

## Chapter 42

### American Affairs; Refuting *The Times* (1856-1857)

In September besides two long book reviews in the *Daily News*, Martineau's leaders on American affairs increased in number. On the 24th, for example, she attacked *The Times* as "purveyor of misinformation and ignorance" for its account of the new Republican antislavery party in the coming American congressional and presidential election and for labeling Kansas a battlefield. Furthermore,

the reviewer of "Dred" . . . exhibits an ignorance, geographical and historical, which is perfectly astonishing when he pleads, on behalf of the South, the concentration of the negroes there. He says the Northern States poured their negroes into the Middle States; and that these last are emptying themselves into the Southern.

In fact the "coloured population of the North" was abundant and prosperous, beyond what European travellers had "any means of witnessing."<sup>1</sup>

(In October Weir published at least thirteen leaders by Martineau including the first of six summaries of the report of the congressional commission on Kansas).<sup>2</sup>

The Republican party's opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 (allowing new states to decide on slavery by "popular sovereignty" as they were admitted to the union) concerned many of Martineau's friends among abolitionists and the eastern establishment. On 15 November, she compared the tense calm prevailing before the American election to the suspense of the Russian Czar's offer in 1801 of single combat "to decide the affairs of Europe." When the Republican candidate for president (Col. John Charles Frémont) lost, she stridently denounced an attempt by southerners to revive the slave trade.<sup>3</sup>

(Though unaware of Martineau's current hard-hitting journalism, George Eliot exempted her from censure along with Charlotte Brontë and Elizabeth Gaskell in "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists" in the October *Westminster*).<sup>4</sup>

By mid-November, Elisabeth Reid had come to stay in Ambleside and reported to Crabb Robinson that Martineau could "write a fine leader, and plan something useful for her neighbours, while her voice is lost from debility."<sup>5</sup>

Following the suspense of the American election, Martineau turned to miscellaneous topics in the *Daily News* like women's concerns, the need for an international copyright and boys' theft of holly to sell before Christmas. On 15 December, her obituary of the Irish Capuchin priest and temperance agitator, Father Mathew, took a skeptical view of his work: his "prodigious temporary influence" being "wholly due to the time and circumstances" while his failure to address "the monster vice of Negro Slavery" in America destroyed his reputation.

When a proposal to train women as watchmakers (opposed by Clerkenwell male watchmakers) caught Martineau's eye, she recommended *practical* education for female domestic servants (as promoted by Burdett Coutts). Further urging parliamentary action on married women's rights, she then lamented the suffering of needlewomen under end-of-the-season demands for complicated Parisian-style dresses.<sup>6</sup>

To Martineau's disgust, by late December her pamphlet on shipping dues had become a "melancholy business:" Lowe changed his mind, the committee called in another adviser who

wished to make her pamphlet aid "the Great Western scheme" and turn her into a "government hack," which she *declined*. Lecturing Whitworth's committee, she scoffed:

You have to chose between still occupying the firm ground of actual fact in regard to the Local Dues on Shipping [or] quitting this safe ground for the shaking bog of official schemes."<sup>7</sup>

In February consulting John Chapman over a future topic for the *Westminster*, Martineau ordered two copies of *History of the American Compromises*. "Is there nothing whatever for me this X<sup>mas</sup>?" she queried. Just now, she had been "driven rather close to purchase from M<sup>rs</sup> Reid her 2 cottages," while Maria's illness had been dreadful, "a quinsy." Susan had come, but it "seemed so unnatural to be apart!" If Chapman came that way, she would like him to try his powers of diagnosis on her symptoms. Just now she was "greatly overworked with the Shipping Dues."<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, James and his family were soon to leave their home, Park Nook, in Edgbaston for London (from 1853, James had been commuting every two weeks to give six lectures at Manchester New College, London, but was now proposed to be advanced from lecturer to professor). Martineau was startled and launched into a diatribe against what she regarded as James's slippery Unitarianism. In March, she begged Holyoake to send her a copy of the "Protest [sent to the Manchester New College committee] of the Unitar<sup>n</sup> ministers against the appointments at their College," she not wishing to "cause pain by asking for it in the family." She disagreed with Holyoake's *Reasoner* about the folly of the protest - nor would he, if he knew "the amount of J.M.'s heresies, [who] no otherwise believes in X<sup>ty</sup> at all (according to his *repeatedly published* opinions) than as a disciple of Paul, - ignoring the original apostles, & the greater part of the New Testament." Unitarians couldn't commit the religious instruction of their sons to James, she snorted - citing his statements about free will in the review of the Atkinson book - they "might as well send them to *J.H. Newman*, or Brigham Young, or you or me." John James Tayler (the other appointee) was "a good, & somewhat superficially accomplished man," but Unitarians were in a bad state when "their one college" could support "only two professors (most people think not *that*;) & when those two are men not Unitar<sup>ns</sup> & with *no* scholarship (only some literary accomplishment.)" She would return the copy of the "Protest," she assured Holyoake, not having chosen to ask Maria "to write this about her uncle."<sup>9</sup>

On receiving the protest, Martineau expressed surprise "that such a body of laymen of wealth & influence, as well as many Ministers" opposed the appointments. James had declared his dedication to training young preachers in his resignation circular from Liverpool, but he wasn't suitable, and "the sect *must* insist on the theological chair being filled by one who holds the doctrine of Unitarianism." James's publications *can't* have been known by his appointers, while Tayler "takes to his bed in a fever" at hard questions being asked.

Just now "Miss Hennell's book [was] really admirable [and would] do immense good." She herself was weak and might have to give up trying to get upstairs at night, though she would miss the view, the freshness and the change.<sup>10</sup>

"I have had very great pleasure in reading your book," Martineau then wrote to Sara Hennell. Though "able to read but little" she liked to learn "some of the multitude of things" of which she was ignorant, and "once dipping . . . found the work irresistible." Her nephew Frank, visiting ten days ago, had "seized the volume on the Sunday afternoon" and proclaimed he

"must have" it. She regretted that Hennell had not shown "the resultant faults of positive philosophy" (i.e., Comte's late divergence into a "religion of positivism"), but saw it would have been impractical. Hennell had "done more to secure justice & respect to the heretical side" than she had seen yet. But was there "ever any thing more hopeless & deplorable than the state of the religious bodies all over England now, - from the oppositions of the bishops to the feud about the poor Unitarian college in London!" Philip Carpenter's congregation at Warrington had even formed a deputation to protest his doctrinal views, "just like an acting out of the satires in orthodox & Trollope novels about the scandals of the dissenters." She saw "no hope for any of these free churches, w<sup>h</sup> propose to endure on a basis of sentiment, or one of dogma, or a mixed one," none of the wranglers seeing that "an intellectual basis, clear of dogma," was wanted.

She no longer saw the *Leader*. "My gorge so rose at the 'Vagabond' story . . . I c<sup>d</sup> not let the paper lie about, - my maids being considerable readers, & I encouraging their interest in politics." Lately her head was "much worse," her pamphlet on Liverpool town dues having been too much for her. Yet the president of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce claimed she had "'done the Liverpool corporation more harm' than all that had been said or written before." Moreover, she *liked* putting the public "in full possession of the case of the last remnant of protection," and the "interest of *lay* persons in the history & details" quite surprised her.<sup>11</sup>

Her "kind regards to M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Bray, Hennell's friends (also friends of George Eliot). "O! about dear Kate!" she ended. "M<sup>r</sup> Wansey" was an excellent man, and she would have a happy home. Although Kate was "bent on economy & plainness," Martineau was making a "gay & pretty" piece of embroidery for her - her *last* one having "fetched 100 dollars for 'the cause' in America," where twenty-five abolitionists "laid down a guinea apiece, & presented it to my dearest friend, - M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman."<sup>12</sup>

Toward the end of March, Martineau remembered a promise to Tom Arnold "to tell [Carlisle] of Arnold's settlement in Dublin, & to commend him to [Carlisle's] notice." Though not an "able man," she wrote, Tom was his father's favorite son and "believed to be a good scholar . . . discernment of character [not being] D<sup>r</sup> Arnold's *forte*." Indeed the "remarkable withering & early finality" of the father's favorites was commonly known, along with his "actually expressed 'contempt' for the 'character of mind' of his eldest son [Matthew], who has turned out so gloriously." She *had* intended to write to Carlisle about Sumner so he might be "quietly received" when he came. Though both friends and enemies had said he would recover, those who knew had no hope.

Her current opinions on the United States could be seen in the *Daily News*: slavery would not be eliminated by the South, and the crisis was "hurrying on." Alternatives were "a military despotism, a dissolution of the Union, or a servile war in the south." England, she insisted, must show she sees through "all such shams as the New President's Message."<sup>13</sup>

(In mid-March, Weir lamented the "life & death struggle" against nominal liberals in Parliament. He promised to use Martineau's piece on the possible candidacy of Robert Lowe to be MP from Manchester as "a communique from 'a North of England Independent Liberal'" [Lowe was MP for a safe seat in Kidderminster]. Weir also deplored Palmerston's demands for further reparations from China, and Martineau obliged him by attacking secret diplomacy as well as the ministers' disregard for the *people* of China. Weir liked the "American ladies story" [on women like the wife of a sick sea captain who navigated to California]. "I trust you will keep

your eyes on Prince Albert's Conference" on education, he hinted, tossing another subject in her lap. [In two leaders on 31 March Martineau (first) continued her "letter" of 17 March and (second) warned of cattle murrain]. Weir then wrote amusedly:

Are you satisfied? Twice within a week - or little more - you have been allowed to preach twice in one day. You see how disinterestedly anxious I am to use anything of yours - that exactly suits me at the moment. If you are not grateful for the [?] a *murrain* take you.

On a different note on 1 May, Martineau's obituary of the Duchess of Gloucester (last of the fifteen children of George III) censured the Royal Marriage Act devised by the King and praised the amiable princess who had been forced to wait twenty years to marry the man of her choice.<sup>14</sup>

(While Maria Chapman stayed in Manchester in autumn 1856, she felt she had recruited a new disciple to the abolitionist cause - Elizabeth Gaskell. Yet Gaskell's sympathetic manner may have misled Chapman. Gaskell had been immersed in finishing her biography of Charlotte Brontë that was to appear on 25 March 1857, followed by mainly favorable reviews; a second edition was announced on 9 May).

Martineau must have devoured *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, admiring Gaskell's achievement but wincing over certain quoted remarks of Brontë's about *her* - either misquoted by Gaskell or revealing Brontë's lack of integrity. In a letter from Brontë while she stayed at The Knoll in 1851, for example, the young author praised the order and comfort of Martineau's home and her treatment of guests, but noted her hostess' "peculiarities." She was a bundle of contradictions, "hard and warm-hearted, abrupt and affectionate, liberal and despotic," and Brontë believed she almost ruled Ambleside. "You ask me whether Miss Martineau made me a convert to mesmerism?" "Scarcely," Brontë commented in another letter. She *had* undergone "a personal experiment . . . though the result was not absolutely clear." Moreover, she feared the manner in which Mesmerism and subjects "offering less legitimate ground for speculation" were to be treated in a forthcoming work by Martineau. Most damagingly, Gaskell reported that Martineau's review of *Villette* had hurt Brontë deeply and made her unwilling to come back to The Knoll).<sup>15</sup>

In a long letter to Fanny Wedgwood's daughter in May, Martineau seemed to side-step the topic of Brontë. Snow's letters were one of Martineau's "very greatest pleasures," she gushed. Her "black border" was for two cousins who had died recently, yet there had been "a marriage too, - my good cousin Kate." Martineau usually disapproved of late marriages, but she liked this one. Kate was "37; M<sup>r</sup> Wansey 47. Both of them so good!" Snow had asked Martineau's "medical advice in the new plan of low diet" (Snow may have been a mild hypochondriac). Latham approved so long as it reduced suffering from "heart-irregularity [but] does not conceal that he regards it as a symptom of decline," Martineau replied. In her "starving plan," she took "a small cup of tea at 1/2 past 7, before getting up." On coming down, she finished breakfast, "having another cup, & one small round of toast, with a sardine." At 2:00, she had "either an egg & a potato, or a small plate of macaroni, or of pudding, or . . . a little bit of fish: & 1/2 glass of beer, or occasionally, a cup of chocolate . . . till my cup of beef broth at 11 p.m. . . . except that I drink a *little* cup of tea at tea-time [and sometimes have] an orange before going to bed [and] a glass every day or two [of] M<sup>rs</sup> Reid's champagne . . . before afternoon nap." How glad she would be to see any of the Wedgwoods this summer! Sister

Ellen was the only guest "in prospect; for it is only such as she & you & M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman that I c<sup>d</sup> ask in such a free & easy way."

Fanny (Greenhow) Lupton and her husband had come for two days, "but not to the house," Martineau went on. John Chapman would look in "on his return from taking his degree in Scotland." Chapman had "got his release from Ja<sup>s</sup>, & I have . . . got back the money lodged to secure M<sup>r</sup> C. from any action on Ja<sup>s</sup>'s part," her £88 being "set free." Speaking of James, she had no time today for the "strange & sad story . . . of the Manchester College appointments," though the report lay before her.<sup>16</sup>

"About 'Currer Bell,'" Martineau went on, pouring out her grievances over the Brontë biography. Gaskell was not yet home (having fled to the continent before *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* came out), but her husband promised that in the next edition, justice would be done "in the only point in w<sup>h</sup> I have to remonstrate with M<sup>rs</sup>. G." (i.e., not giving Brontë's "adjuration to tell her the worst I thought of that particular book, - 'Villette,' w<sup>h</sup> was announced as on its way"). Brontë, furthermore, had "only said she 'c<sup>d</sup> not come [to The Knoll] at present.'" Smith, Elder had accidentally omitted to send Martineau a copy of the biography, so she was "thus rendered too late for the 2<sup>d</sup> edition."

As to Brontë's failings, Martineau asked if Snow would like to see the *Daily News* notice of *Villette*? Nothing *could* be more gentle. And from the "absurd hours" ascribed to herself (as reported by Gaskell), to the "serious hallucination" about her being deserted by her friends (after *Letters on the Laws*), all was "more or less false." Brontë's estimates of Martineau's character were absurd while "her avidity about M<sup>r</sup> Atkinson's letters was extreme . . . she was urgent about their being published," yet claimed to have "'painful anticipations' of what the letters w<sup>d</sup> prove to be!" Harking back to her first meeting with Brontë, "at Rich<sup>d</sup> M's," Martineau maintained that Brontë said she had never been a governess "except at Brussels for a few weeks" [had Martineau heard clearly?]. She had "told 50 people this" on Brontë's authority. Next turning to Brontë's "treachery to the Hégers" and the "ruin of the school" (owing to public curiosity following publication of *Villette*?), Martineau blamed Brontë's lack of principle on "the unfortunate character of her training. . . . But O! what a beautiful book it is!" As a Unitarian, however, Gaskell should not have accepted Brontë's censure of the "publication of [her] opinions" in *Letters on the Laws*.<sup>17</sup> "I wanted to write about Malcolm's Life [an Indian administrator], & Southey's new letters . . . but I must stop now," she ended to Snow. The "Eastern comrade" Anne Yates was coming to visit, "her husband being dead."<sup>18</sup>

Martineau had written to Anne Yates at the beginning of March, hoping she might "spare us a week." If Anne wished, her maid could also have a bed and the "two nice young women in the kitchen" would welcome her. Though feeling "very weak at present," Martineau was looking forward to talk about "old Egypt." Had Anne seen Lowth's book "Wanderer in Arabia? "He & lady had our sheik Bishara, & our cook Abasis!"<sup>19</sup>

Of different import in mid-May, Martineau sent Helen Brown advice on finding a lost desk belonging to her husband. Helen explained that her "intention [had been] to get M<sup>rs</sup> Crowe (who goes to London this week from Malvern) to make enquiries for me in the South, and if she found a suitable somnambule, to manage it." Helen felt that "if the person was put into *rapport*" with Samuel's handwriting, "a sufficient clue would be given." Did Martineau not think so? Helen had not thought the revelations of a "medium . . . ever related to such practical

and merely terrestrial affairs as lost packages." Had Martineau "known anything of the kind done by them?"<sup>20</sup>

(When Martineau's loan of £500 to Chapman was due to be repaid in April, he initiated a stream of letters on *Westminster* matters, the poor sales of *History of the American Compromises* and his own upcoming medical examinations. James was asking the terms for transfer of *his Westminster* articles, Chapman said, and two or three of Coulames's statements would astonish her. Failing further to explain why he had sought an article on American affairs by William Henry and not *her*, he told Maria later that Martineau should write one too, not to exceed two sheets. *Could* he count on a visit to Ambleside on his return from the north?).

Chapman next wrote from St. Andrews. Seeming to drop his usual diplomacy he told Martineau brusquely that her mortgage on the *Westminster* did not include articles published before he had bought the journal: he had only transferred James's articles from the time of his *own* ownership [Martineau's nephew Thomas agreed that her rights were limited to after Chapman had taken over the journal]. Meanwhile, Chapman had passed his medical examinations and on 8 May received his degree. His brother was there and friendly professors were giving parties for him every night. After laming his foot while doing a good deed, he was taken in by a professor's genial family and would then visit Robert Chambers in Edinburgh, his brother in Glasgow and Martineau at Ambleside.

On 28 May, Chapman duly stopped at The Knoll, Martineau recorded, telling her he could get the mortgage on the *Westminster* transferred *and* that his publishing business was doing well. In London he called on Latham, who agreed that Martineau should eat nourishing food frequently instead of following her "starving" regimen).<sup>21</sup>

In *Daily News* leaders from May through July, Martineau addressed "education," the *physical* part of which had advanced farthest in the last twenty years from Pestalozzian Infant Schools and Ragged Schools ("an unfortunate name") to royal and aristocratic children's learning carpentry and dairying. Making use of a report by Leyson Lewis on the British and Foreign School Society, Martineau claimed that *middle* class children were still not taught practical subjects. The education committee of the privy council was the one great effort being made, and a rising generation of properly educated children could best be seen in Birmingham. On American affairs, she cited new reports on "states-rights" including Northern resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law, and the importation by the French of African "immigrants" to the West Indies. In a new area of specialization, she urged the need of cotton to be grown in *India* to replace the American slave-grown commodity. Two book reviews, in June and July, were on a collection of essays by Herschel and on biographies of scientific men.<sup>22</sup>

(Having *almost* promised to call on Martineau, on 18 June Weir pled he could not afford "[l]ong repose, & a long journey" and was obliged to take "snatches of idleness or half idleness." Having spent a week at Boulogne with his two daughters he assured Martineau that when "silent" to her he was "silent to all." The review of Herschel delighted him. Would that not render it "comparatively easy . . . to dash off a biographical sketch of him?" He did not always answer her queries, trusting *her* to pick her subjects. Nor could he publish all she sent owing to lack of space and "hot-&-hot" breaking news. Henceforth, she would be allowed "a minimum rate for two articles *per* week even tho' only one or even none be used" and would be paid, in addition, "for all used above two").<sup>23</sup>

In her weighty article for the July *Westminster*, "The 'Manifest Destiny' of the American Union," Martineau again summarized past political compromises between the slave and free sections of the United States and explained the position of the abolitionists. Of *personal* concern, she wrote John Chapman on 22 July about reviewing a third edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. She must not wait any longer for news from George Smith of its appearance, she said, but could write from her "private & special knowledge of the alterations made in it." Gaskell's letters had supplied "all the really essential information," and her notion was of "a *short* article, headed by the Life, the pamphlets in answer to it, & C. B.'s posthumous work, 'The Professor.'" *That* lay at her side, as well as "the Life, & Carus Wilson's pamphlets." What she wanted to show were, first,

what sort of knowledge of life, exterior & interior, is requisite for writing good fiction . . . glancing at the differences of the same world as shown by C.B., Dickens, Thackeray, M<sup>rs</sup> Gaskell, & Miss Austen, in proof of the necessity of very strict self discipline if pretending to exhibit life, or . . . explaining clearly that it is not actual life that is represented.

Brontë's novels, "as pictures of life," would have done "immense injury . . . but for the extreme roughness & coarseness of her people & their doings."

Her second point to be addressed was "the principle on w<sup>h</sup> biographies sh<sup>d</sup> be written, in regard to the characters of collateral persons." She had hoped for "*some* sign of humiliation & self-blame from M<sup>rs</sup> G," who was "sadly adrift" and appeared only half-sensible of her position. "I am confident," she went on, that

from my special knowledge of C. B. I c<sup>d</sup> make a very interesting article, - for w<sup>h</sup> the withdrawal of the present edition, & the appearance of all altered one[s], furnish a sufficient occasion.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, Martineau urged Chapman to assign a review of Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England* for the *Westminster*, "a very remarkable book, by all accounts," which "as historian & positive philosopher," she had been told she ought to undertake (Buckle propounded a scientific view of history, as determined by *law*). Not caring to offer to review it for another journal, she trusted he would give it his "very best hand." On another matter, she would wait for her money while Chapman needed that she *should*, "but I dare say, & I hope, it will not be for long, as *I* have my obligations too." *Had* he been able to do anything about transferring the mortgage? Her fragile state of health made that essential and could save him embarrassment, some people believing that his views tended "more & more away from free thought, & in the direction of orthodoxy." At the same time, she scolded indulgently, he must not be "weak" in asking for fees for his medical services! As for herself, "M<sup>r</sup> Shepherd found great fault with the pulse this morning."

Chapman replied cagily that he could accept an article on Brontë for the October *Westminster* if he postponed the proposed one on *dress*. Without answering her offer to review Buckle, he admitted that he did not yet see his way to transferring the mortgage - but he objected to being thought orthodox and to her want of confidence in him. Could she wait till mid-August for payment?<sup>25</sup>

In September, Martineau scoffed to Carpenter: "J. M. sitting under Maurice *will* be a sight after his opinions, published and private, of Maurice's intellect." People would be

reminded of "Matthews's reply to the inquiry what Metaphysics 'are,' - 'When one man talks of what he don't understand to another that don't understand him, that's Metaphysics.'"

The news from India seemed "rather better," and she trusted her nephew Henry Greenhow would escape from Lucknow. If Carpenter cared to see her notions about the proper spirit for Christians, he should see her "leading article in *Daily News* of Sat<sup>y</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>tt</sup>" explaining that the demolition of Delhi to destroy the Moslem spirit was not vindictiveness, but simply stern punishment of the untamed "tiger."<sup>26</sup>

At the end of September, Charles Sumner called on Martineau. Rereading her "'Manifest Destiny'" article, he made "marginal observations" that showed merely a "difference of opinion" from hers, she told John Chapman. Just now Aunt Margaret was staying in Ambleside, Martineau was over-tired and had "almost concluded her Indian work" (probably charity related to the mutiny). Maria was off tomorrow to pay a month's visit to her parents, and Catherine Turner would stay at The Knoll.<sup>27</sup>

Martineau's article in the October *Westminster*, "Female Dress in 1857," deplored worsening female extravagance that victimized dressmakers and posed dangers from hoop skirts. In addition, the new small bonnets from Paris failed to protect a woman's face and head, and tight lacing destroyed her health.<sup>28</sup>

Sending Chapman her aunt's receipt for payment, Maria added loyally "I do hope that article will be well read . . . our annual inundation of tourists gives us some terrible specimens [of] atrocities of bad taste."<sup>29</sup>

(In October, Jane Carlyle complained "Harriet Martineau used to say of me, with that show of *accuracy* never accurate . . . 'Jane Carlyle has *eight* Influenzas *annually*; I wonder how she survives it!'"<sup>30</sup>)

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<sup>1</sup> For Martineau's review of Emerson's *English Traits*, see chap. 41, note 30); and see [rev.] J.P. Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys, and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Beloochistan: with Historical Notices of the Countries lying between Russia and India*, trans. Capt. William Jesse (London: John Murray, 1856): *DN*, 29 September 1856: 2, cols. 1-4, confirming the range of Martineau's reading on Russia's threat to British India; "*The Times*: Kansas and Dred," *HM/DN* 247-54 (*The Times*, 20 September 1856: 6, cols. 2-3).

<sup>2</sup> Martineau's leaders have not all been identified, but see Appen., *HM/DN*; "Report of the Congressional Commission on Kansas. I., II., III., IV., V., VI.," *DN*, 27, 30 October, 3, 7, 10 and 13 November 1856 (4, cols. 4-6; 4, cols. 3-5; 4, cols. 3-5; 4, col. 3-5; 4, cols. 4-5 and 4, cols. 3-5).

<sup>3</sup> See "Presidential Election" and "Slave Trade/U.S. Newspapers," *DN*, 15 and 25 November 1856 (*HM/DN* 255-61 and 263-70): Appen., *HM/DN*.

<sup>4</sup> George Eliot, "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists," *WR* 66 o.s. and 10 n.s. (October 1856): 442-61.

<sup>5</sup> *Robinson*, Sadler 3: 449 [diary entry for 13 November 1856].

<sup>6</sup> See *DN*, 23 and 22 December 1856 (on the theft of holly by boys before Christmas and an international copyright); "Father Mathew.," *DN*, 15 December 1856: 2, cols. 3-4 (rptd. *BS* 299-306); *DN* 2, 1856 (on female watchmakers) and *DN* 4, 11, 15 December 1856 and 13 January 1857 (on further women's concerns): Appen., *HM/DN*.

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<sup>7</sup> HM to Henry Whitworth 27 December 1856, *CL* 4: 23-25 (for Martineau's pamphlet, see chap. 40, note 9; for political factions in the city, see Ken Pye, *Liverpool. The Rise and Fall and Renaissance of a World-Class City* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> HM to John Chapman, 4 February 1857, *CL* 4: 25-26; Maria Martineau to John Chapman, 4 February 1857, *CL* 5: 354-55.

<sup>9</sup> James and his family moved to 10 Gordon Street (the number later changed to 5), London; despite opposition to James's (and Tayler's) doctrinal shift from a Priestlian position to transcendentalism, the reassignment of professorial responsibilities at Manchester New College began in April 1857; HM to Holyoake, [March] and [March 1857], *CL* 4: 26-27 and BL Add. MS. 42,726, f. 23; for Hennell's book, see next note.

<sup>10</sup> HM to Hennell, 12 March 1857, *CL* 4: 28-29; S[ara] S[ophia] Hennell, *Prize Essay. Christianity and Infidelity: an Exposition of the Arguments on Both Sides . . .* (London: Arthur Hall, 1857).

<sup>11</sup> On 18 February 1857 a delegation from Carpenter's congregation protested his support for the doctrinal views of James and his group (Carpenter, *Memoirs of the Life and Work of Philip Pearsall Carpenter* 159-60); "Letters of a Vagabond," *Leader*, 21 August - 4 December 1852, on reform of divorce law.

<sup>12</sup> The abolitionist ladies reportedly presented the piece Martineau donated to their bazaar to Maria Chapman.

<sup>13</sup> HM to Carlisle, 26 March 1857, *CL* 4: 30-32 (for Carlisle, see chap. 44, note 15; for Charles Sumner, see chap. 41, note 22); for Pres. James Buchanan's failure to address the disunion crisis and uninformed inaugural address, see *DN*, 20 and 24 March 1857 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>14</sup> Weir to HM, 16 and 30 March 1857, BUL 965 and 966; "Manchester and the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, - (From A North Of England Liberal.), *DN*, 17 March 1857: 4, col. 5; *DN*, 26 March 1857 (on China; see Logan, "The China Question," *The Pickering Masters*, 5, Appen. B: 291-316); *DN*, 18 March 1857 (on heroic women), 24 March (on Pres. Buchanan), 31 March (on Manchester Liberals and the Peace Party) and 31 March 1857 (on cattle murrain): Appen., *HM/DN*; "The Duchess of Gloucester.," *DN*, 1 May 1857: 4, col. 6-5, col. 1 (rptd. *BS* 21-29).

<sup>15</sup> See Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell* 3: 18-19; Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Smith, Elder, 1857) 2: 282-83 (as quoted by Gaskell, Brontë reported Martineau was "up at five, takes a cold bath, and a walk by starlight, and has finished breakfast and got to her work by seven o'clock"); for Brontë's reaction to the review of *Villette*, see Gaskell 2: 279-80 (cf. note 24, below).

<sup>16</sup> HM to Snow, 4 May 1857, in private hands (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 149-55); Snow had stayed with her friends Marianne and Meta Gaskell in October and November and helped (unwillingly) to copy the letters of Charlotte Brontë borrowed for Gaskell's biography - one morning's bundle having already taken two hours [Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell* 396] (at twenty-four, Snow had begun to suffer the congenital deafness affecting women in her maternal grandmother's family; Snow did not marry - possibly by choice - but became a respected journalist and biographer); for Latham, see chap. 39; for John Chapman's medical degree, see chap. 39, note 1.

<sup>17</sup> For Martineau's review of *Villette*, see chap. 35; Gaskell claimed Brontë was "wounded to the quick" by the review and by a "private letter" censuring the book (*The Life of Charlotte Brontë* 2: 252-53 and 255-56); Brontë served as governess in two families, but *her* story was not Jane Eyre's; M. Constantin Héger and his wife ran the school at Brussels attended by Charlotte

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and (briefly) Emily Brontë and fictionalized by Charlotte in *Villette*; a second edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* must have been in the offing before 9 May.

<sup>18</sup> Sir John William Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., Late Envoy to Persia, and Governor of Bombay; from Unpublished Letters and Journals* (London: Smith, Elder, 1856), another glance at Martineau's adding Indian affairs to her areas of expertise for the *Daily News* (see *Harriet Martineau's Writing on the British Empire* [vol. 5] *The India Question*. Ed. Deborah Logan [London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004]); John Wood Warter, ed., *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1856).

<sup>19</sup> HM to Anne Yates, 2 March 1857, CL 4: 27; George T. Lowth, *The Wanderer in Arabia; Or, Western Footsteps in Eastern Tracks* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855).

<sup>20</sup> Helen Brown to HM, 13 May 1857, BUL 114 (see chap. 43).

<sup>21</sup> Chapman to HM, 14, 16, 27 April, 9, 14 May and 5 June 1857, BUL 205, 207, 208, 209, 210 and 211; Chapman to Maria, 16 April 1857, BUL 206; see HM to George Grote, 18 June 1858, CL 4: 88-89; for details of her mortgage on the *Westminster*, see Martineau's statement: CL 4: 89-91; for Hurlbut, see chap. 44 (Chapman's call on Latham may have been a strategy to earn Martineau's good will).

<sup>22</sup> See Appen., *HM/DN* (Leyson Lewis was married to James's daughter Isabella; for Martineau's approval of the proprietary school at Birmingham, see chap. 28; on "immigrants" to the West Indies, see *DN*, 16 June 1857 (Appen., *HM/DN*); [revs.] "*Essays from the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, with Addresses and other Pieces*. By Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., M.A., D.L.C., &c. Longman and Co., 1857" and "*Biographies of Distinguished Scientific Men*. By Francois Arago, Member of the Institute. Translated by Admiral W.H. Smith, D.L.C., &c.; Rev. Baden Powell, M.A., F.R.S., &c.; Robt. Grant, Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S. London: Longman and Co. 1857," *DN* 18 June 1857: 2, cols. 1-4 and 10 July 1857: 2, cols. 1-3.

<sup>23</sup> Weir to HM, 18, 19 and 22 June 1857, BUL 967, 968 and 969; (see "Sir John Frederick William Herschel, Bart.," *DN*, 13 May 1871: 5, col. 6 - 6, cols. 1-3 (rptd. *BS* 450-67).

<sup>24</sup> "'Manifest Destiny' of the American Union," *WR* 68 o.s. and 12 n.s. (July 1837): 137-76 (rptd. New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1857); HM to John Chapman, 16 June and 22 July 1857, CL 4: 37-38 and 39-41; see, for example, Henry Shephard, *A Vindication of the Clergy Daughters' School and of the Rev. W. Carus Wilson from the Remarks in "The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Kirkby Lonsdale, 1857); see "Mrs. Gaskell's Memoirs of Miss Bronte" [letter dated 24 August 1857 and signed Harriet Martineau]; *DN*, 26 August 1857: 4, col. 6; for other newspaper correspondence following publication of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, see Barker, *The Brontës* 804-8.

<sup>25</sup> See HM to Chapman, 22 July 1857, CL 4: 40; Henry Thomas Buckle, *The History of the Civilization in England* (London: J. W. Parker, 1857); Chapman to HM, 25 July 1857, BUL 213 (Mark Pattison reviewed Buckle: *WR* 68 o. s. and 12 n. s. [October 1857] 375-99).

<sup>26</sup> HM to PPC [frag., after 12 September 1857], *HM/FL* 238; in 1858 Maurice was to clash unsuccessfully with Henry Longueville Mansel on the nature of revelation; for Martineau's fierce views on the Indian mutiny, see *Daily News* leaders August-December 1857 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>27</sup> "Notes from the Scribble Diaries" [1857-61], BPL MS A. 9. 2 Vol. 28 No. 68 [4 pp.]; Sumner was travelling in Europe to recuperate: see Charles Sumner to Edward L. Pierce, 11 [and 15]

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October 1857, *The Selected Letters of Charles Sumner*, ed. Beverly Wilson Palmer (Boston: Northeastern UP, 1990) 1: 482-83; HM to Chapman, 4 October [1857], Bod Lib MS Eng. lett. d. 2. f. 173; for Martineau's "Manifest Destiny" article, see above, note 24.

<sup>28</sup> "Female Dress in 1857," *WR* 68 o.s. and 12 n.s. (October 1857): 315-40 (reviewing fashion books, a history of fashion and tracts of the [American] National Dress-reform Association); see also, "Women's Fashions," *HM/DN* 31-38.

<sup>29</sup> Maria Martineau to Chapman, 4 October [1857], *CL* 5: 355-56.

<sup>30</sup> JWC to Mary Russell, [2 October 1857], *Carlyle Letters* 33: 92-94.