

## Chapter 44

### Leaving the *Westminster* for the *Edinburgh Review* (1858-1859)

Part of Martineau's frustration and anger at Chapman's deception surely came from the threatened loss, after seven years, of a valuable platform for her ideas, as *well* as from Chapman's generous payments to his *Westminster* contributors. Writing a *Daily News* leader on the anniversary of the Queen's accession led Martineau to think of her young second cousin Henry Reeve (now editor of the *Edinburgh Review*) who had once given her a keepsake book on the coronation. Within a few days she had written to Reeve, a bit disingenuously, that she had filled her "full share of space in the quarterly which is my usual resort" and so had not mentioned to its editor a timely topic suggested by a friend. "You observe that the 'Edinburgh' is my first thought: but there is no reason why it should be the last," she added rather coyly. Moreover, though her health made all engagements a risk, "I do . . . write a great deal, & with higher success than in my earlier days."

Reeve replied on the spot, and Martineau proposed an article on French-invasion scares historically treated, as suggested by her friend James Rawlins, "the great paper-manufacturer in Wales." Outlining the subject's relevance, she noted authorities and colorful anecdotes she might use. What was his optimum length? How soon would an article be needed? Did his publishers supply books? She felt Reeve *must* agree with her on "American, & especially Anti-slavery subjects," and she wished to point out some "mischievous misstatements in the *Edinburgh* . . . attributed to Hurlbut," of whose antecedents Reeve evidently was not aware.<sup>1</sup>

Next, gossiping to Henry Bright in Liverpool about Dickens's separation from his wife, Martineau enclosed her *Daily News* article of 18 June on the new *London Cotton Plant*, a pro-Colonization Society periodical she might have a "go" at again. Rejoicing that Bright was "employed on that ship-cruelty topic," she asked: if Samuel Whitbread (MP for Liverpool) brought up the subject in Parliament she would like more facts. Sumner had written from Paris, she added, "undergoing surgical treatment (moxa over the spine) - still in hopes of recovery."<sup>2</sup>

Reeve suggested an *alternative* topic for Martineau to address in the *Edinburgh*: a revival of the slave trade from the west coast of Africa. As a practiced journalist, Martineau soon sent off a "schema" proposing a chronological account of slave trading including the American Constitutional prohibition of the trade and the "cotton-manufacture induced slave-breeding" to the recent "retrogression" in the former. If "you saw 'Daily News' yesterday," she ended, "you would trace Sumner & me in the 'Leader' about Cuba." In another letter to Reeve, Martineau noted that American friends resident in Paris could tell her even more when they came to England, their letters having been restricted "by post-office tricks." As Reeve must be aware, Louis Napoleon (responsible for post-office spying) was in fact "very & increasingly ill.." As for the 'Disguised French slave-trade,' 'I am your man.'" For the past "twelvemonth," she had written about it in the *Daily News* and now had "scent of a new trick . . . that the Liberia shipments [were] a slave-trade between the American planters & the French." She would restate the involvement of Liberia noted in her "'Manifest Destiny' of the American Union," giving "a sketch of the origin & history of that settlement, in connexion with the *Regina Coeli* affair." Sumner had entreated her to "bring forward . . . the real results of emancipation in the W.I. Colonies," but she thought readers of the *Daily News* must be weary of hearing of the

sufficiency of the "indigenous labour" (former slaves) in those islands. Next week's *Spectator* was to print her article on "the Southern Convention," though nobody at present knew she had entered its American department "since Mr Rintoul's relinquishment of the paper."<sup>3</sup> Her "materials" for the *Edinburgh* article would include that

absurd Planters' paper "The London Cotton Plant," . . . all the recent evidence on the French importation . . . in the way of pamphlets & the Anti-Slavery Society's reports . . . Bigelow's "Jamaica" . . . Olmsted's [and] Stirling's [books].

From Manchester she could get "M<sup>r</sup> Clegg's circulars, &c about the trade of the west coast of Africa."<sup>4</sup> She needed one or two others and promised to deliver the "M.S." before time. About Hurlbut, a "South Carolinian by birth," she would tell Reeve what she remembered: he sympathized alternately with planters and abolitionists, as suited his purposes - "those of a swindling adventurer." He had "wooed & won" the niece of her American friend Loring, taken his ideas from her family and friends for nine years until she broke off the engagement, and had borrowed and failed to return books. His last articles on the United States in the *Edinburgh* and *The Times* indicated "a most impudent reliance on English ignorance."

Having sent Reeve Bigelow's book to pass along, she was *pleased* to hear about Olmsted, who she hoped would go to the West Indies. "How odd it is to talk now with literary (merely literary) Americans!" she exclaimed. "Here was M<sup>r</sup> Sparks (the illustrious Jared) informing me yesterday evening that there was a great difficulty in their country, - Slavery . . . His account of the Liberia transaction [being] curious, - contradicting French, English, African & American all round," and showing the "political ignorance & uselessness of the most cultivated men." Such men were no help, but she would welcome the aid of the Portuguese ambassador and would look again at Livingstone's book.<sup>5</sup>

Martineau's obituary on 3 July of Jane Marcet, who had introduced her to "political economy," expressed gratitude to Marcet for helping to advance progress in society. Then after Maria Chapman sent Lydia Maria Child's "tribute" to Ellis Gray Loring" (Martineau's former admirer), Martineau wrote movingly to Loring's wife.<sup>6</sup>

In early July, Martineau expressed "no small pleasure" in Sarah and George Martineau's son David and his new wife (also Sarah) when they called at The Knoll. Where did Sarah think they were today? On their way "from Scale Hill to Keswick in the morning; & at Keswick all the rest of the day." How happy they were! They were expected "tomorrow evening for tea, on their return by way of Patterdale." Sarah's welcome supply of arrowroot had not yet come but would be "a very great comfort" to Martineau and her neighbours, the "old people & children for whom it is so valuable in sickness." Determined for Maria's sake not to "sink into selfish habits for want of effort, she had lately "5 times tried sitting out for a little while." Though "neuralgic pain, or loss of breath, or nausea" always followed, she *would* try again.<sup>7</sup>

Contradicting a correspondent of Reeve's, Martineau insisted "there will be "no extension of slavery in, or from 'Texas.'" She was holding back her *Edinburgh* article for as long as she dared "in the hope of more particulars from America." Formerly she could leave an article open to the last week but "in prudence" she now needed a month. Any word Reeve might obtain from the Foreign Office on the government's position in regard to the *Regina Coeli* affair "could come in quite properly near the end." If he was to be away from home "about the 1<sup>st</sup> of September," she must know where to send the manuscript for "I never in my life wrote more than one copy of anything (for press) & the tax is - the anxiety till I hear of safe arrival."

Summer was her season “for friends & fatigue” including ““prodigious” Americans. “M<sup>rs</sup> Wedgwood and Eras: Darwin,” who knew “so much & so wisely!” were “benevolently coming next week.” Last week, a “raw Yankee” named Goodwin had called to leave her his poems, “satisfy himself about poor C. Brontë” and ask about ear-trumpets for his wife.

Martineau felt “a strange sensation” at Reeve’s supposing she “might be absent” when he agreed to come to Ambleside. Other callers were to be a *Daily News* “official,” then “Rajah Brooke & Mr Templer.” If Reeve made Ambleside his “headquarters [for] two or three nights,” seeing the valleys in the mornings and coming to her in the evenings,” he could read her article “except the conclusion” and take it with him.<sup>8</sup>

Chatting with Fanny Wedgwood “in regard to old friends and . . . interests,” Martineau noted that by 27 August she had had “8 articles . . . in the 9 last ‘D. News’es,” as well as one in the *Spectator*, and had just finished “the writing part of the long [*Edinburgh*] article,” which would take “two mornings to look over and finish up.” Bessie Parkes was coming that evening for the night; Isabella Rankin and her party, “a trio of strangers,” were to arrive “for a week next Tuesday,” probably to stay at Bowness. Martineau's "great surprise" had been seeing Fanny's brother, but "O dear! how old we all grow! He is handsome still, - but to think of him the elderly man!" Snow's "secret," the publication of a novel, had been casually mentioned by Robert, and Martineau vowed that she and Maria had not revealed the authorship. "The stereoscope came all safe," she added, and that morning had come "sardines and bonbons." How good and thoughtful Fanny was!<sup>9</sup>

Martineau's obituary of George Combe in the *Daily News* of 18 August offered fulsome praise for his *Constitution of Man* but condemned his later "reticence and apparent conformity" to established notions. Combe had accepted phrenology as a practical doctrine, after attending lectures by Spurtzheim, but had failed to “understand the very terms of true science.” On moral questions his voice was merely coaxing and patronizing, though he became "the agent, if not the author, of a great revolution in popular views."<sup>10</sup>

Rooms for Reeve at the Salutation for early September were bespoken, Martineau reported, though she feared the quarters might be “too bustling for comfort.” Until “next Wednesday,” the “D. de Nemours & his Orleans nephew” would be staying, and the hotel people would insist on instructing Reeve as to who these French princes were: “sons of Louis Napoleon, & who ought to be on the throne.” Reeve, she continued with amusement, would find it “a characteristic of this District that we know all about every thing, & are benevolently disposed to teach all the world.” Would he like to go to Fox How? Or to see Wordsworth’s “pretty garden & terrace where ‘the Excursion’ was meditated?” Fulcher would look out for him at the coach and Reeve could hear “broad Norfolk again,” Edward Baring having “laughed for half an hour at the breadth of it.”<sup>11</sup>

Next Martineau explained to Philip Carpenter that she could not do anything about "the H.W.C. pamphlet" he had sent in August, nor “ask for anything to be done, in ‘D. News.’” He should send a copy “so as certainly & privately to reach the Editor’s hand;” Weir was “a good & happy family man” who had “studied these social questions” (birth control?).

She would *welcome* a visit from Carpenter, though just now “over-powered [by] a vast press of work,” thanks to “vile Presidents & Emperors” (i.e., Pres. Buchanan and Napoleon III), *just* when tourists rendered quiet “next to impossible.” The 20th or 27th of September, when the rush of visitors should be over, would suit her best. Maria’s mother was coming on the 8th

“for a fortnight or more,” so he would be consigned to “the little north room.” Following her mother’s visit, Maria would go to the “Social Science” meeting at Liverpool and Catherine Turner would come.<sup>12</sup>

After Reeve returned to London, Martineau received “two N<sup>os</sup> of the Edinburgh . . . & also the Russian articles.” She liked “The License of Modern Novelists” (on Dickens, Charles Reade and Gaskell’s biography of Charlotte Brontë) and so far, the one on Froude, where she hoped to find a “rebuke of his audacious egotism, - his writing of his own feelings perpetually, in a History!” On another topic, she and Maria thought they could lay hands on “Tourgueneff’s letter to Mrs Chapman” to get his Paris address, but she needed “some months for collecting scattered notes” (Reeve had evidently proposed an article on Russia). “M<sup>r</sup> Madge,” she smiled, “is duly fierce about the [bad] weather; & nobody here has seen the comet yet.”<sup>13</sup>

To Martineau's surprise, Reeve complained that her first article for the *Edinburgh* was too long. She had “never before reduced anything” and feared the “story” would not be clear. Moreover, her head was “in bad order” and her heart heavy: William Weir, “loved and honoured” by the whole *Daily News* corps, was “dying, - probably dead.”

Despite the loss of Weir, on the following Monday Martineau apologized for not returning “the Revise” immediately. It was too big for “the Ambleside post office slit; & nothing can go on Sunday through any other passage.” Instead of materially shortening the article, however, she had *added* two or three details. She *forgave* him for misreading names, as “Brougham’s hand [was] awful.” Yet Reeve was too kind about the alterations in her proof. “You w<sup>d</sup> not make a good school-master if you pay comp<sup>ts</sup> to truants instead of whipping them,” she teased. At Ambleside, Madge had apparently seen her *Daily News* leader of 7 September on labour problems in Jamaica. He “came in yesterday,” she snorted, full of two things; - the idleness of the Jamaica negroes; & his sympathizing advice to us of “Daily News,” - what to do in the excessive difficulty about an editor . . . advising the proprietors “to get somebody from the Times.” Just as he w<sup>d</sup> talk of getting a waiter for a dinner party[!]

Last evening, “after the splendid comet was gone down . . . mock moons & two pairs of horns” appeared in the sky (Martineau drew a rough diagram of the phenomenon).

As outlined earlier for Reeve, “The Slave Trade in 1858” opened with a new crisis in the antislavery struggle. *The London Cotton Plant: a Journal of Tropical Civilization* (nominally under review) was encouraging British complacency over American slavery while the United States, Spain, France and even Liberia were guilty of a new abuse: gangs of “labourers” were being transported across the Atlantic with the connivance of the Liberian president - confirmed by the incident of the ship *Regina Coeli* the previous June.<sup>14</sup>

With your note, Martineau told Reeve on 26 September, “came a letter from the new Editor of ‘D. News,’ M<sup>r</sup> Walker, late sub-editor, & on the staff for ten years” whom she vowed to help if they could arrive at “such an understanding as arose between his two predecessors & myself.” About her slave-trade article, the French Emperor’s “mischief” was exasperating, but she had a *new* wrong to address: “When I mentioned . . . the ‘Endowed Schools (Irish) Report,’ you said the Irish don’t read the Edinburgh, & Irish subjects don’t interest your public much.” In a great development of the topic, however, the “prospects of Middle-class education in Ireland, - now woefully declining, between the National schools & the upper Colleges,” depended on whether “the Commissioners” were listened to or whether Derby defied them.

From her neighbour Graves she knew of a principal villain in the case, Stephens, “brother of the Commis<sup>r</sup>” (Graves having spent two hours with her last evening). Her *Daily News* pieces on the Report were ending that week, and she had agreed to write to “Smith & Elder, to L<sup>d</sup> Carlisle &c,” about getting them reprinted “in time for M.Ps to read & get interested before the debate comes on.” Yet a short exposure in the *Edinburgh* “w<sup>d</sup> avail more in opening L<sup>d</sup> Derby’s eyes, & interesting M.Ps in their duty than any other method.” Stephens wanted “to sweep into the net of High Church all possible schools, & for that purpose he misquotes wills, twists his colleagues’ statements, alters facts, & insults everybody.” The scoundrel had been blackballed at the Athenaeum by more than “any other man yet,” she added venomously. She could, she believed, “do the thing in five-&-twenty Edinburgh pp.”<sup>15</sup>

To Carlisle, Martineau explained that she had been induced to write about the Irish endowed schools after reading the report lent by Graves. Stephens’s exposure “for gross literary dishonesty” had happened years ago, but he must not be allowed to run “Middle-class Education in Ireland.” A pamphlet of her articles had been proposed, however the public would not pay (and she could not), £30 being needed. If Carlisle did not help, she still thought it could be done. Three days later, Martineau received £10 from Carlisle and promised that his name would not be mentioned - but she would like “the great benefit of some conversation” with him any day. Though usually exhausted from 3:00 to 6:00, she could alter plans at a day’s notice. If there was time, she wanted him to see “Dr. Arnold’s house, & the portrait, & his family.”

On New Year’s day, Martineau described for Carlisle the surrounding mountain ranges “in their richest winter hues,” the morning “veiled & shadowy.” The evening before, Mary Wordsworth had not been expected to survive the night - “in her 90<sup>th</sup> year, bereaved, & totally blind.” Forster was there, his “queer manners” being her only objection. Yet people said he was the best employer in England, having “fed Bradford, at the last famine time.”<sup>16</sup>

Granted permission by the proprietors of *Daily News*, George Smith was to publish Martineau’s leaders on endowed schools of Ireland. On receipt of £30 towards the cost, he offered to put 500 copies at her disposal while reserving 250 for his own sale. Martineau’s neighbour, Graves, should receive a duplicate proof. Furthermore, the pamphlet must be out before Christmas “for Peers & M.P.’s to have the subject complete & fresh in their minds when Parliament meets [for] they read more in the country than in town.” However, the plan must not “get to M<sup>r</sup> Stephens’s ears” till all was ready.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to seven or eight *Daily News* leaders on the slave trade and five articles in the *Spectator* - plus “The Slave Trade in 1858” in the October *Edinburgh* - from late August through October Martineau published twelve leaders on endowed schools of Ireland in the *Daily News* as well as a last article for John Chapman, “Travel during the Last Half-Century,” in the October *Westminster*.<sup>18</sup>

“Incredible as it seems to myself, I am at leisure,” Martineau exulted to Fanny Wedgwood on 25 October. A *new* project had arisen, however, planned with Carlisle when he called on Friday: “a Circular and subscriptions for the American A.S. Band” prompted by her article on the slave trade.<sup>19</sup> Keeping the authorship of her *Edinburgh* article secret had been impossible after Carlisle “asked downright who wrote it, and whether I did!” For the latest call for donations for the abolitionist cause, he promised to ask the help of his sister the Duchess of Sutherland. Martineau and Catherine Turner would ask Richard Webb to print the circular, Martineau paying the cost of the paper, to try “whether we can’t raise some hundreds of

pounds." Carlisle's bedside manner had made them "long to put a mobcap on him," she laughed to Fanny, "and see what a kindly comfortable nurse he would make." Catherine had given her "a double opiate" for the visit, "and broke the time by taking him into the study to lunch: so 2 hours of the quickest possible talk" had done Martineau no harm. Now, though, she was anxious about "the Rajah" (after speaking at Manchester, Brooke had suffered a stroke). When at The Knoll,

he *spontaneously* told Maria and me . . . his views on theological subjects which he declared *and explained* to be the same as mine. . . . But lo! here is the Rajah going from one meeting to another of the Gospel Propagation Soc<sup>y</sup> . . . saying he was sure of X<sup>ty</sup> covering the whole earth because it [was] an oracular revelation.

Brooke's lawyer, Templer, had begged her to trust him, "but are we to trust Rajahs, any more than Jesuit priests, when they say one thing in private, and the opposite in public?" And here was Carlyle, "staring one in the face . . . in the 'Ill: London News'. How very like!" One ought, she supposed, read his "'Fred:,'" but the extracts seemed merely a hash of his old sayings. Arnold called it a dreadful "falling off;" Carlyle's mind was exhausted, she feared.<sup>20</sup>

"L<sup>d</sup> Derby and C<sup>o</sup>," Martineau briefed Fanny on her other current mission, "are preparing a measure for giving almost all the Irish school endowments to the [Anglican] Church Educ<sup>n</sup> Society!" At the moment, her brochure was being examined by "D<sup>r</sup> Graves and Prof<sup>r</sup> Hancock (Sec<sup>y</sup>)" to check for mistakes and prevent an assault by Stephens, since "they don't want to see me 'come to grips with a cuttlefish.'" Gossiping, she noted the "onslaught on Bessie Parkes" in the *National Review* for suggesting that girls should read George Sand, Dryden and Jonson on the "passional influences of women." There was "exquisite retribution in the report that the writer had been refused by Bessie," while Richard Holt Hutton (brother-in-law of Parkes's suitor and one of James's co-editors on the *National Review*) had given an offensive speech at the Ladies' College, Bedford Square. "That whole narrow, insolent, prudish, underbred set of Unitarian pedants, - shallow, conceited and cruel, - are too disagreeable to do much mischief, unless they get into professorships," she sneered. Did Fanny know Alexander Knox of *The Times*? He had called lately, introduced by Templer. What an exposure of Froude in the *Edinburgh*!<sup>21</sup>

Unfolding to Carlisle the state of the American abolitionist cause, Martineau warned that they must be cautious about rousing "the enemy" (British sympathizers with the American South), and that *she* was writing to Webb to try to get "a score or two of printed copies" of the circular to send to "rich & willing people." Carlisle she hoped would show people the two (handwritten?) copies she was enclosing; any money paid into "Baring & C<sup>o</sup>, & notified to known friends of the cause" should be safe. "*M<sup>rs</sup> Stowe*" like her sect and her clique had "long held aloof from the central Association," but now endorsed "this enterprise, heart & soul." Warming to her subject, Martineau urged that "£500 now would go further than "£5000 after the Presidential election." Two further notes to Carlisle within a week reported that Stowe was *in* the movement and that if the rich gave £50 or so they would soon have their reward. For the "Endowed Schools" pamphlet, she had had a "tough job in rediscovering the authority for every statement on which M<sup>r</sup> Stephens might fasten an objection or question," saving busy MPs the trouble of looking for facts in bluebooks "by inserting footnotes throughout." Work made her ill, but she must write an article "on this splendid American news."<sup>22</sup>

Undeterred by having asked her friends and cousins to help with the discredited mortgage on the *Westminster*, Martineau set about soliciting donations for the American abolitionists by means of her circular. "The success of the anti-slavery *cause* . . . in America *now* w<sup>d</sup> do more for human peace, progress, welfare & happiness, than any other thing that c<sup>d</sup> happen," she urged Sarah. By early December she had collected about £250, Sarah being one of the first contributors.<sup>23</sup>

Thanking Carlisle for his "aid in the one cause, & [his] remittance in the other," Martineau forwarded a letter from Maria Chapman that had "amazingly delighted the Arnolds & other friends of mine here." In Paris, "all the best-informed" told the editor of the *Edinburgh* that her article had been the cause of the emperor's (Napoleon III) giving up the slave trade. From Cuba it had been heard that owing to the English will to oppose the slave trade, Cuba would give it up, so the English should speak out everywhere. "Every undulation of the atmospheres is useful, in such a time," she waxed poetic, and may "as Babbage tells us of all sound, be resonant to all eternity."<sup>24</sup>

Pleased with the success of her *Edinburgh* article, Martineau sent Reeve a memo on the reverberations that had followed: only two faults had been found, as pointed out in letters to the *Daily News* and *The Times*. Though Brougham objected to her circular and suggested the *Edinburgh* article might be libelous, *she* knew that "statements & judgments of a reviewer, grounded on published materials are not libel." Moreover, both Brougham and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce were "totally ignorant of the distinction between the Abolitionists & the Free-soil party in the U.S.: & hence their objection to our Circular." A droll thing was that Richard Martineau's son John believed her article to be "by 'his friend Hurlbut,'" who had told him "he was to have an article in the Oct<sup>br</sup> N<sup>o</sup> of the Ed: & 'so it must be his.'"

About the Benson letter in the *Daily News*, she went on to Reeve, the American papers had declared it "simply a question of veracity between the French & Benson," and had called on "the Colonisation Society, & the Amer<sup>ns</sup> in general, to investigate." *That* day she had an article on the subject in the *Daily News* (in fact delayed to the next day). Although headway on an article about serf emancipation in Russia had been too slow for the April number of the *Edinburgh*, Martineau still thought it a *charming* subject. Had Reeve read of "Brougham's announced scheme for Ladies' welfare?" When with her, Reeve had broached the idea of an article on women's employment. For now, she had sent for Charles Loring Brace's book on Scandinavian homes for indigent girls and would mention it in the *Daily News*.<sup>25</sup>

"By the way," she went on, since Reeve had been abroad, the *National Review* had "got into a great scrape" over the review of Parkes's book, the editor having written "to disclaim all intention of personal disrespect to her!" (Martineau repeated her invective on Reeve's new "rivals!") In Paris, Reeve had met Maria Chapman's sisters, the Westons. "O dear! I hope Emma is as beautiful as ever!" Martineau raved. All the sisters had excited "such *practical admiration* . . . I mean of so many opportunities of marrying . . . but they seem not to be disposed."

According to *The Times*, Charles Buxton had "plentiful material about W. Indian labour," while her "two or more articles in the 'Spectator'" about the question had made an impression. If she wrote to Brougham (which she never did, having "sent the Circular with my card only"), she must do so before he went abroad, to emphasize the "non-political character of the A.S. [antislavery] movement in the U.Ss."<sup>26</sup>

Martineau's obituary of Robert Owen in the *Daily News* on 19 November cited his benevolence as well as his "inclination to ordain and rule." His New Lanark establishment proved the economy of association and his infant schools inspired Whig reformers. Thus in spite of errors, she concluded, Owen would be remembered by many with admiration.<sup>27</sup>

Fanny Wedgwood had asked about Brougham's fuss over the *Edinburgh* article, and Martineau scoffed that she fancied "it was a movement of spite and jealousy" because *he* hadn't exposed the new slave trade. To Martineau's surprise she had received a "long, familiar, and very confidential letter" from Brougham, on "private and personal matters in connexion with the Anti-slavery question;" yet she did not "at all agree to the footing of intimate acquaintance which L<sup>d</sup> B. assumes [for it] must not be said hereafter that we were on such terms *after* I had written the autobiography." (To Graves, Martineau claimed she "*never* had any confidence in [Brougham]; & I particularly wish to guard against its ever being said . . . that I was on friendly terms with him").

On the verdict of suicide against young Gerard B. Smith (of Julia Smith's family), Martineau was sceptical, she went on to Fanny. Isabella Rankin had written a "violent, short-sighted, one-sided [and] extremely rash" letter to Martineau [concerning the scandal?]. Just now in the cold weather, Martineau was sending all her household to see frozen Rydal Lake. Mutual friends Anna Jameson and Elisabeth Reid were both unwell, but - by 27 November - Martineau fancied *her* head was "rather better." And "such a nice parcel" had just come: "two copies of the new edition of my History, - from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Chambers."<sup>28</sup>

Martineau was "gratified by [Chambers's] kindness in sending [the work], & by the handsome notice at the beginning." Yet in justice to Knight it was "a mistake to ascribe to him the first Book, with the exception of the Spanish American chapter." Only a small portion was his, and he had marked the parts by Craik and McFarlane in her copy of an old edition.<sup>29</sup>

In the midst of publishing business, Martineau reported to Lucy (Sarah's daughter) on Robert's depression over the loss of his eyesight, her own *head* having been "the chief trouble of late." She overworked "from two or three public questions having become urgent at the same time," but *Endowed Schools of Ireland* was printed and ready and her "Anti-slavery enterprise . . . near its close." In June, she lost "a splendid young cow," and now the "other fine cow, w<sup>h</sup> calved last week," was in danger, "we think from the excessive changes of weather." While the loss was serious, there was "no small attachment to a good cow," everyone at The Knoll being "rather grave on the occasion."<sup>30</sup>

Domestic worries soon took second place to a "certain 'confidential' Report . . . to the War Office" from Florence Nightingale, to use or *burn*. Nightingale feared the report might be used by "Women's missionaries," and she was "brutally indifferent to the wrongs or the rights of my sex." If *she* had not done the work she did, whether a woman or not, she'd have been "burnt alive." A few days later, Nightingale offered "Contribution to the Sanitary History of the Army," an answer to attacks on her scheme for sanitary reform.

Martineau foresaw "painful pleasure" in reading Nightingale's report and would respect her wish for privacy in "any use that I may be able to make of the facts . . . *as facts*." Nightingale's report would greatly benefit anything Martineau wrote for the *Daily News* on the subject - and she would not bring the "Woman's Missionaries" upon her. Yet she sympathized with them, believing that everyone "should *do what they can do in natural course*." Confirming



their new collaboration, Martineau recalled Nightingale's father having done her a small kindness in a theatre pit twenty years ago, Nightingale had sent her a valued envelope case at Tynemouth, and Julia and Hilary formed a tie between them. She would venture to sign herself, with "deepest respect, yours affectionately." Within a few days the indefatigable Nightingale had sent her "'Subsidiary Notes'" which Martineau promised to use at her own discretion. Her editor at *Daily News* desired "above everything" that they prepare their material "& wait till the M.Ps come up for the Session."<sup>31</sup>

Martineau wrote hastily to Philip Carpenter in early December before he sailed for America. The Andrews were "balancing among three offers of situations, all w<sup>h</sup> seem promising." Carpenter, she thought, would have been off by now and she wondered about "poor silly John Mould & his victim [a wife?]." Could Carpenter send her five copies of the "Unwelcome Child?"<sup>32</sup>

"You & M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman have been very good to me about this Edin: Review business," Martineau wrote to Wendell Phillips at the end of December, but the outlook for the antislavery effort was grim. She suspected that Brougham wanted to worry *her*, "for [snobbishly] refusing a pension." The French Emperor would "go on with *his* slave-trade," the "blustering of politicians at Washington . . . & the malignant traitors at Paris" being equally bad.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, Martineau's preface to *Endowed Schools*, dated December 1858, cited a likely government measure *opposed* to the recommendations of a majority of the commissioners appointed to investigate intermediate schools in Ireland, owing to the "bigotry, cupidity, tyranny, and craft of a small section of Irish society" led by Stephens. In the rest of her pamphlet, Martineau summarized the rather dry report of failures, claims and recommendations for Irish schools.<sup>34</sup>

"A Happy New Year!" Martineau wrote to Carlisle on 1 January 1859. "The sun shines in warm, at this moment; & I see the mountain ranges are in their richest winter hues." Sadly, Mary Wordsworth was sinking, "in her 90<sup>th</sup> year, bereaved, & totally blind [and] the closing of that old cottage, - or its transfer to new people, will be mournfully felt in a wide neighbourhood." Martineau had been "writing very strongly in 'Daily News' about the American behaviour in Central American affairs." Forster was at Ambleside, and the more she saw of him, the better she thought Carlisle would like him, "the revolt of his natural honesty against the quaker smoothness (say shyness) amidst which he was brought up" being the probable reason for his roughness.<sup>35</sup>

Next day Martineau had "lots of things to say" to Fanny Wedgwood, who would remember the new owner of the *Spectator's* sending a "M<sup>r</sup> Louis [to] possess himself of my anti-slavery materials" to assume the function of heir in that cause. Now it seemed the new owner had "handed over the paper for a term of years to (I believe) the only pro-slavery journalist in England, - Thornton Hunt!" On a positive note, Carlisle had been "delighted with W.E. Forster's Leeds A[nti] [S]lavery Speech," Forster having asked her a month before what points he should bring up. "I told him, and sent him a letter from M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman, - one of the most glorious that ever was written, - and he kept it a month, to rouse him on that night."

Now the "Central Amer<sup>n</sup> hubbub" had opened a window into "the Amer<sup>n</sup> political interior" as verified by "two trustworthy Members of Congress" who saw the Napier-Cass correspondence. Nothing more had been heard from Brougham about her slave-trade article.

“What a wonderful thing is this league for the promulgation of Helper’s book,” she went on, “100,000 copies are to be sent to every part of the Union.” To their shame, the Follens were “in a rapture” at the patriotism of the men who burned the quarantine buildings on Staten Island,” denying it was “Lynch Law.”

Martineau had a singular new interest: “a correspondence begun by Florence Nightingale, - she sending me her extremely ‘Confidential’ recent Reports (to the War Minister only.)” to be used in a half-dozen leaders. Their “sagacity, strength, closeness and clearness would be striking in any connexion,” but their union with “heart and earnestness of purpose, without a particle of sentimentality” constituted one of the most remarkable political or social productions ever seen.<sup>36</sup>

Isabella Rankin had not answered her note, Martineau went on (about the Smith family suicide?), though she knew her cousin was visiting Rachel at Weybridge, from Brighton, “after leaving her Grenville St post.” And poor Rajah Brooke longed to be out of England, Derby’s behaviour towards him being “abominable.” Christmas at The Knoll had been dismal. Her beautiful cow died on Christmas eve “after moaning day and night for such a time!” Indeed, the deaths of both cows in one year deprived them of milk and caused expense for their “doctoring,” but she *mourned* her “pretty favourites.”

Fulcher’s “going off his work . . . (since he began to lead the prayers in the chapel)” was another grievance, and now he was “thoroughly out of temper” with Martineau for “getting a cow through a trusty grazier,” instead of through him. He refused to do his regular work and spoke insultingly to Maria. If he didn’t declare his repentance by tomorrow, she would have to discharge him. On “another side,” Maria had “a heart full of pleasure” at the engagement of her brother Edward to Kate Salt of Birmingham, whom Martineau had invited to stay at The Knoll. Mary Wordsworth was lingering, but “D’ Davy being her sole physician” there was “no learning the real state of the case.” *He* opined that “‘but for her age, she would not be very ill’” to which others replied, “‘why, her age [89] is the illness!’” Finally, Bryan Procter had bought Carlyle’s *Frederick* “on the spot, in a shop, but upon reading the capital first page” had found it “quite a take in [with] ‘no other capital page.’”<sup>37</sup>

(On 1 January Henry Crabb Robinson received a letter from Rydal Mount announcing “the expected death of Mrs. Wordsworth.” In his diary, he noted “I wish I could venture down to show my reverence for her” but feared [at 84] that “to attend a funeral would be dangerous in this weather.” Later reading Mary’s obituary in the *Daily News*, he felt sure it was by Martineau with its “sly insinuations against the poet, who is throughout referred to only as the ‘old husband’ who aggravated his wife’s grief by his selfish weeping and mourning at the death of Mrs. Quillinan”).<sup>38</sup>

Almost by contrast, Martineau’s *Daily News* obituary of “scholar-author” Henry Hallam on 25 January 1859 offered high praise for his energy, good temper and historical works, as well as for his testimony to the truth of the mesmerism he had witnessed in Paris.<sup>39</sup>

From early December, urgent memos in Florence Nightingale’s large round hand had arrived at The Knoll, praising Martineau for her work in the *Daily News* and advising her to read Sidney Herbert’s piece in the January *Westminster* on *her* work. Nightingale outlined topics, in order of importance, that Martineau should stress in future leaders including an Army Medical School, Reconstitution of the Army Medical Department and a Nursing system in Army Hospitals. She wished a series of her papers to be republished in the style Martineau had used

in *Illustrations of Political Economy* to give her work popular as well as theoretical appeal and to attract the class from which recruits to the military must come.

Martineau countered that society had "outgrown illustration by fiction," nor did she believe that "any one who had successfully written History & 'leaders' in a London 'daily,' c<sup>d</sup> ever again write fiction." Instead she proposed "a cheap volume consisting of *chapters* . . . *exemplifying your doctrine point by point*." Through a "popular version . . . the greatest practicable number of persons who can operate on the Gov<sup>t</sup> . . . between the legislature & the shop-keeping class" might effect Nightingale's recommendations. Martineau could not write gratuitously, but "Mess<sup>rs</sup> Smith & Elder" would surely offer what was fitting. Nightingale suggested that the basis of a book might be her "Report" and "Evidence," while Martineau was focused on army "Sanitary" arrangements as well as bureaucratic obstruction by the War Office.

Nightingale then proposed a smaller, cheaper edition of the book that *soldiers* could buy and read, and wanted more *dates* to be included. Hearing that Martineau expected only £45 for the manuscript, Nightingale wrote tactfully that it seemed too little and posted an additional cheque for £55.<sup>40</sup>

By mid-January Martineau had begun negotiations with George Smith concerning a work whose "*subject*" was "*the preservation of the British army*," and whose "*object*" was "to keep the Gov<sup>t</sup> up to its duty." Her notion was a cheap volume "of the appearance of 'British India' [of about] 250 pp:," though possibly of 350, each chapter to contain a point in which reform or "absolute supply of deficiency is required" with illustrations including "the whole story of the Scutari Hospital, & the Crimean camp." What terms would he propose? The treaty would be with *her*, and she would prefer to let him "have the book for a specified time, - the copyright to revert to my Ex<sup>t</sup>, sooner or later." Smith evidently demurred, but Martineau's self-confidence seemed bolstered by the secret partnership with Nightingale. "Of course, I have every desire that you *should* see the M.S. but it is not yet begun: I don't see how I can begin it without being sure of the publication," she argued. If Smith would look at "certain 'leaders' in 'Daily News' on *Army Hygiene*," he might see *the character* - though they were "the merest skeleton" - of what she proposed to write.<sup>41</sup>

"Isn't it ridiculous, - the way our notes cross?" Martineau opened to Reeve, also in mid-January. His parcel left her nothing to wish for except the "Governess Reports" (to be reviewed in her next *Edinburgh* article, "Female Industry"), which she *could* do without "in virtue of extracts in the 'Saturday Review.'"

Under "*Private*," she rehearsed the bad fate of the *Spectator*. More cheerful news was her nephew Edward's engagement to Kate Salt, "a nice, pretty, sensible, good-tempered girl," Edward and his cousin Francis Edgar Martineau (1828-1893) (a grandson of Peter Finch Martineau, and first cousin once removed from Harriet herself), being partners in a "Birmingham manufacture." On public matters, Martineau hoped the nation would continue "*willing to have no war*," though she didn't believe the Italians were able to govern themselves and live in peace. Britain must not "join hands with either Emperor" (i.e., Napoleon III of France or Franz Josef of Austria). Eight days later, she promised to send Reeve her manuscript within a week and *believed* it would come out under his limit "(40 pp.)," and would "look like a man's writing." One work she reviewed, "the 'Industrial Position' &c," was regularly taken to be a woman's book, but was not. So it was only fair that her article be taken for a man's.<sup>42</sup>

After sending off the article, Martineau warned Reeve that she kept no copy and reminded him of her “wish to have the M.S. with the proof.” Of “so many figures” she dared not trust her memory; there had not been room for “the idle women,” and she was “obliged to omit the whole subject of single ladies, Ladies’ Homes, the Danish Assurance Institute &c.” Sarcastically, she noted that she had heard no more of “Lord Brougham’s ‘plan’ or of the ladies ‘seated on thrones’ who pressed the subject on him.” Nor could she treat “divers Nursing schemes” with justice. The article’s “mannish way of talking about needlework,” avoiding technical terms and the distinctions between different stitches, was not owing to ignorance. Reeve’s “grandmother Taylor had been extolled by her son Edward as a darner of stockings who could not be rivalled in the next generation,” but Martineau thought *she* might have ventured to compete. One anecdote she’d omitted was about “Lady Anne Coke - (Ellice)” and her obsession with “the plainest sewing . . . making chemises . . . piles and dozens of them, which she gave away, & then made more.” Examples of female industry she *had* used were the book-binding establishment, “Westley & Davis’s, somewhere about Doctors Commons,” and the “School for Wives,” a capital Birmingham affair. “And now for another topic. - Don’t be alarmed: - I am not going to offer another article,” she almost laughed. Rather, she wanted him to be aware of “the new Science & Art . . . of Military hygiene,” which he might have seen treated in *Daily News* leaders: “I am to publish in May . . . a popular (very popular) volume, - of the same tone perhaps as “British India” . . . on the preservation of our Military rank among nations by the preservation of our army.” Nightingale would vet the whole, and she suspected Sidney Herbert knew all about it from his article in the last *Westminster*. Jubilantly, she ended: “You see I had put in the telegraphing girls [in ‘Female Industry’].”<sup>43</sup>

When Reeve promptly returned the manuscript asking her to remove the word “ladies,” Martineau responded by listing the continuing repercussions to her slave trade article, including “an attack . . . by the Secretary of the London Anti-slavery Society, - understood to be at Lord Brougham’s instigation.” She had proof that slave shackles were made at Monrovia (the capital of Liberia) “as a branch of industry,” but the London society, “trying to bolster up the Colonisation Society,” had never “behaved well on American questions.” Acknowledging that the *Edinburgh* had already covered the Crimean War muddle, she would not bother him with proofs of her forthcoming *England and Her Soldiers*, which he would get “entire” though he was not *bound* to read it. Reeve had forwarded jurist John Austin’s pamphlet on parliamentary reform, *A Plea for the Constitution*, causing her to sniff at the Utilitarianism “of that coterie [which she] c<sup>d</sup> never understand.” Despite John Stuart Mill’s many fine qualities and accomplishments, he had seemed “enormously overrated” for the last twenty years. Austin she had always liked seeing and reading even when not agreeing with him, but “the radicals of the last generation” appeared to have lost their zeal for reform.<sup>44</sup>

Reeve’s objection to her idealization of Grace Darling in her article upset Martineau, for the monument was “the most affecting of its kind in the world.” She had tried again to make “as plain as a pikestaff” what she meant, to give “some clearness to the ordinary cloudy notion of Women’s Work in England.” (Conspiratorially, she went on: if the authorship were found out, it would be through her two cousins “M<sup>rs</sup> Austin & Fanny [of Bracondale] laying their heads together”). For a wonder, *John Austin* seemed “unacquainted with the working classes” or his topic was not one for “closet-investigation,” and she did not know *who* had reviewed him and

Mill in the *Daily News*. On the Italian question, the sort of “manifesto” arguing against any French restoration of Italian liberties, a fortnight ago, had been hers. On agriculture, “the fly, slugs, potato rot, & all that class of ills,” plus strong west winds and rain, caused other serious problems. Finally, she vaunted, Nightingale was wholly and eminently satisfied with the third of *England and Her Soldiers* she had seen, though Smith, Elder did not yet understand “the kind & degree of circulation we want.” While “Mess<sup>rs</sup> Longman w<sup>d</sup> not be the people to ask . . . Routledge w<sup>d</sup> give a vast circulation.” Nightingale had told her she meant “to give it to all the regiments, which may persuade Smith, Elder: “we must do the best thing for the book, - which means the cause.”<sup>45</sup>

At the end of February, Martineau reported jubilantly to both Carlisle and Graves that Maria Chapman had raised \$6,000 from Europe for the American abolitionists, “of which 2,000 were sent from this country.” And judging by “the influx of Irish newspapers,” she told Carlisle, her *Endowed Schools of Ireland* had “wrought widely & strongly.” To Graves, Martineau declared her intention of writing an obituary of Lieutenant-general Sir William Napier (just mentioned in *The Times*) “to be ready,” that department in the *Daily News* being hers. Graves knew “a good deal about Sir W.N.,” she believed, and she would be thankful for “such *details*” as he could give, all to Napier’s honor. Through Walker at *Daily News*, Martineau had dispatched a “bit of polit<sup>l</sup> economy” in answer to shoemaker “W.D’s” letter on compensating workmen for losses owing to machinery. Meanwhile, affairs looked bad in the Italian crisis. “All the French [are] sounding round our coasts!” Oddly, Napoleon III had not been murdered yet, “thinking it too much honour.” She used to fear it, she told Walker, but “now I had rather see him cut his own throat.” The Queen, moreover, loathed him.<sup>46</sup>

Another clutch of letters from Martineau concerning “Female Industry” flew off to Reeve in March. His “very minute red-ink alterations” had confounded Maria, whose task it was “to collate proof with M.S.” Being convicted of carelessness was a new thing for Martineau. And a business-like “letter & petition” had just come from a female artist trying to get something done about “the exclusion of female artists from the Royal Academy instruction.” *Laura Herford* of Hampstead begged Martineau to help her catch the attention of the editor of *Daily News*, *The Times* having ignored her. “Here I went into it. - Lord Lyndhurst said, in his Royal Academy speech, with a great flourish of trumpets, that ‘all her Maj<sup>y</sup>’s subjects [of good character and skill in drawing] have a *right* to’ the gratuitous instruction there,” yet women were excluded. “So much for the artists & Miss Herford[!]”<sup>47</sup>

The subject of Reeve's “penultimate letter, - the tyranny of a portion of the working-class” intrigued her. The facts *would* indeed make a good article for the *Edinburgh*, yet unlike Reeve, she supported “admitting the work-men (duly qualified) to the franchise.” A recent letter to *The Times* signed “An American,” on electoral corruption in America, could hardly bear a true signature as it ignored the “encroachments, tricks & oppressions of the southern faction.”<sup>48</sup> That morning she had tentatively accepted an engagement to write fortnightly letters for “a really good New York weekly paper [the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*],” to help supply “the link wanted between European & American politics.”<sup>49</sup> In reference to Reeve’s upcoming *Edinburgh* article, “Austria, France, and Italy,” she wondered sardonically what “‘beloved cousin’ [Napoleon III]” would “do, - throwing up Algeria, & no Italian kingdom ready?”<sup>50</sup>

A few days later Martineau suggested Reeve look in the *Daily News* to see what *she* thought of a new reform bill, in “an article beginning about the Swedes & Norwegians.” Two men from whom Reeve could learn about the “special life of the ‘Workies’” were Holyoake and James Taylor; she had consulted Taylor, “the great manager of the Freehold Land qualification enterprise,” about the Building Society. Of various instances of middle-class ignorance, a local magistrate had once failed to understand the working-class belief in fathering a child before marriage “to ascertain whether the wife-elect [was] capable of childbearing,” and Grace Davy had incensed a sick old woman who expected to be *paid* to listen to a hymn. Another example was the Wordsworths' neighbor who had declared at his death that Mary Wordsworth was likely to “carry on the business [of poetry] as well as any of 'em.” Indeed, *Martineau* would “very much like to throw [her]self into the scenery, external & internal, of worky-life.” As Reeve must be aware, Elizabeth Gaskell's working-class characters were mostly “a museum of oddities.” Over “these last few days” she felt better, “a natural sequence of a neuralgic attack, - or of the quinine thereto pertaining.”<sup>51</sup>

Assuring Reeve that a suit for libel over the *Edinburgh* slave trade article was unlikely, Martineau cited proof of slave trading. He might read an account of a (non-slave trading) expedition from Liverpool and up the Niger in 1832, 1833 and 1834 (Reeve added “Note on the Complicity of Liberians in the Slave Trade” at the end of the April *Edinburgh*). She was confident that Roberts “w<sup>d</sup> never venture upon [legal proceedings]; & we have evidence that the Colonisation Society will not attack us.” Her old enemy Brougham, however, was “quite capable of inducing or compelling the Liberians to bring an action.” Reeve having proposed to send a calm note, she begged to see it first (though she had “no right to interfere more or less”) for she knew “the ‘go’ of those Liberians [and] might discern little openings for mischief which w<sup>d</sup> never occur to an English gentleman.” Finally, she was “thankful to hear of the W. India article” in the April *Edinburgh* on the economic benefit of ending slavery.<sup>52</sup>

Walker at the *Daily News* continued to rely on Martineau for the “American department” as well as for leaders on India, Ireland, British and European politics and special events. The centenary of Robert Burns's birth on 25 January 1859, for example, allowed her to argue the rightness of parliamentary reform (Burns regretted he could not enter Parliament, owing to his liberal sympathies). Movingly, Martineau quoted Burns' poor neighbours asking at the time of his death “who will be our poet now?”

In April, Martineau rewrote a sentimental account published in the *New York Daily Tribune* (reprinted by the American Antislavery Society) of the sale of Pierce Butler's slaves, pleading the rightness of the antislavery crusade. Two more obituaries, on Lord Murray and Alexander Von Humboldt, trumpeted *personal* estimates of her subjects: Murray, Martineau opined, would be remembered merely as an early friend of Francis Horner and *Edinburgh Review* men, having turned out to be no more than a Whig politician. By contrast, the naturalist Von Humboldt travelled the world in pursuit of scientific knowledge and left benefits for all mankind, even his term as a Prussian courtier being forgivable.<sup>53</sup>

Sarah having provided a new “batch of champagne,” Martineau tried to thank her “without the loss of a post” but *could* not. Shepherd had been “*shocked* at the state of [her] pulse, & ordered quinine in ether immediately.” Indeed, Shepherd told Maria that champagne was “precisely the very best thing she c<sup>d</sup> have,” ginger wine “from the makers in Kendall” proving far less beneficial. At last the wind had come round from the north, Martineau went

on, "after a whole quarter of a year of constant west wind, & streaming rain, & constant floods." Yet "Dr Davy's *stupid* persecution" was still an annoyance. All had seemed settled, but he "hovers about . . . threatening . . . & taking up all manner of fancies." Though her watercourse had been found sufficient, "& duly measured at both ends," *some* neighbour got up a notion that it was "smaller somewhere in the middle!" Except for the misery Davy caused to his family (who still held her affection), it would have amused her "to observe the turns of that kind of temper."

Fulcher having been dismissed, Martineau felt "so happy with the new man & his bride!" Her "pleasantest topic" at the moment, however, was Kate Salt, whose photograph she wanted to send to Rachel. "O dear! She is so pretty!" For Martineau to have with her "any one so lovely, in such blooming health, & gay, steady spirits," was a treat. That morning, Kate and Maria had gone to Sweden Bridge, "& now she is gone up Nab Scar with Mary (maid.)" Sarah might ask Rachel what work Martineau was near finishing. "It *was* an entire secret . . . but *friends* may know, - though not the public yet."<sup>54</sup>

Aroused by statements in *The Critic* that she had been a "principal contributor" to *Household Words*, had quarreled with her "old friend" Dickens and had withdrawn from his journal owing to their disagreement over the fencing of mill-machinery, Martineau issued a sharp rebuke. All statements in the article were erroneous, she charged. Moreover, she had only "the slightest personal acquaintance with M<sup>r</sup> Dickens" and her withdrawal had no relation to any opinions of Dickens on "economical or social subjects."<sup>55</sup>

Reeve sent the April *Edinburgh* containing "Female Industry" and Buxton on the West Indies, and Martineau commented that Buxton looked "interesting & valuable" but she had not "read any thing for . . . ten days past" owing to illness. Her letters to the *Anti-Slavery Standard* had been suggested by Maria Chapman for the sake of "the young men [and others] in Paris" as that journal was not "meddled with in the French post-offices, & is read by a few of the best men." She aimed to touch on "such points of European & American politics as in any way involve the A.S. Cause" and had sent three - two of which would "probably tell such as Laugel & his friends in Paris more of their precious Ruler [Napoleon III] than they have otherwise means of knowing." Since the days when "Nap: I was every day 'sure to be caught' . . . and never was caught," she had known "nothing so awful as the present crisis." Napoleon III was no doubt miserable, "the most probable explanation of his behaviour seems to be Carbonarism" (violence in the cause of Italian freedom), while "buying off his executioners by his present policy." Martineau heard this from a reliable quarter "at the time of the Orsini attempt." Cavour told a friend that "L.N. [was] very down [as] the war must be so much more extended than he meant; *but resolved to go through with it.*" Martineau's new book - to be out "somewhere about Mayday" - would not be hurt, "but rather the contrary, by the war excitement." While Nightingale could not be seen to be "working . . . through the press," the book "must operate," once read.

At Ambleside just now, two "very nice houses" were to let - would the Reeves have either? Reeve must tell her when to begin reading up for "the Russian subject." This last book had worn her out, leaving her head in "a very bad state from impaired circulation in the brain."<sup>56</sup>

Martineau may regularly have received the *National Review* and *Fraser's Magazine* from Graves. "I was very agreeably surprised . . . in J.S. Mill's book," she commented to Graves, but the *National* she would have expected to understand "a little better what Mill means & says."

On local matters, her neighbour T. Harrison had renewed their arrangement for the half-acre pasture for her cows "in the kindest way possible" after "that Mare's nest of Fulcher's discovering," but Fulcher would never trouble her more. "What a splendid Sybil Miss Napier makes!" she went on. "Yet only a front view can do justice to a face lighted by such eyes" (Graves may have sent a photograph of Caroline Napier - her neighbour and sister of the distinguished brothers Martineau later eulogized in the *Daily News*).

"After some consideration, I have determined to deposit a fact with you," she went on to Graves. Fulcher was hired partly "to drive D<sup>r</sup> D, & M<sup>rs</sup> D, & the young lady" in their carriage, but she feared he had not told them "(for he never told me)" that he was blind in one eye - a dangerous incapacity. He was expected to care for "(4 horses, two carriages & a cart, a cow, the poultry yard, a large kitchen garden, & . . . 9 acres of land;) . . . He goes there on the 11<sup>th</sup>."

Graves, she hoped, was not taking his view of public affairs from *The Times* alone. The *glorious Daily News*, in contravention, was "daring to show up the doings of the Queen, Prince, & K of the Belgians, telegraphing over the heads of the Ministers."<sup>57</sup>

Mill's account of Christianity "as a religion for men," she later told Graves, did not at all satisfy her, and the badness of a review of Buckle in a past *Edinburgh* amazed her. Graves had seen an error she missed in an advertisement for *Endowed Schools of Ireland*, and she wrote to the publishers. "I have today a rather remarkable letter from Oxford about the Soldier book," she continued, "signed (we think *Acland* [Professor of Medicine at Oxford University]), - the writer being bent on the sanitary improvement of the world by means of university influences." Lastly, Fulcher (working for Dr. Davy) had been kicked by a horse and given notice. "If he will but see that he fails as a gardener & groom, & call himself a labourer again, he may settle," though he talked loudly of his prosperity after leaving her - he and Rebecca (his wife) saying he "never did so well for hisself before."<sup>58</sup>

(Henry Crabb Robinson's antipathy for Martineau over her obituary of Mary Wordsworth was softened in May when he read "the very pleasing short article" in the *Daily News* on the auction of furniture at Rydal Mount, done by Martineau "with great propriety and in a better feeling than I should have given her credit for").<sup>59</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *DN*, 19 June 1858 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); HM to HR, 22 and 24 June 1858, *CL* 4: 91-92 and 99-100; Reeve became editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1855, replacing Cornwall Lewis who had replaced William Empson; for Martineau's description of Reeve as "an insolent little dog of 5 years old," see *HM/FW* 120; for Hurlbut, see below.

<sup>2</sup> HM to Henry Bright, 24 June 1858, *CL* 4: 97-98; [rev.] *The London Cotton Plant; a Journal of Tropical Civilisation* (London: C. Mitchell, June, 1858): see Appen., *HM/DN*; (Nathaniel Hawthorne, as American consul at Liverpool, received complaints about the cruelty of Yankee sea-captains).

<sup>3</sup> HM to HR, 26 June 1858, *SL*, 158-61; HM to HR, 27 June 1858, *CL* 4: 103-105; *DN*, 26 June 1858 [on slave trade from Liberia to Cuba] (Appen., *HM/DN*); Martineau's articles in the *Spectator* used the same materials as for *Daily News*, but in tauter, more densely-packed style (see: "American Domestic Policy at the Centre and Circumference," 15 May 1858: 519-20; "The



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American Difficulty," 12 June 1858: 628-29; "State Rights in America," 19 June 1858: 655; "Lynch-Law at New Orleans," 3 July 1858: 706-7; "The Slave-Trade Debate," 17 July 1858: 757; "American Comments on the British Concessions," 31 July 1858: 805-6; "Growth of American Portents," 7 August 1858: 830-31; "What Next with the Mormons," 21 August 1858: 885-86; "What is 'The South,'" 28 August 1858: 907-8; Lynch Law at New York," 25 September 1858: 1011-12; "The Hour of Proof," 9 October 1858: 1067-68; "Revulsion of Parties in the United States," 6 November 1858: 1166-67; "The World's Interest in the West," 27 November 1858: 1244-45; "The President's Message," 25 December 1858: 1350-51); from January 1859, under the new editor, Thornton Hunt, no further articles by Martineau appeared in the *Spectator*; Robert Stephen Rintoul, editor of the *Spectator* from 1828 to February 1858.

<sup>4</sup> Martineau's article for Reeve was to be "The Slave Trade in 1858," *ER*, 108 (October 1858): 541-86; John Bigelow, *Jamaica in 1850; or, The Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom on a Slave Colony* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam, 1851); for Olmsted, see chap. 41; possibly James Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States* (London: J. W. Parker, 1857); Clegg's "circulars" have not been identified.

<sup>5</sup> Jared Sparks had written the biography of Benedict Arnold and was editing the papers of George Washington when Martineau met him in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1835 (see chap. 13; 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).

<sup>6</sup> "Mrs. Marcet," *DN*, 3 July 1858: 5, col. 2-3 (rptd. *BS* 386-92); HM to Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring, 6 July 1858, *CL* 4: 108-109.

<sup>7</sup> HM to Sarah, 11 July 1858, *CL* 4: 109-10 (David, married to Sarah Scott, was to advise Martineau on her investments; his parents' new home was Fox-Holes, Walton-on-Thames); "Scribble Diaries (1858)," BPL.

<sup>8</sup> HM to HR, 5 and 6 August 1858, (first) LMU 2/017 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 113-15), (second) *HM/FL* 241-42; for the *Regina Coeli* affair, see below.

<sup>9</sup> HM to FW, 27 August 1858, *HM/FW* 165-67; see Appen., *HM/DN*; "What Next with the Mormons," *Spec.*, 21 August 1858: 885-86; *Letters on the Laws* may have offended Isabella; (Robert and Molly Mackintosh were visiting in England from the West Indies); Julia ["Snow"] Wedgwood, *Framleigh Hall. A Novel* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1858 [a contrived story of tense family relationships]).

<sup>10</sup> "George Combe," *DN*, 18 August 1858: 5, cols. 3-5 (rptd. *BS* 265-77); George Combe, *The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects* (Edinburgh: John Anderson, Jr., and London: Longman, 1828), treating man as subject to physical, organic and moral laws.

<sup>11</sup> HM to Reeve, 2 September 1858, *HM/FL* 242.

<sup>12</sup> HM to PPC, 1 September 1858, *CL* 4: 116-17 (Martineau's unusual invitation to a male guest was probably owing to Carpenter's slender means); in leaders on the NAPSS (*DN*, 3 and 25 October 1858), Martineau deplored the national state of helplessness under Palmerston but praised those beginning "to scale the heights" in the scientific study of social problems (see "The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science," *HM/DN* 91-97 and Appen.).

<sup>13</sup> HM to HR, 12 September 1858, *CL* 4: 117; Fitzjames Stephen, "The Licence of Modern Novelists," *ER* 106 (July 1857): 124-56 (censuring *Little Dorrit*, *It is Never Too Late to Mend* and *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* for failing to hold to high moral standards) and Goldwin Smith, "Froude's *King Henry VIII*," *ER* 108 (July 1858): 206-52 (warning of Froude's over-efforts at

originality); Nikolai Ivanovitch Tourgueneff had been asked by the Czar to carry out the emancipation of Russian serfs (see chap. 43).

<sup>14</sup> HM to HR, 16 and 20 September 1858, *CL* 4: 118 and 118-19 (Madge continued as a shared figure of derision); Martineau drew a rough diagram of the phenomenon in the sky; for "The Slave Trade in 1858," see note 4 (see also "Slave Trade/U.S. Newspapers," *HM/DN* 263-70); in the *Daily News* on 7 September 1858, Martineau reported on problems of labour in Jamaica partly caused by the importation of "coolies" to replace former slaves (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>15</sup> HM to HR, 26 September 1858, *CL* 4: 120-22; Carlisle served twice as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, February 1855 to February 1858 and June 1859 to October 1864; Archibald John Stephens, barrister, High Church and Tory member of the commission to investigate and recommend measures for improving endowed schools of all denominations in Ireland (Derby's second [Tory] government lasted from February 1858 to June 1859); "Endowed Schools of Ireland, No's. I-XII," *DN*, 24 August - 1 October 1858 (see Appen., *HM/DN*), partly rptd. Logan, *Pickering Masters. The Irish question* 4.

<sup>16</sup> HM to Carlisle, 2 and 5 October 1858 and 1 January 1859, *CL* 4: 122-23, 123 and 144-45 (for the portrait of Thomas Arnold, see chap. 33).

<sup>17</sup> George Smith to HM, 1 October 1858, *BUL* 807; HM to George Smith, 12 October 1858, *CL* 4: 125; formal agreement by Smith, Elder dated 14 October 1858: *BUL* 809, 810 and 811.

<sup>18</sup> See Appen., *HM/DN*; for the *Spectator* and *Edinburgh*, see notes 3 and 4; "Travel during the Last Half-Century," *WR*, 70 o.s. and 14 n.s. (October 1858): 426-65 (rev. of Hakluyt and *The English Cyclopaedia. A new Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Geography*, 4 vols. Conducted by Charles Knight [London: Bradbury and Evans, 1855]).

<sup>19</sup> HM to FW, 25 October 1858, *HM/FW* 167-72 (Martineau sent a copy of the circular to Brougham on 21 November 1858: see *BUL* Add 18).

<sup>20</sup> *History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great* 1, 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858); for a brutal attack on Carlyle's work, see William Stigand, "Carlyle's *Frederic the Great*," *ER* 110 [October 1860]: 376-410; the *Saturday Review* noted that though Carlyle's language was a barrier to understanding, the whole was a "living presentation of events" ("Carlyle's *History of Frederick II.*," *SR*, 23 and 30 October and 6 November 1858: 398-99, 423-25 and 450-51).

<sup>21</sup> See Bessie Parkes, *Remarks on the Education of Girls* (London: John Chapman, 1854, -56), reviewed by William C. Roscoe in "Woman," *NR*, 7 (October 1858): 333-61; Martineau's still festering anger at James must have triggered her attack on Hutton (professor of mathematics at the Ladies' College), who did not recommend that women study subjects like mathematics, geography or Latin; Goldwin Smith, "Mr. Froude's Reply to the *Edinburgh Review*," *ER*, 108 (October 1858): 586-94 (answering Froude's objections to his earlier review [see note 13], published in "The *Edinburgh Review* and Mr. Froude's *History*," [*Fraser's* 58, September 1858: 359-78]).

<sup>22</sup> HM to Carlisle, 25 October and 1 and 2 November 1858, (first and third) *CL* 4: 126 and 127, (second) *HM/FL* 243; for the circular, see above; Martineau may refer to losses by the administration party in several states, cited on 4 November 1858 (see Appen., *HM/DN*), but for American abolitionists the news was mostly bad.

<sup>23</sup> HM to Sarah Martineau, 4 and 9 November 1858, *CL* 4: 127-28 and 129.

<sup>24</sup> HM to Carlisle, 6 December 1858, *CL*, 4: 139-41.

<sup>25</sup> HM to HR, 19 November 1858, *CL* 4: 130-33; "Consulate General of Liberia. [introduction to a letter from President Stephen A. Benson of Liberia] Republic of Liberia. - Regina Coeli.," 12 September 1858 [Benson denied that Liberia had helped to procure African emigrants and blamed the fraud on the French], *DN*, 22 October 1858: 2, cols. 4-5, and letter from "An American" (quibbling over Martineau's misquotation of Chief Justice Taney of the Supreme Court), *The Times*, 6 November 1858: 12, col. 1; an article by Hurlbut did not appear in the *Edinburgh* until January 1891; see *DN*, 20 November 1858 (*HM/DN*, Appen.) on Liberia; Charles Loring Brace, *The Norse Folk; or, a Visit to the Homes of Norway and Sweden* (London: Richard Bentley, 1857); *DN*, 27 and 29 November 1858 (on Brougham and various schemes to provide security for unmarried women; on 29 November, Martineau summarized Brace's recommendation of the Danish provision for daughters based on insurance taken out by their fathers: see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>26</sup> For Parkes, see above; the Weston sisters were Maria, Caroline, Anne, Emma and Lucia; for Martineau's *Spectator* articles, see note 3; see HM to Brougham, 21 November 1858, *CL* 4: 136.

<sup>27</sup> "The Late Robert Owen.," *DN*, 19 November 1858: 5, cols. 4-5 (rptd. *BS* 307-13).

<sup>28</sup> HM to FW, 24, 26 [?] and 27 November 1858, *HM/FW* 172-74, 174-75 and 175-76; HM to Graves, Tuesday [November], November and 28 November [1858], *CL* 4: 133-34, 134-35 and 137; see HM to Reeve, 28 November [1858], *CL* 4: 138; among other charges, Martineau accused Brougham of vanity and insincerity in his reform sentiments (*Auto.* 1: 309-14); for the suicide, see *The Times*, 1 and 2 October 1858: 10, col. 2 and [letter] 11, col. 2; for Martineau's possible falling out with Isabella Rankin, see above; for the "History," see next note.

<sup>29</sup> HM to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Chambers, 27 November 1858, *CL* 4: 136-37; *History of the Peace. Pictorial History of England During the Thirty Years' Peace, 1816-46. New and Revised Edition* (London: W. and R. Chambers, 1858) [part of George Lillie Craik's *Pictorial History of England* (1855-58)]; a Prospectus promised "emendations and corrections by the author," the work to appear in monthly parts at 2s., and when complete, in "one handsome volume, royal 8vo, with illustrations;" to the seventh volume, ending 1846, would be added two single volumes: *The Pictorial History of the Russian War* and *The Chronicle of the Revolt in India*, the first part to be published on 1 June.

<sup>30</sup> HM to Lucy [Wills], 7 December [1858], *CL* 4: 141-42; for Martineau's pamphlet, see note 34.

<sup>31</sup> FN to HM, 30 November and 4 December 1858, BL MS Add. 45788: ff. 1 and 5-8; HM to FN, 3 and 7 December 1858, *CL* 4: 138-39 and 142 (Hilary Bonham Carter, Julia's niece).

<sup>32</sup> HM to PPC, 9 December 1858, HMC MS H. Martineau 1 ff. 95-96; Carpenter had married the Andrews in 1852 (Martha, Martineau's former servant); Carpenter sailed for America in December to deliver his collection of shells to the State Museum at Albany, New York, and to give temperance lectures, partly in Canada; the "Unwelcome Child" must have been written for his congregation.

<sup>33</sup> HM to Wendell Phillips [American abolitionist], 29 December 1858, *CL* 4: 142-43.

<sup>34</sup> Preface, [iii], *Endowed School of Ireland* (London: Smith, Elder, 1859); taken from Martineau's leaders ("Endowed Schools of Ireland. No. I.," *DN*, 24 August 1858: 5, cols. 3-4; "\_\_\_ No. II.," 28 August 1858: 5, cols. 4-5; "\_\_\_ No. III.," 31 August 1858: 4, col. 6-5, col. 1; "\_\_\_ No. IV.," 3 September 1858: 4, col. 6-5, col. 1; "\_\_\_ No. V.," 6 September 1858: 4, col. 6-5, col. 1; "\_\_\_ No. VI.," 8 September 1858: 2, cols. 1-2; "\_\_\_ No. VII.," 13 September 1858: 2, cols. 1-2; "\_\_\_ No. VIII.," 16 September 1858: 3, cols. 1-2; "\_\_\_ No. IX.," 20 September 1858:

2, cols. 1-2; “\_\_\_ . No. X,” 24 September 1858: 2, cols. 1-2; “\_\_\_ . No. XI,” 27 September 1858: 3, cols. 1-2; “\_\_\_ . No. XII,” 1 October 1858: 2, cols. 1-3), the pamphlet comprised twelve chapters from "Opening of the Commission" through "Present Bad State of Endowments" and "Claims and Recommendations" to "Antagonistic Proposals."

<sup>35</sup> HM to Carlisle, 1 January 1859, *CL* 4: 144-45; for *Daily News* leaders on the President's talk of territorial acquisition, on Nicaragua and on schemes for a transit route across the isthmus of Panama, 21, 23 and 30 December 1858, see Appen., *HM/DN*.

<sup>36</sup> HM to FW, 2 January 1859, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 176-80); John Charles Addyes Scott [a Unitarian], new owner of the *Spectator*; Forster and Carlisle both spoke at a soirée held by the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society in the Leeds town hall (*HM/FW* 180, note 5); for the "American hubbub," see "The Isthmus of Panama," *DN*, 27 July 1858 and 15 October 1858 (rptd. *HM/DN* 279-86 and 287-93; the Napier-Cass correspondence concerned the exemption of American vessels suspected of being slavers to be searched at sea); Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (New York: Burdick brothers, 1857), an appeal promoted by Greeley to non-slaveholding whites of the South (an inexpensive *Compendium*, sponsored by prominent Republicans for a mass audience, was published in 1859); in "Lynch Law at New York" in the *Spectator*, Martineau charged wealthy property owners with stirring up indigent Irish and Germans to destroy the quarantine station (see note 3); FN, *Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army* (privately printed, 1858); *DN* (on Army hygiene), 14, 18, 26 January, 11 and 16 February 1859 (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>37</sup> Derby's government had refused Brooke a pension; for Fulcher's "going off his work" see below.

<sup>38</sup> Hudson, *Robinson* [entries for 1, 3, 19 and 25 January 1859] 298; Mary Wordsworth died on 17 January 1859; "Death of Mrs. Wordsworth.," *DN*, 20 January 1859: 2, cols. 3-4 (rptd. *BS* 402-208; Mrs. Quillinan, Wordsworth's beloved daughter, Dora).

<sup>39</sup> "Henry Hallam.," *DN*, 25 January 1859: 4, col. 6-5, col. 1 (rptd. *BS* 393-401).

<sup>40</sup> FN to HM, 20 December 1858, 8, 14, 23, 26 January, 9, 28 February, 1, 3, 19, 21, 24 March, 1, 10 April, 19 May, 9 June and 21 August 1859, BL MS Add 45788 ff. 11-14, 15-16, 17-20, 21-28, 29-30, 31, 32, 33-34, 35-38, 39-40, 41-44, 45-48, 49-50, [51], 52-53, 54-55, 56, 57-58; Sidney Herbert, "The Sanitary Condition of the Army," *WR* 71 o.s. and 15 n.s. (January 1859): 52-98; HM to FN, 9 January 1859, *CL* 4: 146-47; for leaders on military health reform, see *DN*, 14, 18, 26 January, 1, 11, 16 February and 5 March 1859 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>41</sup> HM to George Smith, 15 and 19 January 1859, *CL* 4: 148-50 and 150-51; *England and Her Soldiers. With Three Illustrative Diagrams* (London: Smith, Elder, 1859) came to just under 300 pages and included five "pie" diagrams on three pullout pages that showed military mortality in England.

<sup>42</sup> HM to HR, 13 and 31 January 1859, *CL* 4: 147-48 and 151-52; *Reports of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution* ([see rev.] "The English Woman's Journal" [*SR*, 10 April 1858: 369-79], opposing professional jobs for women); "Female Industry," *ER* 109 (April 1859): 293-336, included a review of John Duguid Milne, *The Industrial and Social Position of Women in the Middle and Lower Ranks* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857) using evidence like that of Henry Mayhew in the *Morning Chronicle*; Martineau often assumed a male persona in *Daily News* articles about women: see, for example, "Women's Fashions," *HM/DN* 31-38.

<sup>43</sup> HM to HR, 6 February 1859, *CL* 4: 152-54; at the NAPSS meeting in Liverpool Brougham claimed to speak on behalf of European princesses about single women and widows; for leaders on military health reform and Herbert's article on the Crimean War and on military health reform, see note 40; in "Female Industry," Martineau cited Scottish and especially American women telegraphers.

<sup>44</sup> HM to HR, 21 February 1859, *CL* 4: 154-56; Liberia was implicated in the slave trade by making "slave shackles" for "voluntary" African "emigrants;" *England and Her Soldiers* (London: Smith, Elder, 1859); John Austin [husband of Martineau's and Reeve's cousin Sarah Taylor Austin], *A Plea for the Constitution* (London: John Murray, 1859 [second edition]) on Parliamentary reform.

<sup>45</sup> HM to HR, 6 March 1859, *CL* 4: 158-59; Martineau often retold the story of Grace Darling, the heroic Northumbrian lighthouse-keeper's daughter commemorated in numerous portraits and effigies showing her "sleeping after her battle with wind and tide;" on the French as unsuitable allies for protecting Italians against Austria, see *DN*, 18 February 1859 (Appen. HM/DN).

<sup>46</sup> HM to Carlisle, 21 February 1859, *CL* 4: 156; HM to Graves, 22 February 1859, *CL* 4: 157 (Martineau later acknowledged "how much I owe to Mr Graves": HM to Emily Napier, 4 September 1860, *CL* 4: 236); see "Health of Sir W. Napier," *The Times*, 6 January 1859: 8, col. 2; HM to Walker, 26 February 1859, *CL* 4: 158 ("Shoemakers and machinery," *DN*, 2 March 1859 [see Appen., *HM/DN*]).

<sup>47</sup> HM to HR, 9 March 1859, *CL* 4: 160-62; Martineau repeatedly mentioned the exclusion of women from Royal Academy instruction: cf. *DN*, 25 March 1859 (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>48</sup> In "American Notions of English Reform," [letter signed "An English Traveller in America.," *DN*, 11 March 1859: 4, cols. 5-6, Martineau corrected the "false" picture of the political situation in the U.S.

<sup>49</sup> HM to Editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 14 March 1859, *CL* 4: 162 (between 9 April 1859 and 15 February 1862, Martineau published sixty-two, one-and-a half column letters, the first two entitled "From Our European Correspondent" [signed "H.M."], then "Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau. [No.] III.", etc.; the "letters" discussed European affairs and British reaction to the American Civil War; for Martineau's earlier offer of her services to the abolitionist cause, see HM to John Gorham Palfrey [Dean of Harvard Divinity School and antislavery sympathizer], 20 December 1835, *CL* 4: 282-83, and see Deborah Anna Logan, ed., *Writings on Slavery and the American Civil War. Harriet Martineau* [DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois UP, 2002] 140-64); added references to Martineau included the letter from Parker Pillsbury in 1855 (see chap. 36, note 12) and her response to the death of Charlotte Brontë ("The House of Charlotte Bronte," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 24 October 1857: 4, cols. 1-2).

<sup>50</sup> HR, "Austria, France, and Italy, *ER* 109 (April 1859): 558-97.

<sup>51</sup> HM to HR, 14 March 1859, *CL* 4: 162-64; Martineau's *Daily News* leader on Parliamentary reform appeared on 17 March 1859 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); working-class characters featured notably in Martineau's political economy tales, in *Deerbrook* and in the "historiettes" for *Once A Week* from 1862.

<sup>52</sup> HM to HR, 18 March 1859, *CL* 4: 165-66; Macgregor Laird and R.A.K. Oldfield [surviving officers of the expedition], *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa, by the River*

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*Niger, in the Steam-Vessels Quorra and Alburkah, in 1832, 1833, and 1834* (London: Richard Bentley, 1837); "Note on the Complicity of Liberians in the Slave Trade," *ER* 109 (April 1859): 598-99; Roberts, "late president of the Republic of Liberia," now a slave agent ("The Slave-trade in 1858" pp. 557-58); Charles Buxton, "The West Indies, as they were and are," *ER* 109 (April 1859): 421-60.

<sup>53</sup> "Robert Burns: 25 January 1859," *HM/DN* 225-31 (for additional special events see *HM/DN*, Appen.); "Sale of Pierce Butler's Slaves," 4 April 1859," *HM/DN* 295-302 (*Great Auction Sale of Slaves in Savannah, Georgia, March 2 and 3, 1859* ([pamphlet] n.d.; the name Pierce Butler, former husband of Fanny Kemble Butler, evoked the scandal of their divorce); "The Late Lord Murray.," *DN*, 14 March 1859: 4, cols. 5-6; "Alexander Von Humboldt.," *DN*, 9 May 1859: 2, cols. 1-3 (rptd. *BS* 71-77 and 278-89).

<sup>54</sup> HM to Sarah, 23 March 1859, *CL* 4: 166-67; Martineau's mysterious project was probably *England and her Soldiers*.

<sup>55</sup> *The Critic*, April 1859: 321-22; HM to Editor of *The Critic*, April 1859, *CL* 4: 167 (Martineau's protest is obviously disingenuous: she contributed nearly 50 pieces to *Household Words*).

<sup>56</sup> HM to HR, 21 April 1859, LMU 2/033 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 168-69); "Female Industry" (see note 42) included reviews of the 1851 census and works by Bodichon, Sarah Austin (quoting the prospectus of a school instituted by Miss F. Martineau of Bracondale [318-19]), as well as *The Lowell Offering*; for Buxton, see note 52; Martineau touched on the "Italian question" in "From Our European Correspondent" [n.d.; signed "H. M."], *NASS*, 9 April 1859: 2, col. 6-3, col. 1, and "Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau. No. III." [Letter of 11 April 1859], *NASS*, 30 April 1859: 3, cols. 2-3; Auguste Laugel, French journalist and political secretary, later married to Elizabeth Bates Chapman, Maria Chapman's daughter; for Martineau's article on Russian serf emancipation, see HM to HR, 21 April 1859, LMU 2/033 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 168-69);

<sup>57</sup> HM to Graves, [c. May] and May 1859, *CL* 4: 170 and 171; John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: J. W. Parker, 1859); R.H. Hutton, [rev.] "Mill on Liberty," *NR* 8 (April 1859): 393-425 (for Martineau on James and the *National*, see HM to FW, [?17 September 1854], *HM/FW*, 127-30); see Thomas Harrison to HM, 2 April 1859, BUL 424; "Lieutenant-General, Sir William Napier, K. C. B. [obit.]," *DN*, 15 February 1860: 4, col. 6-5, cols. 1-3 (rptd. "The Napiers. etc.," *BS* 199-212); for Martineau's *Daily News* leader of 6 May 1859 on war in Italy and English neutrality, see Appen., *HM/DN*.

<sup>58</sup> HM to Graves, 20 May 1859, *CL* 4: 172-73; James Fitzjames Stephens, "Buckle's History of Civilization in England," *ER* 107 (April 1858): 465-512.

<sup>59</sup> *Robinson*, Hudson [entry for 13 May 1859] 300; "The Wordsworth Household.," *DN* 10 May 1859: 2, cols. 1-3.