

Chapter 38 Friends, Journalism: Keeping the Record Straight (1854-1855)

Robert Chambers must have sent Martineau an essay exposing spiritualism in late spring 1854 that she hoped he would print soon. His philosophical proposals would "do a world of good" to divert people from the "dreadful 'spirit' notion:" the "stuff put into the mouths of Washington, & other great & wise men" made her blood boil, but a wedge once in, the whole nonsense would fall apart. The solid *Westminster*, rising "in credit & authority . . . w^d be a good speaker in the case." Chambers's sleep theory seemed rational. Could he enlarge on the "variety of sleeping states, & also of waking?" Or on states hitherto classed as "cis-conscious & trans-conscious[ious?]" and on "transcendental brain-apparatus?" She *knew* the truth of clairvoyance, yet the story of Eliza Townsend was "startling," and the new form of revelation "wonderful." Faraday's explanation of table-moving she knew was inadequate—she had seen a table hop and tilt under a "stout girl of ten," she had felt a table move and could give two illustrations of "sleep-feats & knockings." In May 1839 when she was ill abroad, Julia Smith had a bed in her room, and Martineau saw her writing a long letter to her sister, rise with a jerk, wipe her pen, brush her hair and go to bed. The following morning Julia was upset because a finger-length of a page was nonsense, ending with the Alps, "long grass, feeding the English as they go up & down." Julia had crossed it out and told her sister she had fallen asleep. But that made Martineau uneasy, and she now saw it as an "exaggeration."

Then Martineau related the mystery of a "knocking" to which Chambers had given her a clue: she usually retired at 1:00 and slept *soundly* till morning, but five years ago last December, she was startled by three loud raps at the head of her German bed, without curtains, in an angle of the outer wall (Martineau's floor plan of part of the upstairs of The Knoll included her bedroom with bed, her study and the outer walls two-and-a-half feet thick). At the noise, she lighted a candle and saw it was 3:45. The maids did not come in, she went back to sleep and forgot about it until about 1 March, when three knocks at 3:45 again shook the bed and the maids heard nothing.

In June, Martineau's dying mother had been taken to Birmingham and in early July Martineau was again wakened at 3:45 by three loud knocks at her room door, like raps of a scrubbing brush. This time she peeped at the sleeping maids in the light of a midsummer morning, *they* then predicting she would hear news of her mother's death. Elizabeth had lived several weeks longer, however, and Martineau now believed her subconscious was to blame for the rappings. Up to the age of twenty-five, she continued to Chambers, she had "perfect recall." Six years ago, she remembered a story James told when she stayed with him in Dublin in 1831 - but only the *middle* part. On waking, a few months ago, she remembered the first part and tried to stay asleep to remember the whole story. A third example (of the workings of the unconscious) was the recurrence of a frightening dream she had at age four with just as strong feelings of terror. That *puzzled her highly*, and Atkinson had been *eager* to hear the dream. His "M.S.," which she had no difficulty in reading, was not exactly an "explanation" but explored in the right direction. If Chambers published his essay, it would help to keep others from "hallucination." Jocosely, she ended "Them's my notions."¹

Recounting to Frances Ogden her plans for the rest of the summer, Martineau said in July that she had not called owing to work on the *Guide to Windermere* - finished that day

except for revisions she could do at Liverpool. After the hot and tiring work of packing and getting her house ready for her tenants, the Barings, she (and probably Caroline) would stay with Ellen for ten days, in Cheshire and Shrewsbury for ten days, for a week in Sydenham at her editor's, then for a month in a lodging when a niece would spend half the time with her, and Catherine Turner the other half. Except for traveling, she would have no holiday this year. At the moment, she had work for the *Daily News*, a review and an extension of *History of the Peace* up to the Crimean War, the proprietors being "so kind & handsome" she could not refuse.²

(In *English Notebooks*, fifty-year old Nathaniel Hawthorne noted late in August meeting Martineau "a few weeks since" and described her as

a large, robust [one might almost say bouncing] elderly woman, very coarse of aspect, and plainly dressed; but withal, so kind, cheerful, and intelligent a face, that she is pleasanter to look at than most beauties. Her hair is of a decided gray . . . She is the most continual talker I ever heard; it is really like the babbling of a brook; and very lively and sensible too; and all the while she talks, she moves the bowl of her ear-trumpet from one auditor to another, so that it becomes quite an organ of intelligence and sympathy . . . like a sensitive part of her, like the feelers of some insects. If you have any remark to make, you drop it in; and she helps you . . . as she slightly directs it towards you . . . All her talk was about herself and her affairs; but it did not seem like egotism, because it was so cheerful and free from morbidity.

Hawthorne could hardly believe Martineau was an atheist who thought the principle of life would become extinct when her "great, fat, well-to-do body" was laid in the grave, and he refused to think that only a few weeds would "spring out of her fat mortality, instead of her intellect and sympathies flowering forever!"

Touring the Lake District the following summer, he remarked on her censure of morals in *A Complete Guide to the Lakes* and thought of paying her another visit—but he was apparently unaware that she was ill).³

In her autobiography, Martineau gave a candid account of the loan of £500 she made to John Chapman, her "good friend and publisher" who had failed "in consequence of misfortunes which came thick upon him, from the time of Mr. Lombe's death." Chapman "never in all our intercourse, asked me to loan him money," she averred, the *Westminster* being "mortgaged to me . . . entirely [by] my own doing," that she was "anxious . . . should be understood." Feeling greatly obliged to Chapman as an advocate of "free-thought and speech" by whom she was "enabled to address society," and seeing in winter 1853 that he was "hampered by certain liabilities," she offered to assume the mortgage.

(Chapman's complex affairs included borrowing from a number of creditors, and by July 1854 he was "compelled to admit that he was insolvent." Martineau probably did not attend the meeting of his creditors in London on 4 August when it was agreed that the review should stay in Chapman's hands - that James Martineau and William Ballantyne Hodgson [minor creditors, who had not come to the meeting] would not accept. James, it seemed, wished to amalgamate the *Westminster* with the *Prospective Review*, of which he was co-proprietor and editor). "I had an intimation in twenty-four hours that I was 'not to be swindled out of the review,'" Martineau went on, "but the whole anxiety, aggravated by indignation and pain at

such conduct on the part of men who had professed a sense of obligation to Mr. Chapman, extended over many weeks."

To Chapman she stormed that James was trying to "throw the *Review* into the market at the most disadvantageous season, when London was empty because of the cholera." To outfox her brother, Martineau "sent Chapman a cheque for the full amount of his debt to James," instructing him to get it deposited in James's bank account without James's knowledge. Samuel Courtauld - a principal creditor of Chapman's - advised him that he was obliged to honour Harriet Martineau's trust by paying off James, but he did not think James would sign a release, for "he has taken his position and his pride will maintain it."⁴

In mid-September from "Oxford House," a lodging in Upper Norwood opposite the Crystal Palace, Martineau chided Fanny Wedgwood: "I was faithful to my trust at the Palace; but none of you did I see." She was staying on in London "because W. Greg disappointed Chapman of an article, in the most selfish and saucy way, after having *promised* it," and just then "Chapman suffered the heavy blow of his best friend and helper's death by cholera. . . . His cousin John C."

In addition to her original article for Chapman, "Rajah Brooke" - praising the developer of Sarawak in Malaysia - she quickly penned a second article and would be "off homewards early in the morning, to meet M^r R. Chambers in the evening at the Knoll." Chapman's affairs had been settled, "very suddenly at last," she crowed, "owing to the atrocious device of the conspirators, of impugning the validity of my mortgage deed, on the ground of the doubtful nature of literary property." Hodgson had in fact "commenced legal proceedings, to compel an immediate sale, at the utmost disadvantage," his subscribers being "ready to buy it . . . and to put it into James's hands." Fanny might "conceive the indignation at this attempt 'to swindle Miss M. out of the review,'" causing

an immediate settlement [and] the goodness of my security having been amply ascertained, - M^r Courtauld paid off D^r Hodgson; and I pay off James. I hoped to spare him the pain (if he can feel it) of knowing that it is my money that pays him.

Her cheque to James would be sent through Courtauld, as soon as she knew "the precise amount," though Rachel (who must have known part of Martineau's plot) had said that "neither of them [James or Hodgson] *can* take the whole." Martineau would learn the outcome in a few days, and they would be "excluded from all further concern in C's affairs." She hoped James's subscribers for the "Prospective," would "set him up handsomely," and give him "every possible facility . . . for working out his views and notions [seeing] how bent he is on stealing other people's." He wouldn't come to Ambleside "till next May," and she did not see how he could meddle with her "before that." Hunt, meanwhile, had given her "fresh news and fresh views of European affairs," with work for her until Christmas. "P.S.," she gossiped rather maliciously, M^r Lewes and his elder boys, and Miss E. are living at Weimar, - he writing Goethe's life [and picking] her brains for his own book and his boys' education, and so makes profit and pleasure agree. When will she find that out?⁵

(From Weimar, George Eliot hotly denied a rumor that she had sent a "message" to Martineau: "one of the last persons to whom I should speak as to a confidante," she sniffed).⁶

When she returned to The Knoll in early October, Martineau found a packet from Furnivall containing pamphlets, a list of queries on *Letters on the Laws* and Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (she cautioned Furnivall about illegally "wrapping pamphlets round a vol: sent by

post," for she had almost lost his packet). *In Memoriam*, for which "M^r Johnson" should be heartily thanked, had first seemed "a whole volume of published griefs" from which she shrank because of knowing Arthur Hallam. Now she had to force herself to stop reading, not having had "any thing like so much pleasure from 'the Princess.'" Yet with all the "bits of wisdom & of beauty," the whole felt odd and disagreeable. And how did Furnivall and Johnson see answers in two of Tennyson's poems to her and Atkinson's statements? "Who has ever said that men are only brain?" She and Atkinson had not reduced all living things to physical properties, but held men the "most real" of all things and therefore "proper subjects of science," which did not claim to know his essence, but only his *attributes*. In the long sermon to Furnivall, Martineau affirmed that it was natural to love one's neighbor. Reviewers (mostly divines) had fraudulently misquoted the work: she and Atkinson having attacked the divines' own field! Yet the divines in their attacks had simply answered each other.

Thanking Furnivall for his help on "Cooperative matters," she reported that finishing her *History of the Peace* depended on Knight, who was "impressible and variable." Nor was she confident he would give her the "new Cyclopaedia," though she had worked hard "to get him 10 subscribers, nearly two years ago." Meanwhile, the building society was prospering: every lot in the field had been sold and paid for in one day "to the last shilling." Now she was thinking "how to get up baths and a Reading-room" with the banked money. Roofs were on two nearly finished cottages, and her own lot could accommodate two if Richard (her cousin and executor) would let her build a second. About the Kers, who were discontented with their recent journey, she shook her head: "Poor things, - all evils are great to them: - to her, at least." To Martineau, their "factitious troubles" now seemed strange. Her farm *had* lost potatoes and turnips this year but was otherwise flourishing, and she had work on hand for two years.

Within a fortnight, Furnivall had sent Martineau materials for *Daily News* leaders she was too busy moralizing on the war to use, but the great parcel of borrowed documents he had sent for her history she wanted to keep. Knight had given up his part of the history, and the present proprietors had commissioned the "Mess^{rs} Chambers" to negotiate with her to bring it "down to the [Crimean] War." Having done two chapters, she believed Chambers would agree that she *rewrite* the first five years of the century, "now a horrid mess of incoherence & dullness; - a beautiful bit by M^r Knight, & quantities of dullness by Craik & Macfarlane." Knight had prettily offered to repurchase his own portion, and there was no hurry as "the whole Pictorial Hisy" was to come out in parts, before her period.

Martineau *had* visited the Crystal Palace with the Wedgwoods and Erasmus Darwin but missed the Kers - having gone to London especially to see the prorogation of Parliament and on *Daily News* business. "C^d you make anything of M^{rs} Twining & Ed. A.?" she gossiped. They were the weakest of a large family, except the "hopeless youngest," Walter. She would write to Fanny Kingsley, now she was better - but she had not met either of the Kingsleys.⁷

From The Knoll, Martineau remembered to send an inscription (in an unbound *Playfellow*?) to Louisa McKee for her little daughter, promising that if it arrived "too much creased," Nelly might "bring the book here" the next summer. Lately, she had "seen M^r Courtauld [known to the McKees], & had a great deal of correspondence with him," but wouldn't trouble Louisa with details of "D^r Hodgson, & my brother Ja^s, & how *best* to protect Chapman from their persecution." Courtauld's "goodness, moral & intellectual [and] *wisdom*" had calmed her "*own feelings*" over the matter. An "eminent lawyer (a Master in the

Exchequer Court)" who had read a batch of Courtauld's letters exclaimed: "What a clear-headed man this is!" Indeed the Courtaulds had extended a "kind invitation" to her to visit them at either Bocking or Brighton. For Chapman, she saw "no reason for any other feeling than cordial respect & regard," her confidence in him being "not only unimpaired, but strengthened" by her support for his case. "The mortgage was declared quite sound," and her claim was only £20. Its smallness enabled her "to assume one, & probably two others," the whole being no more than she could afford.⁸

Of less cheering aspect, Martineau had consulted a "Professor of Mental Philosophy" about the perplexing "obliteration of words and half letters" when she read, and "occasional uncertainty about the spelling of even common words." She had "some little screw loose somewhere," he had said, "and so indeed it proved." Despite her alarming symptoms, on 22 October Martineau urged Chapman to send information about her next *Westminster* article, tentatively called "Russia and the Allies." Numbering her statements, she began with "1st. The French Alliance." On "matters of French His^y," she felt less well-informed than she ought, but she would do the article, his "able sketch" serving to guide her. Could he send "that number of the 'Economist?'" Greg had it, but she preferred to "keep altogether clear of West^r subjects with him." When was the latest time it was *convenient* for Chapman to have the article? What space did he allow her? And what had Oliveira published about French wines [no doubt Benjamin Oliveira, MP for Pontefract, of the wine duties reduction committee]? If the *Annual Register* for 1853 was out, he could send it to Whittaker's (printers of *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes*) and deduct the amount from her balance. Did she not owe him "10^s/" also for the Handbook of Turkey?"

"2^d." He needn't hurry about her interest, for "Money is at my call from 'Daily News,' & your time will suit me very well."

Finally - having affirmed her trust in Chapman - she noted "3^d" that she would keep his "narrative" for a few days "to show M^rs Turner," who had seen letters in the handwriting of "D^r H. & James," so Chapman and Courtauld could not object to Martineau's showing it. "Considering how positively *D^r Hutton* assured her [Catherine Turner] that James was to have the West^r," Martineau reported, "I think she ought to be mistress of the story, for the good D^r's better information," while Chapman's narrative should be shown to all interested parties. "M^r Greg, for one, ought to be *required* to read it." The conspirators, she raged, were simply trying to take the *Westminster* out of Chapman's hands. "Can Ja^s mean that he admires Cornwall Lewis as an editor [of the *Edinburgh*]? If so, he is the only person who does." Like "Ma^{tt} Arnold," everyone said "how sh^d the Edin: *not go down*, with that old woman to manage it?"⁹

Within a week Martineau had sent Chapman a receipt for interest on her loan, as well as a long account of fellow contributors to the *Westminster*. Greg was "insolently prejudiced" and talked of "secession," but she hoped Chapman would not lose Froude. And she would like to see "an accession of Cambridge men," the loss of some others not being great. Of those, Jas^s is brilliant; but he is unsafe from his want of *sound* knowledge & reason. Newman is weak, & Greg (I understand) worn out; [his] Epicureanism appears curiously here too. He dislikes the pain of having to think very ill of any body; so he prefers . . . thinking a *little* harm of you to doing justice. What a godsend is M^r Newman's avowal of the design of D^r H & Ja^s to get the review!

Now she must get on with her article. People expected "a mighty explosion soon about 'timid counsels,'" which she hoped would be in time for the end of her *Westminster* article. (In the *Daily News*, 6 and 21 October, Martineau complained that ministers should by now have ended the war in the Crimea with "heartiness and energy"). Someone thoroughly informed about Russia would be a help, though *she* knew more than many from reading Niebuhr and from writing *History of the Peace*. Tonight she would go to Fox How and ask if Bunsen was thought to be well-informed. Yes, the *Annual Register* should go from "Whitaker of the Row" to the Ambleside postmistress, a cheap and safe way, she paying a share of the carriage. Martineau's article would be more the philosophy and morale "of our commercial intercourse" rather than particulars - except for Oliveira's sayings and doings - for which he would be delighted to supply her with materials. She was also sending Chapman a letter from Templer about a possible "slip" she didn't *think* she had made in her *Westminster* article about Rajah Brooke. If Clarendon (foreign minister) was vexed, she would take the blame, but Brooke declared he had not "cooked" that letter.¹⁰

Begging Hunt at the *Daily News* to let her "thunder away [on] Baltic doings," Martineau sniffed at Napier's fuss over clouds and fog, and at "Dundas too, if he does not signalize himself at Sebastopol." She wanted, too, to send Hunt an article on the "hideous case of collusion in a lunatic asylum" published in the *Norwich Mercury*, though glad "the name of the *Reverend* sinner (put into the asylum to save a trial)" was not given. "Only think," she gossiped, "dear Florence Nightingale! I hardly think she can still be a Unitarian, - leading out popish & semi-popish Ladies" to the Crimea. The Nightingales were "so blessed by Nature & fortune [of whom] 3 sit cowering in ill health at home, & the 4th is to be a hospital nurse at Gallipoli!"¹¹

In her autobiography, Martineau recorded having addressed her neighbours for the last time in November and December 1854, telling them "that if I were alive and well next winter, we would carry on the subject to the close of the [Crimean] campaign." (Possibly in 1854, Annie Clough received a brief invitation for a Friday evening lecture; if Clough *wished* to come, tea would be at a quarter to 7:00).¹²

On Thursday evening, 23 November, Martineau told Philip Carpenter she was too busy reading up for tomorrow's lecture to look at his "footpath" papers until she got home at 9:00. *More* slippers from him had come, which she hoped his nephew would come to help enjoy. Her real news that evening, though, was the "deepest affliction" she had known since the death of Follen - the death from typhus of forty-year-old Frederick Knight Hunt, editor of the *Daily News*. He, Professor Forbes and Lord Dudley Stuart had all died within twelve hours of each other.¹³

During her stay with the Hunts in January 1854, Martineau had joined in plans for a party of fifteen to travel to Paris for "the opening of the Exhibition on May-day," 1855. (That day, she noted sadly in her autobiography, was to pass "without the opening of the Exhibition," Hunt now in his grave and she herself "in daily expectation of death"). When she had arrived in London with Caroline in August 1854, Hunt met and took them "to his house at Sydenham . . . giving us bad news by the way of the spread of cholera." A carpenter in his house had died the week before, "the seizure being too sudden to admit of his removal to his own unhealthy home." Hunt also pointed out "an abominable pond, covered with slime and duckweed," to which he had tried in vain to draw official attention. "During my short visit," Martineau went

on, "and just after it, almost all of us were ill . . . and after my removal to an airy lodging at Upper Norwood . . . I had repeated attacks of illness."¹⁴

By November, Martineau was suggesting that the party to Paris would be better without her, Hunt assuring her they could settle the matter "when April came." Then Hunt became too ill to carry on at the *Daily News*, although the sub-editor insisted "*he* was not alarmed like the rest." Yet Hunt worsened "and then, he was dead," having just "fairly entered on a career of unsurpassed usefulness and honour," Martineau mourned. Feeling "very ill" at the time herself, she offered to "go to London, and work at the office during the interval," but the proprietor urged her instead to work "daily at home."

At Hunt's death, William Weir (a widely-read Scot, member of the Scottish bar and former financial writer for the *Daily News*) took over as editor. Weir then continued to rely heavily on Martineau for leaders and for special articles that included her incisive obituaries. On 28 November 1854, for example, she paid tribute to the literary abilities of John Gibson Lockhart, but (taking some revenge for the *Quarterly's* attack on her) pointed to the malice of his satire, his libel of the Ballantynes in his biography of Scott and other literary offences.¹⁵

In early December, Martineau informed Carpenter she had kept some of his "footpath" papers and *liked* his complaint to workingmen that they didn't listen to an adversary's argument. Carpenter slept little. Though feeling ill, *she* hadn't thought it right to sleep much after Hunt's death. Port wine, however, allowed her to sleep seven hours for the first time since she had grown up. Carpenter must now address her on his letters as "Mrs." Hannah More, Joanna Baillie, Elizabeth Carter and Elizabeth Hamilton had all taken the title before fifty-two. To her sister and cousins, she suspected she would still be "Miss," but "Mrs" would otherwise be a convenience and propriety. On Friday, she would finish her lectures to local people on Russia and the war. On the twenty-second, she would remember *him* - the day "our dear Martha" was married.¹⁶

Through December, Martineau poured out leaders on the war and her first (full-page) review of the year for the *Daily News*, as well as a review of the January *Westminster*. Over the first three weeks of January, her obituaries of Mary Russell Mitford and Joseph Hume appeared. Mitford's genial nature and the humour of her early stories merited praise, Martineau judged, as a loyal daughter, she supported an extravagant father and had moderate success as a playwright. She was not "gifted with lofty genius," however, her talents and her character being "essentially womanly." Joseph Hume, on the other hand, was a "reformer *par excellence*." After his early career as an East India Company surgeon, interpreter and paymaster, Hume supported parliamentary causes like education, the British Museum and government fiscal responsibility.¹⁷

In a portmanteau article, "The Anglo-French Alliance," Martineau reviewed a history of the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X of France, a pamphlet by Count Krasinski on Russia and Europe, and the latest *Annual Register*. First glancing at English and French trade relations from the time of Caesar to the revival of enmity under Napoleon and then to the declaration by Louis Napoleon in 1840 "that an alliance between France and England was indispensable and inevitable," she noted that a copy of the "extremely rare" document had been lent to her. England, she declared, must help to promote French freedom, free trade and the end of tariffs - especially on imported wines. As evidence for the last, she cited Oliveira, who had learned of the privations and losses of French wine-growers through English wine-duties, and she hoped

that the "household consumption of wholesome [light] wines may ere long relieve us from the horrors of the gin-palace."¹⁸

¹ HM to [Robert] Chambers, 2 June 1854, *HM/FL* 216-19; Eliza Townsend must have figured in Chambers's paper.

² HM to Frances Ogden, 19 July [1854], *CL* 3: 325-26; see Appen., *HM/DN*; the "review" might been for the *Daily News*: see "Literature. The New Edition of Sydney Smith. *The Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith*. 3 vols. Longmans.," *DN*, 24 July 1854: 2, cols. 1-2; despite Martineau's denial, Knight was evidently shocked by *Letters on the Laws* and sold *History of the Peace* to William S. Orr, Chambers' London representative who published Knight's *The Land We Live In* (cf. chap. 33, note 78).

³ *English Notebooks* 77, 157 and 165 (rptd. *Auto.* 3: 275); Martineau was fifty-two; for her newest guide, see chap. 37, note 29.

⁴ *Auto.* 2: 425-27 (Martineau's faith in John Chapman was to be severely shaken); Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* 76-79.

⁵ HM to FW, [?17 September 1854], *HM/FW* 127-30 (earlier in the summer James and his family stayed at Skelwith Bridge near Ambleside); "Rajah Brooke, *WR* 62 o.s. and 6 n.s. (October 1854): 381-419; Martineau's second article for Chapman was probably "The Crystal Palace," *WR* 62 o.s., 6 n.s. (October 1854): 534-50 (nominally a review of handbooks on the Exhibition noting the improved state of the English public's interest in science and love of music but decrying Saturday entry for either season ticket-holders or at five shillings, and the lack of Sunday opening - both hard on working people).

⁶ George Eliot to John Chapman, [15 October 1854], *George Eliot Letters* 8: 123-24.

⁷ HM to Furnivall, 5 and 21 October [1854], *HL MS FU* 552 and *CL* 3: 330 (Furnivall had read law under Bellenden Ker at Lincoln's Inn; the reference was probably to Tennyson's *In Memoriam* [1850] l. 2, cxx: "I think we are not wholly brain" and possibly l. 8, cxxi: "And life is darkened in the brain"); (?) *The English Cyclopaedia. A New Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Conducted by C.K.* (London: C. Knight, 1854-70); for Knight and *History of the Peace*, see note 2 (Knight had published *The Pictorial History of England, being a History of the People, as well as a History of the Kingdom. . . . By George Lillie Craik and George MacFarlane*, 1838 [i.e., 1837-1844]); Edward Arnold, the third son; for Fanny Kingsley, see chap. 37, note 11.

⁸ HM to Louisa Jeffery McKee, 14 October [1854], *JRUL MS Cb B* 1/24 (Martineau's claim of £20 is not clear: at the end of October, for example, she was to send Chapman a receipt for £12/3 for his payment of a half-year's interest on the mortgage; so far, James and Hodgson had not given up their claims).

⁹ *Auto.* 2: 430; HM to Chapman, 22 October [1854], *CL* 3: 331-32; "Russia and the Allies," *WR* 65 o.s. and 9 n.s. (January 1856): 91-128; *The Economist. A Political, Literary and General Newspaper* founded by James Wilson in 1843 opposed slavery, supported free trade and mistrusted Napoleon III; Whitaker's might have been asked to bind the *Annual Register*.

¹⁰ HM to Chapman, 31 October 1854 [receipt to Chapman for £12/3, for half-year's interest on mortgage of *WR*], *Bod Lib MS Eng. lett. d.* 2. f. 180; HM to Chapman, 1 November [1854], *CL* 3: 333-34; Carlyle scoffed: "Saw a man called Greg," (very empty contented soul, empty of natural talent, of culture, reading, serious thought), who is visiting far and wide [Edin' Review, Pamphlets &c &c] . . . once a cotton manufacturer; not succeeding according to wish, he

suddenly took to writing": TC to Janet Carlyle Hanning, 8 April 1855, *Carlyle Letters* 29: 283-85, note 9; Martineau's article was "The Anglo-French Alliance," *WR* 63 o.s. and 7 n.s. (January 1855): 1-25; for Martineau's *Daily News* leaders on the Crimean War, see "Sebastopol," *HM/DN* 185-90, and Appen., *HM/DN*; John Charles Templer, Brooke's barrister; a "cooked" letter may have been included in Brooke's defense against charges brought by the government's commission of inquiry (see *HM/FW* 159-60, note 11).

¹¹ HM to Hunt, 2 [4] October [1854], *CL* 3: 332-33; Martineau's leader of 1 November 1854 compared Nelson's success in the Baltic to Napier's apparent pusillanimity (see chap. 37, note 30); Admiral Sir James Dundas's first attack on Sebastopol had floundered; no leader on collusion by an insane asylum near Norwich has been identified; see Introduction, *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea*, ed. Sue M. Goldie (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997).

¹² *Auto.* 2: 310; HM to [Annie] Clough, Tuesday, [n.y.], *HM/FL* 210; see Blanche Athena Clough, *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough. First Principal of Newnham College Cambridge* (London: Edward Arnold, 1897) 78 (Clough and her ailing mother had come to live at Ambleside in 1852; Eller How, their newly-built house, was at Eller Rigg on land sold by the building society).

¹³ HM to PPC, 23 November [1854], *CL* 3: 336-37; Carpenter's efforts on behalf of working men in Warrington included forming a society for the protection from railway developments of ancient footpaths: *Memoirs of the Life and Work of Philip Pearsall Carpenter. Chiefly Derived from his Letters*, ed. Russell Lant Carpenter (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1880) 136-38; Carpenter often went on holidays with his nephew William Lant Carpenter, son of his eldest brother, also William Lant Carpenter; the naturalist Edward Forbes had died unexpectedly on 18 November 1854; Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, a politician, had helped Polish refugees in 1833.

¹⁴ *Auto.* 2: 424-25; Victorian sanitary reformers theorized that pestilence bred in mud; cf. "Cholera at Newcastle," *HM/DN* 63-68.

¹⁵ *Auto.* 2: 428-29; see Introduction, *HM/DN* xi-xii; "John Gibson Lockhart," *DN*, 28 November 1854: 5, cols. 5-6 (rptd. *BS* 344-52).

¹⁶ HM to PPC, 12 December [1854], *CL* 3: 337-38; after a noisy meeting, Carpenter had told people in Warrington that "You confirmed your rights, but you also confirmed the opinion of those who think that working people will not listen to argument"; Elizabeth Carter was the bluestocking friend of Dr. Johnson and Elizabeth Hamilton the Scottish novelist and writer on education (Martineau was fifty-two and a half).

¹⁷ See Appen., *HM/DN*; "Political and Social Progress in 1854," *DN*, 30 December 1854: 5, cols. 1-5; "Literature. *The Westminster Review*. January, 1855. (Chapman, London)," 3 January 1854: 2, cols. 1-2; "Miss Mitford.," 15 January 1855: 3, cols. 1-2, and "Death of Joseph Hume.," 22 January 1855: 4, cols. 5-6 (rptd. *BS* 353-59 and 64-70).

¹⁸ See note 17; for Martineau's familiarity with wine, cf. "French Wines and Politics," originally No. 12, *Illus. Pol. Econ.*; the "document" may have been lent by Atkinson's sister.