

Chapter 40

Continued Journalism; Last Arrangements (1855)

In a dozen *Daily News* leaders, 3 July through 27 September, Martineau dealt with Crimean war issues - the need to replace Lord Raglan (commander-in-chief of the British forces, who died on 28 June), war aims, the lack of confidence in government owing to the war, poor military strategy and military reform. She further touched on Irish and American affairs, including the impending war against Mexico. Her "special" of 26 July described the arrival in England of popular French painter of horses and outdoor scenes, Rosa Bonheur.¹

(John Chapman, busy stocktaking to prepare for the creditors' decision on his publishing business, *wished* rather lugubriously in mid-September that he could trust Catherine Turner's report on Martineau's health - dreading the loss of her friendship. She could offer her autobiography to him to publish when the time came *if* he was in business. He thought a two-volume French translation unlikely and recommended she trust the judgment of a French publisher "rather than of even such a superior person as M^{rs} Chapman").²

Martineau fired back with a request for Toulmin's *Cyclopedia* wanted for a promising young son of Sproat's, to be sent to her in care of the postmistress. The cost, £1.17.6, should be deducted from the interest due her next month. Chapman might show her last letter to Courtauld, whose "interest & sympathy" she valued. Now that the state of her health had "an immediate connexion" with his affairs "through the Autobiography" she would be frank. Catherine thought she might live "for some months," but she was taking more wine and more opiate, had stopped going out on the terrace and ate and slept more. Her memory was failing, and bad dreams would surely lead to mental confusion. Last Monday, Kay-Shuttleworth questioned the Arnolds closely about her and came to see her, convinced of "certain nervous complications involved with the heart-disease, w^h might aggravate the illness." He *had* thought Latham's diagnosis perhaps hasty, "examined my ancles," and agreed that she might only live for eighteen months. "And now, the following must be kept to yourselves," Martineau continued, "if I am to be spared the revival of the old Tynemouth controversy." James and Greenhow had not acknowledged the Tynemouth cure and would say so if they knew what she would now tell the Chapmans. Her waist enlargement was too great to be just her heart, or water, and both Latham and Shepherd thought it was caused by a "very large internal tumour (itself a mortal disease, & certain to end in dropsy.) [but] *certainly not of* the same nature as the Tynemouth disease."

The "heart disease" was primary, and she saw no dishonesty in not mentioning the tumor, nor did Maria, Catherine Turner or her doctor. When Fan Arnold had last seen her, *she* was shocked, though a bad "sinking-fit yes!" relieved her. Forster, who did not believe Maria's dire accounts, was coming this afternoon.

Chapman's "questioning & sadness about the present conditions of human existence" roused her sympathy. She hoped that reading the "last Period" of her autobiography might help to cheer him over the fact that she was to die before her time and that he must give up their friendship "almost as soon as it begins to yield its satisfactions." However, before he

finally agreed to publish that work, he should probably see it. The first volume would be done this month, and the printer promised the second before Christmas - the last part being "by far the most important." In spite of religious opposition, she believed it would have "in the long run, an immense circulation." Courtauld might see it too, if Chapman wished. Her proof sheets had names identified in the margins, but it would be less trouble to read in print. If Chapman continued in business, he should write her "an express note . . . promising to undertake the work" only if he felt satisfied he could do it justice; she might then enclose his note to her executor, saying she wished Chapman to publish it. As for a French translation, she would speak with Maria Chapman "or put you in the way of seeing her in town, on her way hither, - to consult about it!"

Reveling over her friendship with him, feeling it a "very sincere one," she admitted she found him less easy to know than she had supposed from his "unreserved nature." Yet she had long seen that he was "entirely misapprehended & undervalued by the saucy fellows who have given us so much trouble." Chapman made her grateful for his "aims & aids in behalf of free thought & speech;" she liked his frankness and believed he could "raise the West", & speak profitably on various subjects." Her illness yesterday had "intercepted" the reading of the rest of his article (evidently sent for her approval), but she hoped to do so today.³

In vivid contrast to her warmth towards Chapman and his liberal principles, ten days later Martineau burst out angrily at Wills. "Another paper from me? you ask. - No, not if I were to live twenty years, - if the enclosed paragraph from an American paper be no mistake." Apparently advertising *The Yellow Mask*, a pamphlet reprinted from *Household Words*, the paragraph described the "despicable course of 'Father Roccio' [which] shows of what stuff priestcraft is made." Martineau had had

little hope of "Household Words" since the proprietors refused to print a historical fact . . . on the ground that the hero was a Jesuit: & now that they follow up this suppression of an honourable truth by the insertion of a dishonouring fiction . . . they can expect no support from advocates of religious liberty or lovers of fair play.

She did not forget Wills's plea of duty and she gave him credit for it, "precisely as I do to the Grand Inquisitor," though "*he* does not profess protestant principles while pursuing the practices of Jesuitry."⁴

Later in September, Chapman told Martineau he had given the letter on her health to Courtauld while hinting broadly that *he* needed more of *her* sympathy. He would not last long, he felt, after last year's shock. He would be glad to read her autobiography whenever she sent it, preferably in print, but the pleasure would be heightened by her identification of names. By early October he was expressing sympathy for her disagreement with *Household Words* and hoped "Miss Maria" approved of his article.

Now despairing of his publishing business, Chapman thought he might still own and edit the *Westminster*, but also wished to complete his medical studies. As part of a projected series on women - which should bring him patients - he thought of writing articles on physical education, especially of girls. Knowing Maria Chapman was with Martineau, he wanted their joint opinion: *he* would have marriage rest on mutual consent alone. If a couple mutually wished to separate, they should be granted a divorce; if only one wished it, a compensation payment should be arranged. What was Martineau's thinking about wife beating?⁵

Even fearing a loss of mental power, Martineau felt "strong in matters of reasoning & observation" in her *Daily News* pieces that began to appear more frequently. Abandoning her strident pro-war stance, she turned to related topics like tyrannical "King Bomba" of Sicily, modern Russian history and the winding down of the war. For the rest of the year she also wrote about agriculture, education, temperance (in Maine), the Irish in America and (proslavery) American expansionism. To help Chapman boost his circulation, she again reviewed the latest *Westminster* in *Daily News*. Her obituary of Samuel Rogers, written earlier, appeared on 19 December. Though known as "the Poet," Rogers's name would live as a *patron* of literature, she averred, over the long period from Johnson to the recent copyright law. His friendships made him famous, yet he could be ill natured, a "flatterer and a cynic," even his celebrated literary breakfasts becoming painful when his memory failed.⁶

In November Martineau confronted Chapman with a new issue. From early 1854, *Household Words* had published articles on preventable accidents in factories - especially on the scandal of young operatives mangled by exposed machinery and the indifference of some manufacturers towards safety. The articles accused manufacturers both of failing to "fence" machinery and of having formed a national association of factory "occupiers" to fight state intervention in industry. Martineau wrote a long article intended for the *Westminster* insisting that factory inspectors were incapable of enforcing the law correctly (such as differentiating between gearing and machinery) and that the numbers injured had been exaggerated. At the same time she defended manufacturers against "meddlesome" legislation. To her shock and chagrin, Chapman answered that he "should not like to publish the personal attacks on Horner" (Leonard Horner, chief factory inspector) or on Dickens. "Mr Horner may not be overburdened with wisdom," he temporized, but seemed "an honest man anxious to fulfil *his* idea of his duty," and he should be mentioned only to *illustrate* the cases. For the *Westminster* to enter into a controversy with *Household Words* would be inexpedient and undignified. Moreover, Chapman was reluctant to single out Dickens "as peculiarly responsible for the foolish papers on the Factory Question," as some factory owners *did* disobey the law. If Martineau also gave the "pro-legislation-side," it would add force to the article. Lastly, he did not wish to be responsible for what he did not believe in - a stand she would surely respect - and would return the article or "attempt to make . . . such modifications as I think essential."

To cushion his objections, Chapman praised Martineau's extract from Sydney Smith and her suggestions for contributors: Godkin promised to send a sketch of an article *he* would like to write - but Weir had not answered yet. Feeling ashamed of his "dry replies" to her "very interesting letters," Chapman pled overwork. Having begun medical studies, he did "not usually reach King W^m S^t until about 2pm.," when he always found more work than he could get through.

Four days later, Chapman stiffened his objections to her factory article. He agreed with the principles set forth in an article by his *cousin*, yet factory masters could be selfish and "poor ignorant workmen" could not easily secure their own interests. While she exposed the evils of legal interference, she should also respect the motives of those trying to cure the evils by law "and speak of them in a tone quite different from the one running thro' your article." Rather than expressing "bitterness or moral reprobation," she should "strive calmly to show [Dickens and Horner] their intellectual errors." Again, if she could modify the paper, he would be glad to have it by the next post.

In the end Martineau's rejected article appeared as the pamphlet *The Factory Controversy: A Warning Against Meddling Legislation*, issued by the National Association of Factory Occupiers (of which Robert Hyde Greg, eldest brother of W.R. Greg, was president). Martineau denounced Dickens for his fanciful treatment of a social question in *Household Words* - a journal supposedly dedicated to fact - claiming that government measures to protect factory operatives were impractical and counter-effective.⁷

After *Milnes* called on Martineau, possibly in November, she fumed that there would be "no article of mine in the *Westminster*, which . . . I told you there w^d be" because Chapman lacked the "moral courage" to publish it. And how did Milnes regard the expulsion of the Jersey refugees? The article in last Saturday's *Daily News* about the alien acts and the French refugees stranded in Jersey had been *hers*. On a third issue - in the section of her autobiography Milnes had not seen - she had *not* censured the SDUK for rejecting her *Illustrations of Political Economy*.

(Milnes had exhorted Martineau to modify the *last* chapters of her autobiography: "Remember 999 out of 1000 reading are in what you call the metaphysical state of mind." Her affronts would prevent their doing justice to her book. "Why ridicule people for worshipping their 'Man-God,'" he argued, "when you wish to be left in peace to worship your 'Nature-God'?"

Letters on the Laws, Martineau shot back, had been written for those *concerned* with the subject of reform. "Look at Luther, - at Mohammed, - at Christ." If people were shocked, "so much the better for them!"⁸

Feeling she had rebuffed Milnes, Martineau gushed to Fanny Wedgwood "My smallest affairs are never too small for your sympathy and interest." Indeed, she had just had her worst week for a long while; - ill on Monday, - a bad sinking fit on Tuesday evening, - a worse, with sickness and extreme heart-disturbance, on Wednesday morning, - a narrow escape of one yesterday, - and heart thoroughly bad this morning. Her "Factory pamphlet" had carried "the bill," however, and led to a request for her to write another. Robert Lowe, MP for Kidderminster, and Henry Whitworth, secretary of the National Association of Factory Occupiers, along with one other, had requested a pamphlet in support of a shipping dues bill aimed at the Liverpool Corporation - which had failed to maintain the harbor. Thinking it a "practicable, useful, and exceedingly entertaining bit of work," she promised tentatively to try. Though able to "talk and listen very little now," she had seen Whitworth to settle the details. For her convenience, Garnett was engaged to print the pamphlet, which would "set [him] up finely, - the number required being from 6,000 to 10,000." Whitworth would come back in a week to discuss the concluding suggestions. Though she hoped to "have done before X^{mas}," she now worked *slowly* and had to "occupy the American department of 'Daily News.'" For "a proper acknowledgment of my services" for the new pamphlet, Maria thought they would give £200.⁹

This would relieve "anxiety about the money M^{rs} Reid . . . laid fast here" (though she had written "spontaneously" to Maria that Martineau had "never asked her for a shilling"). Martineau's plan was to buy Reid's two cottages with their gardens "for the purpose of leaving them to . . . Susan and Jane," her own two being intended for Maria. Because the girls' parents, Robert and Jane, were so pleased with the idea, she determined not to wait. At the moment,

she could "muster all the money but £55," for which she gave her "note of hand," the rest being paid in cash. Reid's delight was "extreme," Martineau congratulated herself, for she could "add two rooms to the college, and paint and paper it throughout." Martineau having done all she could, Reid must otherwise "await the term of her loan to the mechanics" at Ambleside (i.e., of the building society). Susan and Jane had named the upper cottages - their future property - "Crofton Cottages," N^o 1 and 2, Maria's two being "the Lesser Knoll." To help her to earn the remaining £55 (of the total £280 to be paid to Reid), a "great topographical house" had asked her "to do one sheet (16 pp.) of description of the Lake District for their County History of Cumberland and Westmoreland, - any time within 6 months, and for £20."

Martineau wished Fanny could see Maria's poultry yard with "the daily eggs, so eagerly bought up by neighbours, - the 43 chickens for table or sale this winter, besides the little chicks [and] ducks." Sadly, she was able to "converse so seldom and so little," she could not invite Fanny or "send for M^r Atkinson." And she had "no present commission, a Jersey friend having sent "a hamper of delicious Chamontel pears," just now ripe. Greg, she gossiped next, had called Carlyle (working on his history of Frederick the Great) "that raging maniac," yet what were *Jane's* feeling towards *her*? Robert's eyes were troubling him; Ellen was "to be confined in January;" the Lingrens had paid Martineau a brief visit, as had "Matt: Arnold and wife," though tourists were "worse than ever, this year."¹⁰

In December, Martineau wrote to George Richmond, who she thought must be aware that she was "dying (of an enlargement of the heart)", to explain her wish "to avoid delay in posthumous publication" of her autobiography and to have his drawing of her engraved "while I still live." Could he "mention a plan by w^h we may be able to obtain a reduced copy of the fine engraving from your portrait?" The first edition would consist of "1500 copies," and she enclosed the size of the page required. Could Atkinson (the friend who was with her at Richmond's the last day of the portrait) call to talk over the matter? A week later, Martineau was "greatly obliged" by Richmond's pains and "quite disposed for the plan which dropt Hogarth out of the business altogether." The first two volumes had been printed; in case of her "not living till *April*," the third volume "(by an old friend)," was to be delivered in May. Now that her life was ending, she told Richmond, she found "an extraordinary charm in the recession of the world," as people said they felt "when mounting in a balloon."¹¹

(Maria Chapman had returned to Boston with Martineau's letters and papers collected at The Knoll in October. Garrison reported "our beloved Mrs. Chapman's" arrival in Boston "after an absence of more than seven years," bringing him Fox's hymn "A little child in bulrush ark" transcribed by Martineau, which he "had never seen before." He could not forget Martineau's support "twenty years ago" when he was "caricatured, reviled, hated and ostracized" because he would not "be dumb in regard to the all-pervading crime and curse of chattel slavery." Conformity was *not* a virtue, and heresy was the only thing that would redeem mankind. Despite their differing views of immortality, he did not doubt Martineau's being an angel on earth. Though the cause of freedom was advancing, he foresaw not far off "a desperate and bloody struggle").¹²

From Maria Chapman, Carlisle learned that Martineau was "mortally ill" and had written her "life" for posthumous publication. Martineau explained to him in a note that his testimony in support of Jane Arrowsmith's clairvoyance at Tynemouth had been omitted - not wanting him to think her ungrateful. Maria Chapman had just sent "a glorious marine journal from

Halifax," her ship "arrived 'all well' at Boston on the 22^d. Alas! her father died on the 3rd." Martineau rejoiced that Chapman had not missed "both her dying charges," for *she* was "sinking constantly, - now more, now less rapidly." Yet her "chief present object" in leaders for "that most rising paper," the *Daily News*, was "to aid Florence Nightingale [in combating] drunkenness in the Crimea [and in] establishing Savings Banks, or a Crimean Army Bank." She had "half-a-hundred topics besides," she boasted unashamedly to Carlisle, "all of which I keep myself ready to depute any day."¹³

Indeed, Martineau's retirement was anything but quiet, she next confirmed to her cousin Eliza. What comfort "these good nephews & nieces are to us old aunts!" Ellen had lost her baby after a late confinement, but (she added grimly) "the disappointment may have saved them from a far heavier grief hereafter."¹⁴

Fanny Wedgwood had agreed to help settle final terms of "the Memoir business." Holl would receive "25 guineas, for w^h he supplies the engraving, & supervises the printing off." The printing would cost about £7, plus the paper. Richmond and Atkinson would "fix the time, & bind Holl to keep to it." If she continued "so strangely able to write articles," she could earn the whole in ten or twelve weeks, £50 having come yesterday from the *Daily News*, "earned since you were here."

For the first volume of the "Memoir," Martineau wanted Gillies's "first miniature & the engraving thereof," but did not wish to negotiate with Gillies herself, "for various reasons" (no doubt including Gillies's liaison [?] with Southwood Smith); Colnaghi's people said *she* had the plate, and Martineau wanted to know the cost of "1500 impressions." For Fanny's eyes, she enclosed Carlisle's answer to her last letter assuring her he would never "shrink from such companionship" as hers and excusing her for not mentioning his "letter of testimony about Tynemouth mesmerism."

Today was a "dark day." She was weak and her eyes had failed, but "as happens when Maria and I are tête à tête," she was "unusually comfortable." Atkinson wrote daily and would come by "the next train" if she wished. James's daughter Fanny now sent "*loving*" messages - she believed Fanny's husband and his family saw that there was "something to be said" on her side of the quarrel with James. Fortified by "turtle soup (a great quantity from M^{rs} Holt of Liverpool having blessed the last 3 days)," she had written on "in this absurd way!"¹⁵

By March, Richmond had approved of "the smaller engraving" for Martineau's "memoir," but declined payment. For the third volume, Martineau told him, the "three abodes"[originally to be just "the birth house & death house"] were nearly engraved; for Holl, she would send "a draft on my paymaster for Twenty-five guineas, [which he] the cashier of the 'Daily News,'" would cash.¹⁶

Two added letters flew off to Fanny Wedgwood before Christmas, Martineau burbling "your sweet pears will melt in my mouth." From Maria Chapman a "barrel of American apples" was also on the way "and some grapes from Liverpool." Meanwhile to Martineau's slight surprise, Julia Smith had written to *Maria* (*Letters on the Laws* had offended Julia) offering to come with her niece Hilary Carter "after Miss Dodd's visit."

Declaring (a bit disingenuously) she would "not enter on the James subject to any extent," Martineau asked: *had* he said he did not know why they were separated? From his insulting her in his review of the Atkinson book, to his coming to her neighborhood during "*three subsequent years*," without letting her know, to the marriage of his daughter - when the

whole family, except herself - were gathered, "the whole family, and all L.pool, understood that James had cut *me*." The "blank" having continued "till the summer before last," James "looked at 6 houses till he found one," and in a week, "his *wife* wrote a note, begging to know if she might bring the young people for a call." Martineau had "asked them to spend the day," but "could not ask Ja^s, nor hold conversation about him." Though he had been "injuring and wounding" her since her illness in 1839, when he never came to see her, she had been "*perfectly passive*" till he came to her gate - when she *would* have seen his wife and children "if he had been absent." Fanny could now tell Jenny Carlyle that the whole separation was "overtly and unquestionably" James's own doing.

Concerning the factory question, what she had been "hearing from W.E. Forster, about the Inspectors and Manufacturers in Yorkshire," *could* have been gone into in her pamphlet. She was feeling better, after "a sinking-fit on Saturday" and "three in a series" on Monday, and must now "write a savoury article about horseflesh, for 'D. News.'" Did Fanny like "yesterday's, on Florence and books for the soldiers"? Serf-emancipation was appearing "today."¹⁷

Two days later, Martineau begged Fanny to "take no trouble" about Gillies because Atkinson had made the arrangements. Just "in the nick of time" too, an offer had come from "an ambitious publisher" (apparently Whittaker of London) to make an illustrated drawing-room book of her stories from the *Leader*. He would give "£50 for an edition, on a short term of years," which would pay for the "3 engravings" of the "3 residences . . . for the 3^d vol."

Garnett had presented her with a ream of this paper, though she did not like it "so well as the former," and she wanted Fanny to hear the rest of her grievances against James. "Ellen's *nonsense*" about his being her biographer was "not her deliberate and actual opinion," but supposedly what seemed "her duty to set up as strongly as she could on the opposite side to M^{rs} C." Ellen was "now impressed by M^{rs} C's, and yet more by Maria's frank declarations of Ja^s being throughout the oppressor." For long intervals, James had not even seen her, and after an estrangement of "20 years [was] not exactly the person" to write her life. As Ellen's minister, James had "injured her mind by impairing her once sound judgment and *need of reality*," though nothing could spoil the charm of her nature. Buoyantly, Martineau ended: "Here is Baden Powell's book on which I am going to begin." Had Fanny liked her obituary of Rogers in the *Daily News*? Was it true, she wondered?¹⁸

The following day Martineau assured Philip Carpenter (a bit naively) that praise was of no importance, for she was "passing beyond the state in w^h praise and blame can be of much consequence." She hadn't heard from him for long, and his sympathy was welcome. Dr. Latham had remarked on the slowness of her decline; she used her "morning strength to write for 'Daily News,'" especially in furthering Nightingale's objects. Julia and Hilary (Nightingale's aunt and cousin) were to come in a fortnight.¹⁹

(In November Crabb Robinson heard of Martineau's continuing ability to "write a fine leader, and plan something useful for her neighbours" while her voice was lost from debility. "It is singular," he noted [mistakenly] in December, "that [she] continues to live, and is coming out with a book on the factory question").²⁰

On 23 December Maria must have gone to stay with her parents, to be replaced by "Miss Dodd." Muffled in "[k]nitted things" and warmed with "hot bottles & bags" while nourished by "*turtle soup within*," Martineau set briskly about gathering copies of her stories for the *Leader*. Alert to possible articles for *Daily News*, she hoped Weir had read Anthony

Trollope's (*roman à clef*) *The Warden*: "The Jupiter, Mount Olympus & Tom Towers" were capital, the "skits at Carlyle & Dickens excellent." From Weir, she would wait to hear "yes or no about Xmas day."²¹

On 29 December a business letter from Martineau went out to Garnett. "I am glad you have consulted a publisher," she began, but while "Mess^{rs} Whittakers" were respectable, in the past they published chiefly schoolbooks and were "not perhaps the best judges of pretty drawing-room books." Her volume would likely cost "from 5s to 10s/6, according to the amount of illustration or ornament" bestowed upon it. No mention of *The Leader* need appear on the title page- which not "one in 10,000 of your readers will ever have heard of."²²

¹ For Raglan, see chap. 39, note 20; for Bonheur's visit, see *DN*, 26 July 1855 (Martineau's leader on married women's property laws of 21 October 1856 named Bonheur, Jenny Lind, Rachel and "Mrs. Stowe" as women of high income earned through their own efforts): Appen. and 19-29, *HM/DN*.

² Chapman to HM, 13 September 1855, BUL 189.

³ HM to [Chapman], 16 September 1855, *CL* 3: 368-71; Samuel Courtauld and Octavius Smith were Chapman's creditors; the cyclopedia was probably for a son of John Sproat, accountant and lodging-house keeper, Fairfield, Ambleside; in a leader of 29 September 1855, Martineau praised Courtauld for his stand against church rates (see Appen., *HM/DN*); when George Eliot began to edit the *Westminster Review* she urged Chapman *not* to try to submit articles (see Haight, *George Eliot* 92).

⁴ HM to W.H. Wills, 26 September 1855, *HM/FL* 228-29 (Martineau was soon to clash further with Wills's superior, Dickens, over legislation to prevent factory accidents).

⁵ Chapman to HM, 27 September, 9 and 12 October 1855, BUL 190, 191 and 192 (Chapman had studied medicine at Paris and at St. Bartholomew's, London; after part-time studies in London he took a medical degree at St. Andrews on 8 May 1857; his interest in the health of his female friends included those he hoped to seduce like Barbara Leigh Smith [later Bodichon]: see chap. 39, note. 1).

⁶ See Appen., *HM/DN*; "Literature. *The Westminster Review*. - October, 1855," *DN*, 13 October 1855: 2, cols. 1-2; "Samuel Rogers," *DN*, 19 December 1855: 5, cols. 1-2 (rptd. *BS* 367-75); for Martineau's friendship with Rogers in London, see *Auto*. 1: 334.

⁷ Chapman to HM, 6 and 10 November 1855, BUL 193 and 195; seven of the articles on factory accidents in *Household Words* were nominally by Henry Morley and an eighth written in collaboration with Dickens - who may have edited the others: see, for example, K.J. Fielding and Anne Smith, "Hard Times and the Factory Controversy, Dickens vs. Harriet Martineau," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 24 (March 1970): 404-27, and Peter W.J. Bartrip, "Household Words and the Factory Accident Controversy," *Dickensian* 75 (Spring 1979): 17-29; Chapman probably meant Edwin Lawrence Godkin, special New York correspondent for the *Daily News* (see *HM/DN* 89, note 1) and William Weir, editor of the *Daily News*, but no articles signed by either man appeared in the *Westminster*; Chapman's cousin (also John Chapman), in his unfinished "The Sphere and Duties of Government" (*WR* 62 o.s. and 6 n.s. [October 1854]: 473-506), had planned a specific section on "Whigs and meddling Liberals" (506).

⁸ HM to Milnes, 16 and 21 November 1855, *CL* 3: 374-75 and 375-76; ?Milnes to HM, n. d. [frag.], BUL 693; for French refugees in Jersey (*DN*, 10 November 1855), see Appen., *HM/DN*.

⁹ HM to FW, 21 November [1855], *HM/FW* 133-37 (see 136, note 3); *The Factory Controversy: A Warning Against Meddling Legislation* (Manchester, 1855); Martineau's boast of a Parliamentary bill was premature: a bill requiring "mill-gearing" to be subject to arbitration was introduced in the Commons in February and became law on 30 May 1856; *Corporate Traditions and National Rights: Local Dues on Shipping. (Issued by the Association to obtain the Right Appropriation of the Liverpool Town Dues)* (London: Routledge, n.d. [1856]) surveyed the history and aspects of shipping dues, the special case of Liverpool and the history of the struggle between the corporation and the citizens and cited the difference between "inviolable" private property and public corporations which were under the jurisdiction of Parliament (on 10 March 1856, Parliament agreed upon a committee to inquire into the matter, but tolls were not abolished until 1861).

¹⁰ Reid had taken on financial support of the Ladies' College, Bedford Square, for two years [see Tuke, *A History of Bedford College for Women* 28]; in 1856, Reid lamented the shabbiness of the college rooms - her £1500 had melted away, the college being too "in advance of public opinion" and she having failed to calculate on "the opposition of the clergy": see Reid to HCR, 27 October 1856, DWL MS Henry Crabb Robinson Bundle 2.I.a (see also Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle, "An Opulent Unitarian Lady: Elisabeth Jesser Reid," *MSN*, 36 (Summer 2014), 3-10; Martineau's description of the Lake District was probably "Survey of the Lake District" in Thomas Wright, et al, *The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (London: Whittaker, 1860) [39]-56; for Carlyle's estimate of Greg, see chap. 38, note 10; in 1849 Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingren succeeded James Kay-Shuttleworth as permanent secretary of the Education Office.

¹¹ HM to George Richmond, 6 and 14 December 1855, *CL* 3: 378 and 381-82 (Richmond's was the second of the two portraits included in the published autobiography [*Auto* 2: ii]); Joseph Hogarth, print seller and mounter at 5 Haymarket, London; Richmond must have agreed to an April deadline.

¹² WLG to HM, 5 December 1855, BUL 349; (see LXI, *Hymns and Anthems* [London: Charles Fox, 1858]).

¹³ HM to Carlisle, 7 December 1855, *CL* 3: 379 (Maria Chapman's ship must have docked at Halifax, Nova Scotia, but Martineau's date for her arrival does not jibe with Garrison's (see last paragraph).

¹⁴ HM to Eliza Martineau, 6 December [1855], *CL* 3: 377-78.

¹⁵ HM to FW, 14 December 1855, MS Wedgwood Papers. UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 137-39); for Hogarth, see note 11; Paul and Dominic Colnaghi & Co., print sellers and publishers, 13 and 14 Pall Mall east, London; Martineau's two portraits appear opposite the title pages: *Auto*. 1 and 2; Maria Chapman printed Carlisle's letter of 12 December 1855: *Auto*. 3: 289; (?) wife of George Holt, merchant and member of the Liverpool Corporation (cf. chap. 34, note 8).

¹⁶ HM to George Richmond, 22 March 1856, *CL* 4: 12.

¹⁷ HM to FW, 19 December 1855, *HM/FW* 139-42; for Martineau's leader on eating horseflesh - common in France but not a practical source of protein for all classes in Britain - see *DN*, 22 December 1855 (Appen., *HM/DN*); Martineau reported on Nightingale's starting a banking service and collecting books for soldiers in the Crimea and regretted a (probably false) rumor that the Czar intended to emancipate the serfs - which could bring about savage retaliation: see *DN*, 18 and 19 December 1855 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

¹⁸ HM to FW, 21 December 1855, *HM/FW* 142-43; for stories from the *Leader*, see chap. 41, note 3; the "3" residences were her birthplace in Norwich, "Tynemouth from the Sick-room Window" and The Knoll: *Auto*: 1: 9 and 2: 155 and 233; Rev. Baden Powell, *Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855; on the relation of science to religious doctrine); Martineau exaggerated the length of the rift with James; for Rogers, see above.

¹⁹ HM to [PPC], 22 December 1855, *CL* 3: 384 (Martineau may have offended Carpenter by her attack on his sister Mary: see chap. 39); she now sent him a letter from Garrison praising *her*.

²⁰ *Robinson*, Hudson [entry for 23 December 1855] 289; see above, note 9.

²¹ See HM to [Miss Holt], 22 December 1855, *CL* 3: 385; for Dodd, see chap. 35, note 9; HM to [Arthur] Allen, 23 December 1855, *CL* 3: 386; HM to Weir, [?22] December 1855, *CL* 3: 388; (for Martineau's *Sketches from Life*, see chap. 41.