

**Part IV**  
**Mortal Illness, Journalism, the *Daily News***  
**(1855-1885)**

**Chapter 39 "Heart Ailment" (1855)**

In completing her autobiography in 1855, Martineau listed in vivid detail the early symptoms of her supposed mortal illness:

a *creaking* sensation at the heart (the beating of which was no longer to be felt externally); and, after the creak . . . an intermission, and then a throb (after which breathing became) perturbed and difficult: and I lay till two, three, or four o'clock, struggling for breath.

When her symptoms began earlier and lasted longer, she wrote to the heart and lung specialist Dr. Peter Mere Latham, physician extraordinary to the Queen: "That honest and excellent physician knew beforehand what I desired . . . to know the exact truth," she avowed.

Accordingly, Martineau made plans to go to London. In fact, Latham had answered:

Whatever "the creak, the stop and the thump" may mean, they can hardly *in you* mean organic disease of the heart. To walk 7 or 8 miles without inconvenience, to drink port wine with *very good* effect, and to obtain "a most comfortable day" from 12 drops of Battley's Laudanum . . . abolish any evil suspicion I might have . . . referable to the heart itself.

Latham could not venture further on her treatment at long distance and urged her not to come to London in "*this cruel weather*" without the sanction of Mr. Shepherd (her surgeon at Ambleside). Unabashed, Martineau wrote to Frances Ogden next day that

in correspondence with D<sup>r</sup> Latham . . . what we have thus far discovered is that my ailment is a serious matter, & that it is well no more time was lost. . . . So I go to town on Monday with my maid.

Nobody in London knew she was coming "but editors & M<sup>rs</sup> Reid." Not wanting to stay with friends or with "any aged or delicate hostess," she would take rooms "at Mr. Chapman's" (Chapman had moved his family and publishing business to 43 Blandford Square and may have urged her to come).<sup>1</sup>

At Chapman's, "Dr. Latham visited and examined me, the day after my arrival," Martineau went on in her autobiography. Latham recommended she consult another physician, and "Dr. [Thomas] Watson's opinion, formed on examination . . . was the same as Dr. Latham's:" her heart was "deteriorated . . . 'too feeble for its work,'" with "more or less dilation; and the organ . . . very much enlarged." After the first examination, Martineau continued, "I went out, in a friend's carriage, to tell her the result of Dr. Latham's visit; and I also told a cousin who had been my friend since our school-days." Once back at her lodging, she felt a pang "at the thought that I should never feel health again," and within a few days she began to have "sinking-fits". The first evening, however, she joined in the merriment of a family dinner party to which Atkinson had been invited. His sympathy particularly moved her when she told him about her illness. "I did not sleep at all that night," she went on, "and many were the things I had to think over, but I never passed a more tranquil night."<sup>2</sup>

Reporting Latham's supposed view to Shepherd at Ambleside, Martineau noted "the case is of the gravest character, - organic disease of the heart, (& of the heart only, as Dr L has satisfied himself, - by the most thorough examination).

The following week Martineau told Louisa she would be thankful to see her in town next week if permitted by the doctor. She had "*no pain*," but her disease was "deterioration of the substance of the heart . . . & great enlargement of the organ," the only treatment being by "opiates, ether, steel, & the utmost amount of nourishment;" she must not walk out "*at all*" or go upstairs "more than can't be helped." Though she might live for years, "I may die at any moment, - as I feel." How good the Courtaulds were! Maria was with her, "a delightful caretaker."<sup>3</sup>

Lingering at the Chapmans' into early February, Martineau wrote sententiously to Philip Carpenter that she was deeply concerned over "how very ill your sister Mary is." She sympathized with his anxiety, "& (I fear) impending sorrow." *She* was dying, but Mary (his sister) was younger, and the two women would leave their work unfinished. Martineau's illness, "organic disease of the heart," was more serious and advanced than she had expected. Though she might live on, a certain kind of "faintings" had begun yesterday. She still hoped to go home the following Thursday or Friday and not to linger in London for useless treatment, while her family would have to part with her "sooner than they'd looked for." Eager for "the repose and freshness of my own sweet place [and] for the sake of my servants," she determined to travel during the "worst of a very bad winter." At home, she met "the pale, shrunk countenance" of the servant left there" who had learned of Martineau's illness and "cried more than she had slept."<sup>4</sup>

Martineau's first account of her journey to Ambleside seemed almost light-hearted. In a note to Erasmus Darwin she announced, "my party and I reached my Knoll with wonderful ease, - thanks to the Invalid carriage with its delectable accommodations" (Maria's friend Emily Sargent had obtained this special carriage through the secretary of the London and North Western Railway). Martineau was brought straight through to Windermere with a party made up of Maria, Thomas and Caroline her maid. "Tell Fanny we heated our soup with no other misadventure than singeing the carpet at the first trial," she added with slight embarrassment.<sup>5</sup>

In a "*Confidential*" note to Carpenter the same day, Martineau asked his advice: all her business affairs had been settled, but she wished to protect her nephew Thomas by settling where she was to be buried. The rich, High Church people of Ambleside would object to having her in their new churchyard, the Rydal curate preaching against people who visited and walked with her! *She* didn't care, but she didn't want to "do more *odd things*" than were necessary. Where was the nearest Unitarian burying ground? Would they object? Would it consist with his sense of duty to lay her there? Though not "atheistical" in a philosophical sense, she was "clear & strong" in her present views and would not make any concessions in regard to faith. Carpenter's answer would only be seen by her nephew, she assured him.

Two more notes flew off to Carpenter the same week, he evidently agreeing to preside at her funeral. Her nephew had his note, and *they* should make final arrangements. Rev. P. Houghton had baptized her in [summer?] 1802. Although her views had not changed, she asked Carpenter to read the regular service and would wait to hear about the Kendal burial ground. Her wish was for a plain funeral without hat-bands, scarves, feasting, and so on; Mr. Ryland, who made out her will, had specified the same, as had others.<sup>6</sup>

(Carlyle - apparently ignorant of Martineau's "heart ailment" - just then damned the science of political economy as "this sad Gospel according to Martineau[,] Senior and Comp").<sup>7</sup>

Writing to Richard Webb in Dublin, Martineau reported Parker Pillsbury's having begged for a last word about "*the cause*" in case she *didn't* last long. Bidding the Webbs' children farewell with love, she added not to feel sorry for her.

Next Martineau wrote to Holyoake about "a Burial service for Secularists . . . a testimony to my own final views on the subjects w<sup>h</sup> interest men most . . . "What is to become of *me*?" Conscious of being near death, she was aware of problems to be *solved* for the human race; both Webb and Atkinson urging her to write a memoir of her life. With her executor, she saw that only *she* could "properly do the most important part," her transition from Christianity to freethinking, and she hoped to start while her two nieces stayed at The Knoll. Though probably not be able to do the whole, she said Thomas had proposed asking his father to complete it.<sup>8</sup>

Holyoake now assured Martineau he could "conceive of nothing so valuable to us as a 'Service for the Grave' from your pen." While not wanting to tax her strength, he believed the "unselfish attitude of the mind with regard to the future" had 'never been put in the same light except by yourself, and no one could express it more usefully." To write her life he recommended Charles Knight - though F.W. Newman was "by far the ablest" he could think of. *Newman* could estimate both her earlier convictions and late philosophy, which the biography should cover. "Mr. Atkinson seems . . . diffident without cause," Holyoake asserted. "I told him he himself should undertake it." Concerning his own efforts, Holyoake added that a son of W.R. Greg was offering to help with his plan to teach "elements of knowledge & morals to [the] outcasts of Somerstown."<sup>9</sup>

Surprisingly, Martineau told Holyoake two weeks later she might "hold out for a long time yet. - Long enough, perhaps, to complete my autobiography, to which I add something everyday when I am strong enough." Her nieces and Atkinson were keeping her up to it "as now the *one* duty in life." Another biographer would be wanted however, "*as one can supply only the half of one's life,*" and she agreed that Atkinson was the man.<sup>10</sup>

Among American friends to learn of Martineau's illness, Ellis Gray Loring (possibly repelled by *Letters on the Laws*) added a note to a letter from Lydia Child. Martineau responded gloomily that she was "mortally ill" but would see that the picture of his daughter was returned to him after her death. However, she was unable to help with Child's book. "Freethinking works" had "a remunerating sale in this country," she explained, but English booksellers would not pay American authors because of piracy by American booksellers. Loring should have let her know when he was coming to England and Ireland, for she had *tried* to see him. (A note from Maria added that opiates helped Martineau's irregular heart beat, though no cure was possible, that she had "constant noise in the head [and] tendency to fainting fit" and that she had given up all work).<sup>11</sup>

Martineau's servants helped to spread word of her condition. Sarah's letter to Caroline [Martineau's maid] shows "us that you have taken the alarm about me; & . . . the worst you can have heard of my health is true," Martineau wrote to Hunt's wife in mid-February. "I knew you were nursing dear Milly & was quite unfit to see you [in London] (which I knew w<sup>d</sup> completely upset us both)." Though feeling "very, very old," she was resigned, her own case allowing a "lessening of personal grief" at Hunt's death. In all probability, she would die quite soon from "advanced disease of the heart [or] rupture of a vessel in the brain," so it was hardly likely she

would write again. Yet she longed to hear about them - possibly through "the dear Willses." Sending love to the children, she begged Mrs. Hunt to "tell Hardy I rejoice to hear of the oppor<sup>y</sup> given him for an education by which he may be enabled to solace *you*, & do honour to his father's memory."<sup>12</sup>

After Dickens sent Martineau a note (possibly nudged by Wills), she answered on stationery depicting female figures in front of The Knoll. "I write on this paper that you may see where I sit in the sun," she chatted familiarly, "in an easy chair before the porch . . . all grown over now with mixed evergreens & roses & honeysuckle." The ladies on the terrace were her nieces, "one head nurse, & the other housekeeper & second nurse." She was *not* better and was sorry the Willses had not seen her paradise when she could receive them - but she enjoyed Dickens's and Angela Burdett Coutts's "cheering letters." Women *could* take practical steps: Burdett Coutts was doing it, and Martineau hoped her ideas would spread. At Ambleside *she* tried to encourage good cooking such as *stewing*, as advised by Count Rumford. According to her doctor, "an immense amount of disease here is owing to the abominable dinners the people eat [and] bad cookery helps the sottishness, not a little."<sup>13</sup>

Writing to Dickens again, Martineau pled that while happy for the "Common Things" project, she was too weak to send Burdett Coutts her comments: "Only this, - that I have found the best effect produced upon little girls by telling them (in true anecdotes, if possible) how things should not be done." Girls had even learned to make *broth* from her story *The Hamlets* (where a wife lets the fire die out, then overcooks the broth). Of John Saunders - who was not coming to see her, his business negotiations being off - she hoped his "pretty play" would do well and that his new literary life would support his "tribe of children." Martineau was using "poor Miss Wordsworth's garden chair to get into the field," Mary Wordsworth having given her the "world-widely-known chair."<sup>14</sup>

In early April, Maria informed Holyoake that for the last fortnight her aunt been "more ill than for many months previously." Yet she was "very anxious about the liberty of the Press," the strongest article to have appeared in the *Daily News* being hers.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, illness seemed everywhere. Caroline had fallen ill in March, and Louisa McKee offered to take her place - but a new servant, Jane, filled in. "M<sup>rs</sup> Turner stays till my niece Jane comes, on the 31st," Martineau wrote to Louisa, and Caroline must be sent to recruit at Robert's.<sup>16</sup> A month later, Martineau fretted to Philip Carpenter: "I have often thought of writing to you about Martha, various friends [having said] they considered her grievously over worked & underpaid." Now an evening school was proposed "to one of her constitution for £13 a year!" Instead, Martha "ought to be sent, as soon as she can travel, to the sea." *Martineau* was too poor at the moment to help, "having this week paid off my liabilities to my Building Society, (£128) & last week sealed up my autobiography, - all printed ready, & the printer & engravers paid." But she "w<sup>d</sup> work more" to help send Martha away, if necessary (Carpenter must burn this letter, she warned). Sadly, it was too late to invite him to stay - she was sinking in the warm weather, having almost gone on Wednesday.

Within a few days, Martineau was advising Carpenter that Catherine Turner would help Martha if she could get to Lentonfield. The fate of the poor boys (Martha's ragged school pupils) was a worry, and Martha's record showed her conscientiousness. Catherine (evidently disapproving of Martha's marriage) had been mollified. They did not want Martha to be away from her husband for *pleasure*, she reminded Carpenter in a *third* note, and they agreed that

Martha was better at "guidance & influence" than teaching, her handwriting being bad, for instance. Robert's health, Martineau went on, had improved under homeopathic treatment in London, but *she* was feeling weak again as Maria had predicted.<sup>17</sup>

Martineau's obituary of Charlotte Brontë, mourning the loss of "this gifted creature," had appeared in the *Daily News* on 6 April. Acknowledging Brontë's seriousness as well as her humility, Martineau misstated a few details of Brontë's life and repeated the censure of *Villette* that passion occupied "too prominent a place in her pictures of life." Almost belittling Brontë's artistic achievement, Martineau praised her fellow author for qualities like bearing up through family tragedies, feminine neatness and domesticity.<sup>18</sup>

When barrel of oysters arrived at The Knoll later in April, Martineau thought she recognized Milnes's handwriting "on the direction-card whereof." Maria Chapman, staying at The Knoll, had "the strange delusion" they were not "good eating, but Maria & I shall amply fulfil your intentions in regard to these," she warbled to Milnes. So he had seen Froude! A queer fellow, but a beautiful writer; "on divers occasions" he had shown that he disliked *her* "in particular, while I believe he despises women in general." Milnes having "two objections" to the part of her autobiography she had sent him, she protested that as to "philosophical atheists," she could not "*change* the terms" because they occurred "in a narrative of an actual conversation, in w<sup>h</sup> the term 'free-thinkers' did not occur." She doubted, too, whether she could "change the word 'superstition' honestly." If people's feelings were shocked at a true account of convictions, they stood "in need of being shocked." W.R. Greg's "'Creed of Christendom'" had come out at the same time as the "Atkinson Letters" but was "a mere splash of a stone in the water," she sniffed.<sup>19</sup>

For the *Daily News*, Martineau continued to address topics related to war in the Crimea, reporting on Swedish neutrality, Russian weakness, secret diplomacy, incompetent ministers, Britain's free press, military strategy in the Black Sea and the mismanagement of military supplies. On 2 June, for example, she excoriated drunkenness among soldiers and hired nurses (officers should stop the sale of raki, she said, or Florence Nightingale be permitted to come home where her services would not be wasted). A portmanteau leader on 22 June commented on photographs of Kertch made under bright sun, looting by British soldiers, horses in the meadows, soldiers eating vegetables cooked by Soyer, favorable propaganda for England retailed by Russian deserters and prisoners returned to Sebastopol; an imaginary picture of Raglan visiting Nightingale showed him sickening at his *failure* of organization. Further leaders in June focused on the strategy and mismanagement of the war.<sup>20</sup>

To Martineau's annoyance, Mary Carpenter now wrote that religious faith had helped *her* through recent illness, and she congratulated Martineau "that the Heavenly Father in his wisdom and love has appointed that your time of rest should probably come soon." Rebuking Mary rather unkindly, Martineau received an abject apology. Having affirmed her religious neutrality, Martineau then thanked Holyoake for the (freethinking) *Reasoner's* "replies" to the Unitarians. What he had said this week was curiously like what she had written in the early part of her autobiography, but hers had been written first and was in print, "for now I have been correcting the proof." Even if she did not live to finish that work, it would set a good pattern for her executor to work from.<sup>21</sup>

(In London, Milnes evidently invited Atkinson to meet a "brother" mesmerist. Atkinson agreed to come next day and reported Martineau's increasing size, which "looks like dropsy.")

Her doctor thought it must be that "or an ovarian tumour which is dropsy in another form most probably," Atkinson concluded a bit confusingly).<sup>22</sup>

Along with her payment from *Daily News*, John Chapman's first of July cheque would help her through the "expensive season," she told him, "without detriment to the printing of the Memoir." Amusedly, she reported that because she had made the "Lakes" guide cheap, the printer was requesting that "to encourage a worthy young tradesman & neighbour," her executor should let *him* have the chance to buy it. "Only fancy *that* book published at a little railway station!" Yet the printer *was* owed £112 by the Windermere clergyman who "built in medieval style to a vast extent," preached sermons justifying his extravagance and then *failed*. That morning, Atkinson had arrived and was "going out of his senses" over her roses, "w<sup>h</sup> almost cover the house." Only in New Orleans had she seen the like. The local fun was that "D<sup>r</sup> Davy has compelled his haymakers to strike! & there lies his hay, soaking in yes<sup>y</sup>s rain, while every body else is making use of today's splendid sun." Yesterday, James and his family had come to their "lodging opposite to take their pleasure for 6 weeks!" If she should be buried within that time, they would probably see the funeral. James, she scoffed,

puts on now the suffering brother, hovering round, & not allowed to come: whereas, he has never offered to see me since the Letters came out, & has repeatedly staid at W. Greg's & elsewhere without letting me know: & again, - he took these lodgings a year ago: so his martyr plea won't stand.

The memoir "spreads out," she went on to Chapman - who seemed interested in publishing the work. Meanwhile she enjoyed the "exposure of D<sup>r</sup> Carpenter in the Westminster," who had been "so fraudulent about Mesmerism, in his Quarterly article" and was now "convicted of writing down to the Temperance folk, in contradiction to his own main work." On another topic, the Hyde Park matter was *serious*. Chapman's cousin's article on "Sunday bills" had earlier suggested *her* anti-sabbatarian letter in the *Daily News*.<sup>23</sup>

While keeping Milnes *au courant* on her symptoms, Martineau described her "perfect Eden of flowers and fruit" and good hay crop. "I rejoice in the war, more than ever, she went on. "All how & about which I have just been writing . . . a leader for 'Daily News.'" Her history "(vol II. p. 517)" had shown that she, for one, "anticipated just the present chaos . . . to carry us through to a regenerate state." Mary Arnold groaned at "Lord John (Russell]'s going out," the cause of their "longest-standing argument . . . whom she has chosen till now to consider perfect, because Dr. A. hoped such great things from him." Elizabeth Gaskell was coming to Ambleside to consult her about Charlotte Brontë (she had advised Gaskell to apply to *him* for information). Her own memoir was "some way from the end," there being "the American journey, & a short [section], between America & Tynemouth." She had not seen the *National Review*, while "James is pleasuring in my neighbourhood!"<sup>24</sup>

Atkinson left next day in a rain storm. "What a blessing this visit of yours has been!" Martineau gushed. He was off to Boulogne, where she hoped he and Holyoake might meet, for Holyoake could never know "a wiser or a better man."<sup>25</sup>

A week later, Martineau wrote to Sarah (cousin George's wife) with "love to Lucy [a recently married daughter], & to you, - a granny as you are!" And she thanked Sarah for a "capital account of the wedding." Of her own present "party of *four*," Aunt Margaret would go home tomorrow - having lodged with her own maid "close by my gate for a fortnight." She wished to send Maria home for the Birmingham music festival and had asked Catherine Turner

to come. But Catherine must have "a little training," Shepherd having hinted that she was "manifestly sinking into the dropsical state w<sup>h</sup> is the inevitable close of the disease." Just now Maria had come in from her morning walk, "with a glorious armful of ferns & wildflowers," while her gardening made the flower beds "gayer than they ever were before."<sup>26</sup>

(In August, Crabb Robinson came to Rydal Mount to see Mary Wordsworth, and Maria - still at The Knoll - called to ask how he was. Robinson suspected Maria had been sent by Martineau so he would not call on *her*. In his diary he noted that Maria was "a pleasing girl - a general favourite." He had heard that Martineau spent her mornings writing and was "dictating her life to Atkinson." He told Maria he would leave his card, but it rained so hard the day before he left Rydal he sent "an apologetic message by Mrs. Gaskell." On the day of his leaving, "by her own desire" he called on Martineau to find her "very comfortable" and showing great strength of character. He judged she would "leave not altogether a bad name behind her," and except for her infidelity, even a good one. People called her "benevolent & sincere;" her faults were "presumption and, towards others, overbearing." Altogether, Robinson left feeling respect and good will towards her).<sup>27</sup>

While gathering material for her biography of Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell had stayed at Fox How. She and Martineau may have had more than one tête-à-tête, but Martineau was to object fiercely to statements about herself attributed to Brontë that appeared in the book a year and a half later. Gaskell "covered us all with kisses and wept when she went away," Martineau sneered, "and asked . . . that she might write [but] never wrote a line, nor even sent me a copy!"<sup>28</sup>

While she waited for Maria at the end of August, Martineau raved to Fanny Wedgwood over her niece's blooming health and devotedness. Maria and her younger sister, Jenny, would now replace Catherine—Martineau's "intimate of 40 years." On Monday, "poor dear M<sup>rs</sup> Reid" was coming. *She* had "quarreled desperately and most mysteriously" with Martineau's niece Susan and had written Martineau a "grossly insulting" note - then repented and humbly begged pardon. In the past month Martineau's "*entire monotony*" had been broken into only "when M<sup>r</sup> Pillsbury and Mary Estlin came, from Saturday till Monday." Martineau no longer went out, "even on the terrace," but lay "by an open glass door or window." Last Monday, she finished her autobiography - "two thick vols, leaving one for M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman and M<sup>r</sup> Atkinson to say what they wish." By printing her portion, she would save Thomas "from all interference." James (a possible interferer?) and his family had been

frolicking about, and driving past my gate, their Kendall friends giving out "that I am 'highly nervous' - 'too nervous to see her brother'": which M<sup>rs</sup> Turner has quietly put down. Really, the behavior does exceed all badness I ever heard of, - thrusting themselves into the neighbourhood and people's notice, and then defaming my wits! Now the memoir was done, she would "probably do three leaders per week" for the *Daily News*. Yesterday, she did one "on the vegetarians . . . and [today] one on Florence's Nightingale's fund." Atkinson was coming again after Boulogne, and Maria Chapman "in about six or seven weeks," if all went well with her daughter's first confinement, "and if I am still here."<sup>29</sup>

Teasing Milnes, Martineau offered to show the finished "memoir," except for the part on literary London. (In "Period IV. Section II" Martineau recounted her first impression of Milnes, the young friend of Lady Mary Shepherd "with a round face and a boyish manner, free

from all shyness and gravity whatever," who chastised her gravely for speaking of her *Illustrations of Political Economy* as light work. Later, his poems surprised her for their "catholicity of sentiment and manner" and she was impressed by his "superiority to all manner of exclusiveness.") Sydney Smith's two epithets for him: "Dick Modest Milnes," and "the Cool of the Evening" delighted her.

Two weeks later, probably at the behest of Maria Chapman, Martineau asked Milnes to write a piece for the *Liberty Bell* on slavery or on *anything* to do with liberty or human development. She admired his Scutari piece in *The Times*. Her recently finished *Guide to Windermere* had to be altered owing to "swindlings" by the Windermere incumbent, she groused to Milnes.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Auto.* 2: 430-31; Peter Mere Latham to HM, 12 and 18 January 1855, BUL MS Harriet Martineau 539 and 540; James Carter Shepherd, Martineau's long-term local doctor; HM to Frances Ogden, 19 January [1855], *CL* 3: 340; Chapman's finances were always shaky, his new address being near the home of heiress Barbara Leigh Smith with whom he hoped to form an extramarital union "for the benefit of her health" (see Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* 87-92 and 96-97); in 1857 Chapman was to take a medical degree in Scotland "to fall back upon" for support of his family, and he became one of Martineau's rare confidants about the truth of her "heart ailment."

<sup>2</sup> *Auto.* 2: 431-32 (claiming to be surprised at feeling "so little emotion" at her diagnosis, Martineau failed to consider that *fright* might have helped bring on the "fits"); Elisabeth Reid must have been the "friend" and the "cousin" Eliza Martineau, on whom they probably called; *George Eliot and John Chapman* 75 and 93-95; Atkinson often aroused Martineau's maternal feelings.

<sup>3</sup> HM to Shepherd, 25 January 1855, *CL* 3: 340-41; HM to Louisa Jeffery McKee, 2 February [1855]; the (philanthropic) Samuel Courtauld.

<sup>4</sup> HM to [PPC], "43 Blandford Square," 5 February [1855], *CL* 3: 341-42 (working to open her reformatory school Mary Carpenter had contracted rheumatic fever); *Auto.* 2: 432-33 (seeming to relish the challenge of imminent death, Martineau spread the news to a wide circle of friends and family; with the help of Maria's brother Thomas, now an attorney and her executor, she made out a new will).

<sup>5</sup> HM to ED, 11 February [1855], *HM/FW* 130.

<sup>6</sup> HM to [PPC], 11, 13 and [14?] February [1855], *CL* 3: 344-45, 346-47 and *HM/FL* 223; for Martineau's death and funeral, see chap. 54.

<sup>7</sup> TC to Ashburton, 14 February 1855, *Carlyle Letters* 29: 259-60 (referring to Nassau Senior, Carlyle also objected to a plan to choose Indian Civil Servants on the basis of public examinations).

<sup>8</sup> HM to [Richard Webb], 12 February [1855?], *CL* 3: 345-46; Martineau's statement on American slavery ("*the cause*") may have been incorporated in "Last View of the World," *Auto.* 2: 456-57.

<sup>9</sup> Holyoake to HM, [1855?], BL Add. MS. 42,726, ff. 15-16 15 February, 4 March [1855], *CL* 3: 349-50 and 353.

<sup>10</sup> HM to Holyoake, 15 February and 4 March [1855], *CL* 3: 349-50 and 353.



<sup>11</sup> HM to Ellis Gray Loring, 28 February [1855], CL 3: 352-53; Lydia Child, *The Progress of Religious Ideas, through Successive Ages* (New York: C. S. Francis; London: S. Low, 1855); Maria Martineau to Ellis Gray Loring, 28 February [1855], CL 5: 353-54.

<sup>12</sup> HM to [Mrs. Frederick Knight Hunt], 15 February [1855], CL 3: 348-49 (Hunt's children had been ill); until 1850 Wills was assistant editor of the *Daily News*; for Martineau's calling on Wills at the *Household Words* office, see chap. 33.

<sup>13</sup> HM to Charles Dickens, 8 March 1855, PML MS James and Harriet Martineau; Martineau's nieces were Maria and Jane, Robert's daughters; the wealthy philanthropist Angela Burdett Coutts, coached by Dickens, was offering prizes at the women teachers' training college to encourage the teaching of "common things" like child care, nursing and housekeeping: see *A Summary Account of Prizes for Common Things Offered and Awarded by Miss Burdett Coutts at the Whitelands Training Institution, 1855-56* (London: Hatchard, n.d.); see Sir Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford), "Of Food; and Particularly of Feeding the Poor" in *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical* (London: T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1796-[1812]).

<sup>14</sup> HM to Charles Dickens, 23 March 1855, PML MS James and Harriet Martineau; Charles Dickens to Angela Burdett Coutts, 8 and 24 March 1855, *The Letters of Charles Dickens* 7: 559 and 576-77; see K.K. Collins and Alan M. Cohn, "Charles Dickens, Harriet Martineau, and Angela Burdett Coutts's Common Things," *Modern Philology* 79 (May 1982): [407]-13 (Collins and Cohn note that in the manuscript of a later edition of *A Summary*, Burdett Coutts added a passage recommending late marriage, "taken from the letter of a much valued friend, whose sympathy for the working classes is very sincere;" Dickens had given qualified approval to Saunders's play, which ran for seven nights at the Haymarket in June (Charles Dickens to John Saunders, 26 October 1854, in John Saunders, *Love's Martyrdom: A Play, and Poem* [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1882], vii-ix); "Haymarket Theatre," *The Times*, 12 June 1855: 12, col. 2; when Dorothy Wordsworth became senile, William often pushed her around the garden in her wheeled chair (Dorothy died on 25 January 1855).

<sup>15</sup> Maria Martineau to Holyoake, 2 April [1855], BL 42726f.19Holyoake (partly pbd. CL 5: 354); see *DN*, 31 May 1855 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>16</sup> HM to Louisa, March [1855], BUL [not identified].

<sup>17</sup> HM to [PPC], 4, 10 April [1855] and Saturday [April 1855], CL 3: 355, 356-57 and HMC MS H. Martineau 1 fols. 66-67 (Carpenter was to visit Martineau in September).

<sup>18</sup> "DEATH OF CURRER BELL," *DN*, 6 April 1855: 5, cols. 4-5 (rptd. *BS* 360-66).

<sup>19</sup> HM to Milnes, 20 April [1855], CL 3: 357-58; the "conversation" may have been with Frederika Meyer; William Rathbone Greg, *The Creed of Christendom; its Foundations and Superstructure* (London: John Chapman, 1851).

<sup>20</sup> See Appen., *HM/DN*; for Martineau's short biography of Raglan at the time of his appointment as field marshal, see *DN*, 22 November 1854 (rptd. "RAGLAN. Seven Months before his Death," *BS* 193-98).

<sup>21</sup> Mary Carpenter to HM, 3 and 9 June 1855, J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter* (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1974) 169-71 (perhaps Martineau felt frustrated after four months away from *Daily News*, but she attacked Mary again in January 1856 (see chap. 41); HM to Holyoake, 15 June [1855], CL 3: 361.

<sup>22</sup> HGA to Milnes, 23 June 1855, TLC, Houghton MS 16/117.

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<sup>23</sup> HM to Chapman, 3 July [1855], *CL* 3: 363-64; Garnett was Windermere station-master as well as a printer; James and his family were staying at Elterwater on the other side of Loughrigg Fell; for Chapman's possible publication of Martineau's autobiography, see next chapter; see William Benjamin Carpenter, "Electro-biology and Mesmerism," *QR* 93 (Sept 1853): 501-57, and G.H. Lewes, "The Physiological Errors of Teetotalism," *WR* 64 o.s. and 8 n.s. (July 1855): 94-124 (plus follow-up letters); from 24 June, huge crowds met in Hyde Park to protest a proposed bill to prevent Sunday trading; Martineau may refer to her earlier "SUNDAY STEAMERS IN SCOTLAND" [letter signed "FAIR PLAY"], *DN*, 7 September 1853: 4, cols. 5-6.

<sup>24</sup> HM to Milnes, 17 July [c. 1855], *CL* 3: 365-66; Martineau's leader explained Russian trade and the Allies' deficiency of gunboats in the Crimea (*DN*, 21 July 1855: see Appen., *HM/DN*); Russell became secretary for the colonies under Palmerston in February 1855 and resigned the following July; the Rev. Patrick Brontë had begged Gaskell to write a true account of his daughter's life to correct inaccurate obituaries: see Jenny Uglow, "Introduction," Elizabeth Gaskell. *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Everyman, 1997) xx-xxii; Milnes introduced himself to Brontë in 1851 at Thackeray's lecture in London and later wished to offer Arthur Bell Nicholls a pension so Brontë's father's would let his daughter marry him - Gaskell then sending Milnes Nicholls's address: Elizabeth Gaskell to Milnes, 29 October [1853], *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell* 252-53; see Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* 741-42 and 745; the *National Review* began publication on 1 July 1855 (see "The National Review, 1855-1864," *Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals*, vol. 3, 135-45); for James's role in founding the *National Review*, see Rosemary Ashton, *142 Strand. A Radical Address in Victorian London* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2006).

<sup>25</sup> HM to HGA, 18 July 1855, *CL* 3: 366; HM to Holyoake, 10 August 1855, *HM/FL* 228.

<sup>26</sup> HM to Sarah, 27 July [1855], *CL* 3: 366-67; George and Sarah's youngest daughter, Lucy, was married to Sir Alfred Wills; George and Sarah's son, David, had married Sarah Emma (Wellbeloved) Scott on 22 June 1855; *Eli*, a new oratorio by Costa based on I Samuel 1-4, was to be performed at the Birmingham Festival on 29 August 1855.

<sup>27</sup> *Robinson*, Hudson [entry for 2 August 1855], 287; Atkinson must have given Martineau permission to include part of his long letter concerning "what Man can know:" *Auto.* 2: 397-404.

<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth Gaskell to George Smith, [?1 August 1855], *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell* 366; HM to Snow, 4 May 1857, *HM/FW* 153.

<sup>29</sup> HM to FW, 29 August [1855], *HM/FW* 131-33; in a letter to the *Liberator* Parker Pillsbury described Martineau's non-stop working habits (rptd. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 13 October 1855: 4, col. 4) saying she was full of knowledge of conditions in the U.S. but spoke only in whispers; Mary Estlin was the daughter of John Bishop Estlin of Bristol and co-editor with Richard Webb of the Garrisonian *Anti-Slavery Advocate*; for Martineau's leaders on vegetarianism and on the Nightingale subscription for the founding of a nurses' training hospital, 30 August and 4 September 1855, see Appen., *HM/DN*.

<sup>30</sup> HM to Milnes, 5 and 18 September 1855, *CL* 3: 367-68 and TLC, Houghton MS 16/92; *Auto.* 1: 342-44; Richard Monckton Milnes, "Monument for Scutari" [praising those "Who strove to make the nations free"], *The Times*, 10 September 1855: 9, col. 2 (Martineau's reference to Garnett's losses from the "incumbent" may have been a sly dig at Milnes's conformity).