

Chapter 41

Admired Journalist, Story-Teller, Philanthropist (1856)

On New Year's day, 1856, William Weir sent Martineau high praise for her autobiography saying not one word should be altered. "Judging by my recollections," he wrote in his scrawling hand, "I think you underrate some of your works of fiction. This document and all your notes make me regret more & more that I have made your acquaintance so late.'

Beyond her talents, he admired her "moral courage, truthfulness, and abiding sense of duty" as well as her "fearless assertion of opinions." If permitted, he would retain the "MS" as one of his most valued treasures.¹

For Carlisle on that day, Martineau summed up sad local changes: 'Wordsworth, & M^r Quillinan & Hartley Coleridge dead; - dear M^{rs} Wordsworth quite blind; - the Greys removed some miles, - & now my village enterprises ended.' In spite of a gradual "deepening of the twilight," however, she found dying "sweet." An admirer in Dublin had sent her an account of the Irish rabble, "the natural & eternal enemies of good government." When Carlisle responded, she identified Richard Webb, a humble printer in Great Brunswick Street, "but so wise, innocent & beneficent," and "a staunch radical." Webb had served as a travelling administrator at the time of the famine, she explained, and now edited and printed for free, "the best anti-slavery periodical going," the *Anti-slavery Advocate* started by Estlin of Bristol. When she visited Ireland "as 'Daily News' Commissioner in 1852," she was a guest of the humble Webbs to explore Dublin, travel into the country at Howth, Killiney and Wicklow and to meet professors and others at tea. With Webb she had walked through "the very worst parts of Dublin, on the rainiest day of the season." Former Quakers, the Webbs welcomed American abolitionists to their home. *Could* and *would* Carlisle help Webb's antislavery publication (cost, one penny a month)? Webb had the power "to help obviate war between the U.S & us," as *she* was doing in the *Daily News*. Perhaps he could be given government printing commissions?²

An unexpected letter from the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Jeremiah Garnett, led Martineau to answer that she *had* "a little book to dispose of: & one that would bear illustrating." Some years ago she had sent "12 tales, called 'Sketches from Life'" to the *Leader*, "reserving the right to publish them as a volume whenever I pleased" (they were "literary property" that could be left for her family). She could not sell the copyright for "any sum [he] would like to give," but she offered a choice of terms and the times he might come "to see what they look like." After a week and a half she wrote again to Garnett that she was glad he had consulted a publisher, but Whittakers though respectable were "publishers chiefly of school books" when she knew them. Her notion was that the "vol. would be from 5^s to 10^s/6, according to the amount of illustration or ornament you mean to bestow upon it." Bargaining hard, she noted that "for 20 years past the first publishers in London have never thought of offering me less than two-thirds of the profits . . . all risks being theirs." *She* would edit the work and "tell in the preface the story of their previous appearance," for nobody knew the *Leader* and not "one in 10,000" of Garnett's readers would "ever have heard of the Sketches before." About the illustrations, *tales* required figures more than landscapes. For the 'Maid-Servant,' for example, she suggested "Madeira views (2 or 3)," but "groups of figures" were indispensable. On 4 January she wrote: "Send the 'Sketches' whenever you like, & Maria & I

will exert our best wits about the illustrations." Moreover, she would see if she could "in any way improve them." To prevent mistakes "or in this case my Ex^r having to act for me," she surrendered "exclusive sale . . . for five years from the 30th of Sept^r next, for the sum of Fifty Pounds, payable on publication [or before] - interest at the rate of 5 percent being deducted in proportion to the date of the advance." Would he also give her "a dozen copies?" Time of payment would depend "on what speed the engravers & I make," but she hoped "M^r [W] Banks" would get his money, the rest *she* wanted for "one of the portraits."³

From a William Wood of Pontefract, Martineau received a slightly quixotic letter in early January. Wood hoped to found an establishment for female "Orphans, Deaf & Dumb & the generally Destitute or Unfortunate" that would provide accommodation and education carried out by "as high a class of Ladies as it may be possible to obtain." Martineau's cousin Kate (staying at The Knoll for a month) answered Wood that Martineau was ill, he responding he could *not* ask her to contribute "pecuniarily," but would value her "*approbation of and sympathy with the project.*" The Lowell (Massachusetts) system she described he believed would fail to overcome the habits of the British. *His* plan called for "organized homes for Female Factory Workers . . . taken at an early age and apprenticed to the Institution." The women would be employed in a model factory for the manufacture of textiles - the capital to be raised by loans and shares. When Kate left, Maria took over the correspondence with Wood, he "deeply regret[ting] to hear of Mrs. H^t Martineau's continued indisposition" and thanking her for "the very able article in the Daily News of Saturday last."

A second edition of Wood's circular announced that he would "subscribe Five Thousand Pounds to the Capital" to be raised. He enclosed a copy of a recommendation from Mary Carpenter adding that his factory was to be at Monkhill, Pontefract, in Yorkshire. After Martineau recovered, Wood went on, she would see the "impracticality if not absolute impossibility" of establishing the first institution for reforming the factory system "in the midst of the opposition [sic] & deep rooted prejudice of an ignorant & too often debased population."

When Martineau then wrote to Wood herself in early March, he vowed to preserve her note as "one of the choicest souvenirs" of his life. His difficulties were great, but he had made up his mind to conquer as "one of those Englishmen who have not sense enough to know when they are beaten, but when knocked down, will perseveringly get up and - try again."⁴

Beyond encouraging the utopian Wood, Martineau signed a petition in support of women's rights organized by Barbara Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes - sent by Eliza Fox. Would Eliza like "to have it noticed in the newspapers now . . . or not till the petition is presented?" She did not *promise* to help get signatures and answered Eliza's "kind words" about her condition saying she lived by means of "wine, laudanum & ether, w^h keep the heart going," Mesmerism being "out of the question in cases of congestion."⁵

When Roebuck approved of Martineau's factory pamphlet, she complimented *his* wisdom on "aristocratic & sentimental dealings with the operatives." She wished she and he could talk: the way he "got through Sebastopol, - as to health" astonished her.⁶

Philip Carpenter had been censured for his devotion to the study of sea shells, but Martineau insisted he was "rendering a great service to bring mind into Natural History" - and should be let alone with his shells. *She* was being troubled by a Miss V[ernon] Harcourt of Clifton, who sent a New Testament to which she responded with a sermon. The "complacent ignorance of the evangelical clergy & women" was gross. Martineau was feeling very ill; Robert

was ill too, but the family thought Maria belonged with *her*. Soon she would give up the stairs and bring her bed - and a nurse's - down to her study. Two days later, she sputtered to Carpenter that she "must" reply to his last: he had not seen his sister Mary's *attack* on her, Mary's ignorance being of the "morality of Opinion." Though Philip had labeled Martineau "proud," Christians acted the same way in their zeal for the gospel, and *he* had introduced the subject of Mary. Still, she would be happy to see him if he came. Robert was now in London consulting Dr. Hamilton. At Ambleside last Sunday, the Church population had been nearly asphyxiated. That story was in the *Daily News*, the "imbecility & insensibility of the incumbent," being "almost beyond belief."⁷

"If the telegraph had been at hand," Martineau wrote again to Carpenter, "I sh^d have sent you a message last night . . . about the fate of Mary's letter." Her own protest "against publication of private letters" could be read in *Life in the Sickroom*, "(pp. 77-83)," which had "so offended brother James & another or two." At the same time, she went on, "six of us . . . made provision to the same effect [to destroy all private letters]; - Joanna Baillie, L^d Brougham, Wordsworth, Sydney Smith, M^r Roebuck (I think) & myself." Mary's letter was now safe in Maria Chapman's hands, "merely among a drawer-full of letters of 'business of one sort or other,'" so she could not return it. Mary's *pity* for Martineau's lack of Christian comforts seemed a case of insolence, "a childish selfishness, marking a low condition" and calling for "a plain rebuke." Martineau *entirely* understood Mary's views and feelings, having been formed mainly under Mary's father's influence. All would be clearer when Carpenter saw her autobiography - though she had "a cordial respect for Mary's aims & conduct in life." When Carpenter came, she hoped for good weather like today's. Julia and Hilary and Maria were "roving over the hills," and when they came home, the maids were to go.

Still angry several days later, Martineau believed there was "a mistake of *fact* about Mary's note." Did Mary take a copy? Her "pity" was the crux of the matter. Yet Maria Chapman had noted that she (i.e., Martineau) was "just like Garrison . . . insisting on the principle of justice whether the case involves yourselves or another." Lately, Martineau had received "the worst accounts . . . ever . . . of [another sufferer] Lady Byron." Gossiping, she noted that this Sunday at Ambleside, "scarcely anybody was at church: it was desperately cold," and there were "no means of warming it." *She* had been "worse on Sunday" than ever before but was about to write a leader on "Connaught fisheries under the limited liability law."⁸

Martineau's sensitiveness about her "principles" did not limit work for the *Daily News*: from January to March 1856 she addressed social issues like cremation, street begging, treatment of the insane, women's achievements and American affairs. Her leader of 1 January on the Crimea pointed to historical differences among European nations now that hostilities were ending, Britain being resolved to *humble* Russia. In a follow-up leader of 9 February she divided European countries into backward nations like Austria, Germany and France, which had no free press and were pleased with the peace terms, and free countries like Sweden, Norway and England, which were not pleased.⁹ *Weir* liked Martineau's leaders about "*Flo* as you call her," on Nightingale's homecoming and the testimonial fund being collected for her. "What strange people our Yankee cousins are!" he ejaculated. "The expeditions into Central America had escaped me till your Herat article drew my attention to it" [on Americans avoiding Herat, a city in Afghanistan, and selling goods to India (?)].

In February, Weir proffered suggestions: "The first article . . . on the Factory Inspectors - Yes. We will talk afterwards about further proceedings." That the sitting of Parliament interfered with her American articles he knew. "Nevertheless I think you may venture your 'Womankind,' & then as soon as you see fit their petition." By March, Weir was scoffing at the Whig ministers - though there were "a number of quiet, judicious, well-meaning liberals in Parliament" who could not make themselves heard. And he regretted the peace.¹⁰

In leaders on the U.S., Martineau next turned to the proposed admission of Kansas as a free or slave state. At Weir's constant urging, on 26 March she reported that the petition to reform the laws on women, carrying over three thousand signatures, had been presented by Brougham in the House of Lords.¹¹

(In February, Building Society business was still pending, William Barton [secretary, and master of the free grammar school] keeping Martineau informed. On 6 April, he was to report that all business had been settled and that he would bring his copy of her book to be autographed).¹²

"Let's see! - there are so many matters to write about!" Martineau had begun happily to Fanny Wedgwood, "before going to *woolwork*." Julia and Hilary were "delightful. Julia *looks* older, I think, than almost any body I ever saw, - so *withered!*" She had brought Martineau up to date "as regards her clan . . . from the point at which we left off." Through Mai Smith (Julia's sister-in-law), Martineau had "charming messages from Florence N," from Scutari, and was in correspondence with Charles and Selina Bracebridge (Nightingale's rather inept helpers) about "Scutari matters."

Julia had thanked Martineau for sparing her "Ja^s matters (except in connexion with Chapman's affairs)." To Fanny, Martineau repeated that *she* had been "absolutely passive for 12 years till, by their coming here, the J.Ms compelled me to close or throw open my door." Now she had had a "free, frank, grateful, loving note" from James's daughter, which she didn't believe her parents knew about. On another matter - the building society - Crosfield, the trustee, assured Martineau it had "done *great* good, (13 cottages built here, and others elsewhere)." It would "wind up next month, at the end of our 7th year." Elisabeth Reid would be "much pleased" with a "small balance for her and her cottage rents henceforth," but Martineau had not yet told her. Reid could "have no interest" in Ambleside when *she* was gone. For herself, it was "a *great* effort . . . to refund at once £129, just when I am paying artists and engravers for the plates for the Memoir" though still "earning £25 per month at 'D. News.'" From Gillies, she bought the plate of her early portrait for ten guineas. Holl the engraver could "get the huge [leg-of mutton] *sleeves* beaten out;" while the Richmond portrait and two landscapes were being engraved. "One sheet more, of appendix and contents," would finish the printing. If Garnett could do it, she would have "one copy bound, - portraits and all, - to lock up" till she was gone.

"You know by this time about L^d Campbell's judgments in the Factory matter," she gloated (a bit prematurely). Dickens's retort to her factory pamphlet had been "terribly false, as to facts," and she offered *her* version of the conflicting accusations. She had had "a *real good night*, for once." Having tried to give up a nightly cigar, she found the benefits more than she had known and "must go on at present." Now she must stop - though there was more to say about "Lewes's Göthe, etc., etc." Brother Robert was better, Maria "glorious." *She* had "fewer

sinking-fits, and more constant uneasiness. (Size decreases again . . . It looks as if it must be water)."13

On "Memoir" business, Martineau next wrote to ask Charles Kingsley if he had a letter of hers, "in which it appears I gave you my view of the Unitarians and their faith" - that she wanted to *see* but would then return. A third volume (of the "Memoir") would be by "an old & thoroughly competent friend . . . that greatest of women, MWC, the abolitionist who has revolutionised her country." *Westward Ho!* (Kingsley's violent adventure novel set in Elizabethan times) she thought very fine "(though *rather* too much for a sick person,) & likely to be singularly salutary in our finicking metaphysical, introspective age." Multitudes thanked him for it.¹⁴

Weir continued to ply Martineau with ideas and compliments, exclaiming on 12 March: "My dear M^{rs} Harriet, I am glad you have turned your attention to the epidemic character of crime." A friend, meanwhile, had spoken "in high terms" of her leader on Egypt - "I know not what I should do without your aid," he hinted the following week, remembering to ask about her pear trees, and lamenting "the *bureaucracy* of Exeter Hall." Obliging, Martineau dashed off a leader decrying spendthrift charities.¹⁵

Sternly, Martineau corrected the editor of *Men of the Time* affirming that her forefathers were "not manufacturers, but surgeons." Her father was not a silk, but "a bombazine and camlet manufacturer." Her education was not of a "limited character," but "of a very high order." She had gone to America in 1834, and *Deerbrook* had been "more popular" than almost any of her works. Lord Grey had not offered her a pension, and the one proposed was "not £150 but £300." She was declared "incurably ill" at the end of 1842, not 1853. James Martineau was not "of the party to the East;" Atkinson was not "a 'Mesmerist,' but a philosophical student, and a gentleman of independent fortune." Her version of Comte did not "close the list" of her labors: *Household Education*, "one of the best and most important of my books," was not mentioned. And nobody familiar with her had ever witnessed "flashes of wit." Now, what would he do?¹⁶

(Maria Chapman, working on her volume of "Memorials" in Boston, wanted to see "the account of old Norwich . . . w^h is in Knight's 'The Land we Live In' . . . *Number 12*," Martineau then troubling Arthur Allen to try to find a copy at "M^r Knight's shop [?] 91 Fleet St." If not there, Knight or "Bradbury & Evans's" might know where to find it).¹⁷

William Henry Channing, nephew of William Ellery Channing, stopped briefly to see Martineau in late March as he was passing through the Lake District. Next day, Louisa Claude called, leaving Martineau "done up." Yet she wanted to tell Fanny Wedgwood about "James's heartlessness" towards Ellen "in her illness," and towards Robert, his "beneficent & loving brother" suffering from rheumatism of the eyes, whom James had never stopped to see in his journeys to London. "And now I will tell you a final thing or two about the Memoir," she went on importantly:

Yes^y Maria went over to Windermere & sealed up the sheets of 1499 copies . . . One copy is kept out for myself, to be bound when the engravings are done. . . M^r Richmond . . . has asked leave . . . to send me proofs & prints of the larger engraving from his portrait, to the amount of my cheque (25 guineas copyright & superintendence:) & he has added "a pet proof" of his for my own self.

Obviously pleased at her achievement, Martineau next vaunted the building society's gain of "£10.17.0 per share (on a payment of £45)." Maria seemed "very happy among her poultry, & country pleasures of many kinds." Susanna Winkworth, who "has kindly given us 3 evenings of her two weeks," was coming that evening. For Fanny's eyes, Martineau enclosed Samuel Brown's description of Atkinson - which did not surprise her - as "the noblest man I have known." Finally she reported that "M^{rs} Eastted, who made the bust of Atkinson on my mantelpiece . . . is doing one of me."¹⁸

When Martineau's cousins Sarah and George Martineau of Tulse Hill offered to call, she wrote "at once" to say it would give her "the greatest pleasure to have you by my easy chair . . . [i]f I am still here." Then launching into an account of her changes of "size," she ended that there was "no real improvement."¹⁹ Still buoyant, however, Martineau offered Louisa an engraved copy of the Richmond portrait explaining that she had "a few taken off for myself before the plate was waxed and put away till wanted for the book." Though sinking-fits were becoming rare, she had more to bear, "& less strength to bear it with." Still, her beloved nurse (Maria) might not be released from her duty for a very long time. Feeling well enough to entertain just one "womanly friend" at a time, she wondered whether *Louisa* had any plan for her midsummer holidays? Moreover *The Times* (which she must have been forwarding) incurred no expense when the stamped copy was sent.

"I am so glad you like the portrait!" she wrote to Louisa again in May. And she *hadn't* meant for Louisa to come as a "nurse or assistant nurse" but rather for a fortnight's pleasure of her company. A new cook coming on the sixteenth must be settled and when the George Martineaus went to Scotland about the end of June, Sarah would probably come on the way *there*. "Otherwise we are quite free [but] plainly speaking, - my state prevents my asking any gentleman to the house."²⁰

Next Martineau apologized to Eliza Fox: "I don't know how it has happened . . . that your portrait of me sh^d have been all this time at M^r Knight's." Eliza having remarked on Martineau's "entire change of looks," she (partly) explained: "My ailments increase & my head fails me, - I mean memory particularly."²¹

(Martineau may have mentioned Susanna Winkworth's translation of Chevalier Bunsen's latest work on the state of Protestantism in Europe to Weir. Jocularly, he answered in mid-May "I must fire off a double barrel with your [ball?] cartridge one of these days." Affairs on the continent began "to look complicated [and] Bunsen vows 'the second Punic War will begin in Italy.'" Next he added "I am going to fire a ? of barrels into King Bomba," and "should like an article on the Concordat [with Rome] by itself," as well as one on "Indian matters.")

Within days, Weir added that as a favor he wanted an American article soon. Martineau's leader of 27 May then pointed to the significance of Kansas for survival of the union. On 5 and 9 June, she warned of the dangers of American disunity and on 12 and 19 June, she recorded the shocking Sumner-Brooks episode in the United States Senate. Her four-column "History of the American Compromises" of 23 June summarized the background of the current crisis. On 25 June, she added details of American geography and of the "sin" of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.²²

In addition to American politics, Martineau continued to target English social ills. In June and July, for example, she attacked the new French fashions in women's dress whose "flouncings and furbelows" disguised the human body, ruined husbands and overworked

dressmakers. At the same time amidst "the east winds of the late inclement spring," ladies were exposing their heads and faces to certain retribution of "rheumatism, tic-douloureux, and every form of cold." Could not ladies and the Queen return to sensible clothes? How would the ladies who crowded to meet the returning guards last week face Nightingale, after squandering their money on clothes?²³

Next consoling Philip Carpenter for his mother's death, in early July Martineau boasted that the state of the world helped to keep *her* alive, "especially the Amerⁿ part of it" for which there was "much work to be done!" She would like to see him for an hour, but could not invite even her nephews or Atkinson to the house. "O! what a book Olmsted's is!" she went on. "And what a man he must be! I suppose M^r Webb has shown you his (Olmsted's) letter from Glasgow."²⁴

Within a week, Martineau's two-part review of Frederick Law Olmsted's account of life in American slave states appeared in the *Daily News*. Several days later, her summary of Napoleon I's treachery to Spain as background to Napoleon III's current menace made her wonder if the account was trite and unnecessary. "Trite!" Weir ejaculated:

You forget that a considerable portion of our political public was in infancy or unborn in 1823; and that a considerable portion of said worshipful political public reads only contemporary history in newspapers.²⁵

At the *Daily News* office, Weir's sub-editor was bedridden and another man was on sick leave. In view of the "annual holidays of the establishment," Weir said he could scarcely venture to leave his post before November. Then next day, he quoted "a lady at Boulogne to her husband" in praise of Martineau's *Daily News's* article "on ladies' dress & the madness for Parisian fashion." In early August, however, Weir amended her article on French agriculture and sent *pages* on the subject of French wines. Of American pronouncements, he was "half afraid to trust Greeley's gossamer in the heavy hands of our compositors." Was Martineau "edified by the correspondence between the governors of Alabama & Massachusetts" printed in that day's *Daily News*? He only wished the Massachusetts man "had studied condensation a little." In response to the season, Martineau next sent Weir two leaders on boys as well as girls learning to swim - another of his favored topics.²⁶

Martineau's contribution to the July *Westminster*, "Christian Missions: their Principle and Practice," comprised reviews of fourteen publications on the history of Christian missions. Quoting sources like Melville's *Omoo* (on Tahiti), she deplored the failures but commended Rajah Brooke's Sarawak method. Of another crusade, she professed "utter astonishment" at Henry Whitworth's saying her "pamphlet & the articles in 'Daily News'" protesting corporate dues on shipping had furthered "the success of the movement of this session." As to "the appropriation of the hundred guineas," she would "consult with the Sub-committee."

In late August, Martineau negotiated with William Whellan over a piece on the Lake District for a volume on the history and topography of the area. "As to terms, - I have been accustomed to receive from sixteen to twenty guineas per sheet in cash for separate articles," she wrote and could "let them have the M.S. some time in Oct^r."²⁷

Unusually, a query from John Chapman about the Brownings led Martineau to sputter crossly: "I never saw *her*, & can judge her only by her poems & letters." Barrett Browning's unreliableness had been shown by "the memorable discrepancy between her dedication to her Father, & their quarrel immediately afterwards [which] showed such utter blindness, together

with excessive demonstrativeness," that Martineau doubted whether she could "know any thing [or] (in the highest sense) believe any thing." Her poetry might be "very beautiful in relation to a particular stage of mind," but had no durability. "'Casa Guidi Windows,' & immediately after [her] worshipping L. Napoleon & his pretty wife," did not surprise Martineau. It merely revealed a "slight taint of Calvinistic insolence" from Barrett Browning's being deprived of experience by early seclusion. As for Robert Browning, Martineau had known him "only in his hoity-toity days, twenty years ago," when his "insolence, quarrelsomeness & conceit were then only equalled by Robertson's." Yet he had "a fine independ^{ce}, frankness & kindness" that made her hope much from his manhood. *Paracelsus* she had thought "a marvel," but she found everything of his late years "utterly unreadable, - hard, obscure, abrupt, unmusical, - any thing but poetry." The Brownings' differences over "'the spirits'" led her to speak frankly: though Browning himself disbelieved the "phenomena," he was unaware of the "decisive character of the evidence;" his wife, on the other hand, was irrational in believing that the phenomena were "occasioned by spirits." Speaking of spiritualism, it was "not enough for the editor of a review, & for a physician [i.e., Chapman], to be *liberal* on the subject." Chapman failed to see that

the destiny of theology, of moral philosophy, & of the whole science & art of medicine hangs on the true interpretation of the facts manifested by what is called Mesmerism, spirit-rapping, & that whole class [of which] the solution will be a physiological one.

The *Westminster* erred in ignoring these facts, and Chapman's success as a physician would be merely "superficial & empirical" if he did not perceive their value. He might remember pragmatic Hallam's support for her mesmerism in November 1844.²⁸

Next Martineau vented her ill-temper at Froude's intrusion of "himself & his sensibilities" into his history. Though the "Arnold women" whined over him as "altered," she thought his book "a piece of elaborate cant" and the *Westminster's* review "admirably done." Lately, she ended to Chapman, the Madges had been to see her. Martineau liked *her* very much, while *he* seemed "the most melancholy specimen of a human being" she had seen for long -

empty, lazy, cross (extremely gracious to *me*, however)[,] self-engrossed & tyrannical . . . baulking 7 people of an unequalled view [at Coniston] because *he* had seen it in former times.

As for "the child, (aged 10)," she did not like mountains and wanted to get home to London "because here they 'can't get fish, nor even grouse.'"²⁹

Despite Martineau's warning, Philip Carpenter called on one of her "good days" to find her doing wool work "bespoken for 100 dollars (!) at the Boston [antislavery] fair." Carpenter should call on Atkinson, she then urged: Holyoake could put them in touch. Samuel Brown (whose "estimate" of Atkinson she enclosed) had been at first prejudiced against him but "[t]he face & exquisite manners" began the conquest, though it took "long years to form any adequate conception" of the man. She sent also a widely circulated letter (according to Maria Chapman) she had written for her American correspondents that Carpenter could read and even copy if he wished. Today for *Daily News* she was writing about "old [Josiah] Quincy & his trumpet call" (a pamphlet warning of the threat to the union by slave states); and she hoped to review Emerson's *English Traits*.

Writing to Carpenter again in mid-September, Martineau described the arranging for Richard Webb to give an antislavery lecture at Ambleside. Last evening Catherine Turner had come, seeming "rather old, & . . . her hands always full." The Arnolds "took up the matter at once," however, and she knew "of at least £2 worth of tickets bespoken." If the room was not "gratis," she would "take care of that, & the lighting." Just now Webb had "gone over to Windermere, to get Garnett to print his bills." Maria and Mary Twining liked "M^{rs} Webb uncommonly," but seeing the Webbs herself was "of course, out of the question." Over the last few days several Americans had come, but she saw none of them. *The Times*, she broke in, was "abominable about Amerⁿ Slavery . . . I need not tell you I am the opponent in 'Daily News.'"³⁰

Tying up loose ends with Carpenter ten days later, Martineau asked for "the letter w^h I suppose to be in M^r Herford's hands [which was] wanted for copying." Feeling her "mere concrete work [for] the A.S. [antislavery] cheap charity, (as it is to us in this safe country)," it was "immeasurably better than nothing." Close friends hankered after her doing "higher work," and she didn't quite give up the hope of producing "the Life & writings of Bacon w^h M^r Atkinson has so much at heart." *That* was improbable, and she hoped Spedding's would be as good as the Lyells had declared. On the slavery issue, Webb's letter to *The Times* had forced that "rotten old oracle . . . to speak right out on the proper side," though it was too ignorant "to keep steadily right: but it had better be on the right side than the wrong." At the *Daily News* office, many were "ill or absent & they depend on me (!) for 4 or 5 leaders per week at present." A heavy piece of parliamentary business had just come into her hands; Maria, her "Sec^y & overlooker," was away, and one of her books was "reprinting."³¹

Earlier in September, Martineau answered a note and the gift of her novel *Dred* from Harriet Beecher Stowe. *Could not* Stowe come to stay at The Knoll? Lodgings could be found for her husband and young people, "& we could seize my 'capability seasons' for our talk." Had Martineau not seen Stowe "(in white frock and black silk apron)" when she was in Ohio in 1835? Stowe's elder sister she knew well and had a "clear recollection" of their father. *Dred* had delighted her. She had read it with an "intensity of admiration," believing it "far superior" to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Modern "subjective" novels disgusted her, as well as the "jaunty vulgarity of our 'funny philosophers' - the Dickens sort, who have tired us out." She admired Stowe's exposure of the "weakness & helplessness of the churches" in regard to slavery, and she noted her own "little function [in the *Daily News*] to keep English people tolerably right," to combat misinformation in *The Times*.³²

When Annie Clough asked about Coventry Patmore's poems, Martineau sent over a volume showing "traces of the coarseness which . . . has shown what grossness *can* find its way into a reputable periodical." Patmore's degrading, sentimental treatment of women in *The Angel in the House* had disgusted her, but his article in the *National Review*: "Victor Cousin on Madame de Hautefort and Her Contemporaries" (praising a Frenchwoman who made politics subservient to her *liaisons*, not vice-versa) enraged her. She also forwarded a letter to the *Daily News* from "B" (probably Bessie Rayner Parkes) protesting Patmore's review, touting crusaders like Martineau and pointing to the current struggle for just laws on women's property.³³

¹ Weir to HM, 1 January 1856, BUL 952.

² HM to Carlisle, 1 and 4 January 1856, *CL* 4: 1 and 2-3 (Carlisle served as chief secretary for Ireland, 1835-1841, and as lord lieutenant under Palmerston from 1855).

³ HM to Jeremiah Garnett, 18, 29 December 1855 and 4 January 1856, *CL* 3: 382-83, 386-87 and 4: 2; *Sketches from Life* (London: Whittaker and Windermere: J. Garnett, [1856]); see Preface dated 18 February 1856 i-ii; Martineau shortened and added to the new total of eleven (from 13) tales, converting them into grim moral fables; seven plates "engraved by W. Banks & Son, Edin." illustrated "The Bride," 1 and 19 (of cherubs above a couple in the countryside, and "The Bride at Paris," of a hotel room with astonished onlookers at emptied drawers and trunks), "The Old Governess," 42 (of "Miss Smith's first solitary evening," a woman waving a handkerchief with her left hand to a departing ship), "The Despised Woman," 65 (of "Mrs. Hepburn restored to favour," a woman in bed surrounded by happy children), "The Shopman," 80 (of "Mr. Elmot arresting Russell," a gentleman being arrested in a city setting), "The Black Sentinel," 104 (of "James Duncan at the books," a black clerk with two white men in an office), "The Factory Boy," 134 (of "Joe at Home" at a table with two children).

⁴ William Wood to HM, 2 January and 8 March 1856; Wood to Catherine Martineau, 11 February 1856; [prospectus] "Factory Reform and the Employment and Education of Orphans, the Deaf and Dumb, and the Destitute" (Wood described himself as "formerly managing Partner of the Wilton Carpet Factory, and First Inventor of the Self-acting Pile Carpet, and Velvet Power Looms, etc."); Wood to Maria Martineau, 19 February 1856; (all Wood's correspondence) BUL 1031, 1035, 1033, 1032 and 1034 (for a home supported by gentlemen to be built near a factory, see *DN*, 16 February 1856 [Appen., *HM/DN*]).

⁵ HM to Eliza Fox, 4 January 1856, *CL* 4: 4 (the petition led to the important Married Women's Property Bill of 1857); Martineau reported on the meeting of the Law Amendment Society dealing with women's work on 21 October 1856: see *HM/DN* 19-29.

⁶ HM to John Arthur Roebuck, 7 January 1856, *CL* 4: 4-5 (in January 1855, Roebuck had moved for a parliamentary committee to inquire into the state of the army before Sebastopol, but in July the censure recommended by his committee failed to pass; Roebuck suffered permanent ill health).

⁷ HM to PPC, 7 and 9 January 1856, *CL* 4: 5-6 and 6-7 (in spring 1855, Carpenter had bought a collection of Mazatlan shells); Martineau slept upstairs until two weeks before her death; no notice of the Church members' near asphyxiation has been found but Martineau continued to disdain the incumbent.

⁸ HM to PPC, 11 and 15 January 1856, *CL* 4: 7-9 and 9-10; for Martineau's praise of Irish fishermen trying to form a small company, see *DN*, 16 January 1856 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

⁹ See Appen., *HM/DN*.

¹⁰ Weir to HM, 15 January, 5, 25 February, 2 and 12 March 1856, BUL 953, 954, 955, 956 and 957; for Herat, see *DN*, 16 January 1856; for factory inspectors, see 12 February, 4 and 27 March 1856; for female labor, see 16 February 1856 (Appen., *HM/DN*) and next note.

¹¹ See "*The Times: Kansas and Dred*," *HM/DN* 247-54; in *DN*, 29 February 1856, Martineau stressed the need to protect women's income from being wasted by their husbands (see chap. 40, note 1).

¹² William Barton to HM, 5 February and 6 April 1856, BUL 1289 and 1301; HM to William Barton, 6 February 1856, CL 4: 10-11; see also, BUL 1290, 1295, 1296 and 1301; members of the Building Society subscribed half a crown per share to present Barton with the three volumes of Martineau's "History" (see HM/FW 148).

¹³ HM to FW, 15 February 1856, HM/FW 143-47; Julia (three years older than Martineau) had always seemed dainty and pretty to family and friends; Charles (Holte) and Selina Bracebridge accompanied Nightingale to Turkey and returned to Britain in July 1855; on 27 March 1856, Martineau told Fanny she had paid the building society £128, "which would have been spread over 7 years"; Campbell's judgments of 18 January 1856 concerned injury claims against employers; Charles Dickens, "Our Wicked Misstatements," *Household Words*, 19 January 1856: 13-19 (cf. HM/FW 146, note 13); smoking must have had a purgative effect on Martineau; G.H. Lewes, *The Life and Works of Goethe: with Sketches of His Age and Contemporaries* (London: David Nutt, 1855).

¹⁴ HM to Kingsley, 27 February 1856, CL 4: 11-12 (that Kingsley was allowed to keep Martineau's letter seems surprising).

¹⁵ Weir to HM, 12, 18 and 19 March 1856, BUL 957, 958 and 959; "ANOTHER poisoning case!" Martineau began her leader of 14 March (on scientific methods of solving crimes); on 12 March she urged that England press Mediterranean allies like Egypt to govern wisely; on 24 March she scoffed at Evangelical charities that met in Exeter Hall: see Appen., HM/DN.

¹⁶ HM to the editor of *Men of the Time*, 22 March 1856, Auto. 3: 292-94 (see also, HM to FW, 26 April 1861, HM/FW 203-205); *Men of the Time . . . or, Sketches of Living Notables, Authors, Architects, etc.* (London: D. Bogue, 1852, 1853, 1856) [later *Men in the Time: a Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Living Characters, (including Women). A New Edition, Thoroughly Revised, and Brought Down to the Present Time, by Edward Walford* (London: Routledge, Warner, and Routledge, 1862)]; Martineau's first two corrections seem to concern her family's social status, but not all her corrections are convincing.

¹⁷ HM to Arthur Allen, 9 April 1856, CL 4: 13; "XII. Norwich," *The Land We Live In. Pictorial and Literary Sketch-Book of the British Empire* (London: Charles Knight, n.d.) 1: 178-92; the history of Norwich from Roman to recent times noted the role of "Snap" the dragon while describing principal structures as well as nearby towns, and included four engraved illustrations.

¹⁸ HM to FW, 27 March 1856, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. HM/FW 147-49); Martineau also sent Brown's estimate of Atkinson to Philip Carpenter (see HM to PPC, Sunday, n.y., HMC MS H. Martineau 1 fols. 47-48); for Eastted, see chap. 37, note 3; for likenesses of Martineau, see Peter Holloway, "'Harriet's Head,'" *A Harriet Martineau Miscellany* (n.p.: The Martineau Society, 2002) 6-12.

¹⁹ HM to Sarah, 18 April 1856, CRO(K) 6 (partly pbd. CL 4: 13).

²⁰ HM to Louisa Jeffery McKee, March [1856?], [?April-May 1856] and 5 May [1856], JRUL Unitarian College Archives Cb B 1/24.

²¹ HM to Eliza, 24 May [1856], CL 4: 14; for Fox's portrait of Martineau not used in the *Autobiography*, see chap. 32, note 11.

²² Weir to HM, 12 and 17 May 1856, BUL 960 and 961; Christian von Bunsen, *Signs of the Times; or, the Dangers to Religious Liberty in the Present Day*. Trans. Susanna Winkworth (London: Smith, Elder, 1856); "King Bomba," nickname of Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies from his bombardment of Sicilian cities in 1849; on 22 May 1856, Senator Charles Sumner was caned

by Representative Preston S. Brooks for remarks made about Brooks's uncle, a Democratic senator (see Appen., *HM/DN*); "History of the American Compromises. A Historical Retrospect," *DN*, 23 June 1856: 2, cols. 2-5 (rptd. *A History of the American Compromises. Reprinted, with Additions, from the Daily News* [London: John Chapman, 1856], 35 pages).

²³ For Martineau's leaders on female dress reform and relief for dressmakers, see "Women's Fashions," *HM/DN*, 31-38, and Appen., *HM/DN*.

²⁴ HM to PPC, 7 July 1856, *CL* 4: 15; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years, 1853-1854* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856); see next note.

²⁵ "Our Slave States. By Fred. L. Olmsted. - London, 1856", *DN* 19 and 21 July 1856: 2, cols. 4-6, and 2, cols. 4-6; for leaders on Napoleon III and Spain, 24, 28 and 29 July 1856, see Appen., *HM/DN*; Weir to HM, 28 July 1856, BUL 962.

²⁶ Weir to HM, 28, 29 July and 6 August 1856, BUL 962, 963 and 964; for poor judgment by English women in adopting French fashions, see *DN*, 17 June and 17 July 1856 (Appen., *HM/DN*); Weir may mean the *small print* of Horace Greeley's *A History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension or Restriction in the United States, from the Declaration of Independence to the Present Day. Mainly Compiled and Condensed from the Journals of Congress and Other Official Records . . .* (New York: Dix, Edwards, 1856); Martineau included vineyards in her leader of 10 June 1856 on French agriculture; the correspondence between governors has not been identified; on swimming, see *DN*, 12 and 23 August 1856 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

²⁷ "Christian Missions: their Principle and Practice," *WR* 66 o.s. and 10 n.s. (July 1856): 1-51 (for mention of Sarawak, see chap. 38); HM to Henry Whitworth, 20 July 1856, *CL* 4: 15-16 (for Martineau's pamphlet, see chap. 40); HM to William Whellan & Co., 23 August 1856, *CL* 4: 16.

²⁸ HM to [John Chapman], 28 August 1856 [frag], Bod Lib MS Eng. lett. d. 2. f. 171 [partly pbd. *CL* 4: 17-18--wrongly attributed as to William Ware] (the Brownings' affairs were common knowledge).

²⁹ James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (London: J. W. Parker, 1856); [rev.] "Froude's *History of England* [Vols. I and II]," *WR* 66 o.s. and 10 n.s. (July 1856): 113-34); (George Eliot supposed James had won Froude over "to his views and purposes" [George Eliot to John Chapman, (15 October 1854), *George Eliot Letters* 8: 123-25]) and see *Memorials of Two Sisters. Susanna and Catherine Winkworth*, ed. Margaret J. Shaen (London: Longmans, Green; 1908) 65; Thomas Madge, widowed former pastor at the Octagon chapel in Norwich married Ellen Bischoff in 1844 then named his daughter after his first and second wives.

³⁰ HM to PPC, [7] and 19 September 1856], HMC MS H. Martineau, fol. 47 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 18-19) and *CL* 4: 21-22); Martineau may refer to her letter of 10 May 1856 [to Maria Weston Chapman?] giving an account of her beliefs including that in a Baconian "First Cause" (see *Auto.* 3: 323-30 [rptd. *HM/FL* 231-37]); Martineau termed Josiah Quincy an "eminent citizen" standing up in the crisis of events with his pamphlet *Address [on] the Nature and Power of the Slave States, and the Duties of the Free States* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856): *DN*, 8, 9 and 18 September 1856 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); [rev.] "*English Traits*. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. London: G. Routledge, 1856" (listing Emerson's wrong and right judgments), *DN* 13 September 1856: 2, cols. 1-3.

³¹ HM to PPC, 29 September 1856, *CL* 4: 22; W.H. Herford, Carpenter's close friend; *The Works of Francis Bacon . . . Collected and Edited by J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis and D.D. Heath* (London: Longman, 1857-74); "The American Abolitionists" (letter of 22 September 1856, signed R.D.W. [Richard Webb], in their defense), *The Times*, 24 September 1856: 9, col. 2; for Martineau's use of *The Times* as whipping boy, cf. next note; Martineau may have been reading proofs and amending her *Guide to Windermere* (for [undated] editions: see Rivlin 46-47).

³² HM to Harriet Beecher Stowe, 18 September 1856, *CL* 4: 19-21; *Dred; a Tale of the Dismal Swamp* (London: Sampson, Low, 1856); in the *Daily News* of 22 April 1853, Martineau described the Stowes' first welcome at Liverpool and the vexed question of slave-grown cotton depended upon by Manchester cloth manufacturers: see "Harriet Beecher Stowe/Cotton Supply," *HM/DN* 11-17.

³³ HM to Annie Clough, [c. October 1856], *CL* 4: 23; Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House. The Betrothal. (Book II. The Espousals)* (London: J. W. Parker, 1854-56); see *NR* 3 (October 1856): 317-342 (the journal nominally watched over by James); see "Married Women's Property Laws," *HM/DN* 21-29, note 1.