

Chapter 45 Journalism and an Aching Head (1859-1860)

Ardently supporting Nightingale's plans for "sanitary" reform of the army, Martineau vaunted to Reeve on 16 May that *England and Her Soldiers*, just received, contained facts that "sh^d become known as widely as possible . . . in order to the overcoming of the obstructions in the War Office;- i.e., the permanent underlings" (a hint for a review in the *Edinburgh?*). Soon after Parliament met, Sidney Herbert would "bring forward certain heads," their "great object" being to have him so supported as to give "*Gen^l Peel* [secretary of state for war] *the requisite power . . . over his own underlings.*" Concerning her next piece for the *Edinburgh*, the article "Peasant Life in Russia" in the last *National* looked "as meagre & empty as possible" and would in no way interfere with her treatment of the subject "even if a review of the circulation of the poor 'National' *could* interfere with any other."

On a personal note, the "pretty house . . . next but one (as to the gardens)" to hers, that Reeve and his wife might take "for a year, or for "the season," was to let. Within the week she had begun to mend and would "very probably rise to par," but (reversing herself) that was "very doubtful."¹ Accordingly, in late May Martineau advised Lucy a bit defensively that "Maria adheres to the decision I told you of, - on no account to leave me at present." Maria had declared she did not need change and was refusing all invitations for the Handel Centenary Commemoration in the Crystal Palace on 20 June. Martineau could not "dispute it," so Maria must pass up Lucy's kindness. To give Maria pleasure, she had asked "Jane (j^r) to . . . come & stay a month here before our summer pressure of business begins." The business would begin with "Lord Elgin, who offers to come . . . on Tuesday or Wednesday, if I can see him, & if . . . the Fifehire Rifle corps can spare him time" (in a *Daily News* leader of 10 May, Martineau described the drilling of volunteers, owing to the war scare over Napoleon III). Newspapers were buzzing with Elgin's receiving the Freedom of the City of London as victor of "citizen rule" in India, and for the opening to commerce of China and Japan. *Her* story (a *Daily News* leader of 16 June) had been in type a week ago, Elgin being "sorely needed" by the present opposition ministry. During the war scare, the *Daily News* had "gained ground w^h the [misled] *Times*" had lost, but the effort had "nearly worn out the Editor." For her neighbours, Martineau bewailed the "long & severe drought," with pumps broken, "wells dry, - becks muddy . . . after 4 months of continuous & drenching rain in the winter!"

(The article in the *Daily News* calling Elgin a "real" statesman *had* been Martineau's, Maria told Henry Bright. Enclosing "the only copy" they had she said her aunt was "worse than usual" from the "dryness of the atmosphere.")²

In the *Daily News* from March through May, Martineau addressed the struggle by Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont to drive the Austrians out of Italy. "As for the French Emperor," she snorted to Reeve, "the one available check [is] the impossibility of carrying on war for many months on such a scale," and Britain must "keep aloof." On 26 May, Martineau reminded readers of Canning's "War of Opinion," stressing England's role as an *example* of constitutional government to despotic European states.³

At the end of June, Martineau told Reeve she had been "inquiring in two or three directions as to . . . whether M^r Seward was coming this way" and asked Reeve to address a note to him. Dropping names, she had seen nobody "but Lord Elgin," who dined at The Knoll on

30 May. Of Seward, she liked all she had heard except his “unaccountable bit of bluster about our cruisers in the Gulf.” Poor Sumner was not recovering, and she would like to see Seward “the first Anti-slavery President,” he being the “much *abler* man.”

Elizabeth Ker’s guess at the authorship of “Female Industry” amused and surprised Martineau. Only Elisabeth Reid and Bessie Parkes had identified *her* as author, and she had written to Parkes by return of post “to prevent her guess appearing in ‘the Englishwoman’s Journal.’”⁴

“I am rather amused,” she went on to Reeve, “to find myself dealing with anything in the Magazine way.” Samuel Lucas (editor of the new *Once a Week*) had asked, “& I was so indignant at Dickens’s conduct to Bradbury & Evans, that I agreed.” Her first contributions, “three papers on our miniature farming,” were intended to help mend the mischief of “that pleasant little volume ‘Our Farm of Four Acres,’ - the estimates in which are enough to set hundreds of women farming, to the loss of all they have.”⁵

But why was not the *Edinburgh* “rural, now and then?” She hadn’t seen anything for years that “breathes of the country,” except “‘Men, Sheep & Deer’ in Oct^{br}/57.” She had “half-promised to *Chambers Journal* two papers on *Flood & Drought*,” grounded on that year’s experience, and meant “to enforce the duty of Drainage & Irrigation [a] picturesque & entertaining, as well as most useful subject.” In a further hint to Reeve, she explained that “arterial drainage, for which provision must be made on a national scale,” was what she meant. At Ambleside, Maria and Jenny had become “true rural damsels:” Maria milked and made butter. That morning they had been “at Green’s farm by 7 o’clock, about an exchange of cows, - the farmer being still snoozing in bed!” Sadly, the admirable “F. Nightingale” was “worse & worse,” but could still work, “& so can I,” Martineau boasted.⁶

Seward “wanted to talk” and she to hear him, so “it was a very pleasant evening.” Questioning “his (blustering) speech in congress about our cruisers,” she was aghast to hear him say: “O! . . . that was a planned thing between your Minister & me,” for the “more noise” about war, the less probable it became. Seward assured her that Buchanan would put an end to the slave trade. If proven true, “an article on it in ‘D. News’” would show the result of their consultations. Seward she hoped would come again to discuss an international copyright - which he seemed to be against. “How confident he seems of being President!” Yet she rejected his notion that Sumner’s ailments were “partly ‘nervous.’”⁷

During the recent drought at Ambleside, friends had sent “Malvern Water & American ice cream from London,” Martineau boasted to Reeve, and her servants had gone out in the middle of the night to try for a pail full of water, “wherever it may trickle.” For an *Edinburgh* article on trade organizations, Martineau deemed a Mr. Roche would help capially, and “I will rally my personal experiences . . . & my more recent knowledge of trade oppressions, - to serve as the picturesque & illustrative part of the exposition.” On Sheffield, she would like “abundant & deep seated information,” the people being intelligent but “singularly cruel & violent.” They had plotted to assassinate John Parker’s “excellent father,” she said, “at the time of the Parker & Shore failure.” Holyoake’s “History of the Rochdale Cooperative Store” she hoped to include in the list of books under review, for it was “cool, impartial, able, just, amiable, & most striking in its facts.” Reeve surely could not have seen *Daily News* regularly for his misapprehension of its position on French/Austrian affairs: it was “the one consistent paper throughout,” while *The Times* drifted. Today her nephew Henry Greenhow (stationed in India during the mutiny) was

coming. "I half dread it, [but] I *must* hear all about it . . . it is a fearful story." Now she was going to write of "Drought & its Lessons." Sending her "kind regards to M^{rs} H. Reeve & Hope," Martineau added a postscript: "L^d Grey consulted me, some years ago, about a revival of Guilds." Though "fallacious," the scheme contained ideas she could use while "O'Connell's & others' evidence before the Com^{ee} on the Combination Laws w^d furnish splendid illustration."⁸

Did Reeve not think she ought to take the current "Builder-strike" as her theme, or opportunity, Martineau asked in August? "I wonder how our jackal [Roche?] gets on, & when he can give us the raw material of our meal." The case was flagrant, and she was cutting out items from newspapers and collecting pamphlets and would "cause a search among my Blue books for the Evidence on combinations of work men, "the facts of the tyranny being "monstrous." For her following article, she was cutting out "all lights on the Russian emancipation process" from American papers and had copied "two or three pages . . . from the very entertaining book of the very ridiculous English woman who 'travelled' for 'six years' in Russia."⁹

Veering abruptly to literary gossip, Martineau supposed Reeve felt the same way she did about *Adam Bede*: "I *am* sorry Miss Evans wrote it . . . I did not *like* her, - to my surprise [and] I do wish the secret had been kept."

("George Eliot's" *Adam Bede* had come out in February and precipitated a literary hoax when a hitherto unknown Joseph Liggins was identified as author. Charles Holte Bracebridge, whose wife's friendship with Florence Nightingale had led to his quixotic mission to the Crimea, took up Liggins's defense and initiated a frantic exchange of letters with friends of Martineau's including Elizabeth Gaskell and Catherine Winkworth. Letters on the subject appeared in the *Athenaeum*, *The Times* and elsewhere. By early summer the secret of Evans's [George Eliot's] authorship was known to Evans's friends, like Sara Hennell, yet Bracebridge refused to budge. Martineau sniffed that she had "a very interesting account of the disclosure from her friend, Miss Hennell, - another woman of vast ability, & of a *far* higher order of character." Henry Crabb Robinson noted in his diary that Evans's liaison upset the reader's trust in the moral teaching of *Adam Bede*, and he wished the book had been written by a *man*).¹⁰

During Reeve's "moor & mountain rambles," he stopped at Ambleside to see Martineau. Though pleased, she later protested she must not again "indulge in a wing of grouse," and that Rachel was surprised at his remembering her. On the subject of trades unions, their "dishonest turn-outs must have another dressing," she told Reeve grimly: they had "placarded all London with a garbled extract from 'D. News,' declaring it to be exactly what they mean!" In her leaders on the strike, appearing regularly from early August, she had tried to stick to "the political economy" and not forestall "the Edin: Rev. in any way whatever." Did Reeve happen to have "*the first* Memorandum" sent him by Roche? Her scheme for the article was now "all made out, & materials sorted; & [she was] about to begin the pen work."¹¹

(In August, Nightingale reported another item of [backhanded] praise for Martineau when Nightingale's offer to send a copy of *England and Her Soldiers* to every regiment in England was declined for soldiers' libraries because it could make the men discontented).¹²

"Secret Organisation of Trades" went off to Reeve on Saturday, 17 September. Next day, Martineau first wrote excitedly about the engagement of her nephew Tom ("our Prince of Denmark") to Emily Kenrick, "aged 21, a girl full of health, spirit, sweet temper, & beauty (so pretty!)." The "eldest of 9," Emily had been "*capitally* educated, both as to books & arts &

domestic training." Her sensible parents were "very rich, but comfortable, rational people." Martineau had guessed "how it w^d be, long ago," though Tom had first wanted "to repay to Robert the expenses of his costly *professional education*." About her article: "Well! I did all I could to keep within bounds." But Reeve was welcome to cut, and she had "left a gap for the latest news of the Builders." Despite the subject's "'aggrawatin' attributes," Maria thought he would like it.

The *following* day, Martineau wrote again in haste: "Which magistrate are we to believe, the Manchester or London?" A report in the builders' journal conflicted with the *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the State of the Handloom Weavers*, and her "Political Dictionary's" version of a law "on assaults in connexion with combinations" favoured *one* version.¹³

The death of famed engineer and railway developer Isambard Kingdom Brunel caused Martineau to exclaim: "Poor Brunel died of the dreariness of labour, - topping all. . . . Poor man! His father's costly Tunnel, the G^t Western nonpaying, - the broad gauge rejected, the G^t Eastern so expensive!" To confirm her admiration, she knew that Brunel and his wife were "so good to their governesses! - a test in its way."¹⁴

When the scrupulous Reeve asked for changes in the article on trades unions, Martineau answered, six days later, that she had done her best but had "had to work for M^r Lucas yesterday; 'D. News' on Friday & today; & tomorrow is the day for my 'Letter' for the American 'Standard:' & last night my heart began likening itself to the Marshalls' great mill at Leeds, - for noise." Her nephew Frank, now a manufacturer of "bells & brass-cocks chiefly" in Birmingham, had helped to get material for the *Edinburgh* article, and she hoped *he* and others would take it to heart. To her regret, she had had to leave out colourful anecdotes like the American processions accompanying their strikes.

Matthew Arnold, she gossiped on to Reeve, had just had "the queerest letter from Froude," sending *her* an affectionate message, but saying it was "his fate to like, admire & honour those who do not like him!" In fact, of two men she had "that degree of bad opinion as to be sincerely pleased when they [were] in perplexity & distress." One was Napoleon III and the other Froude, so she was "in a state of present complacency about them both." Rachel and Ellen had arrived one after the other, she went on, "Rachel looking as old as can be . . . while Ellen never looks to me a day older." Catherine Turner was to stay with her while Maria was away for five weeks.¹⁵

(Arnold had been curious to see Martineau's *Daily News* review of his pamphlet on the "Italian Question," which he had heard praised him more than the editor wished. Later he commented that it was "very good indeed, and exceedingly civil - nay flattering)."¹⁶

In late September, Martineau conveyed her sympathy to Elizabeth Nichol, Prof. Nichol's widowed wife. She had not known he was seriously ill, and "the tidings took us by surprise." His disease was apparently the same as *hers*, "though he was able to preserve his activity to the last," while she could not move "or "even converse much."¹⁷

Despite "invalidism" Martineau's regular contributions to *four* periodicals over the autumn hardly seemed to impinge on writing to her cousins. "I was so glad to get your letter!" she exclaimed to Sarah in September. "It revives so pleasantly one's recollections of Irish travel!" Of Tom's engagement, she hinted that if Maria was asked "to spend a bit of her holiday," Sarah could hear *more*. Maria might then take "five weeks altogether, - 3 for her

family, & two for M^{rs} Sargant & you.” Romancing over Tom’s “perfect” choice of a wife, Martineau had “for some time secretly expected the news,” and now set her mind on Maria’s going to Tom’s wedding. “I must probably be alone [with two maids] for the time,” so it must not be for long, for she could not ask “dear M^{rs} Turner twice in the year.”

Sarah could give her payment of “2 guineas, kindly promised for the American abolitionists this year,” to Maria, the “*essential* advance of the cause” being evident in “an article of mine in ‘D. News’ of yesterday,” Martineau went on. To answer about “having a sufficiency this autumn after the expiration [of the] Long Annuities,” she had no anxiety about next year “supposing I live, & in my ordinary condition.” Next reminiscing about Ireland: she and Susan had been “at Kilkee when we heard of the death of the D. of Wellington.” Had Sarah and George (her son?) met her friends, the Blackburns, “just by, at the slate-works?” At present she was suffering a touch of “‘head-horror,’ - a wretched sensation due, we suppose, to some congestion of the brain.” Maria’s leaving and Catherine Turner’s coming was “always a trying time.” Nobody but Maria *could* do many things, “revising articles &c.” Both her sisters had been there, Rachel looking *old* (Martineau repeated). “Jane Pilkington [Rachel’s friend] is aged, but she *is* old, - some little way over 70, I understand.” And Martineau was losing her teeth - a trouble because it made eating and speaking difficult.¹⁸

In October Sarah evidently offered to send Martineau £50 yearly, but she did not yet need it, she said. Indeed, she had just declined “a handsome & gratifying invitation to form an engagement with Thackeray, for his Magazine, - to begin with the new year.” A month later Martineau reported that Maria would return “at 7 this evening,” sending “M^{rs} Saunders’s grateful thanks for the £1 you kindly gave Maria for her.” While Maria was away, Martineau hired a “substitute” to do Caroline’s work for a week “& [Caroline] sat within hearing of my bell, & . . . copied extracts for me &c.”

Worryingly, Aunt Margaret at Newcastle had taken a sudden determination “to change her abode before Xmas,” and Catherine Turner had to leave to choose new lodgings for her and manage her removal. “How to carry her is not the chief difficulty, though not a small one:” yet Aunt Margaret was “in great spirits at the prospect of change.” There was no quarrel with her landlord, though “she complains that the paint & paper &c are in bad condition.”¹⁹

(In London, Maria called on Samuel Lucas. “I have so much to tell you that I think I had better write while it is all fresh in my mind,” she wrote hurriedly to her aunt. Following Lucas up into a “very warm room where [he] was busy proof-correcting,” she saw that he was “rather short & middle aged, dark complexioned & with a remarkably sharp eye.” After exchanging words on Martineau’s health, they “fell to business at once [and] talked pretty fast for nearly an hour.” Lucas rubbed his hands with delight over Martineau’s plan to write about the effects “of different professions and ways of life upon health” [the “Sanitary series” in *Once A Week*], while representative men [and women] was “the subject w^h he is wishing most for,” preferably “living men, or men not long dead” and not necessarily all English. Would Martineau object to having John Leech illustrate some of her papers? Lucas was pleased at Maria’s mention of topics like “Flood & Drought” and America, and he suggested “the Rifle corps movement” on which as “the Historian of the 30 years’ Peace,” Martineau would “be listened to throughout the kingdom with the greatest respect).”²⁰

At Martineau's instigation, Henry Bright of Liverpool had taken up the cause of John Saunders, injured by the Howitts (Maria told Bright that Saunders's wife asked Martineau to help get a government pension for him). Milnes suggested that Martineau apply to Bulwer - but her *own* past refusal of a pension was awkward. Turning to Reeve, Martineau learned that the Literary Fund committee did not meet until November. Meanwhile, Bright's cheque (for Saunders) had come, and Martineau reported that "I got it cashed here (at our mighty Bank, which is about 3 ft square, - a corner of a shop.)" Milnes, she said, had earlier sent Saunders £10 by registered letter, which he graciously returned. "I like Matt. Arnold exceedingly," she went on to Bright, "& he is a very kind friend of mine. He *is* a poet." Of the recent social science meeting (in Bradford), she judged the participants to be "far away from science [but] infinitely more than sentimentalists & fussers," doing praiseworthy work in spite of "several bores among them" - though *they* did good work too.²¹

Continuing to ply Reeve with new facts on the trades unions, Martineau applauded his "*exquisite*" letter on Saunders and repeated the history of Saunders and Howitt's failure. She had first met Saunders as "one of Mr Knight's corps," he having written the "two pretty volumes on Spenser for the 'Weekly Volume'" and probably "a good deal more." His editorship of the *People's Journal* would have "sufficed him & his, if the villainy of the Howitts . . . had not ruined both." Howitt's debt of £3,000 had come out "in the Court of Bankruptcy," the Howitts wishing "to oust this gentle & modest man from the editorship, & get the editorship for themselves." Two of the three arbitrators appointed in the case were intimate friends of hers: "viz, Hensleigh Wedgwood & Mr Atkinson." Afterwards, Saunders's "darling literary success," the play in which "Helen Faucit begged to act," unfortunately did not have the dramatic power to keep the stage. Yet Saunders's "energy & self-confidence" *never* failed him, though he had a "worn-out wife, & nine children, & a bare house about him, & very serious ailments always to bear." The money she was helping to collect would "feed the poor things for the moment," but in case Reeve met Saunders, he should "be prepared for the sight of the ugliest little man conceivable." Maria was trying to find the copy of Saunders's play lent to Milnes, and "we suspect it never came back." Saunders later "working hard at his literary engagements," Martineau expected he would "breakdown in health again, as soon as the immediate exhilaration is past." Yet he refused to go to Malvern, as *she* recommended. If salaried posts "c^d be found for him & his elder sons," they *might* get along.

Martineau was amazed at the length of her article for the October *Edinburgh*, she continued to Reeve. Formerly she'd been known for precision as to length but had lost the art. On looking at the manuscript, she decided that her *writing* had been smaller than usual. Reeve had sent a cheque for £40, and she joshed that if her Kendal bankers, "whom I know to be exceedingly curious," exerted their wits on it, they must "fancy themselves aware of some secrets." They were "desperately evangelical," and W.E. Forster (a cousin) once described the wife's curiosity as "a regular case of cat & cream." When the said wife asked Forster if Martineau was saving her soul, he answered, "'O, dear! she is far too busy doing good to think about her own soul, or anybody else's.'" A report on "Friendly Societies" had just come out, which Martineau was noticing for the *Daily News* and which "would afford material for a most useful & interesting short article in the 'Edinburgh.'" But what an "audacious knave" one of the builders' strike leaders was! She had alerted Walker of her *Edinburgh* article in the hope of attracting readers and then saw "two columns of extracts" printed. In connection with the

"Woman's Work movement," she had mentioned her article on "Female Industry" from the April *Edinburgh* "as affording the fullest view of the actual state of female industry: which I c^d do without blushes."²²

By late November, Martineau thought Reeve would agree that there was "nothing to be done but to confide my authorship of the article [on trades unions] to M^r C. Buxton," MP for Maidstone, though "some of my materials are private letters." In the interim, she had "ventured to send him the Rules of the Amalgamated Engineers, as they are in print." Later she commented that she would have written a leader on the builders' conference at Maidstone, where "the men's orators spoke in a far better spirit than ever before . . . but that American affairs pressed so strongly."²³

The seemingly endless gossip about Liggins and the authorship of *Adam Bede* had not lost its appeal. Even Reeve seemed captivated by the pseudo-mystery, Martineau telling him she had letters from Hennell, Gaskell and – notably - Bracebridge, whose conduct had been "insufferable" and who remained "'convinced that M^r Liggins had a large share'" in both *Adam Bede* and *Scenes of Clerical Life*. "As I said, there are 8 letters," she reported on 20 November: "Have you any desire to see them?" Promising five days later to send Reeve another letter, her *last* to Bracebridge, of which "Miss Hennell has the copy, but [which would] come back in a post or two," she asked that he forward them, when read, to Fanny Wedgwood. Surprisingly, on Christmas day Martineau sent Reeve the copy of *another* letter (of hers) to Bracebridge, exploding: "I doubt whether I ever met with so obtuse a man before [who] goes about like a chuckling detective on the track of a swindler, as if he had to show up Miss Evans - instead of being grateful for her work!" *This* letter Reeve should send on to Atkinson. Lewes's denial of Evans's authorship, however, had been deplorable. To Martineau, "'Clerical Scenes,'" seemed "odious, - (except Gilfil's' [sic] Love story)," for "'Janet's Repentance' leads one through moral squalor as bad as Dickens's physical squalor, (in the Marshalsea & elsewhere)." Surely it was "bad art in both, - & in all such cases."²⁴

Prudently, Martineau had let Reeve know that Smith and Elder were begging her to write for "Thackeray's new enterprise" and that Lucas reported *Once A Week* to be flourishing "on the homely housewifely papers" she wrote for him. These last informative pieces, published from August to December 1859, discussed topics such as Lord Elgin's progress up the Yangtze River, proper care of infants (including breast-feeding by mothers), healthy schools for boys and girls (who should learn *together*), healthy food, clothing, housing, the nursing profession, learning to swim, suicide and infanticide. In December, she suggested to Reeve a short review for the *Edinburgh* on the "Deceased Wife's sister question" as she had reason to know that "Englishwomen desired the same liberty of marriage in that relation" as existed in other countries "with the best effect on morals & domestic affections."²⁵

"At last I see your handwriting on the "Sat^y Review," Martineau had burst out to Fanny Wedgwood in November. After waiting for weeks she wished to warn Fanny that Russell's engagement was off. "Poor Lucy broke it off," owing to a personal repugnance, at which "James was at first excessively angry, but soon took refuge in total silence, - not speaking at all from day to day." Russell had taken it well, however, despite Martineau's fear that he would sink into "a dirty, bookish old philologist." Gossiping on, Martineau confided that her nephews Henry Greenhow and George Martineau (staying with her the day after the announcement of Russell's engagement and knowing of poor Lucy's struggles) had consulted Maria about a

handsome wedding present for Russell - "a large quantity of the very best soap!" By contrast, the happy news of Tom's engagement had lifted *Robert's* spirits.

She had been suffering from what it was "so painful to witness, - tic." Yet working for the *Daily News* and *Once A Week* was good for her. To please Lucas, but not wanting to appear every week in the latter, she had chosen a "*nom de plume*" for a quite different sort of articles. Smith and Elder's brilliant invitation had not tempted her, for she judged that even Thackeray's "£4,000 a year" couldn't affect his quality in that way. When Reeve came to consult about her trades unions article, they "talked over all things besides. - Do you know who bears the loss of the 'National Review'?" she asked Fanny abruptly. Its circulation was "only 600 or under; and the 'natural' expenses cannot be less than £2,500 per an." The *Westminster* was also "dragging," seeming to have "laid aside its distinctive character as an organ of free-thought." Chapman had given up the idea of medical practice, she had heard, and was now "handing about a printed, but private, circular, proposing a *Company* for conducting free-thinking and other publication!" Atkinson had been urged to take part, but refused.

Perhaps *inadvertently* taking satisfaction at both James's and Chapman's unpromising affairs, Martineau chatted that the current philosophical debate between Maurice and Mansell (noted in the October *Saturday Review of Literature*) puzzled her. She *enjoyed* that paper and would return the numbers at year's end. Sumner had meant to come to see her, she boasted, but could not.²⁶

Three long pieces by Martineau in the *Daily News* in December comprised the obituaries of De Quincey and Macaulay and a review of the year 1859. Censuring the "English Opium Eater" for self-absorption and ingratitude to Wordsworth (whose *Prelude*, meant only for posthumous publication, he had revealed), she declared De Quincey's wasted talent, like Coleridge's, to be a warning against the corruption of opium. Similarly, Macaulay's promise as a "great statesman" remained unfulfilled, his Parliamentary success being weakened by "want of heart," his history marred by inaccuracy and shallowness and his code of law for India remaining unused - even though his brilliant articles had carried the *Edinburgh Review* for a time. While the first volumes of his *History of England* exceeded expectation, the whole proved more ornamental than historical. By contrast, Martineau's (third) review of events of the year for the *Daily News* sounded hopeful, with praise for Italy's virtuous war against Austria as well as Britain's resolve not to be drawn in by Napoleon III. American affairs seemed promising and she saw social progress in many spheres - except in Ireland.²⁷

For *Once A Week*, Martineau offered a new series that began the first week in January: "Representative Men [and/or Women]."²⁸ Two weeks later, the first of two articles on "The Cost of Cottages" (illustrated by an engraving of her own double cottage at 1 Ellerrigg, Ambleside, and sequels to her account of farming at The Knoll) appeared.²⁹

Martineau told Nightingale she scarcely dared write about her new book, *Notes on Nursing. What it Is, and What it Is Not*, that she and Maria had "devoured." While promising to help Nightingale spread the work, she offered suggestions. *She* always took a pocket compass into hospitals and insane asylums to make sure the beds were lined up with heads to the north as recommended in Treatise III of Reichenbach's "Researches on Magnetism." Perhaps lightheartedly, she thought Nightingale would approve of "Catherine of Russia's apartment [with] bedposts . . . of purple glass; & the walls porcelain." Yet *she* went even further than Nightingale "in approbation of Homeopathic treatment." Town councils, she alleged, "as at

Liverpool," now voted money for the support of "Homeopathic Dispensaries." Lately, Maria had obtained for her, sleep and relief "from *tic* . . . by (*unknown to me at first*) mesmerising my pillows."

(Nightingale responded that she knew *Life in the Sickroom* almost by heart and thanked Martineau in advance for a review that would have "the widest influence in spreading knowledge of these nursing truths." Then perhaps thinking of her *own* case she warned that Martineau's authorship would always be found out).³⁰

For the publishers of an *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, Martineau sharply corrected seven points in a biographical notice of herself. There had been "no silk manufacture in Norwich" till after her time, her ancestors had been *surgeons* and her father a bombazine manufacturer. Of her education, *her* specialty was "Music, - singing & the piano forte;" she had danced, cultivated drawing and had "a sound classical education." There had been "*no 'deficiencies' in our 'earlier teaching,'*" her deafness had been "slight" till she was grown, and her father's affairs "*were never embarrassed.*" She now contributed "more to the "Edinburgh Review" than the "Westminster" but could not publicize that "without the Editor's sanction." A truer statement of her work on Comte and association with Atkinson would be: "After 'Devotional Exercises for the use of Young Persons' . . . she ended with . . . a translation of Comte's 'Positive Philosophy,' & with declaring, in a joint publication with M^r Atkinson, her relinquishment of theological views altogether." In her former illness, she had taken "very small opiates . . . & never was anything of an opium-eater or laudanum-drinker, as might seem to be implied." And so on.³¹

To Martineau's relief, Reeve now declared he wished to postpone her article on Russian serf emancipation. A proposal "to review F. Nightingale's book" had reached her "in a way which suits my notions exactly," she replied (unusually, it was from the *Quarterly Review*). So all her notes "out of a dozen books on Russia," would be tied up and put away for six months. Was Reeve following American affairs, becoming "critical to the last degree"? In the *Daily News*, she had attacked *The Times* for printing errors on the problems of slavery, for example on the reported loss of hope that President Buchanan would take action on slavery and on threats to the abolitionists. (In February, she cited the possibility of disunion and the problem of a continuing supply of cotton to Britain).

To Reeve, she noted "the wonderful Spectacle . . . of the stand made by the Republican members on the Constitution, - in *keeping silence* till the Speaker is chosen," the faces of "the resolute men" showing "the white heat within." Stupidly, the proslavery men had advertised Helper's book, "by denouncing every candidate who has subscribed to or distributed it." Helper had written to her about getting his book made known in Britain. Reeve, she was sure, would wish "by the Midsummer N^o," to report progress on American affairs in the *Edinburgh*. Local news was about Annie Clough's governess (in her school) who had "gone off in debt to every shopkeeper in the place. . . . So is our little world an epitome of the big one!"³²

Nelly McKee (Louisa's daughter) surprised Martineau with a piece of her "own work" now lying on Martineau's toilet table. When she could "get a holiday," Martineau was also employing her "fingers in fancy work, pretty diligently." Two of her nephews were going to marry, "& I wish them to have some of my doings in their drawing-rooms." For Louisa's sake, Martineau reported that Helper's letter had thrilled her as "the very handwriting of the man" whose *statistical* book was causing such a revolution. Nelly's mama "from her knowledge of

the preparation . . . a quarter of a century ago" could explain events in America to Nelly. The abolitionists' work was "mainly done," but the conflict was "from the beginning, inevitable."³³

When Erasmus Darwin sent Martineau a copy of his brother's book *On the Origin of Species*, she replied that she was "frightened" to think of *him* "in such weather." Though warm sunshine cheered her room, the northeast wind was roaring and "almost paints coldness on the landscape." For Erasmus's amusement, she retailed an altercation Atkinson had with a neighbour who complained of smoke from Atkinson's fireplace that forced him to leave his windows open all night. Learning that the neighbour's recent builder had *caused* the problem, Atkinson congratulated the neighbour good-humoredly, "Miss Nightingale pointing out as a means of health the having windows open all night." (*She* ventilated, Martineau added, almost more than anybody she knew).

On the Origin of Species had been an immense pleasure. Fancying she followed the argument as a learner, at least, she thought "the unconscious disclosure of the spirit and habits of the true scientific mind would be a most profitable and charming lesson." The earnestness and simplicity, sagacity, industry and patient power by which Darwin had collected a mass of facts and transmuted them into portentous knowledge were admirable. Nobody trusted Owen, she sniffed, who wavered over Darwin's theory, and she hoped Darwin would be able to achieve his "larger work."

"Poor Mrs Marsh!" she went on, who hadn't learned "self-knowledge or modesty since the days when she used to scold me for the laws of political economy." On the changing of one's name (Anne Caldwell Marsh had succeeded to her father's estate and wished to change her name to Marsh Caldwell), Erasmus must tell Fanny that it was not the romance of "Miss Evans's pseudonym" she objected to, but that Evans had adopted a false name (Marian instead of Mary Ann) and taken a false surname (Lewes), so had "no right to complain of a strict investigation into what *was* true in her case."

Florence Nightingale's suffering, on the other hand, haunted Martineau. That *she* was to review Nightingale's book "in a broad way" was a secret. Her own work was prospering! Old people, she had always thought, "were supposed to be pushed off the stage," but *her* writing seemed "more and more valued and sought." The Long Annuities from which her chief income came had expired, but she had for years "laid by that income, and more" and had saved £2,000 for Maria. And she had "within £100 enough of annual income to live on," her total earnings last year coming to £620. And *whom* should she thank for the "2 doz of champagne [that] came last week," pleasing her doctor?³⁴

Sarah had in fact been responsible for the champagne, and Martineau gushed that she had been "in the middle of the last bottle" and that "tic" made champagne unusually welcome, (When Sarah ordered more champagne in June, Martineau got a supply "from the stock of a deceased gentleman"). She *wished* Nightingale could know Maria, a "heavenborn nurse, - somewhat like herself," she went on to Sarah. Nightingale's book on nursing would shock most women, who did not conceive "what it was to nurse the sick."

At Birmingham young Harry Greenhow, just going to take up a new post, had been ill so "Sister Jane had three gentlemen invalids to plan for at once, - when poor Edgar was there." Harry's complaint was "unmentionable [so] his cousins - Susan & Jenny) c^d not even know what was the matter." Martineau's maids were to have holidays this year, she giving them "a fortnight, every alternate year." Once her study was papered and the spring cleaning done,

Caroline would go to her married sister at Holloway. "Ellen's dear little daughter comes at Easter for a month," Lucas "hopes to present himself 'in the spring'," and in May, "Maria will go to Tom's wedding, - spending ten days or so, & hastening home to receive the bride & bridegroom here, 2 days or so after the wedding." Martineau was making a "divan" for Tom's drawing room, and the Sargants (Maria's friends) were to lend her "a superb pattern for another, even larger."

Next Martineau retailed an "extraordinary series of presents" including Darwin's "all-important book:" from "Bradbury & Evans & M^r Knight . . . their 3 Cyclopedias, in 14 vols, (value 14 guineas.)," from "Lady Franklin, the last Arctic Voyage, with an inscription from her," from "D^r Sam^l Brown's dear orphan children . . . out of their little purses, a prodigious Scotch cake, & a supply of Scotch bread," from her "Jewess friend who works so beautifully . . . a set of toilette adornments fit for a duchess [of] India muslin, trimmed with costly lace . . . & lined with pink silk (2 large pincushions, & 3 spreads or mats)," from Maria Chapman, a "barrel of fine apples," from Frederika Meyer, "a German sausage," from neighbors, "fish & game" and "this champagne from you!"³⁵

Martineau's *Once a Week* series on health in various (mostly male) occupations began in February. In April, she initiated another series of (unsigned) agricultural-pastoral studies titled "The Months."³⁶ In addition to leaders on a range of topics, two obituaries by Martineau appeared in the *Daily News* in February and March: of Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier and Anna Jameson. With almost unstinted praise, Martineau described "the last of the Knightly [Napier] brothers," author of "'History of the Peninsular War' [,] the finest military history ever produced," and artist and biographer of his brother Charles, "the hero of Scinde." Her more personal account of Jameson began with an anecdote of Jameson's father, a portrait painter at Norwich when Jameson's first book came out. Jameson's books on topics such as Shakespeare's heroines and her art handbooks were useful and attractive, but predictably feminist, Martineau opined. Yet Jameson "never over-rated the kind of work she applied herself to," and her books revealed her "indomitable sociability of nature, large liberalities, and deep prejudices."³⁷

She hardly had the patience to read a pamphlet on the Chartists (sent by Reeve) Martineau wrote. What did *he* now believe about "the postponement of Serf-emancipation . . . so strenuously denied in the scraps of Russian intelligence we see in the newspapers!" Next she touched on questions concerning Gladstone, the budget and paper-duty, and pointed to Napoleon III's "losing his head" over intervention in Italy. The "complication abroad" seemed "like the situation in the 'Critic'" [Sheridan's 18th-century satire on amateur theatre critics], and she relished "setting forth the position [of European politics] once a fortnight . . . for the American 'Standard,' with a freedom I c^d not use here." On health matters, her tic persisted, while "F. Nightingale [was] sinking with *great* suffering."³⁸

A long letter from Fanny Wedgwood prompted Martineau, "for honesty's sake," to comment further regarding *On the Origin of Species*. That Darwin "went out of his way two or three times . . . to speak of 'the Creator' in the popular sense of the first cause," seemed regrettable (to Holyoake she noted that Darwin's was *not* a theology theory). Darwin's subject was "the 'Origin of Species', and not the origin of Organisation," and it seemed "a needless mischief to have opened the latter speculation at all." But she hoped nothing would prevent Darwin from accomplishing "his larger work." While she remembered, her "notion of reviewing

F. Nightingale's book for the 'Edinburgh' [had] failed," Reeve being currently "overwhelmed with material." Lately she had had "2 letters from F. Nightingale . . . written in her best hand, - firm and beautiful; and the meaning as sharp and full as ever." Meanwhile, a rich cousin had "given Maria leave to circulate [Nightingale's] book liberally." They had expected "55 copies for £5: but the publisher, in consideration of my 'name', sent us 66," to be given to "homely women, and poorish people who would not be likely to buy." The thought of Nightingale's dying now was the most painful thing in Martineau's life. "I can't forget her every night," she avowed.

Next, keeping Fanny informed, was Maria's brave act of mesmerizing her aunt at "3 a.m.," her pain having become "so fierce." She would not allow *that* "except on these extraordinary occasions," as all available mesmerism was needed "for curable cases." Last week, Maria showed her bravery again when the "farm man's wife . . . was taken in labour after breakfast, - the nurse 5 miles off, and both doctors miles away." With only a neighbour, also pregnant, Maria went down (to the farmer's house below The Knoll), not letting Martineau know. It had been "a very rapid case, - only 3 hours; and . . . Maria carried the poor woman through, till the nurse arrived only 5 minutes before the birth." Mother and child were "perfectly well (the latter named 'Harriet!')," but Maria was "so stiff" next day.

Earlier, Maria had given Martineau a treat. She had seen the "newly arrived Murillo Virgin (Immaculée Conception) from Soutl's collection" in the Louvre and resolved on "a fine engraving" as a wedding present for Tom. Atkinson, "who knows all pictures and engravings that ever were," was consulted and found one that Maria had sent "*here* . . . that I may have 2 months' enjoyment of it." Every morning she had it "set in a good light" before she started work and found it grew upon her every day.

Her "black-edge" was not for Eliza Follen, Martineau explained to Fanny, for "Americans don't usually wear mourning." Instead, it was for "dear aunt Marg^t, - the very last of the older generation on both sides of the house." Bitterness had arisen from "the extraordinary character of the Will," however. Aunt Margaret had left "only 19 guineas" to the "devoted old servant . . . *the friend* of the *five* ladies she nursed and buried," while "£1,000 are left to two children, already very rich." Martineau had hoped that Isabella Rankin and her sisters "might have had £300 or so," but it would be "under £100" and might be a good deal less. Eliza Follen's death had been a mournful event but a great relief, owing to her "altered mind" when she came to England. Follen vehemently denied "having said bad things of her nearest friends," but was hardly responsible for her late behaviour. Her grand point was "her fidelity to the A.S. cause." Charles - not clever or energetic, but good - had borne the strain of his mother and aunt and would likely marry a stoic, Martineau thought, if he could find one. Eliza Follen's sad illness was "a typhoid fever of six days, - without one moment's interval of delirium." Had Fanny seen her memoir of Sir William Napier? But she had said nothing of "Italy or the Budget!"³⁹

Another "scrap" flew off to Fanny Wedgwood at the end of March. Caroline was going to London tomorrow and would return a packet of *Saturday Reviews* by "*Delivery Comp^y*." Martineau enclosed a letter from Rosa and Emily Beaufort, who had last year travelled in the Middle East and lived in Jerusalem and the mountains of Lebanon: "Wonderful adventures, are they not?" Today Ellen's youngest daughter, Harriet, "an *uncommonly* fine and good girl, - of fourteen," was coming to stay for a month, causing Martineau to be "so busy!" About the

difficulties of the Ladies' College in Bedford Square she had been "sorry, and intensely puzzled:" Elisabeth Reid claimed the Duke of Bedford was unwilling to renew the lease, to which they would pay no attention! Furthermore, from Reid's trying "to *prevent* the appearance of any Memoir of M^{rs} Jameson," Martineau concluded that she must be "ill or disconcerted."⁴⁰

From Rev. Whitwell Elwin, editor of the *Quarterly*, Martineau heard more of Nightingale's illness. (Julia Smith told Maria that Nightingale's cousin Hilary had been with her for months and that her uncle Samuel Smith was continually there. Nightingale would be forty years old on 12 May, Julia added, and though suffering, had a little cat and was fond of the Clough baby). Martineau's *Quarterly* article declared Nightingale's to be a work of genius based on the relation of the healthy to the sick and aimed at prevention. She only lamented that some of the best material was in the *notes*. A copy of *Notes on Nursing* had been forwarded to Maria Chapman, Martineau told Nightingale, "the greatest woman [as I consider her] on record," with a "power of achievement on the grandest scale," not excluding "nursing & other domesticities."⁴¹

(In April, both Matthew Arnold and, unusually, Sara Hennell asked Martineau for advice. Arnold was concerned about his schools report, *The Popular Education of France*, and had asked his sister Fan to find out if Martineau objected to his introduction recommending *state* action in education. Hennell bewailed her difficulties in writing about Herbert Spencer and positive philosophy, James Martineau and Unitarianism, and Henry Atkinson and phrenology. "No fear of narrowness or stunting in M^r Atkinson," Martineau wrote back; Atkinson had "the poet nature & complete organisation of a *gentleman*. Open & literal in intellect as in heart."⁴²)

At *Once A Week*, Shirley Brooks was sitting in for Lucas. Sending in her piece on Elizabeth Blackwell (the first English woman doctor), Martineau noted it had been "a special choice of M^r Lucas" who she hoped was "getting all manner of good abroad." She herself had been very ill, partly from shock at the sudden death of Emily Kenrick's sister, "in the midst of wedding rejoicings." The "dear little bride" had arrived at The Knoll, "& I had to send her & her husband away . . . within an hour."⁴³

Martineau's low-key obituary of Lady Noel Byron in the *Daily News* on 24 May defended her as neither "blue" nor unfeeling. Lord Byron's slander had taken advantage of her love and noble silence, Martineau declared. Among the objects of Lady Byron's benevolence had been popular education, "common things" having long been taught in her schools, and her thoughtful "cheering the sick-room" of an impoverished lady (i.e., Martineau) by placing £100 at her disposal to be used for charity.⁴⁴

Though fearing it might smell of "chloroform, & brandy & laudanum," Martineau sent Reeve her article on serf-emanicipation, "Prince Dolgoroukow on Russia," in late May. Even her *sense* would perhaps "savour of tonics," the obstinacy of the tic beating "all the Kings of Naples together," she groaned. Though packing her facts as closely as she could, she included "the four proposed methods of emancipation" to convey to "English (& American) readers . . . the magnitude of the task to be achieved." A "quantity of entertaining material" had to be omitted, and the manuscript should "come to about 36 pp, allowing for the small type of the extracts." The remarkable statistics of "the proprietary & peasant classes" were printed in America from Russian authorities last year. Annoyingly, the (French) "Academy Dictionary" did not give an equivalent term for "*billets forcibles*," and she would recheck the conversion of money and of kilometers. All books would be returned to Reeve and "Mess^{rs} Longmans," but was the

Dolgoroukow book to be had in London? She might "help the Americans with some things out of it, - *after* the Edin: Rev: has had its course." Lately she had "been driven to mesmerism" to ease the tic, "but the heart is worse."⁴⁵

In June, Martineau was delighted to receive a copy of Nightingale's regulations for the training school for nurses to be opened on the twenty-fourth at St. Thomas Hospital in London. "About six weeks since I had a remarkably interesting letter from a lady in Glasgow," Martineau remarked to Nightingale, "entreating my attention to the quality of the nurses & keepers in lunatic asylums." If Nightingale should undertake that task, Martineau recommended she make an arrangement with St. Luke's, as she did not trust the controversial superintendent of the Hanwell Asylum, John Conolly. About Nightingale's book, *Notes on Nursing*, Fan Arnold on a round of visits with her mother had heard women saying perfectly amazing things. "Such conceit, such ignorance, such insensibility [Fan] c^d not have conceived."

Martineau had "hankered after doing 'the soldier, his health' for her "Sanitary series" in *Once A Week*, and now that Sidney Herbert had promised "the Barrack Report next month," she would keep the series open till then. Happily, Lucas had written "of the rising circulation of 'O a W,' & of the proposed enlargement."⁴⁶

Martineau's supporting piece, "The Training of Nurses" in *Once A Week*, stressed the free training and board and *pay* for the trainees. And she thanked Nightingale for getting out a new edition of the *Notes*, which had had an immediate effect on the son of one of her cottage tenants, Billy Livingston having pulled the stuffing out of the chimney. In rural places, "quacking" bonesetters were a dreadful threat, she went on, and women held crazy superstitions about childcare (to the cheap "People's edition" of the *Notes*, Nightingale then added a chapter on "Minding Baby"). Rural people - even Martineau's own servants - would take a pill of any kind, while druggists in small towns used them as small change. Yet bodily dirtiness beat everything. Warning Nightingale, "(private, please)," Martineau gossiped about Annie Clough, whose "long, dreary attendance on her mother" was made worse by the small noisome rooms in their house. At the mother's death, a woman had come to help prepare the body for burial and "told my maid," Martineau sniffed, "that what was to be done about the body she c^d not conceive, - it was then in such a state, & not to be buried for five days more!" Deploring the Cloughs' small airless rooms, "a fetid smell upstairs . . . the blinds down . . . not a window open," Martineau hoped Annie Clough's new school room would be airy, though school-keeping was not now good for her, "great as is the blessing to her neighbours."⁴⁷

Ironically, a few days earlier Martineau had boasted to Sarah that "Miss Clough & Blanch . . . are to carry a photograph of me, just taken, to F. Nightingale." Though not good, it was "unobjectionable," having been made "in a room . . . as I sit in my chair, - needle in hand." To Martineau's further satisfaction, first Susan and then Frank would come in the summer to take "an infinity of little excursions" with Maria, "to gather up the latest view of things" for the "Guide." Maria's expenses were to be paid by the proprietor and the "Guide" to be reprinted in the winter; and she wanted Maria to *take it over* completely.

(In August, Martineau had a "feverish attack" and hoped "Maria & her brother" could resume their explorations after doing "the Keswick part" - two more "*must* be done" while he was there).⁴⁸

In July, Martineau queried Matthew Arnold about the treatment of "Ragged Schools" by the schools committee. He answered diplomatically (knowing the *Daily News* would not treat

the subject) that he was glad to have her frank judgment on his report, but it pained him to differ from one he respected and admired. The report had been written for men of "governmental mind," he explained. Nonconformists had done good by insisting on freedom and independence, but the great want now was "intelligence," in Indian policy, foreign policy and social course. Guessing she had commented on the recent troubles in Syria (Martineau's *Daily News* leaders of 12 and 23 July described violent clashes among religious sects in Damascus), Arnold echoed her sentiments in labeling those troubles opportune for Napoleon III. The following week, he agreed to cut out the offensive parts of his schools report though he differed with her on a state religion, seeing it as a moral and civilizing agent. (Later in the summer, Arnold noted that Martineau had introduced his brother Tom to Carlisle).⁴⁹

"My Aunt will be much pleased to see you," Maria wrote to Bessie Parkes in mid-August, offering her "a spare bed" for a night. Martineau's "best time, indeed almost her only one, for conversation," was after six in the evening. In the morning she worked, and in the afternoon she rested.⁵⁰

Later that month, Martineau was delighted to hear of Philip Carpenter's marrying a Minna Meyer, originally of Hamburg. Sending love to his new wife, Martineau commented almost sadly about Robbie, the American slave child he had adopted: "I suspect it must be just like the story of my poor little Ailsie . . . but with a happier ending."

Carpenter had returned in June from two years in the U.S. and Canada, and Martineau groaned at the hopeless behaviour of the Americans, whose *morale* was so dreadfully corrupted "all over the Union." After two days, she warned Carpenter *not* to send new people to meet her, as for "the 5th time," Maria had to refuse "Miss Remond's [a former slave] applications." They began by being tender of her feelings, but it had not helped. Though Martineau was *ill* (and her memory "extremely bad"), her faculties were *not* failing. While she was as "fit to write (in certain ways) as ever, the slightest fatigue, & especially visitors, will in 5 minutes confuse my head." Carpenter would understand.

By mid-October, Remond was claiming that Kate Wansey, Martineau's cousin, had encouraged her. "I fear her duplicity is but too plain," Martineau wrote exasperatedly to Carpenter. To cap Martineau's disgust with Americans, she knew of a group of New Yorkers who planned a ball in honour of the visiting Prince of Wales and sold the tickets at a *profit* to "low" people who otherwise could not get in.⁵¹

Martineau's near hysteria over an unwanted visitor may partly have been owing to a delicate political task she agreed to take on. In mid-September, Emily Beaufort had described the impoverished state of James Finn, British consul at Jerusalem, and his heroic behaviour during the panic of foreign residents after the "Damascus massacre." Finn's heart was "breaking under his difficulties," Beaufort said, "among which is *debt*, from being obliged to entertain Prince Alfred." Within a week, Martineau had penned an eight-page letter to Lord John Russell to plead the indignity of Britain's paltry establishment at Jerusalem, in contrast to the "French embassy . . . & every other," trusting that Russell would show her letter to the Queen. To Fanny Wedgwood, Martineau then boasted that Russell had written "instantly that he would do what he could" and had "ordered an immediate grant to M^r Finn of £250."⁵²

Addressing a "Dear Madam" in Coventry (who seemed aware of Martineau's leaders in the *Daily News*), Martineau reiterated her opposition to strikes, as by Coventry ribbon weavers, but protested at "the careful, timid world of liberalism" in regard to "the Rochdale

phenomenon." About ribbons, she had tried in the past to buy French "for their better wear, as well as beauty [for] a French ribbon, from not creasing, would wear almost any length of time."⁵³

Though she had her hands "full of work," in October Martineau issued two invitations - one to her niece Susan and the other to "the Editor of 'Once A Week,' and the proprietor thereof, M^r Evans." Evans, she then told Fanny Wedgwood, brought his two younger daughters to the lakes, "M^r Lucas accompanying them, to see me" and to settle "a world of business [which] made me very ill; but it was worth while." Lucas was a "very accomplished man," as could be seen by his review of Hawthorne's "'Transformation' [*The Marble Faun*] in the *Times*." She and he discussed *Once A Week* "through and through" and arranged for "further proceedings, if I am able" (from August, Martineau was to contribute weekly summaries of the news entitled "Last Week"). To her surprise, the magazine had been "a highly successful affair," Millais now agreeing to devote himself wholly to the illustrations. Evans asked if Bradbury and Evans might republish her series from *Once A Week* and *Household Words*. For the latter, she needn't "ask any favour of M^r D, - which I certainly would not." The materials had come the day before "for some little arrangement," and she supposed the book (*Health, Husbandry and Handicraft*) would be out for Christmas.

Evans - who managed "poor Moxon's business," also wished to issue a third edition of *Eastern Life* and to reissue *Deerbrook* - though "Mess^{rs} Smith & Elder" held the copyright of the latter. In talking with Evans, she had alluded to "'Walpole's Correspondence;' - and lo! as soon as he got home he sent me Peter Cunningham's Walpole" and wanted to send her *Punch*.⁵⁴

Evans was "M^{rs} Dickens's trustee," she gossiped on, and he told about Dickens's treatment of his wife, whom "Dickens had terrified and depressed . . . into a dull condition; and she never was very clever." Now what looked like "a craze in Dickens" was his plan to buy the Rochester Theatre "to act there *with his daughters*, on alternate nights with the company!" He was "a lost man . . . from the moment when he . . . attacked his dumb and defenceless wife in print." Meanwhile, she had had a pleasant visit from "dear old Milnes and wife [and] their pretty little Emma." Atkinson was now in Ambleside, looking "uncommonly well, as usual after a course of seabathing at Boulogne or Dieppe." With Maria away, Martineau would be alone for a week "under the eye of Frederika Meyer, the Arnolds, Claudes &c." Then Catherine Turner was coming. *Could* Fanny by chance send her a copy of "D^r Reid's way of meeting the decay of his faculties?" For relaying to Charles Darwin, she quoted her cook's comment "about Origin of Species . . . 'she shouldn't wonder if it was true!'" Annoyingly, another "church rate bother" had arisen, caused by a new parson. Yet she was "bound to resist again . . . as last time *my* case protected the Quakers."⁵⁵

In late October, Martineau wrote to "M^{rs} E Rathbone" concerning a memoir of Lady Byron she wished to write for the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mary Carpenter, to whom Lady Byron had left her papers, had been prevented from writing one. But if Martineau could get the information, she would begin in a *month*, noting that a legacy from Lady Byron to Charles Follen had been reported in a Boston *newspaper*. Ticknor and Fields then received the manuscript of Martineau's memoir at the end of November along with a photograph of an engraving of Lady Byron. Martineau explained that a note from young Follen had led her to rewrite the memoir published in the *Daily News*, which had been lauded as doing good. Though Lady Annabella King, Lady Byron's granddaughter, had tried to stop the memoir and to prevent Lady Byron's

other friends from supplying Martineau with information, she felt it her duty to speak out. In the *Daily News* memoir, Martineau cited the sources of her information on the marriage - all *published* - and vowed that she believed "Modest merit" should be praised after death and not "only braggarts celebrated." For the *Atlantic Monthly's* American readers, Martineau then offered a longer memoir of Lady Byron with details of her family background, engagement, wedding and Lord Byron's mad behaviour. Lady Byron's character was unblemished but *not* exceptional, Martineau asserted, directing readers' attention to her generous charitable acts.⁵⁶

In her article for the October *Edinburgh*, "The U. S. Under the Presidentship of Mr. Buchanan," Martineau described conditions preceding the Republican victory in the November 1859 presidential election: Buchanan, though not actively pro-slavery, had failed to stop American slave trading and showed sympathy for the annexation of Cuba - yet she was hopeful about America.⁵⁷

Martineau confided to Reeve in December that she was grateful for "these Monday mornings, when one is sure of no proofs arriving (at least from London)." In about three weeks Windermere press was to issue a new "Guide," but Maria had taken that on. *She* was vexed at the whole "set of weak women" around Lady Byron who had "prevented Miss Carpenter, to whom Lady B. had confided her papers," from writing a memoir, "& they tried to stop me," she snorted. That life and business could go on "amidst such nonsense . . . announced & preached by educated people who act from sentiment - (always) & not from reason," amazed her. The proprietors of the *Atlantic Monthly* now wanted her "to form a connexion" - but she must refuse. *The Times*, she went on, was continuing to print irrational statements about the American crisis. Yet her American friends were "very calm & quiet," and she trusted them to "make up a Republican congress . . . & keep Lincoln [just elected President] up to the mark." Other enormities of *The Times* were its "silly dead set at L^d J. Russell" and its "gross attack on Lord Elgin." In its "facts and suppositions," it was "wrong every time." *Twice* lately it had mixed up similar names!⁵⁸

Martineau had used black-bordered paper in October and November in honour of her cousins David and Sarah Jardine who had died in within three weeks of each other. Yet Henry Bright's new "prospect of domestic happiness" rejoiced her, she told him, although she did *not* think he and she would meet again (he could ask Mrs. George Holt for her state last week). In fact, she'd "seen no one since my old friend Milnes; & it does me much mischief, attempting to converse." Bright sympathized with her view of Dickens's treatment of his wife, to which Evans had added more details. Another tidbit concerned the claims of the stepdaughter of the profligate "Dick" Gurney of Norwich, who had married an artful divorcée. At the end of November, Maria wrote to Bright to thank him for "speeding" Martineau's apples. Her aunt had no strength to answer his question on the American crisis, but he could read her view in the *Daily News* of 22 November.⁵⁹

From the Holts of Liverpool, Martineau now received some "exceedingly fine" grouse. George Holt was seriously ill, but Martineau (rather grimly) deemed it "a great mistake . . . to try to meet sorrow by supposed consolation." She and Maria were "quietly shut in for the winter," but she was overworked with "several books wanting reprinting, & the proofs coming in," her "usual work." And she could not help being anxious about "Lord Elgin, & his dear wife," though his indomitable "*spirits* are a great support to his friends . . . E^B he ran up the great pyramid on his way out, as if he were there for pleasure." While Henry Bright was "very

determined" to bring his new bride to meet her, he might learn from Miss Holt's mother that she rarely saw friends and often could neither speak nor hear. Later, following George Holt's death, Martineau wrote in February that *she* had had "the best winter of several," for the excessive cold "caused a really wonderful rally for the time."⁶⁰

"Though having to write the review of the year for 'D. News,'" Martineau dashed off an early Christmas letter to Sarah. She had finished "the most arduous [work] but one in the year" yet the cold so revived her, "memory & all," she had "not had to study at all for this long article." Partly that was owing to keeping "a *state diary*, in w^h we enter public events through the year, & this simplifies the task very much." A more anxious week would be "the last of the Session, when I always write a review of *that*."

Sarah must be getting to know young George's future wife, while "poor Russell" had a similarly good prospect. Catherine Turner had a high opinion of Russell's future mother-in-law, "& all we hear of Fanny Bailey is much in her favour." Rather cattily Martineau simpered: "We are very glad, (perhaps a *leetle* surprised) that *the shop* is not in the way." But she did not approve of Russell and his bride going to live with her mother. The "same drawback belongs to another case in w^h I feel an interest," she went on, "Bertha Smith's marriage with W^m Coltman, w^h takes place on Monday," but *that* was different because Lady Coltman was an invalid.

Poor Lady Elgin, Martineau never remembered "anything like the general reprobation of the *Times* We of 'D. News' have steadily reprobated the China policy [but] L^d Elgin was far away in Canada when the policy was entered on." For Sarah and George "& Rachel & Miss P," Martineau would like to send a photograph of Lord and Lady Elgin, but she feared it might be lost and did not venture. Wasn't Sarah glad about the help she had sent "in the nick of time to the Antislavery cause in America?" Things were turning out exactly as she so long had anticipated.

Sarah having begged to know when The Knoll would be out of champagne, Martineau reported she still had enough "for several weeks to come," and with "the wine duties[?] change," her local merchant could supply excellent champagne at "25 s/ a dozen (pints)." Happily, she looked forward to a "very good balance sheet at the end of the year" for herself. However, she was "much overworked at present," and despite the invigorating cold one evening "3 weeks ago," had been "more nearly gone than ever before." Today, Maria was busy "sending out the X^{mas} meat &c to sundry neighbours," plus The Knoll *was* to have "a kitchen party of old & young."⁶¹

A week later, Sarah's "kind gift of wine" moved Martineau to tell about their kitchen party. During the dinner hour, Maria took charge of the farm baby, "to rescue it from doses of goose & plum pudding & beer." One baby and nurse stayed overnight, the roads being slippery, & the weather bitterly cold, & such a steep long hill to climb! There was a fire in the maids' room, & the baby slept all night. So, as everybody staid late, & all ate immensely, we hope it was a success!

Finally, Martineau railed at the "contradictory & *muddling* articles in the *Times* & *Saturday Review*, w^h are full of mistakes of fact, & some inconceivably gross."⁶²

¹ HM to HR, 16 May 1859, LMU (partly pubd. *CL* 4: 172); Mary Mohl, "Peasant Life in Russia [as seen by Turgenev]," *NR* 8 (April 1859: 469-87; for Martineau's article on Russia, see chap. 46); "Tranby Lodge [had] 3 sitting-rooms; 5 chambers; handsome furniture, & two servants in the house [plus] a beautiful view. Terms, for the year, £120. For the season, the regular rate, - 6 guineas per week."

² HM to Lucy [probably Sarah's daughter], 29 May 1859, *CL* 4: 175-77; Martineau's *Daily News* leaders of 16 and 20 June reported on Elgin and on the centenary of Handel's death (see Appen., *HM/DN*, and see "The Handel Festival" [one- and two-column reviews], *The Times*, 20, 21, 23, 25 and 27 June 1859); Maria Martineau to Henry Bright, 21 June [1859], *CL* 5: 358.

³ "War of Opinion," *HM/DN*, 233-38 (and see Appen., *HM/DN*).

⁴ HM to HR, 29 June 1859, *CL* 4: 177-78; William Henry Seward, later Lincoln's secretary of state, unofficially touring Europe (see HM to William Henry Seward, 29 June 1859, *CL* 4: 178-79); in *Daily News*, 12 July 1859, Martineau noted the possibility of American "cruisers" being sent to stop "slavers" and claimed that Buchanan would prevent the slave trade to keep up the value of slaves for wealthy Southern planters (see Appen., *HM/DN*); "Scribble Diaries (1859)," BPL (on visits from Elgin and Seward and a "memorable letter from Florence Nightingale" [underlined twice]).

⁵ Samuel Lucas, barrister and contributor to *The Times*, editor of *Once a Week: An Illustrated Miscellany of Literature, Art, Science, and Popular Information* founded by Dickens's publishers Bradbury and Evans after Dickens broke with them when they refused to print in *Punch* (which they also published) his statement of why he was leaving his wife (see, for example, John T. Hatley, "A Study of *Once A Week* in 1860," MA Thesis, U of Texas, August 1958); Martineau repeatedly referred to Dickens as an explanation for her accepting work for the popularly-aimed *Once a Week* (see, for example, *HM/FW* 182); from July 1859 to July 1865 she was to contribute at least 120 articles and stories, some in multiple parts (most articles rptd., *Health, Husbandry, and Handicraft* [London: Bradbury and Evans, 1861]); for a thorough study of Martineau's contributions see Shu-Fang Lai, *Charles Reade, George Meredith and Harriet Martineau as Serial Writers of "Once a Week" [1859-1865]. Anglo-American Studies* [Frankfurt am Main, etc: Peter Lang, 2008]; Miss Coulton, *Our Farm of Four Acres and the Money We Made by It* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1859) [a breezy account of a year's experiment, surely suggesting Martineau's title]; "Our Farm of Two Acres. Terrain and Tillage," *OW* 1 (9 July 1859): 37-40; "Our Farm of Two Acres. Dairy and Bacon," *OW* 1 (16 July 1859): 44-47; "Our Farm of Two Acres. The Poultry Yard," *OW* 1 (30 July 1859): 96-100 [all signed Harriet Martineau; rptd. as *Our Farm of Two Acres*] (NY: Bunce and Huntington, 1865).

⁶ Alexander Russel, "The Highlands: Men, Sheep, and Deer," *ER* 106 (October 1857): 467-507; "Flood and its Lessons" and "Drought and Its Lessons," *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Arts*, 6 and 13 August 1859: 81-84 and 104-107 (anecdotal accounts of early floods in Norwich and drought in England in 1820 and 1826; "arterial drainage" was another of Martineau's special topics in the *Daily News*).

⁷ HM to HR, 6 July 1859, *CL* 4: 179-81; for American "cruisers," see note 4; ?Lord Francis Napier, 1st Baron Ettrick, British minister to the United States.

⁸ HM to HR, 14 July 1859, LMU 2/037 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 181-82); see "Secret Organization of Trades," *ER* 110 (October 1859): 525-63 (an anecdotal account of trades unions' abuses

including the strike for a 9-hour day called in July by the Conference of the United Building Trades); see "The Last Sheffield Outrage," *OW*, 14 December 1861: 679-83 [signed "From the Mountain"]; for the Parker and Shore failure in 1843, see *HM/FW* 49, note 3; George Jacob Holyoake, *Self-Help by the People of Rochdale. History of Cooperation in Rochdale . . .* (London: Holyoake, [1858]; not included in the books reviewed); for "drought," see above and cf. *DN*, 29 October 1859, on agricultural drainage and water supply (Appen., *HM/DN*).

⁹ HM to HR, 1 August 1859, *CL* 4: 182-83; HM, "Prince Dolgoroukow on Russia," *ER* 112 (July 1860): 175-212; Mary Ann Pellew Smith, *Six Years' Travels in Russia. By an English Lady* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1859).

¹⁰ George Eliot, *Adam Bede* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1859); see Haight, *George Eliot* 281-91; *Robinson*, Hudson [entry for 16 July 1859] 302.

¹¹ HM to HR, 23 August 1859, LMU 2/039 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 183); see Appen., *HM/DN*; for Martineau's article on trades unions, see note 8.

¹² FN to HM, 21 August 1859, BL Add MS 45788/1 ff. 57-58; Nightingale then asked Smith, Elder to send copies to reading rooms throughout the country.

¹³ HM to HR, 18 and 19 September 1859, LMU 2/040 and 2/042 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 185 and 186-87 [second, wrongly dated]); in at least twenty *Daily News* leaders from August 1859 through August 1861, Martineau continued to attack the builders, who were in fact striking for more pay: see Appen., *HM/DN*; *Commissioners on the State of the Handloom Weavers. Presented to Parliament, 1841* [reviewed in Martineau's article].

¹⁴ Isambard Kingdom Brunel died on 15 September 1859 after failing to carry out his father's plans to drive a railway tunnel under the Thames; his Great Western Railway, though well-designed, used unpopular broad-gauge track, while his Great Eastern steamships made of steel proved difficult to launch (in her letter to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of 24 October 1859, Martineau called Brunel and Stephenson Britain's "engineer princes" ["Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau. No. XVII," *NASS*, 19 November 1859: 3, cols. 3-4]).

¹⁵ HM to HR, 25 September 1859, LMU 2/041 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 185-86); Martineau possibly wrote (for Lucas) "Follies in Food," *OW*, 8 October 1859: 299-303, or "How to Learn to Swim," *OW*, 15 October 1859: 327-28; Martineau's next three leaders in the *Daily News* of 26, 28 and 30 September 1859 were on builders, colored seamen and friendly societies (see Appen., *HM/DN*); her next "letter" to *NASS* was dated 26 September 1859 ("Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau. No. XV." . . . *NASS*, 29 October 1859: 3, cols. 2-3); for Martineau's portrayal of Napoleon III as a representative "Sovereign Adventurer" (HM to Lucas, 1 April 1860, *CL* 4: 219), see "Representative Men. Monarch Adventurers. The Bonapartes," *OW*, 12 May 1860: 452-56.

¹⁶ MA to Mary Penrose Arnold, 16 and 29-30 August 1859, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 1: 490 and 498; Matthew Arnold, *England and the Italian Question* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts; 1859); [rev.] "Mr. Matthew Arnold on the Italian Question," *DN*, 8 August 1859: 2, cols. 1-3 (calling Arnold's scholarly pessimism on the French alliance harmless but censuring him for belittling the Italian character; see Appen., *HM/DN*).

¹⁷ HM to Elizabeth Nichol (née Pease), 28 September 1859, NLS MS. 3650, f. 82 (Nichol had verified Martineau's translation of the first three books of Comte).

¹⁸ Martineau contributed regularly to the *Daily News*, *Edinburgh Review*, *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and *Once A Week*; HM to [Sarah], 29 September 1859, CL 4: 187-89; see DN, 28 September 1859, on colored seamen (Appen., HM/DN); Martineau failed earlier to recall a "Mr. Blackburn" (see HM to Reid, 16 December [1854], HM/FL 541).

¹⁹ HM to Sarah, 18 October and 16 November 1859, CL 4: 195-96 and CRO(K) 14 (second partly pbd. CL 4: 201-202); George Smith had recruited Thackeray as (mostly honorary) editor of his new *Cornhill Magazine*, which he edited until 1862; for James Saunders's troubles, see below.

²⁰ Maria Martineau to HM, 30 October [1859], CL 5: 359-60; Lucas, editor of *Once A Week*, was of Jewish extraction; see note 54.

²¹ HM to Henry Bright, 3 October, Saturday [8 October], 10 and 13 October 1859, CL 4: 190-91, 191-92, 194 and 194-95; Maria Martineau to Henry Bright, 7 and 8 October [1859], BANC [Box 1] 27; for Saunders, see index (the Royal Literary Fund later granted him £30); in *Daily News* leaders of 11, 15 and 18 October 1859 on the NAPSS meeting, Martineau noted women's accomplishments; on 17, 23 and 25 November 1859, she reported progress on the kinds of work offered to middle-class women but deficiencies in their education and placement; on 9 January 1860, she was to cross swords with a *Daily News* correspondent, "Paterfamilias," on Englishmen's ignorance and fear of training for women.

²² HM to HR, 8 and 18 October 1859, CL 4: 192-93 and 196-97; *Spenser, and His Poetry* (London: Charles Knight, 1845) 3 vols., in fact by George L. Craik; the noted actress Helen Faucit, sometimes associated with Macready; "A Manuel for the use of Friendly Societies. By Charles Hardwick, P.G.M. of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, &c. Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies in England, 1859.," DN 18 November 1859: 3, col. 1 (see "The Maidstone Discussion on Strikes," DN, 28 December 1859: 6, cols. 4-5).

²³ HM to HR, 20, 25 November and 25 December 1859, LMU 2/045, 2/046 and 2/047 (partly pbd. CL 4: 203-204, 206 and 207); in leaders on 2 and 9 November 1859 and "American Society in a Crisis. (From a Correspondent)," 18 November 1859: 5, cols. 4-5, Martineau cited John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry as evidence of the unrest caused by slavery in America; in "The Burial of John Brown. (From a Correspondent.)," 3 January 1860: 2, col. 3, she described the mourning for the hanged martyr (see Appen., HM/DN; and see "Letters from Harriet Martineau, No.'s XVIII, XIX and XXII," NASS, 17, 24 December 1859 and 28 January 1860: 3, cols. 4-5; 3, cols. 4-5; and 2, col. 6-3, col. 1 (rptd. as "John Brown" [17 December 1859], "John Brown; South's Political Posturing" [24 December 1859] and "Death of John Brown; Bias in the *Times*" [28 January 1860] in Logan, *Writings on Slavery* 143-50); for Martineau's piece on Brown in *Once A Week*, see note 28.

²⁴ HM to HR, 25 December 1859 (see last note); for letters to the Bracebridges, see for example HM to Selina Bracebridge, 25 October 1859, CL 4: 198, and HM to Charles Holte Bracebridge, (extract), BUL MS Harriet Martineau 83 (and see HM to Sara Hennell, 29 October 1859, CL 4: 199); for Gaskell's comments on the Liggins's embroglio, see Elizabeth Gaskell to HM, [?late October 1859] and Elizabeth Gaskell to Maria Martineau, 4 November [1859], *Letters of Mrs. Gaskell* 903-904 and 904-905.

²⁵ Martineau's experience with Dickens may have made her unwilling to write for another popular male novelist; sales of *Once A Week* began to lag owing partly to Dickens's serial, *A Tale of Two Cities*, in his new magazine, *All the Year Round* (followed by his publication of Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* [see Hatley 27-37]); Martineau's contributions to *Once A Week*

(1859) included "River Scenes in China" (20 and 27 August): 146-49 and 176-78; "Herod in the Nineteenth Century" (3 September): 195-98; "School for Life or Death" (24 September): 254-59; "Follies in Food" (8 October: 299-303); "How to Learn to Swim" (15 October): 327-28; "The Cook or the Doctor" (22 October): 331-35; "Dress and Its Victims" (5 November): 387-91; "Home or Hospital" (19 November): 419-23; "Women's Battlefield" (3 December): 474-79; "Self-Murder" (17 December): 510-14; and [OW 2] (1860): "A Death-Watch Worth Dreading" (31 December): 18-22, 1859; and see next note.

²⁶ HM to FW, 18 November 1859, *HM/FW* 181-85; James's son Russell, formerly standoffish, had written graciously (Russell Martineau to HM, October 1857, 19, 22 and 25 July 1859, *BUL* 639, 655, 656 and 657); for Martineau's series, "Representative Men" and "Representative Women" see note 28; on 31 July 1861, she was to begin a series signed "From the Mountain" on political and social issues including American antislavery efforts; James had been involved with starting the *National Review* in 1855; Chapman (plagued by debts from his publishing business) proposed a joint-stock company among his creditors but finally sold the business on 29 March 1860: see *George Eliot and John Chapman* 104-105; see "What Is Revelation," *SR*, 22 October 1859: 485, col. 2 - 487, col. 2; James had expressed sympathy with Maurice's views in "Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought," *NR* 8 (January 1859): 209-27; but see note 61 for the *Saturday Review*.

²⁷ "Thomas de Quincey.," *DN*, 10 December 1859: 4, cols. 5-6, and "Lord Macaulay.," *DN*, 31 December 1859: 5, cols. 2-4 (rptd. *BS* 409-17 and 418-28); Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Nine.," *DN*, 31 December 1859: 5, cols. 2-4.

²⁸ "Representative Men (and/or Women)" [first signed "Ingleby Scott" then Harriet Martineau] comprised "The Missionaries - Martyn, Huc, Livingstone, Selwyn," *OW* 2 (7 January 1860): 26-30; "The Puritan Militant, John Brown" (28 January 1860): 105-109; "The European Difficulty" [Pope Pius] (4 February 1860): 117-21 [signed "I.S."]; "The Obsolete Statesman. Prince Metternich" (3 March 1860): 211-16; "The Free Nurse. Catherine Mompesson; Mary Pickard; Florence Nightingale," (17 March 1860): 258-62; "The Knight-Adventurer. Rajah Brooke" (21 April 1860): 364-69; "Monarch-Adventurers. The Bonapartes" (12 May 1860): 452-56; "Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell" (16 June 1860): 577-81; *OW* 3 "The Natural Philosopher. Faraday" (18 August 1860): 205-10; "Scientific Students. Caroline B. Hershel; Sophie Germain; and Mrs. Somerville" (15 September 1860): 318-22; "Physiological Discoverers. - Dr. Jenner" (27 October 1860): 483-89; "Last Champions of Tribes. Cheetoo - Nana Sahib - Schamyl - Abd-el-Kader" (8 December 1860): 651-56; *OW* 4 "Wives - Madame Lavatte, Lady Fanshawe, Mrs. Patton" (16 February 1861): 203-207; "Courtiers-Philosophers. Bacon: Leibnitz: Voltaire: Göthe: Humboldt" (23 March 1861): 343-49; "Scientific Explorers. Burckhardt: Barth: Franklin" (20 April 1861): 455-59 [now signed: Harriet Martineau]; "Social Reformers. Pestalozzi: the Combes: Rowland Hill" (18 May 1861): 575-80; "Social Reformers. - II. John Howard: Elizabeth Fry: William Lloyd Garrison" (8 June 1861): 652-58; *OW* 5 "Progressive Statesmen. Canning: Husskinson: Peel" (6 July 1861): 35-40; "Merchants. The Polos: Sir Joseph Child: Sir Dudley North: The Rothschilds: John Jacob Astor" (17 August 1861): 203-209; "Political Philosophers. Machiavelli: Montesquieu: de Tocqueville" (7 September 1861): 289-94; "Self-Made Men. Richard Grainger" (5 October 1861): 401-406; "The Soldier. The Maccabees: Wallenstein: The Napiers" (9 November 1861): 539-46; "Political Agitators. Rienzi: Lafayette: O'Connell: Mazzini: John Bright" (14 December 1861): 693-700; *OW* 6 "Men of Letters. Abelard: Petrarch: the Scaligers:

Herder: Gibbon" (18 January 1862): 103-10; "Lord Macaulay" (14 January 1860): 58-61 (for "The Cost of Cottages" see next note); "The Student. His Health," 11 February: 144-47, "The Young Lady in Town and Country," 25 February: 191-95, "The Rural Laborer. His Health," 24 March: 278-81, "The Statesman. His Health," 14 April: 349-50, "The Maid of All Work. Her Health," 9 May: 464-67, "The Policeman. His Health," 2 June: 522-26, "The Training of Nurses," *OW* 3, 30 June: 7-9, "The Steel-Grinder. His Health," 21 July: 91-95, "The Governess. Her Health," 1 September: 267-72, "The Artist. His Health," 20 September: 370-74, "The Baker. His Health," 10 November: 540-44, "The Needlewoman. Her Health," 24 November 1860: 595-600; "The Soldier and the Sailor. Their Health," 5 January 1861: 35-40; "The Aged. Their Health," 26 January 1861: 119-24; and see "The Weather and the Price of Food," 4 August 1860: 149-54.

²⁹ "The Cost of Cottages," 14 January 1860: 61-65 (illustration, page 62) and 18 February: 169-70.

³⁰ HM to FN, 7 January 1860, *CL* 4: 211-13; FN, *Notes on Nursing. What it Is, and What it Is Not* (London: Harrison, 1859); FN to HM, 8 February 1860, BL Add MS 45788 ff. 61-66.

³¹ HM to "Mess^{rs} Richard Griffin & Co.," 18 January 1860, *CL* 4: 213-14; R. Griffin (d. 1832), Glasgow bookseller whose son, Charles Griffin (d. 1862), also a bookseller, became joint owner of the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* (John Joseph Griffin & Co.: London; Richard Griffin & Co.: Glasgow, 1848) c. 1847 (perhaps Martineau was offended by an association with refugee Huguenot silk weavers; she later denied several of these "facts").

³² HM to HR, 28 January 1860, LMU 2/048 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 214-16); *DN* 2, 14, 19 January and 10 February 1860 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); for Helper's book, see chap. 44, note 36.

³³ HM to Nelly, 31 January 1860, JRUL, English MS C B1/24.

³⁴ HM to ED, 2 February 1860, *HM/FW* 185-89; Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection; or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: J. Murray, 1859); Richard Owen, first Hunterian Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology at the Royal College of Surgeons; Darwin's work was meant as an abstract of his observations on board the HMS *Beagle*; Marsh's change of name was granted by Royal license in 1860 (see chap. 7).

³⁵ HM to Sarah, 8 February 1860, CROK MS WDX482/15 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 216-17) and 21 June 1860, *CL* 4: 227-229; Emma Sargent, Maria's friend; [in final form] *The English Cyclopaedia. A New Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Arts and Sciences* (8 vols. and supplement), *Biography* (6 vols. and supplement), *Geography* (4 vols. and supplement), *Natural History* (4 vols. and supplement), *Synoptical Index*, ed. Charles Knight (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854-1870).

³⁶ See note 28 and "The Months - April," *OW* 2 [1860] (7 April): 325-29, . . . (5 May): 420-24 and (9 June): 563-68; *OW* 3 [1860], . . . (7 July): 46-51, "Kindling the Need Fire" (25 August): 237-38 [signed "The Author of 'The Months'"], "The Months. September" (8 September): 287-92, " . . . October" (13 October): 425-31, " . . . November" (17 November): 567-73, " . . . December" (15 December): 679-84; *OW* 4 [1861] " . . . January" (12 January): 76-81, " . . . February" (9 February): 175-80, " . . . (16 March): 315-19, and see "The Weather and the Price of Food," [*OW* 3], 4 August 1860: 149-54 (see Shu-Fang Lai).

³⁷ "Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier, K.C.B." and "Mrs. Jameson.," *DN*, 15 February 1860: 4, col. 6 - 5, cols. 1-3, and 29 March 1860: 2, cols. 2-3 (rptd., *BS* 199-212 [in "The Napiers. Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier, K.C.B."] and 429-36).

³⁸ HM to HR, 6 March 1860, LMU 2/049 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 217-18).

³⁹ HM to FW, 13 March 1860, *HM/FW* 189-93 (see HM to Holyoake, Friday [26 August 1859?], *CL* 4: 208-209).

⁴⁰ HM to FW, 29 March 1860, *HM/FW* 193-95; Martineau had earlier encouraged Emily Beaufort to write about their travels (see Emily Beaufort to HM, 15 November 1860, BUL 57) now published in *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines; including Some Stay in the Lebanon, at Palmyra, and in Western Turkey* (London: Longman, 1861); Elisabeth Reid no doubt knew of Martineau's mixed feelings about Jameson.

⁴¹ Whitwell Elwin to HM, 27 January 1860, BUL 286; Julia Smith to Maria Martineau, 23 March 1860, BUL 837 (for Maria's attempt to protect Martineau from the shock of Nightingale's presumed death, see Maria Martineau to Bessie Rayner Parkes, 21 and 23 February 1860, *CL* 5: 360-61 and 361-62); HM to FN, 7 April 1860, *CL* 4: 219-20 (see HM to FN, 26 April 1860, *CL* 4: 221; FN to HM, 28 April 1860, BL Add MS 45788 ff. 71-72, and for Martineau's complaint of typos in "a new edition of the 'Notes,'" HM to FN, 16 June 1860, *CL* 4: 226-27); "Miss Nightingale's Notes on Nursing," *QR* 107 (April 1860): 392-422 (with a review of *Life in the Sick Room*, third edition [London: Moxon, 1849]).

⁴² MA to Mary Penrose Arnold, 14 May 1860, and MA to HM, 24 July 1860 *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 70 and 12-14; Matthew Arnold, "Introduction," *The Popular Education of France with Notices of that of Holland and Switzerland* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861) xi-l; Sara Hennell to HM, 14 April 1860, BUL 428; HM to Sara Hennell, 17 April 1860, *CL* 4: 220-21.

⁴³ HM to Charles William Shirley Brooks, 23 May 1860, *CL* 4: 221-22; for Blackwell, see note 28; Clara Kenrick died on Tom and Emily's wedding day.

⁴⁴ "Lady Noel Byron," *DN*, 24 May 1860: 5, cols. 5-6 (rptd. *BS* 316-25; for Lady Byron's generosity to Martineau at Tynemouth, see chap. 22.

⁴⁵ HM to HR, 25 May 1860, *CL* 4: 222-23; for publication of Martineau's *Edinburgh* article, see above, note 9.

⁴⁶ HM to FN, 11 and 16 June 1860, *CL* 4: 224-26 and 226-27; FN to HM, 18 June 1860, BL Add MS 45788 ff. 79-82; for the training school for nurses, see Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale*; Martineau's *Daily News* leader of 25 June 1860 confirmed that women accepted for the year-long course would be supported from the Nightingale Fund (see Appen., *HM/DN*); for "The Soldier and the Sailor. Their Health," see note 28; for the Barrack Report, see Sanders, *SL* 253, note 184.

⁴⁷ HM to FN 25 June 1860, *CL* 4: 230-32; "The Training of Nurses," *OW* 3 (30 June 1860): 7-9 (for "Woman's Battlefield," see note 25); Nightingale afterwards added a chapter on "Minding Baby" to the cheap "People's edition" of the *Notes*; *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes* (London: Harrison, 1861) 88-92, gives *fresh air* as the first need for a baby (92).

⁴⁸ HM to Sarah, 21 June and 15 August 1860, *CL* 4: 227-29 and 235; see photograph, *CL* 4: vi [?]; Susan, Maria's elder sister, and Frank (Robert Francis) her younger brother (see HM to Lucas, 3 August 1860, *CL* 4: 234-35).

⁴⁹ MA to HM, 24 and 30 July 1860, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 12-14 and 14-15; see Appen. and "Syria" (239-44), *HM/DN*; MA to Thomas Arnold, 26 August 1860, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 21, note 1; for Carlisle, see chap. 41, note 2.

⁵⁰ Maria Martineau to Bessie Rayner Parkes, 22 August 1860, *CL* 5: 362.

⁵¹ HM to PPC, 7 August, 3, 5, 11 and 14? October 1860, (first and fifth) HMC MS H. Martineau 1 ff. 97-98 and 108-109; (second, third and fourth), *CL* 4: 242, 242-44 and 244-45.

⁵² Emily Anne Beaufort to HM, 16 September 1860, BUL 56; see "Syria," *HM/DN*, 239-44 (Martineau had met Finn in Jerusalem in 1847); as a midshipman in the Royal Navy, Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, second son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, visited Jerusalem in March 1859; HM to FW, 20 October 1860, *HM/FW* 195-200; HM to Russell, 22 September 1860, *CL* 4: 239-40; in a letter to Nightingale complaining that the Queen increased difficulties about cousin marriages as a cause of idiocy, Martineau expressed cynicism about the Royal family and, citing American studies, said breezily that she had "written as freely on the subject as if [the Queen] had married a grandson of Prester John, - & especially when her husband laid the foundation stone of the Asylum for Idiots": see HM to FN, 15 July 1860, *CL* 4: 233-34.

⁵³ HM to "Madam," 3 October 1860, *CL* 4: 241; see leaders on "Distress in Coventry," *DN*, 24 July, 17, 24 August, 1 and 10 September 1860 (Appen., *HM/DN*); Martineau may refer to the Rochdale oath (?) that does not take the name of God for secular dealings.

⁵⁴ HM to FW, 20 October 1860, *HM/FW*, 195-200 (for plans to republish her articles, see HM to Frederick Mullet Evans, 4 and 18 September 1860, *CL* 4: 235-36 and 238-39, and HM to William Henry Wills, 4 September 1860, *CL* 4: 237); for the health series, see note 28; "Last Week" [signed From the Mountain] 3-4 (17 August 1860-22 June 1861); for "Representative Men/Women," also see note 28; *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1861) included the health series from *Once A Week*, the industrial series from *Household Words*, "Our Farm of Two Acres" and other articles on husbandry from *Once A Week*, *Household Words* and *Chambers's Journal*; *Eastern Life* was not republished until 1875; Martineau had expressed disgust at *The Letters of Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford* (see chap. 26).

⁵⁵ The anecdote, in a lecture by Dugald Stewart, concerned Dr. Thomas Reid's study of his own aging; Darwin was of course Fanny's brother-in-law.

⁵⁶ HM to Mrs. E. Rathbone, 24 and 27 October 1860, *CL* 4: 246-47 and 247-49 (Elizabeth Rathbone, née Greg, wife of wealthy Liverpool philanthropist, William Rathbone; see E[lizabeth?] Rathbone to HM, [dates?], BUL 122 and 123); HM to James Thomas Fields and William Davis Ticknor [henceforth Ticknor and Fields], 29 November 1860, *CL* 4: 250-52; "Lady Byron," *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1861: 185-95; Martineau recorded having written 1 1/2 dozen times to Ticknor and Fields in 1860, she supposed about articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* ("Scribble Diaries [1860]," BPL); in 1861 she contributed five articles to the *Atlantic Monthly* (see chap. 46).

⁵⁷ "The U. S. Under the Presidentship of Mr. Buchanan," *ER*, 112 (October 1860): 545-82.

⁵⁸ HM to HR, 11 December 1860, *CL* 4: 252-54; *The Times* (5 November 1860: 6, col. 3) attacked Russell for his censure of Sardinia - now winning the Italian war of independence; Martineau may mean *The Times'* calling Elgin's view of Chinese duplicity too merciful (see *The Times*, 30 November 1860: 6, cols. 5-6; for the Lady Byron memoir, see note 56).

⁵⁹ HM to Henry Bright, 8 November 1860, BANC [Box 1] 27 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 249); the George Holts, of Liverpool and Orrest Head, Windermere; Maria Martineau to Henry Bright, 30 November 1860, BANC MSS 92/754 z Box 1: 27; the apples must have been sent by Maria Chapman through Liverpool where Bright lived; in the *Daily News* of 22 November 1860,

Martineau insisted that slavery was bound to go despite the dangers of Southern calls for disunion (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

⁶⁰ HM to Emily Sarah Holt [daughter of the George Holts], 15 December 1860 and 20 February 1861, *CL* 4: 255 and 264; for *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft*, see note 54; Elgin had entered Peking in late October after the burning of the emperor's Winter Palace.

⁶¹ HM to Sarah, 22 December 1860, *CL* 4: 256-57; in "Last Week," *OW* 3 (8 December 1860): 669-72, Martineau lauded Elgin as the Queen's representative in China; the *Saturday Review* (10 [22 December 1860]: 789-90) praised Elgin's diplomatic skill in negotiating a treaty with China but suggested he had sacrificed two hostages for the sake of British public opinion (the news of Elgin's negotiation of a treaty ending hostilities with China reached Britain only on 27 December 1860); following earlier threats, on 20 December 1860 South Carolina seceded from the Union; for Martineau's disapproval of dropping "Studies in . . ." from the title of her book because she did not "offer an unlimited view of Health, &c," see HM to Evans, 19 October 1860, *CL* 4: 245-46; no reprints of papers from *Once A Week* other than those in *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft* seem to have appeared.

⁶² HM to Sarah, Friday [28? December 1860], *CL* 4: 258 (various guests may have lived at Ellerrigg).