

## Chapter 43

### Writings on India, Church Rates, etc.; John Chapman's Treachery over the *Westminster Review* (1857-1858)

In mid-October, Richard paid Martineau's Sun Fire Office insurance and sent a statement of money received from her "Long" and "Life" annuities. Not having heard how she wished £400 to be invested, he presumed she was constant to the Brighton guaranteed stock. *He* had put £1300 into the London Joint Stock Bank where they allowed "6 p<sup>r</sup> cent for deposits left for more than a month," but he advised Martineau to keep her old investment.<sup>1</sup>

After reading all Martineau's leaders on India in the *Daily News*, George Smith agreed to publish them in a pamphlet, brushing aside her worries over a heart condition. On 27 October, he sent Richard a payment of £150 and added he was glad she liked James Payn's tales. On the 30<sup>th</sup>, he assured Martineau that cards from her would go in her gift books and the following week announced that *Deerbrook* was to come out in a popular series with *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley* as numbers 1 and 2. His firm would be happy to consider Martineau's other copyrights but feared *Forest and Game Law Tales* (which he had not read) might be in the hands of Routledge's or Tigg's - and *The Billow and the Rock* was too short for his series. Smith was unsure about publishing more of her non-fiction but would be glad to publish a small size version of *Household Education* if she would sell it cheap enough - he at first offering £40, then £50 (?).<sup>2</sup> "I never before was paid in advance for a work," Martineau had answered Smith happily on 29 October, but she had received only one proof sheet that week. (By February, Smith had read *Forest and Game Law Tales* but felt their time had passed).<sup>3</sup>

Martineau's dispatching of her old enemy Croker in August apparently failed to soften her anger at both Charlotte Brontë and Elizabeth Gaskell, and she sent Smith copies of the letters to and from Gaskell, Arthur Nicholls and Patrick Brontë defending her side of the supposed false reports. At last on 21 November, Smith agreed to add her corrections to any new edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. Diplomatically, he said he was sorry about Nicholls, but felt sure she would make allowances in her heart for Patrick Brontë.<sup>4</sup> (To her friend Graves, Martineau now claimed that she had won her point on Charlotte Brontë's honesty).<sup>5</sup>

Within a fortnight, Smith then agreed to publish Martineau's "little book or pamphlet," *Suggestions towards the Future Government of India*, and would offer terms when he saw the manuscript. He simply had no time for the *Daily News*, but would send for a copy to see her article on Haileybury (a leader on the East India Company college at Haileybury appeared on 15 December). Martineau's "Suggestions" was not out in time for Sumner to have a copy, but she wrote to wish him a pleasant voyage as well as "something very different from pleasure." Now, she goaded him, was a time when "wise men & good patriots may do work of equal historical value with that of the patriots of the Revolution."<sup>6</sup>

In October, Martineau had asked Chapman to get her the *Annual Register* for 1856 and (for a friend) six copies of H.C. Wright's pamphlet on "*Marriage & Parentage*" sold by Holyoake at 167 Fleet Street. *Some* time she wanted to know whether as a medical man he deemed that doctrine mainly true "which seemed to be "working strongly in favour of good morals in America" and in England among the working class. She also needed "2 reams of the usual paper, - the large size, - square," plus writing paper and long, narrow envelopes. The whole

parcel could be sent to Maria at the Henry Sargents', near Primrose Hill. On health matters, Robert's "battle with the abominable mercurial treatment . . . all but destroyed his eyes."

Reminding Chapman of her value, Martineau boasted that "Smith & Elder, being most concerned with India, & having the [right] sort of circulation," at once offered "£150 in cash for 5 years' sale of the volume;" which, in addition to "4 guineas per chapter from 'D. News,'" equalled £240. "This is private, of course; but I don't like to do any publishing business without telling you." Her object was to secure wide circulation, money being "accidental."

At the end of October, Chapman sent Martineau £12.10.0 and then made a suggestion. He had not found anyone to take over the mortgage on the *Westminster*, but two or three people might join to subscribe £400 and he would pay the remaining £100 as soon as he could and thus own the journal unfettered. The lag in sales he attributed to the wars and to the *National Review*, but he was glad Matthew Arnold thought well of the *Westminster*. What was her opinion of Froude's article, "The Four Empires," in the October number?<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps jumping at the chance to vent her anger at Froude, Martineau scoffed that his *History of England* showed "scarcely a trace of the usual beauty of [his] writings" and "The Four Empires" was "the most plagitious affair" she had seen for long: "false, elaborately & ingeniously fraudulent, & to the last degree unpatriotic." Catherine Turner had sent Chapman a receipt for his payment to her, and on 1 November Martineau told him she was busy with proofs of her pamphlet, *British Rule in India*. Printing had been late, and she had wanted "to let Sumner have his copy & the Follens'" before he sailed. "So I worked myself stupid on Sunday, & finished the batch."

About the mortgage, she was glad of the "munificent gentleman" Chapman had spoken of. As to herself, Catherine was amazed at her still being able to work, but it could not last much longer. Chapman should let her know, however, if he was in embarrassment about a gratis article this quarter. Concerning the poor review of the *Westminster* published in the *Daily News*, she would try to take that on in January but could not this time "on account of the Dress article." Reviewing books for the *Daily News* was "a serious disadvantage," but the editor thanked her and said no more (Martineau's review of Louis Blanc's *History of the French Revolution*, volume 9, appeared two weeks later). To her satisfaction, Smith and Elder expected a "vast circulation" of her historical sketch" of India, though it contained "no estimate of the value of India to us . . . by the general ignorance & present interest, & absence of any book of the kind." Chapman's wife, Susanna, had called at The Knoll, she told him, and would be home Saturday night.<sup>8</sup>

When Chapman sent Martineau an article debunking the practice of table moving he wished to publish in the January *Westminster*, she cautioned that it would bring ridicule on the journal. In *one* experience, she, Maria and Maria's mother had "laid the tips of our fingers on the table [which] not only turned rapidly after a few minutes, but jumped," and when a girl in Warwickshire clogs came in and they put her on the table, it still jumped. The article had "much that was interesting," but if Chapman lived a few years he would "have to retract much of it."<sup>9</sup>

Receiving a copy of George Combe's pamphlet on the teaching of physiology in schools, Martineau reported of her evening lectures to "'workies' & their families." Friends "looked to the door, the lights &c.," and the Arnold daughters "were more or less present for the first courses, till, - I gave one on "Sanitary matters." Hearing that it would "treat of the *body*," Mary

Arnold would not let them come. Later, "Susan Arnold (now M<sup>rs</sup> John Cropper) . . . a great talker," asserted that "Everybody knows the *lungs are to talk with*" (Martineau's nephew Thomas was there and labeled Susan the most ignorant young lady he was "ever in company with"). By showing the actions of the "stomach, nerves & brain," Martineau had aimed to reform "the intemperance w<sup>h</sup> makes a hell upon earth of this place." At her chief temperance lecture, "people were so wedged in that scarcely one c<sup>d</sup> move without moving others [for an] hour & 20 minutes" except the young man who had staggered out "& fainted on the threshold." Subsequently he became one of the first members of the building society, which now boasted "thirteen new cottages, & 7½ per cent profit to the other members."

Combe's method was "charming," she thought, except for his "intermixture" of dogma - she did not see "what the necessary conception of a First Cause" had to do with his lessons. Their friend Catherine Crowe (a disciple of Combe's) had called lately, but Martineau was too ill to see her. Did he take any interest in that "excellent woman, Sam<sup>l</sup> Brown's widow"? Loving and honoring her thoroughly, Martineau hoped she would not "be passed over without sympathy & aid [as a widow] when she must leave her present house (in May)."<sup>10</sup>

Later Martineau corrected Combe about Helen Brown's having an "'independence,' great or small." She had "*something*" (Martineau seemed most concerned for Helen's respectability), but it was "the merest pittance." Helen could take in "children from India, - a family or two or three or four: but of course English or Scotch w<sup>d</sup> do as well." Combe and his wife might "mention her plan in promising quarters," naming probable terms.

In reference to the proper sphere of science, she vowed to "get Dr. Lee's sermon, & lend it at Fox How," the education of the Arnold daughters being a "truly melancholy" subject. The sons had gone to "Rugby first, & College afterwards . . . all [successfully] except the youngest," a ne'er-do-well, "& *therefore* to be thrust into the church." But the four daughters had "no education at all," except incidentally. A German refugee come into the valley taught them "Vienna German," and they had lessons from a local music-mistress, "but M<sup>rs</sup> A. c<sup>d</sup> not be made to perceive the need of a decent piano: & *that* lapsed." Two of the sisters had artistic talent that had simply been wasted. Believing themselves "thoroughly superior people," they corresponded with "the families of clerical scholars &c," but had no grasp of "any thing *real*." The three married daughters might be doing good "by their liberal charities," but it would be "in spite, & not in consequence of their so-called education." A more tragic case was the death of the Davys' daughter, Elizabeth, "in June, - of sheer starvation." After she had a nervous attack in March, her mother "w<sup>d</sup> not allow her, while actually in London, to be seen by either physician or nurse," the girl falling "under the delusion that she had committed some dreadful crime . . . & that *she* was to be poisoned."

Combe probably knew that "M<sup>rs</sup> Fletcher [was] considered . . . dying . . . apathetic . . . wandering when she does talk, & unable to take much food." Martineau herself was "rarely at ease altogether," but got relief by a reduction of food and by "leading the most monotonous life possible." She could still work mornings, but before night her faculties failed so she played cribbage and earned "lots of money for the Amer<sup>n</sup> abolitionists by fancy-work."

Combe's reply, full of information about Helen Brown, crossed with Martineau's next one. Dr. John Brown (Samuel's cousin) had told Combe that Helen's well-off relations would not allow her to depend on strangers. Combe agreed with Martineau on the Arnold blindness concerning the education of daughters. By contrast he knew a young German woman, the

daughter of an ambitious mother, who translated books and would like to solicit Martineau's patronage in future. Unfortunately, *British Rule in India* was already "bespoken" for translation by a German doctor.

Concerning her sparse diet and taking of an opiate, Martineau told Combe she began with "10 drops of Battley" at 7:00 before descending the stairs backwards; at 11:00 she took twelve drops, at 3:00 three drops, at 6:00 twelve drops, and fifteen for the night. When needed, she had ether, and sometimes champagne - but meat caused her to feel hot.<sup>11</sup>

Martineau boasted to Holyoake at year's end that she hoped *Suggestions towards the Future Government of India*, with her other volume on India, might check Palmerston's wrong legislation, i.e., to take India away from the East India Company. On Italian affairs, she refused to help Mazzini, disapproving of his objects and methods and not believing Smith, Elder or any other publisher she knew would issue his work.<sup>12</sup>

Earlier in December, Martineau had written hopefully to Sarah about Harry Greenhow "& the other prisoners at Lucknow," not doubting his name would appear on a list of survivors. Her own "India chapters" were having a great success "in the form of a volume" which she hoped would be read "in every house where the household are uninformed about our connexion with India." Ministers were "perplexed," parliament was "adrift;" to do any good one must "meet their minds before they are pledged to any wrong course." Smith, Elder had helped her by sending "a lapful of books."

In January, Martineau vaunted to Sarah that "the man who knows more about ruling Asiatics than any other person whatever, - Rajah Brooke," was coming to help her. Sarah had asked for recommendations of new books, and Martineau pronounced "Livingston's African journeys [sic]" the best "for many a day," the other good book of the season being "Life of Geo: Stephenson." *Tom Brown* she thought very clever, and "The Arnolds never expected such a thing from the author, - Hughes." Maria's brother Frank had been staying at The Knoll to recover from scarlet fever; her brother Tom recovered weeks ago. Their father, Robert, was suffering as always in damp weather. No Christmas party would be held in her kitchen this year, but she would send "good dinners to the respective homes."<sup>13</sup>

In the "first hour of the new year," Martineau had pored over Matthew Arnold's just published blank verse tragedy, *Merope*, deeming it "sweet & solemn & full" (in April, she was to take Chapman severely to task for "flippant treatment of one of the greatest literary men of our time" [Arnold], the critic's "superficial contempt & levity" disgracing only himself but possibly alienating friends of the *Westminster*). Next reading Samuel Brown's *Lectures on the Atomic Theory*, to her disappointment she found them "less strong and clear" than she had fancied.<sup>14</sup>

Martineau's "Review of the Year" in the *Daily News* of 31 December lauded British military spirit shown in the Indian mutiny but lamented discreditable British acts in China, including the stranding of Lord Elgin as official minister to China. She noted Livingstone's report on the African slave trade and the prospect of growing cotton in Africa (to be recommended in her later leaders) and the snapping of the first transatlantic cable.

Martineau's obituary of her old friend Sir Francis Beaufort appeared on 15 January. Over January, February and March in the *Daily News* she lauded the East India Company and the mistake of taking the administration of India away from the (middle-class) company to be put into the hands of the aristocracy (the government). Fulfilling her promise to Chapman, she reviewed two numbers of the *Westminster* (retitled in April the *Westminster and Foreign*

*Quarterly*), as well as a work on the cavalry in India that touted the perfect discipline and devotion to duty of Crusader-like men.<sup>15</sup>

As Chapman proposed, Martineau began in January to solicit help with the mortgage on the *Westminster*. She told Erasmus Darwin that "£225. (which includes £50 from me) is now made up." Another gentleman had offered "to lay down £150" if £250 more could be obtained to disencumber the review. Could Erasmus point out "any opulent men likely to help?" As a champion of "free-thought," the *Westminster* had the field to itself as just proven by a "furious letter from the editor of the Norfolk *Argus* (Virginia)" about claims in the "Manifest Destiny" article (reprinted in America), for which she possessed the original clippings from American papers. Half of her small volume on India had gone to press, but she had written "only 2/3<sup>ds</sup>" before suddenly finding a "load of business" fallen on her.

Gossiping on, Martineau reported that "Mary Twining was married on Wed<sup>y</sup>, - to a Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Hiley, - a heavy, puffy, pasty person, whom no Arnold has yet been heard to praise." Eliza Fletcher had been "considered dying for several weeks, - her mind quite gone," while *Grace Davy* (the Davys' elder daughter) was "quite insane at times." Martineau's garden had been robbed "3 times in the summer, - in the night," but "L<sup>d</sup> Belper" (MP Edward Strutt, a friend of Erasmus's) had sent her "boxes of splendid grapes, and M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman a barrel of American apples," while she had "cranberries from London." She didn't tire of beef tea, having declined "the doctors' recommendation to have *turtle* from Liverpool [at] 12<sup>s</sup> per quart." If Erasmus happened to have "Buckle's 'His<sup>y</sup> of Civilization,'" she would ask him to *lend* it to her as Mudie's was unlikely to have it.

Within a week, Martineau had received a copy of Buckle and felt chagrined to thank Erasmus. By then, Catherine Crowe had stopped to see her, looking well "but - altered," and *she* told of Eliza Fletcher's state of "terror and despair, throwing up her arms and wringing her hands, an awful spectacle . . . a fearful per contra suffered by the religious people," Martineau added smugly.<sup>16</sup>

Anxious to calm Chapman's fears of possibly libelous statements in her "Manifest Destiny" article, Martineau argued that it didn't matter to *them*, "whether this thoroughly southern editor has forgotten what was in his own papers," her few slips being merely minor. On that subject, she supposed Chapman expected a blackguard (pro-Southern?) assault from William Howitt some day: Howitt had published lies about her in his journal and a hundred more false statements.

(By March, Chapman was begging another - preferably light and amusing - article for July to be paid for *then*, even if used later. Would the friend who pledged £25 toward the *Westminster* mortgage allow himself to be identified?).<sup>17</sup>

After congratulating Milnes on his "heir," Martineau asked if he had "any special interest in India?" Her nephew Harry Greenhow, "one of the Lucknow prisoners, - now escaped to Calcutta," was a surgeon there with the wounded. To Sarah, Martineau explained that "the grand point" of *Suggestions Towards the Future Government of India* was to "gain time," MPs having urged her "to afford some guidance for their inquiries." In her "Scribble diary" for 20 January, Martineau recorded Rajah Brooke's calling "for 1/2 hour" and again next day for a talk in the drawing room. His last evening, she gloated, was "very satisfactory."<sup>18</sup>

Martineau's unexpected "load of business" in January may have arisen from her memoir of Admiral Francis Beaufort that his daughters Rosa and Emily begged her to republish.

(Martineau warned the daughters they should return to the sender any papers of their father's relating to Alexander Maconochie, the controversial prison reformer Martineau refused to support). In February, Maria suggested the Beauforts might try Smith and Elder. Martineau would let them decide whether it should be "printed with her name or not," though she was "not in the habit of . . . publishing anonymously."<sup>19</sup>

"I just want to ask the question," Martineau next wrote - whether "Mess<sup>rs</sup> Chambers" were still the proprietors of her *History of the Peace* and were they "still disposed to have it made neat & tight, & finished for posterity, as they were in 1854?" Knight would this year reach the period "at w<sup>h</sup> his own portion of the cumbrous opening of my history w<sup>d</sup> come in," she noted, "& he & you may as well have the benefit of his purchasing back the copyright of his portion as he proposed in 1854." She *did* desire to see her history "complete & homogeneous," but it could "never have a fair chance while encumbered with those dreary 240 pp at the outset." Despite her condition (knowing anatomy, William Chambers would know how the "ensiform cartilage ought to lie" and would understand the enlargement of her heart when she told him the cartilage was "pushed out [prominent & hard] & to the right side"), she could still write though "scarcely able to stand or converse for any length of time." Moreover, she would ask for "no pay" unless she completed the task. To add to her proposal, she cited the success of her "popular sketch of Indian history" as well as the "suggestions," meant "to . . . foil L<sup>d</sup> Palmerston's precipitation." Her wish for a cheap edition of *Household Education* was also to be "fully gratified . . . Smith & Elder [having] purchased the copyright," to bring out at "half-a-crown!"

Gossiping of their mutual acquaintances, Martineau noted that "poor M<sup>rs</sup> Fletcher [was] *not* dying" but that her granddaughter had "starved to death under insane horrors of conscience, poor child!" And could the Chambers help Helen Brown "to two or three little pupils, - Indian or other, - to bring up with her own nice little children?" Helen's mother had offered to open "her Portobello house, furnished," and the scheme would ease Helen's mind, fill her time and "by & by" provide for her own boy's education.<sup>20</sup>

Messrs. Chambers' answer on 21 January came as an unpleasant surprise. Having decided against "renewing the early part of the History of the Peace" they would be glad if Martineau could undertake the "six years at the end, connecting with the commencement of our History of the Russian War." Chambers praised her "creative energy," opining that Eliza Fletcher's condition by contrast was most piteous. Replying post haste, Martineau deeply regretted "the heavy & diffuse" opening portion of the history that for the sake of her reputation she wished to be "separated conspicuously" from *her* portion. In addition, an Indian chapter had been lost by Orr (who temporarily owned the work), but she held one "written as a substitute for the ponderous *South American chapter*." Did they wish for it? She would need to add details to fit in the new pages and to correct errors. As to terms, she supposed they would pay at the same rate as Knight, "viz, 20 guineas p<sup>r</sup> sheet." Knight had supplied her with books but at present she needed few materials, having "the Annual Register, & chief Quarterly Reviews, & the 'Companions' to the British Almanack; & some filed newspapers." She would also like the "two memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, published by his Executors [and a] clear account of the railway mania," the *Spectator* for those years and "possibly Hansard."

Chambers explained that they could *not* afford to reproduce the whole work, but wished to see her abridged South American section - which Martineau promptly sent off. Still,

she insisted she wanted to supply "the necessary explanation of the antecedents of Canning's policy" without the burdensome detail the English public did not care about in the detested original version. Though "completely supplied with information on the Irish famine, & Irish affairs generally up to 1852," she dared not trust Lord Normandy's book on the revolutions of 1848 and 1849 until Louis Blanc's answer came out; for "the Railway mania & collapse" she knew of good sources of information. When did they wish the part "now to be written?" She could accept nothing for correcting mistakes, though they were not, for the most part, her own fault.

Dickering, Chambers asked whether she would accept ten guineas for the abridged chapter on South American affairs? Martineau (ignoring their injunction against rewriting the first portion) declared she *would* rewrite it, "for the reason that a work w<sup>h</sup> is of more consequence to future times than the present ought not to be intercepted by individual caprice, or the accident of private fortunes." To give a consistent record of the times was her duty; ten guineas for the South American chapter was ample payment. By 10 February all seemed settled.<sup>21</sup>

Martineau had sent Thomas her last agreement with Smith, Elder for the India pamphlets, which he promised to keep in their "strong closet." Thomas saw no legal objection to her plan to buy stock in the Brighton and South Coast Railway in Maria's name and expressed his "unbounded gratification" for her generous liberality to his dear sister. Martineau then wrote to Carlisle "I hope the Knight of the Tournament will attend to the Irish Game-law question," as she was sure *he* would have done. When Brooke was there, "we got Borneo very fairly discussed," she vaunted. Like Sumner, however, *she* felt hopeless over American affairs - though Maria Chapman, "a much higher authority," wrote "in sanguine spirits."<sup>22</sup>

In April, the *Investigator* - Robert Cooper's atheistic journal - cited Martineau's *Daily News* leader of 23 March protesting the persecution of publisher Truelove of the Strand (London) for his pamphlet on regicide. There was no wrong in publishing *speculation* on a subject (such as the game laws), Martineau had asserted, the present case being a disgrace.<sup>23</sup>

In just over a week, a new cause aroused Martineau's ire. She recorded in her "Scribble Diaries" that on 3 April 1858 she had refused as a "bonâ fide" nonconformist to pay the Ambleside Church rate and was threatened with a summons. Her consequent *Daily News* leaders on Church rate, reprinted throughout the district, led to an article in the *Manchester Guardian* and to correspondence with the chairman of the local board of magistrates. "Do 'legal proceedings' startle you?" she demanded theatrically of Fanny Wedgwood on 22 April (the day of her first leader on the subject).

To make a long story short, - our ignorant, insolent, stupid magistrates, who are *always* wrong, and have a notorious bully for their clerk, have come down lately on the Quakers here . . . with claims for Church rates which can't possibly be acceded to. After the stand John Crosfield (her Quaker neighbour and a trustee of the building society) had made, she "*could* not desert the cause on which my mind has always been clear," she went on. "D<sup>r</sup> Davy [one of the magistrates] was nervous and far from confident." Though he admitted that "the Magistrates did not doubt my objections being bonâ fide [he] ate his first words . . . and with the two daft old gentlemen beside him, signed an Order for me to pay."

Never having “boggled before about money,” she felt confident she had forced people to see there must be something particular to make her “take all this trouble to avoid paying 6/3d.” William Ball, the “rich Quaker at Rydal,” declared he would “give any money to . . . see me demolish D<sup>r</sup> Davy.” At the court hearing, moreover, Davy had “trembled from head to foot. . . . No doubt, - from what I remember, - his wife’s sympathies are with the Quakers in the case” (Martineau's old friendship with Margaret Davy had not been renewed).<sup>24</sup>

Martineau's half-dozen leaders on Church-rates opened with a sarcastic account of the ignorance of Lord Derby Prime Minister) of the Dissenters' position, the missteps by local churches and the “uncertain demeanour of the Magistrates in Petty Sessions.” Citing stories in Northern newspapers (the *Gateshead Observer*, *Penrith Chronicle*, *Leicestershire Mercury* and *Kendal Mercury*), on 27 April she described her own trial. In “The Last Days of Church-rates” in the July *Westminster*, Martineau authoritatively summarized the history of church rates from Canute to the present, not omitting her own case.<sup>25</sup>

Over the past three years a scattering of Martineau’s *Daily News* pieces had touched on China; her review of a work of travels in the April *Westminster*, “China: Past and Present,” confirmed her (faintly naive) versatility. While describing Chinese culture, she noted that Britain would like to be rid of the Manchu emperor but should not interfere if trade progressed. Chinese women were slaves of the men, but she otherwise deemed China - now virtually open - not that different from the west.<sup>26</sup>

Through April and May, Martineau continued to press Chapman to pay off her mortgage on the *Westminster*. On 2 April she had drafted a formal statement to George Grote proposing that she should receive £100 from Chapman “or any smaller amount that might make up the £500” with the balance to be made up by other creditors. Sending Chapman a copy of the statement, she asked him to correct her if Grote did not still live at 22 Savile Row: she had to tell Darwin, Mrs. George Martineau and Fanny Martineau her daughter, “who make their contribution £40,” to forward their cheques to Grote. She *had* mentioned Lord Stanley’s contribution to the *Westminster* to three different people, she told Chapman, before he cautioned her. “Entre nous,” she went on, “I hope M<sup>r</sup> Grote or his friends may [also] do something” for Brooke, as even a “modest contribution w<sup>d</sup> gratify his feelings.”

On 3 April, Grote sent Martineau the first of a series of patient replies concerning her mortgage. Temporarily relieved, she told Chapman she had his note and an offer from Grote “reducing the amount needed to £105.” Maria would send the form to be used by contributors to Darwin, the George Martineaus and Rajah Brooke’s counsel, Templer. Blithely switching to gossip, she noted:

Linton’s abode, beyond Coniston, is the most exquisite paradise imaginable [and] a capital bargain . . . . What an odd marriage, - with Miss Lynn! And I did not know his wife was dead! I once wished to know Miss Lynn, & we both intended it. But, not only is she much altered for the worse . . . it is impossible to have anything to do with Linton. Had Chapman seen her review of Captain Pelly’s book in the *Daily News*? Pelly had offered to come to see her, but she had to refuse.<sup>27</sup>

Despite pressing Chapman, Martineau seemed financially safe. (On 6 April, Richard advised her he was holding a total of £162 half-year payments from the “Long” and “Life” annuities and that to invest £200 in the Brighton railway she could send him a cheque on her country banker to make up the difference. On 14 April, he duly sent an account of the



"Brighton 6 per cent stock purchased in Maria's name" and asked her to send "a stamped cheque payable to me on order and cross it 'Barnetts & Co'").<sup>28</sup>

Summing up Chapman matters for Fanny Wedgwood later in April, Martineau grumbled: "No, - we were not surprised about Lord Stanley and the 'Westminster' . . . I wish that account was closed. Sir Jas Brooke writes me that it *shall* be."

On another topic, if Fanny had read "the peace leaders" in the *Daily News*, she would see Martineau's opinion of the danger of war with France over Rossini (would-be regicide of Napoleon III) and his accused English accomplice, Dr. Simon Bernard. She herself, after "5 weeks' almost total deafness, and failure of sight, and of everything depending on head condition," seemed to be "clearing a little." No degree of mere weakness would ever prevent her seeing Fanny, however, who must tell Erasmus that despite Buckle's "inconsistencies, serious disproportions &c," the book had been "an immense treat" - especially his readings of Burke and Voltaire, although she doubted his "reading of Sir Tho<sup>s</sup> Browne, rather."<sup>29</sup>

(After Martineau asked Grote on 20 April to receive the money from contributors to liquidate her mortgage, Chapman stalled. Supplying her with tidbits of *Westminster* business he apologized for his "meagre scraps" in answer to her "numerous interesting letters." To add the title of "surgeon" to his name, he had been studying six or seven hours a day and spending two in surgery, besides editing the *Westminster*. He also warned mysteriously that Courtauld and Smith might take possession of the journal. Then he switched to praise of her article on travel, though possibly having to shorten one or two of her quotes).<sup>30</sup>

Realizing Chapman was about to lose control of the *Westminster*, Martineau was furious. "The money has been subscribed *to pay off this particular mortgage of the Review to me*," she raged. She had surrendered £50, got aid from the Ewatts, Darwin, Heymann, the George Martineaus and Atkinson (?), while Stanley's cheque had been "conspicuously devoted" to the same end. Her condition admitted of no delay, the money was needed for a "special investment" to be handled that week by Richard Martineau. Now, after two days of severe neuralgic pain, she would not write more (on 10 June, however, she dashed off a note to Lord Stanley thanking him for his kindness in enabling her "to discharge a duty to a young relative" - i.e., to buy railway shares for Maria).<sup>31</sup>

Now Chapman admitted that the money held by Grote to pay off her mortgage was liable to seizure by *another* creditor - though he promised to continue to pay interest on her money until the mortgage was redeemed. In shock, Martineau fired back that these plans for releasing the *Westminster* were so new "& so entirely unlike what we (here) understood, & what, I am sorry to say, I have reported to all the friends who have assisted on my side, that I am perplexed & confounded."

Hippisley, she knew from only that morning's post, had offered money "for quite another object" than paying off the mortgage, and the same with Stanley. "Of course I never thought of such a thing as your keeping the cheques as *money*; or holding them back at all" (in addition to borrowing widely and withdrawing money to live on, Chapman had failed to keep the *Westminster* accounts separate from those of his publishing business). Martineau later wrote angrily to Grote that Chapman, sitting at "this table" a year ago, told her his publishing business was yielding money he did not draw on. Now he had lost her esteem (technically, Chapman may have been telling the truth and drawing *borrowed* money to live on).

Grote, trying to be objective, advised Martineau that Chapman did not *have* to tell her he was borrowing from others; she could in fact offer to pay off her friends. Now Martineau's deeper concerns surfaced: she was sorry she had failed to make Grote see that when she was paid off, the *Westminster* would become the property of Chapman's creditors and *could*, she implied, fall into James's hands. Grote answered gently that he had seen a new point in her character and was glad of the precautions she had taken with her autobiography.

Chapman, undaunted, continued to tender longer and longer explanations-of-explanations (of seven up to thirteen closely-written pages) and sent a cheque for her article on church rates, noting twenty pages = £12.10.0, less the cost of the cyclopedia, £1.12.6, while he confessed to "great wretchedness" at breaking with her. Chapman's last ploy making no impression, he accused Martineau of failing him because he was a "poor man" - which she stoutly denied. On 29 July, he finally lashed out "I try to think that your physical sufferings impair the justness of your feelings and the clearness of your judgment." At that, Maria, whom Chapman had always called solicitously "Miss Maria," jumped in. His insult to her aunt's reason called for a rebuke, and she would not let her aunt write again.

Martineau, however, could not resist reading Chapman a moral lesson while having the last word: he had *misled* her and amidst his complaints of ill-usage "I think it must occur to you that ordinary plain dealing . . . would have rendered these troubles impossible."<sup>32</sup>

In the *Daily News*, Martineau had turned from the leaders on church rates to her long-time commitment to the fight against slavery. In "A Contrast: Russian Serf-Emancipation, and American Slave Policy: Tourgueneff and Everett" on 2 June, she deployed a favourite rhetorical device: balanced biography praising the exiled Russian reformer Tourgueneff and censuring Edward Everett. Currently under attack by radical abolitionists, Everett was touring the South with patriotic orations on the life of Washington (nominally to raise funds for preserving Mt. Vernon but seeking to defuse the South's growing anger against the North). More importantly in the *Daily News*, Martineau stepped up her exposure of the continuing slave trade under the protection of the French emperor and disguised as the transport of West Africans as "workers" to West Indian colonies.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Martineau to HM, October 1857, BUL 639 (Martineau's investment in the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway was to cause severe anxiety).

<sup>2</sup> For Martineau's leaders on India and the mutiny, see *DN*, 28 July, 1, 10, 27 August, 5 and 12 September 1857 (Appen., *HN/DN*); George Smith to HM, 15, 17, 18 September, 27, 30 October, 6, 9 and 21 November 1857, BUL 792, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799 and 802; *British Rule in India: A Historical Sketch* (London: Smith, Elder, 1857), rptd. Logan, *The Pickering Masters* 5; George Smith to Maria, 12 November 1857, BUL 800.

<sup>3</sup> HM to George Smith, 16 September and 29 October 1857, *CL* 4: 41-42 and 44; George Smith to HM, 6 February 1858, BUL 805.

<sup>4</sup> Gaskell later wrote to Maria to explain Martineau's mistake about papers shown her by Arthur Nicholls, then informing Smith: "Do you know that Miss Martineau and Mr. Nicholls have been having a warlike correspondence?" (Elizabeth Gaskell to Maria Martineau, Sunday [22 November 1857], Wednesday and 24 November [1857], and Gaskell to George Smith, 26 November [1857], Chapple and Pollard, *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell* 482, 483-84); see Patrick Brontë to HM, 5 and 11 November 1857, BUL 90 and 96; HM to Patrick Brontë, 5 and 13

November 1857, *CL* 4: 46-47 and 50-51; Arthur Nicholls to HM, 6, 9, 11 and 14 November 1857, BUL 91, 93, 95 and 100; HM to Arthur Nicholls, 10, 13 and 15 November 1857 and n.d. [November 1857], *CL* 4: 48-49, 49-50, 51-52 and 56-57; George Smith to HM, 21 November 1857, BUL 802; in the *Westminster*, Chapman confined Martineau's comments on the second edition of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* to two pages under "History, Biography, Voyages and Travels," *WR* 68 o.s. and 12 n.s. (July 1857): 294-96; *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. Third edition, revised and corrected (London: Smith, Elder, 1857).

<sup>5</sup> HM to Graves, Friday [6 November], November, 23 and 27 November [1857], *CL* 4: 47-48, 52-53, 55 and 56; Nicholls pointed out that in writing to Gaskell, Martineau had misquoted herself on *Villette*.

<sup>6</sup> George Smith to HM, 9 December 1857, BUL 804; in June 1858, Smith offered to look out for the stereotype plates of *Forest and Game Law Tales* (on which Moxon lost money) from either Moxon or Sharpe and to put them in his firm's warehouse; he reported that of 1,500 copies of *Suggestions Towards the Future Government of India* (London: Smith, Elder; Bombay: Smith, Taylor, 1858) in two printings, 557 copies had been sold to date (rptd. Logan, *The Pickering Masters* 5) and see Logan, "The East India Company Question," *The Pickering Masters* 5; George Smith to HM, 26 June 1858, BUL 806; for Haileybury, see Appen., *HM/DN*; HM to Sumner, 5 November 1857, *CL* 4: 46.

<sup>7</sup> HM to Chapman, 18 October and 4 November 1857, Bod Lib MS Eng. lett. d. 2. ff. 202-203 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 42-43) and *CL* 4: 44-45; H. C. Wright, *Marriage & Parentage: or, the Reproductive Element in Man, as a Means to his Elevation and Happiness* [explaining reproduction, childcare and marital relations] (Boston [MA]: Bela Marsh, 1854); Chapman passed his examination to become "Licentiate" before the Royal College of Physicians in 1857; *British Rule in India: A Historical Sketch* (London: Smith, Elder, 1857) [describing India's terrain and giving a synopsis of its history; Europeans were needed to govern India, Martineau avowed, but must understand Indian culture]; Chapman to HM, 31 October 1857, BUL 215.

<sup>8</sup> HM to Chapman, [? October 1857 (frag.)], *HM/FL* 238-39 (for Froude's history, see chap. 41); James Anthony Froude, "The Four Empires," *WR* 68 o.s. and 12 n.s. (October 1857): 415-40; Martineau may have learned that Froude was responsible for the scathing review in *Fraser's* in 1851, "Materialism: Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson"; HM to Chapman, 3 November 1857, *CL* 4: 44-45; Martineau was to continue full time as a journalist for eight years; "*Histoire de la Revolution Française*. Par M. Luis Blanc. *History of the French Revolution*. By M. Louis Blanc. Ninth Volume. Paris, 1857," *DN*, 18 November 1857: 2, cols. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> HM to Chapman, 3 December 1857, *CL* 4: 57-58; "Spirits and Spirit-Rapping," *WR* 69 o.s. and 13 n.s. (January 1858): 29-66.

<sup>10</sup> George Combe, *On Teaching Physiology in Common Schools* (Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, 1857); HM to George Combe, 23 November 1857, NLS MS 7366, ff. 52-55 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 53-55); Martineau had thanked little Spring Brown in October for a cambric handkerchief, "nicely hemmed," which she would fold inside her "woolwork" to protect it: HM to Isabella Spring Brown, 22 October 1857, *CL* 4: 43-44.

<sup>11</sup> HM to George Combe, 5, 11 [14?] and 29 December 1857, NLS MS 7366, ff. 56-59, 60-61 and 62-63 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 58-60, 60 and 63); Combe to HM, 13 December 1857 [copy, incomplete], NLS MS 7393, ff. 482-81 (even Martineau's *poorly* translated books were esteemed in Germany).

<sup>12</sup> HM to Holyoake, 27 [or 28] December 1857, CL 4: 62-63; *Suggestions Towards the Future Government of India* stated British aims such as securing raw materials and a market for British products as well as ruling India for the Indians through non-political, middle-class reform governments that took the East India Company as guide; for praise of Martineau's work on India, see "Positive Philosophy on the Indian Question" (on *British Rule in India*), SR, 2 January 1858: 15-16; for Martineau's *Daily News* leaders on the East India Company (Land, Taxation, Justice, Treatment of Criminals, Public Works, Education, Welfare of Natives), 19, 22 and 26 February and 3, 8, 13 and 26 March 1858, see Appen., HM/DN; Martineau probably meant Joseph Mazzini's *To Louis Napoleon* (London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, [March] 1858) - or perhaps *People's Edition! To Louis Napoleon* (Mazzini's new pamphlet of the same date attacking the policy and conduct of Napoleon III).

<sup>13</sup> HM to Sarah, 20 December 1857 and 18 January 1858, BUL Add. 67 and 68 (partly pbd. CL 4: 61-62 and 66-67); David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa; including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa . . .* (London: John Murray, 1857); Samuel Smiles, *The Life of George Stephenson, Railway Engineer* (London: 1857); Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's School Days. By an Old Boy* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1857).

<sup>14</sup> "Scribble Diaries (1858)," BPL; Matthew Arnold, *Merope. A Tragedy* (London: Longman, 1858) was meant to demonstrate a classical ideal; HM to Chapman, (4 April 1858), CL 4: 78-79; in "Contemporary Literature. Belles Lettres and Art," WR, 69 o.s., 13 n.s. [January 1858]: 623-25, George Meredith faulted both the plot and the poetry of Arnold's poem; Samuel Brown, *Lectures on the Atomic Theory and Essays Scientific and Literary* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1858).

<sup>15</sup> "Review of the Year," DN, 31 December 1857: 5, cols. 1-6 - 6, col. 1 (and see Appen., HM/DN); "The Late Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort [hydrographer for the Admiralty 1829-1855]," DN, 15 January 1858: 5, cols. 5-6 - 6, cols. 1-2 (see note 19); in the preface to *Suggestions towards the Future Government of India*, dated 23 January 1858, Martineau recommended caution towards a "ministerial scheme which complicates with its old Tory view a revolutionary tendency" (vi); for Palmerston and the memorandum of the East India Company on land, taxation, justice, treatment of criminals, public works, education and welfare of natives, see Appen., HM/DN; "Literature. *The Westminster Review*. No. XXV. Jan., 1858. Chapman" and "Literature." *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*. April 1, 1858: DN 4 January 1858: 2, cols. 1-3 and 9 April 1858: 2, cols. 1-3; "Literature. *The Views and Opinions of Brigadier-General John Jacob, C. B. etc., etc.* Collected and edited by Captain Lewis Pelly. London, 1858": DN, 3 April 1858: 2, cols. 1-4.

<sup>16</sup> HM to FW [including a note for Darwin], 3 January [1858]; HM to ED, 10 and 17 January 1858: HM/FW 156, 156-60 and 160-61; the other gentleman was possibly J.H. Hippisley (see Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* [diary entries for 2 and 6 February and 2 April 1860] 232, 233 and 240); Crowe may earlier have suffered a breakdown; Henry Thomas Buckle, *The History of Civilization in England* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1857), vol. 1.

<sup>17</sup> HM to Chapman, 8 January 1858, CL 4: 64-65; Chapman to HM, 8 March 1857, BUL 216.

<sup>18</sup> HM to Milnes, 17 January 1858, CL 4: 65-6620; HM to Sarah, 18 January [1858], CL 4: 65-66; "Scribble Diaries (1858)," BPL (Brooke had returned from Sarawak in May 1857 in hopes the government would annex Sarawak or make it a protectorate, as recommended by Martineau (see chaps. 38 and 41 and DN, 27 January 1858 [Appen., HM/DN])).

<sup>19</sup> HM to Emily and Rosa Beaufort, 19 January 1858, *CL*, 4: 67-69; for Maconochie, see chap. 18; in her *Daily News* obituary of Beaufort (rptd. *Notice of Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, K. C. B.* . . . [London: J. D. Potter, 1858] and *BS* 213-30), Martineau lauded Beaufort's naval, scientific and engineering achievements but censured the Whig government for failing to support his last projects; Maria Martineau to (Emily Anne) Beaufort (later Smythe, Viscountess Strangford), 2 February 1858, *CL* 5: 356.

<sup>20</sup> HM to [William] Chambers, 19 January 1858, NLS MS Dep. 341/87, no. 39 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 70-71); Knight's *History* came out to subscribers in "numbers:" see *Auto.* 3: 336-37; *Household Education* (London: Smith, Elder, 1861): for Helen Brown, see above.

<sup>21</sup> [William and Robert] Chambers to HM, 21 and 26 January, 1, 3 and 10 February 1858, *BUL* 181, 183, 184, 186 and 188; HM to [Mess<sup>rs</sup>] Chambers, 22 and 29 January, 2 and 4 Feb 1858, *CL* 4: 71-73, 73-74, 74 and 74-75; (for Martineau's objection to the early portion by Craik and MacFarlane, see chap. 38); *The Pictorial History of England. A New and Improved Issue. Extended to the Commencement of the Russian War. A.D. 1854.* (London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1855 [Prospectus . . . Re-issue, commencing 4 November 1854]; Constantine Henry Phipps, (Marques of Normandy), *A Year of Revolution. From a Journal Kept in Paris in 1848* (London: Longman, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1857); Louis Blanc, *1848. Historical Revelations inscribed to Lord Normandy* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858); for Maria Chapman's account of the writing and purchase of *History of the Peace* by Robert Chambers and for publication in Boston, Massachusetts, see *Auto.* 3: 334-37: *History of the Peace: being a History of England from 1816 to 1854. With an Introduction 1800 to 1815* (Boston: Walker and Wise, 1864-66).

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Martineau to HM, 1[6] February 1858, *BUL* 677; HM to Carlisle, 18 [26?] February 1858, *CL* 4: 75 (Carlisle lost the lord lieutenancy in February 1858 but was reappointed in June 1859); Martineau's sarcastic reference probably refers to the new lord lieutenant of Ireland (for the wrongness of introducing English game laws into Ireland, see *DN*, 31 May 1858 [Appen. *HM/DN*]).

<sup>23</sup> *DN*, 23 March 1858 (Appen., *HM/DN*); Truelove's pamphlet targeted Napoleon III: see "Truelove Defence Fund," *The Investigator: A Journal of Secularism*, 5 (1 April 1858): 11-12 [plus other articles]; Edward Truelove [and Tcherwiske] were to be tried for seditious libel in the court of the Queen's Bench ("The 'Press Persecutions,'" *The Times*, 10 June 1858: 9, col. 2); for Martineau's subscription to Truelove's defense fund, see Maria Martineau to Holyoake, 2 April [1858], *BL* Add. 42,726, ff. 19-20.

<sup>24</sup> "Scribble Diaries (1858)," *BPL*; HM to FW, 22 April 1858, *HM/FW* 161-65 (John Crosfield of the "well-known firm of Liverpool merchants").

<sup>25</sup> *DN*, 26, 27 April, 3, 7, 22 May and 8 June 1858 (Appen., *HM/DN*) and see, for example, "Miss Harriet Martineau Summoned for a Church Rate," *Morning Chronicle*, 27 April 1858: 6, col. 5; Martineau's account on 27 April of her own case was reprinted in the *Westmorland Gazette*, 1 May 1858; "The Last Days of Church-rates," *WR*, 70 o.s., 14 n.s. (July 1858): 30-52.

<sup>26</sup> See Appen., *HM/DN*; "China: Past and Present," *WR* 69 o.s. and 13 n.s. (April 1858): 370-401.

<sup>27</sup> HM to George Grote, 2 April 1858, *CL* 4: 77 (when Martineau loaned Chapman £500 on the security of the *Westminster* in April 1854, Courtauld bought off his largest creditor and Martineau was to be repaid in spring 1857: HM, statement on the *Westminster Review*, [June 1858], *CL* 4: 89-91); HM to Chapman, 2 April 1858 and Sunday [4 April 1858], *CL* 4: 76 and 78-

79; George Grote to HM, 3 April, 3, 29 May, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 22, 24 and 26 June 1858, BUL 386, 387, 391, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 401, 403 and 404; HM to George Grote, 20 April 1858, BL Add. MS 46691, 19-20 (with a note by Chapman saying that contributions by Stanley [£50 and £50] and Hippisley [£150] were not given “contingently on the whole sum of £500 being raised, but absolutely”; see “Literature. The Views and Opinions of Brigadier-General John Jacob, C.B., & &,. Collected and edited by Captain Lewis Pelly. London. 1858.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Martineau to HM, 9 and 14 April 1858, BUL 640 and 641.

<sup>29</sup> HM to FW, 22 April 1858, *HM/FW* 161-65 (to help him retain control of the *Westminster* Stanley had loaned Chapman £50); *DN*, 19, 30 March and 6 April 1858 (Martineau expressed sympathy for the *people* of France kept ignorant by the emperor: see Appen., *HM/DN*); Buckle’s *History of Civilization in England* ended with the close of the eighteenth century.

<sup>30</sup> Chapman to HM, 7, 26 and 30 May 1858, BUL 219, 220 and 221 (the Council of the College of Surgeons admitted Chapman to examination without having attended lectures); “Travel during the Last Half Century,” *WR* 70 o.s. and 14 n.s. (October 1858): 426-65 (review of Hakluyt and *The English Cyclopaedia. A new Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Geography*, 4 vols. Conducted by Charles Knight [London: Bradbury and Evans, 1855] noted recent explorations in the East and Far East, with Siberia and Central America yet to explore).

<sup>31</sup> HM to John Chapman, 1 June 1858, *CL* 4: 80-81 (Martineau agreed to accept £450 instead of £500); HM to George Grote, 1 June 1858 [formal statement on the *Westminster* mortgage, with a note by Grote that he had paid Richard Martineau £455 and had written and given Chapman a discharge on his bond], Armitt Library MS 366.1 (partly pbd., *CL* 4: 80); HM to George Grote, 5, 9 and 10 June 1858, *CL* 4: 83-84, 85 and 86-87; HM to [Lord Stanley], 10 June 1858, *CL* 4: 85 [and see HM to Chapman, 12 June 1858, *CL* 4: 88].

<sup>32</sup> Chapman to HM, 2, 4, 11, 27 June, 2, 3, 8 and 12 July 1858, BUL 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 231 and 232; HM to Chapman, 1, 3, 5 June, 4, 16, 29 July and 6 August 1858, *CL* 4: 80-81, 81-83, 83, 105-107, 110-12, 112-13 and 115-16; Maria Martineau to Chapman, 31 July 1858, *CL* 5: 357 (for a summary of Chapman’s affairs and Martineau’s mortgage on the *Westminster*, see Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman*, Appen. J, 271-73); (in November 1858, Chapman was to secure Lord Edward Geoffrey Stanley [later 14th Earl of Derby] as patron of the *Westminster*, and Stanley advanced £600 to pay off Courtauld’s initial loan [see Haight, 102-30]); HM to George Grote, 20 April and 1, 5, 9, 10, 18 and 23 June 1858, BL Add. 46691, 19-20 and *CL* 4: 80, 83-84, 85, 86-87, 88-89 and 92-96; George Grote to HM, 22, 24 and 26 June 1858, BUL 401, 403 and 404; for her account of the *Westminster* imbroglia see “HM’s Statement,” [June 1858?], *CL* 4: 89-91.

<sup>33</sup> “A Contrast: Russian Serf-Emancipation, and American Slave-Policy: Tourgueneff and Everett,” *DN*, 4 June 1858: 4, col. 6 - 5, col.1 (rptd., *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 26 June 1858: 2, cols. 1-2; and *HM/DN* 271-78; for Martineau’s encounters with Everett in America, see chaps. 10 and 13; for the slave trade, see *DN*, 4, 10, 11, 18, 22, 26, 29 June, 20 and 29 July 1858 (Appen., *HM/DN*).