

Chapter 37

Reporting on Politics, War, etc.; Translation of Comte (1853-1854)

In July 1853, tension arose in Europe over Russia's occupation of the Turkish vassal states of Moldavia and Wallachia. In the *Daily News* of 15 June, Martineau set out to educate readers on the backwardness and threat to Western Europe of Russia and the Czar (she earlier labeled Russia barbaric), and insisted that Britain had no choice but to go to war if Turkey was now "despoiled by Russia." Nor must the British government compromise principle for fear of working-class reaction, for peace included social duty.¹

Her belligerency stilled for the time, Martineau returned to American and domestic topics in the *Daily News*. In July 1852 she had protested the imprisonment of seamen of color arriving on British ships at Charleston, South Carolina; on 7 July 1853 she reported that twenty-seven seamen of color had been similarly imprisoned to date, and she urged Parliament to act on this challenge to British sovereignty.²

The present Czar Nicholas, she stormed, was no less than a reincarnation of Peter the Great and his unscrupulous successors. In leaders on 13 and 20 July, she pointed to the Czar's treatment of Jews and told the daughter of her companion on the American trip. "I was so surprised and & so pleased . . . this morning, to see your letter, & what you had sent me!" she wrote gaily to Nelly, who had sent her a bookmark. She hoped Nelly would come again. "And papa & momma must bring your little brother too, & see what he will say to the chicks & the ducks, now he can talk." Her cows were well, and she was going to Ellery for the rest of the day. "M^{rs} Eastted, who lives there," was to fetch her in her pony carriage, and perhaps they would take a row upon the lake.³

In September an outbreak of cholera in Newcastle roused Martineau to dramatize the crisis as a battle being waged by public health authorities, headed by Edwin Chadwick in London, like those of the English Civil War. The recent "turning out of the Sandgate people [the slum where the epidemic started] upon the Moor to live in tents" recalled former times when the moor had been "a tented field [and] men were splitting into two parties to fight against each other" but were now "uniting to fight against their common enemy - Death." Drawing on familiarity with politics in Newcastle and Tynemouth, Martineau was scathing on the opposition to sanitary reforms, especially in small towns, from ignorance and superstition.⁴

On "the eighth of October," Martineau put "the finishing stroke" to her translation/condensation of Comte. Writing the preface on the following day, on the tenth she

had "the pleasure of carrying the last packet of MS. to the post." Cousins staying at The Knoll "sympathized . . . on the close of so long and so arduous a task." Work as well as entertaining guests had exhausted her, she admitted, but "the vast range of knowledge . . . and incessant application of principles" enthralled her. Translating the unsystematic Comte had been a good discipline, while his expansiveness aroused her.⁵

Partly as reward to herself for having completed the ambitious task, Martineau stayed in London and Birmingham for nearly three months with "many hosts." Meanwhile she continued to give *Daily News* "plentiful assistance . . . while on the spot," reporting on topics like coal, water, railways, agriculture, strikes, Cuba (slavery), British foreign policy and "the dismissal of Rev. Frederick Maurice from his professorship in King's College." Maurice had "published a volume of Theological Essays" from which the principal gathered that he "disbelieve[d] in the eternity of future punishment." Scorning the reactionism of "such priests as Dr. Jelf," the principal, Martineau jeered that he seemed to act "as if no Reformation had taken place at all."

Martineau's second obituary to appear in the *Daily News*, of Amelia Opie, scolded the Quaker poetess from Norwich. Opie's "dandyism" had made Martineau squirm, she being one of a curious, outdated class of English people, "the provincial literary lion."

Two weeks later, Martineau's first Plutarchian biographical essay appeared: "The Foreign Policy of Cromwell and that of Lord Aberdeen" balanced Cromwell's heroic defense of the Protestant Waldenses against current prime minister Aberdeen's reluctance to defend the Turks against Russia.⁶

Seeing an attack on her friend Holyoake in the *Liberator*, Martineau exploded uncharacteristically to Garrison for printing such an account "without waiting for further light" from her. The culprit, Linton, was "a malignant, wayward, irrational back-biter," whose opinions of persons [were] worth much less than nothing," and Holyoake simply lacked information about the abolitionists. In a second, less vitriolic letter for publication addressed "To the Editor of the *Liberator*," Martineau explained that Holyoake's "adoption of the term Secularism [was] justified by its including a large number of persons who are not atheists, & uniting them for action w^h has secularism for its object & not atheism." Though all Holyoake's subjects did not interest her, she admired his noble spirit, courage, patience and open-mindedness. Furthermore, neither of Linton's accusations of Palmerston as a "liberticide" or Sir James Graham as an "assassin" were proven, most people thinking differently. The *Liberator* had printed Linton's account and should now print hers: she was known as an abolitionist of "sufficiently long standing not to be likely to be deceived" about the conduct of a British citizen.

Martineau's "private" letter to Garrison further defended the "innocent & honourable John Saunders" against charges by William Howitt, who "was in debt £3,000 before he ever saw Saunders" (she had relied on Maria Chapman, who forgot to tell Garrison of Howitt's "falsehood & craft"). On a pleasanter note, she thanked Garrison for a "volume" and, as he probably knew, confirmed that her "field of Anti-slavery action now [was] in the *Daily News*, - the next paper to the *Times* in circulation, & high above it in character." She 'kept the fact quiet here because the Americans in London, who are furious at my articles, w^d care less about them if they knew that they came from so notorious an abolitionist.' Today she was to see the Follens at Elisabeth Reid's and was "counting the hours" until then.

Having dispatched letters to Garrison and the *Liberator*, Martineau advised Holyoake three days later that she had sent a copy to Linton (presumably the milder, *Liberator*, version) and that she and Atkinson would call on him on Tuesday.⁷

(Miss Martineau is in town," Marian [sic] Evans announced to George Combe, "enjoying the consciousness of having finished her great work - Comte, and writing away for journals and periodicals." Evans thought it "delightful to see that a woman can have so much energy at fifty.")

An invitation to Martineau from the Carlyles for tea with Erasmus Darwin and Carlyle's friend Joseph Neuberg, probably for Wednesday evening, 23 November, failed to prove enjoyable for Carlyle, who grouched to his brother:

very wearisome is Harriet, tho' very happy; victorious still over all ills and infirmities that beset other mortals; translating Comte, or some windy French Prophet of the New Epoch; - for the rest, grown fat and old. She "had a message" for me, two messages, of which I heard only one. This, namely, that a certain Mr (Hunt, I think), Editor of the *Daily News*, "an able and I think a very [wise?] man, wants to see you; and lives at" ____ ____ "But I don't in the least want to see him, for my own sake; and I live here!" whereupon Harriet held in the other message; and we missed the able and the very wise man, for the present.)

Neither party was entirely alienated by the evening, however, and Jane next invited the eccentric Delia Bacon "to meet Miss Martineau," but Bacon declined. Similarly John Stuart Mill refused John Chapman's request to review Martineau's Comte for the *Westminster*: he was tempted, he said, in order to modify his former "overpraise" of Comte but disliked any connection with Martineau.⁸

As part of her "desperately hard year's work at home," Martineau had produced a range of articles for *Household Words* including a series on the treatment of infirmities like blindness, deafness and idiocy.⁹ In December, owing to "the impending war," she agreed to write "an earnest and well-studied article on England's Foreign Policy" for the *Westminster*, and she went to stay at "the Editor's house, for the purpose." (John Chapman had bought the *Westminster* in October 1851 and conducted his publishing business in the house at 142 Strand where his wife accommodated visiting authors like the Americans Emerson and Horace Greeley.). In Martineau's room, Chapman had thoughtfully placed on the table "a capital desk . . . with a singularly convenient slope, and of an admirable height for writing without fatigue," for the first time in "nearly five-and-thirty years." This was evidently the

first-rate regular Chancery-lane desk, with all manner of conveniences, and of a proper sanitary form: and, moreover, some French paper of various sizes . . . ink to correspond; and a pen-maker, of French workmanship, suitable to eyes which were now feeling the effects of years and over-work.

In her article, Martineau surveyed the history of Britain's relationship with European powers from the time of Waterloo. Vilifying "secret diplomacy" as well as sputtering at the Peace Society and the Aberdeen government for indecisiveness, she recommended "a virtuous war" to save Turkey from a predatory Russia (hearing the article was by Martineau, Crabb Robinson read the first part "with delight" but not last part).¹⁰

Martineau had assured Frederick James Furnivall (Christian Socialist and co-founder of the new Workingmen's College) in early December that she would try to use his "ample material" whenever she could. Her silence had been owing to her "entire engrossment by a piece of work, very urgent, & not bearing delay" (a second *Westminster* assignment?). She was "not writing a single article" for *Daily News* that week and possibly next, and had "returned M^r Ludlow's valuable M.S. in a note to himself." Furnivall's news of the Kingsleys was "very sad," and she hoped they were not to be parted. "From the portrait," she thought she must have seen him - did Furnivall mean her to keep it? What must she owe him for all the pamphlets he had sent? From tomorrow "till the 14th," she would be at "M^{rs} Bernasconi's, 53. New Finchley Road; then for a week at George Martineau's Esq^e, Tulse Hill. Brixton." She didn't remember having written anything lately on "the prospects of Ireland," but the editor of *Daily News* had been cleaning his drawer of her articles: "I saw 5 last week, & there might be more" (Martineau's leader on Irish prosperity had appeared on 7 September 1853). To Furnivall she ended that she had "a charming visit at the Huttons" and had given "M^{rs} Lingren your message."¹¹

Hoping to become of more use to *the Daily News* with a daily article as the editor wished, Martineau beseeched Rowland Hill (now permanent secretary to the post office) to arrange for a second dispatch of post from Ambleside to the south. Her London newspaper now came at 7:30 to 8:00 p.m. After scanning the news she could write a leader in two to three hours in the morning but could not post it until 5:15 p.m. - and it could only appear a day later. Her neighbours, she added, would be glad of a second dispatch, and "in my case, we really think it of some public consequence." Until Friday night, she noted, she would be at the George Martineaus' and afterwards at her brother's in Birmingham.¹²

On 24 December, the *Athenaeum* reviewed Martineau's translation/condensation of Comte along with G.H. Lewes's one-volume discussion of Comte on the sciences. Half-praising Comte for his attempt to demonstrate "progress" in scientific understanding while defending him against Martineau's charge that metaphysicians must abhor him, the *Athenaeum* declared her "bulky volumes" and Lewes' brief description now made Comte accessible "to many persons who would shrink with terror from the ponderous French edition."¹³

For Hunt at the *Daily News*, Martineau dashed off two Christmas pieces. One was an ironic summary of social and economic conditions abroad, where the Czar was oppressing the Jews, Austria oppressing the Italians and the Prussians suffering under the Holy Alliance. In America, immigrants were generally prospering, while at home, strikes and high prices reigned (henceforth Martineau provided numerous holiday "specials" for the *Daily News*). In a piece on Christmas, she compared the former love of Christmas pantomimes with the new interest in panoramas, voyages and travels; botanic gardens were another benefit, the only need was for more active sports rather than passive entertainment, especially in rural districts.¹⁴

On 4 January, Martineau asked John Chapman to send her books recommended by Hunt, though the Annual Register was "so bulky . . . it is to come by itself [from] Browne & Lumley's." Next was a (bargain?) set of the *Quarterly* leading her to ask: "what am I to do with the 47 vol^s I already have?" In Manchester, "D^r Beard" had called the evening before and said there was a new edition of the "Biographie," though her need was of "the more ancient folk." She also wanted McCulloch, a geography (possibly by Malte Brun), Eldon and Malmesbury and would pay "by D. News or cheque, as soon as I know the amount."

Beard had asked "a world of things about our Comte." Chapman, she thought, must know the memoir of her in the *Biographical Magazine*, sent by Marian Evans, "& wh^h we laughed over abundantly at Ambleside." From details of an evening party quoting her conversation she had been piqued to know the author. Beard reminded her of remarks about her by an Ambleside stage coachman in the memoir. "I taxed him with it. The perspiration

stood out on his face, - he said 'What a fool I am!' & looked duly miserable." When she asked about a party, he said he'd used his wife's impressions "while giving it as a fact that he was present. - There's for you! . . . That celebrated party was in the very room where I write this. So much for memoirs!"¹⁵

After "perils & colds from snow drifts," on 8 January Martineau wrote to Rowland Hill again from The Knoll. She was sorry a second dispatch of post could not be managed and repeated her grievance: her articles could not go until the day after she had seen the news, "a serious thing" for her and the *Daily News*. She must find a way to get them to the office in time to appear next day. At the coach office on 10 January, Martineau then learned that she could send a parcel at 9:00 p.m., "by a coach w^h meets the train at the Windermere Station (6 miles) - to get it to London in good time in the evening," but it would cost £50 a year, which she couldn't afford. Appealing to the postmistress, she was encouraged that many people would be pleased if they had a "morning mail south," as well as north. If the 9:00 a.m. coach was "made on mail," it would cost nothing; Mrs. Nicholson avowed that the "district surveyors don't know any thing about it," Martineau went on to Hill. Did it not seem absurd "to have 2 dispatches to Edinburgh, & only one to London, - with coach & train running so à propos?"¹⁶

As war in the Crimea heated up over 1854, Martineau's letters and "letters" to the *Daily News* increased to sixteen or eighteen a month, not counting her book reviews and obituaries. To hold her "new library," she told her cousin Kate that the "whole wall behind the drawing-room door is filled with a handsome book case, partly glazed," the "rest of the needed space" being "got by extending the study shelves, opposite the door, from end to end." Would Kate, she begged, ask her father for details of the life of Samuel Rogers? ¹⁷

From January through March, Martineau strove to educate the British public on military matters and eastern European geo-politics - on the Czar and Napoleon, the Circassians, the Baltic, Britain's nominal allies Austria and Prussia, armaments and the changed conditions of warfare. In discussing the provision of up-to-date weapons for British forces, she claimed that ships for the Czar were being built in Northfleet and Scotland and that other armaments were possibly being made in Birmingham (Robert may have furnished details). The British had the Minié rifle, but all parties now possessed more deadly weapons. In comparing the two "bugbears" of the nineteenth century, the Czar and Napoleon, Martineau claimed that Czar Nicholas was less frightening because predictable. He had failed, moreover, to subdue the Circassians of the Caucasus mountains whose leader, Schamyl, she lauded. Among the allies, she noted the feelings of friendship towards the British by the French, who were kept in the dark by Napoleon III. The British needed the French to help stop Russian barbarism and territorial ambitions.¹⁸

In March keeping an eye on proslavery sentiment among the New York Irish, Martineau offered William Cullen Bryant a series of "letters" sketching the history of Ireland over half a century. Though Catholic disabilities might be gone, religious feuds continued; Irish misery was social and economic, not political: old villages were not happy, but "hungry, depressed & priest-ridden." She had chosen to write to Bryant at the *New York Evening Post* because she knew him, rather than to Horace Greeley of the *New York Daily Tribune*. Having gone into the subject more deeply than anyone else for *History of the Peace*, she felt qualified to speak.¹⁹

"This war hubbub makes my . . . plans uncertain," Martineau wrote to Louisa in March, but "I shall not leave home before the 10th of July, & I c^d arrange between you & other guests, if you c^d name your time pretty early." She had room for all four McKees and even a maid. As to their removal, she wished she had a "Shrewsbury connexion" but didn't know a soul there, except "Eras: Darwin's family [who] used to live there." Liverpool was her "fixed point" in July, "& I dare say Cheshire." If her house let, she thought of going to Sydenham, where "I shall have my editor on the one hand, & the palace on the other." Her house could be had at "6 guineas a week, with cook, plate, linen, books & every thing." Just now she was not "too busy," but best of all she was free henceforth "from D^r Davy's constant persecution about the floods & my water course." He "last complained to the Kendal Turnpike Trust!" who sent "a notice of penalties." She insisting that the surveyor "s^h come & examine," she had asked him to dinner and promised to do whatever he advised, "well knowing that he w^d exonerate me completely." Indeed the surveyor pronounced "all right" within her dominions," adding "comically enough" to her surprise, that the remedy was "to cut a course through the back part of Dr. Davy's grounds." And now, she ended gleefully: "Will he petition parliament against me, or the Queen in Council? How he will denounce the Kendal Turnpike Trust!"²⁰

For her next article for the *Westminster* (on the census of 1851), Martineau began anecdotally noting myths of "origin" from 2,000 years in the past continuing to Caesar, King Alfred, the Normans, King John, James I, house records at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Registration Act of 1837 (a poor time for weavers), Dissenter Sunday schools, inoculation, and vaccination for small-pox. Americans, she noted, had begun ten-year censuses immediately, the United States' population having doubled by 1800 while England was still refusing to take a census in 1753. In explaining the mechanics of the last English census, when 7,000,000 schedules were sent to be filled out, she cited marital statistics, occupations, model lodging houses that improved family living, as well as railways that improved commuting. The population of Britain had doubled in the last half-century, though there was more celibacy than when the religious orders were intact. National intelligence was increasing as shown by the greater number of books and newspapers - but the Americans were better at educating their

children, except for the blacks. Comparing Britain with the United States (with an anticipated population of 100,000,000 by the end of the century), she lamented the diversity of religions in America though was optimistic about the country's future.²¹

For the *Daily News*, Martineau next contributed a moving obituary of "Christopher North," poet, essayist, genial protégé of Scott and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, whose "Recreations" she had cherished at Tynemouth. Readers could not imagine the Paisley manufacturer's son, John Wilson, "as dead or dying, or losing any of the intense vitality which distinguishes the ideal 'Christopher North' from all other men." He had lived for long at Elleray, near Ambleside, beloved by every "old boatman and young angler, every hoary shepherd and primitive dame" in the neighborhood of Lake Windermere, as well as being respected by men of letters. In "hundreds of pages of 'Christopher's Recreations,'" she predicted, his spirit would live.²²

Pleased that Hunt liked the "Wilson Memoir," she wrote smugly "I think it does look better than the Times one." Tomorrow she would do "poor Lockhart," though "I did not personally know him, because I declined it, - in the wickedest days of the Quarterly, when he & Croker deserved ill of all honest people." Yet she had long been "exceedingly sorry for him" and he would "have his due," she being "as gentle as possible." Hunt should also tell her "'yes' or 'no,'" whether he would have Croker done. He was "near dying," she believed. In Croker's case, she must be "outspoken, as to untruth & malice, or be silent altogether," for it would be "treachery to all principle & . . . enlightened interests of literature" to speak well of him, "dead" or alive.

Today she was sending Hunt "the Easter of 1854 in Russia" (possibly not used). "Davy [on the West Indies] is come," she added. "The most unreadable style that ever was. But I will look through it at once, & do my best." "Mazzini" (she was evidently answering Hunt's query), had been "hopeful & ready" for nearly twenty years, and horrible things had happened! She had "no faith in his sagacity & management," and the longer his friends could "keep him quiet . . . the better for Italy." Turning back to the Crimea, she declared she had "always thought the Greek empire a bad job, - even when that humbug Bowring used to charm our youthful ears about it."²³

The *Times's* mention of Russian prisoners of war "set me off as per enclosure," Martineau explained to Hunt, sending him an account of some French prisoners during the Napoleonic wars who carved wooden toys and cooked tasty soup - a story she had told before. Ignorant Russian peasants, not England's enemies, would now come, and they should not be shut up but do useful work and be taught. "I hope it may be fresh & somewhat interesting," she

said. Would he let her "cut out work for our prisoners of war?" If she did not hear to the contrary, she would send him, on Sunday, "a [sincere] leader for the Fast-day." About Russia, she had been reading "an immensity . . . & all the books combine to convince me that to knock a hole in it will be as tremendous an achievement . . . as any battering ram of fate ever effected."²⁴

"What an extraor^y thing that the Times has no news of L^d Anglesey!" Martineau crowed to Hunt in early May. "You have now got before them twice in three weeks with Obituaries." She had done "one per week, & not more," for they took "an immense deal of time, - the going fishing in the library." Indeed, the list she'd sent him "w^d take above a year at that rate, - to say nothing of others that may occur." Reminding him a few days later that they had been corresponding "for two years," she still wondered how long they would go on. Though "several times, in February & March," they seemed not to agree, they had "revived famously." Today she had "face-ache w^h I begin to think is the sign of fatigue," but she "sent for quinine" and would "take a trip the first time any friend comes this way." Snickering, she added: "D^r Davy is gone today to Galway, to fish. Pity I did not offer him my company! But we shall be so happy without him!"²⁵

More seriously, she wanted "to do Baltic Prussia, but c^d not refrain today from the Odessa subject." Just now, she found "old Malmesbury inestimable . . . not only for suggestion but warrant & confirmation" (on eighteenth-century European courts), yet how curious it was "to find a prophet in such a spruce man of the world!" She was sending Hunt another "reserve" obituary, of Lord Murray, "because I was moved by the death of the penultimate of the set, Cockburn, & it was easy work for yes^y." Samuel Brown called Murray "'a vain, pompous old fool,'" but she admired "the wisdom of his youth." Murray had impressed her deeply "by some revelations of Russia . . . one day in 1839 [i.e., 1838], when we were walking by Loch Fyne." Next she would do Lieutenant-General William Napier. Of Macaulay, she thought "less well" than Hunt would perhaps like, but she would say the best she honestly could. Had "L^d Anglesey died on Friday or Sat^y?" she wondered. "Beautiful article in the Times." If Hunt approved, he could hand the enclosed obituary to Lincoln (probably Hunt's printer). Was Lincoln aware of the "biographies" in reserve? "Here comes my patient," she interrupted suddenly, a woman now "going further off to live, & I shall have to go to her again . . . the best case but two that I ever had under my hands" (Martineau only rarely mentioned continuing to mesmerize local people).²⁶

Concerned that Garrison had apparently failed to print a retraction or further "remarks" about Holyoake in the *Liberator*, Martineau explained that Linton's malignity was "singular," beyond the imagination of the guileless Garrison. Moreover, Linton was a bad man of business.

"He promised M^r Garnett of Windermere to engrave 2 views for the 'Guide to Windermere' before April [that were] not done yet; & M^r G. has lost the Easter sale, & I fear will lose the Whitsuntide one too." If Linton thought he was annoying her, he was wrong: she had written the guide but had given it to Garnett to pay her nothing, "unless he so chooses at a future time."²⁷

Holyoake had pleasantly acknowledged her letter in the *Liberator* concerning him; she thought his "circular . . . beautiful," though the only help she could offer was not to ask for her £10 back. Of course she would resume payment for the *Reasoner*, "say from July next?" As for sending him names, she knew "no freethinker whatever, in my neighbourhood, but a German widow lady [Fredrika Meyer?], who thinks that people sh^d form their own opinions, & keep them to themselves," that being a "matter of morality" with her. As for the rest, "the squire, Puseyite, ignorant, stupid & haughty, holds all our little world at his disposal, & the parson most of all," while the "workies" were "too ignorant, & too entirely unconscious of the whole set of subjects . . . beyond getting them interested in some single point of morality, - such as teetotalism." Seething, she went on: "I seem to myself to be standing on a bit of firm ground ... & nobody wants a helping hand to get upon the rock. "

(Robert Cooper - just starting a new, atheistic journal, *The Investigator* - had attacked both Holyoake's *Reasoner* and the *Leader* and sent Martineau his two defamatory pamphlets, on the advice of Elliotson: "of all people," she exploded, "after his atrocious treatment of me in the *Zoist!*")

While the *Leader* deserved "all the opprobrium it can catch," she much preferred the tone of the *Reasoner* to "the very arrogant dogmatical tone of Cooper's paper, & of too many secular writers & speakers." Even Garrison could be dogmatic on things he knew nothing about, and her letter just published in the *Reasoner* (on supposed "Sabaic" inscriptions near Mount Sinai) "looked too much of that sort, when I saw it in print," even though she had given other people's researches. Gladly, she could report that the *Daily News* "rises immensely."²⁸

Martineau's small *Guide to Windermere* in the year 1854 included six Japanese-style line drawings by T.L. Aspland engraved by Linton, an index of place names, a foldout map, tables of mountains, passes, lakes and waterfalls, a description of flowering plants, ferns and mosses and a directory of principal residents in nine villages and towns. Citing Windermere's recent growth from a quiet lake village to a busy tourist destination with its own railway station, Martineau took the traveller from his arrival by train on several "tours," naming natural features, the residents of homes along the way and bits of local history, even of supernatural events. (Sales must have gratified the printer and publisher Garnett: in her autobiography Martineau vaunted

that "When I fancied I was going to do what I pleased till I left home in July, the proprietor . . . made an irresistible appeal to me to do the whole district . . . a 'Complete Guide to the Lakes.'" The new guide, published in 1855 and over twice the length of the first, contained sixteen engraved illustrations [not by Linton], six elevation drawings, a large foldout map in color and an index of residents in four times as many villages and towns. Several times badgering Martineau to update the work [with the help of her niece, Maria], Garnett was to publish a fifth edition in 1876.)²⁹

From 24 March 1854 to 20 August 1855, twenty of Martineau's *Daily News* leaders and "letters" reported on war in the Baltic Sea - entered in spring 1854 by a British naval squadron under Vice Admiral Sir Charles Napier. In May and June 1854, for example, Martineau focused on the attitude of Scandinavians towards the English, warning that England and Denmark (earlier compromised by Napoleon) must not again become enemies. She stressed the Finns' friendliness towards the English and the Scandinavian countries' wish for an alliance with France and England. On 16 May dramatizing the Czar's suspense over the lifting of the fog that would precede the "breaking up of the ice in the Neva," she warned that "CHARLEY" (Napier) was listening for the arrival of the French squadron in order to attack Cronstadt, the island fortress defending St. Petersburg. In her imaginative trope, the ominous sounds of winds and waters and the cracking and crashing of ice in the river seem to warn the Czar of the coming dissolution of his state.

On another tack, she pointed to lessons that could be drawn from events of the [Crimean] war. In May and June 1854, French and British troops had landed at Varna on the Black Sea, while the Turks routed the Russians along the Danube. Her leader of 26 June praised "the present . . . admirable success of the Ottomans," whose source of strength came from their "municipal institutions," in contrast to the "intense centralization of Russian administration" that was sure to prove ruinous when "put to any real stress." Where the Turkish valour "held out and conquered," Russian fanaticism failed. In a leader of 24 August 1854, she reminded readers that there was "nothing like a war for substantiating historical knowledge," that "the trade the Greeks carried on to Colchis and the Chersonesus" was over the track the Czar had in view at the time of the siege of Herat, "and our wretched Afghan war [and was included in] the provisions of the treaties by which he appropriated the navigation of the Black Sea." Evoking classical themes with names like "old Apollo," Iphigenia, Prometheus and Mithridates as well as places with religious associations like Ararat, the Seven Churches and "Armenia, with its ecclesiastical history," Martineau cited Czars "PETER" and "NICHOLAS" and retold the story of Peter's conquests in the south and building of St. Petersburg - all ending with Nicholas's dilemma over Peter's too ambitious dreams of becoming a maritime power.³⁰

¹ (On Russia) DN, 15 June 1853 (rptd. "Czars," HM/DN 141-47); for DN, 13 and 20 July 1853, see Appen. HM/DN; see also HP and Intro. HP.

² (On U.S., seamen of color) DN, 7 July 1852, 25 March, 7 July, 13 August 1853, 28 [?] September 1856 and 26 January 1857 (Appen., HM/DN); Nathaniel Hawthorne (living in "seclusion" with his mother in Salem while Martineau travelled in America) arrived at Liverpool in early August 1853 to take up a post as American consul and repeatedly heard complaints by sailors of their treatment on American ships: Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks*, ed. Randall Stewart (New York: MLA; London: Oxford UP, 1941).

³ HM to Nelly [Ellen] McKee [Louisa's daughter], 7 September [1853], JRUL English MS C B1²⁴ (Nelly now joined Snow Wedgwood and Spring Brown as one of Martineau's young female correspondents); for William Eastted, Elleray, Windermere, see Harriet Martineau's *Directory of the Lake District 1855*, An Alphabetical Index compiled by R. Grigg (Culneth, Warrington: Beewood Coldell, 1989) 9.

⁴ DN, 24 September 1853 (rptd. "Cholera at Newcastle," HM/DN 63-68); see also, DN, 17 September 1853 (Appen., HN/DN) and for ignorance during an epidemic, Deerbrook.

⁵ Auto. 2: 390-91; in her preface, Martineau defended the morality of Comte's work and her belief that it was needed in England at present (v-xv); rather less hard-headedly in her autobiography, Martineau ended her "Comte" account by quoting Atkinson's rambling views on man's understanding of "phenomena" and "the laws of phenomena" (Auto. 2: 397-404).

⁶ Auto. 2: 410; see Appen., HM/DN; "Death of Mrs. Opie," DN, 12 December 1853: 2, cols. 1-2 (rptd. BS, 329-36); "The Foreign Policy of Cromwell and that of Lord Aberdeen (letter, signed "Z."), DN, 26 December 1853: 4, cols. 4-5 (rptd. HM/DN 149-54); the Waldenses (the subject of Milton's sonnet XVIII beginning "Avenge O Lord thy slaughter'd Saints") were a small heretical sect brutally attacked by the Duke of Savoy in 1655.

⁷ HM to WLG, 1 November [1853], CL 3: 297; HM, "To the Editor of the Liberator," 1 November 1853, CL 3: 295-96 (the attack was by William James Linton of the *Leader*, the artist and engraver [and political activist] who lived nearby at Brantwood, Coniston); Palmerston, home secretary, and Graham, first lord of the admiralty; the "volume" may have been *Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston [Mass.]: R. F. Wallent, 1852); HM to Holyoake, 4 November [1853], CL 3: 298.

⁸ Marian Evans to George Combe, 20 November 1853, *The George Eliot Letters* 8: 87-88 (Evans had come to board with the Chapmans in 1851 [Haight, *George Eliot* 94]); TC to Joseph Neuberg, 21 November [1853?], TC to John A. Carlyle, 28 November 1853 and TC to Delia Bacon, 10 December 1853, *Carlyle Letters* 28: 319-20, 325-27 and 337-38, note 2 (the American Delia Bacon was searching for proof that "Shakespeare's" plays were by Francis Bacon: see, for example, Hawthorne, *English Notebooks*); Mill knew of Martineau's gossip about his relationship with Harriet Taylor: see Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor* 189.

⁹ See *Auto. 2*: 417; "Mr. Wiseman in Print" [a newspaper office], "Deaf Mutes," "Idiots Again," "Three Graces of Christian Science" [training of children devoid of the senses], "Blindness," "Freedom, or Slavery?" [Fugitive Slave Law], "The Rampshire Militia" [training], *HW* 8 (10 December 1853): 339-43; 9 (25 March, 15 April, 20 May, 17 June and 22 July 1854): 134-38, 197-200, 317-20, 421-25 and 537-42; 10 (13 January 1855): 505-11 (for an article on manufacturing, see note 182).

¹⁰ *Auto. 2*: 410-11; after Marian Evans had delivered an article to Chapman for the *Westminster* in November 1850, she stayed for two weeks, then in January 1852 she came to board with the Chapmans [Haight, *George Eliot* 81-82]; "England's Foreign Policy," *WR*, 61 (January 1854): 190-232; Robinson on Books/Writers, Morley [diary entry 30 January 1854] 2: 736.

¹¹ HM to Furnivall, [7 December 1853], *CL* 3: 298-99; the manuscript was probably from John Malcolm Ludlow, a Christian Socialist involved in the Workingmen's College; Fanny Kingsley suffered from the dampness in her husband's rectory at Eversley and spent the winter of 1854-55 at Torquay; for Martineau's article on Ireland in the *Westminster*, see last note; for her *Daily News* pieces, see Appen., HM/DN.

¹² *Auto 2*: 412-13; HM to Rowland Hill, 17 December [1853], *CL* 3: 299 (Hunt had made arrangements "by which I received the paper of the day at tea time" until Rowland Hill "gave us a second post delivery at Ambleside": *Auto. 2*: 415); George and Sarah Martineau (née Greenhow).

¹³ [Rev. of HM, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte, and G.H. Lewes, Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences*], Athen., 24 December 1853: 1547-48; the full title of Lewes's work, which came out a few weeks before Martineau's, was *Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences: Being an Exposition of the Principles of the Cours de Philosophie Positive of Auguste Comte* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853).

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- ¹⁴ DN, 24 December 1853 (see Appen., HM/DN) and "A Word About Christmas" [letter signed "Z"], DN, 30 December 1853: 6, col. 1.
- ¹⁵ HM to Chapman, 4 January 1854, CL 3; 302-303; probably Edward Lumley, bookseller and publisher, 56 Chancery lane; (?) Charles Beard, Unitarian minister at the Renshaw St. chapel, Liverpool; *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne (1811-17) or Nouvelle Biographie Universelle depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours . . .* (Paris: Imprimeurs-Libraires de L'Institut de France, 1853-); John Ramsay McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy: with Some Inquiries Respecting their Application, and a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black; London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849); *Annales des Voyages, de la Geographie et de l'Histoire* (Paris: M. M. Eyrie et V. A. Malte-Brun, 1808-); possibly a life of John Scott (1st Earl of Eldon), Lord Chancellor under George III; for Malmesbury, see chap. 35, note 1; for the Biographical Magazine and the anecdote, see chap. 35, note 7.
- ¹⁶ HM to Rowland Hill, 8 and 11 January 1854, CL 3: 304 and 304-305 (see note 12).
- ¹⁷ HM to Kate [daughter of Peter Finch Martineau], 29 January 1854, CL 3: 307-308; for Martineau's obituary of Rogers, see chap. 40, note 6.
- ¹⁸ A month after Russia destroyed the Turkish fleet in November 1853, British squadrons entered the Black Sea; see "Circassians" (18 January 1854) and "Allies" (2 March 1854), HM/DN 155-60, 161-67 and Appen., HM/DN; cf. Thomas Henry Huxley, "Schamyl, the Prophet-Warrior of the Caucasus," WR 61 o. s. and 5 n. s. (April 1854): 480-519.
- ¹⁹ HM to William Cullen Bryant, 3 March 1854, CL 3: 309-312; but see "Ireland. More Signs of 'Progress,'" DN, 24 January 1854: 5, col. 5.
- ²⁰ HM to Louisa Jeffery McKee, March [1854], JRUL, Liverpool Cp B1/24; the Crystal Palace reopened at Sydenham on 10 June 1854.
- ²¹ "Results of the Census of 1851," WR 61 o.s. and 5 n.s. (April 1854): 323-57.
- ²² "Death of Professor Wilson," DN, 5 April 1854: 4, col. 5-6, col. 1-2 (rptd. BS 337-43).
- ²³ HM to Hunt, Friday [7 April 1854] CL 3: 315-16 (Lockhart lived until November 1854, Croker until August 1857; over the next month Martineau sent Hunt a dozen leaders or "letters" on war in the Crimea: see Appen., HM/DN; John Davy, *The West Indies, before and since Slave Emancipation* (London: Cash and Co., 1854), [rev.] DN 20 April 1854: 2, cols. 2-3; for HM on

Greece, see DN, 18 April 1854 (Appen., HM/DN); among other charges, Martineau accused Bowring of plagiarism (HM to Henry A. Bright, [November 1859], CL 4: 200-201).

²⁴ HM to Hunt, Tuesday [18 April 1854], CL 3: 316; for "Prisoners of War" and "Fast Day," see DN, 21 and 26 April 1854 (Appen., HM/DN).

²⁵ HM to Hunt, Sunday [30 April?] and 2 May [1854], CL 3: 318-19 and 319-20; "Death of the Marquis of Anglesey", DN, 29 April 1854: 4, cols. 4-6 (Martineau described Anglesey as "one of the heroes of our last great struggle" but as lord lieutenant of Ireland "no match for O'Connell" [rptd. BS 57-63]).

²⁶ The *Times* commented repeatedly on the bombardment of Odessa by allied forces; for Nelson and Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier in the Baltic, see DN, 6 April 1854; for Odessa, see 5 May and for Napier's present inaction compared to Nelson's before the battle of Trafalgar, see 22 June 1854 (Appen., HM/DN); Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury; Containing an Account of His Missions to the Courts of Madrid, Frederick the Great, Catherine the Second, and the Hague; and His Special Missions to Berlin, Brunswick, and the French Republic. Edited by His Grandson, the Third Earl (London: Richard Bentley, 1844); Henry Thomas Cockburn, Lord Cockburn, Scottish reforming advocate, died on 26 April 1854; "The Late Lord Murray," DN, 14 March 1859: 4, cols. 5-6 (rptd. BS 71-77); "Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier, K. C. B.," DN, 15 February 1860 (rptd. in "THE Napiers. - Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Napier, K.C.B.," BS 199-212); "Lord Macaulay," DN, 31 December 1859: 5, cols. 2-4 (rptd. BS 418-28).

²⁷ HM to Holyoake, 17 May [1854], CL 3: 320-21 (see HM to WLG, 1 November [1853], note 7; John Garnett, printer at Church Street, Windermere; Guide to Windermere included engravings by Linton - but for Linton's later wrangle with Garnett [and George Smith] over engravings, see HM to Smith, 26 April 1865, CL 5: 110).

²⁸ See "Letter from Harriet Martineau. To the Editor of the Liberator" [followed by Holyoake's explanation of publishing Garrison's condemnation of him] and "Letter from Miss Martineau in Reply to 'Old Theology [on Sabaic inscriptions]," Reasoner 16 (1 January and 14 May 1854): 5-6 and 33]; in "Miss Martineau and her Traducers" (Zoist 3 [March 1845 to January 1846]: 86-96), Elliotson chastised Martineau for not letting Atkinson vet her letters on mesmerism to the Athenaeum and for claiming to be "an expounder of mesmeric science" after only a few weeks' experience.

²⁹ Guide to Windermere, with Tours to the Neighbouring Lakes and Other Interesting Places, by Miss Martineau. With a Map, and Illustrations from Drawings by T.L. Aspland, Engraved by

W.J. Linton. To Which are added Excursions to and from Keswick; and also an Account of the Flowering Plants, Ferns and Mosses of the District, and a Complete Directory to Windermere and Its Neighbourhood (Windermere: John Garnett; London: Whittaker, n.y.); A Complete Guide to the English Lakes, by Harriet Martineau, Illustrated from Drawings by T.L. Aspland and W. Banks, and a Map Coloured Geologically by John Ruthven. To Which are Added an Account of the Flowering Plants, Ferns, and Mosses of the District, and a Complete Directory (Windermere: John Garnett and London: Whittaker, n.y.; [preface dated 12 March 1855]) [3rd ed. 190]; Auto. 2: 417 and 423-24.

³⁰ "A Glance at the Baltic. - Revel. - St. Petersburg. - The Czar." [letter signed "Cosmopolite."], DN 24 March 1854: 4, cols. 5-6; for Denmark, see 1 May and 9 June 1854; for the Finns, see 2 May 1854; for Norway, see 8 May 1854; for the Baltic and the proposal to take Archangel, see 16, 17, 20 May, 8 and 27 June 1854; for Scandinavia, see 7 June 1854 (Appen., HM/DN); see "The Baltic Sea," DN, 16 May 1854 (rptd., HM/DN 169-75) and "Russian History," DN, 25 August 1854 (rptd., HM/DN 177-83).