fifteen months,
1818-19, Auto., I, 90-95.

3. Fanny was expecting her sixth child.

4. Dewey had been in Europe Oct 1841-Aug 1843; he opposed
both slavery and abolitionism; see Drummond and C.B.
Upton, I, 172-73, and "American Morals and Manners," The

5. Not published; HM to Henry Crabb Robinson, 8 March 1844, MS Dr.
Williams's Library.

6. The Dissenters had rejected Sir James Graham's (the
Home Secretary's) Factory Bill of 1843 which would have set
up schools in factories mainly under the management of
the Church.

7. Doctors' Commons refers to the buildings used by Doctors of Civil Law, London, and associated with civil actions such as procurement of marriage licences and proceedings for divorce. HM probably means the latter.

8. Miss Howe is Clarissa's friend and chief correspondent; Dr. Lewen is the Harlowe family parson who is sympathetic to Clarissa's plight, but of minor importance in the plot. In spite of HM's lack of sympathy, she pinpoints Clarissa's dilemma, the unconscious participation in her own ruin.

Tynemouth
Christmas Eve [1843]

Dear Mr. Wedgwood.

What a clever, original kind of fund that has been, — growing while you were paying expenses!

It has grown a little here, too, so that I find I can lay your sum by, at least for the present. So it had better go into the hands of

"Richd Martineau Esqre"
Messrs Whitbread & Co
Chiswell St" or

at his private residence

"Westborne St"
Hyde Park."

By this post, I let him know; so that you will find each other out. What is the most graceful way, I wonder. If he speaks first, it looks like dunning. If you, that
is giving you trouble. I think I must leave to you gentlemen to settle the precedence a la Malaprop,\textsuperscript{1} or any way.

I am relieved at knowing how your measles have fared. I will now soon write to my dear friend,\textsuperscript{2} whose most welcome letter crossed my last on the road. I never doubted of her warm sympathy about that book,\textsuperscript{3} but her mentioning first those few pages she pointed out shows how much our hearts are one on the whole matter. I have not spoken first upon it to anybody; — but I could say everything to her now. I am so happy to have done it! — not for the relief to myself nearly so much as because the avidity I hear of shows how very much it was wanted. — Thank you for telling me of Snow. Nothing pleases me so much as such details. I want them, to be able to go along at all with your family interests, and I can never have enough.

I am pretty well, — all in a bower of evergreens this evening! A great garland, sent me by a clergyman, hangs between the rooms, and everything that will bear garlanding is covered. And they flowered in the night! This morning they were gay with red, blue, yellow and white blossoms, — cut in paper by the maids, and really surprising me on my appearance this morning. — And tonight, here is a really exquisite Madonna from Jenny Carlyle, which will come quite next to my Christus Consolator,\textsuperscript{4} — of all my pictures. And her letters are always a treasure of themselves.

May you have a cheerful Xmas, and may your next year be one of many blessings! We trust these will be a rich
one to begin with.

Yours ever most truly

H. Martineau

Can't you send me some sketch of Snow’s, some day in a letter? I think it is since I wrote to Fanny that my sister Ellen has a nice little girl. They are both well.

Date: from the Testimonial fund.

1. In Act V, Scene I, of Sheridan’s The Rivals Mrs. Malaprop says to another character, "lead the way, and we'll precede," (meaning "proceed").
2. Fanny Wedgwood.
3. Life in the Sick-Room: Essays by an Invalid, 1844; philosophizing and suggestions for physical and mental health of the invalid.
4. Painting by Ary Scheffer (1795-1858), described as "that talisman . . . that inspired epitome of suffering and solace," Life in the Sick-Room, p. 158.
5. Snow’s juvenile drawings according to Hensleigh were: "female figures . . . with grace," but the male figures "sad sticks," Hensleigh Wedgwood to HM, Dec 1843, MS University of Birmingham.

Tynemouth

Jany 11th 1844

My dear friend

You will smile at my little enclosure. It is an
impromptu. In casting up my sum, it occurred to me how we used to talk over these matters, and then it struck me that it might be pleasant to you to see how fully sufficient my present income is. — The first item will look large to you: but rooms commanding a view like this are not a cheap article, and this is my great article of indulgence. Also, that item comprehends wine, and many little luxuries that a healthy person would not think of, but which appear without orders, from my maid's desire for my comfort.

A very different thought in connexion with the Testimonial I must tell you, — (ie, you three.) This book¹ would not have been written, I am persuaded, but for my freedom from all obligation to earn money. I could not have sold that M.S. And I should have had no right to give it away, if not independent. (In justice to Moxon,² I must say that he vows that I shall be no loser by declining all negotiation.) — I feel now that if I ever am further useful by writing, it will be through your good deed.³ I feel as if I might do more, and better, than under any stimulus of need or gain by being able, as now, to write what my mind is full of, while it is full, and in silence, and at leisure. She speaks again of Fanny's sympathy for the part of the book which was "most deeply felt by me," and describes how the idea for the book came to her on 15 Sept.⁷ I remembered a sentence in a wise letter of Mrs Stanley's⁴ about the "Crofton Boys," in which she lamented my not writing more, because there were so many sick and weary people, whose
experience would be most valuable if told, but who had no art or practice of utterance. I felt at once that I must do this, — snatched paper and pencil, and noted down subjects of Essays and their contents (in a few minutes) just as they now stand. Fanny\(^5\) came in for a book, and, as she passed the sofa, I asked her if she believed in our having ideas which at once foretold and compelled their own fulfilment. She did, and reminded me that Toussaint\(^6\) so forced itself upon me. I told her my new idea — on which she glowed, and said she had no doubt of its being a destined achievement. She and Maria\(^7\) left me on the 18th and the next evening I wrote the "Inured" essay. Then I suppose the rest wrote itself, for I remember little about it but the oozing away of a sense of oppression, and the rising glow of a warm sense of relief.\(^8\) It was done presently, before October was out, — without pause, without waiting for a word, — without altering a syllable. I had the M.S. preserved, for a legacy, and some day I may show you how a book writes itself. The most wonderful thing was the absence of all the misgiving and wavering of purpose which is the plague of illness. Low or cheery, ill or easy, night or day, I never for one moment wavered. — Moxon behaved beautifully, as he always does. He kept the secret profoundly, — acquiesced in my not putting my name, — said what I told you about the money part of the affair, and consulted my wishes in every possible way. One pleasant accident was that a note from him, hinting a wish that I could write again crossed on the road my disclosure
of my plan. Was not this odd? — When all was ready, and within a few days of publication, Fanny happened to come over alone, and I told her, — to her utter astonishment! So you see, Moxon alone knew till all was done, and then only Fanny, a few days (4, I think) before all the world. But the secret of her authorship was revealed to her mother and aunts by Emily Taylor and "quite distressed my poor mother." /

Well! My mother and sister came to dine with me 3 days after it was out. I dreaded their knowing it, because it must reveal to them that I had suffered more than they were at all aware of; but I thought any unnatural concealment would give them a worse pain: so I told them, and had, luckily, a most glorious letter from Mr Ker to read them, which gave my mother's mind a cheerful view to begin with. Then they took a copy home: and I have not only their deepest and most entire sympathy, but my mother is extremely happy about it. It has done her good — cheered her altogether. My L.pool sisters and Birmm brother found me out by the Examiner review. Whether James knows yet, I have no idea. I think he must, by this time: but he reads few new books.

She is delighted with the reception of the book. Even Churchmen, who do not countenance her self-reliance and "miss the doctrine of Atonement," appreciate its "newness." HM compares her suffering, which has helped others, to Fanny's difficult pregnancy, which will be repaid in future by the friendship of her children. I should like your confinement to be just precisely like Ellen's. If
she suffers sadly during the preceding months, she really is unusually prosperous at the last. Her husband slept sound till two, and before four, their little daughter was washed and dressed, and had taken her place in civilized society. By proper care, (that is, quiet and admitting nobody,) Ellen dined with her husband in the drawing room (next her chamber) on Xmas day, — (in 8 days;) and, in short, she and baby have been perfectly well the whole time. Alfred seems to be really getting on, professionally, and the dear little people are happier than Carlyle would believe any folk but fools ever are in this world. However, they are sufficiently far from being fools. — I have an especially cheerful note from Mazzini, this evening, speaking quite confidently of cure of his face: and a late Pepoli report to the Claytons confirms this view. I have been reading the new Edinburgh and much like the first article. I wonder who wrote it. The one on Ireland I like, except the sad-party stuff in the last 3 pp. It cuts O'Connell completely, — and that is better late than never. Is there in History a worse man, — I mean a worse member of society? — I suppose Senior wrote that art: Id Murray and Ly M. Lambton beg me to read Custine. Its truth (in the main) is so vouched for by good judges that I suppose I must read it: but books about that wretched country and people make me sick at heart. I have held off reading Walpole's Correspondences till now. I am now in the former series to Mann. At first, I was agreeably disappointed: but now my pain and disgust are growing fast. What a horrid spirit it is! — It would
be a relief to me to have an hour's talk with you about a trouble and perplexity which grow upon me, and almost alarm me at times,—the increase of letters from wretched people, — not asking money, but guidance and "rescue" of some sort. Since the Pension affair appeared,¹⁶ these have gone on increasing, and I begin to doubt where it is to end.  

One correspondent, on the verge of suicide, "twice dreamed he saw me, and I was kind." Her note "sent him to his knees," which makes HM uncomfortable. The Lambtons help her to answer such letters.  

Now good night. — I am not quite at my best, but pretty well —  

Ever yours  

lovingly  

H.M. —  

No thanks about the book have been more hearty than for the section about Letter burning?¹⁷ I thought it would prove so.  

Date: from her reference to the Edinburgh Review, see below.  

1. Life in the Sick-Room.  

2. Edward Moxon (1801-58; DNB), had published Deerbrook and The Hour and the Man.  

3. The Testimonial.  

4. Née Catherine Leycester (d. 1862), wife of Edward Stanley, Bishop of Norwich (1779-1849; DNB); and mother of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-81; DNB), later Dean of Westminster.  

5. Her niece, Frances Elizabeth Greenhow, (1821-92) who had been helping her to write letters.  

6. The Hour and the Man.
7. Probably Robert's eldest daughter, Maria Martineau (1827-64), was later to become her permanent companion.

8. "Becoming Inured," pp. 146-54, refutes the notion that suffering is bound to lessen when it goes on for a long time. HM says it becomes more dreaded. She later repeats the account of writing her book but condemns it as showing self-pity and weakness due to her lingering religious convictions, Auto., II, 169-74.

9. HM's elder sister Rachel (1800-78), and Ellen lived in Liverpool; Robert (1798-1870), was a brass-founder in Birmingham. The Examiner extolls the book's "radiant health" which will "prompt and sustain Endeavor" in others to overcome the demoralizing effects of illness; 9 Dec 1843.

10. Alfred Higginson (1808-84), was a surgeon.

11. Mazzini's health had been permanently damaged during his first years in London, when he had pawned his winter coat and shared a small allowance from his mother with three other refugees. Count Carlo Pepoli (1796-1881), and his wife née Elizabeth Fergus of Kirkcaldy, acquaintances of Carlyle. Countess Pepoli had married the somewhat younger "exile and dilettante" in 1840; he was associated with University College, London, and Glasgow University, and finally returned to Italy where he became Rector of the University of Bologna 1859.


13. See Nassau William Senior (1790-1864; DNB), "Ireland," pp. 189-266, a summary of its problems. In the last pages
he calls attention to the "unscrupulosity" of Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847; DNB), Irish Catholic MP who had virtually promised Irish tenants "fixity of tenure", which HM strongly opposed.

14. HM refers to Russia. Astolphe, Marquis de Custine (1793-1857), nineteenth-century traveller. His work was later reviewed by Richard Monckton Milnes, "The Marquis of Custine's Russia," Edinburgh Review, 79 (April 1844), 351-96. His conclusion that an alliance between Russia and the Western world was impossible supported HM's condemnation of Czarist policies.

15. Letters of Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford [1717-97; DNB], to Sir Horace Mann [1711-86; DNB], ed. Richard Bentley (1794-1871; DNB), 3 vols, 1833 (letters of 1741-60); 4 vols, 1843-44. The letters expose unsavory political maneuvering in the troubled years after the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole. Bentley had approached HM about publication of a book after her return from America, Auto., II, 95-96.

16. This subject had been revived Aug 1841 before Lord Melbourne and the Whigs went out of office, Auto., II, 177-78.


Tynemouth

Saturday [Feb-March 1844]

My dearest Fanny, what a reproach your note does look!
And yet I am innocent. I have thought of you much more
than daily, and longed to write more than you could possibly desire to hear. But I could not. I ought to have told my intimates in October that we could have no more use of my dear niece while my poor mother is there. Fanny is always in close attendance upon her, — wanted to read to her, to help her in everything, and either to walk with her in fine weather, or to amuse her when she cannot go out. I went on charmingly till a few weeks ago, — feeling (as I still feel, every day of my winter) the bliss of my quiet in contrast with the horrors and worries of last winter, when our poor well-meaning E.T., was meddling and messing and muddling, putting everything and everybody out, — a season never to be forgotten in Tynemouth! Instead of those 4 to 6 notes per day, all full of vexatious blunders, to lie quiet and know that all is peace in the house, has made this a delectable winter indeed. I was rather overdone at times by the confidences and consultations brought by my book; but there was pleasure and comfort in that, — an assurance of being of use. And then its going out of print so soon, and Moxon's joy and gratitude thereon were pleasant. And I was not worse, and my mother was cheery and well, and all seemed unusually bright up to a little time after I last wrote to you. Then came the Commis sent to enquire into the operation of Ld Ashley's Bill and he was clearly sent to me. I can't now (tho' I will some day) go into the whole story. Suffice it that he had things to say of the temper (not distress) of the collier population which made one forget everything in the desire to aid them,
— to enlighten and soothe them: and soon a band of us, — consisting, besides the Commisr and myself, of Col Grey and Ly M Lambton, the Lambton agent, Messrs Chambers of Edinbro' and Dr Chalmers as approver, — had got up a plan of action. I was led on (I mean by my own impulses) to promise and even to offer work of which I am no more capable than of taking up the pyramids and setting them down at Cairo. Col Grey and Ly Mary were anxious for me, and insisted on my having a Secy. Mrs Reid and Mrs Ker have saved me from proceeding with such a folly; and I have drawn back, having gained a lesson of submission to my circumstances. I have been quite ill with the mere prospect, and all my business is in arrear, so that I could not even write to you. She says she can do the "light work proposed first by the Commissioner," but for the larger project she is doubtful about finding someone "at liberty to work it out to our wish." Mrs Reid has been my supporting and wise friend, all this time, — an unspeakable blessing, as she always is. One difficulty to such a weak person as I am now was my good doctor's encouragement to me to proceed. I am sure my sister and niece were dismayed; but he never was ill, and has not the remotest conception of the wear and tear of intellectual labour; and I was ashamed and afraid to refuse work while he did not forbid, but encouraged it. But I have now seen amusing proofs of what his notion of authorship is: and, clever as he is about the immediate concerns of illness, — I shall not consult him about remoter influences upon it. Any trouble of nerves is curious and interesting to him when the proofs are before
his eyes, but wholly inconceivable when not immediately visible. Mrs Ker's sensible hint of the state of mind I might find myself in at the end, or if obliged to leave off in the middle, showed me my duty at once.

My mother has been very ill, and is extremely nervous and feeble. Greenhow has diagnosed her mother's condition as heart trouble; meanwhile, Rachel has successfully opened a school in Liverpool. She was wondered at, laughed at, stared at, for a good while: but when it was once seen what noble and happy creatures her pupils turned out, — lo! there is a throng at her door. She, being the very opposite of myself, made for power, prosperity and responsibility, is very happy, and constantly improving in a position where I, — and I suspect you, would almost die of anxiety and dread.

So you deprecate the idea of a 4th boy. I am glad therefore you have a girl. But your note made me smile, — recalling a lady at Norwich who once asked my mother (before our Ellen was born) how many children she had. "Seven." "O! I should be miserable if I had seven children." Whereas I believe she did not quarrel with life when she had ten: and now she and her old husband have a score or two of grandchildren about them, and like it very well. Far be it from me to insinuate that you and she are alike. Her way, in those days, was to take comfortable care of herself, whatever became of other folk: and she sent husband and everybody to bed in good time, and sat up by the fire 2 or 3 hours longer, with a novel in her hand, and a plate of pound cake at her
elbow. When the Quarterly next cites Père Goriot as a sample of domestic life in France, I think I will communicate this to some French friend as a picture of the English mother. I wish I had you here, in my very warm room, where the temperature is very even, while the air is fresh. So charming a winter room, I never was in: and here are two sofas and an easy chair; and you might read in silence as many hours as you pleased, and doze or gossip when you liked. How pleasant it would be, if — my will — could transport you in an instant. — Here is a newspaper from Macready, from New Orleans. He is prospering everywhere. Mrs. Follen, she says, is saving her money to come to England. Dewey has quite committed himself to the Pro-slavery side, as perhaps you have seen in his Address at New York. He had the effrontery to ask for Mr. Furness's church in which to deliver this at Phila; but only 200 people went. His former admirer Fanny Butler, would not go. His halting and inconsistency have been so mischievous that I am glad to has dished himself decisively. — How glorious old Adams has been! — My opinion of O'Connell is derived from his public acts and speeches. Since it was formed, I have indeed learned that Dublin lawyers, of all politics, consider him the most unprincipled man at their Bar. But this was not needed. If anyone thinks otherwise of him it can be only from not heeding his doings and sayings, which do not admit of two versions,
according to opinion. When a man lies as often as he speaks, there is no scope for opinion: and anyone who follows his speeches will see that he does so. I am well pleased, however, at what all parties are doing now, except Id J. Russell. His disgrace seems quite complete: and I learn from a repeal correspondent at Dublin that his factious doings, — his "blandishments" are despised there as in London, and only occasion a distrust of O'Connell, — which I cannot be sorry for. The Repeal cause is virtually over, surrendered by O'C. himself even more clearly in letters than in the House, — I could tell you some interesting things of Id Howick, but must stop.

Pray thank Eras: for his tidings of you, and Mr. W, for Snow's curious and romantic drawings. My love to you all. — O! that line "For they breathe truth &c, is of old Gaunt's-Richd II. Act II Scene 1st.

Ever your affecte

H.M.

Date: from her letter to Henry Crabb Robinson, see below, note 4.

1. In Newcastle with the Greenhows.
2. Hugh Seymour Tremenheere (1804-93; DNB), barrister; he held various official posts before being appointed Commissioner for inquiring into the state of the population in mining districts as a result of Lord Ashley's Bill (1842) for the protection of women and children working in mines. On the strength of HM's pamphlet about coal miners of the North-east, The Tendency of Strikes and
Sticks to Produce Low Wages, and of Union between Masters and Men to Ensure Good Wages, Durham, 1834, she was approached at this time for two successive projects: an enlightened periodical to help to "improve the tempers" of the miners and a cheap-books club; see Auto., III, 95-96, and Webb, pp. 131-33, 222-23.

3. Col. Henry George Grey (1766-1882), second son of the 1st Earl Grey and maternal uncle to Lady Durham (d. 1841), later Gen. Grey. Henry Morton was the Lambton agent. Robert (1802-71; DNB) and William Chambers (1800-83; DNB), Edinburgh publishers. Dr. Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847; DNB), preacher and philanthropist, leader of the newly separated (18 May 1843) Free Church of Scotland, who carried practical Christian reform into the worst slum areas of Edinburgh. For Lady Mary Lambton's part in originating the Weekly Volume, finally published by Charles Knight, see Auto., II, 133. See also Knight, Passages, II, 313-14, 321.

4. HM told Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867; DNB), that she had been tempted to participate in a plan which would have been "the greatest and best of my life," HM to H.C. Robinson, 8 March 1844, MS Dr. Williams's Library.

5. Her brother-in-law, Michael Thomas Greenhow, with whom she was to break off relations permanently over his publication of a pamphlet, A Medical Report of the Case of Miss H.M., 1845.

6. Hope Elizabeth, born Feb 1844.

7. On 8 Feb 1844 Macready had met Henry Clay (1777-1852; DAB), and given him a letter from HM; The Diaries of
8. Dewey's sermon has not been identified, but can be judged by his "American Morals and Manners".

9. John Quincy Adams (1767-1848; DAB), elected to the Senate after serving as President; he consistently supported the right of petition, which gave abolitionists their opening for action.

10. HM accuses O'Connell of misleading the Irish by promises of Repeal of the Act of Union, 1841-43. After a mass meeting 8 Oct 1843 he was charged with conspiracy, sedition and unlawful assembly. His trial began 15 Jan and ended 12 Feb 1844. He was found guilty on eleven counts, a judgment later reversed by the Lords. See History of the Peace, II, 562-76. Because, she says, Ireland's miseries "proceed from moral and social, and not political causes" (p. 576), HM opposes Russell's support for Repeal. His motion of 23 Feb for a Committee of the whole house to inquire into the condition of Ireland, which would have weakened the government's position against Repeal, was defeated after nine nights' debate.

A great deal happened in the interval between these two letters. On 22 and 23 June 1844 HM was mesmerized by the popular lecturer on the subject, Spencer Timothy Hall (1812-85; DNB), brought to her by her brother-in-law. The first attempts at relieving her distress were success-
ful enough to encourage her to continue the experiment under the amateur mesmerizing of her maid. The experiment was also tried on Jane Arrowsmith, who suffered from headaches and inflamed eyes. Jane was found to be an even more susceptible subject than HM, with the diagnostic and prognostic powers of a somnambule. Finally, HM received the ministrations of Mrs. Montague Wynyard, a "professional" mesmerist sent to her by old London friends, the Basil Montagus (1770-1851; DNB), and a friend of theirs who was to become very important to HM, Henry George Atkinson (1815?-34). Her recovery, which took place over the summer and fall of 1844, was described in Letters on Mesmerism, 1845, rptd. from the Athenaeum. The public outcry and condemnation of HM as a result of these letters are summarized in Auto., II, 194-200. For Atkinson's part in her treatment, see Auto. II, 213-15. On 13 Jan 1845 she left Tynemouth to begin a round of visits.

Birmingham

March 19th [1845]

My dearest Fanny, I cannot tell you with what pleasure I received your note. Your silence had been so very long! and I felt as if my new ease of body and mind, wonderful as it is, was not quite complete without my knowing that the dear friends who sustained and consoled me in my years of suffering enjoy my recovery with me. This recovery seems a more substantial and felt blessing, every day: or I should rather call it a new life. You certainly never
saw me in anything like so sound a condition: and I am persuaded that I now know a healthy state of nerves for the first time in my life. My family and I are amused at the recurrence of the word "calmness" every day, from observers and old friends who see me. Who should be "calm" but people restored to health from a condition of trembling misery? I believe, however, they supposed me under a sort of spell, — or wholly engrossed by one idea, and unable to think of anything but mesmerism. It is true, it is brought before me wherever I go; — I find the practice going forward on every hand where there are kind and wise people; and it is very interesting to see pain banished and disease extirpated almost as often as this beautiful natural remedy is tried. But the world is full of other subjects of interest, which are as interesting as ever to us. Be assured, dear friend, I should not be "dissatisfied with your state of mind" about Mesmer. You cannot be malicious or evasive of truth, or even in the slightest degree uncandid; and all I care for is that nobody should sin on the occasion. I have no desire to make converts, or to lessen the dignity of this, more than of other truth, by sending it a begging. I am sorry that powers so vast and mysterious should be thrown into the hands of the ignorant and reckless by the apathy, cowardice or mercenary spirit of the Medical Profession — but why you, and people in general should go into the matter, unless they wish it, I don't see. To know the truth is a privilege. If people wish to share it, and come and ask, we are happy to help them to share with us:
but, while the facts are so secure as they are now, we
really don't care whether more or fewer go to their
graves without the very imperfect knowledge which we
have. In Birmm, the subject is one of great interest;
and the best people we know are believers and practitioners;
and very beautiful are the results before our eyes.

By "we" I mean my brother Robert and his wife and
family and myself. O! we are so happy! They are very
fine young people, and we have a hearty friendship, they
and I. The two dear Greenhow lads live with us too, —
for the capital Proprietary school here. Our days are
busy and gay (I have just sent off a tale as my contribution
to the League Bazaar,) and our long walks and merry meal
times exhilarate me beyond anything I ever remember. I
don't quite leave off being mesmerized, wishing to keep it
up till I return to Mr Greg's neighborhood and good offices
in June. Mr Partridge, the surgeon here, (who is curing
several "hopeless" patients by it) or my maid, give me a
little almost every day. And then, there are dances and
dinners, and the Polka and music at home, — and now the
Easter holidays and excursions to Kenilworth and else¬
where. A pretty life, is it not? I stay here till 1st
of May, — except a few days at the Archer Clives' and at
the Baches! Mrs Clive looks younger than when I saw her
last, so many years ago. — I wrote to Mrs Boscoe, just
before leaving Tynemouth, about Mme Sismondi, respecting
whose case she wrote to me. I advised her trying
Mesmerism in Paris, where the treatment of deafness is
much better understood than in London, I am assured.
My deafness is not nearly so bad as it used to be. Many
remark this; but the difference is more perceptible to myself than to others. We expect no further improvement than took place up to Febry, — the form of the ears being changed by long disuse of the one and an artificial use of the other. But the temporary effect of any very long or favorable séance is remarkable, — my hearing being greatly improved for a day or two after it. And in no one respect has Mesmm done me anything but good. The perfect regularity of stomach, bowels and sleep ensured by it is an indication of what its operation is.

Why in the world should my letter to Snow about Jane be burnt? Under what reason for burning can letters to children be brought? I wonder what it is about, — that letter. I hope it is favourable to that excellent girl, for whom I have an unmixedled respect. Headlam Greenhow's (bro. G's nephew) malice and shabby dealing (partly professional and partly from "private pike" as a poor lady used to say) exhibited in Saty's Athenaeum, will not avail more than temporarily to discredit her and her good Mesmerist. Poor Mrs Arrowsmith has been bullied and frightened, — threatened, or made to believe so, that we were all to go to jail; and, unsupported by the presence of any witness or friend, and perhaps partly forgetting after 4 months, has gone back from her dates and her true story. (But the Athenm is the proper place for these things.) One of my wonders is how Mr Dilke can show his face anywhere after his transactions with me about the whole matter. Whatever people may
think of Mesmm, there are no two opinions about that, I believe.9

Poor Jane's aunt at the last moment prevented her
going to Mrs Liddell's,10 — whereat Mrs L. is naturally
very angry. I have applications for Jane, as mesmeric
nurse, for which she is capitally qualified. If they
plague her at Tynemouth, I shall encourage her to leave;
for she is bound by no duty there, and is too valuable
to be thrown away in a mere housemaid's vocation. It
is delightful to think of her recovered health. That
is full compensation for any present persecution; and
if a better career is opened to her by her Mesmeric
experience, she may bless the day when Mrs Wynyard went
to Tynemouth.

I have seriously thought of running up to town, for
a day or two, very quietly, to see a sick person and you
and one or two more; but it will not do. It could not
be a secret an hour, I am told; and I should be torn to
pieces. I suppose you do not, and cannot ever run down
hither. Of if we could meet, for the hour or two you
say! I fear Eras; and all the delicate folk must be the
worse for this protracted winter. We young people here
flourish in it. — My love to you all. Don't be so
long silent again, dearest Fanny, if you can help it.
But it is a shame to ask or expect you to write, — with
hands so full as yours.

Yours ever affectionately

H. Martineau
1. Jane Carlyle had commented: "Harriet Martineau expects that the whole system of Medicine is going to be flung to the dogs presently; and that henceforth, instead of Physicians, we are to have Magnetisers!" To Carlyle, 27 Dec 1844, New Letters of JWC, I, 158. Webb surveys the wider implications of HM's mesmeric treatment, pp. 226-53.

2. Dawn Island: a Tale, Manchester, 1845 (contributed to the National Anti-Corn Law League Bazaar, spring 1845) in which European seacaptains teach South Sea Islanders the rules of trading.

3. William Rathbone Greg (1809-81; DNB), son of a mill owner, businessman, essayist; recently moved to Windermere for his wife's health. The Gregs had visited HM in Tynemouth during her recovery and invited her to stay with them; see Auto., II, 202-3.


5. The Rev. Samuel Bache (1804-76; DNB), Unitarian clergyman, married to the sister of James' wife Helen, Joint-Minister at New Meeting, Birmingham, 1832-62.

6. Mrs. Boscoe has not been identified. Mme. Sismondi, née Jessie Allen (1777-1853), Fanny's maternal aunt, was still living at Chêne, Switzerland, where she had lived with her husband Jean Charles Léonard Sismonde Sismondi (1773-1842), historian. Her "great deafness" had been noted in 1837 (Darwin Letters, I, 279).

7. The Athenaeum of 15 March included a statement by Headlam Greenhow, which challenged Jane Arrowsmith's
power of clairvoyance; her mesmerist had been Mrs. Wynyard, pp. 268-69. Letters on Mesmerism had appeared in the Athenæum, 23 Nov–21 Dec 1844, and were followed by a series of editorial comments, statements from interested parties, and additional letters from HM.

8. Jane’s aunt had at first supported HM’s contention that Jane foretold the safe rescue of a shipwrecked crew on the night of 15 Oct 1844. Since the news of the rescue had been reported in the house before Jane’s séance and would also have been the subject of conversation in the town that evening, some witnesses insisted that Jane knew the facts beforehand. The incident became a focal point for HM’s critics in the Athenæum.

9. Charles Wentworth Dilke (1789–1864; DNB), editor of the Athenæum, had ridiculed Jane’s clairvoyance and HM’s "cure" by means of mesmerism, 28 Dec 1844, pp. 1198–99. He also argued with HM over her right to allow Moxon to reprint the letters; see Auto., II, 196–97.

10. Not identified.

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On the first of June after her round of visits, HM went to stay in lodgings on the shores of Lake Windermere, (Auto., II, 212, 219–20). On 29 June she purchased the property on which she was to build her house, and during the summer she planned and arranged for its construction. She asked Seymour Tremenheere to turn the first sod for her.
My dearest Fanny

How glad I am to hear again from you is more than I can tell. Nothing whatever did I know of you but that you went down to Maer just before Mrs Jenny’s return home. What a home feeling it gives me to be sitting down to write to you at this time of night, when the household are going to bed, and my day’s work is done, and my tea-drinking cousins dismissed, and my day leaving an impression, as to business, much like my old Fluyder St days! But O! what a different frame I now bring to my work. — As to said frame, I have only gratefully to say that it continues to do its work, and enjoy its exercises and pleasures admirably. As for my work, — it will amuse you to hear how my firmly announced holiday resolutions have issued; — in my being obliged (by a weighty requisition) to write a book in 3 vols,¹ which must be out before Parlt meets. — Ras will like it; and so, I think, will you. I suppose I shall not myself, — for one never has that comfort about one’s own books for many minutes together. — I won’t fill my paper with what time will show, — what it is all about. Only, it is not about Mesmerism. That keeps me very busy, however. My power is now very considerable, if I may judge by what we see: and it is really impossible to refuse doing it when miserable sufferers are brought to one, given over by the doctors to despair. One poor youth has been under my hands twice every day since Augst 3d, and will be, probably, for many months to come. — condemned to lose both arms.
from diseased elbows. But also the doctors said he would no doubt go off in consumption very rapidly, if this were not done, — and probably if it were. — He at once "went off" into the trance, and sleeps more and more; and first, the cough and expectoration lessened, till they ceased entirely; then his pulse came down, his breathing became as calm as my own, — his appetite returned, — and flesh and strength; and the elbow which is "bad" gives him no pain when he is under my care. The gentleman who brought him has obtained from the doctors a certificate of the utter hopelessness of the case, in their view: and this sets my mind free. He comes from 8 miles off; and has been to see his mother these 3 last days: and no one can put him to sleep, and he complains of pain in the arm: so I hope he will come back tomorrow. The improvement in his intelligence is more remarkable than any part of it. I do not despair of his rising into fair general health, with mere stiff elbows. He now always sleeps in 2 minutes or less; and another patient of mine in 7 seconds! and both now speak in the sleep, when I have anyone here to help me to hear them. How you would wonder to see me after breakfast, with 3 patients at a time lying about in the sleep. I do enjoy it! It is a sweet experience, the plunging into such a state of calm the suffering and the insane, and seeing their countenances grow placid and happy under the mysterious operation of one's will.² We muster strong here now. Miss Thompson is at the Gregs; and Mary Whately at the Arnolds; and the Arnolds are come home very full of the subject
from their visit at the Archbips. You know that his close study on the subject has issued in belief from end to end, and knowledge of the far greater part.

I send you a plan of my cottage, — not doubting your liking to cast your eye over it. The situation is unspeakably lovely. The walls are rising daily, and the upper story is begun today. It is capitally built, of the grey stone of the country. It is to be covered in by the middle of Novbr and finished by April next. My good Jane from Tynemouth is to be my cook and housemaid, and I have a capital friend in my own maid; so we hope to be a busy and happy household. Meantime, we are rather straightened in lodgings; but it is only for a few months. I could not have conceived of such a perpetual influx of visitors as I have had this year. It is so incessant, that my work is sadly hindered, and if it were not now late autumn, I should have to go into hiding somewhere, or give up my work. But it has been a hearty pleasure to see so many kind faces; — some of my own immediate family; — many cousins and friends, — and some 50,000 acquaintances. She details family and friends arriving and staying in Ambleside, as well as the sad news of the death from scarlet fever of her sister Ellen’s little daughter.

Dear friend, I should joyfully and thankfully come to your little guest-chamber, if your affairs of all kinds should leave you leisure to have me, when I come to London. At present, I do long above all things, for quiet and time for work; but London will sometime have its turn; and
then I may hope to learn your children over again
(some of them, and some new ones—) in your own house.
Also I don't despair of seeing you and Mr W. and one bairn
at least, my guests here; some summer week or another. —
I am very thankful for your good report of Eras. — How
long it seems since I heard last! But you are so busy,
I never have any expectations or wonderments about your
writing or not writing, — only longing to hear, now and
then. — Have you seen Emerson's 1st of Augst speech
(this year)? And Margaret Fuller's "Woman in the 19th
century?" Beautiful! — Now, good night, my dear
friend. How more and more strange it seems to write to
each other from amidst prosperity! The wonder of the
feeling does not go off with me. —

Ever your affecte

H. Martineau

Date: from her reference to her book, see below.
1. Forest and Game Law Tales, 3 vols, 1845, based on
research, and evidence supplied by a parliamentary
committee under the chairmanship of John Bright (1811-89;
DNB), and showing the operation of the laws from the
eleventh century to the present; see Auto., II, 257-
58, History of the Peace, II, 616-19, and Webb, pp. 264-
65.
2. The "youth" HM was mesmerizing died the following Feb;
this and other particulars of her ministrations are
described Auto., II, 246-49.
3. Miss Thompson has not been identified. Mary Whately,
?daughter of the Rev. Richard Whately. Archbishop of
Dublin (1787-1863; DNB), friend of the former Dr. Thomas Arnold (1795-1842; DNB), and his wife, née Mary Penrose (?1791-1873), who lived with her four daughters at Fox How, across the meadow from HM's new house.

4. Emerson's speech has not been positively identified, but may be the address he gave at Middlebury College, Vermont, in the summer of 1845, which brought down on him the following prayer: "We beseech Thee, O Lord, to deliver us from ever hearing any more such transcendental nonsense as we have just listened to from this sacred desk;" quoted by Ralph L. Rusk, The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson, New York, 1949, p. 307.

5. Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Condition and Duties of Women, 1845, rambling essays on famous women and some practical problems of American women; HM is mentioned with the Grimkés and Mrs. Anna Jameson, p. 112.

HM's preoccupation with the subject of mesmerism may have offended the Wedgwoods, but the long breaks in their correspondence for 1845-46 may also have been because HM was busy overseeing the building of her house and then in gathering plants and laying out her garden; see Auto., II. 265-66. No distraction, however, would have been equal to the suspense she felt about Repeal of the Corn Laws, (finally enacted June 1846), and the resulting intensification of her correspondence.
Dear Fanny

First, as a piece of business, let me tell you that I can contradict the report of Mr Cobden's "sinking health and fortunes." It is all nonsense. He is very tired and thin, of course, but not ill; and the session is his resting time, when he recruits. His fortunes are doing very well, — his partners attending well to the business while he does ours. They have not made so much this year as last, — nor so much as they reasonably expected before the bad harvest. But they are quite flourishing; and please say this, (for as much as my authority is worth) wherever you hear what you tell me.¹ I have had some correspondence with him lately, of the last degree of interest,² (— of which I will tell you when I come) and some of my intimates are so intimate with him that they can answer for him up to last week. They sadly fear the Lords throwing out the Measures, — and Peel's consequent resignation, — to come back, after a direful struggle, with more power than a man in our times ought to have, or would wish to have.³ — About Ld Grey. One day, I was writing to Ld Mary Lambton, and I told her my notions of what would happen between Lds Grey and John Russell and Palmerston, — ran with my letter to Mr Greg's postbag, — then took up a newspaper, and saw that just that had happened.⁴ After this, I need not tell you my opinion. Ld M.L. is much of my mind, and certainly thinks him wholly right, as I am disposed to do from what I know.⁵ Nothing
surprises me more than that the Whigs should conceive they could have governed the country if a difficulty like this could avail to stop the experiment. I was so far glad of Lord John being sent for that (as he could not possibly succeed) we should have Peel back, disencumbered of difficulties which could not be got rid of in any other way. But for this, I should have been very sorry; and, as it was, I was wofully ashamed. Their blind imbecility makes one blush when one is all alone by one's fireside. — Yes, — I have, as you say, been hopeful, and, but for one thing, secure, all these years of what has come. That one thing is the dread of apoplexy or paralysis for Peel, of which one lives in constant fear. He has now long passed the average lease of Premiers' brains. If he does but last till he has put the seal on his career by securing these measures, his work may be carried on, with more or less efficiency, by others (not the present Whig coterie.) But I pray that we may have another 10 years of him. Since the time you mention, it has been a perpetual amusement to me to watch the coming round about Peel. We are all too near, I am persuaded, to estimate his proportions: but I see, more and more, what I have believed for 20 years past, that the dislike, and especially any contempt of him arises from the common mistake of requiring him to be another sort of man than he is. His vast greatness in one way is unperceived from people wanting and making — criteria of another sort, — not so large and uncommon and valuable, I think, as what he has. In 1841 (I think) I wrote down, for some of my own family, my notion of him and his probable achievements, and asked—
them to keep the paper; which they have done: and I believe they already wonder at the difference of their reception of it then and now. — Here I have answered your political questions first.8

Yes, dear friend, I hope to come by and by; but not in spring: not before Octbr, or more probably Novbr. Besides my insatiable thirst for natural beauty, after so long a captivity, — my inability to leave our woods and streams, and starry skies overhanging the lake, — I cannot absent myself from my house and field and maids this spring. The house is nearly finished: we are burning fire to speed the drying of the plaster: the terrace is to be finished tomorrow, — the drive is made, the planting begun, the necessary earthenware ordered from Staffordshire, the metalware from Birm, — and the wardrobes &c of our clever Ambleside joiners. Today I have been buying my garden tools; and next week, when my pretty little quarry has yielded all the stones wanted for the terrace wall and the porch, and is my own to embellish, and when the wet field is rolled to smooth over the cart ruts, — we begin to garden a little. I can't afford any money for this, — having spent what I could spare on planting: but Jane (my maid) and I can do a good deal ourselves. Mrs Davy and Archy9 and I are to go into the woods, with trowel and frail basket, to get wood anemones for my copse, primroses and periwinkle for my little slopes, and ferns, ivy, pansies and yellow tulips for my terrace wall. The soil is so good that our gardening will suffice for some time — some years perhaps — to come. — I have
often and often wished that you and yours, and many
other of my friends could know how I now more than ever
feel the comfort and moral good of the little independence
you secured to me. I hope to realize this house and its
furniture (the field is paid for) without touching my
income, or my future annuity. This future annuity is a
good security: but I must not encroach on it, if I can
help it. I fully expect to have paid off every shilling,
and made this valuable little property completely my own,
before said annuity accrues. I think my income will
suffice myself and my two maids comfortably, — the house
being provided. It is no extravagance in me to keep two,
— one being a clever creature who saves my time and keeps
down my dress and furniture expenses by her skill with her
needle. She is a superior person who sets me free in
every way. The other is Jane from Tynemth, — (who is
in excellent health again, and so happy!) — I am just
about to begin on a second set of "the Playfellow," and
for next year, I have certain working plans. I decline
all literary labour which imposes any bondage. I have
(entre nous) lately refused a tempting editorship.¹⁰ Tho'
younger in health and strength than ever before, I am in
years so far on the downhill side of life that I think
it right to take things easily, and mean to keep my
freedom and repose of mind, very carefully. I now know
that a course of usefulness is still open to me, — (work
being abundantly offered to me) and I shall use the
privilege of elderhood to pick and choose what I shall
work at. — I ought to have mentioned in its right place
that I not only could sell my field and house any day at a profit, (so great is the demand here) but all my experienced friends say that the value thereof will be doubled in a few years. It is not as property but as a delicious home that I have made an effort to secure it: but the secondary consideration has its value in some quarters.

If you have opportunity, do tell whom you like of my friends that my income is not of less value to me, but more, from my recovered health, — I am glad, for your own sake, that you could not and did not come, dear friend. Our weather has been bad beyond all precedent till this week: and I am in lodgings —, you know. You and Mr W, will come (and there will be a bed in the dressing room for a boy or girl) when I have a comfortable room to offer you. And in my cottage it will be beautiful even to stand at the window and see it rain, — the valley is so lovely! And rely upon it I will come to you. If your chamber in the wall is vacant in the autumn, I shall be a candidate for it. And what a world of things we shall have to say! First, however, you will have to stare at me, to be sure it is H.M. Except my gray hair, you will think me younger than you ever saw me. I feel just a year old, — born into a new world last winter, — a world of ease and peace as little like the old one as heaven to earth. I wonder more and more at the feeling of ease and its power. I wish Eras: had some of it. I suppose he will not let me mesmerize him when I come. I have always hitherto succeeded, and would fain give him
relief and strength. We go on finely with Mesm—its practice, and the increase of knowledge which the scientific are giving us. I could fill sheets with this subject.—Macky at S'¬unJnderland! What can that be for!—My love to them all. I wonder whether two or three of them will remember me when I appear. Two at most, probably. Good night, dear friend. Yours ever affectionately H.M.

I have not yet seen Cromwell!12

Date: from her references to Cobden and Repeal of the Corn Laws, see below.

1. Richard Cobden (1804-65; DNB), founder, with John Bright, of the Anti-Corn Law League 1839. HM's information is overly optimistic; Cobden's business had suffered from poor management by his brothers, and his health was always shaky. Later in 1846 a Testimonial fund raised for his benefit helped to shore up his failing business.

2. A reference to the only occasion when HM made a personal intervention in politics by settling the feud between Cobden and Peel, which allowed both of them to save face and thereby opened the way to passage of the Repeal of the Corn Laws; Auto., II, 259-64.

3. Peel had proposed, 27 Jan 1846, to lower the duty on corn immediately and to abolish it entirely within three years. Leading men in his own party as well as most of the Whigs supported him.

4. When Peel's ministry had resigned, Dec 1845, over
disagreement about the Repeal, Russell was unable to form a government because Lord Grey, in favor of peace with Europe, refused to sit in the same cabinet with Lord Palmerston.

5. Sir Henry George Grey, Viscount Howick and 3rd Earl Grey (1802-94; DNB), Lady Mary Lambton's uncle. HM censures his quick temper in political dealings, Auto., I, 360.

6. Peel's new ministry did not include Lord Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (later 14th Earl of Derby, 1799-1869; DNB), who was strongly opposed to Repeal of the Corn Laws.

7. That the Whigs could not form a government.

8. HM praises Peel's efficiency and order in government, his encouragement to commerce and other good qualities in History of the Peace, II, 678.

9. Margaret (Fletcher) Davy (b. 1798), wife of Dr. John Davy (1790-1868; DNB), of Lesketh How, just out of Ambleside. Archy was her son.

10. In 1846 HM began writing articles for the People's Journal, founded by John Saunders (1810-95; DNB), and edited by him with William Howitt (1792-1879; DNB). She may have been offered a sub-editorship on this journal.

11. Word not clear.

My dearest Fanny

I was delighted to see your pretty handwriting come out of the rough brown hand of our postman,¹ the other day. The very shortness of our letters now is a pleasure, as betokening our speedy meeting. I do so long to see you all, and to talk over your home interests as of old, and 100 other things! — You say you return home before Sepr. Will you tell me frankly whether it will suit you for me to pay my little visit to you early in the series? I am to be in town about Sepr 20th; and if, as I hope, because they need it, the Kers go abroad, I shall pay most of my other visits first, and go to them for Novbr. If you would rather have me in Decbr, of course you will say so. If the end of Sepr suits you equally well, we can empty ourselves early, instead of being tantalized by mere glimpses of each other. I go to Lpool the last day of this month, for 3 weeks. Profª Gregory and family come tomorrow, and soon, Mr Atkinson, — for the two purposes of holiday and further mesmeric investigation.² On Friday come my old aunt Martineau and her daughter out of Norfolk.³ After them, Margt Fuller from Amera,⁴ and my brother and sister Robert: and finally, Mr Dawson⁵ and his bride, to whom I have let my house for Sepr, and who will spend a couple of days with me before I start. With all this, I have no little work to do. Our final reading of "the Billow and the Rock"
("Playfellow") is to be this week; and much shall we wish (the Davys and I) that dear Miss Wedgwood was here. —

This narrative of plans for August and Sepr., joined on to Miss W's report of me, will enable you to fancy me till we meet. And you will almost have to fancy me then, — so little will you "realize" that I can be your miserably sick friend of Tynemouth memory. I wonder how I should behave now under ailment, after nearly 2 years without ache or pain. When you come here and see my perfect paradise of a home, and my dear neighbours, and have witnessed my daily life of honorable toil and gay enjoyment of both work and ease, I think you will feel a sort of surprise that there is on earth a lot of good so unmixed. The new experience of freedom from care, — of perfect ease of body and mind, — as new to me as Heaven itself could be — loses none of its wonder as yet. If I had died of my long illness, I should have left the world with a narrow and wrong notion of life. Not that I am fond of life, even now. I never was, and never can be. But the burden which constitutional infirmity (now removed) weighed me down with I was not aware of; and I supposed my condition of anxiety and suffering the common one. I now suspect that my present condition of health and perfect peace is as uncommon; or I should be at a loss to account for the tempers and troubles which I see people afflicting themselves with every day. — I corrected the proof of my Wastwater trip, and sent it off only yesterday; so you have not seen it yet. There are 2 more done, of the Lake and Mountain Holidays; and 3 of "Household Education."
I do like writing for that Journal, — the host of readers are so earnest! I have letters from the Workies which show this, amidst some confusion of thought, which is very instructive as guidance to me. I hope I shall remember to bring and show you Cobden's parting letter to me, — very interesting. We will talk him over. — About the Whigs I feel less interest than I ever remember to have felt on the accession of any government, from their being so little wished for, and so sure to be mere stopgaps till we can have Peel again. One's feeling is of want to have the trouble over of changing back again; and meantime there is the fidget of unreliable financial management. The feeling of financial safety when Peel's government came in was a substantial and perpetual comfort to me — ill at Tynemouth, and I don't like parting with it now. However, Peel must have a rest, like Cobden; and we must not grudge the interval. And if Ld John finally becomes convinced that he cannot govern the country, and uses this conviction to improve his behavior in Opposition, the time will not have been lost. I should hope that the Colonial Office need not turn out its officials when Peel comes in again. If we could keep them and the Ld Chancellor, we should all be glad. Meantime I am glad that, if even for only a few months, you have your brother near you, in a situation which suits him so well. It must be very pleasant to be daily useful to Ld Morpeth. — We will talk over sugar matters when we meet. It is such a big subject! — Yes, you must see Esdaile's book. If there are any sane persons who still doubt "the truth of
Mesmerism", that book must cure them, or show them incurable. But you ought to know that it is terribly surgical. I am sure Miss Wedgwood could not bear it; and perhaps not you. — You see how my pen is beginning to slip about, — as it well may after the number of pp. I have written today. I often send my love to Snow under her decorous name of Julia. I shall soon see her now. At this moment I see her childish face, — and her little hands fumbling for the button in the white fur trimming of her grey cloth pelisse. And then — the large eyes when Mrs Rich told of the munching cow in the middle of the night! I hope the old little Snow is not quite lost in the present Julia. — My love to you all, — including dear Miss Wedgwood and Eras: if with you. Yours, dear friend, most affectionately

H. Martineau

So poor "Charlotte Elizth" is dead. How amazed she will be yonder at finding that she could be mistaken; and that there were things visible to others beyond what she saw! I trust she will be happier there. 14

Date: see below, note 7.

2. Professor William Gregory (1803–53; DNB), Prof. of Chemistry, University of Edinburgh. HM discoursed in a "remarkable way" during her "mesmeric sleep" on this occasion, Auto., II, 249–52.
3. HM's aunt, née Ann Dorothy Clarke (1772–1851), was the widow of her father's eldest brother, Philip Meadows
Martineau (1752-1829); she and her daughter Fanny lived at Bracondale, Norwich.

4. Sarah Margaret Fuller, later Marchioness Ossoli (1810-50; DAB), with whom HM had struck up a close bond of sympathy after their meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1835. Miss Fuller was reportedly disappointed in HM's matter-of-factness after her cure by mesmerism, and did not enjoy her stay; however, HM felt that it was all due to the fact that she had not yet achieved the "remarkable regeneration which transformed her from the dreaming and haughty pedant into the true woman;" Auto., II, 252-53.

5. James Dawson, Esq., later of Wray Castle, Ambleside.

6. The Billow and the Rock: a Tale, 1846, put into a Knight's Weekly Volume (see Auto., II, 271); a Scottish woman is the victim of intrigue at the time of the young Pretender.

7. "Lake and Mountain Holidays," People's Journal, 12 Sept 8 Aug, 1846; a walking tour which included Wastwater on the third day.

8. No more "Lake and Mountain Holidays" appeared. The three articles on Household Education published next were "The Natural Possessions of Man," "How to Expect" (on children), and "The Golden Mean" (middle-class education), 5 Sept, 10 Oct and 14 Nov 1846.

9. After Repeal of the Corn Laws, Cobden took a much needed holiday; he left 5 Aug 1846 for a fourteen months' tour of Europe. Wherever he went he was welcomed by the highest statesmen and dignitaries, and spoke eloquently for the cause of free trade.
10. Peel was unable to maintain the confidence of the Tories after passage of the Repeal. His resignation speech of 29 June 1846 is famous for his acknowledgement of Cobden's noble disinterest and great efforts on behalf of the Repeal of the Corn Laws. Russell's ministry came into office in mid-July.

11. Sir Charles Wood, 1st Viscount Halifax (1800–85; DNB), Conservative supporter of Whig reforms, opposed the restriction of working hours for women and children in Lord Ashley's Factory Bill 1844, but was converted to the cause of Repeal of the Corn Laws the same year. As Lord Chancellor he was reluctant to authorize new expenditure and taxes, and opposed help to Ireland. In 1851 he repealed the window tax, a measure highly approved by HM.

12. Robert Mackintosh's temporary position was with George William Frederick Howard (1802–64; DNB), Lord Morpeth. Morpeth had served as chief secretary of Ireland in the Whig government, 1835–41, and then spent a year in North America. In June 1846 he became Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and retired March 1850. In Oct 1848 he was to become 7th Earl of Carlisle. HM's estimate in Auto., I, 360, is not flattering, but their friendship seems to have been steadfast.

13. Probably the second of the two publications in the same year of James Braid (1808–59; DNB), Mesmerism in India and Its Practical Application in Surgery and Medicine, 1846.

14. Mrs. Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (1790–1846; DNB), author of religious works, poems and novels, died 12 July. In
My dear friend

I seem to be coming near to you now, — having seen Snow, and writing about my visit to you.¹

I first saw Snow last Friday at the dancing lesson.² She had a sudden bad cold (now gone) and looked, like all the rest, very desperately solemn when going through her evolutions. My sister told me I could no more judge of the ten faces by that hour than at church, — they are so intent on their business, and the intentness looks so droll in contrast with their frolicsome moments! — On Sunday I dined there, and found your dear child very well and cheerful. I hope to have her for a walk, one day this week. That will be the way to have some talk with her, which cannot be got with any freedom in a room full of people. I did this with Blanch and Bertha Smith yesterday, and have bespoken Snow for the next turn. Thus I shall be prepared to discuss her with you when we meet. Meanwhile, Rachel has observed to me on her comfort with her present set of girls who "are all good."

The rush of invitations and appointments in town is now almost ludicrous. I have been obliged to give some reference about calls, letters and appointments, and hope I am not wrong in indicating your house, from the 25th, on
for a week. If anything has occurred to render this
time inconvenient, do say so freely, — and as soon as
convenient. I hardly see which way to turn myself; but
I shall get through. And we must have some quiet talks,
dearest Fanny. You can give me nothing that I shall
like so well as quiet hours. — My love to you all, and to
Eras; when you see him.

Yours ever affectionately

H. Martineau.

My address is as above till the 21st.

Date: from her intended visit to London, see last letter.

1. On the day before this letter, Jane Carlyle had written
to Carlyle, "Oh, Harriet Martineau! I forgot to tell
you: I saw her the day before I left Liverpool—the picture
of rude, weather-beaten health. Of course she was all
in a bustle, and we were only a short time together; but
there was not a word about animal magnetism. Her eloquence
was chiefly directed against the Lion-hunters who tormented
her existence at the Lakes. 'A friend advised her to hang
a basket of autographs outside the Garden-gate.' She is
coming to the Wedgwoods, by and by. She has never got her
copy of Cromwell, and asked why you had not kept your
promise. I told her I saw her name down for one, and bade
her write to Chapman for it" (New Letters of JWC, I, 216).

2. Although Hensleigh preferred to have his daughters
educated at home, Snow was sent to Rachel's school for a
few months when she was thirteen; see introductory memoir
by C.H. Herford in Francis Julia Wedgwood, The Personal
HM did not fulfill her plans for a working visit to London in 1846. Instead, she accepted the invitation of Richard Vaughan Yates (1785-1856), of Liverpool to accompany him and his wife and their friend Joseph Christopher Ewart (1799-1868), later MP for Liverpool, on a trip through Egypt and the Holy Land. The first part of the journey is described in Auto., II, 270-80, which includes an account of her determination to write a book. This was to be Eastern Life, Present and Past, 3 vols, 1848, which continues her travel narrative, supplemented by historical research and her own sociological commentary. It also marks her commitment to a purely historical basis for Christian theology, a bold step in her ideological progression.

When she came back to England in June 1847 after an absence of eight months, she paid the visits to friends and relatives which had been interrupted by her travels. A few days after her return she wrote to Fanny.

Monday [? June 1847]

Dearest Fanny

I hope to come and call; but meantime we must secure, by post, a meeting some day. Can Mr W. and you and Eras: come here, — to my cousin Richd Martineau’s — on Friday evening? My cousins will be very happy to see you; and I need not say how I hope you will come; — and early, that we may have a word before others arrive. — I go down into
Norfolk for a fortnight on Tuesday of next week; and we must do what we can to meet first. — I am quite well, but as brown as my portmanteau. I looked for Mrs Rich's address at Galignanis the other day; but it was not there. I wonder whether your brother and Molly are gone to St Kit's, as I saw (at Cairo) he was to do.²

Good bye, dear friend, and come if you can. Your loving

H. Martineau

Date: from her recent presence in Cairo. Address: 17. Westbourne St., Hyde Park,

1. John Anthony (1786-1873; DNB), and William Galignani (1798-1882; DNB), publishers in Paris of English works, guide-books and a newspaper for English resident in Europe; they provided a reading room at 18 rue Vivienne for English books and newspapers.

2. Robert Mackintosh had accepted a position offered by Lord Grey, as Governor of Antigua and including a "commission for St. Kitts—as Deputy Governor for all the Leeward Islands"; Robert Mackintosh to Fanny Allen, 6 April 1847. HM and her party left Cairo for the second time 23 Feb 1847, Eastern Life, II, 161.

My dear friend
It seems so long since I heard anything of you that I
really must write to beg a bulletin. Snow's note is the only news I have had since I got home. And you may fairly complain of me. I suppose the truth is, we are growing so old as that our daily business is enough, without writing such pleasant gossips as we used to indulge in. I wonder whether you feel yourself very old. In some senses, I do; — as old as can be: and in others, younger than when I was twenty. I am up at 6, and after cold bath and two tumblers of cold water, I walk two miles or so before my breakfast, — at 1/2 past 7. I am at my work by 1/2 past 8, household business done, — and write till 2 or 3; — then walk again, or garden; and write letters and read in the evenings, and am scarcely ever tired. All this is young enough: but in experience, I feel like an octogenarian. (Only, octogenarians, I believe, feel so young as to expect to live 20 years longer.) I wish I knew how you feel, or what you are all doing, — especially Snow. What is she learning and thinking? and what do you and she do together? Do you get into the German way — or world — of thought? or what? And how are the juveniles growing up? She chatters on, with mention of Erasmus, Charles and Emma Darwin, Jenny Carlyle, Mrs. Davy's planting of a jessamine by her porch, and Archy Davy at Rugby. I suppose you are all thinking a good deal of foreign politics at present; — now that Canning's "Man of Opinion" is clearly coming on. Can you tell me about "Jane Eyre," — who wrote it? I am told I wrote the 1st vol: and I don't know how to disbelieve it myself, — though I am wholly
ignorant of the authorship. I cannot help feeling that the writer must know not only my books but myself very well. My own family suppose me in the secret, till I deny it. With much improbability of incident, it is surely a very able book (outside of what I could have done of it.) and the way in which the heroine comes out without conceit or egotism is, to me, perfectly wonderful. I will not lose this post, but will write more at length when my book\(^5\) is done, if not before. I am some way in the 3d vol: and it is to be out before Easter. How I have enjoyed doing it! — My love to you all, including Ras. If you see Mrs Jenny, try and find out if she remembers that such a person as H.M. exists.

Dear friend, I am ever your affectionate

H. Martineau.

1. In Oct 1847, Auto., II, 281.
2. Also described Auto., II, 282, 291, 319.
3. George Canning (1770–1827; DNB), Foreign Secretary, 1807–9, 1822–27, Prime Minister 1827; one of HM's political heroes who had stated that future conflicts in Europe would be of opinion, between free and despotic nations, and that England would support the former; History of the Peace, I, 300–4. Revolutions erupted in Italy, France and Germany in 1848.
5. A few days later Eastern Life was returned by John Murray who had agreed in the autumn to publish it, but took alarm at HM's unorthodox treatment of Biblical
subjects. She was first shocked and then angry; and in a third letter to Murray she wrote that she was sorry for his "presumptuous and immature decision on the character of the work;" HM to John Murray, 27, 29 Feb and 3 March \[1848\], MS University of Birmingham. She had also written, meanwhile, to her old friend Edward Moxon explaining the whole story. She had taken the substance of the book's argument, she said, from Sir J. G. Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 6 vols, 1837-41, which showed the origin of Christian tenets, as set forth in the New Testament, in the religious beliefs of the ancient Egyptians, who had passed them on to the ancient Hebrews. Clergymen of the last century had written on these matters, she claimed, and Murray was simply hampered by his "untravelled" clergy. In fact, HM's agnostic point of view is evident throughout Eastern Life. Her letters of Nov 1847 to Mr. Atkinson tell of her preparatory reading for the book, and her newly expanded awareness of the "diversity of men's views" about a future life, and about reward and punishment; Auto., II, 281-99. After some bargaining, Moxon agreed to publish the book in time to fulfill her request that all her friends should have copies for Easter week; HM to Edward Moxon, 1, 13, 27 March \[1848\], MS University of Birmingham.

Ambleside

April 13th \[1848\]

My dear friend

You will think this does not look much like the very
long letter I was to write you. It is merely to say that I am to be in town on Monday night. It was very far from being my wish to leave home just now; but these are times when one must not consider one's own ease and inclination. I am called; and I must come; — to plunge into work again, — arduous and anxious work. I will tell you about it, if we are alone, when we meet. I shall be in town for at least a month, I suppose; but beyond this, I know little yet. I am to be at a home house which I love very much, — Mr Knight's (Walpole Lodge, St John's Wood.) Please let Ras, know of my coming, and any others of my friends whom you may chance to see. How it warms one's heart to think of meeting you all! — Mrs Davy and party arrived last night. She looks less ill than I expected; but she cannot walk even from her own house to mine and back, — that little daily walk which we both so much love! It was only this morning that I decided to come, — Mrs Arnold and I thinking that my letters leave me really no choice. I hardly dare look at my young trees, bursting into leaf, and the flower beds brightening every day, and the delicious mountains. But when I see you all, it will be a very different matter.

With kind love, ever yours

H. Martineau.

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Date: see below, note 1.

1. The meeting on Kennington Common and the abortive march of the Chartists to the House of Commons had taken place on 10 April.
2. In an attempt to modify the effects of the Chartists' demands and to allow the middle classes to be heard, Charles Knight set up a weekly journal, The Voice of the People, which lasted from 22 April to 13 May. HM later claimed that "The Whig touch perished it at once . . . the poverty and perverseness of their ideas, and the insolence of their feelings. . . . They proposed to lecture the working class, who were by far the wiser party of the two;" Auto., II, 298. See also Knight, Passages, III, 87. For the journal, HM wrote a two-part story about the inability of an Egyptian peasant to prosper under excessive government regulation (a theme expressed in Eastern Life). Knight also had in mind that HM might complete a history of England from Waterloo to the present, which he had begun. This was to be The History of England During the Thirty Years' Peace, 1816-1846, 2 vols, 1849; Auto., II, 301.

3. HM had received letters "Towards the end of March . . . in increasing numbers, appealing to me for help, in one form or another, for or against popular interests, so far as they were supposed to be represented by Chartism," Auto., II, 297.

Ambleside
May 23d \(1848\)

My dear Fanny

I am truly sorry to say that I fear your letter arrives too late. I went down immediately to Mrs Thompson; and
found she had given up the hope of hearing from you, and listened to an application from a family who will probably take the house for 3 months from the 1st of July. — This is not certain, however. When I return on Saty evening from a trip, I am to have a final answer; and I will then write immediately to you.

I went to the Post mistress,² to ask her; and she knows of a house of 8 rooms, on not high terms, about which an answer will be given this week; and I shall hear about that too, on my return on Saturday. I don't at all know whose house, or where, this last is. I fear our chance is thus a very poor one; and heartily sorry I am. What glorious basking August days we might have had! — sometimes on your grass plot, — sometimes on my terrace! Well! it may be yet; and let us hope till the last.

Dr Davy does not come home till Sepr;³ and Mrs Davy is, naturally, not much better. — I thought her sadly languid and nervous today: but she insists that she is, on the whole, better. Lady Richardson⁴ thinks "she looks very well"! — when her complexion is grey, and every fibre of her face is always working!

I will write soon, as I said. Till then, let us hope.

Ever your affecte

H. Martineau.

Date: see below, note 3.
1. Mrs. Jackson Thompson, Waterhead (at the head of Lake Windermere), where HM had stayed in 1845.
3. Dr. Davy, an army surgeon, returned from Barbados Dec 1848; Fletcher, Auto., p. 270.

4. Lady Mary Richardson, Mrs. Fletcher's daughter.

My dear friend

Mrs Davy has given me your letter: and it makes me wish I had written sooner about the lodgings: but that I had nothing to say. The gentry who bespoke them have never written a line! But Mrs. Thompson is unwilling to promise her rooms for less than three months.  

Mrs Rollinshaw¹ has 8 rooms to let from 1st of August. (That is, she is to know tonight whether that is to be the date: and I am to hear in the morning.) These are 2 sitting rooms and 6 chambers. I have not seen them: but can, if you think of taking them. They are in the town, — that is the worst of it: — close to the Post office, butcher &c: — 7 minutes walk (my walking) from me, and 5 more from Mrs Davy. Nearly a mile from the lake: but, of course, close upon the valley, and all manner of sweet places. Terms, 10s/ pr room pr week: — ie, the same as the Thompsons'. If you would like them enquired after, let me know directly. I am told there is no other
house so large, in the least likely to be procurable. I do not like to give up the idea of your coming: yet, you know your own wishes and affairs best, and I ought not to say a seducing word. If I did, I don't know where I should stop: for I have been having a divine evening, alone, sitting on my terrace steps, and feeling what a heaven it is to live in such repose, — such a scene for thought and self-rule, and — — But I will not. If you come, you will see it for yourself: if not, it is hardly kind to show you what you cannot have.

Mrs. Davy does not gain strength; her daughters are "no companions." But her son "dear Archy" is coming. HM is also expecting her sister Rachel and a friend.

I could write on and on: but the thought that you may come checks me. It will be so much better talking on these same steps, or in the quarry — or even in your market-place house! — My best love to you, any way dear Fanny. — Within a fortnight, I hope Mrs Reid will be with me. I trust it may be a summer of improved health and great enjoyment to her; and if so, how happy an one to me! — With love to you all, I am your affecte

H. Martineau.

You can have the rooms on 1st of August.

Date: the first Tuesday after HM's "Saturday" return after 23 May; see last letter.

1. Wife of Anthony Rollinshaw, boot and shoemaker.
Now, dear Fanny, please listen to me. — I have been
down to Waterhead, — to my nice, clever, excellent, lady-
-minded landlady, with whom I hired for ten months before
this house was ready for me. She has nine rooms to let;
and, if they are reliably bespoken now, they may be had,
even in the throng part of the season, for £4 a week. For
this she will also cook; — she and her one maid: and it
was very nice cooking, I used to think. She describes
Mrs. Thompson's six chambers, dining and sitting rooms,
with a grass plot "washed by the lake ... as cheap as
anything you could get at this time of year." Only
think, — if we see your bairns fishing from that grass
plot, — and if I have you sitting on this sofa!

I don't think Mrs Davy much, if at all, better. She
is feeble, palpitating and nervous, to a sad degree, —
but so calm and sweet and self-forgetting all the while!
I find everybody else very well, and am so myself. Mrs
Arnold exclaimed this afternoon, when she came up, and
found Martha and me watering the flowers and fruit-trees,
— carrying large pails. I won't tell you what the place
is like, or you will have no free choice about coming. —

My love to you all, including Ras. He can smoke here,
if he likes, though I can't bear him company. But I
suppose he still abstains. I left Mrs Davy and the
Arnolds to judge wholly for themselves of "Politics for
the People;" and they are disappointed to the degree of
being shocked. That is, Mrs Davy is shocked, and the
Arnolds much disappointed. We are all very sorry; but we cannot help it. The coaxing tone, and the want of sense are very painful. Can the managers really think this is the way to address anybody?

Now, I must go to bed. I rise now at 1/2 past 5, and breakfast at 7, — to be at liberty after a one o' clock dinner. Thus we may meet abundantly, if you come.

Ever your affecte

H. Martineau.

P.S. There are mice in those lodgings: but they are very common here: — sadly noisey, I am told, in most houses.

Date: two days after the last letter?

1. HM had formerly smoked cigars, recommended for her health.

2. The Christian-Socialist sponsored Politics for the People was published weekly from 6 May to 29 July 1848. The Prospectus in the first issue announced that it would consider questions such as extension of the suffrage, the relation of Capital to Labour and the government's responsibility to find work or pay for the poor. HM was almost invariably sceptical of the programs of the Christian Socialists.

Dear friend

I am not sure of Eras's address, or whether he is at

Wednesday ？ Aug 1848
home, or I would write to him. — She is a shade or two worse in one way, and better in another. 1 Mr Shepherd admits no hope; but still Ellen will not give up, — nor will the 2 brothers who are here. Members of her family take turns, relieving each other, during her mother's illness. HM says she has been writing to people, but her agitated state makes her forgetful.  2 We have some hope of a trained nurse from L. pool tonight; but it is sadly uncertain. All that love and zeal can do is done for her; but to commit her nights to such a nurse would relieve us beyond everything. — I dare not say more. I get on better today, (except the confusion,) I had such a message from M. 3 last night! I will send a line to Mrs Reid, now she knows.

Your affecte

H.M.

Date:  see below, note 1.

1. HM's mother died at Egbaston Aug 1848; Auto., II, 316.
2. ? James Carter Shepherd, surgeon at Ambleside.
3. Probably her niece Maria.

Ambleside

Janry 2nd LF 1849 F

My dear Fanny

It seems rather a shame to come down upon you with a letter (which always involves a hint for an answer) when you are (I suppose) one of the busiest people in London.
But then — I am one of the busiest people out of London, and I do find time to write to dear old friends, and so, have hope that you may too. I suppose you have now no absent children to write to, — they being all at your own fireside. My love to them all, and my best wishes for a happy New Year. The latter part of the one which is gone must have been saddened to your whole connexion by the death of Dr Darwin,¹ whose age, I imagine, did not act as years usually do, — in deadening his own powers, or altering the attachment of those about him. Tell Ras that I have thought much of him since I saw that news in the paper; and I am aware that such an event is mournful and touching in a manner, and to a degree which defies all expression of sympathy. — Our Paradise here has been darker of late, and more cheerless than I ever knew it, — from the ravages of the fever.² It is only from ignorance and guilt that there can be fever in a place so fitted for health as this: and I some time since set vigorously to work to enlighten my "worky" neighbours on the subject of health, and guide them to form good dwellings for themselves, — which they are abundantly able to do. I say no word here of what I think of the guilt of the proprietors, — rich men and women who exact enormous rents for stinking undrained cabins, and refuse to sell sites for better houses. If we can get those dens deserted, in a quiet way, for better ones, that will do, without any spoken blame. So I meet the people every Monday evening, to give them my notions on Sanitary matters, and am organizing a Building Soc'y.³ Dear Mrs Reid
authorises me to buy land for the purpose; and I have today seen a glorious field which I trust to be able to buy. If you know anybody who wants to invest small savings more advantageously than in Savings Banks, or any benevolent person who would like a good return for a share (£120) paid down, let me know. The need of decent and wholesome dwellings here is desperate, and the investment is good accordingly. What a nice thing it will be for my two maids, who have a share between them, to be possessed, at 36, of each a substantial cottage of four rooms! Of course, I know very well how the gentry are grinding their teeth at me, and trying in all possible quiet ways to obstruct my plans: but there is no occasion to take any notice. Here they have the doctors and the Kendal Union down upon them, about the putrid churchyard and deficient drainage everywhere: and tomorrow they must, as required, form a Board of Health. My own share of loss from this fever is one which I feel very deeply, and shall never cease to feel. Our builder, John Newton, went along with me in all these plans, and had qualified himself well, by study of the documents sent me from the Genl Board: and he is cut off, at little more than 40, leaving nine children. He was truly a great man in his way; — a man of genius, and of a generous spirit. He built this house of mine; and there is no corner of it which does not speak to me of his consideration for my comfort and pleasure. But I won’t go on with these local bad tidings. You know that poor Hartley Coleridge is extremely ill, — I suppose dying, — being worse again these last two days:
but that is, in fact, drink, whereby he left himself no chance under any casual attack of illness. Dear Mrs Davy is very well indeed, and became so even before the Dr's return. 0, dear! that return! I always knew it was a thing which must be: but it is so — — what shall I say? He is the extremest of bores to me; and I am foolish enough always to be feeling ashamed for her, when there is no sign of her feeling anything of the kind for him or herself. And then, there is the constant sense that he will be carrying her off somewhere to live, before long. I don't believe he will ever settle long here. If he would go again without her! but there is no hope of that. Archy is grown, we find by my measuring post; and so is his short sister Elizth, which we are all glad of: — As for me, my chief interest is my work, as usual; — very abundant work ("Hisy of the Peace"); and my next great interest is the plans I have told you above. 0! — please tell Pas that the fate of my Eastern book has been very unlike what I anticipated. The large edition is nearly gone already, — chiefly by late sales; — there has been plenty of praise, — plenty of flattery, — plenty of abuse, and no attempt whatever, as far as I know, to controvert any one statement in it. I have not seen all the notices of it, by many, I dare say; but, of the many I have seen, no one approaches to the character of a serious review; and they are, on the whole, so favourable that the book has had pretty much its own way. This is all very pleasant; but it is very unlike much that goes forward (I am told) in private; and quite unlike what I believe he, as well as I, expected. The fact is, it is a book
which was wanted by a large class of persons, to an extent I was quite unaware of: and I am, in proportion, glad that I did it. My own share of new good will and greeting is no small result, of itself. — I am enjoying, as my third interest, my little farming. 0: it is so pleasant, — our fine cream and butter, and hams and bacon, and fowls and eggs, — and vast prospects of vegetables and fruit to come: — and, better than all this, a good fellow from Norfolk and his wife made so happy in their nice new cottage.7 You must come, you know, and see these and greater things. I shall be at home till my Hisy is finished; ie, till quite the autumn, I think; and I hope you will give a timely order for lodgings, this year. We all hope you will. — My poor bro: James and family have suffered even more than we foreboded from their Berlin plan. They very nearly lost their sweet eldest daughter, who is not yet safe; and all their plans of study &c were broken up. Fever and Revolution were what we feared; and they have indeed spoiled sadly their year of holiday.8 You will write to me some day, dear friend, will not you? I have said nothing of Macaulay9 and such things, because you must be weary of them: but we don't lose sight of them, though there are so many mountains between us and you. — I go on with my starlight morning walks. They are so beautiful!

With love and New Year wishes to you all, I am, dear Fanny, ever your affecte

H. Martineau.

How shocking and disgraceful the Butler story looks!10
1. Dr. Robert Waring Darwin had died 12 Nov 1848.
2. An outbreak of cholera had begun in late 1848, brought by vessels trading with the continent. It spread throughout Britain and by June 1849 had caused more than 6,000 deaths.
3. HM focuses on the local opposition to the improvement of working class housing in her account of the Building Society in Auto., II, 306-9.
4. Hartley Coleridge (1796–1849; DNB), eldest son of Samuel Coleridge, died of bronchitis at Nab Cottage, Grasmere 6 Jan, attended by his brother Derwent. HM praises Wordsworth's kindness to Hartley, a hopeless alcoholic, in Auto., II, 243-44, but her disapproval must have been evident. On one occasion Hartley remarked about HM, "What! do you know her too? . . . Then . . . suppose we drink d—n to her! I abhor the woman as a woman, and I detest her rampant irreligion and all her principles!" (Charles McFarlane, Reminiscences of a Literary Life, 1917, p. 56).
5. HM's difficulty at starting so large a project had been overcome with her usual resoluteness and good organization; Auto., II, 318-20.
6. The Building Society.
7. The Pulchers.
8. James had taken his family to Germany July 1848 on a year's leave. He and his son Russell (1831–98; DNB), attended the University in Berlin, and the whole family travelled throughout Germany and Austria. While they were
there, nationalist uprisings against the government of the German confederation took place, and there was bloody fighting in Berlin. In the fall, James' daughter had been "prostrated with nervous fever," which he successfully treated by applications of hot and cold water. The year of study was to be of great importance to James' later philosophic works; Drummond and C.E. Upton, I, 181-37; II, 327.

9. The first two volumes of Macaulay's *The History of England, from the Accession of James II, 1849*, had been a great success with all classes of readers.

10. Fanny (Kemble) Butler had made a triumphant reappearance on the English stage as Julia in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, Manchester, 16 Feb 1847. Her first sense of horror at the slavery on her husband's Alabama plantation, and the way of life it entailed, had not lessened. She filed a suit for divorce against her husband, Pierce Butler, 6 Dec 1847 at Philadelphia, claiming mental cruelty. He countered by a suit against her for libel and desertion. After many months of hearings a divorce was granted in 1848.

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Dear Fanny,

It will rejoice you to hear that we may sweep all this pernicious nonsense out of our heads. Here is a capital, sensible note from Mrs C. to Mr Knight, expressing entire relief, and a desire to drop the "accursed" subject.¹ She says it is enough for her that I deny having warned Miss Jewsbury against her; for she has never had reason
to doubt my truth. And she has no particular desire to

go over any criticism on herself that I may have uttered

fairly in conversation 3 years ago. So she is eager to
come, and offers herself immediately. My host and hostess
are going into the country till Monday morning: so we
ask them both, — (and her, if her husband can't come) to
dine at 5:00 Monday.  

I have told her that I think her wise about not going
back into "accursed" things: but that I am ready, if she
ever asks it, — as well as I can remember, after a lapse
of 3 years. I could tell her and Miss J, face to face,
what I said, — supposing her in the magnanimous mood
suited to the occasion. But of course, I shall be glad
to be excused. — It seems to us that Mrs P.  

is pretty
much thrown overboard; but that is no affair of ours.
What I most dreaded was that opposition of statement from
her about a conversation to which there were no witnesses.

Mr Knight is as pleased as you will be. — Yours
affectionately

H.M.

Date: from her reference to the stay at the Knights', see
below.

1. HM had had a misunderstanding with Jane Carlyle over
statements she was said to have made to their mutual friend,
Geraldine Jewsbury (1812-80; DNB), novelist and miscellaneous
writer.

2. After months of steady work on the History of the Peace,
HM had been invited to stay with the Knights in the fall
1849 while she finished it; *Auto.*, II, 320-21. Jane had visited her friend Geraldine in September, "to make amends . . . for the vexation about me, caused by that foolish Harriet Martineau," quoted by Susanne Howe, *Geraldine Jewsbury. Her Life and Errors*, 1935, p. 64. Jane later commented that she had been to "a dinner at Knight the Publisher's, to patch up a feud with Harriet Martineau." *To Dr. John Carlyle, Sat, end of Oct 1849 (New Letters of JWC, II, 4).*

3. Mrs. Elizabeth Newton Paulet of Seaforth, near Liverpool, another mutual friend of Geraldine's and Jane's, who had aroused Geraldine's jealousy.

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Liverpool

(Private) Janry 19th 1850

My dear friend

I am sure you must wish to know a thing or two that, in virtue of my wanderings since we parted, I can tell you: and this rainy thaw, preventing my making parting calls, enables me to scribble you at least a note. — I saw a great deal of Miss Jewsbury at Manchr. In fact, she was my mesmeric patient; and this gave us opportunity for much intercourse in my own room. (By the way, she is wonderfully susceptible, and might, I have no doubt, be put into a good condition of health by a little patient and continuous mesmeric practice.) She spoke much and confidingly of poor dear Jenny, and with a good sense and clear-sightedness which make me very glad that Jenny has such
a friend. Mrs Paulet was never mentioned. I did feel some curiosity to know how matters stand there; but it is no longer any business of mine; and I thought it more considerate to all parties not to mention her. If Miss J. had felt any discontent with me, it is impossible that she could have opened her heart to me about Jenny as she did. She truly (and not blindly) loves Jenny. I wish to do the same; but I own the freedom and trust of my regard are somewhat impaired; as you will not wonder. — As to the Froudes, — my intercourse with them was altogether pleasant.¹ We grow more intimate; and it is their wish that we should do so. They wish me to stay with them, and are coming to stay with me, by and by. I see his cast of mind to be anything but affirmative; and I hope I shall learn to expect from him just such work as he can do. He is working, and upon a book which will, no doubt, be extremely interesting to me, and I think to you;² but we are not likely to have at present the statement we want of what he does believe, to set against what he does not. The Darbishires' respect and affection for him remain unabated by further knowledge, while there is, happily, less of the rage for him that I regretted in the summer. Since his marriage, they have of course seen less of him; but their interest, though more sober, is as genuine as ever. They like her "very much": and I like what I have seen of her. She is so happy! and so is he. I take her to be clever, but probably not very wise in a large sense. She seems amiable, and wholly at her ease. At present, I see nothing amiss in any way. To me, they were most
kind; and I may have seen the best of her spirits and manners from her having been dreadfully afraid of me beforehand, and wholly at ease in two minutes afterwards. — Something much more important than all this has happened to me. As I told you so much, 3 years ago, of the anger and unkindness of my brother Jas and his wife, I must now tell you that they have come round in a way wholly unaccountable to the rest of us.3 While I was at Birmingham, they wrote a cordial invitation to me to stay with them. By my bro: Robert's advice, I accepted it for a short visit. They wished me to stay as long as possible. I went for 2 days: and the result is that I am wholly perplexed. The children are encouraged to love me; and not only was every consideration and indulgence shown me, but Helen volunteered domestic confidences of every kind. She seems to have wholly forgotten that she was ever discontented with me. James and I differ too widely on almost every subject that interests us most, and I am too uneasy about his Church and congregational affairs here,4 for us to hold more than a kindly and merely superficial intercourse; but we are all now satisfied that all past harshness is retracted, and that I am clear with them from this time forward. I don't understand it: but so it is. Their children are charming; and that is a great interest in common. The eldest daughter is really exquisite: (now 18.)5 My sweet Ellen's children are nice little things, and quite well at present. I do like meeting the Richd Yateses and Mr Ewart. They are so pleased that my "Eastern Life" is coming to a 2d edition.
So much for the charge, so injurious to them, that they were offended by it! Nothing can be more cordial than they are. — Think of me on Monday evening about 6, getting home to a meat tea, and being busy with my dear maids, and my settlement at home. I go home prosperous in every way; quite well; with enough to do and not too much, and my former works all rising, — especially "Household Education." Mrs Davy writes charmingly. I am glad to catch her before she goes, as she says I shall. — You will burn this, won't you? You see how private it is. My love to you all. I am, dear friend, your ever affectionate

H. Martineau.

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Date: from her references to having seen Fanny (in London) recently.

1. James Anthony Froude (1818–94; DNB), younger brother of Richard Hurrell Froude, briefly attracted to the Tractarian movement at Oxford. His anti-Tractarian novel, *Nemesis of Faith*, 1849, was publicly denounced, and Froude resigned his fellowship at Exeter on the same day. He then took a position as tutor in the family of Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire (1796–1870), Manchester solicitor, Unitarian, and promoter of good works. Although Froude's prospects at the time were not especially good, he married Charlotte Maria, fifth daughter of Pascoe Grenfell of Taplow Court, sister of the wife of Charles Kingsley, Oct 1849. He also met and became the disciple of Carlyle in 1849.

2. Not certain. Froude says that he was not satisfied with his writing at this time. He began preparatory

3. The breach between HM and James had begun over her request for destruction of her letters, which he opposed, and continued with his disapproval of her publicly acknowledged cure by mesmerism. It was to become even more serious when James published a scornful review of Henry Atkinson's and HM's jointly written *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development*, 1851.

4. James was Minister of the Hope Street Church, Liverpool, newly built and opened autumn 1849. Its Gothic architecture offended some members of the congregation who thought of it as Romanist.

5. Isabella Martineau (1832-1900).


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Ambleside
May 23^d [1850]

My dear friend

I wonder what you are going to do this summer; — whether you have any thoughts of coming here. I asked Mrs Thompson yesterday about those Waterhead lodgings which you missed last year.¹ They are not yet let for the time that you
would be coming. If I can be of any use, employ me. It would be disinterested in me, this time, to promote your coming; for I am going into hiding, at the end of July till the 1st of October. In spite of all resolutions, I am again immersed in work, up to Octbr 1851. I really can't help it. The Hisy is so popular that it is to be extended at both ends, and republished as a Hisy of the Half Century. I have done my opening sketch, and am so deep in the Pitt politics that the Palmerston have less effect on my temper than they otherwise might. After writing up to 1815, I am to rewrite the dull chapters of Craik and McFarlane; and in the winter, if I live, finish off with next Xmas, -- the close of the Half Century.

Dickens has also in his hands M.S. of mine for 7 weeks of his "Household Words." There is more in prospect, and I have cleared off two or three engagements: so that my "holiday" is not much like what I expected. Before dear Jane Arnold's illness, -- or before we knew what it would become, -- I had settled to hide, this summer, within their reach. (W.E. Forster is a great friend of mine, you know.) On his recommendation, I took rooms at the Steward's house at Bolton Abbey, for 8 or 10 weeks from the end of July: and there go my work and I, and one maid at a time, to utter stillness, I hope. She has let her house to "very nice tenants" for August and September; until then guests are coming. That day they have had a thunder storm which made such a tremendous noise she thought "the chimney was down" or that "the great oak" had been struck. I hear there was a terrific one at Thirlmere, and about
Helvellyn yesterday. But the loveliness this evening is beyond expression. — Cannot you fancy what it is to think of Wordsworth as knowing nothing of these things, — lying under the sod, — vacating his place among these shows of nature? It was time, we all felt and saw: but the feeling remains as fresh as it was that sunny afternoon, when the news spread that he was gone, and everybody on the road looked grave, and the blinds were down, in his cottage, and the place itself would have looked dead in the midst of the sunshine but for the little column of smoke going up straight from the chimney. Mrs W looks wan and extremely old, but calm, and even cheerful. She has our beloved Miss Fenwick with her, as well as her nieces. — As for the other engrossing interest, — the Fox How story, I can hardly speak of that at all in a letter. I thought that engagement of Jane A's the best piece of news in private life that I ever heard; and for one short week, I was almost too happy to sleep. It is a new tie, such as I never thought of, between the A's and me; and thus, it was joyful, even as a personal matter. But much more for all the Arnolds. The further I looked, the more good I saw: and then, in those few days, came the agonizing dread. They were to have been married on Mayday; and now, there she is, between the altar and the grave, none knowing to which she is to turn. The doctors say she goes on well: but, even in his letters to Dr Davy, Dr Bright shows no sign of having any opinion as to the cause of the dropsy. The water lessens, and she rather strengthens under the treatment: but, till we
know that the cause is understood and reached, there can
be no confidence. I think Mrs Jeffrey's death" must be
very affecting to you. She pities the daughter, and
mentions other deaths, including that of her sister
Elizabeth in the winter. She left messages and little
gifts for us all, and was quite happy to go. — Dear
friend, how such a spirit as this of Mr Newman's book
cheers one! I do bless him for it. Its appearance
will be an event to many minds; and we must all enjoy
the presence among us of a mind capable of such an act
as he has heroically done. — The Froudes write to me about
getting a house for them hereabouts. Entre nous, I don't
like the tone about leaving Manchester; and I have a
strengthening impression that they will never be quiet and
settled. I may be quite wrong: but if they come,
(which would be very pleasant) I should be always remem-
bering that I must not get too much interested, — not
knowing what would turn up next. He will be happy in his
own genius, I hope, and she in her baby, if it is pros-
perously born: but I think they will not have what is
essential to my notion of happiness, repose and stability.
However, it is not my notion of happiness, but theirs
which is concerned; so I have only to look on and hope.
— Have you seen James's art: on the Church, in the
Westminster? I hear it is most masterly. — Now good
night, dear friend. My love to you all, including Ras.
I do want to know how he gets on, — and Charles, — and how
your affair of the office is likely to go; and how Snow
is; and all about yourselves. With me, everything is
flourishing, except that I am growing old at a quicker rate, and feel warned to let myself down gently. I am ever your affectionate old friend — H. Martineau

Date: "1850" added later, confirmed by her extension of History of the Peace, see below, note 2.

1. Perhaps she means the year before last; the exchange of letters about lodgings at Ambleside cannot have been in 1849.

2. Knight may have asked HM to write the Introduction to the History of the Peace. From 1800-1815, 1851, and another volume on the last four years of the half-century, soon after publication of the history in 1849; Auto., II, 321.

3. William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806; DNB), Prime Minister 1783-1802, 1804-6. Henry John Temple Palmerston, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865; DNB), Foreign Secretary three times 1830-51.

4. George Lillie Craik (1798-1866; DNB), and Charles McFarlane (d. 1858), had collaborated with Charles Knight in making a start on the History of the Peace.

5. HM's first contributions to appear in Household Words, started by Dickens 1850, were "The Sickness and the Health of the People of Bleaburn" (four parts), 25 May - 15 June, and "The Home of Woodruffe the Gardner" (three parts), 24 Aug - 7 Sept 1850; didactic stories on health and sanitation, the first based on the life of Mary Pickard Ware. Six additional stories appeared 1851. HM's work for the summer and autumn of 1850 also included twelve "Sketches from Life" for the Leader, 9 Nov 1850 - 12 July 1851 (more
stories for working-class readers), a series entitled "A Year at Ambleside" for *Sartain's Union Magazine*, Philadelphia (the proceeds to be donated to Garrison's *Liberator*), the pamphlet *Two Letters on Cow-Keeping*, Edinburgh, 1850, and her transcription of the Atkinson letters for *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development; Auto.*, II, 336-42.


7. William Edward Forster (1818-86; *DNE*), Quaker manufacturer just beginning his career as a reformer—statesman, much praised by HM. He was then living at Fox Ghyll near the Arnolds; he and Jane were married in the summer 1850.

8. Lake, and mountain peak north of Ambleside.

9. Wordsworth had died 23 April 1850. His home at Rydal Mount was less than an hour’s walk from HM’s home, The Knoll.

10. Isabella Fenwick (b. ?1820) devotee of both Wordsworths, later lived at Gale House, Ambleside.

11. Not identified.

12. Mrs. Jeffrey, widow of Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850; *DNE*), died 18 May 1850.

13. Francis Henry Newman (1805-97; *DNE*), brother of John Henry Newman, associated with Manchester New College 1840, Professor of Latin, University College, London, 1846-69. Phases of Faith; or Passages from the History of My Creed, 1850, tells of his successive rejection of various creeds such as that of the "thirty-nine Articles," Calvinism, and "new" Bible criticism. Newman’s final creed included an emphasis on morality and truth, and belief in the law
of "progress."

14. Froude had written to a friend 20 April 1850, that he and his wife hated Manchester, "Unitarian Manchester most of all," and that they were going to Wales; Waldo Hilary Dunn, *James Anthony Froude: a Biography*, I, 166-67.

15. "The Church of England," 53 (April 1850), 165-218, a seeming criticism of English religious permissiveness which ends by challenging the universities, Church and Parliament to open positions to Englishmen of all persuasions.


Fragment

. . . quality of his mind, and ready to agree with one or two who have known him longer, and who rate it higher than any other, however great, that they have known.¹ — My History will occupy me, I suppose, three or four months longer.² I wonder whether you know the Kingsleys. Mr. K. has lately begun a correspondence with me; and I believe they will pay me a visit in the spring or early summer. I have not yet read "Alton Locke"!³ Can you fancy such a thing? — No time now for the Froudes.

That must wait till we meet. So must the Pope, — except that I must just say that in the north, the feeling of shame at the fall of Lord John Russell and certain other unfaithful professors of religious liberty doctrine, is as
Those who don't like to give him up say that his letter was, in fact, the Queen's. But this only spreads the guilt and shame over two, it seems to me. I, who am neither Catholic nor Protestant, feel a sort of shame at persecution by Protestants in our day. But I suppose the world does not really get on much as to the morality of Opinion, though it necessarily does as to opinions.

I think I must carry on one bit of our confidence of this time twelvemonth. As the Carlyles professed great interest, with a sort of tempted feeling, about my farming, I sent Jenny the Cow pamphlet. In return comes an extraordinary letter, which I think it due to myself, and to her, to tell you of, — as I should certainly show it you, if you were here. She pours out such a quality of woe as it sickens me to think of: — says she must write "as of old", and does so. She assigns no cause for her misery, but calls it her "inveterate malheur," and beseeches me to tell her how to be happier. It is true, she goes off into a burlesque account of bad servants: but the greater part of the letter is serious enough: and the wretchedness must be real enough to make her thus confess herself to me, after all that is come and gone. What is it? and what is she? In answering, I have done a rather rash thing; but I believe I shall not repent it. I have asked her to come and rest here, if she finds herself in need of quiet and refreshment, at any time. I suppose she will not. If she does, I shall be delighted to try to cheer her. But I shall have to be careful in our intercourse, — a thing I don't like, and am not used to. But the only point to
be considered is how one so suffering can be aided. Do
tell me how she appears to you; and your letter shall go
into the fire, in all silence. I really want guidance,
on this strange renewed appeal. — I ought to be closing
for the post, but I must just say that the W.E. Forsters
are quite immeasurably and indescribably happy. I, who
have seen much human bliss, never saw anything to exceed
this. I have been their guest, this autumn. Jane is in
no way ill, but, of course, far from strong yet. Her
husband is a fine fellow, — very, very. Such an unsur-
passed citizen, among other things. — Mrs Davy looks old
and ill, and anxious, and has rheumatism. The Dr — as
usual. What can one say more? He will ruin that younger
girl7 with his rating and lecturing. — Tell me how Ras
is particularly. My love to him, and to you all. Tell
me how you are, and Snow, — and, in short, all you can
find time to say. — I paid a pleasant and thoroughly
comfortable visit to my niece, Fanny Greenhow that was,
when in Yorkshire. You will like to hear this, I know.
She sought me most affeely, and they want me to go again.8
— Yours ever, dear friend

H. Martineau

Date: from her reference to Lord Russell’s letter to the
Bishop of Durham, see below, note 4.

1. Unidentified.

2. This would be the extension of the History of the Peace,
1847–50, which Knight did not publish.

3. The Rev. Charles Kingsley (1819-75; DNB), Christian
Socialist follower of F. D. Maurice, published Alton Locke with his pamphlet Cheap Clothes and Nasty, 1850.

4. As a result of Papal Bull 24 Sept 1850 establishing a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England, Lord Russell had sent a letter to the Bishop of Durham, Oct 1850 which referred to both High Churchmen and Roman Catholics in insulting terms. The letter was out of keeping with Russell's usual support of civil and religious liberty; his ministry resigned 24 Feb 1851 but returned to office in March.

5. Two Letters on Cow-Keeping explains HM's combination of stall-feeding and grazing which have enabled her to maintain a cow on a two-acre farm.

6. Jane Carlyle experienced periods of depression and was often hurt at this time by Carlyle's response to the patronage and hospitality of Lady Ashburton, the former Lady Harriet Baring (d. 1857).


8. Fanny had married Francis Lupton (1813–84), of Leeds in 1847. HM had broken off relations with her brother-in-law, Michael Thomas Greenhow, in 1845.

The next important step of HM's life was the publication January 1851 of Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development, which claimed to be a scientific examination of man's important metaphysical beliefs in the light of Baconian science and the phrenological and mesmeric findings of Henry Atkinson. It was made up of questions and
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comments by HM, and extended answers by Atkinson. HM acquiesced in Atkinson's necessarianism and phenomenalism, and she formally abandoned all notion of a divine basis for morality and of a future life. She kept, however, her belief in a First Cause and in the progressive improvement of human society (see Auto., II, 329–37, 343–70). Fanny's reaction to the book was perceptive and level-headed, though its implications could not be ignored. She noted to Julia Smith that HM had not written lately and she was convinced that "Miss M would like the éclat of noise and reprobation, and crowds of anonymous letters" (Fanny Wedgwood to Julia Smith, 31 March 1851). Although some lapse in correspondence between HM and the Wedgwoods may have been caused by the uproar over the book, Fanny was very much involved in the lives of her growing children at this time.

Sunday*

January 3d (?1858)

My dear friend

Many thanks for your note, and best wishes for a happy New Year to you and yours! I long to have a gossip with you, and hope for it soon. You know how much less I can do than is always on my hands. But one can find time and means, — even such as I can find strength, — for our pleasures: so I dare say a letter will come soon. Meanwhile, this is for E. Darwin, and we don't know his last address. Please give it him, and don't let any harm befall

*Letter out of order.
it. Of course you won't.

Yours ever affectionately

H. Martineau.

Date: 3 Jan 1858 was a Sunday, and letter seems to fit before one to Erasmus 10 Jan 1858.

One day lately, Mrs Davy was with Mrs Fletcher® in the carriage, when I was in the road. Mrs D. stopped the carriage, and detained me with questions, — I fancy in hopes of giving Mrs F. a fair opportunity of being civil. (I had never seen her since her famous letter.) But she looked straight before her, and smelled away, with all her might, at a bouquet she held. I made no effort, — nor yet hindrance. The insult was hers, and she may do as she likes about repairing it. — She is gone now. Dr D. is abundantly hated, I find. ² — —

Date: probably soon after publication of Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development, see below.

1. Mrs. Davy's mother, Eliza (Dawson) Fletcher (1770-1858; DNB), widow of Archibald Fletcher, Scottish advocate and political writer. She had a wide circle of friends in Edinburgh and London, and lived at Lancrigg, Grasmere. She is probably the "opinionated old lady of the neighborhood (above eighty)" who "downright insulted" HM over

2. Dr. Davy was a J.P.

Armathwaite

Mr Carlisle

May 15th 1851

My dear friend

I don't at all know where you are, — whether you let your house, as you wished; nor, therefore, whether this is likely to reach you. \( \text{| |} \) I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose I suppose 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sweetest piece of river scenery he knows, — his mind being full of sweet sentiment and fine sensibilities; — and his next neighbours, with whom I am staying, — high Swedenborgians, — full of wonderful visions on the one hand, and the wisest and most active practical benevolence; — this for one side the picture. On the other end of the bridge you find the other aspect. I won't sicken your heart with any full account of it. Suffice it that there is no hoggish sensuality, no devilish malice, no low trickery, no reckless crime of any kind that you may not find in this small hamlet, where poor Wordsworth would have concluded all sorts of innocence to abound. Now, I think such rottenness, just disguised with a thick religious varnish, must crumble down into stinking dust; and the only question with me is when and how. — At home, as you know, I am trying, to the utmost limit of my forces, to change the state of things, without overthrowing any custom or process whatever, or meddling with other people's methods, more or less. It certainly seems as if very considerable success was probable. The lectures went on capitally to the end, — though the course extended to 20. But the grandest thing is the Building Society. It was only in February that Mrs Reid bought the field for us: and now every yard of it is sold, — and all to members of the Society. I am beginning to build Mrs Reid's own 2 cottages; and within the half year, she will be wholly repaid, and the entire site be drained, fenced, allotted, and traversed with roads, — and every conveyance completed, and every
bill paid. Then, there remains only the delight of seeing 16 or 18 **perfect** cottage dwellings rising on that healthy and beautiful spot, — to the saving of more life and health than anyone will dare compute. Mrs Reid's first tenant is to be a good man who has lost **three** children, and much of his own health from the badness of his dwelling. It is no small matter to see the life and spirit aroused among the people. Instead of daunndering to the pot-house, they come up to me with their eager notions about the land and the dwellings: and we have merry meetings on the ground; and there is work for the old and the feeble, as well as for the builders. We all cry out for Mrs Reid. The land will cease to be hers before she sees it. But I have reserved for her and myself the pretty sheltered knoll at the furthest end of the field; and there our 3 cottages will be; with Mrs Twining's and Mrs Arnold's close at hand. The poorer owners, who will build for themselves, prefer the lots nearer the main road. There will be a sprinkling of good houses, — the druggist's and the post-mistress's; and this, and the parsonage being close by, will, we hope, save us from the rising up of any pot house. All this will look very small to you, in the presence of the great Exhibition; but it is not a very small matter, considering how much health, morality and domestic welfare of every sort, depends upon the experiment. I trust dear Mrs Reid will find in it some little consolation under the sad failure she reports to me about the College. I can't understand how that failure can have happened, without such a degree of mismanagement as
I should be very sorry to take for granted. I wonder whether the case and its causes are clear to you. Mrs Reid's letters, often beautiful, seem to me very very sad. She ought surely to be happy; yet who seems further from it? — As for me, — I have staid at home ever since I left Yorkshire, last Sep., till I came here, a week ago. I think it has been the healthiest and happiest winter and spring I have ever known. The Atkinson book has been, as you said it would, abundantly "misunderstood and abused": but I don't know that there is any harm in that. If a work of that class is not abused, it is clear that it is not wanted. Some sympathy and agreement is all that is needed for one's personal comfort; and we have a good deal of that. We know, at once and for ever, who are our friends and comrades; and we know whose personal attachment can stand so trying a difference of opinion. We have a clear breast, and an honest position; and, what I much value for us both, broad openings into new fields of usefulness. It is gratifying to me to find a way fairly opened to Mr A, to say what more he has to say. I like to see the written requests to him to write on, without the trammels of a partnership. We know the partnership to have been necessary in the first instance: but now I trust his way is clear to better things than this vol allowed of. — I have been advised to collect the reviews into a volume, and present them, — with their lies, tricks, arrogance, spite, railing &c, — as a body of Christian morality. It might be a useful publication; but not worth our while. Among them all, I have not seen
one which grapples with any essential point of our book. Something more like criticism is yet to come, I hear. As for my intended holiday, — I find myself just as weak as ever about resisting solicitations to work. I did intend to make complete holiday for some months; and now, within a fortnight, I have made two new engagements: and how many more I make depends, I'm afraid, on how many are offered, — I mean, of such as are obviously useful. — I return home this day week. I should have gone sooner, but a summons came, the other day, for Dr Stolterfoth to go to a sister in Belgium who seems to be dying; and he so begged me to stay with Mrs S. and Maria,¹³ that I shall remain at least another week. Our intended trips to Naworth¹⁴ &c are thus hindered, of course; but I think my maid and I shall drive over to Carlisle tomorrow, and look for Fergus McIvor's bones¹⁵ and other antiquities. By and by, I go to my brother Robert's, for a few weeks: and, if my house lets, as usual, I mean to go to the Norfolk coast, — for the sake of others, as well as myself, — that I may meet my sister Ellen and her children there, and be of some use, perhaps, to my bereaved cousin Fanny, and that my maid may see her aged parents once more. — My own intention was not to see the Exhibition, but some of my friends near London are so certain that I shall, that I begin to think I may be wrong. But this depends on the house letting: and some people say we shall be thronged this year, while others say nobody will come: and I have no means of forming a judgment. — You remember my telling you of Jenny Carlyle's outpouring
to me, more than half a year ago, and of my immediate answer, — wherein I invited her to come to me, when she wanted the rest she seemed to be pining for. Do you know — she has never taken the least notice of that letter! What a queer little body she is! — How is Snow? How interesting it is to see those we have dandled as infants growing up into womanhood, — and manhood! I have had two nieces and a nephew,¹⁶—the last promising, and the sisters, older, really glorious girls) spending a month with me, this spring: and I don't know when I have had such companionship. I know plenty of good and benevolent girls; but I must say I rarely meet with any substantially well educated; and I did enjoy the treat amazingly. Now I must end my scribble. My love to you all, dear Fanny. — If you can ever get time to let me know how you all, including Eras, get on, I shall be very thankful. I am ever your affectionate old friend

H. Martineau.

Date: from her reference to the Great Exhibition of 1851.
1. The Wedgwoods travelled in Switzerland in 1851, for Bro's health.
2. Russell's Durham letter was felt to have been politically disastrous for him. HM is also echoing the Times, 14 May 1851, on the intransigency of the problem of religious dissension in the British Isles. Russell's ministry, however, stayed in power until 20 Feb 1852. Hensleigh's post had originally been obtained through Whig patronage.
3. A further move against Roman Catholics, the
Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, was carried by a large majority in the Commons 25 March 1851, but allowed to fall into desuetude. Russell had also introduced a bill for admitting Jews to Parliament which carried 1 May.

4. This was HM's second stay at Armathwaite; she had left home 8 May; see Auto., II, 337, 372-73.

5. Formerly Lord Morpeth.

6. HM's lectures for her "workie" neighbors were held in her kitchen on winter evenings. Begun in 1848, the subjects had included the geography of Palestine, health and sanitation, American history, Russia, and, in the latest course of twenty lectures which ended 1 April, the history of England; Auto., II, 301-6, 308-10, 343.

7. The lectures on sanitation had led to the formation of the Windermere Benefit Building Society Feb 1849 (Auto., II, 306-8); the field was at Ellerrigg above the Mercat Cross, Ambleside.

8. The former Mary Arnold (1825-88), widow of William Aldred Twining (1813-48; DNB), second daughter of Mrs. Arnold.

9. The Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, held in the specially constructed Crystal Palace, was opened by the Queen 1 May 1851 in a grand ceremony; throngs of visitors waited to view the Works of Industry of All Nations on display.

10. Mrs Reid had been the principal founder of the Ladies' College, Bedford Square, in 1849. The college was open to all denominations and had as its purpose "the elevation of the moral and intellectual character of women, as a means to an improved state of society." Although it had
started well, there was a decline in the number of pupils at this time and some friction between the staff and the governing Council (of which both Fanny and Erasmus were members) over the forced resignation of a professor who had refused to sign the Thirty-nine Articles. Francis Newman, who had been active in the College from its foundation, also resigned; Tuke, pp. 20, 67-76.
11. Where she had taken lodgings in a farm-house, Bolton Abbey.

12. The review in the Athenaeum, 1 March 1851, accused HM of credulity, dogmatism, bigotry, inability to conduct an argument on the basis of reasoning or evidence, and unquestioning faith in the Atkinson intellect. George Eliot in the Leader, 1, 8 March 1851, took the book seriously, but protested that religious faith was above logic and that HM's "faith" in clairvoyance and Mr. Atkinson's "evidence" of his phrenological theories were illogical. HM had certainly not yet seen James' review, "Mesmeric Atheism," Prospective Review, 7 (April 1851), 224-62.

13. The Stolterfoths are referred to Auto., II, 372-74; Maria is presumably HM's niece.

14. Mary, Queen of Scots, was supposed to have been confined for a time in Naworth Castle near Carlisle.

15. See Scott's Waverley.

16. Probably Robert's three eldest children, Susan, Maria and Thomas.
Dear friend,

I can't help letting you into a little bit of a secret. Nobody knows it, but the friends I go to see; Chapmans, Follens, Reid and Knights: but I am to spend next Friday and Saty with the Chapmans, at "39 Devonshire St., Portland Place." Don't heat and worry yourself with coming after me there; for I am wholly at the disposal of the Cs, and shall probably be out. So much business has arisen,—I have people (publishers, editors and the like) to see, and places to go to, which compel me (much against my will) to stay longer, if I can manage it. I have refused invitations to the houses of the only two friends who know I am going,—because I shall be so hot and tired as to need the independence of a lodging. 

Although her "inclination" is to avoid the Exhibition, her maid Martha who will be with her is "longing to see it", and she supposes she must. She will go on from London to Harling, Norfolk, where she is to be the guest of Mr. Rockham, governor of the "famous" Guiltcross Workhouse, "to inspect the farm and schools." She will then go to see other family and friends before she returns home 1 Oct. I am scribbling fast. I have a bit of authorship to finish, and much else to do,—many affairs to wind up; so this is no answer to your long and most welcome letter. I can only thank you for it now. Tell nobody but Ras that I am coming,—for I have much to do, and dread the fatigue,—coming straight from green meadows and silence. If I get
a lodging, I mean to see the Nile and North Pole, and Wyld's world. I have an absurd fancy for the Prodigue, for the sake of its orientalism, but I shall not attempt it.

My love to you all, dear Fanny. I am ever your affectionate

H. Martineau.

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Date: from her planned visit to London during the Great Exhibition of 1851, see below.

1. Mrs. Chapman and her daughters were in London to see the Exhibition; Auto., II, 374; III, 313. Mrs. Follen, widowed in 1840, was with her sister and apparently Charley, now of age.

2. Her "authorship" may have been a story for Household Words, "The Highest House in Wathendale," about the drunkeness and death of a Westmorland farmer, 19 July 1851, pp. 389-96. She was also carrying on "a great press of business about cottage-building" and was deep into the study of Isidore Auguste Comte (1798-1857), Cours de Philosophie Positive, 6 vols, 1830-42; Auto., II, 374.

3. HMs choice of exhibits is reflected in her various writings. The entry for Egypt included a model of a court at Karnak and description of the Nile countryside and its products. James Wyld exhibited The World on Mercator's projection. The "North Pole" is not identified.

4. A spectacular production of Scribe and Auber's grand
opera Il Prodigo at Her Majesty's Theatre included the
dramatization of Egyptian figures such as Apis the bull god,
Egyptian priests having orgies in the temple of Isis and
Osiris and, in the final scene, the Hebrew tribes grouped
around the figures of Reuben blessing Azazle, the returned
prodigal, while overhead was the huge form of a hovering
angel.

Ambleside

Novbr 13th 1851

Yes, dear Fanny, I remember your promise to write
to me; and I have been thinking, once or twice lately;
whether the letter would not soon be coming. — As to your
business topic, — I have written today to Moxon, to ask
him if he can remember, or lay hands on, any notices of
H.E: and, if he can find any, to send them to you. My cousins showed me one I remember, in the British or
North British Review, when I was staying with them in
Decbr 1849. This is all I know.

What a quantity there is in your letter! and of what
I wanted to know. No, — I have not seen Carlyle's
Sterling, and I sadly fear I shall not. Mr Greg can't
now afford book buying, any more than myself. Mrs
Arnold would expect the ignition of Fox How, if the book
was under its roof, (and we have no Fire brigade here.)
and Mrs Davy will keep it a profound secret from me whether
she has seen it or not. If the Forsters were coming, I
would ask them to bring it, and lend it me quietly: but
they are not expected till after I have to go south for a month. Mr Atkinson read it through at a sitting, at his Club, and wrote me a good deal about the "chopped straw" of the church &c. How catching the style is! in the next letter, Mr A. treated a matter, à la Carlyle, most capitably; — far richer than C. himself. I'm not a bit surprised about Macaulay. What else did you expect from him? What Whig of the cold-blooded sort, — his sort, — ever could see what was before his eyes, or could bear to look steadily at the future? — By the way, was not that slashing article against Father Newman, in a "Times" of last week, Macaulay's? If not, it was a wonderful immitation of him, brilliant and unprincipled. — Today, I hear from Birmingham that on Monday I am to have a grand account of the Kossuth doings there, from a nephew who can write long letters only on Sundays. Meantime, my niece tells me, that, whereas the weather felt cold (at near 4) while the great area at the Five Ways was waiting for the procession, it was hot and positively suffocating when the hero passed. They seem (those who were too young to remember the Reform struggle) never to have seen anything like the crowds. I enjoy the outburst of enthusiasm among the people, and see what a good omen it is. But I am well content to sit quiet here, and read about it. To say truth, I have small confidence in refugee patriots; — I don't mean that I question their characters, but that they always disappoint us when put to the test: ie, circumstances are too strong for the individual conviction, conscience, capacity, — everything. So I like to see the Kossuth
movement, and cheer it on; but I don't lose my own head. K. seems a brilliant fellow; — quite enough able to suit his addresses to varying hearers. — Mr Edd Baring has been staying with me lately. When we had talked enough of his passes of the Andes and my plain of Damascus &c, we talked much of politics; and he threw a good deal of light on some matters very new to me. By the way, he says Henry Reeve is the writer of the pro-Austrian and anti-Hungarian leaders in the "Times." What a shame! — a cousin of mine! Pah! He was the most insolent little dog at 5 years old, or little more, that ever was seen. In playing some Xmas game of questions, he looked full at my mother (who had bid him be quiet or some such thing) and shouted out his question, — "Who is the greatest zany in this room?" turned up his nose at her, and went into the hall, to spend the rest of his evening. How funny it would have been then to know about these Times articles! — I can't make out what you say Warren got £1000 for.¹⁰ 

N'importe!

But you want to hear of me. I wish I could give you a true impression of how sweet and fresh all is with me. Life seems to me fresher than it was 30 years ago, — and O! how much smoother! I am perfectly well; and I have not a care in the world, — as far as I can remember at this moment. Ellen's children retain the good you may remember they got at the seaside with me.¹¹ My good maids here are well and merry.¹² They come to me for an hour in the evenings, when I am at home and alone, to write from dictation. One spells ill and writes well; and the
other the converse: and they improve very fast. — Ask
Eras: about the £500 put into my hands, almost the hour
after you left London; and he will tell you what it is
for; and therein, what I am doing. It is a glorious
work. Many seem setting about it at once, — on one plan
or another; but I am not interfered with, as far as I
know at present. I have stipulated for a year and half,
or two years, if necessary, before I come out with my
Epitome on Analysis. — I have other work too. In the
midst of my visit of 5 weeks to my bro: Robert's family,
it struck me that a clear, picturesque account of manu-
factures might suit "Household Words." Mr Dickens jumped
at the offer; and before I left Birmm I did three (which
have appeared) and since my return, I have done Kendal
carpets, and Ambleside Bobbins. Mr D. has engaged me
to send him 8 or 10 more from Birmingham and neighborhood;
and I am going there for a month on purpose. In spite
of all outcry, I am going to a lodging! I could not do
the work fast enough anywhere but in entire independence:
and it is so awfully fatiguing that I shall want the
intervals for rest: I can spend the evenings at my
brothers. I shall take my maid Jane, to do the
exploring with me, and save my busy nieces. One of them
is at Genoa for the winter, with the P. Taylors; and that
makes the others very busy; — for they are benevolent,
industrious, excellent girls. Mrs Arnold hopes some of
her Rugby friends may like my house for the holidays. If
so, the holidays will determine the time of my going. If
not, I believe it will be the first week in Janry. I don't
like it: for I had rather stay in Paradise than roam the
earth, among diabolical engines, &c; but Mr D. is so taken with the plan, and he has so many readers, and I shall learn so much, and the proceeds will build such a nice additional cottage, that I am sure it is right to do it. And how sweet it will be to come back! — I found my experiment of a passion-flower quite successful, on my return. 37 blossoms peeping in at the study window. So now I have been planting some arbutus, which I hope will flourish. I have bought no vegetables since my return, and shall buy none, I believe, before I go to B. We have even a variety. I have built a nice root-house for the cow-food; and all looks in the finest order. It was a vast pleasure to have Dr Saml Brown for a week, — though he was not well; — worn out and chilled in London. I think it settles my going to Portobello next summer, if I let the house; — which Mr Edd Baring wants his mother to take, that he may run over for the Sundays. I doubt the size sufficing, though, by new arrangements, we have practically enlarged it. — I was weighed at Birmingham, and found myself increased in weight 2 stone and 1 p. — i.e., I weigh 10 stone 10 lbs. See what it is to live here! I have some new acquaintance here, — in the place of several who have removed. One family is pleasant. But no room now for them, or anything else, if this is to go today. Martha is ready to carry it off. So goodbye, dear friend, and my love to you all. I haven’t half done, after all this long scrawl. I saw dear Mrs Reid at Malvern, and hoped she was stronger. I must write to her pretty often. Mrs Pollen calls herself better. How
very strangely she seems (entre nous) to go off, as she stays here longer! — to become so aristocratic, — so weak, — so almost querulous. And S. Cabot too! It can hardly be illness in both: but it is very sad! Ever yr affecte H.M. —

Date: see below, note 2


2. The Life of John Sterling, 1851, a highly personalized treatment of Carlyle's close friend and disciple (1806-44; DNB), written to correct the "unrecognizable" biography just published by Sterling's other literary executor and fellow Churchman, Archdeacon Julian Hare. The Times review of this same day objects to the scepticism in Carlyle's digressions, such as on the practical value of honesty.

3. W.R. Greg's move to Windermere had affected his business adversely; he was forced to give it up in 1850 and to support himself by his writing.

4. The Arnolds' sympathies were with the Church, and therefore with Hare.

5. The Forsters lived at Rawdon for eighteen months after their marriage and then built a home in Wharfdale, Yorkshire.

6. HM may be referring to an article in the Westminster Review, 54 (Oct 1850), 117-38, which points out Macaulay's unwarranted casting of aspersions on William Penn because the Quakers
had helped to defeat him in the 1847 parliamentary election at Edinburgh; see Auto., III, 456. HM's estimate of Macaulay, that he "wanted heart", Biographical Sketches, pp. 418–28, is modified by her approval of his private conduct. A review, possibly by Goldwin Smith, of John Henry Newman's (1801–90; DNB), Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England, 1851, scorns his belief in miracles, "like the rest of his philosophy, taken blind from Bishop Butler," Times, 7 Nov 1851.

7. Louis Kossuth (1802–94), Hungarian patriot who fought for the rights of his Magyar countrymen against the Croats and Austrians, became dictator of Hungary April–Aug 1849, was forced into exile, and released from a Turkish prison through English and American efforts on his behalf. He had arrived in Southampton 23 Oct 1851. Numerous articles about Kossuth's crusade for Hungarian freedom appeared in English newspapers.


9. Henry Reeve (1813–95; DNB), member of the Times staff and responsible for their foreign policy, 1840–55; a conservative-liberal in politics, familiar with famous men both in England and on the continent. Public sympathy was for Kossuth and the Hungarians; Reeve took a balanced view of the Russian involvement which had precipitated Kossuth's exile, and accused him of being a revolutionary
and political opportunist, *Times*, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12 Nov.


11. She had taken them to Cromer the previous summer.

12. Jane and Martha.

13. HM had spent a final week of her holiday in London to see the Exhibition, *Auto.*, II, 384. Through John Chapman, (1822-94; DNB), who had arranged to publish HM's translation and condensation of Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, HM received a gift of £500 from Edward Lombe (d. 1852), of Norfolk, a philanthropic sponsor of serious works of authorship. Of the total, she accepted £200 for her work and used the rest to pay for costs of publication, with profits to be divided among Comte, Chapman and herself; *Auto.*, II, 384-5. Or HM's share may have been £150; see Haight, G.E. and J.C., p. 56.

14. The Rev. W.M.W. Call, who had also planned a translation and condensation, was eliminated.

15. *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*. Freely Translated and Condensed by Harriet Martineau, 2 vols, was completed by Oct 1853 and appeared at the beginning of Nov 1853; *Auto.*, II, 385.

17. HM wrote more than thirty additional articles on manufacturing and specialized vocations or educational methods for _Household Words_ to Jan 1855. For a partial list of these and Robert's family's surprise installation of her in their own house, see Auto., II, 385-89. The complete list, which includes Dickens' specification that contributors should write non-fictional prose in an imaginative and lively style, is in Anne Lohrli, _Household Words. A Weekly Journal 1850-1859_. Conducted by Charles Dickens, Toronto, 1973.

18. Peter Alfred Taylor (1819-91; _DNB_), radical reformer, follower of Mill; elected MP 1862.

19. Dr. Samuel Brown (1817-56; _DNB_), Scottish chemist, lecturer and writer on the philosophy and history of the sciences; retired from public life 1843 but continued his experiments on the transmutation of elements. His home was at Haddington.


HM's heavy work schedule may have been partly responsible for the few letters to Fanny in these years.
My dear friend

I want to know how everything has gone with you since we parted in that prodigious rain on board the steamer. Not one word have I heard of you since! I saw in the papers the death of Mme Sismondi at Tenby, and was thus in indirect communication with you; but I want some substantial tidings, — some facts about you, if you can find time, some day, to write.

The half hour after we parted, — the climbing up the steep at Inversnaid in that rain was the worst part of our 11 weeks' journey. But we did it somehow: and on board the steamer on Loch Katrine, met Lady Dunmore and party, who renewed acquaintance with me, and told me all manner of things about my Cairo friend Murray. Stirling was beyond everything glorious; as I think again every time I see it. We went almost all over Ireland, without difficulty or drawback, when I had once become innured to the double fatigue of travelling and writing. My niece turned out an incomparable companion, as I rather expected. Neither she nor I shall ever lose the impression of that journey. We met friends, old or new, at almost every step, — had good weather, — and all sorts of prosperity. We talked over, — you and I, — the expense part beforehand: so I tell you, — and do you tell Ras, that I found myself £142 into pocket by that journey: — which I think a very amusing result. — I came home rather quickly at last, — to ship off my dear maid Jane for
Australia, and to embark my still dearer maid Martha in marriage. 5 She has married Miss Carpenter's Ragged-School master, at Bristol: 6 — a delightful marriage; and the Carpenters love the dear girl as much as I do, — or as nearly as time allows. We had the prettiest wedding I ever did see. Mr Carpenter came over from Warrington to marry them, 7 and brought his sister: and we took Martha into the parlour among us, from the time her lover came; and never did I see such a pretty graceful creature as she was those 3 days. We were 25 at the breakfast, and had some good speaking. How glad I was when the day was over! My family have sent me two excellent girls, in the place of my lost ones. One is a capital dairy woman &c; and the other is a clever and educated girl, — the daughter of a rascally ruined attorney. She sits beside me, making out the table of contents for my Comte, — mathematics and all! — (which does not mean that she understands about indeterminate coefficients and the like.) She does her work full as well as if she could not read, — which will not surprise you. — Our valley is full of weddings. 8 I am truly dreading this evening, — my last party for these young people. Her friends here wish to know her future husband; so I have invited them: but I think it will be dismal work: and I long for 12 hours hence, when we shall all be asleep. — I ought, rather, to have come to London this spring, when we might have had a good gossip: but the truth is, I am so comfortable over my work, that I can't bear to stir. I have refused all
manner of work, — (everything except Daily News, which
goes on most gloriously)\textsuperscript{9} for the sake of finishing Comte:
and I see abundantly, by the overtures brought and went,
that I should not be able to keep my mind quiet among the
multitude of projects urged, if I once put my head out of
the valley. So I work on at Comte. Prof\textsuperscript{r} Nichol has
put his imprimatur, — most heartily, — on the 3 first
Books of Comte,\textsuperscript{10} and we go to press with the \textit{1st} vol
this month: but it will be autumn before I am at liberty.

I enjoy the work extremely. I am very very prosperous;
more so every year. This week I am investing £500, though
the Lombe fund lies untouched yet. The Atkinson letters
have made a new start,\textsuperscript{11} and are selling well, among a
good sort of public: and the Playfellow is likely to
be reprinted.\textsuperscript{12} And Miss Brontë's publisher asked me for
"Deerbrook", the other day, of which he wishes to make a
cheap edition.\textsuperscript{13} I told him he should have it on his own
terms, as I could not \textit{ask} any such publisher as himself
to issue a 3d edition of a novel; and he offered £50,
and sent the money by return of post! 0! \textit{Esmond}!\textsuperscript{14}
That book marks its own year in one's life. I never did
any justice to Thackeray before; and I cannot \underline{\textit{now}} read
"Vanity Fair."\textsuperscript{15} But the publisher sent me "Esmond;"
and I expect to read it as long as I live. — "Villette."
I suppose you feel with the rest of us; — that it is
\underline{\textit{marvellously}} powerful, but grievously morbid; and not a
little coarse. I held out strenuously against this last
imputation on the other two, but am obliged to yield up
the case now.\textsuperscript{16} In truth, I am deeply sorry. What has
become of the old heroism which made our grandmothers bear their interior conflicts in silence and humility and cheerfulness? What apology can C.B. offer to 100,000 women, — especially governesses who find the eyes of the world turned to pry into their secret troubles? They complain, — and how justly, — that they are made objects of speculation and pity to their employers, and even to their pupils, who read "Jane Eyre" and "Villette." The more I think of it, the more it pains me; and certainly not the less on account of the wonderful power and (in some sense) beauty of the book. — C.B. and her poor sisters seem to be quite unlike all other women, — whether novelists or dumb, — in their notion of love, — both as to kind and degree. Currer is now in better health and spirits than for years (though still far from well)¹⁷ and yet her last book is more morbid than "Shirley,"¹⁸ and seems to have wholly lost the healthiness of "Jane Eyre." I am more sorry than I can say. I hope some woman will arise who, with power like, or equal to, C.B.'s, will bring us up to high art again, and not help to sink us into the subjective slough as she is doing. — "Ruth" won't help us. All strewn with beauties as it is, it is sadly feeble and wrong, I think. Amidst much wrong, I think making Mr. Benson such a nincompoop is fatal.¹⁸ What a beautiful "Cranford" Mrs. Gaskell has given us again!¹⁹ — But I must give you no more, — of any kind, but run to the post, and dress flowers, and dress myself, and see how I can get the painters and cleaners shoved out of sight for my party. No choice of my day, as the wedding is on
Saturday, and the bridegroom has to go to Manchester and return &c &c

Do tell me, if you know, what you think of Mrs Reid's state. She was to have been here 3 weeks ago, and was ill. I don't like to tease her for bulletins, nor to put her off from coming by news of other guests rather waiting to fix their plans. Send her to me, if you can, and say nothing of others coming. I don't like C. Follen's reports of his aunt and mother; and Mrs E.'s letters are sadly variable, and, entre nous, unreasonable. I don't at all mean about myself, or any private subject, — but wonderfully, — (still entre nous) conceited and foolish. Somebody or something is doing her great harm: — she lays down the law so on matters she knows nothing about. And, — only think of her asking Mrs Stowe (a stranger) all sorts of questions about her private affairs (even money) and then circulating the answer! She sent it to me, — a well worn copy, in Emily Taylor's writing, — about the family poverty &c &c, and begged me to circulate it here. I asked Mrs Arnold to send forward with it my disclaimer of having anything to do with it but obeying directions.

Tell me, of course, how Ras has borne the odd winter. We are all well here; — Mrs Arnold much aged, but well and cheerful. — I am, dear Fanny, ever your affecte old friend

H. Martineau.

Sir J.K. Shuttleworth is here, nursing his dying mother. Whenever I do come to town, I stay there, and with the Willses, and Richd Martineau, Mrs Reid (if convenient)
&c &c &c — Tell me of the Carlyles.

Date: "1853" confirmed by the reference to her recent travels, see below.

1. Fanny's aunt had returned to England to live with her sister Harriet Surtees at Tenby, where she died 3 March 1853; Darwin Letters, II, 73.

2. After a stay in Portobello, HM and Maria had travelled westward to Loch Katrine and visited Inversnaid, with its ruins of an eighteenth-century fort built for protection against Rob Roy, and where Wordsworth had met the "Highland Girl" in 1803. Lady Catherine Dunmore (1814-86), daughter of the Earl of Pembroke and widow of Alexander Edward Murray, Earl and Baron of Dunmore. Sir Charles Augustus Murray (1806-95; DNB), her brother-in-law, Consul-general in Egypt 1846-53.

3. They probably looked at the Renaissance palace and other historic buildings of Stirling en route to Loch Katrine.

4. HM's journey from Lough Foyle in the north, where they landed by steamer, back and forth across the country to Valentia Island in the south is described in Letters from Ireland, rptd. from the Daily News, 1852, dated 10 Aug to Oct 1852. The focus is more contemporary than in HM's other "travel" accounts, although she blends description of scenery, analysis of social and economic conditions (including the problems created by religious practices) with suggested remedies for Ireland's poverty in the manner of her books on America and the Middle East. The Preface
acknowledges the use of tracts from the Dublin Statistical Society and the Belfast Social Inquiry Society and concludes that education, which can help to save Ireland from social ills of the past, is spreading. The influence of the churches, especially the Church of England with its "artificial power", is bound to decline. Frederick Knight Hunt's (1814-54; DNB), editor of the Daily News, requisition of the letters, and the writing of them during her journey are described Aut., II, 406-7, 409.


6. Mary Carpenter (1807-77; DNB), eldest daughter of HM's early mentor, Lant Carpenter (see Aut., I, 95-96, 103-4), educator, prison reformer.

7. The Rev. Phillip F. Carpenter (1819-77), son of Lant Carpenter, Presbyterian minister, regular correspondent of HM. He later emigrated to Canada, became an Anglican, and devoted the rest of his life to teaching and the study of natural science.

8. Susan Arnold (b. 1830), youngest daughter of Mrs. Arnold, who will marry John Cropper of Liverpool; Jane Claude, daughter of Mrs. Louisa Augusta Claude of Broadlands, Ambleside; and Jeannetta Claude, "the South American girl." But Grace Davy is not allowed to have the man she has chosen because he is "poor."


10. Professor John Pringle Nichol was enthusiastic about HM's sections on Comte's Mathematics, Astronomy and Physics;
see Auto., II, 392, III, 312, and The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte, I, xii–xiii.

11. Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development was not reissued; remaining copies may have been sold in bulk by John Chapman.

12. The next edition of The Playfellow, 1853, included only the first of the four stories, "The Settlers at Home," about Protestant immigrants from the continent.

13. HM had originally approached George Smith (1824–1901; DNB), of Smith & Elder, through Charlotte Brontë about publication of a novel begun in 1850. It was declined after she had sent Smith the first volume because, she claimed, it showed Roman Catholics in a favorable light. HM later burned the MS; Auto., II, 381–83.


15. 1848.

16. Villette, 3 vols, 1853, tells of the love of Lucy Snowe, and English teacher, for her French tutor; reviewed by HM Daily News, 3 Feb 1853. HM also refers to Jane Eyre, and Shirley, 3 vols, 1849.

17. HM had become acquainted with Charlotte Bronte (1816–55; DNB), in 1849 and had invited her to stay at The Knoll during the winter 1850–51; Auto., II, 323–28, 381–83; III, 289–92.

18. Mrs. Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1810–65; DNB), Ruth, 3 vols, 1853, the sympathetic portrayal of an unmarried mother; she is taken in by a clergyman, Mr Benson and his wife, and they agree to Ruth's deception about her child. Contemporary critics reacted adversely to the book.
19. The final group of stories which make up Cranford, 1853, appeared in Household Words, Jan-May 1853. The latest was "Stopped Payment, at Cranford," 2 April, pp. 108-115.

20. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-96; DAB), had arrived in Liverpool a few days before this letter was written, to make a tour of Scotland, England and part of the continent with her husband and brother. Her party was met by one of the sons of James Cropper (1773-1840), Quaker philanthropist and abolitionist friend of HM from the time of Illustrations of Political Economy (see Auto., I, 197-99), now related to Susan (Arnold) Cropper. On 2 May Mrs. Follen called on Mrs. Stowe in London, where she was being feted by such notables as the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, and the Duchess' brother, Lord Carlisle, Samuel Rogers the poet, and Lord John Russell. See Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands, 1854, pp. 13, 17, 23, 189-336.

21. William Henry Wills (1810-80), assistant editor of Household Words and associate of Dickens. His wife was the sister of the Edinburgh publishers, William and Robert Chambers. For HM's welcome at their homes, see Auto., II, 140.

Oxford House

Sunday night [18 Sept 1854]

Dear friend

I was faithful to my tryst at the Palace; but none of you did I see. I have staid on here because W. Grnz
disappointed Chapman of an article, in the most selfish and saucy way, after having promised it, and when there was not a day to lose. Just then, poor Chapman suffered the heavy blow of his best friend and helper's death by cholera, in a few hours. His cousin John C.^2 I offered to stay and write another article (which fact you need not publish.) I have just finished it;^3 and I am off home¬wards early in the morning, to meet Mr R. Chambers in the evening, at the Knoll.

Chapman's affairs are settled very suddenly at last,—owing to the atrocious device of the conspirators, of impugning the validity of my mortgage deed,^4 on the ground of the doubtful nature of literary property. While doing this, to lessen the security of the review, Dr Hodgson commenced legal proceedings, to compel an immediate sale, at the utmost disadvantage,—having his subscribers ready to buy it (after I was stripped of my claim) and to put it into James's hands, to be amalgamated with the "Prospective."^5 (You may conceive the indignation at this attempt "to swindle Miss M. out of the review." It caused an immediate settlement. ^The others supporting Chapman to retain control of the Westminster Review arranged to pay off Dr. Hodgson and HM was to pay off James.

Samuel Courtald, a wealthy philanthropist who was one of Chapman's creditors, acted as adviser in the settlement.^7 They have lost their scheme on the Review, and all future access to it, and something more valuable than the money they have got. The commercial creditors say that they never saw, or heard of, such "cruelty" to a debtor as these
two very pious and righteous gentlemen have shown.

Altogether, the week has been one that I am not sorry to part with, though I try not to fret myself because of evil doers. If I had any hope of Jas letting me alone, I should soon forget the past; but he pushes in upon me the more he finds it in vain. I hope these subscribers will set him up handsomely in the "Prospective", and let him try what he can do. I wish him every possible facility and opportunity for working out his views and notions: and I wish it more as I see more plainly how bent he is on stealing other people's. Well, — it is over for the present, and he does not come to Ambleside till next May; and I don't see how he can meddle with me before that.

Mr. Hunt has just been here, coming in upon me with fresh news and fresh views of European affairs; and we have made out a glorious programme of work from hence to (probably) Christmas.

I hope this will follow you to wherever you may be. My love to you all. I shall be very well, and tipsy with mountain breeze before you get this, I suppose. At present, I am too tired to do more than say good night, finish my packing, and go to bed.

So good night, dear friend. I am ever your affectionate

H. Martineau.

P.S. Mr. Lewes and his elder boys, and Miss E. are living at Weimar, — he writing Gōthe's life. My notion is that L. finds it answer well to pick her brains for his own book and his boys' education, and so makes profit and
pleasure agree. When will she find that out? 8

Date: from her statement that she is to be at home the following night, identified as 19 Sept 1854, Auto., II, 427.

1. HM had gone to London in mid-summer to stay with the Frederick Knight Hunts and then at a lodging at Upper Norwood, opposite the Crystal Palace fence (opened at Sydenham, Surrey, 10 June 1854); Auto., II, 425.

2. John Chapman, who had published HM's last three books, had bought the Westminster Review in 1851. His cousin, also John Chapman (1801-54), was of humble origin but varied talents; his last achievement was a proposal for a railway and other schemes to aid the development of India; he died 11 Sept. These events, Hunt's tragic death later in the year, and Chapman's struggle to keep the Westminster Review from his creditors (see below) are described in Auto., II, 424-29.

3. HM's original article was "Rajah Brooke," an account of the life of Sir James Brooke (1803-63; DNB), developer of Sarawak; Westminster Review, 6 n.s. (Oct 1854), 381-419; see Auto., II, 427; III, 346. The second article was probably "The Crystal Palace," nominally a review of handbooks on the Exhibition but actually a description of the spectators, exhibits, and of the recreational and educational benefits to be gotten from it; pp. 534-50.

4. HM had loaned Chapman £500 on security of the Westminster Review April 1854.

5. James and Dr. William Ballantyne Hodgson (1815-94).
educational reformer and political economist, Liverpool associate of James', were minor creditors of the Westminster Review. James was also co-proprietor and editor of the Prospective Review, a Unitarian quarterly; see Haight, G.E. and J.C., pp. 76-78.

6. The Prospective Review was expanded into the National Review, 1854, with the addition of Literature and Politics; see Drummond and C.B. Upton, I, 264; Haight, G.E. and J.C., pp. 78-79.

7. HM was to contribute nearly fifty-five leaders to the Daily News by 30 Dec, almost all on Britain's relations with Russia and the war in the Crimea.

8. George Henry Lewes (1817-73; DNB); and Marian Evans (1819-30; DNB), who had admired HM when they met in 1845, and spent three days at The Knoll Oct 1852; Gordon S. Haight, The George Eliot Letters, 1956, I, 188, II, 65, and George Eliot: a Biography, pp. 123-24. Lewes had met Miss Evans when she came to London 1851 to work for the Westminster Review. His home was already broken up, his wife having had three children by Thornton Leigh Hunt, with whom he had established the Leader in 1850. Miss Evans and Lewes had left for Weimar July 1854; while he was in Germany, Lewes sent his boys to school in Switzerland. His book, The Life and Works of Goethe, 1855, became a standard English work on Goethe.
Dear friend

I write for two reasons. First, to tell you and Fanny that my party and I reached my Knoll with wonderful ease, — thanks to the Invalid carriage, with its delectable accommodations.¹ Tell Fanny we heated our soup with no other misadventure than singeing the carpet at the first trial. We telegraphed from Preston to my sister Rachel, and I longed to let you know; but there was bare time for one. — Of course, the effort pulled me down; and the two mornings since have been the weakest I have had: but I am at home, — and that is worth anything. Somehow or other you will hear of me while I am to be heard of, dear old friend.

Will you be so kind as to send me back that letter of my nephew's that you carried off to read? I could not speak of it to Fanny, that last evening, because the young people were by. But I should like to have it, — as you will not wonder. He² leaves me today; and if my death is as sudden as may be expected, I shall not see him again. He is a great blessing to us all. — My sister Higginson will probably come this week, for a few days, leaving her children in charge of another niece, who will then come on hither, and remain with Maria, who must have a relieving partner. — My love to you all.

Yours affecly

H. Martineau.
Date: from her allusion to the "Invalid carriage," see below, note 1.

1. The invalid carriage was allowed straight through to Ambleside. It had been gotten for her at the request of Maria's friend, Emma Sargant, to the Sec. of the London and North Western Railway; Auto., II, 433; Emma Sargant to Miss Pollock, 31 Jan 1901, MS Mr. and Mrs. J.E. Martineau.

2. Thomas, who was to be HM's executor, had accompanied her on the journey with his elder sister, Maria, and HM's servant.

This letter marks the beginning of a final stage in HM's life when she was more or less permanently confined to her Ambleside home. Strange symptoms which she had felt for many months led her to consult London physicians in Jan 1855. Dr. Peter Mere Latham (1789-1875), physician extraordinary to the Queen and one of the last advocates of bleeding, examined her on 23 Jan 1855 and made a tentative diagnosis of an enlarged heart. However, a second opinion and later symptoms pointed to the presence of an ovarian cyst. HM later confided the existence of a tumor to John Chapman, but continued to declare publicly only that she had a "heart complaint".
Dear friend

I was really delighted to see your handwriting again. I was only waiting for Maria's return on Saturday next to set on foot some inquiries about Mr Wedgwood, and to raise a hue-and-cry about your entire gang. — Your news is, on the whole, so good, and about Ras so capital, that your note was quite a cordial last evening. I sent Maria away for a month (to include the Festival, whereat I hope she is at this moment listening to "Eli") that she might be saved from the need of a rest and holiday. It is of such consequence to spare nurses before they are injured!

To my pride and pleasure, her family and friends, and the family doctor all exclaimed at the sight of her. "Why, you never looked so well!" And I quite believe it, — she being of the heroic order, — never in such welfare as under fatigue and anxiety in a task of devotedness. Our air and repose are most favourable to health, to be sure.

Maria brings her younger sister Jenny with her, for a month. Mrs Turner, my dearly-beloved old cousin, my intimate of 40 years, has been here for a month. She goes on Monday, and poor dear Mrs Reid comes. You will grieve to hear that in the spring Mrs Reid quarrelled desperately and most mysteriously with my dear niece Susan (fancying S. had been in London without calling on her, whereas it was another Miss M:) and no sooner had she repented and made up matters than she wrote me a note so grossly insulting, that Maria and my cousin Fanny had a
strong inclination to call her over the coals, as she certainly never was yet. However, they left me to manage. Of course, she repented, and humbly begged pardon: but she does not seem to see that these outbreaks spoil one's freedom, and break down one's confidence.

It is best she should come; and I have no doubt she will behave well here; but we have not pressed for more than a week. — All this will not go beyond yourselves, of course. — I am not very fit for such agitations; though I could bear them better now than when the last happened, — in the hot weather.

Mrs Turner and I have tried an experiment of entire monotony. Our tête-à-tête has scarcely been broken for the whole month, except when Mr Pillsbury and Mary Estlin came,4 from Saturday till Monday. The method (seconded by cool weather) has answered better than anything yet. I lie by an open glass door or window, and give up going out, even on the terrace. This quietness, with more wine and strong nourishment has kept me up so as to lose no ground for just a month. Except in the swelling of the ankles at night, I am in no respect worse; and the sinking fits have been fewer and much milder. Mrs Turner, in offering further service, said just now that she thinks I may probably live several months: and so do I, — always remembering the hourly peril from the heart irregularity. — On Monday I finished my autobiography,5 which spread out to two thick vols, leaving one for Mrs Chapman and Mr Atkinson to say what they wish. There is a good press and a devoted printer at Windermere;6 so I am printing my portion,
— to save my Exr all responsibility, and from all interference. James and family have been here for 6 weeks, frolicking about, and driving past my gate. Their Kendal friends give out that I am "highly nervous", — too nervous to see her brother:" which Mrs Turner has quietly put down. Really, the behaviour does exceed all badness I ever heard of, thrusting themselves into the neighbourhood and people's notice, and then defaming my wits! However, no charge could be more absurd; for my nerves are quieter and my mind happier than ever before.

— Dear old aunt Margt has been here, 7 (at a lodging, as Mrs Reid is to be:) and many others; — some of whom I have seen a little of, with much pleasure. Of slight acquaintance, I see none. I write for "Daily News", which is pleasant, while it satisfies my mind, — keeps off the temptation to feel useless. Now the Memoir is done, I shall probably do three leaders per week. (I wrote one on the Vegetarians yesterday; 8 and one on Florence Nightingale's fund today.) 9 — I wonder whether your note conveys any advance towards coming. I should immensely enjoy seeing both you and Ras: but it is such a long journey; and you have had so much, I think it would be very unfair to ask you, or to encourage you to come. You know my feelings; and you now know the circumstances.

Tell me what you think and intend. My love to you all, and best wishes for Mr Wedgwood's speedy rehabilitation.

Ever your affecte

H. Martineau

P.S. Mr Atkinson came in July, and will come again on his
return from Boulogne: and Mrs Chapman in about six or seven weeks, if all is well with her daughter, (going to lie in for the first time) and if I am still here.

Date: "Ansd 18 Sep 55" added later.

1. Maria had now become HM's permanent companion.
2. The Birmingham Festival included a production of Eli, a "new oratorio" by Costa, based on I Samuel i-iv and first performed 29 Aug 1855.
3. Catherine (Mrs. Henry) Turner (b. ?1797), who lived near Nottingham.
4. Parker Pillsbury (1809-98; DAB), a militant Garrisonian, had upset a "World Convention" of abolitionists in London, 29-30 Nov 1854, by his attacks on rival groups. His visit is mentioned by Mrs. Chapman, Auto., III, 365.

Mary Estlin, daughter of John Bishop Estlin (1785-1855; DNB), noted Bristol eye-surgeon, Unitarian, supporter of charitable causes, publisher of the Anti-Slavery Advocate; also a militant Garrisonian.
5. HM had planned to write her autobiography for some time. When Mrs. Anna Jameson (1794-1860; DNB), visited Tynemouth 1842, HM read her notes on childhood remembrances "put together as a lesson in education and to exhibit the effect of certain early impressions on particular temperaments;" Anna Jameson: Letters and Friendships, ed. Mrs Steuart Erskine, 1915, p. 218. HM had also told Atkinson she felt it was her "duty" to record the facts of her life, which could not be trusted to anyone else to do correctly; Auto., II, 328-29.
7. Margaret Rankin (d. 1860), of Newcastle, HM’s maternal aunt.
8. On the fanatic vegetarian "movement", which nevertheless encourages restraint in eating and drinking, frugality, and good sanitation; 30 Aug.
9. Florence Nightingale (1820-1910; DNB), had arrived with a group of nurses at the barrack hospital of Scutari Nov 1854 to care for the wounded and sick in the Crimean War. HM writes of the Nightingale Hospital Fund to be presented to her on her return, for the purpose of founding a hospital to train nurses. An account had been opened at Coutts bank and subscriptions were being accepted; 4 Sept.

Ambleside
Novbr 21st. 1855

Dear friend

I am going to try whether I can get anything said to you by my own hand. My smallest affairs are never too small for your sympathy and interest[^]. This has been the worst week for a long while; — ill on Monday, — a bad-sinking fit on Tuesday evening, — a worse, with sickness and extreme heart-disturbance, on Wednesday morning, — a narrow escape of one yesterday, — and the heart thoroughly bad this morning. That’s the truth: though I should not wonder if I have a better season after it. I may or may not.
And now for other matters. — I think we must have told you that Mr Lowe told the Manchester Association leaders that it was my Factory pamphlet which carried the bill.¹ It settled his mind, and that of those on whom the fate of the bill depended.

Before they left London, he told two of them, — the Secy² and another, — that if they wished his Shipping Dues Bill to be carried next session (for which purpose they had organised themselves into an Association, as for the Factory Bill,) they should persuade me to write a pamphlet, making the case clear to M.Ps. and other necessary persons. The Secy sounded me accordingly. I thought it a practicable, useful, and exceedingly entertaining bit of work, and promised to try, if I should be confirmed in my then impressions of the case by the total evidence. Before he went to America, Mr Lowe arranged for my being furnished with everything that could throw light upon the case. The Secy, Mr Whitworth, came over and settled all the details, and talked over the entire case, and even (for my convenience), engaged my neighbour Garnett to print the pamphlet (which will rather be a book.)³ It will set Garnett up finely, — the number required being from 6,000 to 10,000. 

³ She was to consult with Lowe and Henry Ashworth (1794-1880; DNB), a vocal member of the National Association of Factory Occupiers, about the pamphlet but is spared the inconvenience, as she can "talk and listen very little now," by postponement of action on the bill. ⁷ We should like to compel the government to bring in a bill this next session; and I am not without
hope that it may be done. I have done about 3/4ths of my work: Mr Whitworth comes again in about a week, to consult about the concluding chapter of suggestions, and I hope to have done before Xmas, though I work so slowly to what I used to do! and have to occupy the American department of "Daily News," as usual. I must not again undertake anything of any length, I feel: as I would not have listened to this but under a full understanding all round as to the conditions of the case. One more has just been admitted into our council, — the Town Clerk of Manchester, Mr Heron, whose ambition is to carry this measure; and whose evidence before the Committee is Capital. — This leads on to another thing.

I don't know what they mean to give me for my work: but they say money is no object: and no doubt they will do the thing handsomely, after proposing that I shall trust to them for a proper acknowledgment of my services. Maria says they will send me £200: and, now that I find what serious work it is, I think they may. — You know how impossible I found it to keep my mind clear at all times of anxiety about the money Mrs Reid had laid fast here, — though she spontaneously wrote to Maria her declaration that I had never asked her for a shilling. — Well: I began to think whether or not I might venture to buy her two cottages and their gardens here, for the purpose of leaving them to my nieces Susan and Jane, — leaving my own two to Maria. This would set free £280 of Mrs Reid's money, to spend on her dear college; it would be a bond between the dear girls and the place they love so fondly: it would secure the fulfilment of the objects for which the cottages were built; and they could be easily looked after, as this place will have to be taken care of. To make sure,
I consulted brother Robert and wife and son (my Exr) before I said anything to Mrs Reid; and their delight was so wonderful that I determined not to run the risk of waiting. I could muster all the money but £55, for which I have given my note of hand. The rest is paid in cash. Mrs Reid would have had me buy the property for what a chance sale would have brought — £260: but I saw no reason why she should make a present of £20 to my family (and it comes to that) so I chose to pay her the proper value. Her delight is extreme. She will add two rooms to the college, and paint and paper it throughout: and she is in the finest spirits about it. As for me, — I have told her I can do no more, and she must await the term of her loan to the mechanics here: but it is a comfort to have done this much: and I shall now dismiss that solicitude from my mind altogether. The dear girls have, at my desire, given names to their future property (for convenience.) The two upper cottages are thenceforth called "Crofton Cottages," No 1 and 2. Maria's two are "the Lesser Knoll." I have made the necessary testamentary arrangement; and all is done except paying the £55, — which will be cleared off when the pamphlet comes out, no doubt. — A great topographical house has asked me to do one sheet (16 pp.) of description of the Lake District for their County History of Cumberland and Westmoreland, — any time within 6 months, and for £20. This is a pleasant trifle, quite in my way; so I have said "Yes," conditionally. — I wish you could see Maria's poultry yard now, — the daily eggs, so eagerly bought up
by neighbours,—the 43 chickens for table or sale this winter, besides the little chicks which will be very precious in spring. We have revelled in ducks and giblet pies ever since spring. — Much should I have liked, dear old friend, to have you here for better purposes than to see such things. Many a time have I longed for it; but it would be cruel to bring you so far (and this is why I don't send for Mr Atkinson) when I can converse so seldom and so little. — My love and thanks to Eras. I have, I think, no present commission. I might have asked for some fruit (so difficult to get here!) — but that a Jersey friend has sent me a hamper of delicious Chamontel pears, which will last a long while, and ought to be eaten now soon. Yesterday we tried one, and declared their hour just come. — Poor Jenny Carlyle! Mr Greg calls Thomas "that raging maniac".11 Did you ever make that explanation to Mrs Jenny that you asked leave to do, I wonder. — Brother Robert is well in health; but there is great anxiety still about his eyes. Ellen is to be confined in January, — as I think you know. I am always sorry at those late confinements: but we must hope the best. She is pleased, and her husband; and that is the main thing. — — Maria grows more and more glorious. I was pleased to see the Lingens.12 They came early, before I was tired, and went away very soon. Matt: Arnold and wife came sometimes; and that was charming.13 Tourists worse than ever, this year. I must stop. — Love to you all from your affecte

H.M.

Date: from her reference to the factory pamphlet, see below.
1. Robert Lowe (1811-92; DNB), had returned to England 1850 after holding political office in Australia; leader—writer for the Times, MP 1852-59, Vice-president of the Board of Trade, Privy Councillor Aug 1855. The National Association of Factory Occupiers had been formed to oppose the enforcement of regulatory laws which involved the costly casing of moving parts. HM's pamphlet, The Factory Controversy: A Warning Against Meddling Legislation, Manchester, 1855, attempts to show why the specific protective measures required by the government are impracticable and even counter-effective. The Chief Factory Inspector Leonard Horner (1735-1864; DNB), and Charles Dickens, who had interested himself in the case, are both attacked at some length, which had caused the Westminster Review, for whom the work was originally written, to return it; Auto., III, 347. In fact, the episode ended friendly relations between HM and Dickens; see K.J. Fielding and Anne Smith, "Hard Times and the Factory Controversy, Dickens vs. Harriet Martineau," Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 24(March 1970), 404-27. HM's reference to the bill is premature. A bill, which allowed the required fencing of "mill—gearing" to be subject to arbitration was introduced in the Commons Feb 1856 and passed 30 May. HM's leaders for the Daily News on the subject are 12 Feb, 4, 7 March, 7, 15 April, 3 June 1856.

2. Henry Whitworth, Sec. of the National Association of Factory Occupiers.

3. Corporate Traditions and National Rights: Local Dues on Shipping, 1857, an historical survey which points out
the difference between private property, which is "inviolable," and public corporations under the jurisdiction of Parliament. Directed to the Liverpool Corporation, which is failing in its responsibility to use its revenue to maintain the harbor.

4. A motion for the abolition of passing tolls and local dues on shipping was made by Lowe 4 Feb 1856 but withdrawn 26 Feb. A committee to inquire into the matter was agreed upon 10 March 1856.

5. HM's leaders on the U.S. for the previous three months had ranged from the subjects of temperance and prohibition, 7 Aug; to the Mormons, 17 Aug; the Irish in America, 4 Oct; the U.S. and Russia, 19 Oct; American militarism, 15, 19 Sept; and American expansionism and disunion, 30 Oct, 1 Nov.

6. Joseph Heron (1809-39), first town clerk of Manchester, 1838; the shipping dues bill.

7. HM is referring to the cottages at Ellerrigg, for Robert's daughters.

8. HM had willed The Knoll to Ellen.

9. The change of ownership of Mrs. Reid's two cottages to HM is dated 1856, MS University of Birmingham.

10. Probably "Survey of the Lake District," The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, Whittaker & Co., 1860, pp. 39-56; geographical and historical description, with colorful details of the local life. HM had also written A Complete Guide to the English Lakes, 1855, which also includes travel advice, and a directory of local residents.
11. Carlyle was wrestling with the History of Frederick the Great and Jane was still tormented by his attendance on Lady Ashburton. She records her anger and bitterness in a journal begun 21 Oct 1855; Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, ed. J.A. Froude, 3 vols, 1883, II, 257-73.

12. Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen, later Baron Lingen (1819-1905; DNB), permanent Sec. of the Education Office (succeeded Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth 1849). His wife was Emma (1825-1908), second daughter of Robert Hutton, one-time MP for Dublin.

13. Matthew Arnold (1822-88; DNB), was best known to HM through his mother. Despite Arnold's lack of sympathy with HM's utilitarianism and agnosticism, his letters to his mother show that he valued her opinion. His poem "Haworth Churchyard", 1855, expresses the sense of HM as a gifted commentator on society which he never lost.

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Ambleside

Decbr 14/55.

My dear friend

A prompt reply from Mr Richmond showed me how you had at once fulfilled my request. Thank you; and now you will like to hear what has been settled.¹ Both the things I now tell you about the Memoir business (including Lord C's letter) are for your 3 elder selves, of course. Mr Richmond is (like most people) discontented with Hogarth;² and we see no need of him, or of any publisher. She
outlines details of the business arrangement: £25 each to Richmond (for the portrait) and Holl, (for the engraving), and £7 for the printing, plus the cost of paper. As for the money, if I continue so strangely able to write articles much longer, I can earn the whole in 10 or 12 weeks: and if not, I shall not want money much longer. Yesterday, £50 came from "Daily News", earned since you were here. I get too much exhausted now to look them over; but the editor^ says Maria does it perfectly well. Nothing can exceed his consideration, and that of the proprietors.

Well: but about Memoir business. I am thinking how I can get at Miss Gillies, about her first miniature and the engraving thereof. It is of consequence to have the earliest (which was a good likeness) to contrast with the latest: and we believe it to be small enough for the book; without re-engraving. I don't particularly wish to negotiate myself with Miss Gillies, for various reasons: and Colnaghi's people say she has the plate. Do any of you know anybody who knows her, and would be likely to agree to speak to her about it? What we want to know is the cost of 1500 impressions from the plate of her first portrait of me. (No other need apply.) If you could suggest any way of getting this done, it would be a great help to me.

The other matter is this. I think I told you that the reason why I never used Lord Carlisle's generous letter of testimony about Tynemouth mesmerism, and why I omitted in the Memoir all notice (which also was not essential) of
his share in the affair was because it would expose him to ridicule and insult. (You remember, his letter was written for publication, if I thought proper.) It occurred to me lately that he might misconstrue this omission, when the Memoir appears. I don't know that I should have thought of it but that he has lately shown much interest about me. I wrote him a note, a few days since, to tell him why I kept back his name, and that kind deed of his about our mesmerism; and yesterday came the note I send. Don't you like the word "blindness"? It seems to me the gem of the note. To save your writing if inconvenient, I have enclosed it back to myself; and I shall be glad to have it when Mr W. and Ras have read it. — And now, my strength is gone before I have well begun. I must wait till another day. My eyes fail much; and it is a dark day, — the first for weeks. I am unusually comfortable (though no stronger) as happens when Maria and I are tete a tete. The pleasure of seeing friends must be paid for. — I don't send for Mr A, at present. He would be grieved to see me now; and he is better in London, whence he writes daily, — the most beautiful letters in the world. He will come by next train, whenever we like. — James's eldest daughter (married) now, for the first time, sends me messages, — and very loving ones.6 This is pleasant. She knows all I think of her father. I have been able recently to render her a service; but I know she has no idea of it. I believe her husband and his family see that there may be something to be said on my side. Anyway, the hearty love from a very sincere
person, is comfortable. —

Fortified by turtle soup (a great quantity from Mrs Holt of Liverpool having blessed the last 3 days) I have written on in this absurd way! — Love from Maria. Mine to you all, and my blessing on you again for having come.

Ever your

H.M. —

1. HM may have asked the Wedgwoods to see about having a portrait engraved for the Autobiography when they came to visit her after 21 Nov. She describes the famous painter George Richmond (1809-96; DNB), as "accomplished and earnest", Auto., I, 367; his portrait of her in 1850, engraved by Francis Holl (1815-84; DNB), appears opposite the title page, Auto., II.


3. HM had been writing twelve to eighteen leaders a month. William Weir (1802-58; DNB), was editor; Thomas Walker (1822-98; DNB), was sub-editor.

4. HM's reluctance to deal directly with Margaret Gillies (1803-87; DNB), miniaturist and water-color painter, is not surprising from her comment that after sitting for a portrait at Miss Gillies' request, she "covered the land for a course of years with supposed likenesses of me ... each bigger, more vulgar and more monstrous than the last," Auto., I, 389-90. The unsigned portrait of HM in 1833, holding her hand cupped to her ear, appears opposite the
6. Isabella Martineau had married Leyson Lewis (1828–96), of Gallants, East Farleigh, 5 Oct 1853. HM is still outraged at James' presumed ill-treatment of her.
7. Not identified.

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Ambleside

Decbr 19th [1857]

Dear friend

The pears came yesterday, in fine condition, and lo! I ate two almost directly. O! they are so good! You could not have sent a more acceptable treat.¹ We (that is, Maria) had looked about, and could find nothing good in the fruit way. A barrel of American apples is on the way from Mrs Chapman, and some grapes from Liverpool. Meantime, your sweet pears will melt in my mouth to my great satisfaction.

Only think! here is such a nice letter from Julia Smith, (to Maria) very modestly, but frankly and affectionately offering to come, — and Hilary too, if time and circumstance can be made to suit.² Of course, I say "yes"; and I have no doubt she or both will be here in a fortnight, — after Miss Dodd's³ visit. Nothing can be nicer than her letter; and it seems she is only just home.

I will not enter on the James subject to any extent;
but I must just say this.

Does he say that he does not know why we are separated? — What think you of this? In April 1851, he published, without notice, that review in which he placed me in the position you know of with Mr Atkinson, — charged me with falsehood and trickery publicly and without notice, and with having "released" myself "from all moral obligation" &c. ⁴

During **three subsequent years**, he came repeatedly into my immediate neighbourhood, staying at W.R. Greg's and elsewhere, without letting me know.

A year and half after the review, this daughter of his married; — she never replied to my letter on her engagement; — the whole family except myself were collected, for the marriage, and with a good deal of ostentation, and no notice, more or less, taken of me, but sending the cards. Certainly the whole family, and all L. pool, understood that James had cut me. ⁵

This blank continued till the summer before last, when the family came to lodgings here, — James having himself come, and looked at 6 houses till he found one, — still without a word to me. — When they had been here a week, his wife wrote a note, begging to know if she might bring the young people for a call, — not a word about James. (Ellen had told her that the position Jas had put me into about Mr Atkinson, and the sins of the review would prevent my having further intercourse with him.) Mrs J.M's note mentioned only herself and the children; and she pretended ignorance of Ellen's warning. I asked them
to spend the day, adding that, as she was aware from Ellen, I could not ask Jas, nor hold conversation about him. She finally admitted that Ellen had warned her.  

Up to that moment, I had been for nearly 4 years, perfectly passive: and you see the reply was extorted from me. — Their practical reply was taking lodgings at the time for this year also; and here they have been, frolicking about, as I told you.

Now, — what think you of his having no idea what is the matter?

I did think before of sending you Mrs Chapman's letter from L. pool: and now your's determines me. The truth is that James has been injuring and wounding me in every possible way since my illness in 1839 (you know, he never went to see me all those years) and, as all my family know, I was perfectly passive till he compelled me to choose between him and Mr Atkinson; and even then I did nothing till he came to my gate, and compelled me to say whether I would see his wife and family (whom I would have seen, if he had been absent.) — So much for his wonder what it can all be about. — My reasons are, as I told you, two: — good faith towards Mr Atkinson; and utter disesteem for James; a disesteem which every honest person would feel who duly examined that review. You 3 elders may see Mrs C's letter. Nobody else, of course.

So, now you know what to say to Mrs Jenny if she mentions the matter again; — that the whole separation is overtly and unquestionably his own doing. —

If I could, I would tell you what I have been hearing
from W.E. Forster, about the Inspectors and Manufacturers in Yorkshire. But I must not. I wish I had known it before I finished my pamphlet. — I am much less well than when I wrote: had a sinking-fit on Saturday, and did not well get over it till I had a bad one (or rather three in a series) on Monday. Still, I feel as if I were somehow better than a month ago; but Maria is confident I am not; and she is a far better judge. — Now I must write a savoury article about horseflesh, for "D. News." I wonder how you like yesterday's, on Florence and books for the soldiers. Serf-emancipation appears today.

Love to you all from your affecte and grateful

H. Martineau.

Date: from her reference to James' family's stay in Ambleside the previous summer, 1855, see below.

1. HM had received a gift of pears from another friend earlier.

2. HM's relations with Julia Smith may have been strained over publication of Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development which Julia apparently did not want to read; Darwin Letters, II, 129. Hilary Bonham Carter (1821-65), daughter of Julia's sister Joanna, favorite cousin of Florence Nightingale.

3. Not identified.

4. "Mesmeric Atheism" is a scathing attack on Atkinson's materialism and necessarianism and HM's humiliating discipleship of him. James' sarcasm at times verges on the hilarious — Atkinson, he says, may be wrong about the
cerebellum but he has made "great discoveries in syntax," and he quotes Atkinson in the Zoist and elsewhere. He also attacks their degradation of Lord Bacon, their avowed master in scientific investigation, whom they have turned into a "vulgar impostor." James later explained that he had written the article because it was within his responsibility on the staff of the Prospective to do so. See Drummond and G.B. Upton, I, 222-27, which also includes his explanation of later unfriendly relations with HM.

5. According to James' wife, HM replied coldly to her letter of early 1853 telling of Isabella's engagement.

6. When James also responded to the invitation to visit HM she would not let him come in and "declared a reconciliation to be quite out of the question." James' record of how he had come to write the review is then dated from Skelwith Bridge, near Ambleside, 27 July 1854, apparently right after the unfortunate attempt to call on HM.


8. The Factory Controversy.

9. Consumption of horseflesh, current in France, is not a practical solution to providing enough protein for all levels of British society; fish culture and increase of poultry production are suggested; 22 Dec.

10. Florence Nightingale has instituted a banking service for soldiers in the Crimea; she formerly searched out books for them. HM suggests that classics, history, travel, biography, Scott, Dickens, Chambers' journal be sent, but not tracts; 18 Dec.
11. HM expresses sorrow at the latest rumour of the emancipation of the serfs by the Russian Czar because this will raise false hopes and produce savage retaliation;

19 Dec.

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Ambleside
Decbr 21/55.

Dear friend

I have just been presented with a ream of this paper by the Station Master of Windermere. I don't like it so well as the former. She begs Fanny to "take no trouble" about Miss Gillies; Atkinson has made the arrangements. That will leave only 2 of the 3 residences to be engraved for the 3d vol. and, just in the nick of time, here is a nice offer from an ambitious publisher for my stories, in the "Leader" in 1850 (which are my own property) to make an illustrated drawing-room book. He will give me £50 for an edition, on a short term of years: and this will pay for the 3 engravings. — All this, and what follows, is private, of course. I ought to have explained last time that Ellen's nonsense about James being my biographer is not to be taken as her deliberate and actual opinion. Imperfect as her knowledge and consequent judgment of the case are, she knows a little better than that, when speaking deliberately. We suppose that she thought it her duty to set up as strongly as she could on the opposite side to Mrs C: and, besides, she is now impressed by Mrs C's, and yet more by Maria's frank
declarations of Jas being throughout the oppressor, and I the victim, and that he has for ever closed all possibility of intercourse by making no reparation, and destroying our esteem. Ellen also reprobates his act of coming here for his summer holiday, for 2 years, without notice to me, and agrees that nobody need consider his fine feelings after that. I think she sees too that he has had no real intercourse with me since my fame began; and that, considering the intervals of 4, 6, and 7 years when he has not even seen me, — that he despises my books, knows none of my friends, or my habits, and very few of my opinions, and has never seen me for 20 years without insulting me, — he is not exactly the person to write my life. How would he tell about my Tynemouth recovery, — in the course of which he nearly succeeded in separating my whole family from me; — did so, in fact, except Robert and Ellen? — Ellen is most affectionate to me, and careful of me. Jas being her minister has injured her mind by impairing her once sound judgment and need of reality: but nothing can spoil the highest charm of her nature. — "The valley" opinion was roused, not by me, but by James driving about in search of houses, past my gate, and leaving it to them to tell me he was here. Of course, they marvelled and talked. —

Here is Baden Powell's book, on which I am going to begin. Of course, you know all about it. 3 — A very long sinking-fit yesterday evening, and a headache today. — Did you see my account of Rogers in D. News of Wedy? 4 Is it there, I wonder
1. The two residences are H.M.'s birthplace in Norwich (Auto., I, 9) and The Knoll (II, 233 and 433). The other was "Tynemouth from the Sickroom Window" (II, 155).


3. The Rev. Baden Powell (1796-1860; DNB), Savilian Prof. of Geometry, Oxford, researcher and writer on physical science and on the relationship of science and religious doctrine; Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation, 1855 reviewed Westminster Review, 8 n.s. (July 1855), 217-20, relates philosophical doctrines to the conclusions of physical science, sees man as part of the system of the universe but of Divine design, and considers the evidence in favor of the "Transmutation of species". He was to contribute an important essay on evidences of Christianity to Essays and Reviews, 1860.

4. Samuel Rogers (1763-1855; DNB), banker and poet, H.M.'s neighbor when she lived in Fludyer St. He invited her, sometimes unsuccessfully, to his famous breakfasts "and many were the parties to which he took me in his carriage," Auto., I, 334. He died 18 Dec; see Biographical Sketches pp. 367-75.
Dear friend

I have written so much about America this week for "D. News"¹ that I may fairly do some private writing this morning, before going to woolwork.² Now, as at Tynemouth, I find that a great resource, though my eyes fail me a good deal: It really is such pretty work! and Maria takes interest in it too; so we sympathize over it, — as well as over greater things.

Let's see! — there are so many matters to write about! — Julia and Hilary were really delightful. Julia looks older, I think, than almost anybody I ever saw, — so withered³ but I love her face just as well as ever; and she was no less full of charms. She went at once into our old confidences, as regards her clan, — telling me about all of them, from the point at which we left off; and I feel up to them all now. I had charming messages from Florence N, through Mrs Sam: Smith, two days since; and the Bracebridges and I are in correspondence about Scutari matters.⁴ Julia rejoices that she came, finding herself the happier for seeing how happy we are: and to us, of course, it was a very great pleasure. I did not trouble Ju: with Jas M. matters (except in connexion with Chapman's affairs.)⁵ She thanked me heartily for "sparing" her that; and I felt that, well as she now knows me, I might trust her fidelity; and I therefore simply told her that my whole family would bear witness, if she chose to ask them, that all the action had been on one side, — that
I had been absolutely passive for 12 years till, by their coming here, the J.Ms. compelled me to close or throw open my door. — You will tell me whether you succeed in making Mrs Carlyle understand my passiveness, and anything of my long endurance. I have had a free, frank, grateful, loving note from Jas's daughter. She is all right; but I don't suppose her parents know it. Maria is sure they don't. — Mr Atkinson says Carlyle looks so picturesque in the street, with his brown beard, wide-awake, and very individual dress. — I am getting my mind eased about what was becoming an anxiety to me, — my Building Socy. I feared to break it up by withdrawing, for self and friends, and yet could not see after it. I sent for our trustee, Mr Crosfield: and he tells me he believes we are all of one mind; — that the Socy has done great good, (13 cottages built here, and others elsewhere) and that under present circumstances it is hardly likely to do more: so that we are going to wind up next month, at the end of our 7th year. She adds details about the settlement of the Building Society. Miss Gillies found up the plate, and I have bought it of her for ten guineas. Holl can get the huge sleeves "beaten out," which will reduce it to the size of the page; and a few lines will make it quite the right thing. The Richmond engraving is going on well, and will be done in a month; and the two landscapes are engraving in Edinburgh. One sheet more, of appendix and contents, will finish the printing of the Memoir. If I can get it done by Garnett himself, I will have one copy bound, — portraits and all, — to lock up till I am gone. —
You know by this time about Lord Campbell’s judgments in the Factory matter. Both are good in their way; one as freeing the mill owners from Mr. Horner’s persecution in all cases where injury results from recklessness and disobedience; and the other, as compelling a declaration and alteration of the law, which is literally impracticable. It is very curious, — Sir G. Grey is behaving infamously through fear of Lord Shaftesbury and party; whereas Lord Shaftesbury is behaving very well. — Dickens’s reply, you ask about. It is terribly false as to facts. Eg, he defends Tapping for not knowing, and himself for not saying in October that the Assocn pays no penalties, and is not illegal, and charges the Assocn with misleading me. On inquiry I find that the Report in question was in the hands of all the world on August 15th, (I had it earlier) and that a copy was sent to Mr. Dickens on the 14th. To this hour, he has never retracted the charge of their paying penalties, though he has known since the 15th of August that it was false: and he defends Mr. Tapping, (whose business it was to know all the facts of the case) for charging the Assocn with illegality on this false ground, at the end of October. Again, he says there were no cases before the Judges; whereas Lord Campbell gave his two judgments on the very day when Dickens published his assertion. And so on, all through. Yet I am glad (except for Dickens and Wills themselves) that they published that reply, as it will let tens of thousands of people know that the Assocn is not illegal, and that Dickens is distrusted, on social subjects. I have had a
splendid Official letter from the Prest, conveying a vote of thanks, passed by acclamation, at the annual meeting. You would like to hear (but I can't tell now) what fine things they, — the Assocon, — are doing. They will obtain a complete rectification, I doubt not.

I am writing this long letter after a real good night, for once. Finding the cigar a fatigue, I had tried to omit it; but the very first experiment showed us more than we had any notion of its benefits. Not only does it obviate the need of other medicines, in the way I told you; but it produces good effects which explain much of the comparative ease which we wondered at. I suffered so much in the intermission that, glad as I should be to save the exertion, and the oddness, and some other things, I must go on at present. (I have plenty yet.)

Now I must stop, though I have very much more that I should like to say, — about Lewes's Gothe &c &c. Brother Robt is better, but still in an anxious condition. Maria well and glorious. Cousin Kate came this day month; and she goes on Monday. M. and I shall like then to be alone for a time, though we have both been glad of her dear friend Kate's visit. — I have fewer sinking-fits, and more constant uneasiness, — heart seldom in order. Size decreases again, without any sign of good from it. Decrease is an inch and half, — rather more, — this week. It looks as if it must be water.

Love to you all, including Ras. I fear the weather is bad for him. The coldest suits me the best; and I don't believe I could stand heat at all. — Yours, dearest
Fanny, ever affectionately, H. Martineau.

1. HM summarizes recent events in the U.S. which show a growing division between North and South in anticipation of the coming Civil War, with vivid detail of antislavery efforts; 14 Feb.

2. HM's needlework in "Berlin wool" was often contributed to the bazaars held by the American Anti-Slavery Society and to other causes; Auto., III, 332.

3. Julia was three years older than HM but had always been thought of as dainty and pretty.

4. Florence Nightingale was struggling with the authorities, who were jealous and uncooperative with her efforts in the army hospitals. Her Aunt Mai Smith was with her.

Charles Holte Bracebridge (1799-1872), and his wife Selina had accompanied her when she first went to Turkey, and he accompanied her on her first trip from Scutari to Balaclava May 1855. The Bracebridges returned to England July 1855.


6. John Crosfield, Esq., Rothay Bank; Liverpool merchant. The other trustee, as signed 3 Feb 1849, was Dr. John Davy; MS University of Birmingham.

7. HM's statement of withdrawal from the Windermere Benefit Building Society is dated 6 Feb 1856, MS University of Birmingham.

8. Still visible in the plate Auto., I.


10. Lord John Campbell (1779-1861; DNB), Chief Justice.
The two judgments, 18 Jan 1856, on claims against employers for employees' injuries were Carswell vs. Worth (E & B, 5, 849-56), where the claim was denied because the employee was judged to have been negligent, and Doll vs. Sheppard (E & B, 5, 857-59), where the law on the fencing of mill-gearing was seen to be impracticable, requiring a Government decision; Daily News, 12 Feb, 4, 7 March, 7 April 1856.


12. Anthony Ashley Cooper, 7th Earl of Shaftesbury (1801-85; DNB), formerly Lord Ashley, leader of Parliamentary agitation for all kinds of reform including factory legislation.


15. The National Association of Factory Occupiers had proposed, March 1855, to pay fines incurred by manufacturers who refused to obey the law on fencing their machinery. The proposal was withdrawn and made known to members in a Special Report written 7 Aug but back-dated July 1855 after a protesting article by Dickens, "More Grist to the Mill," Household Words, 28 July 1855, pp. 605-6 (issued in Manchester 26 July). The Association
apparently did not tell HM that the report had been back-dated and allowed her to accuse Dickens of mis-statements about its paying of penalties.

16. HM's argument is unreasonable; Dickens' accusations were published by 26 July.

17. Here HM is on firmer ground. Dickens says "no case whatever awaits the opinion of the Judges!" "Our Wicked Mis-Statements," p. 18.

18. Robert Hyde Greg (1795-1875; DNB), Chairman of the National Association of Factory Occupiers, which later presented HM with a donation of one hundred guineas to be given to charity in her name; _Auto.,_ III, 349-50.

19. Robert was losing his eyesight—as he believed, from rheumatism.

20. Catherine Martineau (1822-91), daughter of Peter Martineau.

Dear friend

I hoped to have achieved a real gossip with you today, — also yesterday. But yesterday, Mr Charming came,¹ for the only 1/2 hour he had to give in his hasty passage through the district; and today, dear Mrs Claude has called, and I am "done up." Robert is improving under homeopathic treatment in London; meanwhile James has tendered only "fine sentiments", and has failed to visit Robert either in London or Birmingham. Maria has sealed up 1,499 copies
of the Autobiography, "ready for publication when the time comes;" Richmond has sent extra proofs and prints of his engraving of her portrait. The Building Society has ended. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the upshot. Everybody is satisfied and pleased, while sorry, — so sorry, — to break up, and lose the pleasant monthly pay-meetings. The gain is £10..17..0 per share (on a payment of £45;) and this may well satisfy the members. Our excellent Secretary the young schoolmaster has done our business in the finest style, with great liberality; and the members have subscribed half a crown per share to present him with the 3 vols of my History. The consequence to me of the winding up is that I have to pay down £128 which could have been spread over 7 years, if the Society and I had lived. I have done it, however; and by a little present economy, I hope to get through without unsettling any property, — if I continue able to work. The monthly payments ceasing will be a relief, and I shall have for use the rents of my cottages, which are well let. I have no more liabilities, and have settled the very last of my business: and this is a great comfort. —

Maria and I are, and shall be at present, alone. I am too weak now to have guests in the house without injury: and there are pleasant people enough coming and going, and kind neighbours, to prevent M. feeling forlorn. She is as well as can be, and very happy among her poultry, and country pleasures of many kinds. Miss Winkworth is coming this evening. She has kindly given us 3 evenings of her two weeks; and they have been very pleasant.
I don't know that I can report of anything else than increasing weakness, and, of course growing discomfort. The change is very slow, but, M. and I think unquestionable.

You will think the enclosed worth returning; and you will see that it is valuable to me. I send it for the estimate of Mr Atkinson, — an estimate found after close knowledge, and no prepossession in this direction. I think Dr Brown's estimates and descriptions of character very clever, and, of course, this does not surprise me. Nor, possibly, will it you. — Mrs Eastted, who made this bust of Mr Atkinson on my mantelpiece, and has succeeded admirably in one of his mother, is doing one of me. We have been posting 2 caps, — both characteristic, for her to choose.

My love and thanks to Snow for her note, and love to you all as ever, dear friend — M's love to you.

Your affectionate old friend

H.M. —

1. William Henry Channing (1810–84; DAB), nephew of William Ellery Channing, was to succeed James Martineau as minister of the Hope St. Chapel, Liverpool, 1857.
2. A letter from William Barton, master of the free grammar school, to H.M 6 April 1856 states that all business of the Windermere Benefit Building Society has been settled and that he will bring his copy of her book to be autographed; MS University of Birmingham.
3. H.M made an agreement with John Russell 21 May 1854 to rent her cottage at 1 Ellerrigg for £7 per year; MS University of Birmingham.
4. Susanna Winkworth (1820–84; DNB), and her sister Catherine (1827–78; DNB), Unitarians, translators of German works, dedicated to helping the poor and to furthering the cause of women’s education; they were from Bristol and Manchester, and had friends in common with HM and the Wedgwoods including Mrs. Gaskell and other well known contemporaries.

5. When HM had asked Dr. Samuel Brown for his opinion of Atkinson in 1845 he described HM’s newly met friend as "the noblest man I have known," Auto., III, 248.

6. Mrs. Eastted is not identified; Mrs. Chapman noticed the bust, Auto., III, 370.

7. One of HM’s frilly caps can be seen in the portrait by Richmond.

Snow, now 24, may have taken over correspondence with HM for a time. But the ingenuous child of HM’s early letters had become a strong-minded young woman. She attended meetings of the Christian Socialists and had begun to write intense novels; James Martineau and F.D. Maurice were her "teachers." Her congenital deafness, which affected only women of the Allen family, may partly explain her not marrying. Snow was to become a family recorder; she later sorted and annotated family letters. It is tempting to speculate that she saved the following one because the views expressed by HM on love and sexuality coincided with her own rather straight-laced ones.
My dear friend

Is it possible it can be any surprise to you that your letters are one of my very greatest pleasures? I thought you were always aware of that. Well! you know it now: — and what is the inference? — Leaving you to ascertain that, I will answer your questions, and say some things I want to say about poor C. Brontë. (She insisted on my spelling it with an 'ty') which I can't reconcile with the monumental stone)¹ — (But, first, she tells Snow her family news: two cousins have died; Willy Greenhow is to marry his cousin, "a marriage of the worst possible promise;" her cousin Kate has just married at thirty-seven, which HM approves, though she doesn't often like "late marriages"; and Dr. Latham has agreed to her "new plan of low diet" but "regards it as a symptom of decline."²) Still, I do not feel so ill, and not in the least like dying at present. While fully admitting the facts of my weakness, I feel less ill than for above 2 years. You will want to know what we mean by our starving plan. I have a small cup of tea at 1/2 past 7, before getting up. On coming down, I finish breakfast, having another cup, and one small round of toast, with a sardine (which I like absurdly.) At 2, I have either an egg and a potato, or a small plate of maccaroni, or of pudding, or now and then, a little bit of fish: and 1/2 a glass of beer, or, occasionally, a cup of chocolate. This is all till my cup of beef or broth at 11 p.m. in my own room, — except that I drink a little cup of tea at tea-time. Sometimes I have an orange before
going to bed: and Mrs Reid's champagne is not done yet, and I have a glass every day or two, — (not 2 glasses in a day) before afternoon nap. I can quite understand how Vegetarians and other "arians" grow fanatical. Already it seems to me odd and unnatural (I don't really think so) that people should eat meat, — I having seen none for 5 weeks or more. (M. dines alone.) I never at all disliked or disapproved, or doubted about, eating meat: but simply losing sight of it has an effect which explains some of the floating fanaticism about it. — O dear! how glad we should be to see you this summer! but I don't see, after your letter, how it can be. If any of you went to the Manchr Exhibition you would be one, I think: and then it would not be so much further to come. If you see the least glimpse of being able, tell us instantly. But you must not think of coming merely on my account. Sister Ellen (in early-time) is the only guest in prospect; for it is only such as she and you and Mrs Chapman that I could ask in such a free and easy way. My niece, Mrs Lupton and her husband came for 2 days, but not to the house. Mr J: Chapman will look in on his return from taking his degree in Scotland; but that is only for a day or two. — That reminds me — he has got his release from Jas, and I have, in consequence, got back the money I lodged to secure Mr C. from any action of Jas's part. His "conscience" which "would not allow him to release Chapman" has given way the first moment it became convenient. He wrote to ask on what terms J.C. would let him have the copyright of his West articles. Mr C. replied that he would not negotiate at all, on any terms, till Jas had explained his intentions
with regard to his claims. I replied that his intention was to let things go on as they were. Mr C. then made it the condition of the transfer of copyright that Jas should sign the Composition deed; — and lo! he at once agreed! So that is settled; and my £88 is set free.5 — No room today for this strange and sad (yet hardly so) — story of the Manchester College appointments, — a highly curious illustration of sectarian doings in this country, and of the power of the priest in even the most unpromising sort of church.6 Another time may do for that, as the affair is certainly not over, and the most serious part is to come. Suffice it now that it must be a good thing for sensible men to be shown the clear absence of a tenable basis of Unitarianism, though the men who propose a negative basis are as blind as bats to the consequence. This will be gibberish to you, if you have not come in the way of the dispute. If so, n'importe! But the Report lies before me, and put it into my head.7 —

About "Currer Bell," what I say is no secret: indeed we wish it to be as widely known as possible. Mrs Gaskell is not home yet, — or just arriving. I sent to Mr G. the long letter I wrote to her about the book; and he reported it to her, but kept the sheet, as she was to return so soon, and he feared its being lost, in the doubt whether she was going to Venice or not.8 He at once and spontaneously undertakes that, in the next edition, justice should be done to me in the only point in which I have to remonstrate with Mrs G. It has clearly slipped her memory (you remember, no doubt, C.B's letter about smiting the cheek, — "the tears may spring, but never mind! there is the other
(c)" that C.B. sent me the strongest possible adjuration to tell her the worst I thought of that particular book, "Villette," which was announced as on its way. But for this, I should not have written a word of criticism. Mr Atkinson says Mrs G. ought also to have given the terms of the criticism. They were "In plain terms I do not like the love, — either the kind or the degree of it; and it seems to disclose something of what your early reviewers had in view in those criticisms which you begged me to explain to you." Now, — she knowing what I felt of the passion part of her novels, and having adjured me as she did, should not certainly have taken offence at this. (She only said she "could not come at present:" and Mrs G. should have told the whole of my ground of action, if any.) Would you like to see the "D. News" notice of Villette? Nothing can be more gentle. She evidently forgot it; Messrs G. & Smith (publisher) promise to set it right. Unfortunately, Mr Smith's people accidently omitted to send me a copy, as intended; and I was thus rendered too late for the 2d edition, — for which Mr S. is heartily sorry. I have two now. — I have more to say, however. I grieve to say, — and no one could be more surprised than I am, — that there is scarcely a representation of C.B's that I am qualified to check that is true. From the absurd hours she makes me keep to the very serious hallucination about my being "deserted", "abandoned" by my friends &c, — even to her answering for my feelings in circumstances which never existed, — all is more or less false. Nothing ever passed about my being "despotic" (which you ask about.)
She never mentioned it to me, nor did I ever deny it. (It is too absurd a charge to have been forgotten, if she had made it.) The mesmerism (which she desired and I deprived her of, to the utmost I could) is quite misrepresented. Worse than that, — her avidity about Mr Atkinson's letters was extreme, and she was urgent about their being published: yet now it comes out that, at that very time, she was writing to persons who did not know me of her "painful anticipations" of what the letters would prove to be! All that about "desertion" is mere delusion; and it does not matter to me, as it is not true: but it is such a libel on the sense and temper of society that it ought to be exposed. Mrs Arnold's exclamation about it here, the other day, was "that cannot signify. Everybody who knows you knows that there is no truth in it." I asked Mr A. if he knew anything about desertion: and he replies that he has lost no one friend. Nor have I, as far as I know, — nor any acquaintance but one old body (Mrs Froster, of course,) who never saw the book. —

Moreover, C.B. told us, at Richd M's, that she had never been a governess, except for a short 3 months at Brussels, for a particular purpose. "O no;" she said; "the governess life is not my own (in Jane Eyre.) I never was a governess, — except at Brussels for a few weeks." I dare say I have told 50 people this on her authority; and so have the Richd Ms, I don't doubt. But, far worse than all these things is her treachery to the Hégers. I always abhorred the act of exposing them to ruin by her disclosures in "Villette"; and it was not difficult to
understand the hatred with which she was regarded by the lady, (living at Brussels) from whom my nieces heard of the ruin of the school and of the Hégers: but I did not know before how they had received C.B. into their home and daily life, nor from that domestication, how foul a treachery Mme H, even more than her husband, has to endure. Mrs Gaskell seems to think all is done and settled when she accounts for the faults of C.B. and her sisters. None of us doubt the unfortunate character of her training, nor wonder at her being faulty, — but rather that she should be no worse: but it makes this difference, — that I, for one, should have evaded, instead of meeting her advances if I could have dreamed what the facts of the Héger story were, and so on. We can make every allowance for her, I am sure; but not the less are we obliged to wish that she had had a little less piety and a good deal more common morality. While I saw and heard things when with her, which jarred on my feelings and disturbed my admiration of her, I never in the least distrusted her truthfulness: and I find it difficult now to admit a new impression, — with the facts before my eyes. But there is no sort of doubt about the case. — But Oh what a beautiful book it is! Mrs G's part is most charminly done, I think, — allowance being made for sentiment now and then swamping conviction &c. I have asked her (on her own account, not mine) how she, a noncomformist heretic, can call it "an error" in me to publish the Atkinson Letters. C.B. was sure to consider it so (though she did not tell me so.) Clergymen's daughters, (even though Protestants) know nothing of the morality of the formation and publication.
of opinions: but Unitarians are supposed to be thoroughly versed in the principle, and have indeed no other ground to stand on. But I suppose we are all Popish towards every heresy which transcends our own. Mrs G. is bound by her professed principles, to consider the publication of that book, and every other of deliberate and express speculation, a laudable act. — I repeat, it is only for her own sake that this matters: and Mr G. engages for her that she shall consider it. I think my letter must gratify her on the whole, — I admire the book, — the doing of it, — so much! If not, I shall make myself easy, — well knowing the lady, and having been consulted and concerned in it. — She came over on purpose, you know, to consult with me, and see and hear what I could give her. She covered us all with kisses and wept when she went away, and asked, as the greatest favour, that she might write occasionally, to tell me how she went on. She never wrote a line, nor even sent me a copy! Ellen says the "Examiner" notice expresses her notion of the book. She is sending it. As far as I have yet heard, everybody finds it profoundly sad, extremely interesting, beautifully done, — but C. B's conduct to the Hegers quite insuperable, and no other faults at all surprising after that. — I wanted to write about Malcolm's Life, and Southey's new letters, and other things; but I must stop now. — Mrs Yates is not here yet, but coming. Yes, she is the Eastern comrade, her husband being dead. M's love. Her family are gone to the Prussian oculist, brother Robt being much better, but still in need of much improvement.
1. The name was originally O'Prunty, changed by dropping of the "O" when the father went to Cambridge, and further perhaps in admiration of Lord Nelson, created Duke of Bronte by the King of Naples. HM may have heard about a tombstone (later destroyed) engraved with Charlotte's name. Mrs. Gaskell reproduced the inscriptions on "mural tablets" in Haworth Church to seven members of the Brontë family; The Life of Charlotte Brontë, 2 vols, 1857, I, 8-9.

2. The Exhibition of Art Treasures at Manchester, opened by Prince Albert 5 May 1857, included painting, sculpture and ornamental art in a "scientific and historical arrangement," for educational purposes.

3. Formerly Fanny Greenhow.

4. John Chapman took an M.D. degree from the University of St. Andrews, 8 May 1857.

5. James had declined to accept HM's compensation for Chapman's debt offered in 1854; he was later to comment that he made the arrangement "when the insolvent pressed for my signature to his discharge," Drummond and C.B. Upton, I, 265.

6. In a reassignment of teaching responsibilities at Manchester New College, London, it had been proposed to raise James from Lecturer to Professor. A protest movement then arose among fellow Unitarians, including two of his brothers-in-law, who felt that James' religious tenets
were too liberal. His appointment was finally approved, however, April 1857; Drummond and C.B. Upton, I, 296-322.

7. A common feeling of the day was that Unitarianism, as practiced by James and others who stressed the humanity of Christ, was no more than a convenient intermediary step from dogmatic faith to free-thinking; see Webb, p. 283.

A Special Report had been commissioned to give details of the appointments for Manchester New College, spring 1857; Drummond and C.B. Upton, I, 304.

8. Immediately after completing her biography of Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Gaskell had left to visit friends in Rome. The difficulty of giving a true portrait of her friend while not offending others still living had been an emotional drain, and she asked her husband not to forward business letters to her; A.B. Hopkins, Elizabeth Gaskell: Her Life and Work, 1952, pp. 177-78. William Gaskell (1805-84; DNB), Unitarian minister, Prof. of English History and Literature, Manchester New College, 1846-53.


10. HM's objection to the "love" is in HM to Charlotte Brontë, n.d., partly quoted in The Shakespeare Head Brontë IV, 41. The Brontës' novels had frequently been described by reviewers as "coarse" or of "questionable propriety"; see Tom Winnifrith, The Brontës and Their Background, 1973, pp. 110-38. Mrs. Gaskell says that Charlotte was "wounded . . . to the quick" by HM's letter and review in the Daily News; see The Life of Charlotte Brontë, II, 279-80. Charlotte he
cancelled a visit to HM after the review was published; Auto., II, 326-27.

11. HM describes Villette as the best of Miss Bronte's novels in point of construction, second to Jane Eyre in interest. But her "clear sight and deep feeling" are marred by her "subjective misery" and her obsession with love—both negative qualities reminiscent of Balzac; Daily News, 3 Feb 1853, quoted in The Brontes: the Critical Heritage, ed. Miriam Allott, 1974, pp. 171-74.

12. George Smith, of Smith & Elder.

13. In The Life of Charlotte Bronte, Third Edition, Revised and Corrected, 2 vols, 1857, Mrs. Gaskell followed HM's wishes by adding corrections taken from HM's letter (kept by Mr. Gaskell) in footnotes or brackets. This led to an acrimonious exchange of letters with Charlotte's father and widowed husband, who took issue with HM's complaint of Charlotte's untruthfulness; see HM to the Rev. Patrick Bronte, 5, 13 Nov, 1857; and HM to Arthur Bell Nicholls, 7 or 8/15 Nov 1857, MS University of Birmingham.

14. HM is referring to the quoted statements from Charlotte's letters in Mrs. Gaskell's book; HM's daily schedule is described in a letter to Ellen Nussey 18 Dec 1850, that she is up at 5:00, has a cold bath, takes a starlight walk, and then continues her busy working day until 12:00 midnight; that HM "appears exhaustless and is both hard and warm-hearted, abrupt and affectionate, liberal and despotic," II, 198-99. In a letter to Miss Wooler 27 Jan 1853, Charlotte speaks of HM's secret suffering from "abandonment",
but says she will not give HM up, for she is "one of those whom opposition and desertion make obstinate in error," II, 282-83. Parts of these letters and Charlotte's visit to the Knoll are confusedly reported by Mrs. Chapman, Auto., III, 389-91.

15. In a letter to James Taylor 15 Jan 1851, quoted but not identified by Mrs. Gaskell, Charlotte says that she did undergo an experiment in mesmerism without clear results, that the question of mesmerism would be discussed in a future work of HM's, and that she has "some painful anticipations of the manner in which other subjects, offering less legitimate grounds for speculation, will be handled," II, 200-1. Mrs. Gaskell notes in the Third Edition that HM had been reluctant to mesmerize Charlotte, but had made one attempt which she stopped and would not renew; II, 204. In Auto., HM speaks of Charlotte's "morbid condition of mind" at this time, which may have made her judge that mesmerism would be unwise; II, 327.

16. Anne Benson Procter (1799-1888), wife of "Barry Cornwall". But HM is sanguine about the innocuousness of Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development.

17. HM tells of her first meeting with Charlotte at the home of her cousin Richard Martineau, Auto., II, 323-26. If Charlotte denied having been a governess while the two of them were left alone, it is possible that HM misunderstood. Charlotte had held two posts as governess: to the Sidgwick of Stonegappe, near Lothersdale, May - July 1839, and to the Whites of Upperwood House, Rawdon, March - Dec 1840.

18. Monsieur Heger was easily identifiable as the model
for the French tutor, whom the heroine loves. Mme. Heger, who must have read the pirated French version of Villette, 1855, and recognized the unflattering portrait of herself in it, had refused to see Mrs. Gaskell when she went to the Pensionnat, April or May 1856. Mrs. Gaskell had been allowed to read the letters Charlotte wrote to Monsieur Heger, however, and though they were apparently innocent of passion, they suggested a far greater emotional involvement with him than was proper, which Mrs. Gaskell somehow had to explain away; see Winifred Gérin, Charlotte Brontë: the Evolution of Genius, 1967, pp. 571-74. Mrs. Gaskell attributes Charlotte's "silent estrangement" from Mme. Heger to dislike of Mme. Heger's intense Catholicism, Life of Charlotte Brontë, I, 301-2.

19. HM does not seem to comprehend Charlotte Brontë's presumed infatuation with a married man; her condemnation of Charlotte's ingratitude toward the Hegers has a personal basis. In her obituary notice of 1853, HM had objected to Charlotte's heroines who "love too readily", but added that "they do their duty through everything . . . however morbid in passion", Biographical Sketches, pp. 360-66.

20. Mrs. Gaskell seems to be speaking for Charlotte Brontë when she says that publication of Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development "was but one error" in an otherwise exemplary life of service; II, 204-5. The Gaskells were staunch Unitarians.

21. Snow had also once said that she doubted the sincerity of Mrs. Gaskell's "affectionate leave," Snow to Fanny Wedgwood, 1850.
22. Charlotte Brontë is acknowledged to be an original and powerful writer who portrays realistic characters. The reviewer objects, however, to the heroine's constant grieving, and the book's ironic view of life. A different ending and elimination of the pessimistic passages, to save the reader the trouble of skipping them, would improve later editions; 5 Feb 1853, pp. 84-85.


25. The Yates are identified by initial only in Eastern Life, Present and Past.

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Ambleside

Jan'ry 10/57 1857

Dear friend

I wonder what put it into my head that you had left Queen Anne St. But my head does serve me very badly about such matters. It is this part of my illness which makes my work so hard. I can't trust my memory for anything; and I have to surround myself with authorities, and write, as it were, from hand to mouth, and keep all my notes, in case of being called to account. It is well I did this about my "Manifest Destiny" article (July) in the Westminster. It is reprinted in America, and the sensation is as prodigious as I could have hoped. This last week came (to Mr Chapman) a furious letter from the
editor of the Norfolk Argus (Virginia) demanding an apology in the Westr for a statement about — (a quotation from) the Argus, — calling Chapman a slanderer, and the writer of the article "a malignant demon." I turn to my notes, and materials and there it is! — the passage itself in the Norfolk Argus,' and moreover, a Phila paper citing it, a Boston paper ditto, with comments, and a Springfield paper ditto ditto. So much for keeping my notes! I have advised Chapman not to part with the originals, but to send over a certified copy.

"She repeats the details of James' and Dr. Hodgson's attempted take-over of the Westminster Review." You know that, finding it in vain to try for the Westminster, they set up the National "to supplant the Westminster" and — by that avowal losing some of their best supporters. I need not tell you that nobody (as far as I know) has any objection to the setting up of any number of reviews that there is room for; and especially as the Westminster still has the field to itself as the champion of free-thought. But it has its own disadvantages on that ground (eg, a subscriber now dropping it on account of the article on Protestantism, in the new No:3 and some of the friends of free-thought have value enough for the review, and gratitude enough to Chapman, to desire to disencumber the review altogether, — to pay off the mortgage, that is. To transfer it would be a relief to me, it is true, because I dread having work or responsibility thrown on me in my present condition: but the transfer would not disencumber the review, and give it the fair chance it is thought to

*I wonder whether there are two.
deserve. It was for this more complete purpose that a gentleman (a stranger to me) has offered to Chapman to lay down £150, if £250 more can be obtained. Only the friends of free thought can be expected to help; but I should hope they would make little difficulty if they could be got at. Matt: Arnold told me lately that there is no quarterly which can be compared with the Westr for worth, except the old Quarterly. I do, myself, think it, with some grave occasional faults, admirable, and never before conducted so well. It has a great work to do; and it is really a social service to set it free on its course. As I told you, I mean to do my part. I will wait to hear from you again before I say anything to commit you; and then I will write to Chapman, saying that £225. (which includes £50 from me) is now made up, and asking what chance there is of the rest. It would be such a grievous pity to lose the offer first made! Can you point out any opulent men likely to help. Lyell is a very hearty friend of both the Review and the Editor: but I am not the person to ask, unless I knew whether he resents (I fancy not) the exposure of poor Mr Horner which I was obliged to make. (By the way, is it not wonderful and admirable,—the almost cessation of factory accidents since that Bill passed?) Do think whether you see any way to get this really great object effected.

I am writing in defiance of conscience (this Sunday morning!) for a load of business has fallen on me at once. Half my pamphlet (or small vol) is gone to press, and I look for a proof this morning) and I have written only
For the latter portion I am to have the benefit of rare lights on the government of Asiatics. Rajah Brooke kindly offered, as soon as he landed, to come and see me, and, though I am quite too far gone for conversation in general, I have accepted his offer, for the sake of the good of his knowledge of the folk of the East. Mrs Arnold begs to have him there, — so that he can come to me when I am able to see him; and he arrives next Thursday. The key to this matter is that he and the Templers believe that my West article on him, appearing in the nick of time, turned the scale of his fortunes in England. I never thought of this: but I suppose they know best. — Well: just at this moment, the Beauforts send me the most beautiful letter that ever was seen, asking me to write a Memoir of Admiral B. (an old friend of mine) for "D. News." The Editor is most willing, and so am I: and that is to be done before the Rajah comes. There is plenty more: but n'importe.

Fanny kindly asks whether there is anything to send. I really can't point out anything at present. I almost live on fruit, which is not always easy to get here, — and my garden was robbed 3 times in the summer, — in the night. (It was a grief to Maria and the servants.) But Ld Belper has sent me boxes of splendid grapes, and Mrs Chapman a barrel of American apples; and we have got some cranberries from London; so I have been well off lately. I am never tired of beef tea, happily; so I decline the doctors' recommendation to have turtle from Liverpool. It is 12s per quart; and it is a sin to spend money at
that rate when ordinary things will do nearly as well. I could not eat it with an easy mind, if Miss Coutts sent it. — It is very little that I eat; and I am never so nearly comfortable as when I have been 7 or 8 hours without food; — ie, at night. I have a bit of macaroni or an egg and a potato, or celery at 2 p.m; and then no more (except a small cup of tea at M's time) till 11 1/2 p.m, when I have a cup of beef tea and some grapes, upstairs. Of course, I am abundantly weak: but I lead a far easier life.

Here is such a letter, now come, from Putney Park, — with the Hutton opinion of my India vol. It seems to have very great success. The sequel will not be so popular in its character. Lord Palmerston's intolerable conduct must be arrested, if possible; and this is why the thing must be out before Parliament meets.

Fanny will take this as a letter to her, I dare say. If I hear of anybody coming this way, and you happen to have Buckle's "Hist. of Civilization", I will ask you to lend it me. Mudie is hardly likely to have it, and one could not read it in a hurry. But, besides Mr. Atkinson, every correspondent I have is praising it; and it is rather too dear to buy on spec. — Mary Twining was married on Wedy, — to a Revd Mr. Hiley, — a heavy, silly, puffy, pasty person, who no Arnold has yet been heard to praise. They dwell on the safe "missing dear Mary." Very wisely, the marriage was from the Forsters', and Mrs A. and Fan return tomorrow to receive my guest. — Mrs Fletcher has been considered dying for several weeks, — her mind quite gone, and she having scarcely any rest or food, — in a dreary state of lingering. The impression here is very strong.
(but I should not like it to get abroad) that Grace Davy is quite insane at times. I know nothing, but so many different people tell such strange things of her behavior in the road &c, that I am afraid there is some foundation for it. — I conclude you and Mr. Wedgwood put "Private" outside the letter to the Duke of Bedford. Otherwise there is little chance of his seeing it. But, while he is liberal and high spirited, he is very indolent (from wretched health) about matters of business. So I have understood. You surely must hear something. My love to you all. Yours, dear friend, affectionately

H.M.

Date: HM has misdated, just after the turn of the year; from reference to her article on "the American Union".
1. "The 'Manifest Destiny' of the American Union" analyzes political compromises between slave and free sections of the United States and describes the position of the abolitionists; 12 n.s. (July 1857), 137-76; rptd. New York, 1857.
2. The quotation, which appears in HM's article, concerns Northern white doctors who died helping pestilence victims in Norfolk, Virginia, and are now so reviled as Northerners that removal of their bodes is being requested.
4. Mr. Hiffesley, see next note.
5. HM managed to solicit the other subscriptions to make up the amount; HM's statement on John Chapman, MS University
of Birmingham.

6. Sir Charles Lyell, 1st Baronet (1797-1875; DNB), geologist, intimate with the Darwins who took an active interest in social reform.


8. Suggestions towards the Future Government of India, 1858, written as a sequel to HM's Daily News leaders, rptd. British Rule in India: a Historical Sketch, 1857; a simplified analysis of the problems of India, rendered more important because of the Indian mutiny which had begun Feb 1857. HM outlines the proper British objects in India: to obtain raw materials and a market for British products, and to rule India for the Indians through non-political, middle-class dominated, reformed governments. She recommends the experience and influence of the East India Company as a safe guide. See Auto., III, 350-54.

9. Rajah Brooke had returned to England in late 1857.


11. Brooke's stringent suppression of pirates 1846-49, as British Commissioner and Consul-general of Sarawak, had led to charges of cruel and illegal conduct, which were dropped by the Whigs under Lord John Russell but renewed under Lord Aberdeen and the Tories, 1852-55. A Commission of Inquiry on his case had sat at Singapore Sept-Oct 1854, but failed to establish the charges. HM's article was Oct 1854. After this, however, Brooke's authority in Sarawak was weakened, and he had narrowly escaped death at the hands
of rebellious Chinese immigrants, May 1857.

12. Rosalind Elizabeth and Emily Anne Beaufort, later Viscountess Strangford (1826-37), daughters of Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort (1774-1857; DNB), Hydrographer for the Admiralty 1829-55. HM eulogizes his contribution to nautical science, but censures false Whig economy in some governmental failure to support his projects, Biographical Sketches, pp. 213-30.

13. Edward Strutt, 1st Baron Belper (1801-80; DNB), former MP, authority on free trade, law reform, education.


15. British Rule in India: a Historical Sketch, a description of the terrain, history from its beginnings (condensed), and Europeans in India. An understanding of the Indian culture and of the essential role of Europeans there, will help to build home support for the British Empire, HM says.

16. On 12 Feb Palmerston was to bring a Bill into the Commons to transfer the dominions of the East India Company to the Crown; it passed with a large majority. HM accuses him of "snatching away" a great administration "from the hands of the best (the middle) class ... and of "lodging it with the aristocracy and the Crown," Daily News, 18 Feb 1858.

17. Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-62; DNB), History of the Civilization in England, 2 vols, 1857, popularized a scientific approach to history as determined by inescapable laws. He claimed that the constant, intellectual element in humanity had stimulated all progress and was more sig-
nificant than the progressively improving moral element.
18. Mudie's Lending Library, begun 1842 by Charles Edward Mudie (1818–90; DNB), from whom HM regularly received a box of books. Mudie exercised some censorship on the books he circulated; but perhaps HM refers to the popularity of Buckle's book in spite of its unconventional religious views.

19. Mary Arnold's first husband, William Aldred Twining, had died 1848. She then married John Simeon Hiley (d. ?1867), curate of Quorndon and Woodhouse, Barrow-upon-Stour, Leicestershire.
20. She died in Edinburgh, 5 Feb 1858.
21. William Russell, 8th Duke of Bedford (1809–72), MP 1832–41. Erasmus was writing to the Duke as Chairman of the Council of the Ladies' College, Bedford Square; Hensleigh had participated in affairs of the College, from its foundation, although he was now less active than Fanny and Erasmus. A direct appeal was made to the Duke at this time after the renewal of the lease at 47 Bedford Square had been refused by his agent; Tuke, p. 93.

\[To Erasmus\] Janry 17th/58

Dear friend

Of all the awkward things, the awkwardest must be to thank "the wrong party" for a present. I don't think I ever did, and, as the Americans say, "I shouldn't like to." So I have delayed writing about the arrival of Buckle's book, — not feeling sure, in the first place, who sent it, and in the next, whether it is a gift or a loan. Almost
every correspondent I have has written about it within a few weeks; and it might be any of half-a-dozen who sent it. But I think, on the whole, and so does Maria, that it was you, and we are afraid I almost asked for it. Nothing however could be further from my thoughts; for it never occurred to me that so big a book could come by post; and I thought only of borrowing it when somebody came. If it is you, you have done a kind and good thing. It will be my fireside book at night (the only time I can read well) as soon as I have finished dear Saml Brown's volumes, 1 — which are very interesting, but less strong and clear than I had fancied.

Mrs Crowe 2 was here yesterday: looking very well, but — altered. Heart and head seem both weakened: but one ought not to pronounce after a 20 minutes' interview. I could not get over her account of Mrs Fletcher, (via her daughters.) She is quite insane, — and shockingly, — in a state of religious terror and despair, — throwing up her arms and wringing her hands, — an awful spectacle. — There is a fearful per contra suffered by the religious people. She, however, invested her passions in it, more than her sentiments.

We have frost; and I hope to feel the better.

Yours ever affectly

H. Martineau.

We will write Fanny about the Rajah. 3

1. Lectures on the Atomic Theory, and Essays, Scientific and Literary, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1858. Dr. Brown had died 20
Sept 1856.

2. Mrs. Catherine Ann Crowe (1790-1872; DNB), novelist, playwright, writer of children's books, disciple of George Combe (1788-1858; DNB), phrenologist. HM had met her on a holiday visit to Edinburgh in 1838, and Mrs. Crowe intro-duced [HM] to Dr. Samuel Brown; Auto., II, 142. In 1859 Mrs. Crowe suffered a brief but violent attack of insanity and wrote little afterwards.

3. Brooke had recently accepted responsibility for a young man, Reuben George, who presented himself as Brooke's illegitimate son.

Ambleside
April 22/58

Dear Fanny

I wished and planned to write from the hour I had your welcome note: but I could not. Now I am feeling somewhat better, as far as temperature is concerned; and my tiresome legal proceedings (the first I was ever engaged in) have arrived at a pause; and Maria and my precious little niece Harriet (Higginson)¹ are gone to Coniston, via Tilberthwaite,² with the Claudes; and I can write my note, if ever. I have been writing my fortnightly letter to Mrs Chapman (Massats;) and you shall have the rest of me.

Do "legal proceedings" startle you? I hate them; and now especially: but I can't help them; and I have certainly both law and right on my side. It is about churchrates.

To make a long story short, — our ignorant, insolent, stupid
magistrates, who are always wrong, and have a notorious bully for their clerk, have come down lately on the Quakers here (really, such good people!) with claims for church rate which can't possibly be acceded to. Mr Crosfield took good advice, — viz, the Solr who managed the Pontefract cases so successfully, last Novbr, Mr Wainwright of Wakefield, — and 6 weeks since ousted the Magistrates' jurisdiction, — to their intense astonishment and mortification. Dr Davy was nervous and far from confident; but the others were resolved to "try it again:" and they laid on a double rate in a great hurry, (before last night's debate) came down on the rich Quaker at Rydal, Mr Ball, who had not been asked for Ch rate for 20 years, and did their best to be legal, that time. The whole thing is illegal, — from the heading in the ratebook, to the summonses sent out against us. After the stand Mr Crosfield had made, and the ground he had gained, I could not desert the cause on which my mind has always been clear. I refused payment, as did about 1/2 a dozen besides Quakers, — some or most of whom have given way for this time, or their wives have paid behind their backs. We were summoned before Petty sessions for yesterday, I sent my Solr, with a medical certificate of my own inability. We had invited Mr Wainwright; and he appeared in good time, with a pile of lawbooks. The Magistrates, — who had assembled from various distances, — behaved decorously, — their clerk like the bully he is, egged on by the Tractarian curate of Rydal, who went up to cheerful, courteous, agreeable Mr Crosfield with, — "I do not say
good-morning to you." Mr C. has been insulted by anonymous letters, plentifully of late.

My case was called on first; and the very first thing said to my Solr was a complete giving up of the case by Dr Davy, who however retracted practically afterwards. He said the Magistrates did not doubt my objections being bona fide,— which is the condition whereby the case is taken out of the Magistrates' jurisdiction. The younger J.P. (Mr Taylor of Ibbetsholme, just married to the incumbent's daughter) refused to give his name to proceedings against me, as my case was evidently good: but Dr Davy ate his first words, and with the two daft old gentlemen beside him, signed an Order to me to pay. I have just refused to pay (6s.3 rate, and 6s. costs) and, if they proceed, they will come and distrain after the 1st of May. (They usually take a ham, in the Quaker cases.) On this, I bring an action against the churchwarden (poor frightened man, who sends up his baby for me to admire, and implores the maids to tell me "it isn't him;") and I believe nobody has any doubt of the law being on my side, and the ch: warden sure to be cast in the costs on both sides. There are now plenty of cases, and the course is pretty well known — out of our valley. The Quakers' cases are less good at the first, — best afterwards, (Mr W. will tell you why;) but we shall support each other, and go through with it, unless the silly gentry get to see their own case as it is. The commotion here is very great; and especially about me, — the people saying there must be something very particular to make me, who never boggled before about money (Church
rate was nothing when I came, or till now) take all this trouble to avoid paying 6/3d. I quite hope they will inquire and learn, till they see the duty of attending vestry, and not allowing a rate to be laid of which not 1/5th is for legal objects, nor nearly all for objects which can be legalised by any majority. We like my Windermere Solr very much, — as I did before about my cottages: and he is now well "up in" the law and experience of the case, and will save me from fatigue and anxiety, as far as possible. Much good is certainly done already in rousing a good many people to some sense of duty in the case, and in, I hope, checking the license and insolence of the Magistrates; and if it seems hard that I should now have such a battle to fight, I remember how unhappy I should be today if I had deserted the Quakers. Mr Ball is delighted. He says he would give any money to have me brought face to face with the Magistrates, and see me demolish Dr Davy. However, Dr Davy has behaved somewhat better than usual, and is in a panic. He trembled from head to foot in court, and the perspiration streamed down his face. No doubt, — from what I remember, — his wife's sympathies are with the Quakers in the case. — With a trembling churchwarden, and a perspiring Magistrate, and a police-man, "as kind as a brother", who would not give me any trouble for the world, — I need not be much frightened. And if the policeman marches off with our fine ham, Maria and her guests will be the sufferers, — as I eat none. Not that I take comfort in that. — I have nearly used myself up about this, after all. —

No, — we were not surprised about Lord Stanley and
the "Westminster". It was much what we should have supposed. I wish that account was closed. Sir Jas Brooke writes me that it shall be. But, till his business is settled, he can't do it. It is only £100, however: so I expect a good conclusion. La Derby is all right about Sarawak, as far as appears. I only hope they will lose no time, but treat the Rajah handsomely, and settle it at once. — I have been telling Mrs Chapman all about Bernard and his trial. I don't find that anybody respects him. He fuzzed and blabbed, and endangered Orsini at Brussells and in London, — however true it may be that Orsini's caprice of obstinacy brought Bernard to the foot of the scaffold. I have no fear of war with France, — nor have had, this time. If you read "D. News" now, and have read the peace leaders (which are mine) you will see why. — I wonder whether you could and would come this year, if I am here and able. After 5 weeks almost total deafness, and failure of sight, and of everything depending on head-condition, I seem to be clearing a little. If I don't, I could not ask you to come, because I cannot converse, when in that condition. If I clear (or clarify) we will see. No degree of mere weakness will ever prevent my seeing you. I have twice lately had to tell the Rajah that I could not ask him to come on from Manchester, which he would have done. — Tell Eras: that Buckle has been an immense treat, — though he knows this without telling. Of course I agree about the grave inconsistencies, serious disproportions &c; and I doubt whether he understands Condillac, and that sort of men: but it is truly a great
work, suggestive and productive. I am not perfectly sure whether it will live in the way prophesied by many; but it will in a fine progeny, I doubt not. Is not Burke fine? and Voltaire? I doubt his reading of Sir Thos Browne, rather. The notice of the "Westminster" in "D. News" will have shown you (if you saw it) what I think of the Comte article you inquire about. I hear there is one on Buckle in the "National" quite a marvel for ignorance and misapprehension, I don't know whose; and I have not seen it. She gives news of Robert's family, and asks if it is one of Fanny's sons whom she has heard of as going to Norwich.

H.M. —

1. Harriet Emily Higginson (b. 1845), Ellen's youngest daughter.
2. Coniston Water and the towns of Coniston and Tilberthwaite, southwest of Ambleside.
3. ? James Clemison, attorney.
4. The local magistrates had no power to enforce church rates if defendants' objections were bona fide. The story of HM's trial is given in her leader, Daily News, 27 April 1858, rptd. Westmorland Gazette, 1 May; parliamentary consideration of the abolition of church rates, Daily News, 26 April, 7 May, 8 June 1858; publications and support for Non-Conformists on church rates, 3, 22 May. The Pontefract, Crosfield and Martineau trials are described in "The Last Days of Church Rates," Westminster Review, 14 n.s. (July 1858), 30-52.
5. William Ball, Esq., Glen Rothay, Rydal.
6. The Compulsory Church Rate Abolition Act was to be passed 31 July 1868.
7. Held every Wednesday at Ambleside.
10. Mr. Samuel Taylor, Esq., jr., Ibbetsholme Farm; George Carr Glyn, Esq., London. The third magistrate was Benson Harrison, Esq., Green Bank, Windermere.
11. Not identified.
12. Edward Henry Stanley, later 15th Earl of Derby, (1826-93; DNB), Colonial Secretary under his father, Lord Derby, loaned Chapman £50 in the latest attempt to keep control of the Westminster Review, and £600 Nov 1858. Stanley may have been attracted by the lively articles on India. See HM's statement on John Chapman, MS University of Birmingham; and Haight, G.E. and J.C., pp. 102-3.
13. The connection of Brooke with the Westminster Review is not clear. HM's request to John Chapman 1 June 1858 for repayment of her loan led to a long and painful correspondence, and when she found that Chapman no longer owned any part of the Westminster Review it ended their association; Haight, G.E. and J.C., Appx J, pp. 271-73.
14. Lord Derby was against Brooke's proposal to annex Sarawak or make it a protectorate. When a deputation approached him on Brooke's behalf 30 Nov 1858, he objected that an independent English citizen could not be allowed to set himself up in a foreign country and demand civil and
military protection from the British government. Brooke had refused the protectorate status for Sarawak offered by Palmerston's government just before it fell, Feb 1858, because he also wanted reimbursement for the private fortune he had spent in developing the country.

15. Dr. Simon Bernard, an Englishman, had been arrested for complicity in the attempt of Felice Orsini (1819-58), to assassinate the French Emperor, Napoleon III, 14 Jan 1858. He was tried at the Central Criminal Court, London, 4-15 March, and although he had helped to manufacture bombs, and had sent them to Brussels (where he helped Orsini to get them to Paris), and had shipped revolvers to Paris and participated in other acts with the conspirators, he claimed not to be aware of their intended target. He was found not guilty. Orsini was tried in France and executed 13 March.

16. In response to French protest that the Orsini plot was devised in England, a bill was introduced into the Commons to make conspiracy a felony instead of a misdemeanor, but failed. A statement of regret was sent to France by the Commons, 9 Feb 1858. HM's confidence is in the people of France, who are kept in a state of ignorance and suppression by the Emperor; England, she says, must show Continental nations that she has no political malcontents, and provide an example of a free people. Indications of the feeling of the French people are that they want friendship with England; only Ecclesiastical-supporters and a few "military courtiers" are anti-English; Daily News, 19, 30 March, 6 April 1858.
17. Buckle asserts that the philosophy of Etienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-80), drew men's attention from the "internal" to the "external" world and stimulated an epoch of investigation in the sciences.

18. Edmund Burke (1729-97; DNB), is praised for perspicacity and sobriety, but Buckle claims that his mind was unhinged by the French Revolution; Voltaire (1694-1778), is praised for his comprehensive sense of history, and Sir Thomas Browne (1605-82; DNB), for his later attack on superstitions of the age.

19. "The Religion of Positivism," 13 n.s. (April 1858), 305-50; HM regrets Comte's "feebleness" and turning away from his principles in his later works, "to invent that which can only exist by a spontaneous growth; "Daily News, 9 April 1858.

20 "Civilization and Faith," 6 (Jan 1858), 198-228, takes issue with Buckle's belief in intellectual impulse as being responsible for man's progress.

My dearest Fanny

I think this will reach you before you start for C. Darwin's. (My kind rememberances to them, please.) This is no letter, — and no answer to your multifarious kinds-
nesses: but I can't let anybody be my deputy twice over in writing to you. When I get into the ordinary train of work, I hope to have a good gossip, some day. That will happen in about a week, if things go on as usual: — but then,
they don't, at this season. There have been 8 articles of mine in the 9 last "D. New"es;¹ and an additional one in the "Spectator"² and I have only just finished the writing part of the long article, which it will take two mornings to look over and finish up. Maria has read it, and keeps up my spirit about it. She thinks it will make a noise. I can't at all judge till I have read it over.³

The Reeve⁴ comes on Monday the 6th. Bessie Parkes⁵ comes this evening, for the night. Isabella Rankin and party are to arrive for a week next Tuesday. The "party" are strangers, and will take care of themselves: and I rather think the trio will go to Bowness, as they want to be beside the lake, and there are no lodgings to be had at Waterhead. — The great surprise was seeing your brother on Wednesday evening.⁶ He was so good as to call. O dear! how old we all grow! He is handsome still, — but to think of him the elderly man! By the way, I suspect there is small chance of dear Snow's secret being one long. Your brother would have blurted out if 20 people had been present, I fancy — "Were not you surprised at Snow's authorship" &c⁷ And when M. and I were solemn about the secret, he said lightly that the "family was so very large" &c, as if it was all nonsense about secrecy. I say this merely that you may know it is not M. and I who have told, if you hear of it from any Davy or other Ambleside quarter. — I am so sorry not to see dear Molly! Maria went (to Waterhead inn) to call yesterday, but could not see her. Her room was in a mess at the moment, from a waterpipe having burst there; and they were moving her into another; and the
rest were out. We were sorry too that I was below par the evening Mr M. called; so that I could only see him for a few minutes.

The Stereoscope came all safe. We supposed it must be your doing, from the aptness and kindness. We have asked for the Teneriffe book back from the Claudes; and I have just treated myself (and guests) to 10 views in the District, from Mrs Nicholson's. This morning came sardines and bonbons. How good and thoughtful you are! O! and the Saturday Reviews have arrived also. I have had your voice in my ear many a time since the happy evenings we had together; and all you told me has quite set me forward in regard to old friends and many interests.

"The presence of the beloved object" is the thing, however, — pleasant as the talk may be; and this makes your coming so immense an obligation. I could tell you much about Liberia and other matters; but I see badly, today, and have to write to Mr Atkinson, at this rather dreary time for him: — and aches and pains are troublesome today; so I will wait for a better time.

The reviews of Framleigh Hall seem unusually favorable. Her plans include visits from family, autumn cleaning. Robert is foolishly "trying more wine" for his condition, though the German health clinic forbade it. Ellen is grieving over the death of her nephew, Francis Edward Bache (1833-58; DNB), a promising musician. 7

1. Although HM's topics were repeated at intervals, her coverage was of wide diversity: a private Association for
the Prevention of Steam-boiler Explosions, preferred to
government inspection, 20 Aug; prospects of the potato
crop for Ireland's economy, 21 Aug; the possible revival
of the slave-trade in Jamaica, 23 Aug; Central American
affairs, 26 Aug. Others have not been positively identified.
2. On the U.S., either "What Next with the Mormons," 21 Aug,
3. Probably "The Slave Trade in 1858;" see next letter.
5. Bessie Rayner Parkes (1829-1925), daughter of Joseph
Parkes (1796-1865; DNB), radical politician and parliamentary
solicitor; writer and member of John Chapman's Westminster
Review circle, later Mme. Belloc.
6. Robert and Molly Mackintosh had returned from the
West Indies where they had made their home since 1847.
7. Snow had just published Framleigh Hall, 1858, a con-
trived story of tense family relationships.
9. The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science
and Art had begun publication 1856.
10. Founded in Africa by the American Colonization Society
for the resettlement of former slaves, and soon to be
implicated in "The Slave Trade in 1858."

Ambleside
Octbr 25/58

My dearest Fanny

Incredible as it seems to myself, I am at leisure (or
nearly so) today, and nearly all this week: — more so than I have been for many months. The only business, besides the regular "articles," is managing about a Circular and subscriptions for the American A.S. band, — a plan which has grown out of a talk with Lord Carlisle on Friday. You know the special occasion for funds, — the very peculiar call for aid from Europe. Lord C. asked me to set this down, and he would speak to the D. of Sutherland and others. Mrs Turner and I last night thought of getting my good friend Webb to print this, (for private circulation only) and trying whether we can't raise some hundreds of pounds for the cause. The appeal being made just after the appearance of the Edinburgh art: is more likely to succeed than ever before. — As to that article, — H. Reeve fully agreed with me as to the extreme importance of keeping the authorship secret: and we have done what we could: but on Thursday came a note from Mr Graves, in immense enthusiasm, and saying everybody would at once ascribe it to me. Next day, came Id Carlisle; and he said he heard there was a wonderful article in the Ed: Rev, — likely to prove of great importance, and he downright asked who wrote it, and whether I did! If this is a specimen of the way in which mystery is to involve the affair, it is all over. We had a famous talk on Friday, — not about Liverpool or other meetings, but part politics, and more private affairs. Id C. is very well (not palsied, as his awkwardness in public has led some to fancy) and Mrs T. and I long to put a mobcap on him, and see what a kindly comfortable nurse he would make. Mrs T. gave me a double opiate, and broke the time by taking him into the
study to lunch: so 2 hours of the quickest possible talk did not do me any real harm. — We are very anxious now about the Rajah. Mr Templer was telegraphed for to Manchester, in the night after that meeting, 8 "extremely ill, — threatening of paralysis." George was also sent for. 9 Mr T. was off by 5 a.m., and Mrs T. wrote to me. She promised to write again next day; but we have not heard more. Tonight we shall, I have no doubt. I have had some pain of mind about him lately. (This is confidential.) When here, he spontaneously told Maria and me, very freely, (as I told you here) his views on theological subjects which he declared and explained to be the same as mine. As to a Revelation, — nothing could be stronger than his view of the utterly inadmissible nature of the idea. (Maria testifies to this, and has done so to Mr Templer.) But lo! here is the Rajah going from one meeting to another of the Gospel Propagation Soc'y (that I could account for) and saying to crowded meetings that he was sure of Xty covering the whole earth because it said so, and because he knew it to be true, and an oracular revelation. I wrote to ask Mr Templer for an explanation, hoping that the Rajah might have been converted since last Janry (when he talked so here) to some sort of Xty. Mr T. cannot explain, and begs me to trust. Now, in a matter of personal friendship one may trust; but are we to trust Rajahs, any more than Jesuit priests, when they say one thing in private, and the opposite in public? One can only be silent (and we have told only the one we were bound to explain to, Mrs Arnold) and wait. It is difficult, — with his honest
face and voice full in one's memory, to distrust him at all: but what can one think? I should be glad to hear he was Swedenborgian, or Latter Day Saint, or Catholic, or anything X off now. Mr Templer did not show him my letter, which he ought to have done, and I proposed his doing. If it is all impulsiveness, one may make great allowance: but then we lose the right to resent what his enemies say of his irreconcilable accounts of things.

Here is Carlyle — staring one in the face, — or rather poring over his book, — in the "I'll: London News". How very like! I suppose one ought to read his "Fred:" but the extracts do look such a hash of his old sayings that one has no great appetite: and Matt: Arnold and others say it is called "a dreadful falling off." It really seems to be fuller than ever of contradictions and arbitrary praises and condemnations; and I'm afraid we shall have to admit that his mind has been for some time exhausted. I wonder what the circulation is. — I can't remember whether my "Endowed Schools of Ireland" articles were coming out when you were here, or whether we have told you about them since. Ld Derby and Co are preparing a measure, (in consequence of scoundrel Stephens's minority Report) for giving almost all the Irish school endowments to the Church Educn Soc! In order to induce ministers to pause, or, failing that, to obtain the defeat of their measure, my articles are to be reprinted as a pamphlet, and put into the hands of almost every member of both Houses who is worth anything in speech or vote. The Commisra are delighted at the prospect, and Dr Graves and
Profr Hancock (Secy)\textsuperscript{13} are examining the articles, at my request, to see that no mistake passes the press. Their only misgiving is about my being exposed to Stephens's assaults, — and they don't want to see me "come to grips with a cuttlefish." But I have learned not to argue with a rogue, who will say anything that suits him. Guarding against mistakes, even the smallest, I need only make my statement: and it is for the Commisrs to justify their own Report. I have nothing to gain: it is merely for the public object: so I ought to be quite easy. \textit{Ld Carlisle} (like everybody else) speaks in the very highest terms of Dr Graves, and would probably, he says, have made him a Bishop if he had remained in office.\textsuperscript{14} It was the Primate who appointed Stephens.\textsuperscript{15} The exposure of his character is to be seen in the Athenaeum of Octbr 13, 1849.\textsuperscript{16} He was blackballed by \textit{\textsuperscript{?}J\textit{}} at the Athenaeum. — Smith & Elder publish my pamphlet, in Decbr at soonest.

Mr Walker, late sub-editor of "D. News," is now the editor.\textsuperscript{18} As to character and general ability there can be no doubt of him, — he being the trusted friend of both Mr Hunt and Mr Weir, and now almost at once appointed by the Proprietors. Of course, I was anxious, and also quite in the dark, as to our probably suiting or not. He frankly said he could not get on without me. We made very full explanations, mutually, and all went smoothly, but still more or less darkly, till Friday last. I had sent an art: on the cause of the discontents with the L.pool meeting, of which Mrs Turner observed that it was "a cast above a newspaper" (which I think can never be:) and I much doubted
its reception, — from its abstract character. Mr. Walker wrote on purpose, and instantly, to thank me for it, as being precisely what he had been wishing for. This is the most satisfactory thing, in the way of promise, that could happen, — as you will think if you see the article, — today, probably.

What a fuss there seems to be about the "National", and its onslaught on Bessie Parkes! I don't know the merits, not having seen brochure or review: but the disgust with the "National" seems to be general and very intense. Who can wonder? — of those at least who know the vile spirit and notions entertained by the clique about Woman's interests of all sorts? There is exquisite retribution in the report that the writer had been refused by Bessie. I enjoy that. I wish Bessie were less sensitive, or showed it less. But this time, it must, by what we hear, be very bad. It seems to us that Richd Hutton's address at the College was so bad in spirit, manners and views that it ought to cost him the post. The report may present it unfairly, and Mrs. Reid says nothing about it in a letter yesterday: but to us it seems to incapacitate him for teaching in a Ladies' college at all. That whole narrow, insolent, prudish, underbred set of Unitarian pedants, — shallow, conceited and cruel, — are too disagreeable to do much mischief, unless they get into professorships.

"The frosty mornings suit her; her "mangold" is being taken up "as the cows eat off the leaves;" her pig is to be killed next Monday. Mrs. Chapman suffers from rheumatism, but HM hopes she will be relieved by coming to Europe."
Well, my dearest Fanny, I must say goodbye now. I linger as I did when you were going away here. O dear! those were happy evenings! M. would send love, — did leave her love, knowing I meant to write. — Yours ever affectly

H. Martineau

P.S. Do you know Mr Alexr A. Knox, — of the Times corps? He has been here, introduced by Mr Templer. I like him much, and got some curious and interesting lights. — Arnolds are well. Mrs and Fan: alone now — after a bustling summer. — Love to selves and Eras:

(All seems pretty well over with Froude’s credit and character. What an exposure in the Edinburgh! and indeed everywhere!)

1. The Garrisonians had always relied heavily on their British supporters for funds. HM’s Circular has not been identified but may have dealt with the resurgence of the international slave-trade; see below.

2. Lord Carlisle was particularly sympathetic to the Garrisonians; his sister, Harriet Elizabeth Georgina Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland (1806–68: DNB), and her friends extended support to various antislavery groups.


by the U.S., Spain, France, and even Liberia, from where gangs of "laborers" were being forcibly transported with the presumed connivance of the President. HM published leaders on the subject of slave-trading and the policing of American vessels by British men-of-war under the terms of an international agreement, in the Daily News, 16 Nov, 1857; 4, 10, 11, 18, 22, 26, 29 June, 17, 22, 25, 28 Sept, 14, 27 Oct, 20 Nov, 16 Dec, 1858. A special incident cited in the article was the case of the French Ship, Regina Coeli, see next letter.


6. See below.

7. Mrs. Catherine Turner was staying with HM.

8. Brooke suffered a stroke after speaking at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, 21 Oct 1858.


10. 23 Oct 1858, with a summary of his life and work up to the History of Frederick the Great, vols I & II, 1858.

11. Archibald John Stephens (1808-80), barrister, High Church Tory, member of the Commission on Irish schools. Lord Derby's speech of 3 May 1858 had first called attention to the serious dissension of two members of the Commission, but Parliament was not yet sitting.

12. Endowed Schools in Ireland, rptd. from the Daily News, 1859, censures two of the five members who dissent from the 1858 Report of the Commission to investigate and recommend measures for improvement of the endowed schools of all
denominations in Ireland. Stephens' recommendations would put most of these (intermediate) schools into the hands of the established Church instead, as HM and the other Commissioners recommend, to allow each denomination, Episcopal, Catholic, and Presbyterian, to administer its own schools with supervision by a mixed Board. These schools, HM urges, fill an essential role of educating a "rising" middle class.

13. Dr. Charles Graves, D.D., member of the Commission. Prof. William Nielson Hancock (1820-88), founder of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, Prof. of Political Economy and Jurisprudence, Queen's College, Dublin.

14. Lord Carlisle had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1855-58; and was to be again 1859-64.

15. The Archbishop of Canterbury had appointed Stephens to the Commission.

16. A review of Stephens, The Book of Common Prayer: with Notes, Legal and Historical, vol I, 1849, which compares Stephens the "Book-grinder" to Babbage's machine; the work is said to consist of excessive and inexact citation, plagiarism, and pretention of authority.

17. Word unclear.


19. HM objects to the fragmented non-scientific approach of the National Association for Promotion of Social Science, which considers facts, but fails to speculate on the laws of facts. But she is sympathetic to their absorption with practical problems; 25 Oct 1858.
20. "Woman," National Review, 7 (Oct 1858), 333-61, objects to Bessie Parkes' Remarks on the Education of Women, 3rd edition, 1856, for suggesting that girls be taught the "passional influences of women" by being exposed to authors such as George Sand, Dryden and Jonson; this is beyond the limits of common sense and decency, the reviewer says. It is also unsuitable for girls to study social and political economy, the most complex of the sciences and too difficult for the young.


22. Dr. Richard Holt Hutton (1826-97; DNB), theologian, literary critic, editor of the National Review, 1855-64, was to become joint editor of the Spectator 1861, Prof. of mathematics at the Ladies' College, Bedford Square, 1858-65; his pamphlet, The Relative Value of Studies and Accomplishments in the Education of Women, 1862, "A lecture intended as a contribution towards determining the true intellectual standard of female education in the middle classes," nods at the improved nineteenth-century concern for women's learning as more than an "accomplishment," but recommends modern languages, music and drawing as far more useful to them than history, geography, mathematics or Latin. Similar views would have offended his hearers.

23. Alexander Andrew Knox (1818-91; DNB).

24. Goldwin Smith, "The Edinburgh Review and Mr. Froude's History (Fraser's Magazine, Sept 1858)," Edinburgh Review, 108 (Oct 1858), 586-94, an answer to Froude's objections to their original review of his History of England, I-IV, 1858, in the previous July issue. Smith shows that
Froude's modern sophistry, from the mixed influences of Newman and Carlyle, leads him to capricious use of evidence and false statements, though his style is good.

Novbr 24
1858

Dear friend

You ought to hear the end of the Brougham story, after hearing the early part. It may not very much surprise you to learn that the whole statement of "legal proceedings in progress for some days, at the instance of abolitionists" is an unmitigated lie.¹ Not only does Mr Reeve send me all particulars: he writes that no such idea as legal proceedings has occurred to anybody. — The occasion is this. Some weeks ago, the Liberian Consul in London, and the same official in New York, sent to the newspapers (I have the Amern ones) a letter of Prest Benson's, written in consequence of strictures on the Regina Coeli affair, and in direct contradiction to the French officers' report. This letter appeared in "D News" about a month since, and there has been a leader of mine on it, — saying that as regards the man himself, it is a question of veracity between him and the French; but that we still want satisfaction about the colony;² — which is exactly what the New York papers say. — Well: this Benson letter was sent to the Edin: Review office while Reeve was abroad, and was forwarded to ld Brougham till Reeve's return. It was accompanied by a half-sheet of Mem's of the points of accusation supposed to be met: — and this was the way
in the D.N. case also. This is all. D.B. sent the papers (which are mere scraps, now before me) to Sir G. Lewis, whose remark is that Benson’s letter is naught, and it is hard to see what he would be at; and that, as for other charges against Liberians, they were published long ago in Amera, and should have been met there, if at all. — So much for legal proceedings at the instance of abolitionists! If you hear any report of the sort, please tell the facts. But we fancy it was a movement of spite and jealousy. On looking over your note again, I was struck by the words “strict etiquette.” Between you and me, my friend, there can surely never be any barrier of etiquette, strict or other. But I think I must repeat that it is not on my own account that I have said what I have. I would bear 10 times over that much, before I would make a difficulty. My concern and amaze¬ment were (and are) on account of the poor family, who could least explain, and need never have heard it; and, I need not add, on account of the remaining party to the business, — of whom I think more than even of the family, — as you will not wonder.

My informant, who has seen all you have written, says to me "You have been entirely right, all through." I wish I could think so. Judging by the event, I wish I had left your question, and all that part of your first letter, unanswered. Beyond this, I could act only as I have acted.

This really is the last I shall ever have to say, on this business, I hope. Of course I don’t agree with you about Isa: Rankin’s letter, which I consider violent. short-
-sighted, one-sided, and, to me at the moment, extremely rash. Very natural, however, — except that I should have thought she knew life better. — Well: enough of that.

I am sending my household in succession to see Rydal Lake, where there must be fine skating. It was frozen yesterday, but not ventured on. M. gets fine walks. I should not wonder if my head mends a little in such weather. Above 6 weeks without rain!

I fear Mrs Reid goes on very badly (as to health) and she sends a wretched report of Mrs Jameson.6

Now to work. There is some comfort in work, now that success springs up on all hands. You see Cuba now despairs of more negroes on good terms, — our "dogged resolution" having caused, even L. Nap: to yield; — and will henceforth see if Chinamen can't be had.7 The Times' silence about the Central Americ indications is very odd:8 — so very serious as the matter is. — Maria's kindest regards. Love to you ever from your affects

H.M.

1. Lord Brougham was looked upon as a national spokesman for the antislavery cause. He had questioned French implication in the slave-trade in the incident of the Regina Coeli, whether the African laborers were chained, in the Lords June 1852; HM, Daily News, 29 June 1853. The incident had taken place Oct 1857 when the laborers, said to be under contract for work in the French colonies, rose up against the French crew and turned themselves over to the British consul in Monrovia, capital of Liberia. When a
French warship came to reclaim the ship, many attempted to save themselves by leaping overboard. French and Liberians accused each other of misrepresentation in the recruitment of the laborers. The source of threatened legal proceedings was the "British Anti-Slavery Society," on the basis of Benson's letter (see below), and in response to HM's article in the Edinburgh Review.


4. HM claims that the "British Anti-Slavery Society" is "jealous" of the real work being done by the American Garrisonians; HM to the Rev. R.V.P. Graves, "Tuesday" (16 Nov 1858 ?), MS University of Birmingham.

5. HM's subject of gossip may concern the death of a "gentleman" identified as Gerard E. Smith (? a nephew of Julia's), who either threw himself or fell in front of a train; the verdict at the inquest was "temporary insanity"; Times, 1, 2 Oct 1858.

6. Mrs. Jameson, who was a well-known novelist, admired HM; she is accused of literary vanity in Auto., I, 352.

7. Cuba was a major slave-importer; the French Emperor had allowed French ships to carry on the trade until shamed by British public opinion; Times, 4 Dec 1858. "Coolie" labor in the sugar cane industry was an alternative to Negro slavery.
8. HTM had written a number of leaders about unsettled conditions in the isthmus of Panama, crucial to the U.S. as a link between its east and west coasts, and to British interests there. American companies and private individuals had attempted to establish their own influence, and the ambiguous attitude of the U.S. government was an encouragement to Southern-led expansionism; *Daily News*, 12, 23 Nov 1858.

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Friday (? 26 Nov 1858)

Dear friend

No Smith topics today. I merely want to tell you that Brougham is at his bugaboos, as usual. Here is a long letter from the Editor of the Edinburgh, with a good deal about the review and the article, and evidently no idea of anything like Brougham's news. Maria said yesterday that it would turn out a trick. An action might have been a good thing, but it could not lie. Lord Campbell's judgment in the Napier and Quarterly case would protect the Edinburgh now. — H. Reeve says that in Paris the article has the credit of the Emperor's recession from his slave trade.

Glorious news from America! I must go to work upon it. — No very good news of myself. Head does not come round yet. No great wonder! Yours affectionately

H. Martineau.

Date: the Friday before the next letter, of 27 Nov 1858,
which was a Saturday, and after the last one of 24 Nov 1858; from her reference to the same topics of discussion.

1. ?The suicide, see last letter.

2. That there might be grounds for a suit for libel against the Edinburgh Review.

3. Sir Charles James Napier (1782-1853; DNB), conqueror of Sind, had sought to bring libel charges against the Quarterly for statements about him in an article published Sept 1852. Lord Campbell had refused his application 23 Nov 1852 because the statements, grounded on published materials, were not actionable. This would furnish a precedent for a libel suit against the Edinburgh Review, for HM's statement that the President of Liberia was a willing participant in the French slave trade; HM to the Rev. R.V.P. Graves, 20 Nov \(\text{[1858]}\), MS University of Birmingham.

4. "The Slave Trade in 1858."

5. She may refer to additional signs of growing political unity in the North against slave policies; see Daily News, 23 Nov 1858. A later leader discusses only the working of the ballot in the U.S., but it has apparently been edited; Daily News, 8 Dec 1858.

Ambleside

Novbr 27/58

Dear friend

This is just to thank you for your welcome note. It is as complete a relief as the case admits of;\(^1\) and I am
very grateful to you for it. — Certainly I will tell you if I ever see reason to change my mind: but I must tell you that nothing is more improbable. I know of only three persons besides myself who are aware of the case; and no one of us is likely to speak of it more. — I don't mean about the question of suicide or not. As to that, the impression seems to be universal out of the family. In this way; — (which you will not think it necessary to repeat.) James dined at brother Robert's when Maria was there; and he told them of Julia Smith having gone to tea at his house just before, — very eager on that painful question, and saying everything she could in opposition to the verdict of the jury, — all which James very properly related. At the end, however, he said "But, after all, I have a strong impression that there is more behind. There is some mystery, — something, I don't know what, that prevents its being clear." — This seems to be a fair specimen, as to those who have not been to the place. To those who have, there is no doubt in the case. — I must add, before quitting the subject for ever, that neither I, nor anybody I know of, had heard of any supposed quarrel with his father, or money difficulty. If I had, I should have disbelieved both.

Here is the end of the very odd Brougham transaction. Today I have a long familiar, and very confidential letter from Ld B., written just before starting for France (which happily saves the necessity of answering it) in which he seems to surrender his objections to our enterprise, and enters on a confidential detail of private and personal
matters in connexion with the Anti-slavery question. He best knows why! Perhaps he is piqued at the cool, business-like tone of my note. — I did not refer at all to the Ed: Review: and neither does he. — I have called Mr Reeve to witness, by this post, (for reasons which you know and he does not) that I do not at all agree to the footing of intimate acquaintance which Id B. assumes in this letter. It must not be said hereafter that we were on such terms after I had written the autobiography,3 — or indeed at any time. I have not seen him half-a-dozen times, and never had any respect or regard for him. — I merely sent him, as to other A.S. chiefs the Circular with my card. —

Now goodnight, dear friend. — Here is such a nice parcel tonight, — two copies of the new edition of my History, — from Messrs Chambers.4 I fancy my head is rather better. Mrs Reid is sadly ill, I fear. We write to her often. — Yours ever affectly

H. Martineau

1. The possible suicide of a nephew of Julia's.
2. HM's exposure of the French slave trade, the Regina Coeli incident.
3. HM's personal and public aversion to Brougham, whom she accuses of hypocrisy and deceit in his relations with Lord Durham, and of vanity and insincerity in his reform sentiments, is in Auto., I, 309-14. In this instance she charges that Brougham is spiteful because he has not originated the exposure; HM to the Rev. R.V.P. Graves, 20
My dear friend

I have had this envelope directed for a New Year letter, and have tried and tried to write, but could not; and so, though our love and good wishes for the year came late, they have been all alive here. A happy new year to you and yours, dear friend! I have lots of things to ask and say; and if I can't do it tonight, I will send something by tomorrow's post. We should have said that I have been, on the whole, a good deal better recently than in November; but friends who call don't seem to think so; and tonight I do feel badly enough. Mrs Claude, who had been kept at home for some time by whooping-cough, came two days running this last week; and it comes out that she was so shocked the first day at my looks that she could not be satisfied without coming again when I did not see her though. She had never seen me look so badly, she told people. Yet I have got on better than for some time.

Enough of that!

I have been wanting to tell you the last of a story
you heard here, — (in the same confidence in which you
heard the beginning,) — about the "Spectator."¹ It
has issued even worse than, as you know, I rather antici-
pated. You remember Mr Louis's² proposal to come and
possess himself of my anti-slavery materials, and assume
the function of my 'heir' in regard to that cause. It
is well that I chose to wait, to learn more about him; for
he and his "partner", Mr Scott,³ who makes a feeble but
generous effort to assume "the entire responsibility,"
have handed over the paper for a term of years to (I
believe) the only pro-slavery journalist in England, —
Thornton Hunt!⁴ Of course, I withdraw at once, cutting
off the honours received by the "Spectator" from my
Amerīn friends. I have, in my own mind, no doubt that
poor Scott is again made a convenience of, — T. Hunt being
put in by Louis as a warming-pan, till he himself shall
return from Australia, or decide to remain there. She
has further been affronted by a "prevaricating letter"
about the sale of the Spectator, and feels it will be lost
as Mr. Weir had predicted, for "everything Thornton Hunt
touches goes to ruin." She has told her cousin David,
Scott's brother-in-law, the details "in order to have a
witness throughout." I believe and hope it was all but
unknown that I have written for it at all. If you should
ever hear it, please contradict it from this time forward.

How delighted Ida Carlisle is with W.E. Forster's Leeds
A.S. speech, last Tuesday!⁵ He wrote, a month since,
asking me what points I thought might most usefully be taken
up by him. I told him, and sent him a letter from Mrs
Chapman, — one of the most glorious that ever was written, — and he kept it a month, to rouse him on that night; and returning it, he went into vast praise of W.E. Forster, whose acquaintance he rejoiced to make, and hoped never to lose. Forster gives a droll account of the meeting; but the spirit was excellent, and we hope more may come of it. This Central Amerm hubbub opens a window into the Amerm political interior, which I am not sorry for. My own belief is, however, that the allegation against Ld Napier is true. I know it was considered well-grounded by two trustworthy Members of Congress, who saw the whole correspondence between him and Cass: — I mean the charge of being the President's backer in the Kansas affair. You will like to know that I have a letter from the best lawyer of the Abolitionists, saying that the Elinburgh article contains nothing whatever about Amerm and Liberian parties which will not be supported by the Anti-slavery leaders, with abundance of proof; and they see nothing which is at all likely to be seriously disputed. Nothing more has been heard from Brougham or otherwise of any such dispute: and there seems to be no doubt that it is simply a fabrication of his. The article will do immense good, my Amerm friends say, though every attempt will be made to keep it out of the newspapers. — What a wonderful thing is this league for the promulagation of Helper's book, "the impending crisis of the South." 100,000 copies are to be sent to every part of the Union, which, as it is a southern book, can be done. The Pollens have written cheerful and affectionate letters; but O dear! they are in
a rapture at the patriotism of the people who burnt the Quarantine buildings in the Staten Island. The patients were removed "very gently," and the "fresh air" did them no harm! Could you have believed it? They deny that it was Lynch law! 9

One of my interests and businesses now is (not public, observe) a correspondence begun by Florence Nightingale, — she sending me her extremely "Confidential" recent Reports (to the War Minister only.) She is delighted at my offer to use the materials as far as some 1/2 dozen "leaders" will serve: and I have the eager assent of the Ed: of "D. News:" so begin as soon as incidents afford an occasion, — probably this week. I know of nothing comparable to those Reports. The sagacity, strength, closeness and clearness would be striking in any connexion. On the particular subject, the union of those attributes with heart and earnestness of purpose, without a particle of sentimentality, constitutes it one of the most remarkable political or social productions ever seen, I should think. 10

Please don't speak of me in connexion with it to any of the family. I shall tell Julia myself: but none of the rest.

— Isa: Rankin never answered that note of mine, — has never written since, which, in any view, she certainly ought to have done. I shall leave her entirely alone, and see whether her move has introduced any change into our relations. She has been visiting Rachel at Weybridge, from Brighton, after leaving her Grenville St post. — Rachel is deeply touched by the Rajah's first note to me, after his attack: and so would you be. One to Maria since gives a painful impression of restlessness; — he "longs to be out of England"
This is quite to be expected: but it is very sad. 

Id Derby's behavior is abominable, — isn't it? But W.E. Forster tells us that he thinks there is no sort of doubt of the business being carried to a satisfactory conclusion by our merchants. Let us hope so.

I hope you had a merry Xmas; but it seems as if merry Xmases were not so common among our friends as they used to be: — a thing of course, as we grow old. Ours was rather dismal; — it was impossible to help it. My other beautiful cow died the day before, after a wretched lingering, — moaning day and night for such a time! Both in one year! — and in a way which has given me all the loss of their dry season, and cut off the milk season. This, and the dead loss, and the doctoring have made up a serious money loss: but we also mourn our pretty favourites. Maria insists that she have cream, which suits her "remarkably", and she wants Maria and the maids to have good milk and butter. She has bought a cow through a "trusty grazier", which has put her man Fulcher "out of temper". He has been rude, and "going off in his work" since he began to lead the prayers in chapel; and she will discharge him if he does not repent and change. Meanwhile Maria is happy about her brother Edward's engagement.

She sends her love to you. — Mrs Wordsworth is ill; but, Dr Davy being her sole physician, there is no learning the real state of the case. On Friday, at 3 p.m. "she could not live twelve hours"; but today she is pronounced much better, — as two or three times before. Dr Davy
says that "but for her age, she would not be very ill"; to which the outside doctors say, — "why, her age is the illness!" She is in her 90th year. It began with slight diarrhoea: and now, she will get up; and then faintings come on, and she seems to be sinking rapidly. Who could wish her to live? Alone (I don't mean unattended, of course) the survivor of husband, daughter, and sisters, and blind, and ninety! Yet it will be mournful to see that house shut up or transferred. Mr W.W. is here, — and I dare say Mr John too; but I don't know. Mrs W. was very wroth at his 3d marriage. — M. looks as if I ought to stop: and so I will. Now I wonder whether you will give me full news of yourselves and Ras.

Mr Procter says he bought Carlyle's Friedric on the spot, in a shop, on reading the capital first page: but that it was quite a take in, — he "found no other capital page." I have not seen it yet: but I dare say I shall, some day. — Good night, dear friend. The changes in me are just from more or less irregularity in the heart-action; — nothing new.

My love to you all. Yours ever affectionately

H.M. —

/ Mrs. Reid's solicitor has died; otherwise she has written cheerfully. /

1. HM had contributed eighteen articles to the Spectator, 15 May—25 Dec 1858, almost all on American slavery.
2. Not identified.
3. Owner of the Spectator 1858-61, which then passed into the hands of Meredith Townsend (1831-1911; DNB), with R. H. Hutton as editor.
4. Thornton Leigh Hunt (1810–73; DNB), son of Leigh Hunt, journalist, and contributor to the Spectator since 1840. Association with a proslavery journal would have been unthinkable for HM.

5. At a soirée held by the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society in the Town-hall, with speeches on the importance of the antislavery struggle by Lord Carlisle, W.E. Forster and others; Times; 31 Dec 1858.

6. The intense competition for providing a transit route across the isthmus had continued. In the previous month the American filibuster "General" William Walker (1824–60; DAB), former President of Nicaragua, had eluded American revenue officers and sailed from Mobile, Alabama, with a new group of volunteers to conquer Nicaragua. His ambition was to unite the Central American republics in a military empire, open a canal across the isthmus, and reintroduce slavery. Another shipload of passengers, suspected of going to join Walker, had recently been forced to return to New York. The American attitude towards Walker, who had been arrested twice and brought back to the U.S. but never punished for invading a friendly foreign nation, was explained by the support he received from Southerners and the expectation that his conquest would facilitate the annexation of Central America as slave territory. British concern was to protect Central American neutrality and her own interest on the mosquito coast; see HM's most recent leaders on the issue, Daily News, 25 Nov, 21, 23, 30 Dec 1858.

7. Sir Francis Napier, 9th Baron of Merchistoun, 1st Baron
Ettrick, (1819-98; DNB), British Minister to the U.S. The source of HM's allegation against him in this case is not known but would imply sympathy with slavery. Pres. James Buchanan (1791-1868; DAB), was sympathetic towards the spread of slavery into the territory of Kansas, where a struggle was beginning between pro-slavery and antislavery settlers who would decide its status as a state. An important exchange of letters, 1857-58, between Lord Napier and Gen. Lewis Cass (1792-1866; DAB), Sec. of State, had established American rights over unwarranted search or seizure of vessels suspected of being slavers.

8. Hinton Rowan Helper (1829-1909; DAB); New York, 1857. The book violently denounces slave labor as responsible for the impoverishment of the South. A fund was being collected to distribute copies for the Republican campaign of 1860, and it was subsequently thought to have been a contributing cause of the Civil War.

9. In "Lynch Law at New York," HM blames "gentlemen" agitators, who own property on Staten Island, for stirring up indigent Irish and Germans to destroy the Quarantine Station there. She compares the incident to pro-slavery riots in New York twenty-five years earlier; Spectator, 25 Sept 1858, pp. 1011-12.

10. HM used Florence Nightingale's Notes on Matters affecting the Health, Efficiency and Hospital Administration of the British Army, completed 1857, based on historical research and her experience in the Crimean War; Daily News, 14, 18, 26 Jan; 11, 16 Feb 1859; England and Her Soldiers, 1859. HM describes the Notes as a "work of genius"
which she and Maria have "devoured"; she adds that she formerly took a pocket compass with her into asylums and hospitals to be sure the beds were lined up north-south, and urges the importance of this; HM to Florence Nightingale, 19 Jan 1860, MS British Library.

11. HM must mean that private investors would save Brooke's trading empire in Sarawak.

12. Mrs. Mary (Hutchinson) Wordsworth, wife of the poet, died 17 Jan 1859; see Biographical Sketches, pp. 402-8.

13. William Wordsworth (1810–83), third son of the poet and Distributor of Stamps for Cumberland and Westmorland from his father's retirement, 1842; John Wordsworth (1803–75), eldest son of the poet, Vicar of Brigham, Cumberland.

Ambleside
Sunday night
Novbr 18th/59

Dear friend

At last I see your handwriting on the "Saty Review." I have been watching for it for weeks; for I want to say something immediately on your return. I told you, just before you left, of my nephew Russell's engagement; and I am uneasy lest you should be unaware, before seeing the family, that it is off. Her hostility towards James is transferred to his son, whose fiancée, Lucy, has broken off an engagement of long standing because of "personal repugnance". HM has feared that Russell would "sink into a
dirty, bookish philologist", but he has quickly recovered. Two of his cousins had planned, as a joke, to give him "a handsome wedding present . . . a large quantity of the very best soap." Maria's eldest brother, Tom, has become engaged to an "exceedingly pretty" girl, "capitally educated". HM has suffered badly from "tic", and the quinine prescribed for it makes her ill.

There is no use saying more about health: It is very bad, and there's an end. — I can still work, however, and find it a good thing to do. "D. News" goes on as usual. I have accepted engagements with "Once a Week," and refused them for Thackeray's Magazine, — brilliant as was the invitation of Smith & Elder, and tempting the field they opened. I don't believe theirs can answer; and I don't fancy Thackeray as an editor: and his £4,000 a year can't affect his quality in that way. I doubt his power of industry for such work; and I doubt his temper. I don't like Magnes; and I would not have written for any but that Dickens's conduct to Bradbury & Evans (for whom I have much respect and regard) roused my indignation, and made me wish to serve them, if possible. It has been such a hit! Mr Lucas (editor and Times reviewer) writes in the most open way about my lucky series having at once decided and secured the signal success of "Once a Week". I am almost ashamed of the popularity of such very homely and easy things. — Entrenous, I am not going to confine myself to them: I don't want to appear every week, and seem to take so large a part; so I have chosen a nom de plume under which a quite different sort of articles will appear. — at least while I have no article for the
"Edinburgh" on hand. I have told nobody this; so you will not let it get out, please. — I need not tell you that the "Trades Unions" article in the last "Edinburgh" is mine; but don't say so, unless you hear it. Did I tell you what an exceedingly pleasant visit we had from Mr Reeve? It was ostensibly to consult about that; but we talked over all things whatever besides. — Do you know who bears the loss of the "National Review"? Its circulation is only 600 or under; and the "natural" expenses cannot be less than £2,500 per an. It can't go on at that rate. — The "Westminster" is dragging, evidently. It seems to have laid aside its distinctive character, as an organ of free-thought, and thus loses its special public. Chapman has given up the idea, his friends say, of medical practice, having no practice; and now he is handing about a printed, but private, circular, proposing a Company for conducting free-thinking and other publication! In other words, he cannot dispose of his business; and his two creditors, on whose capital the whole proceeds, — Mr Grote and Mr Oc: Smith, consent to convert their claims into shares in this company. I believe they keep this private! Chapman and Mr Church (also penniless) have been urging Mr Atkinson very strongly to take a part; but he refuses, — and I think very wisely. If a private firm cannot make the business answer, a Compy certainly will not. The Circular cites the large Dividends of two Companies — (publishing) but they publish works for which there is a vast preestablished demand in the religious world. So, if the figures are accurate, they are no guide in this case. I don't know how far the "W. Review"
is involved in this scheme, which includes the publishing business at 8 King Willm St. Chapman boasts of Mr. Newman's\textsuperscript{13} approbation; and that is the only name I have heard. — I am in a puzzle about Mr. Maurice's followers;\textsuperscript{14} — whether they put up with his muddleheadedness, (and the insolence which belongs to it) for the sake of his goodness and devotedness, or whether they don't discover it. This opposition to Mansel seems the worst exposure yet, — judging by the review in the "Saturday."\textsuperscript{15} — That paper has come quite regularly, thank you, and is a great privilege. Of course, we take care of the numbers; and will return the year when complete. — Can you find time to tell me of yourselves, some day? I have heard not one word of any of you since I wrote last.

Tell me how Ras is. I have heard often (which is very kind) from Mrs. Reid; but she has been mainly away from home. My sisters have been here. Not many others (except to see Maria) for I can't hear much, and have been almost totally deaf for weeks together. Sumner meant to come, but could not;\textsuperscript{16} which was very well, as Maria was absent. No more tonight, except love to you all. — I must write to Julia tomorrow, on the Smith marriages,\textsuperscript{17} which please her very much.

Ever yours affectionately

H. Martineau

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1. James' son, now a member of the British Museum staff, and lecturer on Hebrew language and literature, Manchester New College.

2. Once a Week: An Illustrated Miscellany of Literature
Art, Science, and Popular Information, published by Bradbury & Evans, aimed at unsophisticated and working class readers; begun 2 July 1859.

3. The Cornhill Magazine, the brain-child of George Smith, intended to include both articles and high-level fiction from distinguished contributors, priced at one shilling; begun 1 Jan 1860. Thackeray’s editorship was partially honorary, and continued to April 1862. High payments to authors were part of Smith’s plan.

4. William Bradbury (1799-1869); Frederick Mullet Evans, publishers of Punch, Daily News and Household Words. They had been in partnership with Dickens, John Forster and W.H. Wills in publishing Household Words, 1850-59. Dickens’ break with them was ostensibly because of their refusal to publish a statement in Punch about Dickens’ separation from his wife.

5. Samuel Lucas (1818-68; DNB).

6. HM’s first series was “Our Farm of Two Acres”, 9-30 July 1859, but she may mean the series on everyday problems of physical and mental health which began 3 Sept and was to continue to Jan 1861. They included advice on infant care, sanitation, diet, learning to swim, and the hazards and stresses of a wide range of occupations: statesman, the maid-of-all-work, soldier, sailor, steel-grinder, governess, baker, and others; partly rptd. Health, Husbandry and Handicraft, 1861.

7. “From the Mountain”, commentaries on political and social issues, including many on the U.S. and the antislavery struggle.

9. The National Review continued to April 1864.

10. Under Chapman's editorship, the Westminster Review had become conservative and profitable, but he was plagued by debts from his publishing business. After unsuccessfully proposing a joint stock company for creditors, he sold the business, 29 March 1860, to George Manwaring, who went bankrupt at the end of 1861; see Haight, G.E. and J.C., pp. 104-5, 110.

11. George Grote (1794-1871; DNB), Greek historian, radical MP; Octavius H. Smith, Julia's brother.


14. Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72; DNB), spiritual leader of the Christian Socialists.

15. Henry Longueville Mansel (1820-71; DNB), Oxford metaphysician, carried on a philosophical debate with Maurice in a series of pamphlets over Maurice's assumed intuitive "knowledge of God", which Mansel felt was demonstrably impossible. "What is Revelation," reviews Maurice's latest contribution to the debate, a protest at Mansel's phenominalism; Saturday Review, 22 Oct 1859, pp. 485-87.

16. Charles Sumner (1811-74; DAB), U.S. Senator physically attacked by a Southern Representative, 20 May 1856, for insulting Southerners in a speech about Kansas. During
three and a half years of recuperation, he travelled in Europe in search of restorative cures. MM had met him in Washington, D.C., 1835.

17. Bertha, second daughter of the Samuel Smiths was to marry in the summer, 1860; others are not identified.

Ambleside

[To Erasmus]  

Febry 2d 60

Dear friend,

I am frightened to think how you are through such weather as we have had. At this moment a very warm sunshine cheers the room: but there is north-east wind which makes a vast noise, and almost paints coldness on the landscape. Maria is gone out to see if it is bearable. We don't mind any weather up to March, if only it allows due digging in Janry, and allows a seasonable spring afterwards, and I don't object to the snow-landscape now before the windows. But I often think how you must be kept imprisoned by such a winter. Mr Atkinson's next-door neighbour, Mr Ed: Reade "the Poet",¹ writes him a formal note, addressed to "No 18",² complaining that when Mr A's bedroom fire is lighted, smoke pours down into Mr R's ditto, in such clouds that the windows have to be open all night. (Discovered to be Mr Reade's own doing, by an alternation he has made.) Mr A. after doing the business part of the answer, put in goodhumoured congratulations, — Miss Nightingale pointing out as a means of health the having the windows open all night. We ventilate more than
almost anybody I know: and colds are unknown in this house.

Well, but, what I write for is to thank you again for sending me your brother's book. As for thanking him for the book itself, one might say "thank you" all one's life without giving any idea of one's sense of obligation. It has been an immense pleasure to Maria and me; and, I need not add, much more than a pleasure. I am not pretending to speak about the science; though I fancy I follow his argument as a learner. If we could follow no further, the unconscious disclosure of the spirit and habits of the true scientific mind would be a most profitable and charming lesson to us. I believed, and have often described, the quality and conduct of your brother's mind; but it is an unspeakable satisfaction to see here the full manifestation of its earnestness and simplicity, its sagacity, its industry, and the patient power by which it has collected such a mass of facts, to transmute them by such sagacious treatment into such portentous knowledge. I should much like to know how large a proportion of our scientific men believe that he has found a sound road to the upper ranges of the history of organised existence. It does not very much matter; for it is the next generation that effectively profits by such works: but it would be pleasant to know that a good many remain openminded. Nobody trusts Owen's manner or speech on such occasions: but there is some wonder about what he thinks. At Roebuck's he spoke so as to lead hearers to believe that he sanctioned the theory of the book: whereas, on another occasion (the Geological Society?) he
opposed it as untenable. But these individual cases don't matter much, when the work has fairly obtained a hearing. The review in the _Times_ was by a literary man, with high scientific sanction and (I believe) assistance. 6 Who did "D. News" I don't know; but the reviews there are seldom worth anything. 7 — I do hope your brother will be able to achieve his larger work, 8 and thus have made his life thoroughly illustrious: and we must all be glad that he has set the world on this great new track meantime. It saves time, and will hasten the due acceptance of the one to come. — Poor Mrs Marsh! She has not learned self-knowledge or modesty since the old days when she used to scold me for the laws of political economy, as if they were my making. — I have looked in vain for the decision on the miserable Caldwell will case. Judgment was deferred; and I don't see that it has been pronounced yet. 9 If Fanny remembers, next time she writes, I should like to know. — And please tell Fanny that it was not the romance of Miss Evans's pseudonym that I objected to. It might have been Betty or Molly or Lizzy, for anything I cared. The point was that she had adopted a false name, — even (to my knowledge) signing it to a legal instrument, —without consideration of the seriousness of an alias; and that when she moreover took a false surname she had no right to complain of a strict investigation into what was true in her case. 10 — Mrs Bracebridge, as well as Mr B. is satisfied now: but there has been a practice of dodging and evasion to the last moment which has put them in the wrong. Mr Liggins keeps unbroken silence, under all
questions, transmission of the evidence, and the waiting
of his benefactors.  

Meantime, as Mudie says, the sale
and circulation of "Adam Bede" were instantly checked when
the authorship was known.  

I dare not speak of F. Nightingale's book.  The
greatest charity anybody can do is to get it into every
house.  So we think: and a rich cousin of ours desires
Maria to do this, and she will pay. (Entre nous, I am
going to do my part by reviewing it in a broad way.)  F.N.
is such a sufferer, it haunts me.  Difficulty of breathing,
— always when dropping asleep, and when at all exhausted
by speaking or moving, — is the worst of many sufferings.
Perhaps I ought not to mention this; for she urgently
desires not to be talked about, — for obvious reasons.  —
As for me, I have not much to say of myself.  I have not
been free from the tic for one day or night since the 24th
of October: but the evil is now very slight, and has been
for 3 weeks: — i.e., from the day when, unknown to me, Maria
mesmerised my pillows, bed and nightclothes.  Mr Shepherd
was growing very unhappy about my lack of sleep; and he
is so thankful for its recovery that he is quite goodnatured
and civil about the means.  You know, it is impossible to
mesmerise me directly, for fear of stopping the heart
altogether: but M's courage in trying the indirect way
was at once rewarded.  I was asleep in 3 minutes, and slept
for half an hour, the first time she tried (on the sofa:) and at night, I woke only 3 times in 5 hours.  After a
day or two, she told us what she had done: and I have
slept at her pleasure ever since.  This reduces the pain
to a mere trifle: but we can't get rid of it. As it goes, the heart-action seems to be worse again: but it is much the smaller evil of the two to bear. — I am as prosperous as can be in regard to work. I always thought old people were supposed to be pushed off the stage: but now, when our patrons and our fellow-workers are dropping away, it seems as if our work was more and more valued and sought. I select what I like best, and think most useful: but there is scarcely anything that it is not in my choice to do or let alone. — The Long Annuities, you know, have just expired, from which my chief income was derived, but I have for some years laid by that income, and more. I have within £100 enough of annual income to live on. I can't see any way to retrench: but I can work; and have no anxiety about it. I have laid by £2,000 for Maria already: and my earnings last year, without fatigue or worry, were £620. — You always took such a kind interest in my affairs that I just tell you this for our common satisfaction.

I have had a long series of presents of late, all of which I have returned thanks for but one: and I fain would for that. 2 doz of champagne came last week anonymously. My kind cousin, Mrs George Martineau,\(^\text{15}\) has before sent me supplies, twice: but, besides that she makes no secret of it, this is evidently not from her. I should like to know to whom I am obliged for it. — Champagne is regularly prescribed: so you must not think me too jolly. — Our love to Fanny; and believe me yours ever affectionately

H. Martineau.
2. Upper Gloucester Place.
4. Richard Owen (1804–92; DNB), first Hunterian Prof. of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, Royal College of Surgeons 1836–56; claimed to have anticipated Darwin's evolutionary theory but also attacked *Origin of Species*, as in the *Edinburgh Review*, 111 (April 1860), 487–532 (which included complimentary references to his own work), apparently in concern for his own reputation; vacillated in subsequent statements.
5. John Arthur Roebuck (1801–79; DNB), disciple of Bentham, independent politician; glowingly described *Auto.*, I, 345–46.
7. The reviewer is doubtful about the validity of Darwin's theory, and accuses him of "hasty, imperfect, baseless generalizations;" 26 Dec 1859.
8. *On the Origin of Species* was intended as an Abstract of the full report of observations made on board the HMS *Beagle*. Darwin had been advised to publish his work to date by Sir Charles Lyell and Dr. Joseph Hooker; "Introduction" p. 2.
9. Mrs. Anne (Caldwell) Marsh was to be granted Royal licence 1860 to take the name Marsh Caldwell, having succeeded to her father's estate in Staffordshire 1858.
10. Intense interest in the identity of the author of "Scenes of Clerical Life," Blackwoods, 1857, began soon after their publication, and reached a peak with publication of Adam Bede, 1859. After the first anonymity, Marian Evans had begun to sign her letters to John Blackwood, "George Eliot" by Feb 1857. She was then living with G.H. Lewes, and in Oct 1859 she wrote to Blackwood as Marian Evans Lewes. But both author and publisher wished to preserve the secret of her true identity, and HM was only one of many contemporaries who corresponded at length on the question. The irregular union with Lewes was shocking to HM, but she specifically refers to the change of her baptismal name "Mary Am" to Marian as objectionable; HM to Charles Holte Bracebridge, 21 Nov 1859, MS University of Birmingham.

11. Having muddled the cause of his adoptive protégé Florence Nightingale, Charles Bracebridge had taken up the question of the authorship of George Eliot's works, and had championed a claim foisted on Joseph Liggins, son of an Attleborough baker. In the same letter HM assured Bracebridge that Liggins was not George Eliot (see above).

12. Possibly, but the check was only a temporary one.

13. Notes on Nursing: What it Is, and What it Is Not \(\text{Dec}\), 1859, for the layman, sold 15,000 copies at 5s within a month; cheaper editions and translations into French, German and Italian followed; Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes, 1861, with an added chapter, "Minding Baby," in a limp cloth cover at 7d.

14. Mr. Shepherd, Ambleside surgeon, was authorized to give HM's skull and brain to Atkinson for post mortem
March 13/60

Dear friend

I know now to be thankful for a long letter from a friend in the midst of the London season. I really am very grateful for yours; and I tell Maria I must write myself this time. — Your account of Eras: is better than I ventured to hope for. He is very good to think of sending me Buckle II.¹ I shall be delighted to have it. — It seemed to me, after I had written to him, that I ought to have said one thing more about C.D.'s Charles Darwin's book, for honesty's sake: and the notices I have seen have reminded me of this since, more than once. I rather regret that C.D. went out of his way two or three times (I think not more) to speak of "the Creator" in the popular sense of the First Cause; and also once of the "final cause" of certain cuckoo affairs.² This latter is sure to be misunderstood, in the face of all the rest of the book: and the other gives occasion for people to ride off from the argument in a way which need not have been granted to them. It is curious to see how those who would otherwise agree with him turn away because his view is "derived from," or "based on," "theology", while he admits critics, by this opening, who would otherwise have
no business with the book at all. It seems to me that having carried us up to the earliest group of forms, or to the single primitive one, he and we have nothing to do with how those few forms, or that one, came there. His subject is the "Origin of Species", and not the origin of Organisation, and it seems a needless mischief to have opened the latter speculation at all. — There now! I have delivered my mind. Not that it signifies a straw, except, as I said, for truth's sake. — I do hope nothing will prevent his accomplishing his larger work. In that case, it may come true that the present one will be forgotten in 10 years:— hardly otherwise, I should think. — While I remember, — my notion of reviewing F. Nightingale's book for the "Edinburgh" failed. Entre nous, an article of mine, bespoken for this next No, is postponed, for the sake of valuable information about to arrive; ³ and I supposed it probable that I might substitute this: but Mr Reeve was so overwhelmed with material that he asked me to leave it uncertain till late in the quarter; and I withdrew my proposal, — seeing how crowded he really was. Afterwards I might have done it for Fraser's; for, owing to an incident which it would take too long to tell, I was surprised by a humble request from the proprietor and editor of Fraser's Magne ⁴ to propose a topic on which I would write for them. I respectfully declined. Having refused the "Cornhill" and others, I did not incline to write for Fraser. — I had 2 letters from F. Nightingale lately, — written in her best hand, — firm and beautiful; and the meaning as sharp and full as ever. But Hilary's
report,⁵ just before, was very very sad. A rich cousin
gave Maria leave to circulate the book liberally. We
expected to have 55 copies for £5: but the publisher, in
consideration of my "name", sent us 66. So we have spread
them widely; — among homely women, and poorish people who
would not be likely to buy. How deep and solemn the
impression is! The thought of F.N.'s dying now, and in
such suffering (difficulty of breathing) is the most pain-
ful thing in my life now.⁶ I can't forget her every night.

Ah! Maria has done more with the Mesmerism since I
wrote. The pain was so fierce at 3 a.m. one morning that
I was compelled to call M. up. (She was in the room that
night.) Brave soul! She saw at once that such pain was
more dangerous than the permanent risk which prohibited
direct Mesmerism before: and she ventured upon it, —
all alone, in the middle of the night! It did affect
the heart, markedly; but I did not tell her how much, —
being sure that to get rid of the torture was the first
object. In a few minutes the pain began to decline, and
in an hour it was nearly gone. Then she called up
Caroline,⁷ and we had a much-needed cup of tea, and I
went to sleep. M. not much of that! The same thing
happened at nearly the same hour one night last week; and
the pain was gone in half an hour. I have been decidedly
better in every way for 4 or 5 days after each mesmerizing.
But I will not allow it except on these extraordinary
occasions. I will permit no one (least of all Maria) to
be exhausted for my sake when no radical benefit is possible.
All the available mesmerism is needed for curable cases. M
just mesmerizes the pillows &c when she wants me to sleep
well: and that does not exhaust her, as the direct action
upon a sick person must do. — What an effective brave
woman she is! Last Wednesday, my farm man's wife,³ —
(married, not young, above a year ago) was taken in labour
after breakfast, — the nurse 5 miles off, and both doctors
miles away, — five women choosing to be confined that day.
A neighbour, herself near her confinement, was the only
person accessible: so Maria, who had never seen any case
of the kind, went down, — not letting me know, and providing
against my being told. It was a very rapid case, — only
3 hours; and, do you know, M. carried the poor woman
through, till the nurse arrived only 5 minutes before the
birth. The doctor came 5 minutes after. By some instinct
M., did exactly what was right. (She was so stiff the next
day!) A severer case could hardly occur, — it was so
quick. I tell her she has seen the worst. She forgot
herself altogether at the time: but I saw afterwards what
the tension was. Mother and child are perfectly well; (the
latter named "Harriet"!) The mother said yesterday of Maria
"I have never stopped thinking of her. What would ever have
become of me without her!" — Maria has caused me such a treat!
She and her brother once saw in the Louvre the (then) newly
arrived Murillo Virgin (Immaculée Conception) from Soult's⁹
collection. Wishing to make a wedding present to this
brother, she resolved on a fine engraving, and wondered,
to me, whether that Virgin had ever been in this country
as an engraving. We asked Mr Atkinson, who knows all pictures
and engravings that ever were.¹⁰ He found this one, —
quite lately arrived and M. had it sent here, bless her! that I may have 2 months' enjoyment of it before she takes it to the wedding (in May.) Every morning it is set in a good light when I go to work: and every day it grows upon me. I "guess" it is the most acceptable to her brother of all the pretty things his friends have given him.

My black-edge is — you will think for Mrs Pollen, — but no; — Americans don't usually wear mourning; and I don't like it. It is for dear aunt Margt,¹¹ — the very last of the older generation on both sides of the house. The occasion has had some bitterness mixed with it from the extraordinary character of the Will. It seems as if women could not make a just will. In this case, it must somehow have been confusion of mind, though we should not have expected it. The devoted old servant, who was the friend of the five ladies she nursed and buried, is left unprovided for, except by a little legacy (19 guineas) and £1,000 are left to two children, already very rich, and known to none of us, and of another generation, while such needy nieces as Isabella Rankin and her sisters have a mere pittance. About this residue to be divided, — it is divided in family groups, so that the comfortable only children or few get as much as the large families of poor. Eg: one only child who is well off gets six times as much as Isabella. This only child happens to be generous and wise; and her conduct is beautiful. Under the pretext of respect and gratitude for the nurse (which however are perfectly true) we are all subscribing to buy her an annuity: but nothing can undo the impression on her mind of neglect.
We feel that there must have been some mistake: but we can't show where or how. — I hoped Isabella and the others might have had £300 or so: but it will be under £100, I fear, and may be a good deal less. — Well: I have tried to make mine a just will: and my Exr thinks it is.

You will understand how Mrs Follen's death may be at once a touching and mournful event and a great relief. Her altered quality of mind was a great shock to me when she came to England. She was much broken then, without being aware of it: and she broke much more afterwards. Her intimate friends saw it when mere acquaintance did not: but nobody who saw and heard her in England can have the least conception what she was in her best days. Charles has intimated to me since that time that she was hardly responsible for some of her behavior at the time, and totally unaware of it afterwards. She was always vehemently denying, — up to her final illness, — having said bad things of her nearest friends; — things said in their hearing a little while before. (Of course, this is private, except when it is necessary to excuse her.) Her grand point was her fidelity to the A.S. cause, for half her long lifetime. She was always right, and always faithful and devoted, about that. She had also a curious faculty of loving those whom she injured, and happily, some of them could love her warmly, in spite of all. — Charles is very good, — honest and excellent. Not clever, — not energetic, — but likely to turn out more so if he now marries well; — marries a woman who will not be the strain upon him that mother and aunt have been. I should think
he will marry a stoic, if he can find one. He has suffered so from demonstration! But I dare say he is not aware of this, and will discover it only from the relief to come. — It was a typhoid fever of six days, — without one moment's interval of delirium, from the first seizure. So there was no comfort in the mode of departure. I have not nearly done; but I must stop. Love to you all H.M.

How odd it seems to have said nothing of Italy or the Budget! Did you see my memoir (of Sir Wm Napier) in "D. News"? — The Napiers are so pleased at it! I did enjoy doing it.

2. As in "of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator," p. 488. In discussing why the cuckoo lays its eggs in other birds' nests, Darwin says (in the first edition) that "It is now commonly admitted that the more immediate and final cause of the cuckoo's instinct is that she lays her eggs, not daily, but at intervals of two or three days" (p. 237). Darwin seems merely to be showing the workings of selective adaptation which derives from chance variations, but the term is jarring to HM.
3. Probably not HM's next article in the Edinburgh Review, "Prince Dolgoroukow on Russia and Serf-Emancipation," 112 (July 1860), 175-212, on successive declarations of intent to free the serfs; but she is probably referring to "The United States under the Presidentship of Mr. Buchanan," 112 (Oct 1860), 545-82.
4. William John Parker, son of John William Parker (1792-1870; DNB); editor until his death 9 Nov 1860. HM had scoffed at the "liberal conservative" Parkers' Politics for the People in 1848.

5. Hilary Bonham Carter was one of the relatives who stayed with Florence Nightingale as companion for long periods of time; Florence had collapsed at the end of the summer 1859.

6. She lived until 1910.

7. HM's servant.

8. HM had hired a new couple after Fulcher's departure 1859.

9. Nicolas Soult, Marshall of France (1769-1852), from whose collection Murillo's la Conception de Virge was purchased by the Louvre, 1852, for 586,000 fr.

10. Atkinson was a member of the governing committee of the Art Union, dedicated to popularization of the fine arts.

11. Margaret Rankin, HM's maternal aunt.

12. The Italian struggle for freedom from Austrian domination was supported by Palmerston, Prime Minister since June 1859, who felt that a united Italy would balance the power of France. England was to remain neutral however, to the French Emperor's annexation of Savoy and Nice, 24 March 1860, in return for his agreement to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and Venetia. The annual budget, introduced 10 Feb, looked forward to a year of prosperity, with relief from interest on the national debt, lowering of duties on tea and sugar, a new commercial treaty with France, and expiration of the income tax.

13. Sir William Francis Patrick Napier (1785-1860; DNB),
Lieutenant-General, historian of the Peninsular War. HM describes him as the last of a family of knightly brothers, and undaunted by attacks in the Quarterly for his exposure of Tory corruption in the war; Biographical Sketches, pp. 199-212.

March 29/60

Dear friend

This is no letter, — only a scrap to say that your batch of "Saturday Reviews" will be returned to you in a few days. Our dearly-beloved maid Caroline is going to London tomorrow (that is, to Holloway) and she will send the parcel by Delivery Compy. You will find many Nos missing in the early summer; but we send all we received. From early autumn till now they have been continuous, — I believe without exception. — We return them up to March 10th (inclusive.) I can't tell you how obliged we are for them.

We think you will consider it worth while to send back the Beaufort letter for the sight of it. Wonderful adventures, are they not?¹ Any time within a week will do.

We are so busy! — My youngest niece comes today for a month, — an exertion for a sick woman like me; — but it is a pleasure to Maria, and a huge one to Harriet:² and she is an uncommonly fine and good girl, — of fourteen. — She and Maria will let no stranger wait on me during Caroline's absence, — of a fortnight. — At the end of April. W. goes to the wedding.³ which will be early in May.
It is my peremptory desire: but M. is anxious about being away 12 days. — The tic became so perilously bad as to render the danger of direct mesmerizing the lesser of the two: so M. did it twice, and the tic forthwith departed, after daily and nightly attacks for 5 months. — I have an easy life in comparison now; but the heart goes very badly.

Private. We are sorry, and intensely puzzled, about your College difficulty, — our informant being poor Mrs Reid who sends two successive statements, contradictory on every point. Mrs. Reid asserts that the College will stay on in their premises in Bedford Square "in defiance of notice to quit", and that the law is on their side. Poor Mrs R. says the Duke and agent are trying to oust the College "because" they know it can't get another house: and also she ends with assuring me that I may trust the honour of the Committee, though she is on it! This is not worth noticing, poor soul! But we hope to hear from someone how the matter issues. As I said to Mrs R, — if the notice is illegal, what are you alarmed about? and if it is the regular notice to a tenant at will, what case have you? This she does not answer, nor give any explanation either of her dread if the law justifies your remaining, or of the prior proposal to stay on "quietly," "taking no notice," if the landlord has law and right on his side. 4 — Mrs R. had just got enormously wrong in trying to exercise a little bit of censorship of the press. She wrote, in singular insolence of style, (for which she spontaneously and quickly apologised) to me to prevent the
appearance of any Memoir of Mrs Jameson.\(^5\) I replied that it might be enough to say that there was no time, as any newspaper Memoir always appears in a day or two after the announcement of the death: but that I must also explain, once for all, that I have no connexion with the management of any newspaper, and should no more think of interfering than of meddling with Lord Elgin's management of Chinese business.\(^6\) Also that I did not think her view of the matter tenable. — I don't think she sees the point; but she thanked me, and said I had been "very good to her." These things make us fear that she must be ill or disconcerted, as twice before in somewhat the same way. —

Our love to you and yours. — Ever your affectionate

H.M. —

1. Rosa and Emily Anne Beaufort had gone to the Middle East at the close of 1853. They travelled, and lived in the mountains of Lebanon and in Jerusalem; see Emily A. Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, 1861.
2. Harriet Higginson.
3. Of her brother Tom.
4. No action had been taken since 1857, when the Duke of Bedford had objected to renewing the lease on the grounds that it was not allowable to carry on a school, which had been started in conjunction with the College. After another direct appeal to the Duke, permission to remain on the premises was granted 13 June 1860, on the conditions that there must be no name-plate or sign of the College, and as little publicity as possible, and that the pupils must
stay out of the Square; Tuke, p. 93.

5. Mrs. Anna (Murphy) Jameson died 17 March 1860. HM's ambivalent memoir acknowledges Mrs. Jameson's popular success as a writer, and her efforts to improve the condition of women in education and industry, but decries her "Irish vehemence" and habit of too readily revealing her emotions in print; Biographical Sketches, pp. 429-36.

6. James Bruce, Baron Elgin, 8th Earl of Elgin, 12th Earl of Kincardine (1811-63; DNB), envoy to the Emperor of China, 1857, 1860.

Ambleside
October 20/60

Dearest Fanny

It seems an immense time since we wrote. It has been partly because I could not, and partly because I was really ashamed to break in upon your state of mind and business about the Sicilians. I am sure you must have been exceedingly engrossed with that charge.¹ She is busy, has invited only two people to come to see her; the first was Maria's sister Susan, whose father Robert is much recovered, and whom Maria will see when she goes home for a month.² — The other invitation given was to the Editor of "Once a Week", and the proprietor thereof, Mr Evans.³ Mr E's eldest daughter married in August; and he brought the next two to the Lakes, — Mr Lucas accompanying them, to see me and go to Brougham. We had a world of business to settle, as well as to get acquainted. It made me very ill;
but it was worthwhile. **Mr Lucas** is a very accomplished man, as you might judge by his review of Hawthorne's "Transformation" in the *Times.*³ We discussed "Once a Week" through and through, and arranged for further proceedings, if I am able.⁴ It is a highly successful affair, — which I should rather wonder at, but for the illustrations. When Millais’⁵ engagement with the "Cornhill" is concluded (I believe it is) he devotes himself (in the illustrating way) wholly to "Once a Week." — One pleasant thing in that connexion is the capital books one gets. **Mr Evans** sent me last year all their Cyclopedias, — such a comfort for reference! This time, I mentioned, à propos of something to be ascertained, that we should find it in "Walpole's Correspondence;" and lo! as soon as he got home, he sent me Peter Cunningham's *Walpole,*⁶ a book I had keenly longed for, ever since it came out, but thought myself not justified in buying. It is such a treat! —

Well; **Mr Evans** came on business, as well as **Mr Lucas.** He wanted to induce me to let Bradbury & Evans republish certain series of articles of mine, from "Once a Week" and "Household Words"; and of course I can have no objection. There will be one thick vol: in 3 parts; and also the 3 portions will be sold separately; title — "Studies in Health, Husbandry & Handicraft," (unless he insists on cutting out "Studies in"). The "Handicraft" means the articles written years ago for "Household Words," on **Mr Wills's**⁷ suggestion that they should appear there first, and be republished afterwards. The property in them is my own, as well as **Mr Evans's,** and the Dickens group; so
I have not to ask any favour of Mr D, — which I certainly would not, on any account. The materials arrived yesterday for some little arrangement; and I suppose the book will be out for Christmas. Moreover, Mr Evans, who manages poor Moxon's business wanted to issue a 3d edition of "Eastern Life", which has long been out of print. And this, again, pleases me much. He was so sorry he could not have "Deerbrook"; but Messrs Smith & Elder are the owners thereof. Mr Evans finished off with begging to send me "Punch". I have long heard of him as being one of the best men in the world; — and a capital man of business too, and full of knowledge; and I am delighted to have made a friend of him. He is Mrs Dickens's trustee. She dines at his house every Sunday; and his second daughter is engaged to young Charles D. He confirms what I knew before of the real causes of the separation, and throws much light upon the story, — all damning to Dickens, who seems really to be wild with conflict of passions. Even Mr Wills, his worshipper, and Mr Evans had for 2 years declined their annual visit to the D's country house, because they "could not stand his cruelty to his wife". I asked what "cruelty" meant; and he said "Swearing at her, in the presence of guests, children and servants;" — swearing often and fiercely. He is downright "ferocious" now, and has quarrelled with almost every friend he had. Next to him, Forster behaved worst, — aggravating his discontents with his wife, who "is not the sort of woman they say", Mr E. declares. Dickens had terrified and depressed her into a dull condition; and
she never was very clever; but now that she has revived, and is cheered by the affection of her son-in-law, Mr Collins, who has brought her daughter back to her, she appears to more advantage than perhaps ever before. One thing which looks like a craze in Dickens is his being bent on purchasing the Rochester Theatre, in order to act there, with his daughters, on alternate nights with the company. His nearest friends had the utmost difficulty in dissuading him from this. He is awful at home now, — restless, despotic and miserable. Quite a lost man, apparently. He was, I think, from the moment when he, with his advantages, attacked his dumb and defenceless wife in print.

Well: we have had such a pleasant visit from dear old Milnes and wife, who showed us their pretty little Emma. I liked him better than ever; and what I saw of her very much. Mr Atkinson is here now. (I don't mean that any of these except Susan have been in this house. I am past that, quite.) Maria wishes we had let Mr A. come, — or had asked him to come — earlier. He is so glad to come, though we can scarcely talk at all. (Trumpet is apt to bring on tic, and I have little voice.) He tells M. that he can be better satisfied in half an hour of observation than by all we can tell him in letters. He is so kind and considerate and pleasant! He looks uncommonly well, as usual after a course of sebathing at Boulogne or Dieppe: — a good deal older, however, as is natural.

During the first week of M's absence I am to be alone, as usual; i.e. under the eye of Fredrika Meyer.
Arnolds, Claudes &c. Then dear Mrs Turner comes for the rest of the time. She does all that is possible: but I am always worse in M's absence, — overdone &c, as no one but M. can revise, correct proofs, and write all sorts of letters. So I resolved to write to you before she went. She will have these proofs of the book go round by Birmingham, to save me that much. — Now, dear friend, it occurs to me to ask a favour of you. You must know Dugald Stewart better than anybody else. Can you send me a copy of the famous paragraph in one of his lectures on Dr Reid's way of meeting the decay of his faculties?¹⁹ It begins "One old man I have known who" &c. If I have it any time within a month, it will do. Don't disturb yourself about it; but it will be of great service to me, if you can lay your hand upon it. — If I were sure of where you are I would send you another Beaufort letter, — even more interesting than the last. If you saw in "D. News" an article on the state of Jerusalem when the news of the Damascus massacre arrived, — that was from material supplied by the Bs.²⁰ They appeal to me (virtually) on behalf of excellent Mr Finn, our Consul, — whose heart is breaking under his difficulties, — among which is debt, from being obliged to entertain Prince Alfred.²¹ I wrote to Ld J. Russell about this, hoping he would show my letter to the Queen, in the intimate intercourse at Coburg. He wrote instantly that he would do what he could; and now again that he has ordered an immediate grant to Mr Finn of £250.

She has also passed on other information to Lord Russell about the English colony in Jerusalem. Julia Smith reports
that the Ladies' College is going well. Lest C. Darwin should mind his critics I will console him with a bit of remarkable patronage. Our cook is a sort of rude genius, — a devouring reader of tales, and a greedy listener to new things. In going after the fowls with her, and discussing some phenomena, M. told her about Origin of Species, (gospel according to Darwin) and Mary observed she "shouldn't wonder if it was true." She will never forget it again.

You ask about "Manchester Strike". It would not do to republish a thing so old; but it is always on sale, cheap, at Routledges.

Rev. Widdrington of Coventry is sadly foolish in political economy, though well meaning as you see. I have been solicited by Coventry folk to write a full history of this very remarkable Strike. It was a struggle, — so useful as I saw it might be: but I said "No", — my hands being so full.

I must stop now and can't look over. — Maria's love. I wonder whether you can, easily, write to me during M's absence. It would be a very great pleasure. M. is, as Mr. Atkinson says, "the picture of health." — As for me, I have had very little tic, this half year, — owing, most unquestionably, to M's watchful prevention by mesmerism. Otherwise I am clearly more ill. We suppose there is more water. Very odd that there is not more still! I can still work, better than I can do anything else; and a great blessing it is, — and very wonderful. Here is another church rate bother. A new parson the cause.
He is uncommonly civil to me, but I am bound to resist again. It is too bad after a voluntary rate and collection had answered admirably. — They have given away their case to us by refusing us a sight of the Vestry book. They could get no countenance in any court after that. — We rather fancy now they will let me alone, as last time my case protected the Quakers. Anyway, I must go through with it; and it is very disagreeable.

HM's "black-edge" is for her two cousins, Mr. and Mrs. David Jardine (1794-1860; DNB).

My love to yourselves and Eras and the young people. — When I do write, it is certainly to some extent. But to scarcely anybody now. Your affecte

H.M. —

1. Subscriptions were being raised in Britain for Sicilian hospitals after the recent conquest of Sicily by Garibaldi; British volunteers had gone in aid of Garibaldi as he then went on to conquer Naples. He was now marching to meet the King of Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel, to join forces 26 Oct 1860 in a final stage of the struggle for Italian unification.

2. Frederick Mullet Evans.

3. Samuel Lucas, editor of Once a Week; had reviewed Nathaniel Hawthorne's The Marble Faun, published as Transformation: or, The Romance of Monte Beni, 3 vols, 1860. He calls Hawthorne an "anti-utility" American, with a refreshing response to European culture; Times, 7 April 1860.
4. HM's contributions to Once a Week increased: in addition to the series on health in various occupations, and a series on "Representative Men", she wrote short essays signed "From the Mountain"; in 1862 she was to begin a series of "historiettes".
5. John Everett Millais (1829-96; DNB).
7. Assistant editor of Household Words.
8. Health, Husbandry and Handicraft, 1861, includes the health series from Once a Week, the industrial series from Household Words, "Our Farm of Two Acres" and various others on husbandry from Once a Week, Household Words, and Chambers.
10. She had sold it to them in 1853 for £50.
11. Dickens' eldest son.
12. The "real causes" included Dickens' liaison with Ellen Ternan, but the situation was complex and there was blame on both sides. HM's account of Dickens' cruelty is probably exaggerated, stimulated by her own dislike. More of his friends stood by him than not, though generally still sympathetic to his wife.
13. John Forster (1812-76; DNB), former editor of the Examiner, historian, friend and future biographer of Dickens.
14. Charles Allston Collins (1828-73; DNB), Pre-Raphaelite painter, writer; married to Kate, Dickens' second daughter.
15. It is impossible to believe that Dickens would have allowed his daughters to appear on the public stage. Nevertheless his behavior at this time was often irrational.

16. HM may be referring to Dickens' inadvertently allowing a statement about his wife's "peculiarity of character" and the "mental disorder under which she sometimes labours" to fall into the hands of a newspaperman who forwarded it to the New York Tribune, after which it was reprinted in Britain.

17. Richard Monckton Milnes had married Annabelle Crewe in 1851.

18. Of Holbeck Cottage, Windermere.

19. Dugald Stewart (1753-1828; DNB), Scottish philosopher; his anecdote was about Dr. John Reid, Mrs. Reid's former husband, who usefully studied his own aging process. HM praises him in "The Aged. Their Health," Once a Week, 26 Jan 1861, pp. 119-24.

20. HM describes the good example of restraint and clear thinking set by the English Consul, Mr. James Finn, when the news reached Jerusalem 16 July 1856, of a Muslim-inspired attack on Christians in Damascus, and many English residents fled the city in panic; 25 Sept 1860.

21. Mr. Finn was Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine, 1846-63; Prince Alfred Ernest Albert (1844-1900), second son and fourth child of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, was serving as midshipman aboard the Euryalus and had called at Jerusalem late March 1859. HM points out the loss of status for Britain by the government's parsimony towards Mr. Finn's establishment; Daily News, 25 Sept 1860.
22. **A Manchester Strike: a Tale / Illustrations of Political Economy, VII /, 1832.**

23. The Rev. S. H. Widdrington, Vicar of St. Michael's, sympathized with the ribbon-weavers' union but took an active part in trying to persuade them to go back to work in spite of the factory owners' abandonment of minimum wage guarantees. The original cause of the difficulty, a collapse of the English ribbon industry, was partly due to competition from France, which was permitted to export ribbon to Britain duty-free by the treaty of 1860, and partly due to changes in women's fashions: the use of feathers rather than ribbons as trimming and the wearing of hats rather than bonnets. The impasse between workers and owners eventually ruined the ribbon industry in Coventry; see John Prest, *The Industrial Revolution in Coventry, 1860.*


Ambleside

_Janry_ 2/61

Dear friend

After directing an envelope to the Beauforts, — Valëncia, Spain,¹ — I put it aside, to write to you. The Bs must wait another day; for I really must wish you and yours a happy new year. It must be briefly, rather; for I have had my morning's work, — my article, — to do; and here is a proof which must be corrected for the post;
but 40 minutes before dinner I must give to you. — I can't send the Beauforts' letter this time, because it contains a full statement of the Finns' affairs, — meant for J. Russell, and nobody else. The Bs seem most unlucky people, and especially as to health. Their maid, — an old servant, and a prized relic of the old home, has had (still has, I fear) a terrible rheumatic fever at Valencia, where they know nobody but one lady, — have no reliance on any doctor, and can't speak Spanish to any purpose. Rosa is working away at the language; but there is something forlorn in the picture, altogether. The Finns had had "Daily News", but not J.R's grant, when Mrs F. sent this account.

Well, — what a nice day you had on Xmas Day! How do I know that? — Don't you fancy me calling up the "sperrits" to spy and report? The "sperrits" were Miss Darwin and Mrs Reid. The former called while Mrs Reid was writing to Maria; and so we heard of your company of 17, and all how and about it. Mrs. Reid and her sister, Mary Sturch, are both reported to have been ill. I think it is since I wrote that Mrs Reid tried to help me, — did help me, — with information about Ly Byron's schools, for a Memoir I was requested to do for "the Atlantic Monthly." She had entirely forgotten the spring controversy about such Memoirs, she says; and so we may hope she has forgotten all the attendant circumstances. It rather raises one's estimate of Ly B's mind that it was what it was amidst such a set of women as her "friends". It appears that they have stopped Mary Carpenter, to whom Ly B. left her
papers, — no doubt choosing that Mary C's judgment should decide: but she has let the rest stop her, — which is wrong. Mrs De Morgan writes the very sillest note to Mrs Reid that I think I ever did see, — against any Memoir, — which was not a question for her or any of us to settle, as it was decided by the proprietors of more than one publication, — and very properly. But just an account of B's charities, without anything else, is what Mrs De Morgan advises. With her note came one from Miss Lushington, in which she says nothing must be said about B's charities, because of her own delicacy about them. If possible, this beats Mrs De Morgan, — this doctrine that you are not to praise a man after he is dead, because he did not praise himself when he was alive. I did the Memoir, of course; and I am glad to find how sound everybody's feeling is that I have asked about this subject. The absurd thing is that Mary Carpenter and others had before written to tell me of the satisfaction and gratitude of B's family and friends at the short Memoir in "D. News", at the time of her death. It is plainly — Well, — that's enough, for my time is running out. —

How pleased Miss Hennell is at having met Chas Darwin! I do wish she had met him, or at least his book before she wrote hers. It is a wonderful book for beauty; — a really wonderful poem, it seems to me: but O dear! so unsound in the latter part! — so weak in its lapse into metaphysics, after an apparent abjuring of them. I think I should like her very much, and admire her; but we should never suit. She is too sentimental (about Miss Evans &c) — cares too
much about "happiness," — is too much occupied with being a heretic, and with other people being heretics. Yet a very great woman in her way. Ever so little really philosophical society would have made her unique, I think. Well, — let us hope she will see Chas Darwin again. It never occurs to us that we are heretics. Nothing ever brings it to mind. It has no part in my business or intercourses, and nobody, as far as I know, thinks or cares, about it, in connexion with us. But Miss H. is always thinking about "theological prejudice," — even asking Maria, who laughed it down, — whether I was not prudish about Miss Evans, as an unconscious compensation for being bold about theology! Only conceive the imaginativeness! Mr Atkinson doubted about reading her book, saying "if she only goes round the circus again, with one foot on her brother's back and the other on Herbert Spencer's,"¹⁰ — he wouldn't. He has, though; and very fatiguing he found it: but he sees the beauty of it.

We have been, and are, overworked; or I should have written long ago. In addition to regular work, we have such a quantity of proof-correcting! The H.H.H. book will be out presently; but then there are four more to reissue!¹¹ M. has just done enlarging the "Guide," — capitally, I think, and it is not an easy thing to do.¹² She is so well, — though cold does not suit her. She lovingly wishes it would go on, all the year round, for the good it does me! This is something really marvellous. When the thermometer is below zero, I get well. That is, —
I can't move about more; but, sitting still and with hot bottles &c, I feel scarcely at all ill. Last week, I had to do one of the two most arduous tasks of the year, — one which I always think I never can undertake again, — the Review of the Year for "D. News" of Decbr 31st. I appropriated 4 days, — mornings, — for it. Well, my memory was so serviceable that I had not once to refer to the file of newspapers, wrote it off like a letter, and finished it in 2 1/2 mornings. I can sleep better, and grow hungry, and lose my distresses, — until the wind changes and thaw comes; and then I go back. A month since, I was more nearly gone than ever yet. A too deep sleep (but what caused that?) so sank me that it took above an hour of heat, brandy, cayenne &c to bring me round at all. So precarious is the condition of things!

Our Xmas day was, — as usual, — a kitchen party of odd and end people, from 80 years to 8 months. Maria undertook the latter, at dinner time, to save it from doses of goose and plum pudding and beer. We are queer Xmas in this place. Our grand High sheriff, Matt: Harrison, had the Church choir to practice the anthem &c at his house on Xmas Eve. ("Peace on earth &c") He was drunk it is supposed; and collared the organist, and turned him out of the house for playing without notes! — not letting him have coat or hat, that coldest night of all. The rest of the choir left on the instant, and will warm the church, to practice there, if Mr Matt: does not apologize. He says he waits for the organist to do so: and the organist says he has nothing to apologize for. The parson, as usual,
sides with the squire: but the shopkeepers here have the old free spirit. Queer Xns, — are not we! — I say nothing of China or Amera. I can't help thinking too much of both, and will not write of either. M's love and good wishes with mine. We will send back that consummate puppy, — the "Saturday Review," for 1860, some time soon. I haven't half done, but I am driven close with my proof, and can't look at what I have written. I am ever your affectionate old friend

H. Martineau.

1. Where Emily was writing the book about their travels.
4. Mary Carpenter had received substantial support for her reformatories from Anne Isabella Noel Millbanke, Baroness Wentworth, Lady Byron (1792-1860), and she was one of three trustees to whom Lady Byron had left her papers.
5. Sophia Elizabeth, wife of Augustus de Morgan (1806-71; DNB), mathematician; daughter of William Frend (1757-1841; DNB), an early religious mentor of Lady Byron's.
7. "Lady Byron," Atlantic Monthly, 7 (Feb 1861), 185-94, about her marriage, modesty, and mistreatment at the hands of Lord Byron; and her sponsorship of industrial schools, including the one for girls at Bristol managed by Mary Carpenter.
8. Lady Byron had died 16 May 1860. HM pays tribute to her noble silence, and practical philanthropy, Biographical Sketches, pp. 316-25.


10. Charles Bray (1811-84; DNB), Sarah Hennell's brother-in-law, Coventry ribbon manufacturer, philanthropist, and philosophical writer. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903; DNB), especially Principles of Psychology, 1855.

11. She must be referring partially to sections of Health, Husbandry and Handicraft published separately; a new edition of Household Education, 1861, and the Guide (see below) are the only additional books published by HM for this year.

12. ? Guide to Windermere . . . to which are added Excursions to and from Keswick, etc., Windermere, ?1861, a pocket-sized edition, with short directions for twenty-eight walking tours added.


14. The news of an agreement ending hostilities with China, signed by Lord Elgin and the Plenipotentiary of the Emperor of China 24 Oct 1860, had been received 27 Dec 1860. In the U.S. South Carolina had seceded from the union 20 Dec 1860, the first step towards formation of a Southern Confederacy. In spite of the public agitation there, HM foresaw no immediate prospect of civil war in the U.S.;
Dear Fanny

Maria opines that you are more likely than any other friend we have to answer a question which has been asked of me. I am asked whether there is anybody in London who is likely to be qualified to write a trustworthy account (short) of leading Americans now living. I will tell you what it is for. Mr Hunt (my friend of "D. News") invented the book called "Men of the Time."¹ He did not write it, — nor any part of it: but he had a handsome present from Bogue² for the idea. The editor seeks "non-party" articles on Americans, and HM asks if the Wedgwoods know of anyone in London who might undertake it."

You tell me of the Appletons, and their unhappiness in the revolution in U.Ss. You know them enough, I dare say, to see that, as a consequence of their course, (the old gentleman’s particularly) they are sure to suffer all the pain, without getting any of the satisfactions.

No one man, perhaps, has done more in his own place to revolutionize his country by corrupting it than that old man.³ He has spent his life in hiding the truth, glorifying mammonworship and its hypocrisies, putting down the ten good men of the city who are saving it, and exalting the false and heartless men who have betrayed their country. I know
how Tom Appleton talks in Paris. It is easy to see how miserable they must be, — their vanity (which they mistook for patriotism) mortified; their pretension exploded, their aims baulked, and the truth and right they have been trying all their lives to bury out of the way, now risen again, and shining with a glory round its head, before the eyes of all men. Everyone must be sorry for them: but how could they expect anything else than what has happened? — My last letters from Mrs Chapman are glorious beyond everything. HM has had an interesting letter from Mrs. Chapman, but cannot pass it on. The National Anti-Slavery Standard, to which HM has been contributing "letters," is asking her for more. She also tells of the recent marriage of James' son Russell, and the fact that he is epileptic, the nature of his illness having been concealed from him by his parents. We have had hearty sympathy with them all in their short happiness and dreadful revulsion; and especially with the poor little bride and her mother.

Mr's brother Edward is to marry in June, and I shall of course send Maria: but she vows she will be away only a week at that season. I shall get on very well, I dare say, under Caroline and the Arnolds, and dear Freda: Meyer. — Have you heard the really good news of Grace Davy's engagement? We do truly rejoice in it for the poor girl and her mother. Mr Rolleston's obtaining by competition at his years, and keeping with honour such a post as Linacre Professor of Anatomy at Oxford is a proof of great ability; and we hear he is a very fine fellow indeed. They marry in September; and became engaged a fortnight since.
We hear the Dr, — Dr Davy, — had for some time appeared quite a changed man, — comparatively amiable and genial, — as if some physical change had come over him: and now this happy event promotes the good-humour. The Arnolds return in a few days; — and I am sure it will be a great pleasure to them. I have plenty to say, but must leave it to another time. I want to tell you of a new task I have got, — a new probative engagement, which the other party and I are trying till Midsummer, when we shall see about going on. It is very interesting and every way pleasant: but I had better wait and see whether we keep it up. I have not much doubt, if I continue capable. — /Mrs. Reid may be ill again. HM's old friends, the John Potters of Notting Hill (Auto., I, 375) have both died; and she would like to reach their children. \\

Ever your affectionate

H. Martineau.

1. Men of the Time, or Sketches of Living Notables, 1852-1887; Men and Women of the Time, 1891-1899, then merged with Who's Who.
2. David Bogue (d. 1856), bookseller and publisher, 86 Fleet St., London, 1843-56.
3. Nathan Appleton, father of Fanny's sister-in-law Molly, was pragmatic about slavery and had defended the protective tariff of 1832; his cloth manufacturing empire depended on cotton supplied by the South, and he was strongly anti-Garrisonian.
4. Bostonians, including Mrs. Chapman, were well-known in
the foreign colony in Paris.


7. George Rolleston (1829–81; DNB); sided with Huxley in a dispute with Owen about Darwin.

8. Possibly HM's "historiettes" for Once a Week.

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Dear friend

No doubt it is to you that I owe this pleasure, — of Buckle's 2d vol. Maria has been cutting and skimming, and she opines that I shall find it a very great treat indeed. My best thanks to you for it, dear friend.

I am in the thick of a very different sort of book now, — "Elsie Venner", which I did not mean to read; but a look at the first page carried me on: How immensely clever some of these Americans are! and their style of tale so new! I dislike all the part connected with Elsie; but I enjoy the New England atmosphere of the thing, and the wonderful power of deep and incessant observation. — I have been wishing to know how the Lyells take this American business. ² They were so completely in the midst of the guilty, unpatriotic, virtually treacherous set, — Ticknors, ³ Appletons &c, that their minds seemed to me darkened or twisted on political subjects. If so, I
hope they are now struck by the spectacle of the uprising of the right, and the humiliation of the mean proud, who have been selling their country for, — not lucre but vanity and love of ease. These strike into the movement now, when they cannot help it: but it would almost freeze your blood to hear what their rage with the truehearted people was, — the moment before they were themselves carried off their feet. What demonstrations such events do bring out! A London correspondent of mine, writing of the Exhibition, describes Ansdell's Negro-hunt, and ends with pitying the hounds, — not having an emotion to spare for the slaves! Messrs Ticknor & Fields, of Boston, proprietors of "the Atlantic Monthly", and the first publishers in America, writing to me on business, just before the uprising last month, finish their letter with mourning over the "doubtful" state of the country, and expressing an opinion which you shall have in their own words, "We doubt whether it would not have been better for us if the Pilgrim Fathers had staid at home, and minded their own business."

Their own business! What was that, I wonder. You can sympathise with "Daily News" and me, I doubt not. For nine years now that I have been on the staff, the truth has been told freely and fully about American affairs: and now we are seen to have been right all through, — and we alone. We have prepared our English public for present events; and in America, of course, we take the lead of the whole European press. — I'm afraid Mr Russell won't do us much good this time. How poor his letters are! He went
ignorant; and now he must find himself in a false position, — which he might have foreseen. In the Crimea and in India he was at home. He was among English. Now he is necessarily more or less of a guest; whatever he learns must be through the courtesy of foreigners; and he cannot freely publish either facts or opinions. His friends of the Times were uneasy about his going, and asked me what I thought, — Bowlby's fate being in their minds. I told them he must leave the South in May, to avoid yellow fever; but that he would hardly be in any other personal peril. The vain Southerners will be so delighted to see a Times Correspondent and especially the Times correspondent, — that they will humour and flatter and indulge him in every possible way. I don't suppose they can convert him; but they can blind him to facts, and keep him misinformed to a great extent, — as I see they have begun doing already. I am afraid the trip will turn out a complete failure. — I am rather amused, — but don't let it get about, — to see four articles of mine, on life in America, — pictures of different parts, — copied from "Once a Week" into the American newspapers as American. It is very funny; but I believe it may be useful. — My particular friends have undergone terrible things, between November and March, from the cruel and timid toryism of the Boston timeservers. Someday I hope the tale will be told, for the world's warning. But all that is over now; and they have their feet on the necks of the trimmers, — whom however they only lift up, and help to find their feet.

HM recalls her friendship with Mr. and Mrs. John
Potter; she approves their unmarried daughter's 'wise energy to choose" a home of her own. She would like to repay Mrs. Reid her loan of £350 to the Windermere Benefit Building Society and take it upon herself, which she can manage—having saved "£2,000 for Maria, and £500 for five gifts or little legacies"—but she wants to be sure Mrs. Reid is "clear enough" to understand the matter. In the old way of our confidence, I will just add that I can do and earn anything I please in the way of work, if well enough: but I am always doubtful about going on at all, — it is so strange that one so ill should be able to work at all. I remember telling Fanny (to whom show this, if you like) what my earnings were in 1859 (viz. £620.) Last year they were £700, — without any toil at all. I am always refusing work; and everything pros pers that I send out. Still, I have had so much to do with my earnings that my independent income is only £300; and, with present calls upon me, we require £370. Of course, I am perfectly easy about money. We always have plenty for our uses; — only, I would not look up such a sum as £350 without sufficient reason.

Scarcely anybody here is well, — mainly owing to the drought, — now alarming. We have had no serviceable rain, except one shower, since March. Nothing grows; the pumps are dry; and the streams smell badly. The valley is bright, but the fells show no green yet. F. Arnold now tells me their maids are ill; and Annie Clough is very ill, — a severe and most trying attack of Mumps. Other details of friends, her health. But it is not the worst
spring I have had. It has been most lovely to look at. We never saw the flowers so large, or so splendidly coloured. — I am afraid the eastwinds must have damaged you sadly, — as the hot ones have me. Don't write because I have written at this vast length. If you should have anything to tell me I shall be thankful to hear; but I shall not expect it, — knowing that writing fatigues you. — Maria's kind regards, and my love to you all. — Yours ever affectionately

H. Martineau.

1. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Elsie Venner: a Romance of Destiny, Boston, 1861; includes a romantic Lamia-figure, and realistic Yankee characters.

2. The firing on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, by Confederate troops 12 April 1861 had precipitated Pres. Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteer troops, and the secession of four "border" states to join the original seven "cotton" states of the Confederacy. These events marked the beginning of the Civil War. Sir Charles Lyell, 1st Baronet (1797-1875; DNB), geologist, had kept up a friendship with members of the Boston intelligentsia from the time of his lectures at the Lowell Institute there, 1841.

3. George Ticknor (1791-1871; DAB), wealthy Harvard educator and author, long-time friend and correspondent of Lyell's.

4. Richard Ansdell (1815-85; DNB), animal-painter. "The Hunted Slaves" was painted the year he became A.R.A., 1861, and was sold for the benefit of the Anti-Slavery League.

5. William Davis Ticknor (1810-64; DAB), cousin of George
Ticknor (above), and James Thomas Fields (1817-81; DAB).

6. In addition to her memoir of Lady Byron, HM was to publish several articles in the Atlantic Monthly, which included two on army hygiene: "Health in the Camp," giving helpful hints on food, clothing, sanitation, and administration; and "Health in the Hospital," giving recommendations of Florence Nightingale's on hospital organization; 8 (Nov, Dec 1861), 571-80, 718-30.

7. HM had consistently warned that a major conflict between slave and free states was inevitable at some time. "The Conflict in America," 9 May 1861, details bizarre acts and the movement of people in Washington, Richmond and elsewhere preliminary to a war between "kindred people".

8. William Howard Russell (1820-1907; DNB), war-correspondent for the Times, famous for his reporting in the Crimea 1854, sent to the U.S. March 1861. He had no sympathy for slavery, but his anti-American bias and his reporting of the Northern defeat at Bull Run July 1861, soon caused him to be disliked in both North and South.

9. Thomas William Bowlby (1817-60; DNB), sent by the Times to report peace negotiations with China, had died after capture by a treacherous Tartar general.

10. Perhaps the series told in the first person as if by a man who signs himself, A Son of the Pilgrims, Feb-April 1861, showing life on an Alabama plantation, at Charleston, in Illinois, and in Massachusetts. All the attitudes are typical of HM, but the style is more subtle than her other contributions to Once a Week.

11. HM may be referring partly to the failure of the mayor
of Boston to use police force to suppress a mob which had disturbed the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

12. Anne Jemima Clough (1820-92; DNB), sister of the poet, had come to Ambleside from Liverpool in 1852; she ran a school for daughters of "tradesmen and farmers" until her departure April 1862 to help care for her brother's children.

Ambleside
Octbr 21/61

Dear friend

It seems an immense time since we spoke to each other. I am not sure which spoke last. I think I did, in a letter to Eras: But we did not know where you and yours were till Miss Darwin came and told us that you had been abroad and were back again. I hope you will be able to write to me before your season bustles begin, to give me a good idea of how you all are, and what you are about. On Thursday, Maria goes forth for her autumn holiday-month, which she will divide between the houses of father and brothers. Dear old Cath: Turner, the Mrs Henry Turner of decorous speech, — comes to me next week, as usual. We are nearly at the end of the clearance, always made before M. goes, — the house-cleaning, the great wash, study-arranging, clearing of letter boxes, posting up of memoranda, bringing in of geraniums, taking stock of hay and mangold, making the tiptop preserve, — blackberry jelly
bidding friends not expect letters for a month &c &c. This morning, M. has been making miles of calls, — out before 9, and back only at 1. It all has a very autumnal, — almost wintry feeling, in the midst of oppressive heat of the weather. One thing we defer, — killing the pig. We leave the sausage and porkpie festival till M's return, and cold weather.

We were so glad to see Miss Darwin! I wish she had not been quite so far off, for one is so taken up in a single interview that one can't remember half that one wants to ask. I was grieved to hear that Eras: still suffers from his ague, at times. How odd that seems! Of the illness of Chas D's daughter we did not know till it came in the news of her having recovered so much. I'm afraid I shall not come in for his large book. His sister thinks it as far off now as we were told it was when the existing one appeared. I had been anxious to hear of poor dear Molly, but did not know at the time how to reach you with a question. I feared that would be a killing blow to her. It does, however against reason, make a great difference when an untimely death is so (what Cath: Sedwick called) "unnecessary". My American correspondents say it is the saddest case of want of the commonest presence of mind that ever was known. Mr Longfellow had actually got the flame down completely, and it was so little that she would have been very little hurt indeed: but she struggled like a wild thing, — away from him and into the draught. Why were not her muslin dresses properly starched? Not a scrap of muslin that will flame is ever worn in this
house, or ought to be in any house. Least of all in theatres. Witness those poor ballet girls at Phila. It must be almost a consolation that old Mr. Appleton is gone, — after such a blow, and in the present state of the country. — F. Nightingale has done such a nice thing! Glad to tell her anything that can gratify her ever so little, I told her that "England and her Soldiers" is much taken to heart in America, quoted in medical journals &c. She wrote back, delighted, and offering me for U.S. not only all the Military Sanitary Reports, but all the War-Office Regulations founded on them, the statistical forms &c. The Regulations are the best in existence. We sent them to the War-office at Washington, and I wrote to the Secy at War to explain, and offer any further service. I took care to say how thankful F.N. and I should be to help all the armies in the world by our experience; also to mark my letter "private", lest the whole thing should come out in the newspapers as "aid and comfort" rendered by England to the North. I have been writing a great deal on that set of subjects over there, as well as about politics. Mrs Chapman grows more and more hopeful; and Sumner is very cheerful too. I don't wonder at them, seeing as they do all the wicked old shams and vile prosperities broken up, and the people awakened to realities; but I don't share their confidence in a good result. Slavery will be at an end, no doubt, but I fear the people are too far gone, morally and politically, for any chance of good government, and conciliation of liberty and order, within any discernible time. The trimmers in
the cities have made slavery as great a curse in the North as in the South, in regard to morals. However, some on the spot are very hopeful, and I have always found them right hitherto. I have just been sending off an article insisting that the revolution must be acknowledged in the North, as thoroughly as in the South. It is nonsense pretending to be constitutional after what Fremont has done. Part of my work this summer has been shaming the Morrill-tariff makers. Greely gnashes his teeth at me; and others have been very rude, — which does not matter to me, one way or another. What I want is to awaken somebody there to a knowledge of the import of the free trade question, and the nature of its principle: and I trust it is done. With all my sense of Greely's sins, I am surprised to see what tricks he will stoop to, — what mares' nests he will find, in defence of the Morrill tariff, which I am informed is actually of his making. — I wonder whether Mr Motley's spirits are improving or otherwise. When he came back, he was in the very lowest state of depression about his country, as no doubt you know, — after he (and much more his wife) had been (before he went over) downright offensive in their behaviour about English opinion. Poor Mrs Stowe and sundry clergymen cut a wretched figure, don't they? For my part, — the time and occasion being important, — I have thought proper to take very high ground indeed about English behaviour: and the effect is excellent. Of course, I am called "arrogant" and the like; and, (funny enough) my signature, "H.M," is turned into "Her Majesty." Let them laugh! They respect
us more, and understand us better, and will know how to interpret us another time. Are you not sorry about Wendell Phillips's behavior? I could explain it all to you if you were here: but it is too long a story for this sheet and hour. He is not a strong man, like Garrison; and some misleaders have got hold of him: and his own want of knowledge, and his sick wife's desperate ignorance and prejudices, are sadly against his improving. This is the testing-time for all the leading abolitionists; and very few are adequate to their new and high position: Garrison and Mrs Chapman are.

We are reading Motley's last, — much surprised not to like it better. It is so diffuse, and sinks so very low in its Carlylisms &c.

By the way, I hear that no collapse of fame was ever so remarkable as Carlyle's, — quality and amount a dozen or a score of years ago being considered. Those who know the literary and political world of young men say "his vogue is completely gone." I wonder how he bears it, and how poor Jenny gets on. — Well, I must stop, I have been writing so long. Miss Darwin will tell you of our proceedings about carrots. Pray don't suppose we give out carrots as a cure for Tic. But I have satisfied myself that a certain disorder of, I think, liver is always present (in my case and others) with Tic, (and some other pains.) We knew that carrots, and especially carrot-tea, have relieved liver disorder of a bad kind and degree; and, with Mr Shepherd's leave, we tried. I have had no tic since, and have been markedly relieved otherwise. (Not heart,
of course.) Mr. Shepherd is really much impressed. I am not quite so well as when I saw Miss Darwin: but still the tic keeps off; and in a brisker air, when cold weather comes on, I may be as much better as I was a fortnight since.

Mrs. Reid gave us the impression of being considerably revived, 6 weeks or so since. We shall write before M. goes. Our anxiety about poor Russell, and our heartfelt grief for his little wife, increase. He had three epileptic fits in 3 weeks in the summer. His physician thinks as we do of the sin of his marrying, — engaging himself within a few weeks, — after his first seizure. We have no hope of the case. His parents do, however, now admit the nature of the illness, while persisting in treating it lightly.

We have got a nice pleasant parson and wife, in the place of the sot who troubled about the road, some months since, and made faces at ladies. These Bells are disposed to be friendly; and the schools are a good topic.

Our love to you all, dear friend

Ever your affection

H. Martineau.

1. Probably typhoid fever, which lasted from May 1860 to midsummer 1861; Darwin Letters, II, 176.

2. Molly's sister, née Frances Elizabeth Appleton, wife of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-82; DAB), had died 10 July 1861 after accidently setting her dress on fire.

3. Nathan Appleton died a few days after his daughter.
4. Prepared in collaboration with Sir Sidney Herbert, 1st Baron Herbert of Lea (1810–61; DNB), Sec. at War, 1845–46, 1852–55; Sec. of State for War, 1859–61; in preparation for reform of the War Office.

5. In the National Anti-Slavery Standard, where HM urged Americans to act on principle.

6. Sumner had returned to the Senate 1860, reelected by almost unanimous vote of the Massachusetts Legislature, and there became a spokesman for the radical antislavery movement.

7. That a Southern slave-owning economy was not workable with the free economy of the North.

8. Apparently not published in the excitement over the capture 8 Nov 1861, of the Confederate envoys James Murray Mason (1798–1871; DAB), and John Slidell (1793–1871; DAB), aboard the British ship Trent by Capt. Charles Wilkes (1798–1877; DAB), of the U.S. Navy.

9. Major-Gen. John Charles Frémont (1813–90; DAB), had been appointed by Lincoln to organize a western army in St. Louis, Missouri. After difficulties with slave-holders, he rashly declared, 30 Aug 1861, that property of rebel Missouians would be confiscated and their slaves emancipated.

10. The Morrill Tariff, on iron, steel, all kinds of manufactured goods, and (later additions) sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, etc., was passed early 1861 for the stated purposes of Union revenue and protection. It shocked radical British free traders, and provoked strong censure from HM; Daily News, 29 July, 12 Sept 1861; National
Anti-Slavery Standard, 13 April, 1 June 1861.
11. Horace Greeley (1811-72; DAB), editor of the New York Tribune, a "protectionist" newspaper; see HM to Mrs. Chapman, May-June 1861, Auto., III, 383-87; and "Mr. Greeley in Reply to Mrs. Martineau," National Anti-Slavery Standard, 27 April 1861.
12. John Lothrop Motley (1814-77; DAB), historian, appointed Minister to Austria while on a visit to the U.S. 1861 from his residence at the Hague, where he had been working on The History of the United Netherlands, 4 vols, 1860-67. He passed through England on his way to Vienna, and published two letters in the Times 23, 24 May 1861, explaining the causes of the Civil War.
13. The Evangelical abolitionists, including Harriet Beecher Stowe, were a direct challenge to Garrison's leadership.
14. Wendell Phillips (1811-84; DAB), Boston lawyer, colleague of Garrison's, now spokesman for radical abolitionists who mistrusted Lincoln's careful procedure with the war against the Confederacy. HM had "exposed" his anti-English statements as showing weakness of judgment, Daily News, 20 Aug 1861.
15. Ann Terry (Greene) Phillips (1813-86), suffered long periods of invalidism, but encouraged her husband in his radical views.
16. Garrison's former opposition to the Union because it protected slavery was altered by the North's declaration of war to prevent secession; as an abolitionist could not support the legality of secession without taking sides with
the Confederacy, and Garrison responded by supporting the war as an antislavery crusade.

17. A pamphlet, Causes of the Civil War in America, 1861, argues in a slightly inflated style, the inadmissibility of legal and peaceful secession of the South.

18. The third volume of Frederick the Great was to appear in 1862, and no doubt his reputation had declined.

Ambleside
Janry 20/62

Dear friend

I will not wait any longer, but send you a short letter, if I must, rather than none. I directed this envelope 2 or 3 weeks ago: but I hoped to get better, and to have more time &c. American affairs, and others, keep me very busy; and they do not look happier as time goes on.¹ She is still suffering from a neuralgic tic, though somewhat helped by carrot tea. I hope you and Effie are settled again in your own warm house long before this, and that she has no remains of her serious illness. What a season for fevers it is! At Bowness and Windermere the people have at last taken the alarm (they have been long about it) and a Commission of inquiry finds that all the water they drink and use is abominable! In a place where there are pure springs from the rock almost wherever you look! My household are well. Maria never better. Very merry! We have been laughing over the news of one of her sisters-in-law (not Tom's wife) being so exceedingly busy
just now, — about the "evangelisation of the Continent." A nice little job for a very uninformed girl of 22! Robert (M's father) says if she is going to take in hand the German philosophers, she will be likely to get the worst of it. Her nephew Edward's wife, née Catherine Salt (b. 1837), reminds her of a "sort of Tabernacle deaconess" of old Norwich who made bread seals for the conversion of the Jews; she became a vegetarian, but continued to eat oysters because she was convinced they were a "marine vegetable". I wonder what this evangelising of the Continent is, — whether anti-catholic or anti-infidel. Well! perhaps our work about America may be as futile, though to us it looks important. My principle in the case is to say all that can truthfully be said for them (the Northerners) on this side; and to speak the whole plain truth (as far as relevant) to them on the other side, — (in the "Standard" especially.) Of course this is the way to be unpopular on both sides: but I can't help that. It is the only way I see to do any good. They print all I send over there, but groan over it. They know that I rely on them (the Committee) to stop me at any moment when they wish to hear no more. I am sure it is not the way to secure peace to flatter the Americans to their faces when they are doing unendurable things. It is safer to tell them that, as a self-governing people, they are bound to be better informed, and to show more sobriety than at present. Rights carry duties, always: and it is their duty to qualify themselves for political relations, if they choose to manage their political affairs
themselves. — I have not, for a long course of years, had much hope for the Americans as a people: and now I cannot say I have any at all. Mrs Chapman has, because she sees great improvement in individuals going on everywhere. Chas Follen boasts and anticipates in an insane sort of way, it seems to me: but I doubt whether any American, except the cosmopolitan Mrs Chapman, has any sense whatever of the essential barbarism of their condition, — their inferiority to their great grandfathers. The ruffianism of the London Times, and the captious contempt of the Times Correspondent, who never remembers that he can see nothing of genuine American life at Washington, and who has never seen the life of the North at all, make us anxious to say all we can in favour and justice to the Americans: but we certainly feel that we cannot much longer sustain the North, if it does not close the war somehow or other. It is impossible for Englishmen to countenance a military practice of damage and annoyance, instead of conduct and valour in the field. It seems to me that the Nonresistants are the most savage and vindictive in warfare, — the least aware of there being any ethics in the case. They are the people who have called the Irish rebels "noble" always. I have told some of them that it was a woman, — the wife of an eminent Dublin surgeon, — who instituted the policy (settled in 1848) of vitriol-throwing, and casting red hot hoops down from balconies, to pin down the soldiers' arms to their sides. It is somewhat in this spirit that several women in U.S. are puzzled and troubled that F. Nightingale and I would, if we could, give the same
sanitary guidance which we have given them to the Southern army, — and to every army in the world. They suppose it is a necessity of our neutrality! and I have actually to explain that I should feel guilty of murder if I withheld aid in sanitary matters from any army which yet I would not supply with arms &c. It is too bad of the Times however to conceal the fact that the deepest channel of Charleston harbour is left open, — being narrow enough for a single ship to watch.  

— That story which is going about, of Mr Seward's interview with the Queen, — (conversation when presented) is certainly not true: and it is injurious. Nobody can detest the man more than I do: but he is not a "self raised" or ignorant man. He could no more say "you was," or talk of the Queen being a "gal", or call our polity "despotism" than you or I.  

— I should tell you that not a single word of acknowledgment ever came from the Amerm War-Office for what we sent. I have no doubt this was because we were not exclusive enough. They must have been thankful; for we sent what is not otherwise procurable. — The schism about an emancipation policy wears Lincoln very much. It is as bitter a case of perplexity for such a kind of man, cursed with a Seward at his elbow, as ever ruler had to settle. We have our trial in the shocking delinquency of opinion and conduct in our London Club class and the like, — people who can actually accept Spence's book, and buy 3 editions of Grattan's pamphlet. But I hope they are no rule for the country generally.

M. now tells me that poor Annie Clough is home, and
better than was expected. She will be an immense loss here, as a friend of education. I trust the stopping school keeping may be in time to save her, but she seems to be under the Clough doom. — We hear nothing of or from Mrs Reid, though we write monthly or oftener. Can you, and will you, treat me with a letter, in spite of my seeming ill deserts. Tell me how; Effie is, — and Eras: and all of you: and of Mrs Reid, if you know. M's love with mine. I am, dear friend, most affectionately yours

H. Martineau.

1. The Trent episode had raised an alarm of war between Britain and the U.S.; almost all of HM's writing for the Daily News for Jan 1862 was on American affairs.

2. After the unpopularity of HM's statements about the Morrill Tariff, her scathing criticism of U.S. policy in the Trent Affair (National Anti-Slavery Standard, 2 Dec 1861), caused such a protest, even from abolitionists, that it was impossible for the Standard to print any more of her contributions; see Auto., III, 377-31.

3. The Times' editorial policy was critical of the North and sympathetic with the South; Russell's attitude is often one of derisive "surprise" at Northern belligerence and stupidity. In his dispatch 19 Jan 1862 he reports that abolitionist papers are rebuking national leaders for not encouraging a slave revolt.

4. The Times describes the sinking of whaling hulks filled with granite across the main entrance to Charleston Harbor, but says other channels are still open for future use; 9,
5. William Henry Seward (1801-72; DAB), Sec. of State, had made an unofficial tour of Europe 1859. He quotes his own plain answers to the Queen's civil questions about himself and the U.S., upon his presentation to her 20 June 1859, and describes her as "sturdy, small and unaffected;" Frederick W. Seward, William H. Seward: an Autobiography ... with Memoir and Letters, 3 vols, New York, 1891, III, 371. Seward, however, was suspicious of Britain's intentions towards the North. His reaction to the Queen's proclamation recognizing the South as a belligerent power had been to decline official notice of the message from the British Minister 15 June 1861.

6. Lincoln's attempt to keep border states within the Union by a moderate policy on slavery had aroused radical Republicans in Congress and abolitionist leaders such as Wendell Phillips to intensify their campaign for Emancipation.

7. James Spence (of Liverpool), The American Union: its Effect on National Character and Policy, with an Inquiry into Secession as a Constitutional Right, and the Causes of the Disruption, 1861, takes a "friendly" critical view of the North on the tariff and other defects in policy; he sees the present division of the nation as political and not moral, minimizes the evils of slavery, and adversely criticizes the abolitionists; reviewed by HM, Daily News, 28, 31 Jan 1862.

8. Thomas Colley Grattan (1792-1864), British Consul to Massachusetts 1839, England and the Disrupted States of America, 1861, an immediate reaction to the Trent affair in which England and the Confederate states are seen to
have "perfect moral solidarity", and the latter to be deserving of England's approval and respect in their desire for independence; reviewed by HM, Daily News, 9, 11 Jan 1862.

9. Miss Clough's school was continued by Mrs. Fleming, formerly Miss Healey.

10. The early death of Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-61; DNB), the previous November was the fourth in the immediate family; the younger brother and father died 1842, the mother 1860.

(Private) Ambleside

Febry 6/62

My dear friend

I was thinking before, — and now the post determines me, by a letter from America, — of putting aside work this morning to write to you. Maria and I think you ought to know, — (seeing what you tell me of poor, dear Mrs Reid) exactly the state of the case about the matter which we infer that she is offended at. Mrs. Reid, who has not written since the end of October, is jealous of Mrs. Chapman and HM's other "intimates", she says. Atkinson is also said to be jealous; he reviles abolitionists and her articles on the American South, but does not show Mrs. Reid's "anguish". And now let me tell you what the matter is which we infer that Mrs Reid is fretting about.

The Abolitionists asked me to write to the "Standard"
Letters on topics in any way connected with human freedom, and national or international duty. I agreed on condition that I should have perfect freedom of speech, — and that they (their Committee) should immediately inform me, if my Letters were at any time unsuitable to their objects, or unacceptable to their readers. There was to be perfect freedom to withdraw, without offence, on both sides. More than once I have expressly offered to withdraw, when I thought I perceived signs of irritation, — about the Morrill tariff, especially: but I have always been requested to go on. For a year, however, I have refused any sort of remuneration for my contributions. The footing on which I was asked to write was that of the old sympathy, in which I have worked with and for the old abolitionists for above 1/4 of a century, — they having appealed to the world, and especially the English abolitionists, and above all to me, — against a sinning government and people. On this footing I have proceeded, — with some surprise at flashes of temper from the Editor and others now and then, which I was entreated by others of the body to excuse and forgive. In full confidence of substantial agreement, I wrote my outpouring of grief at the Trent affair, as deadly mischievous to the Cause at that juncture. That letter has been immensely approved and liked here, by abolitionists especially, — and for, as Mr Graves wrote "its truth telling friendliness": but I refused to let it be published here, on the ground that my course is to fight the battles of the abolitionists here, and to speak stern truth over there. I asked some of the genuine old abolitionists to give me their frank and unreserved opinion of that letter: and
the answer is "we have tried it line by line, as one tries
link by link a chain cable whereon life depends, and we
find every link sound and true." But the editor and
several correspondents, overlooking the passage which
takes them out of the scope of the letter, have fancied
the letter written at them, (as Americans) instead of in
sympathy with them; and insults to me, in letters and
"replies" swarming with mistakes of every sort and kind,
have filled a large portion of every "Standard" since.
You may imagine the anguish of the real old abolitionists,
who yet hope I shall not mind it. The disgrace! \(\text{HM}\)
claims "relief" at withdrawal from the friendship of
"ignorant and misjudging . . . unworthily" acting Americans.\(\text{HM}\)
I have again invited a dismissal from the Comroe; but the
tone is now so bad that, if I don't hear before next
Monday, I shall send a short, — very short, — letter of
farewell.\(\text{HM}\) pictures the shock of her calm withdrawal
(apparently not printed) on the editors, and predicts an
early end of the National Anti-Slavery Standard. \(\text{Follens,}
Loring, et al. would not have permitted "unvirtuous"
abolitionism, i.e. an alliance with a national policy of
protectionism and belligerence towards England.\(\text{HM}\)
It does
not in the least trouble me, except for the pain and disgust
it causes to the righteous over there, and the indignation
here, at the treatment of both me and \(\text{Mr Webb.}\) Several
hearty abolitionists will never look at the paper again,
and have written to stop it, after long resistance to the
desire to do so, when I have been unhandsomely used. \(\text{Mrs}
Reid is the only person I have heard of who takes the other
— if that is indeed the occasion of her displeasure. I have been very badly of late, partly through warm weather, but much more from overwork, all on the same set of subjects, spoiling the game of Yancey, Mason and Slidell, and exposing Spence. Yancey is gone, sent away evidently by the exposure of the truth about the slave trade in 1859 and 1860. His rage at my article was excessive, as I know by a letter I saw, in which he assumes the writer to have been Mr Thurlow Weed! Today I hear of Spence what satisfies me of his rank dishonesty. His book was read, sheet by sheet, by 3 Liverpool gentlemen as it went through the press, and he was remonstrated with for mistakes which were proved to him in vain. A message was sent to me by these gentlemen, which I never received till this morning, begging me to review the book. I wish I had space in some of the quarterlies for a thorough examination of it. Meantime, I have done what I could in newspaper space to discredit it. — I must not forget to say that Mr Cameron has, at last, written to me, and through this letter, has duly thanked F. Nightingale. The letter only came this week: but it is full of gratification and pretty speeches. — If you hear the abolitionists discussed, or me in connexion with them, you now know, and will explain, how the matter stands: ie, the old and staunch ones and I exactly where we always were: and the newer, and less worthy, gone over to the common herd of psuedo-patriots, probably unconsciously. It had been a great grief before that they could not, or would not, do anything, (now that the time for doing was
come. When asked to wait upon every public man, to show why a policy of emancipation was the wisest, they "didn't see what they could do," and sat still. And so on. But it will do of itself now soon. Meantime I don't undertake the responsibility of Wendell Phillips's reputation.

Who can Mrs Twistleton be? Mr Reeve writes of both, — of "poor Arthur", and of her illness, as if I ought to know them; but I can't recall them at all. Poor Mr Price! — why does Mr Newman argue with him at all? Why not leave events to "transpire," as the penny-a-liners say? — Now good bye. Do write again before so very long. If we hear anything from poor Mrs Reid, we will tell you. — M. says "do stop." So really goodbye, with love to you all. Ever your affectionate

H. Martineau.

2. For example, "When Commander Wilkes fired his shotted guns across the bows of the Trent, he did more for the Confederate cause than giving them half-a-dozen victories; and when he ordered the seizure of the Southern gentlemen on board the Trent, he simply ruined his country;" National Anti-Slavery Standard, 2 Dec 1861. The then Lieut. Charles Wilkes had been a fellow passenger on HM's return voyage to England from the U.S. 1836; although he was promoted to the rank of Captain 1855, British papers referred to him as Commander, either as an intentional slight or a confusion of his rank with that of the British Commander
of the Trent.
4. The National Anti-Slavery Standard continued to be sent to HM until she requested that it stop, June 1865; Auto., III, 415-16.
5. Richard Webb, the loyal Garrisonian, Dublin. He defended HM to the Westons and others.
6. Mrs. Reid had written to Mrs. Chapman to apologize for HM's attack on Americans.
7. William Lowndes Yancey (1814-63; DAB), sent to England and France as commissioner from the Confederate states, March 1861.
9. Thurlow Weed (1797-1882; DAB), politician sent by Lincoln to try to determine English and French reaction to the Trent affair 1861.
10. Simon Cameron (1799-1889; DAB), American Sec. of War, replaced later in the year.
11. ?A reference to the wife of the Hon. Edward Turner Boyd Twisleton (1809-74), barrister, a member of commissions to investigate poor laws, schools, etc., friend of Reeves's.
12. ?Bonamy Price (1807-38; DNB), political economist; he and F.W. Newman reviewed each other's works over the years; HM's specific reference is unknown.

Ambleside
April 25/62

My dear friend

How do you all do? and what are you about? I wonder whether you can find half an hour for me, if you look sharp.
Maria goes to London on the 21st prox, to the Exhibition: but, unless you and she chance to meet there, I shall hear nothing about you [\[\]. Except a cursory mention of you and Eras: by Emma Lingen, in a recent letter, I have not heard of you for months. — That was a nice letter of Emma Lingen's (not a syllable in it about the Revised Code!) and her writing it was good of her. It was about that ridiculously successful apparent freak of mine, — writing a story again, after all these years. My whole mind and feelings recoiled from it; and I had refused all sorts of editors and publishers, for many years: but excellent Mr Evans was so anxious, and Mr Lucas so earnest about it too, and so good in suggesting Historiettes, as conciliating my liking for history, that I felt obliged to try. I had no hope at all. But first there came the news of Millais taking kindly to his work of illustrating; and then followed the success which looks to me so absurd. The Editor writes that the verdict is singularly unanimous. Perhaps you know to the contrary: or perhaps you have heard nothing of the matter at all. ("Sister Anna's Probation", in "Once a Week.") I have no feelings of any sort about it: so there are no ps and qs in the case. The practical effect is that I must lose no time with No 2. There is an immense deal of reading to be done before writing. One thing I determined at once; — to speak natural language, and not that half scripture and half slang which fiction writers give us for old English. I wish the costume &c to be all true: but I can't write a fancy language for it. The first portion of No 2 will
go next week. — And here is Prof. Masson, whom I dare say you know, asking me to write about America in "Macmillan," to which I agree, — though I have refused all other new offers. Every help is needed on this set of subjects; and I could not refuse, believing myself able to say something more than a newspaper can give. So I am to have a long article in the June No. You may as well hear that it is written before you speak of this: though as the names are published, it will be no secret afterwards. — How I should like to hear what you hear of American matters! I don't grow more hopeful, whether victory or defeat befals. The Federals are more military, however. They are learning that fast. I wish they could learn political economy as readily. But, if they did, still there is the radical mischief which must prevent their being a great people, unless they can underpin the foundations of their national character, — the preference of passion and sentiment to principle and reason. I see no social soundness (and very little individual.) Still, we must regard them as the alternative to the South, and uphold them accordingly. Mr Newman writes me that Froude would not let him write exactly what J. S. Mill wrote in Fraser, — Froude saying "the intellect of England has decided against the North"! Wonderful nonsense, isn't it? Is he, or not, aware of the extreme ignorance of what he understands by the intellect of England. Annie Clough heard Froude and Newman discuss the subject; and Froude then said that English people took part with the South from the national tendency (learned at our public schools) to take part with the weaker party.
What next, I wonder. — Annie Clough is gone this week. Of indisputable benevolence and devotedness, but always wrong in judgment, and fearfully mischievous, from that and a meddlesome turn, surpassed only by Emily Taylor. Maria has been very kind to her, — has done everything she possibly could to help her; and she naturally has the kindly feeling that one has towards those one has benefitted: but even she feels the relief. As a bore, she felt the evil more than I have done, — so seldom seeing A.C. as I do: but M. feels as strongly as I do the incubus of a meddling neighbour, — too cowardly to be frank, and too restless to restrain herself within her own affairs. Our parson-friend, Mr Graves, drew up an address which she fully deserved, in acknowledgment of her great devotedness to education here. (She gave £200 to the new schools.) I was very glad to sign it, as it was confined to that acknowledgment: but I cannot be sorry that she has left a place and mode of life which were certainly not good for her. I can't help thinking of poor Blanch, — herself "restless", as A.C. says, and far from well. A.C. seems to think she will be Blanch's great resource: but it seems to me that B. will suffer very much if they are much together. I hope, however, that, as Annie cannot settle, she will profess to travel, and do it, for two or three years. She says she shall perhaps come back here in 2 years: but it does not seem likely. I should say that M. and I fully believe much of the uncomfortable tendency to be from mere
What does Snow think of Fechter now? This queer melodrama of his throws one quite aback. How can they? Do you see or hear anything of the Strangfords since their marriage? They seem to be in miserable health, both of them. But so happy, they say! — I have a packet from Osborne, begging me to exert my influence about the P. Consort's Memorial. The appeal came through Lady Elgin. I am rather sorry; because I think it is a pity: but I have done what will serve here. Our squire and squiress give; and our excellent incumbent, Mr Bell, has taken it up heartily, will mention and explain it from the pulpit on Sunday, and lay the list in the school house &c.

Poor Ly Elgin is sadly depressed: — says she must get over her confinement (next month) before she can lay any plans for joining her husband: and then she must leave her children behind.

I'm afraid you would give me up if you knew how I am longing for the second series of Mrs Delany. The first was an enormous treat, perhaps the greatest in the book way for these 7 years: and I reckon on the rest accordingly. I don't mean Ly Llanover's preachings and prosings, which are as bad as can be: but one can miss them. — Very late! I must stop. It is very long since we heard from Mrs Reid: but we can't expect her to write letters. I doubt whether she can, without too much exertion. We
write long letters to her.

I have had no Tic, I think, since I wrote last; and several sufferers have found the same relief from the carrot diet that I have. Spring is not a good season for heart-patients; and I have got on badly, through the finest and forwardest Spring I have seen here. But I have mended for some days; and today is the best day for a good while. Tell me how Eras: is. My love to him and all of you. — (Manwaring's failure scarcely touches me. He owes me a little more than £7, — that's all.)

Maria's love. Ever your affecte old friend

H. Martineau.

(Can't look over: — excuse any blunders)

1. The International Exhibition at Brompton, a display of industrial arts and products, modelled on that of 1851, opened 1 May 1862 in a vast glass-domed structure designed by Capt. Fowkes of the Royal Engineers. HM's lack of enthusiasm is shown in "What May Come of the Exhibition," Once a Week, 26 April, pp. 491-94.

2. The Revised Code of 1861 provided for state educational grants based on school examinations, "payment by results," in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Lingen had helped to draft the Code but was opposed by men such as Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, Matthew Arnold, and W.E. Forster. HM had argued in its favor, Daily News, 24 Sept; 15 Oct 1861.

3. 15 March-12 April 1862. An illustration by Millais begins each installment; the plot turns on the closing of the convents in the reign of Henry VIII.

captivey of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Tutbury Castle is
told partly from the point of view of a servant girl.
5. Prof. David Masson (1822-1907; DNB), Prof. of English
Literature, University College, London; editor of Macmillan's
Nov 1859-April 1868.
6. "The Brewing of the American Storm," 6 (June 1862),
97-107, details the inevitability of the Civil War.
7. J.A. Froude had become editor of Fraser's Magazine in
1860. F.W. Newman's reference was probably to "The Contest
in America," Fraser's Magazine, 65 (Feb 1862), 258-68, where
Mill stresses the legality of the Northern fight to preserve
the Union against a power professing "the principles of
Attila and Genghis Khan as the foundation of its Constitution."
8. Annie Clough did not approve of HM's domination of her
niece-companions, and must have remarked that the nieces
"spent themselves" in HM's service; Blanche Athena Clough,
A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough, 1897, p. 84.
9. Daughter of the Samuel Smiths and widow of Arthur Hugh
Clough.
10. Annie Clough joined Blanch at her parents' home,
Combe Hurst, Kinston-on-Thames; she lived with Blanch and
with other relatives and friends until her removal to
Cambridge 1871.
11. Charles Albert Fechter (1824-79; DNB), gained fame
for his representation of Hamlet, with a heavy French accent;
his Othello, in late 1861, was so soundly disapproved he
took the role of Iago when the play reopened after Christmas.
He then played in The Golden Dagger, an adaption of Les
Couteaux d'Or by Paul Féval.
12. The reissue of Reeve's translation of Tocqueville's Democracy in America . . . with an Introductory Notice by the Translator, 2 vols, 1862 (originally published 1835), is thoroughly censured, from the uselessness of his new introduction to add any timely comment, to his dull "jargon", inexact paraphrasing, and outright errors in meaning:

Saturday Review, 8 March 1862, pp. 275-76.

13. Emily Anne Beaufort had met Percy Ellen Frederick William Smythe, 8th Viscount Strangford, 3rd Baron Penshurst (1826-69; DNB), as a result of his notice of her book in the Saturday Review, 3 Aug 1861, pp. 123-4; he describes her as an enthusiastic travel narrator, but a "young lady" amateur and a sentimentalist. They were married seven months later.

14. Prince Albert had died at Windsor Castle 14 Dec 1861; a meeting at the Mansion House 14 Jan 1862 began the organization of collecting funds for a national memorial to him. Osborne House, Isle of Wight, Royal residence where the Queen was in retirement.

15. HM's old friend Lady Mary Lambton had married James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin, in 1846.

16. Lord Elgin had been appointed Governor-General of India; he had arrived in Calcutta the previous month.

17. Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville (Mrs. Delany), ed. Lady Llanover, First and Second Series, 1861-62 reviewed Fraser's Magazine, 65 (April 1862), 448-57. Mrs. Delany, an "amiable" member of eighteenth century Dublin society, counted Burke, Swift and other
famous men among her friends.

18. Augusta (Waddington) Llanover (1802-96), wife of Benjamin Hall, Baron Llanover and Abercarn (1802-67); "descendent of Mrs. Delany's only sister."


Ambleside
Monday night
June 16/62

Dear friend

I should have written long before this, I believe, but from the shrinking that one feels under such uncertainty as we are in about your great anxiety. We have not heard one word about your invalid since Maria's interview with you. She begs "3 or 4 lines of bulletin" from Snow or Effie Wedgwood about Bro, now possibly suffering an advanced stage of tuberculosis. Lady Elgin has had a miscarriage. Mrs. Reid, recovering from illness also, wept at Maria's visit because she thought HM had "wanted to throw her over". But HM has written a conciliatory letter. Cairnes's book is one of our topics. She has got it; and I hope will assist in spreading it, — which I consider the best work that anybody can do at this moment. — I must not enter now on Amerm matters, of which my head and hands are fuller than ever. I have such a beautiful letter today from Mrs. Chapman, which I think I may fairly send to "D. News" in another week, — sending £5 for Lancashire, under the view you will not need to have
explained. I happened to say to her that we English are, in my opinion, all bound to regard the cotton dearth as a piece of national adversity, and to help accordingly. She goes further, and claims to help as one of the nation whose sin has caused this suffering. We are all in the same boat of the world, she says; and the struggle and suffering are common to us all. I am much struck by the warnings she has had for some time, — very emphatic, — from France, that "Scamp" was meditating mischief, and Washington must be on its guard. "D. News" treated this "mediation" scheme very finely on Friday; but I really think I must put my hand to it, notwithstanding. Our people are so ignorant and shortsighted! I don't mean what are commonly called "the people"; for they are about the wisest among us; but the immoveable middleclass and the aristocracy seem no nearer understanding the case than ever. The silly figure that Spence cuts is a good thing. I wish there was any hope that Cairnes's book would take the place of his. — There is no less ignorance and folly on the other side, among people who ought to know better. Only think of the abolitionists chuckling over our Lancashire distress, saying, "with famine there and in Ireland, England will be eating humble pie." It does not occur to them that the Lancashire case is not exactly a humiliation. They chuckle also over our supposed mortification at the Federal successes! Miss Mattie Griffith, who has been among them in New York, says they really seem to have lost their understandings about England. — Their work is pretty well done; and the sooner they now overtake their citizen neighbours,
and work with them, the better. I am glad to see that Ed: Quincy openly and publicly anticipates this being their last year of association, probably. — The advance in public sentiment is wonderfully rapid. Nothing can be graver than everything else in the prospect: but this is a great blessing. — Now good night, dear friend. We are trying to be cheerful this evening; but a pretty cow of mine has somehow got at some yew, and is dying. — The cold weather has done me much good. It has been a very bad spring for me; but I am now better than since the winter. — My love to you and Ras:

Ever your affecte friend

H. Martineau.

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1. John Elliott Cairnes (1823-75; DNB), political economist; The Slave Power ... an Attempt to Explain the Real Issues Involved in the American Contest, 1862, dedicated to John Stuart Mill. Slave-cultivation (ruinous to the land) is discussed as an economic determiner of history. Cairnes forsees permanent separation of the South "reviewed, J.S. Mill, Westminster Review, 22 n.s. (Oct 1862), 489-510"; see HM, Daily News, 11, 14, 17 June 1862.
2. See below, HM’s leader of 20 June 1862.
3. The cutting off of the cotton supply because of the blockade of Confederate ports had caused the closing of Lancashire cotton mills and great economic distress; see Daily News, 2, 21 July 1862, and numerous leaders in the following months.
4. The French Emperor. In anxiety over the cotton supply, he had sent an envoy to the U.S. to mediate an end to the
Civil War May 1862, when the North was in retreat and likely to be amenable to severance of the Union; Times, 8 May 1862.

5. HM’s concern is that interference by the Franch Emperor would serve to set up the slave power firmly as a separate nation, Daily News, 20 June 1862.

6. See next letter.

7. The American Anti-Slavery Society was disbanded a few days after passage of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed the franchise to all citizens 30 March 1870. Wendell Phillips had served as President of the society after Garrison’s retirement Jan 1865.

Ambleside

[To Erasmus] Augt 15/62.

Dear friend

I directed an envelope to Fanny weeks ago, but have never been able to fill it: and now the direction of the "Saturdays" makes me fancy she must be absent, and may probably be abroad; so I address to you, which is as nearly as can be the same thing. F. and I don’t reckon closely about owing letters; and I would have written sheets upon sheets to her if I could, though with a certain hesitation, from not knowing how Mackintosh was going on. The summer must have been a very bad one for him and for you. To me it has been like breathing steam, for weeks together. It has been the worst summer for us in all ways (except my work and wages) since Maria came here. I have been more
ill, and in a way which seems to show a further weakening of the heart, (—sinking-fits returned, "local congestion" doctor says, partial and temporary loss of sight &c &c.) Maria has been very little beyond the gate. (This does not mean confinement to the house.) The wretched weather has made it our very worst farming and garden season.

About H.M.'s summer visitors: nephew Tom and wife, and her sister Ellen—to whom Maria is especially close. The Arnolds now seem her most intimate local friends, thanks to "their deep admiration of Maria, and sympathy in her mode of life." Poor Arthur Stanley¹ came to see me on Sunday. I was little able, and it could be only for a short visit; and he was only passing through. The Arnolds and I are shocked to see his face. He is not only so aged, but the expression is so sad! — really quite miserable. At first, I thought his manner of speech more curt than ever; but he was so affectionate when he opened out about his mother and sister that I forgot it. I did not mention the Prince or the Queen.² He must have quite enough poking wherever he goes. We think he would have liked it: but I know more than he would suppose, — more perhaps, in some ways, than he is likely to do; and I don't value his view very much on that matter, unless I were sure of what he knows; and I did not want to discuss or argue during our short, and probably last, meeting. So the Royal family were not mentioned. I hear what he writes to the Arnolds; and I see that time is the element needed for making his opinion (on this one matter) of value. Mrs Arnold tells Maria he is delighted that he came. He
knows that I had a high respect for his mother, and strong regard. Poor fellow! he took one hour to decide whether to come home or go into Syria: and his mother's dying wish, and his sister's wish, determined him to go forward. I forgot to get him to talk about Mr Lucas's book. Have you read that? "Secularia; Surveys on the Main Stream of History". I hear it is much praised by Sir Hy Holland, so you know all about it, no doubt, and by Lord Stanhope, Lord Stanley, Chas. Knight, Dean Milman &c &c. It altogether changes my impressions about the man I correspond with almost every week, and with whom I had lots of conversation here 2 years ago. I have always found him gentlemanly and agreeable, cultivated and liberal &c &c: but this volume shows him (it seems to me) to be so much more that I am perplexed at not having found it out sooner. It is so fresh, so suggestive, so exceedingly pleasant! and I wanted, as soon as I had done, to begin it again, and read every word twice. The account of the conditions and prospects of French freedom in "Absolutism in Extremis" seems to me the best statement of the case that I have seen, with something of disclosure in it, too. I can't account for the poor quality of his Magazine, with all this. If he neglected it, I should wonder less: but I can't understand his selection of matter. However, we have got "Verner's Pride" now, and may be thankful.

My Historiettes there are absurdly successful. It puzzles me wholly. I know, by the labour I put into them, that they can't be very good; yet people say that I do it as well as 30 years ago! I don't believe this at all; and I do it purely to oblige, and with a disregard of all
considerations of fame &c. If people are pleased, so am I. I shall soon set about a third, as the second finishes this week. Fanny asks about Carlyle's vol: but I began it only last night. Maria is in the middle, and delighted. She says it is just like living with the people. So 'tis. How is it with Mrs Jenny and Mazzini in these days? Does she think him right, or see the mischief he is doing?  

I dare say Fanny sees now that I had reason for having "no hope" of the American case. She denounces Northerners as "degenerate, ignorant, passionate," and too unreasonable "to come well out of the struggle." Charles Follen is now in Port Royal, South Carolina, (taken by the Union forces in 1861). The temper towards England, — the spite and malice (of the abolitionists especially, — I mean the younger generation, — not dear old Garrison &c) exceeds everything I ever heard of. It is quite like a Mania.

O! I deplore Id Russell's word "unnecessary" in his reply to Seward, and his snarl at the Amern press. Our Govt had done so well thus far, that this descent is a grievous pity. I do hope you make everybody read Cairnes's book. It has done great good: and I am sure we need all the salvation we can get.

Miss Mattie Griffith Fanny will know by history, though she does not recognise the name. She is the Southern heiress who saw so much of slavery in her childhood that when she came of age (being an orphan) she freed all her slaves, and spent her money in settling them, and has since maintained herself, and partly a widowed sister. F. asked about my article in McMillan. Yes, it is much welcomed.
Perhaps I may do more, when I have time; and if able. Editor and proprietor urge it.

Now good bye, dear friend. I shall be very thankful if somebody will send us more or less news of the clan, — and especially of Mackintosh, and his parents, and of your own health. Yours affectionately, (with M’s best regards)

H. Martineau.

(what is L. Nap: saying to the Diplomats today?)


2. Because of his known personal integrity, and his interest in the Bible lands, Stanley had been asked by the Queen to accompany the Prince of Wales on a tour there, which had left Feb 1862. HM’s disapproval of the Prince is expressed in the Daily News, 31 Dec 1862: she hopes that he has "given over the roving" which kept him away while the nation was celebrating his twenty-first birthday, and while his betrothed was visiting the Queen.

3. Stanley had visited the Middle East with his mother and sister in 1852; he returned from this last trip June 1862, after his mother’s death.

4. Samuel Lucas, 1862; discusses outstanding works on the meaning of history, the importance of great men, and the relationship of the different classes of society; he
says that progress, "which results from general laws," is inevitable.

5. Dr. Sir Henry Holland (1788-1873) DNB, physician to Queen Victoria; related to the Wedgwoods.

6. Phillip Henry Stanhope, 5th Earl Stanhope (1805-75; DNB), politician.


8. Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868; DNB), Dean of St. Paul's.

9. Lucas calls Napoleon "unquestionably the greatest man of the whole modern age," but he was dependent on former circumstances and "inexorable limits" to his temporary supremacy. French centralization, which began before, but was strengthened by Napoleon, he says, disqualified men for conducting their own affairs, just as total equality (and its tendency is invincible) leads to degeneracy. England's "worthy" aristocracy he sees as a helpful brake on this last process (a view compatible with HM's republicanism); "Absolutism in Extremis," pp. 344-83; see Auto., III, 411.

10. Ellen (Mrs. Henry) Wood, Once a Week, 28 June 1862 - 7 Feb 1863; a romantic plot with middle-class hero, realistic supporting characters, vivid dialogue.

11. "The Hampdens," Once a Week, 14 Feb-18 April 1863; about conflicting Puritan and Royalist loyalties at the time of the Commonwealth. The final authorial voice surprisingly states that men should be loyal, but that God should provide good kings instead of making the nation "blush" for a "middle-class heretic" like Cromwell.

12. HM's switch to the subject of Carlyle's Frederick the
Great, Vol III reviewed Times, 14 Aug 1862, suggests a natural association with Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, and an equal dislike of Carlyle's authoritarianism.

13. A Times article of this same day describes the role of Mazzinians in the recent acts of the former revolutionary hero, Garibaldi, who had been arrested as a traitor. Jenny Carlyle kept her early affection for Mazzini, who had continued his political agitation, mostly in England. But when she had sent him, through a friend, a photograph of Tait's picture of herself and Carlyle in Cheyne Row, Mazzini wrote that they could not meet, for "our paths are too widely apart;" Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson, Necessary Evil, 1952, p. 497. In "A Season of Unreason," HM berates Mazzini for not accepting the constitutional monarchy under Victor Emmanuel; Once a Week, 1 Nov 1862, pp. 508-11.

14. Beyond Seward's eccentric suggestion in early 1862 that war should be declared against England and France, anti-British sentiment after the Trent affair continued to be high in all factions.

15. In answer to American protest at Blockade running, Russell asserted that England had remained neutral in spite of economic distress and "insults constantly heaped upon the British name in speeches and newspapers," and only wanted an end to "unnecessary and injurious civil war," Times, 13 Aug 1862.

16. Probably a reference to the reception by the French Emperor of a new Spanish Ambassador and his aides 13 Aug 1862. Although British-French relations were not really
unfriendly, Britain was alert to the Emperor's European alliances. John Slidell, Confederate emissary, had also met with Louis Napoleon early Aug 1862.

Ambleside
Novbr 2/62

Dear Friend

You will wonder at my card. It is only for your page, or whichever servant directs the Saturday Review. Do, please, — I beg it of you, — give him my card, to keep for a pattern. This will cure the mischief at once. It is wrong towards the Post-office to occupy it with an address which requires guessing; and I shall be having a remonstrance; and what can be easier than giving the scribe this pattern?

Well, dear friend, how are you and yours? We heard a great deal about you when we heard anything; — that is, when Miss Darwin was here: She asks if Fanny could write while Maria is on holiday, and about Bro's recovery. She is also "so thankful" for Miss Darwin's invitation to Maria for a week in London, and wants Maria to enjoy herself among "my dear old friends." (Here I ask her what is the meaning of the hairs in the ink; and she answers it is from the blue flannel she has been cutting out, — the ink being open for labelling the parcels. This shows you one of her recent labours. Miss Darwin will tell you about it. Please tell her that we have sent away above £60 worth of those parcels of clothing; and that I would
not let M. wear herself out up to the moment of going forth; and I have therefore spent the latest £10 in setting prudent people to release bedding from pawn, at Wigan and Salford. Do you know that £15 out of the £60 is the Miss Darwins' gift? Miss D. will like to hear that the great shopkeeper at Kendal, where M. bought many of the things, told his wife (who repeated it) that in all his experience he had never met with so good a buyer as Maria. And as for the cutting out, the Arnolds, who wish and try to help, but cannot cut out, gaze in wonder and delight. Only think of her cutting out 6 gowns and 4 petticoats before breakfast, and 27 garments after tea! I could help but little; for I can neither stand nor handle heavy things; but I could write the letters, keep the lists &c. The cook was pleased to wash out the long pieces of calico, and Caroline to help in the cutting out. Fan Arnold sorted the garments, and tied up and ticketed them. The shopkeepers surrendered all profit; and the carrier took the packages for next to nothing. So a great number of people have been clothed — well clothed — for very little. That delectable Mr Birch of Manchester, and "the Lancashire lad," and the Revd Williams of Ashton express delight at the admirable method; so Maria may be satisfied with her work, so far. — This dreadful calamity of American affairs keep me very busy too. It has been a rather too busy autumn. I was bound for a 3d Historiette (which is 2/3ds done) and demands from "D. News" and elsewhere have increased; so that it is long since I had a day's holiday. It seems odd to be writing Historiettes at such a time; but they
are promised and sought; and I know they are not useless work. The second was considered better than the first. 4 I don't know that I am of that mind myself; but I am pretty sure the 3d will be the best, so far. Perhaps I shall call it "The Hampdens", so I need not say anything of the period. — Don't you find opinion somewhat improving about America? I fancy it is. It seems as if people were beginning to feel scared at finding what they have been praising in the South. There is abundant cause for disgust with the North. I don't wonder at anything that is said about that: and you know how little I expect from a people so profoundly corrupt, and so degenerate in every way. Also, their financial ignorance and guilt precludes all hope of a good issue: 5 but they are improving. In a blind and foolish way they are now fighting on towards something laudable, though their pride and selfwill (which they confound with their better aims) is, to my mind, something diabolical, — mixed as it is with such awful hatred; I do believe and trust that slavery is virtually at an end: 6 and I have no fear of any savagery on the part of the negroes. I have no more definite idea of the end than a year ago; and I don't believe there will be any sort of settlement for an immense time to come; and the nation is too politically ignorant to make a good settlement, anyhow. How inferior to their forefathers! Of course you have seen, or will see, Stevenson's little vol "Thirteen months in the Rebel Army." 7 It is in horrid taste; but it discloses a great deal.

I must stop, for it is late. — I have been much easier
for 2 months past till the last few days. It is my best
time of year. The summer was a very bad one. M's
journey would have begun before now but for the Ry Reeves
proposing to come this week, on their way home. They
come to the "Salutation"3 on Tuesday. Besides that I
cannot undertake visitors alone, M. enjoys their society
much. Do you know Revd G.D. Boyle, an Oxford man,9 —
friend of my old friend Conington,10 Froude, and other
Oxford men? We have had two pleasant evenings with him.
He and they are so right about America. I suppose you
have seen Emerson's manifesto, in the new "Atlantic
Monthly."11 Is Mr Maurice keeping his friends in hot
water again.12 What an unfortunate man he is for being
unable to know his own mind, — or outward conditions, —
or either, — or both! — Well, good night, dear friend!
Our kindest regards to Miss Darwin. My love to you all,
Maria's to you. — Everybody says just the same thing about
the Exhibition, as far as I hear. Everybody admires, and
nobody enjoys it. Nobody pretends to like it. I can
well sympathise with this. —

Ever your affectionate

H. Martineau.

1. A popular relief program for the destitute Lancashire
operatives was the provision of ready-to-sew garments which
were then made up in "sewing schools" for jobless women and
girls. MM's satisfaction in domestic efficiency is
repeated in "Help for the 'Workies'," Once a Week, 4 Oct
1862, pp. 399-402.
2. Probably William Birch, Hon. Sec. of Hulme Working Men's Institute, Manchester, and the Rev. Frederick Henry Williams of Ashton-under-Lyne. All were correspondents of the *Times*, where running reports of Lancashire relief activities were published.

3. A Confederate invasion of the North had been turned back at the battle of Antietam 17 Sept 1862, but Northern forces failed to pursue the advantage. There was political unrest in the North, and Republicans suffered in the Congressional elections of 1862.

4. HM's attraction to Mary, Queen of Scots, in the second historiette, is projected through an otherwise ordinary tale.

5. "Greenbacks" were first issued by the federal government in 1862. In "The Beginning of the End," *Times*, 1 Nov 1862, Congress and Sec. of the Treasury Salmon Portland Chase (1803-73; DAB), are blamed for allowing the price of gold to rise 33 1/3% by the vast issue of paper money.

6. Slaves within Union lines and slave-soldiers had been liberated; Congress had prohibited slavery in the territories and in the District of Columbia. Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which applied only to states in rebellion against the Union, had been made public 22 Sept 1862, to take effect 1 Jan 1863.

8. Ambleside's grand hotel.

9. George David Boyle (1828-1901), curate of Kidderminster, later Dean of Salisbury.

10. ?John Conington (1825-69; DNB), classical scholar.

11. "The President's Proclamation;" the Emancipation Proclamation is one of the "moments of expansion in modern history" when the "audience" suddenly arises to the occasion as for an orator's plea. Lincoln's moderation and reticence, Emerson states, have done more for America than any other man. Once done, the emancipation cannot be taken back. Its enactment was inevitable, and America's other problems will also be solved; 10 (Nov 1862), 638-42.

12. In an imbroglio with his friend, Bishop Colenso of Natal, Maurice announced 1 Nov 1862 that he intended to resign his preferment in the Church (St. Peter's, Vere St. London).

Although nearly a year separates these two letters, no important changes had taken place for HM. As the American Civil War was being fought, she continued to write intensively for the Daily News. She was attended by Maria, and alternately visiting cousins; Fanny had recently been to stay with her.

Sunday evg.

Sepr 28/63

My dearest Fanny.

I am going to try whether I can write to you. If
I can't I will stop, and C. Turner will finish. Of course, I should have done it sooner if I could. You nicely escaped my head attacks; and I am glad you did. Last evening, my sight went away twice; and I have been all wrong since. It was not one of those alarming hours which I dreaded for you; but the same sort of thing, spread over a longer time. If I were sure it was the safe thing to do, I would yield to the sleepiness, and go to bed now. I did write an article this morning, and a long one, on C. Turner's assurance that it was all right. It was really necessary, if possible, to discuss Sumner's atrocious speech, — before Secesh papers in England get hold of it. He has sent me another document. I suppose he does not reckon on my support and approbation under such doings as this speech. Mrs Chapman says the U.S. papers, even those which agree with his views, treat this speech as a bid for the Presidentship. Hang the Presidentship. It is always coming in to spoil the best men! Not that Sumner is of the best. He is weak, and has long been losing temper in political matters. — You will be glad to hear that Mrs C's letter is on good paper this time, and written in black ink. She promises better paper henceforth — (guilty, till the next time?) Her letter is charming; and she thinks all is going well. 

HM's friend, Frederika Meyer, is recovering from nearly fatal illness. She had had a really good night, "and does not cough much now": and "she takes her food well, and likes it", says the cook. C. Turner will get there somehow tomorrow, whatever the weather is.
She arrived punctually, and looking the most wonderful woman of 66 of my acquaintance, or anybody else's, I think. She trips about like a girl; — walked to F. Meyer's and back yesterday (a lovely autumn day) and in the drive afterwards; and she has two entire rows of well shaped and white teeth.

Monday. 10. am) Capital news! F. Meyer stops my messenger by sending hers. She has had the best night for some time, and feels "very much better." Wants to know how I am. How glad you will be! We may dismiss care now for the present. There will be anxiety about her complete recovery; and she will no doubt be sent away for the winter. But all that is nothing to the dread of last week.

I am certainly better in head today, though the night was restless. — Mr. Harrison was still living yesterday. The bell is tolling now; but it may be for another. — I had an interesting letter from Mr. Reeve yesterday. Very grave; and no wonder. His mother suffers sadly on her deathbed; and he spends nearly all his day beside her. He and wife were Mr. Ellice's guests almost up to the night of his death: and very impressive this is to them. He writes to ask how I am, — and also (ladies' postscript) to see whether there is any topic I should like to write on for the Janv. "Edinburgh." I must think about it.

You lost one pleasure here, by coming at this season, — Mr. Atkinson's singularly capital letters. When abroad he writes only once or twice a month; but at home it is at least four times as often. If he is still at Boulogne I shall hear this week: and then I shall long for you.
is useless to show anybody his letters; for I am the only person who can read them. — One of the peepers and priers when you were here was that great man — Mr Ironsides of Sheffield! There! see what we missed! He writes that the account he received of me at the Cottage made him forbear to come up, and offer to converse! He seems to have gone about "smiling" at my idea of Sheffield! of which he speaks highly, dropping all mention of the blowing up of independent workmen every few weeks.

O dear! how sweet last week was! I love to look back upon it, and to dwell on the image of you as Nurse. I have enjoyed nothing so much for long. Your voice has been sounding to me night and day ever since: — and it will, whether I ever hear it again or not.

I hope you have such a day as ours; — brilliant, gay and yet tranquil and soft. The valley is superb with the ferny slopes. Some others are out walking. I am going to write a leader on the Infanticide-cure movement, unless my head fails, in which case I shall leave it till tomorrow.

I hear there is a nice little leveret for dinner, — a legacy of yours. Many thanks! How you did pamper me! Let's hope I am not quite spoiled! My love to your "ownies". Kind regards to Mr and Mrs Oc Smith.

With new and greater love I am yours

H. Martineau

1. Charles Sumner, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in an address at the Cooper Institute, New York,
22 Sept 1862, had denounced the British government for permitting the building of steamships for the Confederacy in its ports, and for recognizing the belligerent rights of the South on the high seas. HM regrets Sumner's failure of statesmanship, *Daily News*, 29 Sept 1863.

2. Pro-South.

3. The local squire.

4. Edward Ellice (1781-1863; *DNB*), Canadian fur merchant, politician, found dead at his estate in northern Scotland 17 Sept 1863. The Reeves had left his home a fortnight earlier.

5. See next letter.


7. HM warns against the extension of public care for illegitimate children and their mothers being urged as a cure for infanticide, because of its probably corrupting effect on the poor and promiscuous; *Daily News*, 30 Sept 1863.
My dearest Fanny

I hope this will just meet you in Staffre\(^1\); and it just enables me to tell you of Maria. She returned yesterday evening; and you can imagine better than I can tell my sense of repose today. It is wholly inexpressible. She is as well as can be, and happy, as she always is, to be at home again. I am less uncomfortable than usual today, — but I am bound to confess one chief reason, because it is so ignoble; — that Maria brought a score of particularly fine oysters; and they have a magical effect on me, generally.

For some days I have known of the very disagreeable secret you had on your mind here, — about my cook. \(\square\)HM has given notice to her "poor" cook, who is mentally unbalanced, putting Caroline, her other servant, "in gay spirits ever since." And she has sent Fanny some "tea infusors." \(\times\)

So Cath: Darwin is married!\(^2\) I really was so glad to see it! And so was Caroline. C. Darwin's maid said that she (the maid) wished it so very much!\(^3\) So we may hope that it may make happiness, high and low. I'm sure I hope so.

I send you dear F. Meyer's first note. In pencil, you see. My notion is that she would profit by seeing Maria, and perhaps another or two, besides Mrs Aufrere.\(^4\) But M will see Mrs Aufrere, and learn all she can. F. Meyer leaves her bed twice in the day; but she has never left her room; and I don't see how she can till the weather
mends. There were prayers for fine weather in church last Sunday, and no doubt today. Yesterday was splendid (delightful for travellers) and today it is all storm again. I remember nothing like it at this time of year; and I see there is fear everywhere about the autumn sowing. My field is all leaf-strewn now; and the great ashtrees at the bottom are very thin; and so is the big oak.

We have not had Miss Dobson yet. I have not felt well enough in the evenings to write a stranger; and it might be awkward to a young girl to come and see two old ladies like C. Turner and me. But we really mean to ask her this week, Mr. Harrison having revived somewhat, and Maria returned. (Miss Dobson knows her.) Matt: Arnold came one morning. It was a mistake his being let in; and all my efforts were bent to getting him away, as one of my head attacks was fast coming on. He must have thought it odd; and I fully explained to him afterwards, and found he had thought me very ill. Soon after he was gone I could not see, and I dread talking with difficulty to visitors. He came for an evening, the next week; and very pleasant we were. He was not sorry to leave the valley, this time, — the weather having wearied them all out. But they have not found it any better elsewhere. — Mrs Arnold and Fan have been very kind. Mrs A. is somewhat moved now by the Archp's death. Mrs Turner most strangely and vexatiously told her, spontaneously, that I wrote the Memoir of Whately in "D. News", and she is eager to see it! I am so sorry. However, we have talked him over many a time; and she well knows my view of him. But I had told
C. Turner that the As would not like it, when she wanted to carry it to them: and yet she, of her own motion, told them! I believe my account of him to be, not only true, but what is commonly thought and felt. I know, too, that it is what Lord Carlisle thinks, though his feelings now, amidst tolling bells &c, make him speak as he does. I don't doubt his sincerity; but he talked very differently here. The only practical point is that the Archjo certainly did alienate his clergy terribly by his insolent intolerance of opposition. No clergyman who differed from him, in conversation, on any point, however small, was ever invited to the palace again. — The Lyndhurst Memoir is also mine. (I told you, I think, that he was Mrs Pollen's cousin.) — Well: I must stop, without one word on public affairs! I dare say I shall be writing again soon.

Maria's kind love. My best love, dear friend. Your note was an immense treat, — it seemed to bridge over such a gulf! I fear you have wretched weather at Ardtornish. And how murky and solemn such weather is there! After all I have seen in both hemispheres, I go back to two impressions which distance all others; and one is Iona on the horizon, with that murky sea between. The other is, — what I could not convey to you, — the view before and at sunrise from the Catskill Mountain House. Damascus is quite another affair; and so is a certain red desert view of the Gulf of Akaba.

Well, good bye for a little time. I am much as when we parted. C. Turner finds a marked change for the worse;
and she is right. She has been so good to me! My "Edin: Rev." article is half done. Ever your affects H. Martineau

1. The Wedgwood family home at Maer, Staffordshire.
3. While Miss Darwin was visiting in Ambleside?
5. Daughter? of Mr. Dobson, Esq., Rothay Cottage, Ambleside.
6. He had recently stayed in Norwich; he mentions his pleasure in its cathedral in a letter to his sister Jane, 1 Aug 1863; Letters of Matthew Arnold 1848-1888, ed. George W. E. Russell, 2 vols, 1895, I, 198-99.
7. Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, died 1 Oct 1863. He had been an Oxford don at the same time as Dr. Arnold, and had helped to raise the standard of the study of philosophy at Oxford. Dr. Arnold was a warm supporter of Whately's liberal views and anti-Puseyitism. In later years Whately promoted the study of political science, and was actively engaged in social programs such as the National Schools, Poor Law Reform, and the abolition of penal Transportation.
8. HM's acknowledgement of Whately's early promise but failure to contribute significantly to the Church echoes the Times, 10 Oct 1863; her article is rptd. Biographical Sketches, pp. 175-87.
9. As Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.
10. John Singleton Copley, Baron Lyndhurst (1827-63; DNB), son of American painter John Singleton Copley; former Lord Chancellor, 1827-30, 1834-35, 1841-46. As a brilliant and hard-working young lawyer, he had defended a Luddite rioter 1812, which gained him fame and popular support, defended Queen Caroline before the House of Lords, and undertook other notorious cases. He ended his career in a succession of high level political appointments. HM calls him an "aristocratic self-seeker," who used his genius for reactionary causes; but he was a true Tory rather than a renegade American; Biographical Sketches, pp. 100-7.

11. She had died 1860.

12. In Argyllshire, Scotland, across from the island of Iona.

13. Pine Orchard House, described in Retrospect of Western Travel, I, 86-90.


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Ambleside

Sunday night

Novbr 8/63

My dear friend

Your letter is uncommonly welcome, — all but the news
that your tea infusors had not arrived. We had Miss Dobson yesterday evening, to tea with M. and chat with me. It is rather an event to me, — it is so long since I had seen a specimen of the young lady class. This girl has evidently been made much of, — is considered something superlative by her parents — in which conclusion she dutifully acquiesces. She came in in a skirt which really frightened me and, before M. could introduce us, she had to fly to the fender to snatch the girl's dress from the bars! When she got up to look at something, I observed that it extended very nearly half the width of the room. — She is rather pretty, very confident and ready, and — ignorant beyond all I had supposed possible. Mr. Venables having been staying with the Ds, we naturally talked of his "Saturday" reviewing, and she said that he grumbles so about everything, that his judgment goes for nothing with them. But, proceeding on American matters, she asked me whether I did not think it a pity to wish the slaves' condition altered, because it was so much the best for them! And so on. I was afraid afterwards that I been too like lecturing: but my honest Maria says not; and the girl so jumped at the proposal of coming again that she could not have been offended; — which speaks well for her temper, perhaps. If she thinks proper to come and talk nonsense about things she has never studied, to old people like us, to be sure she ought to take her chance for what she may hear. We shall see whether she really likes to come again, and how she behaves. Meantime, I am glad you and I did not lose one of our few precious evenings on her account. — Next, my queer cook Jane.
We all thought I had no right to send her away without
the proper month's notice: so we bore up till yesterday, —
next Thursday being her day. It has been something of
a trial, not only because she neglected everything, —
starved the fowls, &c &c, — but because no oddity would
have surprised us. When I was reading at night, after
midnight, she sometimes lighted her lamp again (M. saw the
light:) and any noise made me look round, expecting to
see her, with her bloodless and painful face, in her night-
-things, — crazy. We could get nothing done the last
few days. She stood by the kitchen fire, doing nothing;
and when I had her in, and remonstrated on behalf of the
fowls, she said she could not feed them because she was so
busy! It had come to such a pass by yesterday, and the
time was so near, that I thought she could hardly get any
harm by being sent away. (Mother and sister each living
within reach.) So I sent for her after breakfast, told her
to leave before dark, and settled about her wages. She
was much agitated, — M. says with anger, not fear. M.
would not leave the house. Caroline, afraid to be with
Jane, went to engage little Libbie, whom you know, and got
some dinner somehow, and saw that we did. The end was
characteristic. In the afternoon, M. asked for her, to
say something to her; but she was not to be found. She
had certainly not passed the glass door, but she was gone;
and then Car: told us she was in the habit of getting out
by climbing the pales at the back. — Today her sister has
called (apparently a very nice woman;) and she was amazed
to hear that Jane was not settled here quite comfortably.
Jane had concealed from her that she was going away at all. -- So ends the 2d adventure we have had with insane cooks: -- for we cannot doubt that she is wrong in the head. -- The coming girl really does interest us so much that I expect some grand disappointment. She looks much too young: but she has satisfied a mistress in a harder place than this: so the youth may be no evil. We don't expect such cookery again as poor Jane's; but M. can teach in that department; and the girl says she wishes to become a really good cook. Well! see into what domesticities your having been here leads me! We are delightfully quiet, -- the autumn cleaning done, and winter curtains up, and a charming new carpet in my bedroom: and no tourists now. Geraniums all got in: bulbs all potted, and the table-garden (bulbs in moss) already growing: mangolds nearly all housed &c &c. When the cold weather set in, I revived very much; and for above a week I have been better than anytime this year. Not quite so well these 2 last days, and rather puzzled by the numbness and tingling (four times in last night) in the right arm, and hot pain in the fingers. (Nothing to do with lying on the arm; and it has come on just now.) It is one of the tricks of a bad circulation, we suppose: but it makes one think of a possible stop to writing. -- Since my last to you, I have had a pleasant letter from a leading firm in Boston U.S. about my History of the Peace. They are going to republish it in good style in the coming year, and they ask whether I have any wishes about it, and whether I will write an Introduction for their edition. I shall be glad to do this: and I am glad of
the proceeding altogether, for more reasons than one. There are points on which I know that Amerns have profited already,—the book being written not for them: and the Chambers firm have shamefully suppressed, in their preface, that Craik wrote any part of it. They convey that the heavy part written by that worthy man is mine; and I am glad to put on record, at a later date, that it is not.

Today M. has received the letter which I knew was coming,—from dear old Richd Napier (signed by his wife too) telling of the approach of the "Peninsular War", as a mark of their gratitude &c. It is a charming letter to have. I can fancy the pleasure at her father's breakfast table tomorrow. I do hope we shall find an inscription on the flyleaf.

Caroline Weston and Anne Chapman sailed yesterday by the "Persia". I do wish that family were not so given to November voyages. For once, and the only time, a letter of Mrs C's has been lost! It was certainly posted, but has never arrived. Last week however I had one, with a message to you in it. She sends her kindest regards, and thanks for your kind note; and she will write to you soon. I wish you may have one of her naturally glorious letters. She writes most cheerfully of affairs: but not much military or political news lately. The elections have indeed gone capitaly. Today I have pamphlets from Coll Anderson, from Cincinnati (brother of the Sumter "Lieut" Anderson) who was here some months ago; and now is, I suppose by this time, Lt Governor of Ohio. I should like to show these speeches to Secesh gentry who talk of the West joining the South, and "leaving New England out
in the cold". You see Mackay\textsuperscript{9} is back; so I suppose we have his last dying speech in yesterday's \textit{Times}.\textsuperscript{10} He talks of "leave of absence"; but no doubt his blunder about Judge Betts\textsuperscript{11} has ruined him as \textit{Times} Correspondent.

\textit{Entre nous.} All is well about the "Edinburgh" article.\textsuperscript{12} H. Reeve was, we thought, only half-hearted about it, though he praised it as "interesting and novel". I almost doubted whether he might not draw back between this and Janry, — till he wrote, the other day, a question which caused me to write him a long letter full of facts which has had a wonderful effect. He is quite changed, — made me add a passage, and will now, I doubt not, go through the thing with spirit. Of course you will remember not to tell the authorship; and do, when the time comes, see whether any effect is produced. We (H. Reeve, M. and I) expect that there will be, from the history being so little (if at all) known. At the same time, we are very anxious to have producible authority for every considerable statement: and H. Reeve impresses upon me that he is utterly dependent on me for this. It is anxious work: but I feel sure of my ground, while earnestly hoping that there will be no battling upon it. But one must risk one's quiet in such a cause. M's remark is that H. Reeve means to be all right on the Amerm\textsubscript{m} matter; but that he lives among Secesh people: and that my facts have convinced and satisfied him at once. I'm sure I hope it will last.

We are so glad to hear of your visit to Mrs Reid! I had a very nice letter from her about a fortnight since, and shall write to her in a day or two. I suppose she did
not believe the Pam scandal. We hear that it is undoubtedly mere moonshine: and that he must prosecute the conspirators. I have not believed this charge in the least. But, at the same time, I believe that a man of pure life, and domestic habits and tastes, is never subject, in England, to a charge of this nature. OW Pam is paying for his former reputation, I suppose. — I hope you will all help to raise the national outcry against the Kagosima business. Ministers are being very strongly told that the outrage will not be allowed to pass quietly.

Maria has seen Miss Meyer, who is still weak and coughing. Tell me of Mrs Langton's health when you write, please.

Our love to you all, — Ras included. Do write, dear friend, soon to your affectionate

H. Martineau

1. HM treats crinolines as a social evil in "A New Kind of Wilful Murder," Once a Week, 3 Jan 1863, pp. 36-39, quoting numerous cases of mutilation or death, usually from fire.
2. George Stovin Venables, barrister, writer for the Saturday Review from its first issue to his death, friend of Carlyle; he had reviewed HM's work 1840.
3. A publishers' Preface stresses the book's opportune presentation to America of British experience with problems of suffrage, emancipation, paper money, free trade, taxation, and the national debt; partly rptd. Auto., III, 337.
4. The book was published as History of the Peace: Being

5. Richard Napier (1787-1868), barrister, married to Anna Louisa (d. 1867), widow of Capt. Staples, R.N., daughter of Sir J. Stewart, Baronet; younger brother of General Sir William Francis Patrick Napier for whom he had written an obituary memoir, and who was author of History of the War in the Peninsula, 6 vols, 1828-40; mentioned Biographical Sketches, p. 202.

6. Caroline Weston (1808-82), sister, and Anne, daughter of Mrs. Chapman.

7. Republican victories in Pennsylvania and Ohio state elections were hailed as an endorsement of Lincoln's policies, Times, 30 Oct 1863.

8. Robert Anderson (1805-71; DAB), Brigadier-General; defended Fort Sumter, South Carolina, against an overwhelming attack by Confederate troops in the first decisive encounter of the Civil War, 12, 13 April 1861. He was one of six sons of Richard Clough Anderson (1750-1826; DAB).


10. Northern military ineptness, dissatisfaction, unwarranted conceit over resources, unsuccessful levies of troops, and reckless use of former slaves as soldiers are detailed at length; Times, 7Nov 1863.

11. Samuel Rossiter Betts (1768-1868; DAB), judge of the U.S. District Court, New York state, 1826-67. HM's
reference may be to his recent judgment supporting Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus, which caused Mackay to sneer at Abolitionists who, he said, had only abolished the Union, the Constitution, and the writ of habeas corpus; Times, 13 Oct 1863.


13. Lord Palmerston ("Pam"), seventy-nine at this time, was entered as co-respondent in Divorce Court 19 Sept 1863, as having on a number of occasions committed adultery with the wife of a Mr. O'Kane, an Irish Radical journalist. When O'Kane was unable to prove the marriage, the case was dismissed as one of extortion. It may have been instigated by Palmerston's political enemies to oust him from the premiership (as unsuitable for the widowed Queen), but his reputation as a roué was well known.

14. A British Admiral who had entered the Bay of Kagosima, Japan, and seized three ships in satisfaction for an attack on British travellers the previous year, was fired on, Aug 1863. In his over-reaction, the Admiral proceeded to destroy the batteries and to lay waste a great part of the city.

15. Catherine (Darwin) Langton was in poor health at the time of her marriage.

My dearest Fanny

You can't think what a pleasure your letter was. You don't know what such letters are to one like me. I have
been quite overwhelmed of late, — with grief and hard work, and have written no letters, — by Maria's particular desire, — or you would have heard before this. I must wish you and yours a happy New Year; but I will not write at great length. — The grief is about Ld Elgin's death; and I will say nothing about it. Arthur Stanley and Ly Augusta have been very kind, and I have known all the little that could be known. But I had just had a cheerful letter from Lady Elgin, written after the crossing that Jilauri Pass, and he was well then. — But I will pass on to other things.

Some of the hard work you know of. The "Edinburgh" article (you remember that is a secret) has been a thoroughly satisfactory affair, so far. Mr Reeve has warmed and warmed, as my evidence was unfolded, so that, from being very half-hearted about it, he is now as hearty as possible, and full of expectation from the article, which he says is "singularly opportune", — as of course I knew it would be. The objections he made, and his astonishment and satisfaction at the answers, have shown me, more than anything else, how atrociously ignorant London society is of the plainest facts of the case. —

I have just been remonstrating with Mr Knight about a couple of sentences in his charming new volume "Some Passages in a Working Life &c". He quotes an early and witless sneer of Macaulay's against the Americans, and himself applies and points it in a most offensive way. As he asked for my opinion of the book, I tacked this one bit of remonstrance on the thanks I could honestly give.
HM also objects that one of the several references to her must be about someone else; and she "can't conceive how a timid and sensitive man" can publish "such personal and conjugal matters." It is a charming book, however, — and especially the "Prelude."

But about the work. We kept the proofs of the "Edinburgh" article for the Presidt's Message, and got them off on Tuesday of last week, when M. was at all spare times copying my History Chapter for America. (We dared not send it overseas without keeping a copy.) Then arrived the full text of the Message and Amnesty, on Wedy night: so I had to rise early as to be at breakfast before 8, in order to get an article done for the 11 1/2 coach, — and to telegraph to the Office to fetch it in the evening. But, it being Xmas eve, the trains were hours late, and the parcel could not be got till 2 a.m., — and they could not wait. So the article appeared on Saturday, and I might have spared the fatigue. Then, the American M.S. had to go on Thursday; and we did get it off: and finally, the Review of the Year for "D. News" of today had to be done without delay.

Now that all this is finished, we feel comparatively at rest; and we don't intend ever to go through the like again. But then, we did not intend this. — Mrs. Chapman says she has sent you, or got Laugel to send you, his pamphlet: and you tell me so too. As I told him, I am glad he has published it, and I believe it will do much good. (He asked my opinion.) But I regret two omissions, — one about the Past and the other the Future, — which I
fear (I did not tell him just that) will impair its effect very much. He ascribes the prosperity of the people thus far altogether to good government, never even referring to their abundance of Land; (he, ignoring De Tocqueville, twists this into my wishing to defraud the great men of the republic of honour, by ascribing the prosperity to material causes!) The other omission is of all reference to their financial affairs, and especially their paper currency, as in any way altering the course of political or social life. He (a Frenchman and anti-republican) and his wife (who has freely chosen to leave U.S. for life) resent these criticisms mightily (after inviting them) and my thinking Americans wrong or mistaken in any way, after their long wail over national deterioration by Slavery. It really is like a "crack". I need not say it has no effect on Mrs Chapman, who is far far above such mere vanity and partisanship: but her sister Caroline is, I fear, doing all the mischief she can since she got home. She actually asserts these two things among many no truer: — that Sumner’s speech (which she declares to be true and admirable in every way) "compelled Lds Palmn and Russell to seize the Rams;" and that the entire English press is hostile to the North, — "without any exception whatever." — Now, about the rams, — W.E. Forster called here, merely passing through, but very anxious to speak to me, on the evening of Saturday, Sepr 12th. As soon as he was gone, M. and I jotted down what he had told us, — one item of which was this, (then a deep secret:) — that he had heard, before leaving London, the day before from Ld Russell and Mr Adams. that orders to stop the rams were
actually issued. Mr Adams certainly had the regular intimation on the 10th at latest. On Monday 14th it was communicated to the "D. News" editor, officially; and on the 15th it was announced in all the chief London journals. Mr Sumner's speech arrived at Liverpool on the 22d. I have sent these dates to Car: Weston (from my diary and the newspapers; and, as to the English press, I have referred her to her friend Mr Beecher's speech at New York. When asked whether "D. News" is not friendly to the North, she answers that "it always is in a crisis"! — ie, it thought Wilkes wrong in the "Trent" affair &c. Enough of this: but I thought it well to tell you how utterly unreasonable these "patriots" are who stay as long in England, and come back as soon as they possibly can, — spending their years hers, — away from aged parents and home ties. It seems odd! Mrs Chapman, — herself a grandmother, — has been doing the duty of all her sisters to the mother and old aunts, (and has buried 3 out of the 4) while these fierce patriots have been spending four years here and at Paris since their invalid sister's death, for no other reason in the world than that they like Europe. Mrs C. is always right, it seems to me. She is so happy now about the Message; and with good reason: and about Chas Follen, who is doing admirable things.

F. Meyer and I have met at last! She came in a car, for 1/2 an hour at midday, — looking not ill, but old, — blue and wrinkled. She astounded us by her news, — that her illness was not lungs at all, but "Bright's disease", by which the action of the heart was so affected that for
43 hours they expected her death every minute. As she
is not ill now, or certainly does not think herself so,
this is altogether a puzzle to us, though we did not tell
her so. She is still weak, but we hear of no illness.

I owe to you a pleasant and entertaining letter from
Emma Lingen. She is very considerate; but I hope to
write to her some day.

I did not tell you (have not written since) what a
satisfactory job the History has turned out after all.
As soon as I set to work, I saw that what I had to say
should be at the end, except the really prefatory matter.
So I have written the last years of the Peace, — not in so
much detail as the earlier portions, but enough to make it
a complete work, — a History of the Forty Years' Peace.
Messrs. Chambers, you may remember, behaved shabbily about
this; but now their retribution is the clear superiority
of the American edition. The Publishers write that there
must be some doubt about when the work will appear; but
that all looks well for its appearing in the coming season.
They add that they shall pay at once.

We had Miss Dobaon again before they went away to
Naples; and she told us a good story or two.

Poor Jenny Carlyle! Do let me hear of her. If you
think well, give my affectionate remembrances to both; but I
leave it to you whether or not. What a place to have
nervous fever in!

What do I think about Cobden? you ask. Why, it is
a sad pity he was so childish and cross: but it is worth
while, I think, for the irreparable ignominy in which Delane is left.20 I wonder how a man looks who is so exposed, — how he enters a room, and gets spoken to — or not. He thinks he has hidden it, as far as the Times readers go: but the fatal paragraph, with its italics and small capitals, seemed to meet one wherever one looked.21

Such is my short letter! I have left on one side ever so many things, — Lady Richardson's22 courting (vainly) of Maria, at an accidental meeting, (M. being at Fox How, reading to Mrs Arnold a letter of Lady Elgin's.) Also, about some half dozen charming gifts to M. and me. Also about our little cook. Also, about Miss Napier;23 — and so on. But I am quite tired. \\

The last Historiette is very successful indeed:24 — not a copy of those particular Nos to be had in Birmingham, for days together. I begin V.25 when I like.

Love to Eras: ever. I am ever, dear old friend, your affectionate

H. Martineau.

1. He had died 20 Nov at Dhurumsala, Kashmir, from a heart attack, after an ascent to 13,000 feet in the Jilauri Pass; see Biographical Sketches, pp. 108-21.

2. Arthur Stanley had married Lady Augusta Frederica Elizabeth Bruce (1822-76), younger sister of Lord Elgin, former lady-in-waiting to the Queen, 16 Dec 1863.


4. Knight praises Macaulay's juvenile farce in which the
U.S. acquires a perpetual President Hogsflesh; I, 333.

5. Knight describes his boyhood in Windsor in the early years of the century, the local customs, meetings with George III, and excitement over a possible Napoleonic invasion.

6. Lincoln's Message to Congress, 21 Dec 1863, assured foreign powers of the Union's wish to be at peace with them, and his intention to proceed with emancipation. He repeated the offer of amnesty to Confederate citizens who would swear allegiance to the Constitution, but specifically designated those who would be considered as war criminals.

7. 26 Dec 1863; HM's emphasis is on American prospects for European immigrants.

8. Auguste Laugel, French journalist, married to Mrs. Chapman's daughter, née Elizabeth Bates Chapman. His pamphlet has not been identified.

9. Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.

10. The steam vessels built for the Confederacy, intended to carry cotton through the Blockade.

11. Forster consistently supported the Northern cause.

12. Charles Francis Adams (1807-86; DAB), son of John Quincy Adams; American Minister to Britain, 1861-68. The Rams were seized by the British government after he had sent a letter of protest to Lord Russell 5 Sept 1863, using the words "this is war."


14. HM is at pains to prove that Sumner's speech censuring Britain for allowing the Rams to be built reached there after confiscation orders had been given.

15. Henry Ward Beecher (1813-87; DAB), clergyman, reformer;
brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe, had just visited England on his way to and from the Continent, and "thanked God for England," where there was "truth and manliness in the national character," and where one could "breathe freer" after Europe; Times, 2 Dec 1863.

16. The President's Message.

17. HM's illness had originally prevented extension of her History to 1854, for which Robert Chambers had "entered into a treaty" with her; Auto., III, 336-37.

18. Complete publication was delayed and so was full payment.

19. Jane Carlyle had suffered a serious fall, after being thrown against a curbstone by a cab, in early autumn. She was still bedridden at home, with Carlyle as a rather inept nurse.

20. John Thadeus Delane (1817-79; DNB), editor of the Times, 1841-77. Cobden, despairing of Parliamentary reform during Palmerston's lifetime, had spoken to his constituents at Rochdale 24 Nov 1863, on laws as affecting agricultural laborers—hoping to arouse popular interest in finance and land reform. Cobden's fellow Radical, John Bright was present, and spoke on the same topic. The Times reported both speeches, and noted Bright's argument in favor of a greater distribution of land and increased facilities for land transfer as a "proposition for a division among the poor of the lands of the rich;" 3 Dec 1863. On 4 Dec Cobden sent a letter of strong protest at these words, addressed to Delane, which he declined to publish. Cobden's letter and Delane's answer were then
published in the *Daily News*, and the controversy, in which Cobden held Delane personally responsible for anonymous articles which were a "libelous outrage" against two members of Parliament, continued in the *Times* and other British newspapers for several weeks. Hostility to the *Times*, and support for Cobden's character and motives were almost universal.

21. The first leading article of the *Times* 26 Nov 1863, which warned that by reducing the franchise England would obtain an "Assembly which will *SEIZE on the estates of the proprietors* and divide them *GRATUITOUSLY* among the poor," etc.

22. Lady Mary Richardson, youngest daughter of Mrs. Fletcher and wife of Sir John Richardson (1787-1865; DNB), Arctic explorer; see *Biographical Sketches*, pp. 231-37. The Richardsons had retired to Lancerigg, Grasmere, Mrs. Fletcher's former home.


25. "A Family History," *Once a Week*, 6 May-1 July 1865, set in the early eighteenth century, about the South Sea Island fraud. A falling-off in the quality of action and dialogue may explain the long delay in its publication.
Dear friend

I had the sweetest note in the world from Fanny the other day, — only too congenial to present feelings from its hopelessness about Maria.¹ I have waited a few days, in a lingering hope of not having to send the darkest news to Fanny. But yesterday we did not think we could hope again. It seemed as if death was certain and not far off: and 12 hours since I could not have imagined any brightness entering again. But the supposed fatal symptom seems to be passing off not fatally; and this morning she is pronounced better than for 4 days past. — I should be glad to give you (who understand) particulars. But I cannot. I am very ill myself, and can hardly get through anyhow.² Till you hear again, I think you must suppose that, while she may live, the chances are infinitely against it. — Tell Fanny what I say, — with my best love and thanks. Can you let Mrs Reid know? I dare say she is aware that the reports of Maria's mother and sisters are altogether misleading. I could not have imagined such self-delusion as the poor mother's; and they cannot look beyond the smallest details and the passing relief of the moment.

I am lonely therefore. I wish to be alone (I mean in my room and my ways) till the suspense is over. Then my faithful old cousin, Mrs Turner, comes at my call.

I have seen Maria several times. Yesterday morning gave me comfort for ever. But she has since been imploring to try to come to me. She is not delirious, — nor has been, I believe; but she miscalculates her state, and wanders
a little at times. Today she is more like herself in judgment than for days. We have all possible aid and kindness.

Your affec[e] old friend

H.M.

The question is of ability to take food, to hold out till the fever is spent.³

1. Maria had caught typhoid fever after her return from London in Feb. Her friend Emma Sargent, with whom she spent a week almost every year, records that she was struck by Maria's not being "so strong as usual" a few months before her death. "She had been going much to a friend near Ambleside Miss Napier who had a long illness and I always fancied that this predisposed her for the fever Typhoid, which also was not understood in those days; Emma Sargent to Miss Pollock, 31 Jan 1901, MS Mr. and Mrs. J.E. Martineau. HM later was reluctant to let Jenny, Maria's sister, go much to Miss Napier's; HM to the Rev. R.V.P. Graves, n.d., MS University of Birmingham.

2. Earlier Erasmus had noted that Maria was recovering, and that HM herself had "not suffered" and was "writing articles just the same"; Erasmus Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, Feb 1864.

3. Maria died the following day. From Feb 1855 when she accompanied her aunt on the journey homeward in the railway Invalid carriage, Maria had served as companion, amanuensis, and adoptive daughter for HM. In a letter from Mrs. Turner a few days later HM was said to bear the loss well and to continue to work; Erasmus Darwin to Fanny Wedgwood, 10 March
1864; but the sad event marked a downward turn in HM's battle against her own invalidism.

Ambleside
May 20/64

Dear friend

I am so anxious to learn of you and yours! — and yet I don't know whether I ought to ask for a line from any of you, — and I find it difficult to write without knowing better how this will find you. Eras: was so good as to write, just after your return.¹ It was a great comfort; but I have not heard a word since of how Mackintosh goes on.² If there had been any decisive change either way, I think I must have heard. And poor dear Molly too, — how can she bear her burden?³ It was the greatest comfort to hear of the relief to Snow of your return. I had got quite alarmed for her when I found you were not home so long after I had heard you would be. If as I fancy, heat is good for your invalid, I hope I may hear of some revival. I was unwilling to feel better during the late east winds when I thought of him. When I know more about you, I dare say I shall write as fully as usual. It will be a comfort to one of us, I am sure. My dear Jenny⁴ looks better and happier from day to day. You will not expect to hear of my being better in this heat. It is in truth a very uneasy life now, — with so much giving way that I can do nothing without difficulty and uneasiness but thinking and writing.
People speak to Jenny in the road and wherever they meet her, — asking "are you sister to her that is gone down?" The impression of amazed grief seems as strong as ever. "She was so strong," they say; "She had such health!"

I have sold my cottages, — to a kind landlord. The people are so sorry! and so am I; but it is a necessary relief.

Goodbye for today, dear friend. Someone will send me a line. My love to Eras: and thanks for his, — and to Snow for hers. — Ever your affectionate

H. Martineau

1. Fanny had gone to Italy, probably for the sake of Bro's health.
2. Bro died 24 June 1864, aged thirty. A letter of consolation to Fanny recalls his childhood, and notes the imminence of his death for the past two years; HM to Fanny Wedgwood, 27 June 1864, MS Mr. and Mrs. Hensleigh Wedgwood.
4. Maria's younger sister had come to fill her place with HM; (b. 1832).
5. Maria.

Ambleside
Janry 30/65

Dearest Fanny

I fancy you all at home, in such weather as this; but
I don't know, really. Neighbors, including Mrs. Arnold whom HM cannot fancy "anywhere but in her own sofa corner," are going off on visits; Mary's husband, the Rev. Hiley, is "mortally ill." If you saw the paragraph about W.E. Forster being "immersed to the chin" in the river Wharfe, in pulling out a waggoner and horses, (all dead) . . he was not "immersed" at all, but so wet from lying a long time on the wet bank, that he had a horrible cold, and could scarcely speak to his constituents, at the meeting just after. He is a fine fellow; and it is evidently a great vexation to the Times that it can find so little to say against him.

I should hope you all stand the weather well: but I am rather anxious about Eras; even after your last good report. And I quite dread hearing of Mrs Reid and Miss Sturch. One ought not, when friends reach their age: but Mrs Reid, strangely enough, has (or had) a keen longing to live on, happen what may, and is, or was, so loth to go that one dreads it for her, in spite of reason. I have heard of her frequently lately (up to 10 days since) having been in correspondence with Eliza Bostock (about the Middleclass Education Commission.) I left it in E. Bostock's hands whether to tell Mrs Reid about Chas Pollen; and she probably has, lest she should hear it in a worse way. I have not heard one word of C.F. since the first account, which Jenny sent you. For the first time but one in 10 years, Mrs Chapman's weekly letter did not arrive last week; — (I can't find out that any Boston mail arrived;) the preceding, written in good spirits,
apparently, did not mention Charles at all; so she evidently had not then learned where he is,— which is the important thing. If we can learn this, I think his English friends would wish to send him some relief. Among us, we could surely raise £100, to be sent through Barings Brothers or some other chief house, in a draft or bill payable to himself, to make sure of his getting it. But I have no belief that he, after his tender rearing, and with his somewhat self-indulgent habits, could survive a month of a Southern prison. I think the most brutal thing I have heard said in the course of this war was in a letter I had the other day from a man whom I have always before found genial and goodnatured, — Henry Reeve. He seems to have gone over to the South completely since he published my Negro article a year ago. A propos of C. Pollen (he knows my interest in him) and the fearful Report of the Commissioners on Confed: prisons and hospitals, he writes that he has seen that Report; and "cannot help feeling that the sufferers deserve all that they have to endure, for their ferocity in continuing the war." It seems almost incredible, doesn't it? — I wonder whether Goldwin Smith's letter in "D. News" of Saturday struck you as it does me. I could not help following it up by an article: but I don't know whether it will appear. Much depends on whether I am forestalled by one today. This happens wonderfully seldom: but it must happen now and then, as there must be two days' interval between my seeing a thing and replying to, or commenting on, it. Hy Reeve thinks "the Federals may do something" this year, but believes the war will outlast the
existing generation! I think the time for attempts at a settlement is near; but the difficulties are so enormous that I regard the republic, as we have known it, as over and gone. What the next things will be, I don't attempt to prophecy; but it will be long in taking shape; and I have no belief that the national credit can be saved, — that the debt will ever be paid. I can't conceive how our friends bear what they have to suffer, — judging by my feeling about Charles, — so much less dear to me than some of their lost and suffering ones are to them!

Do you know Mr Moran, of the American legation? If so, how do you like him? I ask because he, has sent me books, with the most wonderful letters of acknowledgment of service &c. They seem like mere flattery, but may not be.

Jenny (who is well, and wonderfully cheerful) has today been putting up your "Saturday Reviews" There is nothing like the "Saturday" for some purposes of mine, and I am grateful to you for it.

I was benefited as usual by the cold till yesterday. I suppose it is too cold now, for I don't keep up well, — yesterday and today. I do hope this has been my last new year: and we all believe it. It was a year yesterday that I had the first grave alarm about Maria: — and a year on Saturday last since she wrote her last letter, a birthday greeting to her sister Susan. Jenny prospers here, admirably. My love to you and yours, including Eras: always.

Ever your affecte H.M.
1. _Times_, 19 Jan 1865; the Forsters' home, Wharfeside, was on the River Wharfe.

2. Elizabeth Ann Bostock (d. 1898), friend and trustee of Mrs. Reid, active in the affairs of Bedford College.

3. The second of two parliamentary Commissions, which had been appointed to investigate a number of private, proprietary, and public schools for boys and girls. HM had used the report of the earlier Clarendon Commission, which investigated nine public schools for boys 1864, in "Middle-Class Education in England: Boys," _Cornhill Magazine_, 10 (Oct 1864), 409-26, which discusses the problem of maintaining standards in schools without rigidity and undue governmental interference. HM endorses the Clarendon Commission's recommendation for more emphasis on modern languages, mathematics, and science. In "Middle-Class Education in England: Girls," _Cornhill Magazine_, 10 (Nov 1864), 549-68, and the _Daily News_ 23 Jan 1865, she stresses the neglect of schools for middle-class girls.


5. For some explanation of Follen's whereabouts, see next letter.


7. Goldwin Smith (1823-1910; _DNB_), Stowell Prof. of Law, University College, London, 1846-67. "The Prospect of Peace in America" is optimistic about the settlement of
states' rights and future growth of the U.S., once the war is over. The federal government, he suggests, could assume Confederate bonds at a low discount, to prevent financial ruin of the South; 28 Jan.
8. No leader has been identified.
9. The Civil War was to end April 1865.
10. Benjamin Moran (1820–86; DAB), American charge d'affaires, devoted Anglophile and loyal Unionist, occasional writer.
11. The Saturday Review, begun in 1855 with the aim of offsetting the influence of the Times, employed high-level journalists. Their coverage of the American Civil War was thorough and not overtly pro-South, but they maintained a superior attitude towards the North where for example, the press was said to be "barren" and dull, the Constitution a "sham", and the idea of universal suffrage a "vulgar ambition". "The Advantages of Slavery and the Slave Trade," 20 Feb 1864, pp. 219–21, a review of HM's "The Negro Race in America," shows worldly scepticism of Negro promise, and of her "absurd anecdotes" about Negroes.

Ambleside

To Erasmus

Febry 7/65

Dear Friend

She thanks him for some "delectable" oysters.

We have been in uncertainty again about Chas Follen: but a telegram from himself to Mrs Chapman tells that he is "all right now," after "escaping from the rebels," and having "suffered severely". So it seems that he has not
been "exchanged." Neither was he "captured" in the usual course, but "conscripted, to serve in the rebel army."

The son of the man from whom he rented the plantation was the traitor. C.F.'s partner had carried off their cotton crop, and got it safe, amidst many dangers, to Nashville, when a band came about the house, led by the traitor, and carried Charles off in the cold, not allowing him to put on additional clothin, — not even proper boots, though Mrs. Russell went among them, imploring that much grace. 1 We shall probably hear that he was helped away (we don't know whence) by negroes, who make it their business, all through the Slave States, to feed, and hide, and pass on Federal officers. They cook and carry food, — make hiding-places in the woods, keep guard in the day while the fugitives sleep, ferry them across rivers, and see them over the frontier. 2 The negroes won't do much fighting on the wrong side. The desertion is the most wonderful thing. 300 per week (whites) from Lee's army, to Grant's; and hundreds of Confed: prisoners take service in the Federal army, and are organised into companies, and make good Union soldiers. Confed: officers also refuse to go South in exchange, and many lecture in the Northern States and Canada, telling how they have been tricked or coerced into defending the bad Southern cause. 3 I cannot think the war can go on long now. The bullying tone towards "Europe" on both sides is shocking; 4 and the one side is as unreasonable as the other. A gentle, pious Xn lady at Boston is an illustration of the spirit there when she contends for prohibitory duties on the ground that, by isolating the United States, "the starving labouring classes
in Europe will be driven to cut their employers' throats, and depose sovereigns and aristocracies, and carry matters their own way." How ignorant, as well as mad! — I hear there is a bad article in Fraser about the Abolitionists, and somebody said it is by that ignorant and mischievous dunce Conway. It hope it is, — rather than that there should be two such. His party in U.S. (a handful of mischievous fanatics) have been trying to stop the "Liberator" coming to England, to punish Garrison for supporting Lincoln! I think Garrison has shown himself greater than ever, most magnanimous, during the last year: — and others with him. The honour they give to eleventh-hour men, and their quiet retirement from their special work as soon as it became clear that the work was virtually done, is one of the finest things I know.

"Jenny is well, but the cold weather serves as a reminder of Maria's death just a year before." 7

H. Martineau

1. Pollen's partner, Russell?, is not otherwise identified. Pollen had received a legacy from Lady Byron 1860, which might have provided some capital for his planting enterprise; HM to Mrs. E. Rathbone, 27 Oct 1860, MS University of Birmingham.


3. The source of HM's figures on Southern desertions is unknown, but the desperation of the Confederacy for soldiers is supported by Pres. Jefferson Davis' (1808-88; DAB), Act
of 13 March 1865 which authorized enlistment of Negroes as combat soldiers.

4. Both North and South were disappointed in Great Britain's strict maintenance of neutrality throughout the Civil War, and one faction within the Northern Senate and Cabinet, which included Seward, Sumner and others, made frequent belligerent statements about U.S.-British relations.

5. Moncure D. Conway, "President Lincoln. By an American Abolitionist," says that antislavery men were asleep to have trusted Lincoln's dedication to emancipation as anything more than a means to secure the Union. But the article inadvertently illumines Lincoln's political balance and wisdom; Fraser's Magazine, 71 (Jan 1865), 1-21.

6. Moncure Daniel Conway (1832-1907; DAB), controversial clergyman, anti-slavery writer. After travelling to England 1863, to lecture on behalf of the North, he became pastor of the ultra-liberal South Place Chapel, Finsbury, where he continued until 1884. Among his friends were Carlyle and other distinguished men of letters. HM was permanently disenchanted by his past connections with Southern sympathizers.

7. Garrison's newspaper.

8. Although he supported the war against slave-holders, Garrison had withheld full support of Lincoln until he showed proof of intending to carry out emancipation.

9. Those who had just entered the antislavery crusade.
Dearest Fanny

I won't wait any longer for a betterness which may not come, but write what I can. Her health has deteriorated. After Jenny's visit to her parents, her maid Caroline has now gone to have homeopathic treatment for one of her eyes. But it is comfortless work without her; though we get the best substitute we can. In this age of misery about cooks we ought to be sensible of our privilege in that way. We have had a series of mad and bad; and now we are well off. Mrs Turner has helped us to a Nottingham lace girl, — aged 16, who had never been in service, but had a good mother, who had made her so clean and neathanded and a capital needlewoman. She is so pretty, and of a candid, affectionate, happy temper, — delighted to come, and so happy here that she is like a child at play. She had to learn everything in cookery, except breadmaking and plain boiling; but Jenny and Caroline have a willing and ambitious pupil; and, as far as I see, we never had better dinners than now. She wants to learn to do everything in the very best way. We see no fault in her, except that, when she came, she wanted manners, — talked too loud and too much: but she has nearly cured that. Her parents are so happy and thankful; and I'm sure so are we. She comes in to Jenny to lessons, 3 evenings in the week; but she reads and writes well, and arithmetic is improving. I hope it is not absurd to send you all this: but one hears so much of bad cooks
and no cooks, that it is pleasant to know of one happy case. I shall soon raise her wages, for the saving in my weekly bills is something extraordinary. She began on £9,\(^1\) besides beer and tea money, out of which she saves £2 or £3; and she is to rise to £12, if I live long enough. She is always up at 1/2 past 5; and this is such a comfort, — it sets us forward so for the day. Bed in the morning is my wretched time, and I am eager to leave it.

So it was you that sent me "Miss Berry"!\(^2\) That was a real good deed. I don’t find that anybody enjoys it half so much as I do; but nobody I see had any clear idea of that trio,\(^3\) or cares about their times as I do. I have not finished it even yet, I am glad to say. I read it as you do; and moreover, a big book has come in which must be read at once, — Mr Grote’s Plato.\(^4\) That too is an immense enjoyment in its way. At first, it was pure delight; but as I go on I am rather dismayed at the amount of repetition in it, — an amount so strange that it almost alarms me. E.g. I find nine times, if not more, in the first vol: that Mr Grote believes that none of the Dialogues were produced in the lifetime of Socrates. And so on. But oh! the good it does one to plunge back again, after a long interval, into those old pagan times, with a mind so unlike and a heart so like our own! — I am so slow now — about everything, and reading not least, that I am afraid I must give up one great pleasure and advantage, — the "Saturday Review". I don’t like to think of it, — it has been so useful and such a treat to
me: but I don't in fact half read it now, — much as I wish it: and I ought not to give you and yours the trouble of sending it, if I don't mend by the end of the year. — and that is most improbable. Sometimes I see badly, — sometimes my head fails me, — and everything I do takes so long, and there are more bodily transactions; and I must read the newspapers as long as I go on in "Daily News". The truth is, the main spring of my life snapped when Illost Maria, as I doubt not you understand; and I need not say more.

I have some notion that I told you of Mrs Farrar's mischief to me, — didn't I? She is English born, — but the widow of Prof. Farrar at Harvard. I won't repeat the story, — only that she has now (when near 80) published private conversations of mine, — at sea of 30 years ago, — not perceiving that, owing to confusion of incidents and absence of dates, she represents me as guilty of breach of trust about showing some government documents and telling some government secrets. Cursory readers may not find it out, any more than she herself did; but it was necessary to stop the mischief; and I called her to account. She is all apology and submission, and pleads, — you would never guess what, — "ignorance of political economy, and failure of memory." She has desired her publishers to omit those conversations in future editions, and asks what she can do more. I require an Erratum in every copy of the current edition, explaining that there are errors and omissions in her statement which render it injurious to me in a way she was quite unaware of. I tell you this, in
case of your hearing of it among your American friends. I have not heard of the book on this side the water, and I hope we may not; but the 1st edition was all sold in 3 days. The title is "Recollections of Seventy years." What a book to write with "an impaired memory!"

Isn't it shocking if that letter in the Times about Jamaica, signed "G" is W.R. Greg's, as the "Spectator" says? And yet it had better be his than another's, as we knew that was the way he thought and felt. It is a hateful subject, — this Jamaica one, till justice is done; and I am sure we think alike about it. The comfort about W.E. Forster's office is that we may hope he will do something, and keep Mr Cardwell up to the mark. There is real comfort on the American side now — in the defection of most of the small minority that went with Wendell Phillips and his toadies. He is almost (if not quite) insane in his passion of hatred of the President, and of mortification at the results of his own shocking mistakes. Stearns was one of that "Commonwealth" clique, — (the trumpery paper which Conway misinforms by almost every mail;)

and since Stearn's publication of the President's views (authorized by the President) more and more have been coming over to the just and reasonable and patriotic side, till there is little to fear from Wendell P. or Conway, or any of the wrongheads. I suppose one ought to be surprised that there are so few who have been so unequal to the situation, — unable to give up the role of agitators, and the fancied glory of "leaders", and to see that society has passed them by, and does not want their leadership.
Garrison's moral genius has made him as supreme now as he ever was, though he believes and rejoices that he is lost in the multitude who are pressing on to do right. His simple greatness is more moving to me now than it ever was. And the fussy, rancorous, mischievous opposition of the Phillips handful is more disgusting the more harm it does in trying to render the case of the negroes irremediable by setting all the whites against them,—from the President to the clay-eaters and snuff-suckers.

By Peter Taylor's anxiety to tell the public that his letter (reprinted from America) was written many weeks ago, I hope that he begins to see through Conway's mischief: but friend Peter can't do much harm now, I should think,—having found his level since he went into parliament. Beecher's happy conversion is more important, though he too lacks judgment. It is wonderful that they don't see that the negroes must have the suffrage, for the South's own safety; and that to set the whites and blacks against each other is only impeding and deferring the process which needs all the help that prudence and unity can give.

Well, I must stop,—and what a scribble I am sending you! [She finishes with local and family news.] I have heard no more of Susan Darwin since you wrote. Please tell me. My love to Eras. — Ever your affectionate old crony

H.M. —

1. Per year.
2. Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Mary Berry (1763-1852; DNB) from the Year 1783 to 1852, ed. Theresa Lewis, 3 vols, 1865. The Misses Berry are affectionately recalled in Auto., I, 368-73, even though their parties were "blue" and their Regency manners and dress sometimes startling. HM's Daily News memoir, rptd. Appx A, Auto., I, 437-41, and Biographical Sketches, pp. 293-98, traces Miss Berry's acquaintance with several generations of literary and political figures.

3. The Misses Mary and Agnes Berry, (1764-1852), and Lady Charlotte Lindsay (d. 1849), youngest daughter of Lord North, 1st Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer under George III, "their inseparable friend," Auto., I, 369.

4. George Grote, Plato, and the other Companions of Socrates, 3 vols, 1865. The Grotes were old friends; Auto., I, 344-45.

5. HM continued to write leaders through the first few months of 1866, and to contribute miscellaneous articles until 1873.

6. Eliza Ware (Rotch) Farrar (1791-1870), wife of John Farrar (1779-1853; DAB) Hollis Prof. of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Harvard, 1807-36, was of American Quaker stock. After being ruined in the American Revolution, her grandfather had moved his whaling operations from Nantucket Island to Dunkirk, France, and finally to England during the French Revolution.

7. My Life's Romance; or, Recollections of Seventy Years' Experiences, Philadelphia, 1865, vignettes of literary,
social and political figures of America and Europe, including Fanny’s mother and aunts, the Allen sisters. The Farrars were ship companions of HM on her return to England from the U.S. in 1836, when she gave a lecture on Kant, and provided "extra good" conversation. HM is said to have shown evidence collected for the ministers on the new Poor Laws, loaned to her for Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated, 1833–34, to Lord Durham and Lord Howick (pp. 259–60).

8. A Negro uprising, early Oct 1865, in Morant Bay, Jamaica, had been brutally suppressed by Gov. Edward John Eyre (1815–1901; DNB). It became a Victorian cause célèbre. A committee which demanded the prosecution of Gov. Eyre for execution of accused rebels without proper trial was headed by J.S. Mill; a defence committee which supported his actions in the name of British law and order, was headed by Carlyle and included Ruskin and Tennyson.

9. Greg’s letter of 23 Nov 1865 is sympathetic to the economic distress of Jamaicans, which was responsible for the uprising, but blames those who have encouraged them to forgo labor in the cane fields and become "peasant–proprietors." The Spectator defends the Baptist missionaries who have persuaded Negroes to live on their own plots, and reminds "G" of vindictive laws which the British government has allowed Jamaican planters to make against former slaves; 25 Nov 1865, pp. 1299–1300.

10. He had become Under-Secretary of State for Colonies Nov 1865.

11. Edward Cardwell (1813–86; DNB), Secretary of State for Colonies. At Forster’s urging, a Commission of
Inquiry had left England for Jamaica 18 Nov.

12. Northern radicals who opposed a conciliatory policy towards the South. Phillips was touring the country lecturing on "The South Victorious;" Times, 18 Nov 1865.

13. George Luther Stearns (1809-67; DAB), merchant, supporter of radical causes; see below.

14. Antislavery paper started in Boston 1862, as a more literary rival to Garrison's Liberator, with Conway as first editor.

15. Pres. Andrew Johnson (1808-75; DAB), who had succeeded to the Presidency after the assassination of Lincoln 14 April 1865, wished to leave the issue of Negro suffrage to be determined by individual states; his views were published in Right Way 24 Oct 1865, a paper started by Stearns in Boston 1865, for the special purpose of promoting the rights of freedmen. Weekly copies were mailed to Republican legislators and prominent men throughout the country.

16. The Republican radicals, who hoped to control politics in the conquered states.

17. Not traced.

18. The conversion from the "Radical ranks" to support of Johnson's policies by Henry Ward Beecher, the "Brooklyn parson" who had even made a pilgrimage to Washington, is noted Times, 18 Nov 1865.

19. HM may be referring to strife caused by over-zealous members of the Freedmen's Bureau, carrying out post-war reconstruction in the South, and confiscating property to give to the Blacks. The Radical Republicans supported the elevation of Southern Negroes to full rights of
citizenship, but were opposed by the antebellum state power structures, which had survived virtually intact.

20. She died autumn 1866.

—–

Ambleside

Janry 11/66

My dearest Fanny

"Jenny, "by a series of mistakes," has been the unwitting perpetrator of HM's only failure to get Daily News copy in on time—a "Review of the Year" which she had written with "such fatigue" it seemed she could not undertake it again. HM has feared to be thought too weak to manage her own affairs, but the editor Thomas Walker has been "as generous as possible" about the mistake."

Both my maids are going to see a grand wedding; so J. went forth at 10, to be back in time to send them. The parson's niece is to marry a Capn Dawson, and start at once for the Cape. Today, the feasting is enormous, at the great house opposite; and tomorrow is fasting and humiliation for the Cattle-plague. Will the parsonage fast on the drumsticks of the chickens they have bought up all round the country? How dares he preach as he does? — He, with his £16,000 house, and his 3 carriages, and his dozen servants, and his dainty table, vehemently insisted, last Sunday, that the Cattle-plague is a judgment on our sins, and especially on our addiction to luxury! This, from him to husbandmen and artisans, whom he scolds for their pint of ale and pipe, — even trying to induce the innkeepers not
to sell beer to working men! As you will suppose, religion does not thrive much under his dispensation. I should esteem him more if he was not so civil to me. He would be pretty severe on an "atheist" living on 14s a week wages. Yet he is friendly with me, and has even asked little favours from me.

Ah yes! I dare say I was talked over at the P.A. Taylor Committee. Mrs. P.A.T. had written to me in rank abuse of the President; and really, they do so much mischief (where they ought to do good) by letting Conway lead them by the nose, that it is time they were learning that older abolitionists than themselves think their course wrong, and damaging to the cause. By this time, even they (not Conway, — he is hopeless, from his ignorance and conceit, and from having deserved ill of the old abolitionists) must be finding out their mistake. Wendell Phillips is; and they can hardly lag long behind him. He and Sumner have not, for a long time, represented anybody but a small faction of their own: and now, as you may see, they find themselves almost alone. It is shocking to see them using their influence (while they had it) to render the Negro case desperate, to destroy all hope of reconciliation, to drive the President into the arms of the South, and kindle a war of races, just when the hour for reconciliation had struck; — moreover, calling Garrison a trimmer, because his sagacity contrasts with their blindness. But they are failing in Congress and everywhere. There is abundance of perplexity and difficulty ahead; but there will not be the folly and
destruction which they would have wrought. — What a grief P.A. Taylor's failure in public life must be to many! I never saw any signs of thought or substance of any kind in him; and I did not expect too much; but I hardly supposed that Forster would so very far surpass him in parliament. Forster never was frothy and sensational; but he is naturally impetuous; and his manners used to be something extraordinary. I really never saw a man so improved. Some of the Arnolds see as I do, — and his wife for one, — how very trying his new position must be. Mrs Arnold is all exultation; but Cardwell's Druid speech has, I believe, opened her eyes as to what Forster will have to do to keep his Chef up to the mark. — I wonder whether you read that first book of Miss Eyre's ("Mary Eyre" of the Times) "A Lady's Walks in the South of France". What a disgusting book it is, — a begging book, avowedly written to get money, and disclosing the family poverty, and bemoaning herself all the way through, and preaching and censuring, right and left, and with such adulation of Brougham, as the patron! Between Leonard Edmunds and the Eyres, poor Brougham seems unfortunate in his patronage. But I hear he is very outspoken against Govr Eyre. I wonder what Mrs Davy thinks of it all, — Eyre used to be such a pet of Mrs Fletcher's and all of them. — My doctor is not at the wedding, — for here he comes, past the window.

His story is that the lymph for which he wrote to the Privy Council officer, to vaccinate my cows (and others) has not arrived. Plenty of applications, no doubt.
As for me, the old story; — pulse very bad, in all ways
Although additional food and stimulants are recommended, she feels brandy and port no more "than so much water."
She sends "final thanks" for the Saturday Review which "circumstances force her to give up."

Even you can hardly believe how I have enjoyed Miss Berry. Yet, what a mournful book it is! Milnes always spoke of hers as a vie manquée; but I did not half understand it till now. What a restless ambitious mind! — but too good for the life she led: and the absurd discontent with their lot, without power or will to raise or amend it! I suppose the father was a heavy drag upon her.

It is very interesting to pass from generation to generation of notable people, and get a fresh view of them all: but after all, the interest is mainly in old Horace and his love. It is really most moving, — that love of his, after all one has known of him for so long. How badly Playfair appears, — adulatory and tiresome to blue-stocking ladies; for that is clearly his notion of them all. I was glad to meet Ld Webb Seymour again: but I liked him better in Horner's Life. What possesses all these ladies, — these blues,—that they can't write grammar! Ly Theresa Lewis is almost as bad as Miss Berry. And I don't remember that it was so in one or two of her novels that I read at the time they came out. Her part is very bad; — better than Lady Llanover's, in Mrs Delaney, but far inferior to what one would have looked for. — I am tired (have been counting the carriages mounting opposite from the wedding;) and I must not begin
now on Grote's Plato, — a late immense treat.

We don't hear from poor dear Mrs Reid. We know she can't write, — or only seldom and briefly; and there seems to be nobody to do it. Harriet Higginson (my little niece) called not long ago, and lunched there, and thought her very feeble: but she did not know her formerly. We do and shall write, occasionally; but it is easier when we know how to think of her. So, please tell me what you know when you next write, — which I hope you will do, ill as I seem to deserve it.

You see those American publishers have published my private letter of acknowledgment of their cheque! They mean it as an advertisement of the History: but, trumpery as the procedure is, it is useful to me, — by stopping entreaties to me to work. I shall be let alone now with "D. News", as I wish. Tell me how you yourself are, and how you were "laid up": and how Eras: and all are.

Your loving H.M.

P.S. I have a honeysweet and oilymouth letter from Mrs Farrar, who has done all I required. She was in a great fright. I think she must be losing her faculties. She supposes me writing the History now.

1. H.M's relations with the Rev. C. Bell, who arrived after her litigation over church rates, had been relatively smooth.
2. ?of the 8th, King's; The Cragg, Troutbeck.
3. "Cattle-plague" (Rinderpest) had been noticed first in June 1865 in the dairies of Islington and Lambeth, and
spread gradually northward. A Royal Commission was appointed Oct 1865 to investigate the disease, and though movement of cattle from one locality to another was prohibited, by the end of the year it had reached all parts of the country. Days of Fumiliation were set by the Church at various times to seek for Divine intervention.

4. Taylor was a member of the London Emancipation Committee, which had become the London Emancipation Society 11 Nov 1862. It was founded in 1859 by Frederick William Chesson, son-in-law of the famous British abolitionist George Thompson, but became more active in publishing pamphlets at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation, when John Stuart Mill and John Bright became members. Minutes for meetings of the London Committee, and for the Executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 5 and 3 Jan 1866, fail to mention HM.

5. Clemential(Doughty) Taylor, member of the Ladies Emancipation Society which met at the Taylor home in Notting Hill, and also published a series of pamphlets.

6. HM's allusion is not clear. Phillips had clashed with Garrison Jan 1865 over dissolution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and his opposition to the reconstruction policies of Pres. Johnson continued throughout Johnson's impeachment in 1868. But Phillips' statements were sometimes contradictory.

7. The radicals in the Cabinet and the Senate, and their supporters.

8. By encouraging punitive measures against Southern states which would hinder the process of reconstruction, and
indirectly harm the cause of the Blacks.

9. In order to speed the process of reconstruction, Pres. Johnson, wishing for recognition of Southern state governments, mobilized the vote on the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery permanently within the United States, and some Southern states' votes were included in the published account—which succeeded in swaying public opinion in favor of Johnson's policy; *Times*, 4 Jan 1866.

10. HM's disagreement with Taylor over support of the American radicals must be responsible for this exaggeration.

11. In addition to pro-Northern efforts in the past, and the current investigation into the Gov. Eyre case, Forster was active in educational and Parliamentary reform. HM saw a conflict in Forster, however, between his public character and his Quaker upbringing, of which she disapproved. As Under-Secretary for the Colonies he would lose some freedom of speech and action.

12. A mediocre, self-congratulatory speech given before a meeting of the Ancient Order of the Druids in Oxford Town Hall, Cardwell's constituency; *Times*, 2 Jan 1866.

13. Mary Eyre, sister of the former Gov. Eyre, had written a letter to the *Star* defending her brother's actions, which provoked violent answers, published in the *Times*. Her book was *A Lady's Walks in the South of France* in 1863, 1865.


15. Leonard Edmunds (1802-87), former Clerk of the Patents,
had been tried 1864–65 for laxity and corruption in office, and was dismissed from his post; defended himself at some length in published accounts of his case.

16. Since Mrs. Fletcher had died 1858, it must have been Eyre's early career as an explorer and stock raiser in Australia that she admired.

17. Mr. Shepherd.

18. An order of the Privy Council the previous year had given powers for appointment of veterinary inspectors in areas that were endangered by the "cattle plague." Vaccination of healthy cows was being recommended.

19. In his obituary of Mary Berry, Times, 23 Nov 1852, Richard Monckton Milnes pays tribute to her beauty and her importance to those around her.

20. The Berrys lived on a small income, after their father was disappointed of an inheritance. Their mother having died when they were young, he took the daughters abroad for a time. Mary acted as a mother to her sister, and guide to her father.

21. Horace Walpole's devotion to the Berry sisters began in 1788, and he gave them their home, Little Strawberry Hill, for life. When he became an Earl in 1791, Walpole wanted Mary to marry him in order to inherit his title and fortune, which she declined. At his death 1797, he left each sister £4,000.

22. John Playfair (1748-1819; DNB), Prof. of Mathematics, University of Edinburgh, friend of the Berrys for almost twenty-five years.

23. Lord Webb Seymour, son of the 10th Duke of Somerset,
(1777-1819); a minor figure in literary and political society.

24. Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, 1843.

25. Lady Mary Theresa (Villiers) Lister Lewis (1803-65), daughter-in-law of Sir Frankland Lewis to whom Miss Berry had left her papers; minor novelist and editor of Miss Berry's letters and journals.


27. The second and third editions of Recollections of Seventy Years, Boston, 1866, however, preserve the account of HM's premature revelation of ministerial intentions.

Dear friend

["She inquires about Hensleigh's health; her own "bad circulation" affects "one part of the frame after another." Jenny is down in the meadow seeing after 3 of our precious ducks which thought proper not to come home last night. (p.s.) She found 3 eggs in the brook.) She suspects they have already made a nest there; and she is gone to "circumwent" them, — being able to see them from an upper window. Thence she goes to Fox How, to carry 2 vols of poetry, — not likely to be known here, — for Fan¹ to read from, if she pleases, at the parson's tonight, where the Ladies have poetry meetings. I will lay any wager that nobody there ever read Bryant's "Thanatopsis",² and I hope Fan will have the energy to carry something so
out of the common track. She was going to borrow Mrs Browning's; but the parson is so fond of her poetry that he will probably read some. I have a good mind to tell him, the next time he calls, that she and her husband were both dissenters, — to see the effect of the shock. I ought not to quiz him however; for he is very civil and kind to us. — Thank you, — Fan lent me the "Cornhill," with Matt's bit of sauciness. Mrs A. and Fan, dearly as they love him, disapprove of his writings in that style, — but less of this piece than of the preface to his Essays: and they hope for much good from it. I tell Fan (we are always as plainspoken as can be) that I hope it may do more good than harm; but that it will do harm, — to himself, at all events. Some facts have come under my knowledge, in the way of business, about life in some of the continental states he writes of that would materially alter his view, if he knew them. But of course our complaint of him is his apparent insensibility to the qualities of character and privileges of life which we English, in our deepest enthusiasm, value most. But Fan says she fully believes that he is "a thorough liberal at heart". I doubt it, because he could not treat with so much levity anything that he really had at heart. His butt throughout, is a paragraph of mine in an article I wrote at his desire against, — or showing the alternative of — his view of Middleclass education, abroad and at home. He harps upon my statement that everything in England that is best, in view, will, and achievement, has come out of our Middle classes. He does not venture to put in such a claim for
the lower classes, and himself excludes the aristocracy; so he cannot deny my statement, but laughs at it, and tries to make it ridiculous. We are great friends, — meeting as we do here: but I could not keep it up, I fear, if we lived in the same house, on account of this very preference of his — real or fanciful, — for a life of drill and external uniformity, at the expense of everything that is noblest in mind and heart. All the while, how he himself improves! As a domestic man, he is unsurpassable. The penetrating politeness of his behavior to women, children and servants really raises an enthusiasm for him. Of course you have seen the squib on him in the Examiner ("Mr Sampson"). I saw it in a Liverpool paper. One sees him in almost every newspaper now. "D. News" rapped his knuckles a month since (I don't know who did it) and I see the Times did it yesterday; and his family hope the notoriety will not spoil him. I should fear that notoriety from being ungenial can hardly be very wholesome. — I have been unexpectedly interested — unexpectedly as to degree — in my old friend Babbage's "Passages in the Life &c." I dare say you read it, and half forgot it, months or years ago. I did not like the look of it in the notices I saw: but I let it come in the Mudie box; and I have been almost terribly interested in it. So I had better not say more of it in my condition of today. His face and his voice come back with painful vividness while I read; and the wild and weak and unaccountable bits here and there give me again the old qualms I used to feel when some called him tipsy, and I doubted
whether it was that or his being a sort of inspired idiot.

Some tremendous glimpses in this book are like inspiration; and one is amazed at the utter lowness and levity of the critical notices of it. Then, I remember that nobody can in the least estimate the man who knows nothing of his wife and her death. He does not touch on this, — the grand interest of his life. If you and I ever should meet again, I should like to tell you an illustrative anecdote about Mr Ker, in regard to Babbage, — too long to write here, — for I must stop. — Yes, we were all very anxious about the Atrato, after the alarm which sent up the premium at Lloyd's. It seems to me that everybody does expect the dissolution of the Ministry, however they may protest to the contrary. (Delane was to have dined at Lord Clarendon's on Weds., but was too much ashamed to appear.)

Lord Russell appears miserably, by all I hear; and Gladstone — old, nervous, anxious, and conscious of lack of authority in the House. The Arnolds can't bear to hear this; but I rather think it is true. — I have taken no notice in "D. News" of poor George Bancroft's exploit. One can't speak out about him, because of the family lunacy, — he being, I believe, the only sane member, — if sane.

His political disrepute was long ago such that he had to leave Boston, — he and wife not being visited there. I knew him first in his student days, — when he had left the Unitarian pulpit for his study and his History. Then his wife died, he married the odious woman you probably saw when he was ambassador here; and he betook himself to political life, and lost himself utterly.
thing went down before his miserable nerves, and he must have lost his own respect as well as that of all the world. They visited me here; and when they were gone, I wondered whether I had ever spent a day with two persons so utterly distasteful to me. I mean chiefly by their audacious flatteries and fearful hollowness. The impression was the same in London. In this last case of the Lincoln éloge the blame rests with those who set him up to "orate" in the Capitol. I shall take care that Sir F. Bruce hears the real story of the man. — He, (Bancroft) was one of a party who took me to see a Lunatic Asylum in Masslts: and if I lived 1000 years I should never forget it.

I have nothing particular to say of myself, Of course I feel wretchedly enough; but nothing new. Jenny is as well as possible; and we shall both feel the relief of the (to us) heavy month of Febry being over. Yet we know what I must expect when the light and heat and stir of spring come to weigh upon me. J. goes home next month for 4 weeks; and my faithful coz, C. Turner, offers herself to me, as she cannot come in the autumn, if I live so long. — How happy your College girls are! — judging by my dear little niece. Her letters overflow with happiness; and we trust she is working to great profit. Mrs Reid's last short note seems to show that I must look for no more. She does not say so; but we don't think she really can write. My love to you and yours, including Ras. When you write, do tell me of Susan D.

I am, dearest Fanny, ever your affectionate
H. Martineau.
1. Frances Bunsen Trevenen Whately Arnold (b. 1833), Mrs. Arnold's youngest daughter.

2. William Cullen Bryant's (1794-1878; DAB), blank verse poem, written in its first version when he was sixteen, is modelled on Blair's "Grave" and other eighteenth-century descriptive poems. The philosophical consolation of a return to Nature in death may have appealed to HM; for her praise of Bryant and "Thanatopsis" see Society in America, III, 214-15.

3. Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61; DNB), had been an admirer and correspondent of HM's during her illness at Tynemouth. HM expressed qualified admiration for Mrs. Browning's poetry, was estatic about Robert Browning's, and took an approving view of their marriage; Auto., I, 352, 417-18. For Robert Browning's friendship with the Wedgwoods, especially his romance with Snow from 1863 to March 1865, when she asked him not to visit her again, see Robert Browning and Julia Wedgwood: a Broken Friendship as Revealed in Their Letters, ed. Richard Curle, 1937.

4. "My Countrymen," one of Arnold's most telling, and in places hilarious, pictures of national mediocrity which he claims is due to the prevailing spirit of commerce, bolstered by middle-class narrowness and complacency; 13 (Feb 1865), 153-72 rptd. Friendship's Garland, 1871.

5. "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," Essays in Criticism, 1865; Arnold's announced excursion into the realm of social criticism from the starting point of literary criticism, unacceptable to HM because of his disaffection with middle-class values.
6. Arnold had published the favorable results of his investigations of European educational institutions in Popular Education in France, 1861, and A French Eton, or Middle Class Education and the State, 1864.

7. Arnold's quotation on the greatness of the English middle class is taken from HM, Daily News, 7 Dec 1864: "My Countrymen," p. 154. Arnold had written to HM 15 July 1864 to urge her to write the article on middle-class education published in the Cornhill Magazine 1864. In another letter (7 July 1864), he was more general: "Do what you can to enlarge and liberalise our middle class spirit, whether by public education or in any other way;"

MS University of Birmingham.

8. W.H.D., 17 Feb 1866, pp. 99-100; a parody of Arnold's "My Countrymen," which a French spokesman is gulled into labelling "bosh".

9. 1 Feb 1866; a letter from "A Practical Man" opposes a correspondent, "Lover of Light", over state interference in schools.

10. The Times, 1 March 1866, argues that an acquaintance with Continental music and art, which English "Philistines" lack, is a poor substitute for the independence and political capacity of all English classes; a view much like HM's.

11. Charles Babbage (1792-1871; DNB), mathematician and mechanical genius; best known for his calculating machine, an early form of computer; Passages from the Life of a Philosopher, 1864.

12. HM's portrait of Babbage in Auto., I, 351, 354-55, shows her sympathy with his misunderstood genius. He had been
grief-stricken at the death of his wife in childbirth 1827, and reportedly kept his vow never to mention her name again until he was on his own deathbed.

13. Charles Henry Bellenden Ker, also a friend from HM's London days.

14. The steam mail packet Atrato, carrying members of the Royal Commission to investigate the recent uprisings in Jamaica, was feared missing when a piece of her equipment washed ashore after a storm. Her insurance premiums rose to twenty guineas at Richard Harman Eagle Lloyd, ... insurance, 60 & 62 Lombard St., London. The Atrato arrived safely at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, 12 Feb 1866.

15. A comment from "The Owl", Times, 1 March 1866, gives farewell congratulations to Lord Russell, Prime Minister, and Sir George Grey, Home Secretary, who it says, will give up their places to a new generation once the Reform is passed. The rumour of their resignation is half-heartedly denied the following day.


17. Russell had gone through the strain of maintaining England's neutrality in the American Civil War (1861-65), but was determined to see through the new Reform Bill. He later refused a seat in the Cabinet on Gladstone's return to power Dec 1868.

18. William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98; DNB), had done a superhuman amount of work since the previous autumn when, at Palmerston's death, Russell became Prime Minister and
asked Gladstone to continue as Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as to become leader of the House of Commons. There was a diverse liberal faction within the Commons which Gladstone was unable to control.

19. George Bancroft's (1800-91; DAB), *Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln*, before Congress 12 Feb 1866, blamed England for recognition of the belligerent rights of a nation dedicated to the maintenance of slavery; and, in an extended comparison of Lincoln with Palmerston, stressed the latter's superficial, aristocratic, and essentially narrow dedication to England only, whereas Lincoln represented a whole people of mostly humble status, and his thoughts were for the future of all mankind.

20. HM's statement is a gross exaggeration. Bancroft was a fringe member of the New England Trancendentalists, and came from a family of fearless individuals. His father's Arminian preaching had led him to found a separate Congregational Church in Worcester, Massachusetts.

21. As a Jacksonian Democrat appointed Collector of the Port of Boston 1837-41, Bancroft was an anomaly among his aristocratic Whig acquaintances.

22. HM calls Bancroft "an historian of promise," and praises his "philosophy of the society of the United States"—a belief in progress, and an interpretation of American history as dependent upon the will to self-government, guided by Providence; *Society in America*, III, 215. He was her enthusiastic host in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1835; *Retrospect of Western Travel*; III, 10-13. Bancroft married Mrs. Elizabeth (Davis) Bliss, a widow with two sons,
1838. She is otherwise described as charming, witty, and handsome and, in spite of snubs in Boston, a loyal companion. Although losing his bid for the governorship of Massachusetts 1844, Bancroft had served as Sec. of the Navy 1845-48, and Minister to Great Britain 1846-49, under Pres. Polk. He was to become Minister to Prussia 1867-73.

23. Although he was not an impressive orator, Bancroft, a Democrat, was chosen to give the first commemorative address on Lincoln’s birthday partly because he had given a memorable address at the death of Andrew Jackson 27 June 1845, and, it was later revealed, had written Pres. Johnson’s first annual message to Congress Dec 1865. Moreover, the first choice of the committee from both houses, Sec. of State Edwin M. Stanton, had declined the invitation to speak.

24. Sir Frederick William Adolphus Bruce (1814-67; DNB), British Minister to the U.S., did not hear the address, Bancroft having taken care to prevent his presence.

25. Bancroft later gathered voluminous information from the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester in order to determine the nature and causes of the insanity of George III for his history.

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Ambleside

April 16/66

My dearest Fanny

I won’t wait for capacity to write at length. Who
knows whether I should ever write, if I did so?” Her “faithful and tender old Coz,” Mrs. Turner, is with her in Jenny’s absence, but “head attacks” are progressively sapping Hip’s strength. She does not lament Mrs. Reid’s recent death in spite of their long friendship, because of her final “decay of mind.” Is Miss Sturch so inaccessible? I know few who know her; but, from my own experience, I should hardly have supposed it. She and I used to have endless talks over our tête-à-tête breakfast; and she told me things almost as intimate as ever Mrs. R. did. Her manner, however, I can imagine would be rather repelling.

Do tell me if you go abroad, — and when, and where. If Mr. W. improves as the spring comes on, will you go? Rome does not seem to suit English people this year: but you won’t go there. Poor Mrs. Davy, — feeble, infirm, and excessively deaf, is just gone, with the Dr. — to Rome! I hope some fitting help is going with them. I tell Mrs. Turner I hope she will behave pretty, as we have not just now a magistrate nearer than High Close.¹ I don’t think that is right, — the whole set of JPs wandering away, and leaving us to the rogues and vagabonds.

Now — I won’t begin on another sheet, because I am bent on doing what I ought while Jenny is away. So, not a word on books or politics this time! J. says Mrs. Arnold is the only person of all our acquaintance (except M. Ps) who cares about the Reform Bill.²

Do please write before you go. And tell me of Susan Darwin, and how the Darwin-Smith-Carter trio get on at
Cannes. — How Eras: is — of course, and Mr Wedgwood.
— Ever your affectionate H.M.

1. A distant lookout spot above Loughrigg Tarn, west of Ambleside.
2. The Reform Bill to extend the vote to working-class householders in the boroughs had been introduced by Gladstone 12 March 1866. He urged MP's to "welcome" new "recruits" to suffrage. The Bill was discussed at meetings throughout the country, and was given a second reading 12 April 1866. When it failed to pass in committee, because of opposition by Whigs as well as Tories, the government fell, 13 June 1866.
3. Henrietta Darwin (b. 1843), third daughter of Charles Darwin, and two grandnieces? of Julia Smith were staying in the South of France.

Ambleside
Augt 10/66

Dearest Fanny

[Fanny has tentatively offered to come to stay while Jenny is away. In the event, the Wedgwood visit was to be delayed until November.]

If you could think of coming in that way, would you like to bring a daughter with you? and would she like, or bear with, such an odd sort of visit? I believe you know how very little I can now do and bear. Sometimes I can hear almost nothing: sometimes I can't speak without
difficulty; and, except the Arnolds and Miss Meyer, I very seldom see anybody. Still,—I fancy you and I could even yet enjoy some satisfaction together, if we might but try.

Here I will leave it; for I am sure you know exactly what I mean, and how I feel.

As for how I am,—I had three head-attacks last week, and two more on Sunday. I never had such a series of them before; but I am not so weak under them as I was in April.

Yesterday afternoon, Rosa Beaufort and a niece called! Of course, I did not see her; but I really must try, as I am sending word to her by Jenny. She, 3 nieces and a nephew are at Waterhead, at my old lodgings, which they have taken for two months. It seems impossible that a Beaufort should be there two months without our meeting. We are lending one another books, and J. and I shall try to be of any possible use to them. But I was obliged to say "No" at last, in June, to dear Ly Elgin's offer to come to a lodging at hand, for two or three weeks. It was then so uncertain whether we could get any talk at all, that I could not let her run the risk.

Her boys are at home with her now at Broomhall and I see she is reviving. I am sure you will write at once, if you can give me any hope. I hope you will give rather better news of Eras: My love to him and all of you; and I am ever your affectionate

H. Martineau.

1. The Elgin family estate.
Dear friend

I was so glad to see the "E.D." on the oyster barrel yesterday! She has hoped to see Fanny and asks for a line or two, if any of the Wedgwoods "are at his elbow." I fear your sister's illness must have been a great suffering to you; and now that she and her sisters are at rest, there must remain to you a sense of desolation which it grieves me to think that you have to bear. We little thought, in middle life, that you would be the survivor of so many. We must have patience,—you and I; and we may surely believe that it cannot now be for very long. And I suppose you find, as I do, that, in proportion as these ties snap, it is easier to wait, because it is of the less importance what happens to us. As for me, I appear and feel much less subject to utter exhaustion than in the Spring; but there are other things in the place of that sort of exhaustion, so that it is impossible to say more than that I am, on the whole, easier, while much less capable. — Your oysters are most particularly welcome just now; and nothing could be more unexpected. We thought they had been quite out of the question this season. Jenny and I thank you very much.

I have many things to say; but I have been writing a rather particular letter, which must make me short with this. Mr. Froude writes, as Editor, to ask me for an article for "Fraser" (can't do it, of course;) and he
explains that he writes as Editor because, after the way in which he treated me formerly, it must rest with me whether to acknowledge him as an acquaintance or not. I have told him the simple truth, — that I am not, and never was, angry; but that I was puzzled by a caprice which was new to me, and which left no sense of security in intercourse. There was no occasion to say anything of my total impression of him and his doings, which is unfavourable, as you know, — for I think of him just as I did when we used to talk him over. — Yet I am going, after long holding-out, to order his Queen Elizth from Mudie's.

One thing more. — The Stanleys (Dean and wife) were here last month; and they spoke much and with strong interest of Snow, — as I dare say she has of them to you. They and she evidently suit well, and I am glad they have met so pleasantly. — He looks wretchedly; — and Lady Augusta quite blooming.

Jenny has transacted her month's absence early this autumn; — early, for the sake of my having our much-beloved Harriet Higginson, — my sister Ellen's daughter, — to take care of me. I wonder whether you ever see, and in any way know, any of the Bedford Square students. I never in my life was so enchanted with a girl of her age. It is curious to see how happy such girls are at the College. I remember nothing like it, as far as I saw when I was young.

Dear friend, I am ever yours affectionately

H. Martineau.
1. Susan Darwin had just died; Marianne, the eldest sister, had died in 1858, and Catherine, married to the Rev. Charles Langton in 1863, had died Feb 1866.

2. Erasmus lived until 1881.

3. In "Materialism: Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson," Froude had lambasted both authors of Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development for their Materialism, and Atkinson in particular for sophistical reasoning, fuzzy use of language, and ignorance of precedents for his ideas; Fraser's Magazine, 43 (April 1851), 413–34.


5. Through Thomas Erskine (1788-1870; DNB), of Linlathen, an eclectic theologian who had many friends and disciples, including Carlyle, F.D. Maurice, and Dean Stanley. Snow had met him through Mrs. Rich; she paid long visits to his home, and carried on an extended correspondence with him. His brother, William Erskine, had married Fanny's half-sister Maitland (b. 1792).

6. Dean Stanley was working more than conscientiously at his duties as Dean of Westminster.

7. Erasmus was still in close touch with Bedford College as Chairman of the Council.

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Ambleside
Novbr 5/66

My dearest Fanny

It was a great comfort to see your handwriting again,
and to hear of Eras: and yourselves. The hope of seeing you had grown dim under the delay; but I did need to hear something of you. There is all the difference in the world between having a note of 6 lines and utter silence; and I seem now to hear of you only from yourselves. Dear Mrs Reid gone,— and Julia Smith so seldom in London, (in Algiers this winter) and nobody ever knowing where she is,— and Hilary gone,¹ and others dispersed, — you are my only resource about yourselves. — She inquires about Miss Sturch, who may not live long (and whose annual £300 left her by Mrs. Reid was to revert to Bedford College on her death). HM has heard much lately of the increasing worldliness of Sir Henry and Lady Holland, and regrets it as "rather sad." If they did but know — Sir Henry and Lady, — how, after their lifelong pursuit of the great, they make themselves despised and get laughed at for their insolence and timidity to people inferior and superior to themselves, it would be a wholesome shock to them, and they would see how they get "cut" by persons whose esteem they once valued. Some flagrant recent cases show that they do not get wiser with age. I have known it in him since years before I ever saw him; and in her when she was Saba Smith;² and it was plain, 30 years ago, that they would miss the object for which they sacrificed so much, and be regarded as snobs after all.³ His son is spoken of as altogether delightful, both as a gentleman and in his clerical function;⁴ and Mrs C. Buxton⁵ seems to be as good and happy and beloved as the friends of her mother and of her own youth could wish. Her
husband is a good fellow; but I do wish he had an abler intellect. He does make such mistakes! and is so forward in making them! Yet, I like and admire him very much.

My great interest now is the Jamaica Committee, which I take to be the best test of what we are worth, as English citizens, that has been offered in my time. It is a wonderful way of separating the sheep from the goats, and the muddle-pated from the clearsighted, and the superficial from the wellgrounded. It will make great havoc among brilliant reputations, I dare say, and generate every possible excuse for shrinking from sound citizen duty; but that is better than going on into deeper unsoundness. I am very glad indeed to see Sir C. Lyell's name on the true side. I know little of individual names as yet; but F. Arnold tells me that in Bradford alone £1000 were raised immediately. I have a charming note from the Comee in reply to my little subscription. W.E. Forster has disappointed us for the first time in his public life. It would take too long to show you how it has happened, — between his Quakerism and his official trammels, and other causes. The painful fact is that he argues what nobody disputes, thinks himself distrusted on the very point on which nobody doubts him (his interest in the negroes) and prejudices precisely the questions which are to come before the Courts. F. Arnold candidly agrees in all this, and goes very nearly, if not quite, as far as I do in the conviction of the duty of every citizen (and citizeness) to sustain the Comee. Matt: A. asked me the other day if I ever saw anything so wretched as the
figure the literary men cut in the affair. I was glad to hear this from him. — The Arnolds have been much moved by the death of Dr Cotton (Bishop of Calcutta.) I suppose you know more or less of that story, — of his connexion with Dr A's death. He was here in 1858, before going out to India, — years after Jane's marriage; and he and his wife were very dear to Mrs A. and Fan. Mrs A. and Matt: both told me, — earnest to impress me with what I well knew before, — how Jane was less interested in him, and less moved by his death, than her mother and sisters. It was a match made for her by circumstances (and pere) when she was in her teens; and W.E. Forster has been her true and only love. I saw this plainly enough when they came together. Dr Cotton's miserable mother is still living; but his sister has escaped from that unhappy home. She went out on a visit to him at Calcutta, and is happily married to one of his clergy.

How good it was of you to copy that bit of Whately! How coolly he ignores Malthus and Ricardo and others, and throws their doctrines on me! and overlooks the main fact that I was not myself a Polity, but only an illus¬trator of the primary philosophers! As to the "religion," I was at that time a fanatic in that direction; and in that some year I published the "Traditions of Palestine". Have you seen Mr Thom's letter in the "Spectator", on the repetition of the long-exposed slanders about himself and Blanco White? How beautifully it is done! — as I doubt not the fuller defence will be as dignified. It is a shame of Jane Whately to have reissued that ruinous
chapter of her father's history. It seems that she has dropped the imputation of "the sordid motive of turning the penny"; but the others were no less thoroughly refuted nearly 20 years ago. Fan A. says she would read the book if she were me, because I dislike and disapprove the man; and perhaps I shall; but if she knew what I have always felt of his having been monstrously overrated, and what I found his reputation to be in Ireland, and what good Lord Carlisle thought of him, she would hardly advise it. And I hear it is not an interesting book except to his admirers. I am rather curious to see how Jane W. gets over his and wife's behaviour about the National Schools in their latter years. — I have sent for Proude's "Elizabeth" from Mudie's. I was so displeased with his "Henry", felt so insecure about the facts, from some facts that I know about his treatment of evidence, — that I meant to read no more: but the reviews are very tempting; and I shall try again. He may have left off writing about himself and his sensibilities by this time. He is the only historian I know of who ever did that; and it is sadly out of place in a History.

One dread which is sickening me now is of Arthur Kavanagh getting his election for County Wexford. I fear there is scarcely a doubt. You remember, no doubt, about his eastern travels, when he and party waited for us in the Desert, and there was no escape from them. The poor wretch born without limbs, you remember. His two elder brothers died by accidents, while he survived to inherit the property and influence. He is inconceivably
disgusting, — parading his monstrosity everywhere, —
overbearing everybody, because nobody can bear to refuse
him anything; — a gross and low gossip, — not clever,
very ignorant, — and such a monstrous trunk and head.,
carried on a man's shoulders! and this creature to enter
parliament! He is a rank Irish Tory, — and that is
better than if he was an English liberal. It seemed
rather a stretch Fawcett's entering;²⁵ but he needs only
a friend's arm in and out, and has such qualifications!
Kavanagh must be carried, or pushed in a perambulator,
and thus must introduce a servant, and cannot vote, nor
any way shift for himself without. Nobody has the least
influence with him; and he will sacrifice the dignity of
parliament to his own self-display. The Wexford peasantry
adore him, — with some mixture of superstition, probably.
In India, where he went for sport, the Hindoos took him
for a god, and set him up for worship, with cakes and
flowers. — Isn't it odious? And I fear it is to be.
The Speaker ought to know the facts in good time.

Another thing, — a family matter — makes us very
happy. My nephew Phillip, (Harriet's only brother, who
was so anxious when here about his B.A. degree) has passed
with high credit, — being in the first class.²⁶ It
is such a comfort to his parents, and his sister and himself,
and all of us! And the hardest years of study are over.

— I have not said a word of America, — plenty as
I have in my head!²⁷ I must leave it now. She suffers
from "indomitable diarrhoea", but opiates relieve the
"nervous exhaustion which looked so like dying in the
1. Hilary Bonham Carter had died of cancer after great suffering, 6 Sept 1865.

2. HM is not aware of the death, 2 Nov 1866, of Saba, Lady Holland, daughter of Sydney Smith, who had married Sir Henry as his second wife in 1834. Hensleigh's grandmother, Mrs. Josiah Wedgwood of Maer, had noted Saba Smith's "genteel" hyper-education, "so that all nature is gone" in 1816; Darwin Letters, I, 91.

3. From the time of his attendance on the Princess of Wales, later Queen Caroline, in 1814, Sir Henry's fashionable practice had grown until he became physician in ordinary to the Prince Consort 1840, and to Queen Victoria 1852.

4. Francis James Holland, second son of Sir Henry by his first wife, née Emma Caldwell, sister of Anne Caldwell-Marsh; Canon of Canterbury.

5. Eldest daughter of Sir Henry and Lady Saba Holland, married 1850 to Charles Buxton (1823-71; DNB), son of Thomas Fowell Buxton, philanthropist; liberal politician.

6. HM must be referring to Buxton's resignation as Chairman of the Jamaica Committee, which affirmed that it was the Government's duty to inquire into illegal acts against British subjects, and to take action when citizens' rights had been violated. In particular, it championed the cause of George William Gordon, a Jamaican leader who had been arrested in Kingston, where martial law was not in force, taken to a district under martial law and there court-
—martialled and executed. Buxton deplored what had been done, but stopped short of wanting to charge Eyre with a capital offense.

7. J.S. Mill had become Chairman of the Committee 10 July 1866. It intended to appeal to judicial authority against Eyre, if the Government failed to do so, and had begun raising funds for a legal battle. Public meetings, attended by working-men, demanded justice against Eyre, and the matter was widely discussed in the press.

8. The constituency of W.E. Forster.

9. As a minor figure in the Government, Forster was bound to abide by official policy, which had been simply to recall Gov. Eyre. He regretted what seemed to be desertion of the cause of the Negro, but argued that after giving Gov. Eyre the right to declare martial law, the Government should not punish him for doing what he judged to be his duty.

10. Dr. George Edward Lynch Cotton (1813–66; DNB), Bishop of Calcutta 1858–66; housemaster at Rugby for fifteen years under Dr. Arnold, and one of his most earnest disciples. He had established a system of schools for Anglo-Indians and Eurasians in India. He fell from a river ferry 6 Oct 1866, and his body was never recovered.

11. Cotton had broken his engagement to Jane Arnold in mid-May 1842, a severe shock to the Arnolds, which reportedly brought on Dr. Arnold's attack of fever a few days later. Dr. Arnold recovered only briefly before his fatal heart attack 11 June 1842.

12. To W. E. Forster 1850.

13. But Jane had apparently been in love with Cotton.
14. Mrs. Hutchinson Simpson, widowed two weeks after his birth, and then remarried; possibly an alcoholic.
15. Not otherwise identified.
16. In Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D., Late Archbishop of Dublin, ed. Elizabeth Jane Whately, 3 vols, 1866; in a letter to Miss Crabtree 7 Jan 1833, Whately recommends using stories to teach political economy, and says that HM writes good tales but lacks the correct view, being a servile follower of the classical political economists; I, 180. Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834; DNB), political economist, wrote Essay on Population, 1798. David Ricardo (1772-1832; DNB), principle founder of the classical school of political economy, wrote Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, 1817. Whately condemns the Poor Law, though he believes in supervised charity; he does not agree that the "laws" of political economy automatically work for human progress.
17. Whately complains that HM's tales have little reference to religion, adding, "She is, I believe, a Unitarian," I, 181. Her Traditions of Palestine, 1830, were stories set in the Holy Lands at the time of Christ.
18. John Hamilton Thorn (1808-94; DNB), Unitarian divine, long-time friend of James Martineau; editor of The Life of Blanco White, 1845; Thom ascribes "no untruthfulness to the Archbishop," but believes he was "capable of being blinded and driven by wilfulness," Spectator, 20 Oct 1866, p. 1168. Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841; DNB), theological writer; had given up Roman Catholic priesthood in his native Spain, came to England and qualified as a clergyman
of the Church of England 1814. He accompanied Whately to Dublin 1831, where he served as a tutor to his son, but eventually left the Church and became a Unitarian. Whately's *Life* quotes a letter (II, 32-34) in which he attributes Blanco White's Unitariansism to an "unsound mind," and in which he originally charged Thom with writing Blanco White's *Life* simply for gain.

19. As editor of her father's *Life*.

20. She omitted those words from the published version of Whately's letter about Thom's writing of Blanco White's *Life*.

21. Whately's sincere efforts in social reform, but his inability to accept any difference of opinion from his own, had led to personal animosities.

22. Whately had resigned as head of the Commission to administer a system of "united national education" appointed 1831, when religious materials he had prepared for use in National Schools were rejected by Roman Catholic members of the Commission, 1852. His wife's reaction is not mentioned.

23. Froude's style is fluent, but informal, with frequent use of expressions such as "I think" or "I select" (of the evidence), and a frank encouragement to the reader to project his sympathies to past times; it is entirely opposed to the technique used by HM in *History of the Peace*, a chronicle of events from a (nominally) objective point of view, with fully documented sources for each point.

24. Arthur Macmorrough Kavanagh (1831-89; *DNB*), Irish Conservative MP 1866-80. In spite of physical deformities,
he was an avid sportsman and traveller.

25. Henry Fawcett (1833–84; DNB), follower of J.S. Mill, Prof. of Political Economy, Cambridge, 1863–84, became an MP 1865. He had been blinded in a shooting accident 1858.

26. Phillip Martineau Higginson (b. 1847), became a Dissenting Minister. His university is not identified.

27. The results of state elections in the U.S. showed that Republicans were likely to be in control of Congress and determined to control the process of Southern reconstruction, after Pres. Johnson's switch to the Democratic Party. Corruption in Democratically-controlled New York city politics was the subject of editorials in the Times, 4, 5 Nov 1866.

Ambleside

<To Erasmus> Dechr 16/66

Dear friend

Here are your good oysters again! And they are good! My doctor is almost as much pleased as we are; for it happens that they agree with me entirely; and there are at present so many things that I may not indulge in, that it pleases him that I should have these, — and also such a splendid parcel of game as arrived from Lincolnshire the same day. There came also a vast barrel of the very choicest American apples, — delicious beyond compare, but forbidden fruit to me: but with them came leave to give them away; and there is quite a fuss about them in the
valley. Miss Meyer writes me (but don't tell Tom Apple ton or his sister) that they are, in her view, "the most pleasing representative of that nation". (She is German; and Americans are not popular in her country. She says English manners are in ill repute there mainly through the crowds of Americans being taken for English.)

One of the pleasantest things that has happened since I wrote last is your brother's subscription to the Jamaica Comee. I am heartily grateful to him, as I am sure a multitude will be. His name and Sir C. Lyell's much more than neutralise all the Murchisons and Maurys who so strangely fail to see the point at issue. It is a sort of testing case; but the amount of silly sentimentality and wrong-headedness shed forth by people who should know better astonishes some who see much more of the world than I do. I think the Brand-Buxton letters are a happy accident, — remarkably illustrative of what wanted clearing-up to certain eyes.2

In about a week I am going to send you a small pamphlet which I think you may like to have. I dare say you have seen Mr Thurlow's book on India — ("Crown & Company". )3 In it he refers to a Memoir of the last Viceroys of India which I wrote a few months before Ld Elgin's death; and he asked me lately whether he might, in the new edition coming out, give my name as the writer. Ld Elgin and he also wished for more copies of the paper, which appeared in "Once a Week."4 I got half-a-dozen copies for them: but, as soon as we looked at the paper, it was clear to us
that it ought to be finished; — to have a brief notice appended of the close of Lord Elgin's life.

This is done; and it is in the press; and it is followed by the Memoir of Lord Elgin which I wrote for "Daily News", at the time of his death. The whole makes a pamphlet of about 30 pages; and Lord Elgin is having 500 copies printed at our Windermere press here, for the three families of the Viceroy's,\(^5\) — for private circulation, of course.

I shall send one to Fanny; and if either the Wedgwoods or you would like more, just tell me. Lord Elgin begs me to keep "at least, 100 copies"; and her object is to make known to the greatest number of his countrymen what her husband was. Mr Atkinson asks for one for his Club table, and so on.

\(\) She asks for "3 lines" from "one of the Wedgwood daughters" to tell her if Miss Sturch is well enough to receive a copy.\(\)

We have got the Arnolds home, after one of their family absences; and this week their house fills with Forsters, and Toms, and Croppers &c.\(^6\) Mrs A. is wonderfully well, and moves me deeply by coming to see me, just as if she was twenty years younger than I. We share largely in their immense family interests, correspondence &c, — as they do in ours; and I believe it is really a great blessing to both parties. I am sure it is to Jenny, to whom they are very very kind. They and we think and feel so entirely alike about political and most public affairs, at home and abroad (since W.E. Forster has been among them) that we have a constant lively interest
in common, and can help each other to a great deal of information. They see or hear a great deal out of Mrs Chapman's letters, every week; and her steady, noble, wide and cheerful views of American affairs, — her wonderful insight, and the incessant justification of her opinions by the event afford us all immense advantage, — of both pleasure and profit. — As to books, we (in this house) are very old fashioned; and I am only now indulging in Froude's "Elizabeth." I did not mean to read it, — being disgusted by his dishonest treatment of evidence in his "Henry": but the review notices tempted me at last; and I find "Elizabeth" exceedingly entertaining, — however provoking.

She is "not better", but increases the opiates "without damage".

H. Martineau.

1. Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, 1st Baronet (1792-1871; DNB), wealthy gentleman-savant, President of the Geographical Society, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Eyre Defence Committee. Maury is not identified.

2. Lieu. Herbert Charles Alexander Brand, R.N. (1839-1901; DNB), had been accused by Charles Buxton of the Jamaica Committee of irresponsibly carrying out hangings during the uprising; their exchange of letters in the Times resulted in the Admiralty's threatening to suspend Brand for unbecoming conduct. The later charge of murder against him was dismissed.

3. Not found.

5. A British Friendship, Windermere, 1866.


My dearest Fanny

I take a small sheet because I must be brief. 

\[Fanny has had a "fall"; and HM has "such a list" of patients today.\]

So it is you who send me the Pall Mall! I shall read it with yet more pleasure now I know. We have been inquiring far and wide, and nobody could tell us anything. It is a very instructive and interesting paper -- so unlike any other! It is of importance to me too that the type is so large. My sight is very uncertain; and my present condition obliges me to be much on the sofa, when only light reading will serve; and the Pall Mall suits admirably. I am truly and heartily obliged to you. \[Her "condition" warrants her trying "another increase of opiates".\]

We are quite happy about Miss Sturch; and for that relief again I thank you. Incidentally, too, you show us
that Mr H. Crabbe Robinson is up and about, which I wanted to know. Not knowing his address, I shall take the liberty of addressing his copy of the Memorial to Miss Sturch's. (We conclude she remains at No 20.)

Well, now — what do you think of a person who makes an offer of a present, and then withdraws it? Isn't it shameful? — Yet, that is what I am doing. We have been counting up our list of persons who are to have the Viceroy's Memorial, and we find my 100 copies are only too few for Lady Elgin's purpose. She would have me keep more; but I am sure she will find 300 not too many for the families and friends of the 3 viceroys. My 100, and Lady Augusta Stanley's 100 make up the 500 printed. I send mine to as large a variety of people as possible, — Mechanics, Ragged School masters, Peers M.P's, literary folk &c. So I must confess that I can send you only your own copy. (One goes to Eras,) and I hope you will forgive me. The last revise goes today; so I hope to send them out next week.

I suppose you are not likely to have or know of, a copy of my story "The Billow and the Rock." Jenny is writing to Mr Knight about it today, but he can only tell us, I suppose, who owns the copyright. Mr Clowes asks £30 for a copy! Mine have disappeared from my shelves! Our Mechanics here have one copy with the "Weekly Vol," and our printer wants to print it; and it is eagerly asked for. Very odd! I send you an interesting document which has turned up in a book, Spencer's "Social Statics." You know the hand.
Ever your affecte

H.M.

1. The Pall Mall Gazette, begun 1 Feb 1865, was an afternoon summary of news, with articles on social and political questions by many of the same journalists who contributed to the Cornhill Magazine and to the Saturday Review.

2. Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867; DNB), a long-time friend of Mrs. Reid and Miss Sturgh, wrote to a friend on this same day, "I am now feeling old age. Till lately, I was only talking about it;" Henry Crabb Robinson Diary, ed. Thomas Sadler, 2 vols, 1872, II, 520. He died 5 Feb 1867.


4. William Clowes (1807-83; DNB), printer, 32 Duke St.; Stamford St., Blackfriars; and 14 Charing Cross, London.

5. An illustrated edition was published 1889 £1888£.

6. Herbert Spencer, Social Statics: or the Conditions essential to Human Happiness, Specified, 1851; the document is not identified.

Ambleside
April 7/67

Dearest Fanny

Your letter was a great blessing, — coming at a moment when I could freely enjoy it, and look forward to
sending you an answer which should not sadden you. I hope you have heard nothing (you certainly had not when you wrote) of our "bad time." Jenny has slowly recovered from a bad cold caught at her parents' home in Edgbaston, "in the east winds of that exposed region." After HM's "secret correspondence" with the family physician, Jenny was brought back to mend in the "sheltered valley" of Ambleside. While Jenny was away, HM's cousin Fanny came to stay, but left to accompany Ellen, who has developed cataracts, to see an oculist in London. HM has been ill herself but minimizes the presence of a large "fatty" tumour on her shoulder. She now takes "127 drops per day" of the opiate. The double winter sustained me long, — has indeed sustained me up to this time, when I am only just beginning to feel the depressing influence of a warmer atmosphere. If I do get through the spring, it will be a curious evidence of how people may be kept alive by opiates. At present, I feel less like dying than either last spring or the one before.

My love to Hope, and I thank her for her welcome note, written to satisfy my anxiety at a time when I was eager for tidings of you. The weather was hard upon Mr Wedgwood. I hope he and Eras: are reviving under the present régime. I send you a sign of our times here. J. says the violets are everywhere, — even in the joins of the steps down from the terrace. It is a most backward spring, however, — even the peartrees only just swelling their buds, and the larches barely showing their first green.
"The Reform Essays"? No, thank you! I don't think I could undertake them. I can't read very much now; and I am so sick of that subject! I am reading Mr. Procter's "Ch: Lamb," — so full of affecting signs of his own failure, and so interesting in all ways. I could not help enjoying Ld Cornwallis, though half-ashamed to own it. Mrs. Grote sends me her vol. of "Collected Papers", and some unpublished records of our time, — very interesting. They and I seemed to have rushed into a more vigorous intercourse than ever, as by a sort of accident. — O yes, I should enjoy above everything those vols of Miss Edgworth; but I am puzzled. In turning to a fresh sheet, you have dropped out something; so that I don't know how you came by a sight of the volumes, or whether they are coming to me &c. Is it from Lady Strangford that you have them? I have to answer a long letter from her; and I don't know whether to say anything about this matter; for it may not have reached you from her. — I must stop. — I like to think of your having Effie with you again. Paris must be detestable just now, to all one’s mind and senses. I hope you will think well of it before Mr. W. ventures there.

My love to you all, and especially, dearest Fanny, to yourself. Ever your

H. Martineau.

1. Fanny’s youngest daughter.
2. The stated purpose of Essays on Reform, 1867, is to further the reform of Parliament. Among the varied contributors are Robert Lowe, who had consistently opposed
putting power into the hands of the working class; R.H. Hutton, who notes the independent, liberal tendency of the artisan class who would be enfranchised, in contrast to the servile imitation of the rich of the class of small shop-owners just above them; Goldwin Smith, who uses the "proven" American strength in war and peace as evidence that democracy works; R.M. Milnes, Lord Houghton; and Leslie Stephen (1832–1904; DNB). After the fall of the Whigs over Gladstone's Reform Bill the previous June, a comparable Bill had been introduced by Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81; DNB), Tory Prime Minister, and was being debated in the Commons. It was to pass both houses, and be given Royal assent 15 Aug 1867. HM's distaste was partially because of her objection to some of the authors of the essays; and her faith in democracy was qualified.

3. Barry Cornwall - Bryan Waller Procter, Charles Lamb: A Memoir, 1866, states in the Preface that he believes he is now the only living person who knew Lamb intimately.

4. Charles Cornwallis, 1st Marquis and 2nd Earl Cornwallis (1738–1805; DNB), as commander of the English forces in the American Revolutionary War, surrendered to Washington at Yorktown, 19 Oct 1781; Governor-General of India, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Correspondence of Charles, 1st Marquis of Cornwallis, ed. Charles Ross, 3 vols, 1859.


6. A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, with a Selection from her Letters - eds. M.P. Edgeworth, Harriet Butler, Lucy J.
7. The Memoir of Maria Edgeworth is written by her third step-mother, née Frances Anne Beaufort (1769-1865), sister of Sir Francis Beaufort and aunt of Emily Anne (Beaufort) Smythe, Viscountess Strangford.

8. The Universal Exhibition of Works of Industry and Agriculture was to have opened 1 April 1867 in Paris, but most of the exhibits were still being mounted, buildings and surrounding park were unfinished, and a state of confusion prevailed over the whole.

Dearest Fanny

Jenny's mother Jane, now seventy-four, has also been staying with him to recuperate. But a "strange perplexity" has arisen of late: If there was an old lady in England comfortably and securely provided for, we should have supposed it was myself; but one never knows! It burst upon me, one day lately, by an offer of a loan by a kind cousin! — not only that £5,000 of my earnings were in more or less jeopardy, — but that the proceeds — £230 per an: — might probably fail me, by the suspension of the dividends which had always seemed as secure as my little annuity. As there has been no announcement yet of such suspension, we have been careful not to mention the railway in which my investments lie: but I may tell you that it is the Brighton, — which choice was made for me by my prudent
cousin Richard M, in the days when the concern was all that he supposed.  

Now — that £230 is nearly 2/3ds of my income: and we cannot possibly live on what remains. In former ups and downs, I could always work; and I could suit my way of living to my means. Now I can do neither; and it really is scarcely possible to retrench at all, — we live so economically, — for such a mode of life, — which we cannot change. Beyond giving up the "Times" and the Mudie box, there seemed to be nothing; — for I won't let J. give up her allowance; and Mr Shepherd and she won't allow me to give up any of my wine. — But the way has cleared by degrees. I had cash at command to carry us on to November; and I really can't look forward further than that; — and I am justified in declining to do so. But also, four cousins, a nephew, and an old friend have, without concert, desired me to apply to them, in case of need. Moreover, I can offer good security for a loan. One friend — and only one, as Jenny observes, disbelieves in any suspension of dividends, — unless perhaps for the Share holders. I hold Preferential Stock; and he thinks the Preferentials will not be so inconvenienced. I am sure I hope not: but I know of no one else who thinks so. I fully believe in the ultimate safety of my principal, and prosperity of the concern: but I don't suppose I shall ever touch a shilling of either principal or interest of those earnings of mine. — Meantime, my sisters and cousins can't bear my giving up the Mudie box; and I shall do as they wish, — and am quite able to do so. After
the great meeting next Thurs., we shall probably know better what to expect. We know now enough for guidance, — that I can't sell out now, in the midst of unreasonable panic; and that we have only to cut off every Shilling of needless expense. — I fear — indeed I know — that women (single and widows) who have been misled into investing in the Great Eastern and Gt Western are suffering very seriously, — having no income whatever, under their suspension of dividends. By daylight we are quite happy, and, as Jenny and the maids sleep the whole of every night, I suppose they are happy then too: but in my confused and broken nights, I see strange sights, and have oppressive fears of — I don't know what. This is going off, however, now I see some sort of path to follow, — some sort of plan to adopt. And now I will say no more about it. But I thought you ought to know the main fact from myself.

[Miss Sturch has sent two friends to be shown around—by Jenny.] Julia Smith has been to Liverpool, — not only well and strong, but actually knocking up my sister with her exuberant energy.

C. Turner is well, and tender about our troubles of all sorts. She will come, I think, some time this summer. Harriet (niece Higginson) comes for Jenny's absence, if I live so long.

— Do you remember the prim, neat, bigoted, enormously pious, rich, proud Quakeress here, — Miss Head? I think I must have told you of her sottishness. — model Quakeress as she was taken by strangers to be. She died on Saturday, the most revolting death I think I ever heard of, — all
alone for 3 days with her brother's cook, — the only person who could endure to be near her; and she forbade all doctors. Her brother sent one from Carlisle; but he found her dead. — The kind cook is ill — "poisoned", Mr Shepherd says. The story made me quite ill, and depressed us all yesterday. I never heard of that sort of death, — from mere spirit drinking — before. Of late she has been lying about on the roads — drunk. I am glad the Arnolds are away at the time. — They will be in London in a day or two; and home, they hope, before June. We long to see them back. —

I grieve to hear that Cath: Sedgwick (the elder) has sunk into a fatuous state. Her friends say it is age; but she is hardly old enough for that. And the Sedgwick brain does not wear well.4 She had a great dread of this, as I well remember, I wish she had died before it happened. There seems to be trouble whichever way one turns in the world, just now.

I trust there is no new anxiety in your lot. My love to you all. I am ever your loving

H. Martineau.

1. The insolvency of some of the joint-stock railway companies formed in the expansion period of the 1840's had been bruited in the newspapers for some months. Letters and articles on imprudent management of the London, Brighton & South-Coast Railway, in which HM's money was invested, had begun to appear by April 1867.

2. At the meeting of 9 May, the Board of Directors tried
to stop a Committee of Investigation, which reported June 1867 that management had been inept for twelve years, and that the Chairman of the company and some colleagues had built three branch lines which they then tried to sell to shareholders at a profit.

3. ? of Miller Bridge, Ambleside.

4. Catherine Sedgwick suffered repeated attacks of "epilepsy" (strokes?) for several years before her death, July 1867. Her mother and elder brother Harry had both been diagnosed as insane at times in their lives.

Ambleside
June 23/67

Dearest Fanny

"Mischievous caprices of weather," and "dismal stories about ailing friends" worry her for the Wedgwoods' sake. Tomorrow is Midsummer Day, and here we are — we and our neighbours — without a vegetable for table, and with none in the market, except a dear sprinkling of asparagus, and a bunch or two of infant carrots. We are eating macaroni and rice, in the absence of vegetables, as in the potato-rot time. If we had had any idea how long this would go on, I would have got a hamper of potatoes (imported) from Liverpool. Jenny says now, however, that we shall have potatoes and cabbages in a very few days, if the sun will but come out. Tomorrow morning, weather permitting, I shall see the mowers set to work at 4 o'clock; and we must hope for 3 days of fair weather, to get in our
hay. The grass has grown, whatever else would not; and it is important (in our small way) to get the hay in before July and its rains. The mowers come so early, to finish their 5s/ job here in time to do a day's work in a larger field. I hope this reads all very rural; for I'm sure I don't know of any other excuse for scribbling it to a Londoner, who sees such grand things every day!

Your "Pall Mall" present is a great boon. I find it so, more and more, as I become less up to reading other newspapers. I really think I must give up the Times, which becomes a task to anybody in my state. The "Pall Mall" keeps one up with the views of the other papers; so that I should have given up the Times long ago, but for not liking to withdraw it from Mr. Shepherd, and a poor parson, who have it from me. But they never reckon on its continuance. You really ought to know how our Mechanics delight in having the "Pall Mall" the second day. It is a capital present for them; and they know where it comes from. They are an intelligent set of men; and they now learn more than they ever knew before of politics. Fan Arnold lends me the "Spectator", and at first I thought it a treat in its way; but I am getting as tired of it as some other people are. Its smartness is degenerating into impertinence very fast; and its insolence is so absurd in partnership with its incredible ignorance of the world and of social matters! Its captiousness is too small — about the Princess of Wales's sleep &c. The great value of the paper to me is in its articles on India. Some of those have been most instruc-
tive; and one would bear with a good deal of vulgarity and bad temper about home affairs for the sake of them. —
The two most interesting books I have read for some time
are the Edgeworth Memoir (Lady Strangford's copy) and
Ld Grey's 2 vols: of Correspondence between his father and
Wm 4th, 5 (Lady Elgin's copy. 6) I must not begin on either
of them, or I shall write myself dead. I could not have
supposed that any book could stir me as the Edgeworth
correspondence does, — though the impressions I had before
are, for the most part not altered, but much deepened; —
the exquisite beauty of M. E's spirit and temper, — the
thorough generosity of her whole long domestic life, —
the exemption from the worst and most provoking faults of
literary women, — and yet — the dreary worldliness and
lowness in which she was held down, in spite of all possible
capacity for aspiration, and of a temperament made up of
enthusiasms! It is one of the most pathetic spectacles
that ever came before me, — her life as it was in comparison
with what it should have been. But I won't write of it.
I have sent more than enough to the Beauforts. 7 But indeed
my mind has been very full of it. And in another way it
is so of Ld Grey. Ly Elgin knew how it would appear to
me in contrast with the heart, mind and manners which are
conducting the new Reform Bill. 8 That subject is too
disgusting, and one enjoys going back to the old struggle,
— painful as the story is in some ways. — This morning
arrives the Memoir of my old friend, Thos Drummond, — with
a portrait so like! — before he altered so sadly under
his wearing Irish life. 9 — This morning, too, comes the
Defence of the Brighton Directors / In their maneuvering "to conceal the embarrassment into which they had brought the concern," the Directors had asked for a Testimonial subscription by shareholders, and HM now wonders who paid for the circulars which were sent out.

Here entered Doctor: — orders stimulant, rest &c, from the badness of the pulse: and he is right; and I will stop. I must just say, however, that nothing you can imagine can equal the goodness of my friends to me on the first alarm of any difficulty about means. Really — almost everybody I know at all familiarly wants to help me. It is a delicious experience, — such generosity, and delicacy, and tenderness! And to have that heart-luxury without touching a shilling of anybody's money is to have an unalloyed happiness. I think I may hope for this. I have enough, as I told you, for some months to come; and if I live to need to raise money, I can do it by getting a loan on good security — which I have to offer. To take other people's money, instead of doing this, would be to preserve my bequests to my family entire at other people's expense, — which I certainly don't intend. And after all, I may get my dividends.

How happy Mrs Chapman is about her daughter's engagement to Mr Dicey! Everybody seems pleased at it.

She reports that niece Harriet will complete the two years' course at Bedford College with her Latin Examination next week, HM's sister Rachel being as "impressed . . . and as charmed with her" as she is.

Dear Fanny, I am your ever affectionate

H. Martineau.
P.S. I hear painful accounts of Mrs Bodichon. Will she ever get over that fever? Miss Napier — just arrived — will tell Jenny the Algiers part of it.

1. Not identified.

2. The Spectator was under the joint editor-proprietorship of R.H. Hutton and Meredith Townsend, who expressed personal opinions in frequently flippant style, but made the journal one of integrity and social purpose. A leading article of 22 June 1867 notes, for example, that Peers are "waking up a little" in regard to the coming debate on the Reform Bill, one reason for poor attendance having been that "the elder Peers, and more especially Lord Derby, steadily snub the younger Peers, if by intervening in the debate they delay dinner;" p. 681. To the Report of Investigation into affairs of the Brighton & South-Coast Railway in the same issue, they respond, "We should prefer an official auditor to oversee joint-stock companies, but even these poor sheep of shareholders will butt and jump and bleat at so 'un-English' a proposal;" p. 683.

3. A derogatory comment on the official report given of the Princess of Wales's "natural sleep" in her recovery after a fall, 20 April 1867.


5. The Reform Act, 1832. The Correspondence of the Late Earl Grey with His Majesty King William IV, and with Sir
Herbert Taylor from Nov. 1830 to June 1832, ed. Henry Earl Grey, 2 vols, 1867; Lord Charles Grey, 2nd Earl, Viscount Howick and Baron Grey (1764–1845; DNB), liberal political responsible for the Reform Bill 1832.

6. The 2nd Earl Grey was her maternal grandfather.

7. HM may be referring partly to Maria Edgeworth's involvement in the practical affairs and lives of the twenty-one children of her father's four marriages, who all lived together at the family home in County Longford, Ireland. But HM's response to the Edgeworth Memoir is probably affected by having "lived on" Miss Edgeworth's books when she was a child. Her main objection seems to be Miss Edgeworth's enjoyment and interest in the social world opened to her by authorship. HM also notes that Miss Edgeworth "sneered" at female political economists, and took a wrong view on slavery; HM to Viscountess Strangford and Rosa Beaufort, 9 June 1867, MS Huntington Library.

With two younger sisters in tow, Maria Edgeworth had stayed with Fanny's family at Mardoaks, near Hertford in 1822. Sir James, Fanny's father then teaching at the East India College, Haileybury, was gallant and attentive to them, and Miss Edgeworth commented upon both Robert and Fanny Mackintosh; Christine Colvin, Maria Edgeworth; Letters from England 1813–1844, 1971.

8. HM's account of Lord Grey's ministry in History of the Peace, II, 20–50, is vivid and authentic.

9. Thomas Drummond (1797–1840; DNB), Scottish engineer and administrator, became Irish Under-Secretary 1835–40. He improved police and courts, and forced landlords to be
responsible for tenants; vindicated after a Commission of Inquiry 1839. John Ferguson MacLennan, Memoir of Thomas Drummond, 1867.

10. Edward James Stephen Dicey (1832-1911; DNB), author, journalist; wrote articles for the Spectator and Macmillan's during his visit to the U.S. 1862. Editor of the Observer 1870-89.

11. Barbara Leigh (Smith) Bodichon (1827-91; DNB), crusader for women's education and improved condition, benefactor of Girton College, Cambridge. She owned several houses, including one in Algiers, where she had met her French husband.

My dearest Fanny

This will not be one of my "well-filled sheets," to which you give so kind a welcome. I am not able to say more than is necessary, — being more ill again. The excessive cold of 10 days ago (severer than you had in London) damaged me much; and I have not got over it. Nothing can raise the pulse, and many things go wrong; — so to business!

We thank you much for your offer of the "Quarterly". I could not write, and thought you would infer "No" from our not answering. We had the loan of the Number for the Talmud article for one day. Of course it was a great treat; but I had seen the best bits in a score of review notices. I could not manage any more reviews, — even
the "Quarterly,"—constantly,—being unable to get through many things that I care more for. — I don't know whether I shall lose your good opinion for ever if I tell you a true thing; but I had rather you knew the worst; — that I am intensely enjoying, this day or two, "the Lost Tales of Miletus." I quite see that the people all talk Bulwer, — Jove, Hermes, Daphnis, Sisyphus and all; and I dare say the impression will pass away before Xmas; but — the present fact remains.

With a hint of satisfaction at her own less precarious position, HM explains how Mrs. Arnold is dependent on "Ordinary" shares in the Great Western Railway, which is not paying dividends. She also hastens to assure Fanny that although the opiates give her some relief and do no apparent harm, she is "never a day... almost an hour 'free from suffering'."

H.M.

1. Emanuel Deutsch, 123 (Oct 1867), 417-64; historical description of contents of the Talmud. The loan of the Quarterly was probably from the Arnolds through Matthew, who praises the article on the Talmud; Letters of Matthew Arnold, I, 373.

2. 1866; Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's unrhymed verse rendering of several Greek myths, "progenitors of the modern novel" as he claims in the Preface. HM's enthusiasm for Bulwer Lytton's Zanoni, 1842, had led her to make a diagram of what she conceived as the philosophical scheme of the novel, which he included in subsequent editions,
Dear friend

It was very kind of Mr W. to send me that scrap from the Times city article. As I naturally opened your letter before the "Pall Mall," that scrap was my first news of what might be hoped. "Letters of congratulation," as well as "anxious inquiries" about HM's stock have poured in, and she is still worried about certain "venomous ..., unscrupulous, and ... obstinate" opposition to favored treatment of preference stock. It will certainly be an immense relief to me to be at ease again about living in this house; and for Jenny's sake I shall rejoice in it, however short the time may be. It may amuse you to see how we have managed during our year of economy; — or rather our 2/3ds of a year of economy; for we did not take the alarm till April, and could not draw in much before Midsummer. You must remember I did receive the first dividend, — (those for the last half of 1866;) otherwise we could not have got through. Is not the expenditure for us 4 women very small? (£176) But we have been quite comfortable as to necessaries, while not spending one 6d/ on mere pleasures. But for my medicines, wine and bedroom fire &c (sick expenses) we should have done it for £150. But enough of this sort of thing!

Yes — poor Dr Davy lies in the churchyard, yonder;
and most characteristic was the closing month of his life.
For some time he had been remarked on by the neighbours
as "going into such a small space," — which means shrinking,
and as walking feebly. The druggist could hardly read his
prescriptions, the hand was so tremulous. He slept the
whole time in church, and whenever he was two minutes
unoccupied. Poor Grace Rolleston tried to tempt him to
Dummy whist in Mrs D's room in the evenings, because otherwise he slept in his study, and had bad nights. A month
or more ago he began ailing seriously, — grew worse daily
— and would not hear of having any advice. He chose to
doctor himself; and, though they saw him sinking, and that
he was (so-called) "stupid," they were so afraid of him that
they took no steps. His self-doctoring was simply starvation.
He took bread and milk, or porridge, morning and evening,
and nothing else. He could not lie down, and was always
struggling for breath. At last, he consented to see a
new country doctor, — vulgar, but clever; and he at
once saw that it was too late. As he wished for another
opinion, the Hawkshead surgeon was sent for: but there
was nothing to be done; and in 3 days more he was dead.
Mrs D. went to his room the day before; but she has been
in her own room all this winter. Nobody can discover
what ails her; but her weakness is very great. I never
ask any questions; but servants and neighbours talk, —
as they always do; and they say "her head is gone"! —
and that "she thinks nothing of the Doctor's death." I
dare say there may be mistake, exaggeration &c about this:
but again, — in the case of her family, the head always
has given way near the last. Mrs Arnold was struck with
her being very much flushed when she saw her in bed two days before the funeral. We shall soon hear from the Arnolds how she is, and what will be done, — if the storms are over that have kept us apart for 3 days. — As to the place, — the poor man's departure is an immense relief. The medical men would not meet him: nobody tried for right and justice, because he, as J.P., administered only the reverse. He checked and spoiled every enterprise that he could lay his hand upon; and the only way for his wife's friends to get on at all was to see as little as possible of him. It is truly the removal of an incubus on the whole place.

He has not meddled with me of late, as far as I know; and he lived to see the cure — of the floods which he fancied I caused, by the construction of a causeway a long way off — for a quite different object, — by his brother J.P. — Mr Wilson. I am glad I did not spoil my field to no purpose (sustained by competent advice;) and let us hope he had conscience enough to be glad too. Dr Rolleston came, at extreme inconvenience in time to see the Dr alive; and then he was telegraphed for, the day before the funeral, to his own father, — most dangerously ill.

The Arnolds are mourning Matthew's baby son, who died 4 Jan 1868, and they have other family health worries. A different and very great annoyance is Mary's third marriage, — which is to take place in a week or two. Mr Hiley, her late husband, became possessed of the beautiful place which is now hers by marrying, as a young
curate, the middle-aged widow of his incumbent: and now, the present curate, Mr Hayes, is doing precisely the same thing. He will become master of "The Woodhouse" by marrying, at the age of 30, Mr Hiley's widow, aged 42. And Mary seems as surprised as grieved that she has not the sympathy of mother and sisters in such a third marriage. Mr Hayes is a very good man, they say; and the little boys are fond of him, and think it "such a good plan" that he can go with them to Whitby, the next time they go. Tom Arnold will go to his sister for the wedding, and will give her away; and the wedding trip is to be for 2 or 3 days; and then they settle down in home and church,—just the same as last time! How can she! — but she never was like the rest. Her first wedding was from Fox How; the second from the Forsters,—with several of the family present: — and now the third will be from her late husband's house,—with her poor brother Tom for countenance.

I hope you will be spared the going abroad this month, as you anticipated, — on Mr W's account. It is such a comfort his being so well as he evidently is! If only you could speak well of Eras: one would think of you with all manner of pleasure. Yes,—I was delighted to see about the success and honours of the Chas D's son. And what is the niece's marriage? Is it Chas's eldest daughter, who was so delicate, and for so long? And whom is she going to marry? And where will she live? Please let me hear all about you before very long. When you write, just tell me what you think of Mrs Ed: Dicey's
beauty. As little Anne Chapman she was a beautiful at 12 years old as could well be; and a sort of beauty that I thought must be lifelong. Her mother writes "As you ask" (which I did only by giving my memory of Anne at twelve) "I may tell you that she has beauty enough for two"; and she says it is feature and colour and everything. Whereas, others speak with enthusiasm of Lizzie’s beauty (Mme Laugel) but "did not remark" Anne’s. — I don’t suppose you would get on much with them about me. Doubtless they would speak with respect of their Mother’s nearest friend; but they took a youthful view of the Trent affair, and have never forgiven mine, — nor my thinking the North fallible in any way. Their mother and I believe they will see things better some day; but it will hardly be in my time.

She is more glorious than ever. Never yet, — in all these years — has she failed to write the weekly letter which is the luxury of my life.

— Is it possible that Mr Price can get that chair? 
It seems incredible. — I am sorry about their losses.

[She mentions various cases of loss of income.]

The Matt: Arnolds wish for a house at Harrow. I hope they and the Templiers may get acquainted. 

Here comes dinner. [She adds news of other friends.]

Healthy and sick, living and dying, we are all growing old, unmistakably. I do wonder whether you will ever come face to face with me again.

My love to you all, and a happy wedding! If any real change happens here, Jenny will write. Dear friend,

I am ever your affecte

H. Martineau.
1. Report, 23 Jan 1868, of the London, Brighton & South Coast Railway, giving hope of full payment of interest on all preference stock. HM had stopped receiving the Times.

2. 29 Jan; story of the Report, prepared at the instigation of Samuel Laing (1812-97; DNB), liberal politician and manager of the railway.

3. HM's two servants are included.


5. His younger daughter, wife of Dr. George Rolleston.

6. ?W. Lane, Esq., Walkerground.

7. HM had commented unfavorably on the final "madness" of Mrs. Fletcher, Mrs. Davy's mother.

8. James Christopher Wilson, J.P. HM had repeatedly urged the importance of drainage to alleviate the yearly flooding which ruined fields and was a health threat.

9. Woodhouse Eaves (near Loughborough) and its surroundings are described by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, daughter of Thomas Arnold (see below); A Writer's Recollections, 1918, pp. 72-73.

10. Robert Hayes, Curate of Woodhouse Eaves from 1863.

11. Thomas Arnold (1823-1900; DNB), second son of Dr. Arnold, had left his position as Inspector of Schools in Tasmania in 1856. After a period as a Roman Catholic, when he taught in Dublin and Birmingham, he left the Catholic Church. At this time he was taking pupils in his home near Oxford.


13. A possible reference to the marriage of Margaret Susan
Wedgwood (b. 1843) to Arthur Charles Vaughan Williams (d. 1875) in 1869. Her father was Hensleigh's elder brother Josiah and her mother, née Caroline Sarah Darwin, elder sister of Charles and Erasmus.

14. Bonamy Price was elected by a large majority to the Drummond Professorship of Political Economy, Oxford, 1868.

15. Arnold moved to Harrow in the spring of 1868. HM was in frequent touch with John Templer, friend of Rajah Brooke.

Ambleside

\[\text{To Erasmus}\]

Febry 12/68

Dear friend

How beautiful you are — sending me oysters so often! My Doctor is much pleased; — and how much more we ourselves!

My Doctor has a patient, — just my age, and ill in my way, but further gone; and the difficulty has been for some time to get her nourished, — her digestive system having given way very much. A week or two since, a son sent her a barrel of oysters; and the difficulty was over for the time. She took 8, 10 or more at a time, with bread and butter and champagne, and really revived considerably. \[An even more surprising example of the benefit of oysters, she claims, was the teething baby of distant cousins in Australia, who ate eleven at a time and recovered from illness—which helps HM to feel she can eat them "without remonstrance." She commiserates with \]

Erasmus' holding of ordinary Brighton shares, yet she is
uneasy about the delay in payment on hers. You are thinking more, — and so perhaps am I, — of the coming out of your brother's book. Of course you must have seen Monday's "Pall Mall". I do hope you have. That sentence about "noble calmness" has been in my mind ever since, — sweetening everything. I have always hoped and felt confident that the hostility of the ignorant and prejudiced did not trouble him. Still — it is not pleasant; and his bad health might easily render him more sensitive than in his earlier days. On the other hand, the absence of reasonableness in his opponents and their complaints is a great help to "noble calmness". Really — what nonsense it is to stop, and scream and struggle, and have a faction-fight at every mile on the road to knowledge! I dare say it is the very easiest thing to your brother to hold on, — straight through the mob of them! I suppose that man that said "Deism" was afraid to say "atheism". He meant us to understand that. — I have seen no other notice yet; but of course I shall. I wonder what the Times will do. The "Edinburgh" does rash things enough, now and then; e.g. reviewing (and by Hayward) the unpublished Edgeworth Memoir: but it seems to me to sink lower in its relations to science, and everything that requires manliness and courage. Góschen's articles are capital in their way; and a genre article here and there; but I can't think it flourishes otherwise, — as to quality. I know nothing of its fortunes.

Jenny is gone to Fox How, after seeing Mary's marriage in the papers, — to get it over. It cannot be a pleasant
subject to them — that marriage; and therefore not to their friends. In a few weeks Mrs A. and Fan will be setting forth on the round of spring visits, beginning at Plymouth near the end of March. They do enjoy London; and Mrs Arnold bears it as well as if she was 37 instead of 77.

Jenny's kind regards and best thanks to you. She sees me to be worse just lately; and I am so. But it is such slow work! My love to Fanny and all her tribe. How I should enjoy an evening with her! No chance of it, I fear.

Dear friend, I am yours affectionately

H. Martineau.

P.S. How pleased Dean Stanley and spouse are with the interest his Abbey Memorial has excited! He is busy with his 2d edition, and welcoming corrections on all hands. I am to see Mrs Arnold's copy presently.

1. The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication, 2 vols, 1868.
2. "Darwin on Domestication and Variation," 10 Feb 1868, praises Origin of Species as beneficial to science and philosophy in clarifying ideas, and approves Darwin's new book. Darwin's "rare and noble calmness" in the face of "vituperation", and his restraint in not retorting to his antagonists are commended.

3. From Darwin's reference to a critic who argues that assigning a common origin for all species of pigeons was done in "the spirit of the Deist.
4. The Times' next review of Darwin's work is of
The Descent of Man (1871), 7, 8 April 1871, when it expresses "disappointment" at Darwin's hypothesis, "utterly unsupported by observed facts." Darwin's speculations, the reviewer says, are both "mischievous" and "reckless."

5. It had published the damaging review of Darwin by Richard Owen.

6. George Joachim Goschen, 1st Viscount Goschen (1831-1907; DNB), statesman, banker; "Seven Per Cent," 121 (Jan 1865), 223-51, and "Two Per Cent," 127 (Jan 1868), 242-80, describe in lively style the prosperity of 1865 in spite of high interest rates, and the current depression and lack of available capital. He quotes HM in the first article.

7. Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, 1868 \(\text{\textcopyright}\) reviewed Times, 8 Feb 1868\(\text{\textcopyright}\), a stimulating account of people and events connected with the Abbey, from its foundation by Edward the Confessor to the nineteenth century.

Ambleside

April 5/68

Dearest Fanny

I was so happy to get your letter that I longed to write at once; and I have been longing ever since: but of course I could not do it, or I should. You know all about the miseries (to me) of Spring — with all its beauty and charm, -- of which I see so much here. Of the beauty we have had our full share, — grass as green all February as usually in April, and snowdrops, mezereum &c &c — even violets, the whole month through; and now the
rhododendrons, pyns, wild cherry, daffodils, jonquils &c &c abound; and on my table is Fan Arnold's legacy, — left when she and Mère went forth on their Spring round, — of a white azalea full of buds, and one exquisite bloom. I make the most of these blessings, as some counterbalance to the evils of the season. HM's sun-blinds are already in place—light bothers her, and writing is becoming difficult. She feels weak, but suspects "the nightly chlorodyne now prescribed does some mischief to head while it does much good otherwise."/

I have had my sister1 with me, — for the first fortnight of Jenny's absence; (it was such a treat!) and now I have her daughter.2 (How I wish you knew that girl! but I won't write of any any more while you don't, — it is so absurd in me, and must be tiresome to you.) Jenny returns on the 14th and then, after the inevitable cleaning (very late this year) we shall, I hope, sink down into the ordinary quiet. Jenny is well and cheerful, and full of playfulness, — all which I mention because Annie Clough is at her mischievous work again, — senseless and mischievous, — of speaking alarmingly of the effects of J's anxieties &c &c, — just as she did about Maria, — and quite as falsely. It never occurs to her that she never knew either of them before, and that, she knows nothing now of their home, their family, their life and its interests, their prior health, their temperament &c. She sets out from the idea that Jenny must be anxious here, and dull; and that she must be free and merry at home: and then, if she sees a flush, or a grave expression of face, (old
things now almost outgrown) she breaks out into comment, or lecturing on the duty of change and holidays &c. All who really know anything of the facts understand J's peculiarities of health &c, and of a temper so sweet, forbearing, sympathising, sensitive and modest, that no stranger should for a moment suppose it possible to read her feelings, and prescribe her management of herself. It is enough to say that her loving family and her nearest friends know, — and tell me in all sincerity, — that she is always better and happier here than she ever is at home. The Midland Counties climate, for one thing, does not suit her.) We don't want — any of us — to be forced into giving our confidence in family matters to Miss Clough, in return for her intrusion: so we can only take our chance for what all manner of Smiths and other friends may believe. But it would be a good thing for all parties if it could somehow occur to A. Clough that she can form no judgment of the household arrangements, and their working, of families which she knows only through a mere acquaintance with one member, — or possibly two. I never did, in the old days, repeat, (or retain, if possible) any representation made by A. Clough, — after I had once found how invariably wrong she was, — from self-confidence, weak judgment, and a wrong idea of the nature of evidence, on her part. Nobody respects her benevolence, and its direction, more than I do: but I never let her see me, and we give her as little opportunity of reporting of us as we can.

«Miss Sturch has "taken to her bed."» What you
say about the College dissentions grieves me very much. 4
Sister Ellen told me a little — but not much — that had
dropped in her hearing when Eliza Bostock was at Liverpool.
She does not pretend to judge on such scanty knowledge;
but she was painfully impressed by E. Bostock's air of
confidence and self-consequence, and the sort of triumph
with which she said she had matters in her own hands, "for
I hold the purse strings". 5 I have not the least idea
what it is about: but I feel an ignorant sorrow about Miss
Martin 6 and the school, and the sort of shame and pain
that one always suffers under when noble and kindly enter-
prises are marred by the infirmities of good people. I
have a general persuasion that I should think Eras: right,
in judgment and feeling, be the case what it may. 7 quashes a rumour that Harriet Higginson and James' daughter
Mary Ellen plan to open a school. She is hopeful for Mrs.
Arnold's railway dividends; her own preference shares have
resumed payment. 7 And it seems so much greater than it
did before! Then it was a reduction from my working income:
now, it is a growth from poverty. I do wish the Ordinary
Shareholders may not have to wait long for some dividend;
and I suppose they will not. I have no acquaintance (as
far as I know) in that class but Eras: but I should be so
glad to hear he had got his own again!

I have looked in vain each week in the usual account
of Wills of newly deceased persons, for Dr Davy's. I am
curious to know what he left, after all, and don't choose
to ask; and I never before failed to learn that sort of
news from the "Illustrated" &c. But it has not been there;
and I suppose it won't be now. My last news of Mrs D. —
some weeks old now — was very unlike what I told you: but I can't at all say whether either is true. The neighbours and servants and friends tell of an immediate and remarkable rally. She left off all the strong medicines he made her take, — presently came down stairs, and saw her friends to any extent; and had dinner-parties (two in one week) of 6 persons. This may very well be true, under the complete emancipation from galling tyranny, — and the tyranny of a fool: but the immediate demonstration rather startles one.

About the Edgeworth review not a word has passed between Hy Reeve and me. (That needless mention of "the fourth Mrs Edgeworth" was unworthy, — in the explanatory note.) I cannot conceive that he could justify Hayward or himself. I know the Beauforts' view of the book, — (exactly like my own) — and how they must therefore think and feel about the review: but how it came about they meant to tell me when illness (in the Strangfords) prevented it. They are entirely dissatisfied — of course — with the way the book is done, — scores of letters meant as mere mems: for talk at home on return being put in instead of really valuable letters, — such as some of us had from her, and all of us know to exist in hundreds. How I should like to talk over her and her letters, if you could and would but come here! You don't say you never will.

I must not begin on the Stanleys today. I have been writing to them and Ly Elgin, — she passing through the Deanery to Broomhall, for the boys' Easter holidays.

Here is the Abbey book, which I am going to begin (on
finishing Matt: Arnold's Report,¹⁰ — so very valuable! I mourn over the Sion College Address,¹¹ — from what I hear of it on both sides, — as I do over the Wm the Conqueror sermon, last Xs twelvemonths.¹² He (the Dean) will ruin himself and, as far as may be, the cause of peace, as well as truth, if he persists in the track he has taken of late, — trying to make a basis for union out of Sentiment instead of intellectual accord. This never yet succeeded, — in making churches or anything else, — and it never will: and the assumption that it can, and the attempt to make it, do mischief incalculable and irreparable. The Arnolds and I agree in the regret, — and in the grounds of it, though they perhaps think more of his influence, and I of the playing fast and loose with the truth, and of his failure to appreciate the one strong point of the Non Cons. But how they (the Non Cons) talk! It really is scarcely credible. An educated woman, Unitarian, — a relative of mine, writes in raptures about this very Address, and says there really seems (if the Dean could have his way) nothing to keep the Unitns out of the Church but — — — — — guess what small thing! "The Apostles' Creed"!¹³

We like the "Pall Mall" more and more: and I fully agree with it about Mill's escapade.¹⁴ When he went into the House I said he would cut his throat (politically) before he had been there 5 years.¹⁵ And here he seems to have done it.

With love to you all, I am, dear old friend, your affectionate

H. Martineau
1. Ellen.
2. Harriet Higginson.
3. In the past few years Annie Clough had actively supported the reform of education for middle-class girls; see "Hints on the Organization of Girls' Schools," Macmillan's, 14 (May-Oct 1866), 435-39. She had also helped to found the North of England Council for promoting the higher education of women; in 1871 she was to move to Cambridge, and with a small nucleus of students to begin what later became Newnham College, Cambridge.
4. After the death of Mrs. Reid, chief benefactor and guiding spirit of Bedford College, a power struggle took place between her three unmarried female trustees, and the governing Council. The major issues were the continuance of the school, which the Council encouraged, and the maintenance of university-level standards in the college.
5. Eliza Bostock was "residuary legatee" of Mrs. Reid's estate, and one of the three trustees.
6. Frances Martin (1832-1922), served as Superintendent of the School of Bedford College, 1853-68. She had been educated at Queen's College, London, and was a favorite of Mrs. Reid's.
7. Fanny was still a member of the Council; Erasmus had taken the job as Chairman in 1850 from a sense of duty to a good cause, but dealing with the ladies who supported and watched over the College on the one hand, and the Professors on the other was not an easy task.
8. An editor's note in the Edinburgh Review states that the Edgeworth Memoir was lent by a "near and distinguished
relation of the fourth Mrs. Edgeworth . . . for the purpose of being reviewed," 125 (Jan 1868), 301.

9. HM's early insistence that personal letters were always to be destroyed had been modified.

10. To the Schools Enquiry Commission, 1865-67, rptd. for the general reader as Schools and Universities on the Continent, 1868; Arnold speaks in the Preface of the adverse effects on British education of the Revised Code of 1862, which HM had supported. Arnold had defended his view of the adverse effect of the dedication to commerce of part of the British middle class, and of the excellence of French culture in a letter to HM of 7 July 1864, MS University of Birmingham.

11. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, An Address on the Connection of Church and State, 1868, delivered 15 Feb 1868, argues for strengthening the Church's role in English society.

12. The Coronation of William the Conqueror and Its Consequences, 1867, compares successful Saxon-Norman cultural blending in Britain to a "mixed and double" Church, which he hoped could encompass nonconformity.

13. Dating from the fifth century; see Book of Common Prayer.

14. Mill's "revolutionary scheme for the pacification of Ireland by the summary elimination of the landlord element" (Pall Mall Gazette, 14 March 1868)—by making proprietors of Irish tenants. This solution was said to be unfair to recent investors, who had tried to improve their property, and was abhorrent to HM's faith that middle-class initiative could rescue Ireland's economy.
15. Mill had been elected to Parliament July 1865; he was defeated at the election of Nov 1868.

My dearest Fanny

There is no use in taking small sheet when I write to you, — however determined I may be to keep within narrow bounds. There is always so much to say that I run on till I might say, in opera fashion "I can no more — I can — I can — I can no more". I may as well take a sheet of the Chapman paper at once, and go on till "I can no more".

She recounts Mrs. Chapman's care for her sick mother and sister, Caroline, "with her passionate temperament, and the turmoil she keeps herself in till she collapses in low fever." Mrs. Chapman's daughter-in-law is going to Vienna, where her father, John Jay (1817-94; DAB), was to serve as Minister to Austria 1869-74. Mrs. C. had not seen Sumner's speech when writing her penultimate letter, and wished she could know, if without fatigue to me, what I think of it: today's letter does not mention those matters at all. Meantime, I had written fully upon it, — which I can do, because she thinks with us on the essential points. E.g. when the great Agitation meeting on behalf of the Cuban insurgents was held in New York in March, she was asked whether she was not pleased at it. "No." — "What then would you do in the case?" — "Proclaim Neutrality with indecent haste." — Isn't that character-
istic? 3

I cannot think the Amerns will really go to war on such a basis as that speech; 4 but if not, what humiliation they have to undergo! So much for making so much of such a shallow, conceited, unstatesmanlike man as Sumner, who only wants to gesticulate, and spout Latin, and get admired by the vulgar, at any cost! But, by all I hear, Motley actually believes in him! 5 If so, and if Motley has not learned temper and manners since he was here, the prospect is very dark. The nonsense, and the insolence, and the false play must, however, get a check; and the whole civilized world ought to sustain England in administering it. Mr. Jay is obstinately wrong on the Neutrality question, and has written terrible nonsense about it; 6 but he can keep his temper, and is a gentleman. Motley is equally wrong on that question, and is less fit for diplomacy, by experience, temper and manners. I hope the unanimity on this side, — "Spectator" 7 and "Star" 8 included, — and Lord Clarendon's repute, — if he shows the spirit we expect, — will act as a shower bath over yonder, and reduce Sumner to the position of poor Chas Wilkes, after the restoration of Slidell Mason, and party. 9 The worst of it is that one can't see the end of such a mutual dislike as Sumner's rhetoric generates and records. It is dreary work; and I am not sorry to be going away from the sight of what is coming. My fear for the Republic has always been that it would prove to be incapable of international relations. Some — and not a very few of them have taken to heart my warning of that danger for many years past. — I must not
go on about public affairs. If I once begin groaning at
Bright, I shall never stop. He ought to have resigned
the morning after his speech at the Fishmongers'; and if
he did not then, he ought to have done it the morning after
that Friday night's speech. There will be endless
mischief, and disastrous mishaps of the gravest consequence,
and no fair chance for any future Cabinet measure or policy,
as long as he is in the Govt. — The one bright spot,
while the black clouds are hurrying up, is Gladstone's
management of his great Bill. What a spectacle of
intellectual power and skill, — of political genius —
but his conduct of the measure is failing already, and
I don't suppose it will do more than a transient and slight
good. Still, — I am more like living on for a while than
I was two months since.

Jenny is quite well, and sends her love. We hope
Chas D's "small bone" has been set right without trouble.
I liked your accounts of Mr W. and Eras: but we have
had such cold weather since, that I am afraid for them.

Dearest Fanny, I am your ever affectionate H. Martineau.

1. On which she writes to Mrs. Chapman.
2. Sumner's speech in the Senate, 13 April 1869, opposed
ratification of a treaty between the U.S. and Great Britain
for settlement of the damages caused by the warship Alabama
and others, built for the Confederacy in Britain. Although
Britain had agreed to the legitimacy of the claims, Sumner
demanded a full admission by Britain that she had done the
U.S. a great injury.
3. Public meetings in sympathy with Cuban insurgents against the Spanish government had been held in major cities. Military supplies for the insurgents had been allowed to leave U.S. ports. In Britain it was argued that American help for Cuban rebels was the same defiance of international neutrality by the U.S., as it was objecting to by Britain during the American Civil War.

4. Although Pres. Ulysses S. Grant (1822-85; DAB), was said to back Sumner's sentiments, the tone of American newspapers was generally conciliatory.

5. Motley had just been named Minister to Great Britain, on Sumner's recommendation. He replaced Reverdy Johnson (1796-1876; DAB), who had negotiated a settlement of the Alabama claims which was defeated in the U.S. Senate.

6. Remarks on the Clarendon-Johnson Treaty for Adjusting the Alabama Claims, New York, 1869, rptd. from the New York Tribune, 3 Feb 1869. The point in contention was Britain's Proclamation of Neutrality, less than a month after the Confederate firing on Fort Sumter. Sumner contended that at that time the Confederates were rebels against the legitimate government of the U.S., and should not have been recognized as a separate nation.

7. "Mr. Sumner on England's Obligations to the United States," 1 May 1869, pp. 528-29, admits British negligence in allowing ships such as the Alabama to escape, but says Sumner's charge of moral culpability is unwarranted. "England and America," 8 May, pp. 556-57, does not believe war is intended by the U.S., but says that England will not be moved by threats.
8. An editorial in the Morning Star, 6 May 1869, is sympathetic to the Americans' indignation, but excuses Britain because of its ignorance of the situation.


10. Bright had joined Gladstone's Cabinet, 9 Dec 1868, as President of the Board of Trade, and had been giving speeches in favor of Irish tenant-proprietorship.

11. For Disestablishment of the Irish Church, introduced by his speech 1 March 1869, which passed the Commons, but was to be severely altered by the Lords—allowing the Irish Church to retain control of most of its property—before it was given Royal approval in July 1869.

12. Charles Darwin's horse had fallen and rolled on his leg, April 1869; Darwin Letters, II, 195.

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Ambleside

June 8/69

Dear friend

\[\text{Miss Sturch has died; HM is sending a "divan" to Fanny made by a local cabinet maker, Mr. Stalker. HM is doing needlework for the benefit of the Birmingham Homeopathic Hospital and Dispensary, of which Robert is a patron, but a severe decline in her health "looks like brain fever." The Arnolds are home; and that is a great comfort.}

You can imagine their feelings about W.E. Forster's speech,\(^1\) to me and others, as well as to them, the great event of the time. It is not often that a man of no
rank, and without genius, connexion, or some singular distinctive quality or lot, does such a deed as that, averting impending war. I am counting the days till we can hear how the people of U.S. receive that complete turning of the tables. I had before been trying to recover Id Russell's Catalogue of Confederate vessels stopped and let slip from our ports — which would settle the question of "intent" at once; and Forster has helped me; so we have it at command; and I don't despair of getting it into the American papers. Also, I have been reviving the fact that the main reason for the Proclamation being issued without delay was that our sea-captains in those seas were pressing for orders what to do under the announcement from Washington of the blockade. Forster's avowals and these facts overthrow the American case entirely; but it seems probable that we shall not have much self defence to do. The "Boston Daily Advertiser", of the 25th (maybe the 24th) of May announces that the Cabinet finds, on investigation, that the Washington Proclamation of the blockade was issued by the Supreme Court a month before the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality. Also, that the Washington Govt acknowledged the Proclamation of Neutrality at Madrid, — similar to the English, — with thanks for its going no further! This settles the matter; but the Americans must be taught that England is not the table or the floor, to be thumped by them whenever they are in a pet, — fractious children as they are! It is many years since I ceased to respect Sumner. A good many other people will see now what he is; but one of the worst signs of the American mind and behaviour
is their pretending to admire what they know to be wrong, for the convenience of the moment.

I see Fan A. pass the window.

Yes, — and whereas I ought to have stopped before, I must stop now. She has brought me a bulky case full of photos. — She feels almost as gravely as I do about public affairs. To say the truth I am glad to be leaving the scene, — as I can do nothing, and the agitations are too strong for me now. There seems to be no token of comfort anywhere. Since the early days when we children saw the fearful watching for "Boney" on our Norfolk coast, I remember no such gathering storms as seem to be driving up now, — between the Continental war just coming, and the material adversity which is bringing us all down, and threatening such misery and disturbance as we had supposed over for ever. The Lords seem in a hurry to precipitate the break-up. —

Dear friend, let us have just 2 lines before you go.

Ever your affecte and grateful

H.M.

P.S. The scientific Committee that Mr Atkinson is on has obtained some strong phenomena, — quite unquestionable. The plague is that scarcely any but himself can take the phenomena without the theory (spirits). They can't reject the spirits, in face of what they see.

He can. The Report will tell strange things.

1. 20 May 1869, at Bradford. A painstaking rebuttal of Sumner's charges, and an assurance of unchanging British
friendship towards the U.S.; see Auto., III, 440-43.
2. See next letter.
3. The Proclamation of Neutrality.
4. Pres. Lincoln's early policy of blockade of Confederate ports was seen by the British as a de facto recognition of the South as a belligerent state, rather than as part of the U.S. in rebellion against its legitimate government.
7. The current economic recession, evidenced by the earlier failure of railways to pay dividends.
8. Not found.

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The Knoll

\textit{Jenny Martineau to Fanny}

\textsc{June 9th/69}

My dear Mrs Wedgwood

My Aunt directs this envelope in case you might feel a moment's uneasiness if you saw my handwriting so soon following her letter. But there is nothing the matter and my few lines are to tell you news of the ottoman which I hope has just started on its way to you. When we heard that you were going from home next Saturday, I went at once to see if Mr Stalker could not really make a finish of his part of the work, which he has been so long about, on account of other business he had on hand. He promised it should be finished this morning, brought here for approval and packed, and sent off by the midday carrier,
so I hope it may be just in time for you to have a sight of it before you go. When we saw it, there were no tassels at the corners, and we sent a message to ask him to put some if he had any of the right kind, and if there was time. If it is still without, or has some put on in bad taste or the wrong colour, Aunt asks if she may ask you to get some of the right kind, if you think they will be an improvement, which is her opinion. You will have better choice in London. On opening the box we found it was quite damp inside and the paper only just pasted in, so may we suggest that it should be left open to dry? I wish it could have reached you sooner.

Aunt was very much delighted when "Daily News" arrived last evening to see the article on the American Ships,¹ and feels that she and Mr Forster have done some good in having that list of them hunted up. I need hardly say how much pleasure your letter has given my Aunt, as yours always do, but this one in particular, and she feels grateful for it. Her best love. She is feeling weak today and her head is uneasy but there is no marked change of condition to report of, although she herself feels she has less power. You shall certainly hear occasionally. We hope you will have a pleasant and successful journey. With kind love believe me

yours very truly

Jane S. Martineau

¹. A leader of 8 June 1869 lists nineteen Confederate cruisers named by the American Minister, Adams, in
representations to Lord Russell during the war, and shows that only five were of English origin.

Ambleside
July 2/71

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Dear Julia

I am so glad of your letter! If able, I should like to write a long one in answer; but I must just say my one word and no more. — I ought to have made it clear (lest it should not seem so) that I sent Wm Fox's Wesley article merely for the interest of it. If I had a strong impression of the interest of it after nearly 40 years, I was pretty confident that you would like to see it. It was simply this, and no idea whatever of your altering, or adding to, your book, that made me hunt up the old Magne with the old story in it.

I opened up something else which moved me a little, — old as I feel, and beyond the experiences of life, — except the latest. There is a review also by Mr Fox, of the first of my Poor-law tales, with a severe (but how true!) account of Mr Empson as a reviewer.

Mr Empson, Mr Malthus, and I think Mr Wedgwood, read that article in my presence, — in your father's house, I think. Your mother was present. Has she any remembrance of it, I wonder? It was dreadful! I think Mr Malthus brought it in. Mr Empson summoned up his magnanimity; but he felt very miserable, I am sure. — But he was vexatious with his meddling and advising ways, about things
that he did not understand. — I had wholly forgotten the matter; and, when I opened on the article, there was a rush of ghosts of those old days!

I wish you would write biography for the rest of your days⁶ (as I have been saying to my Sister Rachel.) Large and noble subjects, I mean, of course. — Sagacity, dispassionateness, power of justice, power of analysis, power of appreciation, and remarkable power of expression in a capital style, — these are your characteristics, it seems to me, — and these are what I take to be the chief requisites of a biographer. And these are not all you have.

But you see I cannot write. I have written one letter, and am too tired to have any right to send you a note so untidy.

Jenny is well, and sends her love with mine to you all. No particular news here, and no change in the household beyond its being my bad season, — showing more failure than usual.

Dear Julia, believe me with all good wishes, your affectionate old friend

H. Martineau

1. William Johnson Fox (1786-1864; DNB), Unitarian minister, early literary mentor of HM's. "A Victim," Monthly Repository, 3 (May 1833), 164-77, is the story of Mehetabel, John Wesley's younger sister, a victim of Calvinist parents who forced her into a marriage unsuited to her high intellect and sensitivity.
2. John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century. 1870. Wesley's childhood and family life are retold in Chap. I; his sister's connection to the spirit rappings which were heard in their house, pp. 19-20.

3. "Poor Laws and Paupers," Monthly Repository, 3 (June 1833), 361-81. [Review of Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated. The Parish, a Tale, 1833]., the "most painfully interesting" of HM's productions, but a mere "grievance," and a waste of her logical mind.

4. William Empson (1791-1852; DNB), Prof. of English Law at Haileybury, editor of the Edinburgh Review 1847-52. In a review of Mrs. Marcet and HM's Illustrations of Political Economy, Edinburgh Review, 57 (April 1833), 1-39, he belittled HM's ambition to "legislate" about complex institutions as unsuitable for a young woman. HM complained that the review put her in the Whig camp, Auto., I, 214-15.

5. Malthus had been HM's host at Haileybury, where he was Prof. of History and Political Economy; Auto., I, 327-29.

6. After Fremleigh Hall, Snow had published another novel, An Old Debt, 1866; she was to write various biographical essays, 1881-97, collected in Nineteenth Century Teachers, 1909. But she devoted her later years largely to ethical and religious history, in The Moral Ideal. A Historic Study, 1888, and The Message of Israel, 1894. Her last book was a biography of her great-grandfather, The Personal Life of Josiah Wedgwood the Potter, 1915.
HM's recall of an early occasion at the Wedgwoods does not quite close the story of their friendship. HM was too ill to write many letters in the last five years of her life, but she knew of Fanny's doings and speaks of her to others. She had made her last major contribution to a public cause in 1869, when she wrote four letters on the Contagious Diseases Acts for the Daily News (28, 29, 30, 31 December), and she continued to publish occasional letters and memoirs there until the end of 1873. But she writes to Fanny, May 1875?, to say that she cannot meet the philanthropist Frances Power Cobbe, on whose behalf Fanny has written, for she has "lost ground so much of late," and does not want to meet anyone new. After HM's death, 27 June 1876, an autopsy revealed the presence of a large ovarian cyst, mistakenly diagnosed as prolapse of the uterus almost thirty years earlier, which had caused all her suffering and indirectly her death.
A Select Bibliography

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