

## Chapter 46 Writing, Family Concerns, Civil War in America (1860-1861)

Over the past six months, Martineau's rambling letters to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* had touched on European topics: serf-emancipation in Russia, the menace of Napoleon III and the Prince of Wales's visit to America as well as the American presidential election and possible new sources of cotton.<sup>1</sup> In the *Daily News* of 31 December her lengthy "Review of the Year" dealt with Napoleon III's intervention in Italy and British engagement in China, but downplayed the gravity of American events while noting only "the election of a free-soil PRESIDENT [and] preparations of one or more States to leave the Union." On 2 January, Martineau declared she saw no immediate prospect of civil war.

An urgent letter from Florence Nightingale then spurred a leader recommending that Sydney Herbert (just retired from the Commons) be allowed to carry out reform of the war office. Martineau's sarcastic obituary of King Frederick William IV of Prussia on 3 January 1861 termed him a "painful spectacle in the eyes of all Europe," who could not unite the population of his artificial state but assembled an army to keep them down. Almost like one of the Stuarts, he might serve as a "warning to his successors." In "Sir G. Lewis and the Oath," a letter to the editor dated 19 February 1861, Martineau protested that members of religious groups unwilling to take oaths were thus denied rights of citizenship. American affairs then dominated her leaders over the rest of January and February.<sup>2</sup>

"After directing an envelope to the Beauforts, - Valencia, Spain" (where Emily Beaufort was writing up their Middle Eastern travels) Martineau promised Fanny Wedgwood "40 minutes before dinner"; she had written her *Daily News* article that morning (2 January) but had a proof to correct- - and the "Bs must wait another day." Fanny *could not* see the Beauforts' fascinating letter, however, because of its "full statement of the Finns' affairs, - meant for L<sup>d</sup> J. Russell, and nobody else." On another topic, Elisabeth Reid had helped Martineau with "information about L<sup>y</sup> Byron's schools" for the *Atlantic Monthly* memoir - she having "*entirely forgotten the spring controversy about such Memoirs.*" Really, it raised one's estimate "of L<sup>y</sup> B's mind . . . amidst such a set of women as her 'friends'" (not including Reid).

Sara Hennell had been pleased to meet Charles Darwin, Martineau went on, but she wished Hennell had met him, "or at least his book before she wrote hers . . . a wonderful book for *beauty* . . . but O dear! so unsound in the latter part!" Hennell was "too sentimental (about Miss Evans &c)," cared "too much about 'happiness,'" about being called a heretic and "about other people being heretics." Atkinson had "doubted about reading her book . . . and very fatiguing he found it."

"When the thermometer is below zero, I get well," Martineau then vaunted. The latest local scandal involved their "grand High sheriff, Matt: Harrison," who had invited the church choir to practise "the anthem &c at his house on X<sup>mas</sup> Eve" but - probably drunk - threw the organist out in the cold "for playing without notes!" Martineau's thoughts just now, however, were of the serious questions of China and America. Soon she would return the Wedgwoods' copies of "that consummate puppy, - the 'Saturday Review,' for 1860."<sup>3</sup>

Sending a receipt for Ticknor and Fields' "Bill of Exchange," Martineau was pleased they liked her memoir of Lady Byron. Despite the objections of Lady Byron's friends, she felt that "only morbid sentimentality or selfishness could come between the dead and their fair

reputation." Surprisingly, she then agreed to undertake an article they proposed on the "notabilities of the Lake District." She had known "*Hartley Coleridge* here, & his father at Highgate; but S.T. Coleridge's residence at the Lakes was almost before I was born," she explained. De Quincey she had known in Scotland and often saw Wilson ("Christopher North") at the lakes. With the Wordsworths, Quillinans and Arnolds, she had been intimate. Only *she* had described all these individuals in a newspaper notice and could surely gratify their readers with what she had to tell. As to her health, the problem was "organic," but she was feeling "rather better."<sup>4</sup>

In March, Martineau again acknowledged Ticknor and Fields's "Bill of Exchange for £34 [and] copy of the 'Atlantic Monthly' for Feb<sup>ry</sup>," allowing her to see "the Byron Memoir in print." People had been surprised that "Lady Byron was so unlike the common impression of her."<sup>5</sup> Ticknor and Fields liked Martineau's article on the Lakers too, and she determined to "venture a short article" without waiting for a reply. In writing her autobiography, she had forgotten the pathetic story of "a young Irish Repealer" which might be useful to correct some American delusions. In addition, "an article containing sketches of the four seasons in rural England might possibly be interesting." She felt that American visitors coming "*to London* see no fair specimens of the general run of us," such as "ladies doing anything useful at home [or] of domestic economy, practices, & manners." Washington Irving's pictures of English country life were "traditional & bookish." What did Ticknor and Fields think?

"And now for the serious subject of the autobiography" Martineau began a new paragraph. She was replying "*in strict confidence*": certain friends in Boston knew that Maria Chapman was "to add a 3<sup>d</sup> vol: to the two of my own" and thus "some little time [would] elapse before the publication." With details of the controversial opinions expressed in the work and the names of her printer and executor, Martineau then left it for Ticknor and Fields to consider publication.<sup>6</sup>

Martineau had earlier reminded Reeve of her *Edinburgh* article of the past July and now warned of "the inevitable explosion at S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg [among] the Imperial family & their cliques" concerning "the Emperor's notion of freeing the serfs without having made any way at all about dealing with the bureaucracy." On another tack, she exclaimed "Ah! how people are all coming round about America! . . . praying and begging for information . . . the hoitytoity folk who w<sup>d</sup> not believe a word, when told what was coming!" Greg, for example, "always on the slaveholding side" - *probably* the writer in the *Economist* who made the grossest mistakes about the American constitution - had asked for all her materials. She hoped Reeve had seen the "capital" leader in the *Daily News* (not hers) showing where *The Times* and the *Economist* were wrong about the American crisis. As to the *Edinburgh*, she supposed Reeve would wait until "the July N<sup>o</sup>, to see how Lincoln opened his term, & how he got to work." *She* was in more thorough possession of the case than anybody else in Britain, from her full communication with Americans and from having stayed at "Charleston, Columbia &c just after the Nullification time, & [having] *seen* what Southern insurrection is like." All the *Daily News* articles on the subject, "not in instant reply to the *Times* & other papers [are] (*entre nous*) . . . mine." She trusted her "long one on Thursday" disposed "pretty well of the *Times*' & *Examiner's* charming notion of a triumphant Southern Confederation, - leaving the North 'a mere rump!'"

Even a chief writer in *Once A Week* had noted "the *unwholesomeness* of the *swamps*" in which cotton was grown, "w<sup>h</sup> Humboldt found 9,000 feet above the sea" and which flourished

at other high altitudes. Moreover, "the very best cotton ever seen in Lancashire was grown, picked & prepared by German, Irish & Yankee cultivators." If she was "likely to be wanted for a short & late article" for him, she would like to know in good time, her "Byron memoir" having so gratified proprietors of the *Atlantic Monthly* they asked for a long piece ("Lights of the Lake District"). The Arnolds had lent her material for the Byron memoir, which she wrote "*con amore*, & sent it off by last mail." Finally, her "vol: of reprints coming out this week" (*Health, Husbandry and Handicraft*) would be sent to Reeve as editor but would not interest him, so he need not thank her.<sup>7</sup>

In mid-February, Martineau again prompted Reeve that "the *deliberate*" almost daily articles about America in the *Daily News* were hers. The "state of things" in South Carolina was "truly awful, now the marauders have got the power in their own hands." Certain facts she knew would render "the secret history of the North . . . singularly impressive." For example, the sons of the "strict old Quakers" were going about as Wendell Phillips's bodyguards. The reason, the occasion, "the character & the conduct of that special guard w<sup>d</sup> alone make an animating story," she hinted. "Lincoln's full & careful proclamation of the real nature of the Federal relation" looked well, the present crisis being "a tale of heroism" that she fully intended to record "in some form or other." To pique the Americans, her recent letter to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* had derided Lincoln's *inaction*. Sarcastically, she asked Reeve if he didn't admire "the innocent 'Saturday Review,' [it] concluding that there is no uneasiness about the slaves, because there is nothing about it in the newspapers!"

Just now, Maria was struggling with requests for Martineau's views on American affairs: her Buchanan article in the October *Edinburgh* had caused a sensation in America: "How complete his fall is! & how Everett grovels, - a wiggling worm as I always knew him to be! And how Seward has exposed himself, - & in good time too!"<sup>8</sup>

Martineau's range of friends continued to stretch from her faithful Ambleside postmistress, Agnes Nicholson - to whom she now sent thanks for a gift of grapes as well as a note of sympathy for the death of her daughter - and the (wealthy) Anna Maria [?] Goldsmid. Lamenting to Goldsmid that she had little breath, hearing or "strength of head" when she finished her work, she sent regards to Anna's well remembered sisters Emma and Rachel "& 'little Julia'" (in April she begged "Miss Goldsmid" to deliver a note to Isabella Rankin).<sup>9</sup>

In a letter to Sarah, Martineau enclosed a note to her son George. She had "been thinking so much of him & his bride" but regretted the dull weather for "two out of the three weddings." Russell's cards had come today, making her "very glad indeed" that he was married. At Birmingham, meanwhile, Robert's family had been "in grave apprehension for some days" over Susan, in fear of "lock jaw, chiefly." Robert's spirits were "dreadful" as he was "very blind." She worried about "poor Jenny," who was "all in all to every body, & much overworked." Of happier news, Tom's wife had today sent "a charming account of the baby, - Master Ernest."

About Sarah's "vexatious robbery . . . of your beautiful time piece!" she wished "ten times over" it had been *her* gift of a "divan." At The Knoll, Maria was practising with her new sewing machine, the work going off "like magic" and promising to be a great benefit to "the house & the neighbourhood." Later, Martineau saw a notice in the "Illus: London News of an invention to produce 'frilling.'" Maria had been "rejoicing at the facility of making frills for my

nightdresses by our sewing-machine," she told a correspondent, but "*this* far transcends *that*."<sup>10</sup>

Through Rachel, Martineau received a "little Memoir" of John Austin that gave her a "grave, & somewhat mournful pleasure." Sarah Austin had been pleased by Martineau's earlier praise of her husband, and Martineau replied that she had "found him . . . the most agreeable man in conversation that I was acquainted with." Elizabeth Ker would enjoy the memoir. *She* was leading "a noble life . . . discharging her awful duty" to her father, who had been "insane, - never quiet, often violent" for 16 months.<sup>11</sup>

In one of several letters to Walford in April, Martineau scribbled notes for his *Men of the Time*: Rajah Brooke would be home in December and was writing letters right and left; Adelaide Procter was born (she *thought*) in 1828; William *Johnstone* Fox was correct; Walford *should* include Gervinus; Lady Duff Gordon was "Lucy;" George Grote's wife mourned the suspension of his history in 1832 and Dr. Howe was known for training deaf-and-dumb-blind Laura Bridgman (and he was a friend of John Brown, whose flight into Canada had been "notorious").

On the delicate subject of James, Martineau revealed that in regard for the feelings of their nephew (her executor) and of James's children, she had left him an equal share of her "little property" with her other brother and two sisters - which she fancied would "astonish him." James's married children were affectionate towards her, replying to good wishes and wedding gifts, and his eldest son probably would come with his bride to see her. James's wife, "as far as her power goes," was the "evil genius" behind their separation. Despite their falling out, she termed James's preaching "beautiful" if "thoroughly unsound." Walford must *burn* this letter, she added. "Last Week," her news summary for *Once A Week*, had gone before Walford's note came, and she *did not* know any Americans in London for his purpose.<sup>12</sup>

Her "head & heart" were "at their worst" Martineau told Reeve the same day. Yet she had been thinking about him and "about Poland & Zamoyski" who had described the occupation of Cracow, "the news of which reached him & us on the Nile." She had *hoped* the "recent ill-usage of the Poles" was not owing directly to the Czar, or one "w<sup>d</sup> almost go wild about the Warsaw doings if there were not such urgent interests elsewhere" - as in Santo Domingo. Not only had she written a history of that country's revolution, Maria Chapman and her husband had lived there. Haiti might furnish "as good a cottonfield as the Southern States, if let alone; & the migration of cotton-negroes" was now being arranged. It was "heart-breaking to think of the approach of Spanish slaveholding." She would write about it, "& about Toussaint . . . a more interesting story never was told." Wordsworth's sonnet and "Toussaint's own wonderful sayings" were forever in her mind. "Scamp," she sneered, might be behind the Santo Domingo affair, "to avenge France there, as well as at Waterloo or Trafalgar." Her latest information on America, on the "rapid improvement of public sentiment in the North," could be read in the *Daily News*. How very fine Wendell Phillips's speeches were! His mobbing by "hired Irishmen from the dockyard gates, cotton-clerks, & sweepers of the warehouses &c," had compelled him to have a bodyguard "with revolvers in their pockets, chafing to use them!" No, she did not know "M<sup>r</sup> Adams; but I knew his father well, & have heard a great deal about this man." Conditions were grim in the South, but she doubted there would be war.<sup>13</sup>

"Yes, - the 'Edinburgh' always comes now," she answered Reeve's query. She did not, however, think highly of the works reviewed - on Bacon, Lords Auckland and Colchester and on Eton College. The one on Lincoln seemed "desperately elementary [and] sadly jejune;"

dissolution *was* expected; the article on de Tocqueville she had not read yet (Lucas had told her he *thought* it was *Reeve's*). "Sumner w<sup>d</sup> have liked to come here," she repeated: "he is good enough for the Senate, & Adams, with his entanglements, is not."

In an aside, Martineau groaned confidentially that "a highborn widow . . . wishes to come & devote herself to me till death, [having] a perfect temper, a fine intellect . . . reads in modulated tones [and] desires no salary, only perfect unity of hearts &c &c." The case was the same with "offers of marriage to literary women" from "unheard of men, who never seem to consider that *they* are not interesting to the lady." In a postscript, she asked about "this charge against P. Dolgoroukow." Was it a forgery or genuine?<sup>14</sup>

In aid of "a frequent correspond<sup>t</sup> of mine" (no doubt Edward Walford), Martineau asked Fanny Wedgwood's advice on someone "qualified to write a trustworthy (short) account of leading Americans." *Men of the Time* had been invented by "M<sup>r</sup> Hunt (my friend of 'D. News')," who had "a handsome present from Bogue for the idea." Did the Wedgwoods know anybody in London who might undertake such articles?

Trusting to Fanny's open mindedness, Martineau next berated Nathan Appleton for "glorifying mammon-worship" by supporting a tariff and opposing (Garrisonian) abolition. In the present emergency the Appletons must be miserable, she judged. Her last letters from Maria Chapman had been "glorious beyond everything." An item of unpleasant gossip was James's son Russell now being known to be epileptic - a fact concealed from him and his bride. Happier news was the planned wedding in June of Maria's brother Edward. Had Fanny heard the "really good news of Grace Davy's engagement?" Martineau was delighted "for the poor girl and her mother." That George Rolleston (her fiancé) had obtained by competition the post as Linacre Professor of Anatomy at Oxford seemed "proof of great ability," and she heard he was "a very fine fellow indeed." Strangely "the D<sup>r</sup>, - D<sup>r</sup> Davy, - had for some time appeared quite a changed man, - comparatively amiable and genial . . . and now this happy event promotes the good-humour." Martineau herself had "a new task . . . a new probative engagement," which she and "the other party" were trying until midsummer.<sup>15</sup>

"Lights of the English Lake District" in the May *Atlantic Monthly* confirmed Martineau's skill at recycling familiar material. Opening with (18th-century) Elizabeth Smith who had lived at Coniston and translated works from the German, she retailed anecdotes of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey. Highlights included Coleridge's magical (but not lasting) effect on listeners and De Quincey's failures, the visits of Scott, Lamb and Canning to the lakes, Elizabeth Hemans's living at Dovenest (later the home of her friend Rev. Graves) and Mary Wordsworth's death only in 1859. That the district was no longer a retreat had been *caused* by the poets, she asserted.<sup>16</sup>

By May, Martineau had altered her opinion of the April *Edinburgh*. *Reeve's* piece on de Tocqueville she read with "deep interest & pleasure" and correctly guessed the one on *Essays and Reviews* was by Arthur Stanley, who was "'liberal,' amiable, gentlemanly, - but utterly obtuse." Stanley ("*entre nous*, please)" seemed "devoid of . . . any instinct w<sup>h</sup> can lead him to conceive of other people's difficulties," i.e., of belief. Weaknesses she saw in the structure of the Church of England included the present bishops: "What a set of piping & puling old women!" Also in the May issue "M<sup>s</sup> Piozzi" was "wonderfully interesting," but she *had not* seen "Miss Evans's last yet" and had heard it was "infinitely better than last year's, & with no querulous women in it." James Payn's new novel was another case of ability wasted on bad art,

though his short tales were "exquisite." Similarly, "Shirley Brooks in the tiresome but very clever story in 'Once a Week.'"

How intensely interesting the American news was! The Arnolds were sending her "hot & hot news from Liverpool, - (the telegrams there) - & I send, or Maria reads, them my letters." How foolish were "the delusions of . . . the secession managers & their tools about the people of the Free States [to believe] that the northern men cannot fight & will not be fought." Hope was hourly rising "that the North shall proclaim emancipation, *in order to guard the lives & property of the planters.*" Lincoln's conduct did not seem that of a weak or merely average man, but she was not yet sure.<sup>17</sup>

"We owe this copy of your cheap 'Notes on Nursing' to you, we doubt not," Martineau effervesced to Nightingale. "I could not help reading it all through again - all the old part, - as well as the new: & I think I like it better than ever." She had ordered "a batch of copies; & the parson & the Arnolds and I shall soon see that everybody here has it." Just now the east winds relieved her, "coming in the midst of the spring failure of strength & breath," while Maria had been out gathering yellow ranunculus from rocks in the middle of the Brathay River. For the beginning of the war in America she was "anything but unhappy" as its onset signaled "the resurrection of conscience among them." Annie Clough seemed unwell "from the old want of air & good management," so it was well she was going abroad.<sup>18</sup>

"Do me the favour of accepting two copies of F. Nightingale's Nursing book, - the humbler edition," Martineau then wrote to Annie. "I dare say you know plenty of housewives who can read, & may profit by its instructions." Her copy of Matthew Arnold's *Popular Education of France* with new "omissions & changes" and a new introduction she was to loan to Annie. The facts were interesting and the work "capitally done," but some of the "doctrine . . . horrible."<sup>19</sup>

In mid-May, Martineau replied to Shirley Brooks about a Westmoreland "statesman," a poet of whom she had never heard and doubted whether her neighbours had. Nor did she "like the method of those literary pensions" comprising lies told to them, nor their shabby treatment of a fellow woman author.<sup>20</sup>

More amiably a week later, Martineau wrote to Erasmus: "No doubt it is to you that I owe this pleasure, - of Buckle's 2<sup>d</sup> vol." Maria had been "cutting and skimming" and opined she would "find it a very great treat indeed." Just now *she* was "in the thick of a very different sort of book," *Elsie Venner*, which she hadn't meant to read, "but a look at the first page carried me on: How immensely clever some of these Americans are! and their style of tale so new!" Though disliking "all the part connected with Elsie," she enjoyed "the New England atmosphere [and] the wonderful power of deep and incessant observation." Lately, she had wondered how the Lyells, "so completely in the midst of the guilty, unpatriotic, virtually treacherous set, - Ticknors, Appletons &c," took "this American business." Erasmus must surely sympathize with *Daily News* and herself. As a member of the staff for nine years, she had told the truth about American affairs "freely and fully . . . and now we are seen to have been right all through, - *and we alone.*" *The Times's* man, Russell, "won't do us much good this time," she feared. "He went ignorant; and now he must find himself in a false position" - in the Crimea and in India he had been at home, among English. "His friends of the *Times* . . . asked me what I thought, - Bowlby's fate being in their mind," and she advised that he must "leave the South in May, to avoid yellow fever." Meanwhile, she jeered, the vain Southerners would be "so delighted to

see a *Times* Correspondent, - and especially *the Times* correspondent," they would humour and flatter - and misinform him. Oddly, four of *her* articles on life in America from *Once A Week* had been copied into American newspapers as American.

Sadly, her old friends the Potters had both died, their daughter wisely choosing to live on her own. When Martineau lived in Conduit Street, Potter had first written, then called "bringing *her*," and their friendship had lasted for years. Erasmus might now help with information of another old friend. "We hear that M<sup>rs</sup> Reid is unaware *how* ill she has been; and that she is really recovering - and Miss Sturch also better." Martineau's problem involved the remaining £350 of Reid's loan to the building society. The society's land had been sold immediately, two cottages had been built for Reid and the rest "lent . . . without interest, for a term which ends four years hence." Some years ago, she bought Reid's cottages - thinking her friend fancied she had been "encroached upon" - though Martineau held "written instructions [from her] for everything that was done." In fact, Reid had surprisingly said she "contemplated coming to live in Ambleside." Now Martineau wanted to assume Reid's loan, having earned £2000 for Maria and "£500 for little gifts or legacies." To pay Reid off *would* be a burden, and she wanted to be sure her friend was "in a state to understand the affair." Reid *was* forgetful and had for years quarreled with Martineau "upon every affair of business." Last year Martineau had earned "£700, - without any toil at all," but her independent income was only £300. With "present calls" upon her, she required £370 and was "always doubtful about going on."

At Ambleside they were suffering from a drought; though the valley was bright, the fells showed "no green yet." Of other news, the Arnolds' maids were ill, and Annie Clough "very ill, - a severe . . . attack of Mumps."<sup>21</sup>

Answering Ticknor and Fields, Martineau stated that she had referred their letter on the publication of her autobiography to her executor. Their proposal of "10 per cent on the retail price" seemed liberal, and care would be taken to get the printed sheets to them "to be ready to publish on the same day as the work will appear here." By law the work must be published in America without alteration of any kind. If they agreed to her stipulations, would they send her a form of agreement in duplicate? One should be signed by them, the other by herself and "M<sup>r</sup> T. Martineau," then returned to them.<sup>22</sup>

Under Reeve, the *Edinburgh* had maintained a liberal (if neutral) stance vis-à-vis American affairs. Now Martineau learned from Lucas that Reeve wanted her opinion of an article *he* had written. Almost "running over with news & notions," she begged Reeve to approve an article on America by *her* for "July or October." Until she knew whether for him "or somebody else," however, she would not "spend strength on the endless, boundless subject." If for him, she "might take M<sup>r</sup> Motley's Exposition, & the State documents, - Proclamations of both American Presidents & the Queen as our text [and] M<sup>r</sup> Russell's Letters . . . small, shallow & unsatisfactory" as they were. Russell could not know "what allowance to make for the habit of brag, & *ignorance of the world*" among the people he was with. She was certain that the Southern leaders would collapse "after or before the first buffet," the evidence of "the insuperable poverty of the South" being stronger than ever - but she didn't doubt that "New Bedford whalers & northern merchants" had offered private service to the South. The lesson she wished "to teach [was] not to admire too much now, & not to condemn too much by & by." Did Reeve "ever see anything so miserable as the figure the *Times* cuts beside M<sup>r</sup> Motley?"

How could they pretend to discuss his statements when there was "never a leader without gross blunders of fact!" Yet she regretted the "great misfortune of the Federal people [concerning] *Seward*," who "won't go out." Now that her years of toil on behalf of the North entitled her to scold the Americans in their own papers, the "very tiresome" controversy with Greeley about the tariff was sure to be useful. His manners were detestable, but they didn't afflict her or make her angry. And she meant to study the Queen's proclamation.

Had Emma Weston dined with Reeve last week, as intended? Was she "as beautiful as ever?" If Reeve came north, she would *like* to see him. Cousin Fanny [of Bracondale] was coming next week.<sup>23</sup> For Edward Fordham Flower (originally of Kentucky and now a brewer at Stratford on Avon), Martineau agreed in June to make a list of her writings on abolition. Nearly all the leaders on American affairs in the *Daily News* continued to be hers, she repeated "in confidence."<sup>24</sup>

In addition to those on Lincoln's inauguration (4 and 25 March), the Confederate constitution and secession (5, 6 April, 10 and 15 May) and overviews like "The Conflict in America," Martineau continued to address a range of topics in the *Daily News*. In June, her four-part review, "Dutch and British Rule in the East" (alternately "British and Dutch Rule in the East"), usefully compared the Dutch management of Java to the East India Company's management of India (now under the British government), where the natives were free and would have the benefits of law and justice.

In her obituary of the Duchess of Kent (Queen Victoria's mother) on 18 March, Martineau dwelt on the duchess's marriage, widowhood and care of her daughter. Her obituary of Lord Campbell on 24 June characterized "Plain John Campbell" as an energetic Scottish lawyer whose ambition had led him finally to the Chancellorship.

Her leader on the death of Stephen Douglas (not an official obituary) on 19 June compared him to the Americans Calhoun, Clay and Webster - all disappointed of the presidency. Douglas's expansionist, Monroe-doctrine beliefs, hatred of Europe and support for "squatter sovereignty" in Kansas proved, she declared, that he was unfit to rule.<sup>25</sup>

Hearing "The Young Repealer" had arrived safely at the *Atlantic Monthly* office (to be published in September), Martineau wrote to Ticknor and Fields to explain why she had not prepared an article on rural life in England: the public wouldn't be interested at present. However, she would *like* to send them article on the English view of the American Civil War.<sup>26</sup>

Another short article on "Representative Men [and a Woman]" by Martineau appeared in *Once A Week* in early June. Meanwhile, Emily Beaufort wrote to tell of her struggles with publishers to bring out her book of Eastern travels (with drawings and a map), which she *hoped* Martineau would read.<sup>27</sup>

Immersed in American affairs, Martineau wrote frankly to Maria Chapman that the feeling in Britain was "changed, - not at all in favour of the South; but what a pity it is that your journalists and envoys and others have no sense of political rationality and propriety!" Chapman must have lamented Cobden's not being a great man, and Martineau countered that he *was* equal to his work, for was not protection a *sin*? Thus far Adams (the new American minister) was liked "because less puerile . . . not frantic in preaching and proselyting." Two weeks later, Martineau raged at "Protection" - by supporting it Americans might "establish an influence, second only to slavery, in debasing the common morals and manners." In July, she



told Chapman she was "very sorry" about the *Standard's* need of funds and would continue to send "a monthly letter (gratuitous) till you bid me stop."<sup>28</sup>

In early August, Martineau sent Charles Sumner a passionate plea on behalf of the escaped slave John Anderson whose attempt to rescue his family had been taken up by Shaftesbury. Could Sumner "through the War-office or otherwise, get the attention of the commanding officers in Missouri directed toward this family" so they could be sent ultimately to England? Though Martineau did "not usually stir in fugitive slave cases," which were apt to lapse into "slave trading," this case was peculiar, the man having suffered greatly. Yet she dreaded compromise on the slave issue between North and South before emancipation was enacted.<sup>29</sup>

Following her June article in *Macmillan's* on the American crisis, Martineau discussed other topics with Reeve. Praising (perhaps unknowingly) his review of Matthew Arnold's *Popular Education in France*, she complained of the omission of children educated at home and the failure to cite the roles of governesses and tutors. On another review by Reeve, she quibbled that Buckle seemed to have "used up his specialty in his first vol:" though still worthwhile "on some points." Finally she demanded to know whether anyone had told Reeve the secret of what was going on "between the American gov<sup>t</sup> & the leading Abolitionists?" As much as she was allowed to tell had appeared in the *Daily News* of 20 July; she said, provocatively, that a "member of the Washington Gov<sup>t</sup>" had "met in conference the abolition leaders, - Garrison, M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman, Quincy, Follen &c" and discussed "how to effect the inevitable emancipation safely & peaceably." Their aim was "to keep on in the course . . . of emancipation marching with the Federal forces." Lincoln had convinced the abolitionists they must proceed slowly, and they saw "there c<sup>d</sup> be no allusion in the [President's] Message to emancipation."<sup>30</sup>

Reeve had gone to Vichy for his gout, and in August Martineau told of *her* bad attack of "tic." On American affairs, she sniffed that "poor Hurlbut" might get off safe, but it was "odd that a fellow who has been taking such precious care of himself all his life sh<sup>d</sup> have gone within the Southern lines." Nor would his nine-year engagement to an "abolitionist lady" help now. The Northern defeat at Bull Run had not been unexpected: "Henry Chapman, - a New York banker" (Maria Chapman's son) thought "two or three defeats at first" would be salutary for the North. *She* lamented the corruption indicated by letters "from northern men insisting that the Union [was] the only thing in dispute." Lately she had advised Lord Shaftesbury about "getting hold of [the fugitive slave] Anderson's wife & children," who were probably "in the field of march of the Federal troops in Missouri." Shaftesbury had sent her "all the particulars of their description," and she put the task in Sumner's hands, "Canada lawyers" having taken £200 Anderson had saved to buy his wife.

Another current tragedy, "Fanny Longfellow's death," was "*dreadful* . . . an extreme case of want of presence of mind." [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's young wife had died of burns after her dress caught fire]. "And Lord Herbert's death too!" She had known from Nightingale in January that there was no hope, but it seemed sudden at last. Martineau's obituary of Herbert romanticized his Russian family connections and praised his private philanthropy. Among details of his political career she cited his entreating Nightingale to take nurses to the Crimea and his brave but unsuccessful attempt to reform the war office.<sup>31</sup>

"The Young Repealer" in the September *Atlantic Monthly* told the story of the young Irishman Martineau had befriended in 1844, beginning with his note to her at Tynemouth and his success among her literary friends in London. At his sad death from consumption, the memoir became a morality tale on the baleful influence of Daniel O'Connell. When Ticknor and Fields sent Martineau a bill of exchange for £16, she offered to send *them* an account of the armies in the "Russian war" based on evidence supplied by Nightingale - who had provided the "special information" for *England and Her Soldiers*. For American readers, she said, she could paint a freer picture of how British troops had lived and died in the first year of the war. Indeed, she had started "Health in the Camp" yesterday, to be sent to them next week. Soon she would begin "Health in the Hospital" and would tell Nightingale about the articles.<sup>32</sup>

To divert Nightingale, Martineau sympathized on the "affliction" of Herbert's death. *Their book* was "at present quoted largely & incessantly in American Medical Journals, as a guide to the newness of military management in the Northern States," she vaunted. "Before I knew this, I had sent one of two articles (the second goes today)" on the question to the *Atlantic Monthly*, which offered "a good opportunity to interest their public in saving their citizen-soldiers' lives & health." A "Miss Dix (the Superintendent of nurses there)," a woman of great energy who had cared for the insane for some years, might "turn out a pattern of an administratrix."

(Nightingale responded by hinting at another project in need of Martineau's help - the midwives school at King's College Hospital, London, to be supported from the Nightingale Fund. Conscious of propriety, as always, Nightingale stressed that the women would be trained, "entirely under the Lady Sup't of the Hospital - certainly the best moral trainer of women I know.")

When Martineau (intent on sanitary reform in the American military) failed to pick up the gauntlet, Nightingale offered to send for transcription "what might be useful 'as a guide' in the Sanitary service." Martineau quickly assured her friend that they would be received "with fervent gratitude at Washington." However, she had "no means of forwarding anything bulky from this place," so the documents had better be sent to London where an American publisher would no doubt be of help. In the meantime she would write to the secretary of war at Washington, to prepare him. Nightingale then suggesting she send her confidential "Private Report on War Hospitals" to Dorothea Dix, Martineau demurred. She would *like* to keep the Southern soldiers alive too, but they were "barbaric & corrupt," their bodily condition shocking "from drink, tobacco-chewing, & the vice which always rages where slavery is." Such mean whites were low specimens living ordinarily "in a state compounded of apathy & mad excitement, from drink & passion" and dying off fast from cholera, fever, etc. She *was* glad of Nightingale's midwifery scheme and promised "More soon from your devoted H. Martineau."<sup>33</sup>

On 30 September, Martineau duly wrote to Simon Cameron, Lincoln's secretary of war, offering to send him information on the sanitary reform of the British army. The "Regulations," considered the best in existence, had reduced the mortality in the army by one seventh, she stated:

You are doubtless aware that our late lamented War-Secretary, Lord Herbert, applied himself, even to the sacrifice of his life, to the improvement of the British army, - & especially of its health & morality. Herbert's "ablest assistant . . . Miss Nightingale . . . proposes to send me for your Office, the documents of which I enclose a

list.

Also sending Cameron a copy of *England and Her Soldiers*, Martineau avowed she wished to be of service "to any soldiery in the world" and with Nightingale would rejoice if just "one of your brave & patriotic soldiers should be saved by anything we can do or say" (to Martineau's chagrin, Cameron did not respond until January 1862).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau. . . . XXXIV." - " . . . XLV." [bi-monthly, 7 July-31 December 1860], NASS.

<sup>2</sup> Review of the Year," *DN*, 31 December 1860: 4, cols. 4-6 - 5, cols. 1-4; for leaders on the American crisis, 2, 10, 15, 21, 24 and 29 January and 8, 16 and 23 February 1861, see Appen., *HM/DN* (on 10 January 1861 Martineau noted South Carolina's seceding from the Union on 20 December 1860); FN to HM, 4 January 1861, BL Add MS 45788 ff. 103-110 (for reforms so far achieved by Nightingale and Herbert, see Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard, ed., *Ever yours, Florence Nightingale. Selected Letters* [London: Virago, 1989] 217); as Lord Herbert of Lea from 1 January 1861, Herbert became Secretary for War; *DN*, 9 January 1861 (on Sydney Herbert and military reorganization: see Appen. *HM/DN* and "Sydney Herbert," *HM/DN* 207-14); "Death of the King of Prussia.," *DN*, 3 January 1861: col. 6 - 5, cols. 1-2 (rptd. "King Frederick William IV. of Prussia," *BS*, 30-41); "Sir G. Lewis and the Rochdale Oath," *DN*, 19 February 1861 (Appen., *HM/DN*), on Quakers and other dissenters.

<sup>3</sup> HM to FW, 2 January 1861, *HM/FW* 200-203; for the Beauforts and Finn, see "Syria," *HM/DN*, 239-44 (see also chap. 45); Sara S. Hennell, *Thoughts in Aid of Faith, Gathered Chiefly from Recent Works in Theology and Philosophy* (London: George Manwaring, 1860); the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, established by A.J.B. Beresford Hope, 3 November 1855, was Peelite liberal Conservative in politics and was meant to combat *The Times*.

<sup>4</sup> HM to Ticknor and Fields, 9 January 1861, *CL* 4: 259 (Martineau may include her obituary of Mary Wordsworth in the *Daily News*, 17 January 1859: see chap. 44, note 38); for her new article, see note 16.

<sup>5</sup> HM to Ticknor and Fields, 19 March 1861, *CL* 4: 265-67; for Martineau's next article in the *Atlantic*, see below.

<sup>6</sup> Parker Pillsbury had reported in the *Liberator* of 5 October 1855 that Martineau was completing her autobiography.

<sup>7</sup> HM to HR, 27 January 1861, *CL* 4: 260-61; for Martineau's leader on the resources of the South, 24 January 1861, see Appen., *HM/DN*; for "Lady Byron," "Lights of the English Lake District" and *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft*, see chap. 45, note 56.

<sup>8</sup> HM to HR, 15 February 1861, *CL* 4: 262-64; for Martineau's *Daily News* articles, see Appen., *HM/DN*; for Phillips, see below; "Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau. . . . XLVII." [Letter of 28 January 1861], NASS, 23 February 1861: 3, cols. 3-4; Martineau must refer to a comment in "Negroes in Slavery," *SR* 11 (2 February 1861): 106.

<sup>9</sup> HM to Agnes Nicholson, 4 February 1861, BANC [Box 4] 22; HM to [Anna Maria] Goldsmid, 8 February and 3 April 1861, *FL* 260 and 261.

<sup>10</sup> HM to Sarah, 27 March 1861, *CL* 4: 267-68; George, Sarah's second son, married Eliza Jane ("Ida") Mackenzie on 20 March 1861; Russell, James's eldest son, married Frances Bailey in late

March 1861; Edward Kentish, Robert's youngest son, was to marry Catherine Salt in June 1861; Martineau's concern for Jenny (Robert's youngest daughter), seemed to echo Annie Clough's concern for Maria; Tom, Robert's eldest son, was married to Emily Kenrick; HM to "M<sup>rs</sup> Cash," 11 June 1861, *CL* 4:279-80; see, for example, Martineau's leaders on the sewing machine and female unemployment, 31 August 1853, 24 February 1859 and 9 January 1860 (Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>11</sup> HM to Sarah Austin [a cousin], 10 April 1861, *CL* 4: 269-70; the memoir may have been Sarah's preface to John Austin's *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined. Second Edition. The First Part of a Series of Lectures on Jurisprudence or the Philosophy of Positive Law* (London: John Murray, 1861) iii-xxxvi (Elizabeth Ker's husband, Charles Bellenden Ker, another legal reformer).

<sup>12</sup> HM to Walford, 7, 15 and 21 April 1861, (first and third) *CL* 4: 268-69 and 270-71, (second) NYPL, Berg; a probable reference to one of her "Last Week" series (Walford was sub-editor of *Once A Week*); Martineau first urged Walford and Lucas to edit omissions or make "small alterations in *that* set of articles"; *Men of the Time: A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Living Characters, (including women). A New Edition, Thoroughly Revised, and Brought down to the Present Time, by Edward Walford, M.A.* (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1862).

<sup>13</sup> HM to HR, 21 April 1861, *CL* 4: 271-73; Count André Zamoyski, Polish leader negotiating with the Czar's representative at Warsaw (an insurrection in Silesia in 1846 had ended when Russian troops occupied Cracow); through April 1861, *The Times* carried reports of Russian troops in Warsaw repeatedly firing on demonstrators against the Czar's "reform" measures; *The Times* also reported in April that the Spanish government intended to annex Santo Domingo when confirmed by a vote of the people; Martineau's *Daily News* leaders on the United States and on Santo Domingo appeared on 23 April, 9 May, 12 July and 22 August 1861: see Appen., *HM/DN* and above (on 14 April in the opening skirmish of the American Civil War, Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, surrendered to Confederate forces); Charles Francis Adams served as American minister to Britain, 1861-68.

<sup>14</sup> Martineau was sniffing at articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, 113 (April 1861): Henry Reeve, "Remains of Alexis de Tocqueville" (427-60); W.O'C. Morris, "Dixon's *Personal History of Lord Bacon*" (309-344), G.S. Venables, "Political Diaries: Lord Auckland and Lord Colchester" (360-86), M.J. Higgins, "Eton College" (387-426), G.C. Lewis, "Election of President Lincoln and Its Consequences" (555-87); see Martineau, "Prince Dolgoroukow on Russia," *ER* 112 (July 1860), 175-212

<sup>15</sup> HM to FW, 26 April 1861, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 203-205); David Bogue, bookseller and publisher, died in 1856; Nathan Appleton, wealthy American cloth-manufacturer whose eldest daughter married Fanny's brother (Martineau had met the Appletons in America); Martineau must mean the series for *Once A Week* 4 [signed A Son of the Pilgrims]: "Life at Charleston. In Quiet Times" (23 February 1861: 231-36), "Life on an Alabama Plantation" (9 March 1861: 287-93), "Life in Illinois" (6 April 1861: 399-404) and "Life in Massachusetts" (27 April 1861: 483-87).

<sup>16</sup> "Lights of the English Lake District," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1861: 541-58.

<sup>17</sup> HM to HR, 7 May 1861, *CL* 4: 274-75; also in *ER* 113 (April 1861): A.P. Stanley, "Essays and Reviews" (461-500) and Herman Merivale, "Autobiography and Letters of Mrs. Piozzi" (501-23); George Eliot's two novels were *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and *Silas Marner* (1861); James

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Payn, *Richard Arbour or the Family Scapegrace* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861; in which the hero wins success as a lion-tamer); Shirley Brooks, "The Silver Cord" (*OW*, 29 December 1860-31 August 1861, featuring Scottish characters living in Paris and a wife fleeing her husband).

<sup>18</sup> HM to FN, 8 May 1861, *CL* 4: 275-76; Maria was distributing Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes* (London: Harrison, 1861), the new edition in small print with closely spaced lines announced on the reverse of the title page: "This edition has been made for the use of the Labouring Classes, with some abridgment, with considerable additions, and with a supplementary Chapter on Children."

<sup>19</sup> HM to Annie Clough, May 1861, *CL* 4: 277; no second edition of Arnold's book has been found (see chap. 45).

<sup>20</sup> HM to Charles William Shirley Brooks, 15 May 1861, St. Andrews U Library MS 36325/3.

<sup>21</sup> HM to ED, 20 May 1861, *HM/FW* 205-209; *The History of Civilization in England*, vol. 2 (see chap. 42); Oliver Wendell Holmes, *Elsie Venner: A Romance of Destiny* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1861; rptd. from the *Atlantic Monthly* and originally titled "The Professor's Story"); Holmes's psychological novel featured realistic Yankee characters and a heroine whose pregnant mother was bitten by a rattlesnake; William Howard Russell, famed Crimean War correspondent for *The Times*; Thomas William Bowlby, *The Times's* correspondent tortured and killed in China in 1860; for Martineau's four stories, see note 15; Rev. John Phillips Potter and his wife, Anne (see *Auto.* 1: 375).

<sup>22</sup> HM to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ticknor & Fields, May 1861, *CL* 4: 277.

<sup>23</sup> HM to HR, 31 May and 28 July 1861, (first) *LMU* 2/056 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 278-79) and (second) *CL* 4: 280-83; Lucas to HM, 4 May 1861, *BUL* 587; for Reeve's first article, see note 14 (Reeve then wrote "The Disunion of America," *ER* 114 (October 1861): 556-87); Martineau's next article in a major journal was "The Brewing of the American Storm," *Macmillan's*, 6 (June 1862): 97-107; John Lathrop Motley, *Causes of the Civil War in America. Reprinted, by Permission, from "The Times"* (London: George Manwaring, 1861; a stirring account of the inviolability of the Union); see Horace Greeley (editor of the *New York Daily Tribune*), "Mr. Greeley in Reply to Mrs. Martineau," *NASS*, 27 April 1861: 4, cols. 1-2; in April and May, *The Times* published nearly twenty leaders on the American Civil War, mentioning an historian who had fallaciously compared the new struggle to the American Revolution (see Motley 14-15 and *The Times*, 24 May 1861: 8, col. 5); despite belligerency towards Europe, Seward was kept as secretary of state; for the Queen's proclamation of neutrality warning British subjects from Canada and Britain not to participate, see [Martineau] "Last Week" *OW* 4 (25 May 1861): 614-16; Frances Anne ("Fanny") Martineau of Bracondale.

<sup>24</sup> HM to Edward Fordham Flower [an abolitionist], 13 June 1861, *CL* 4: 280; see Appen., *HM/DN*.

<sup>25</sup> "Dutch and British Rule in the East," I, II, *DN*, 5 and 7 June 1861: 5, cols. 1-2 and 4, cols. 5-6 and "British and Dutch Rule in the East," III, IV, *DN*, 11 and 13 June 1861: 4, col. 6 - 5, cols. 1-2 and 4, cols. 4-6 (review of James William B. Money, *Java; or, How to Manage a Colony. Showing a Practical Solution of the Questions now Affecting British India* [London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861]); "The Duchess of Kent.," *DN*, 18 March 1861: 5, cols. 1-3, and "Lord [Chancellor] Campbell.," *DN*, 24 June 1861: 5, cols. 4-5 (rptd. *BS*, 42-54 and 247-53); for Douglas, see Appen. *HM/DN*.

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<sup>26</sup> HM to Ticknor and Fields, 5 September 1861, *CL* 4: 287; "The Young Repealer," *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1861: 337-45.

<sup>27</sup> "Representative Men. Social Reformers.—John Howard: Elizabeth Fry: William Lloyd Garrison" [signed From the Mountain], *OW* 4, 8 June 1861, 652-58; Emily Beaufort to HM, June 1861, BUL 62.

<sup>28</sup> HM to MWC, 13, 26 June and 11 July 1861, *Auto.* 3: 385, 386 and 386-87.

<sup>29</sup> HM to Charles Sumner, 2 August 1861, *CL* 4: 283-85.

<sup>30</sup> For *Macmillan's*, see note 23; HM to HR, 28 July 1861, LMU 2/057 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 280-83); HR, "Popular Education in England" and "Buckle's *Civilization in England*, Vol. II," *ER* 114 (July 1861): 1-38 and 183-211; "Scribble Diaries (1861),"

BPL; see Appen., *HM/DN*; President Lincoln's message to Congress included plans to upgrade the military and enlist volunteers to be called the National Guard of the United States.

<sup>31</sup> HM to HR, 6 August 1861, LMU 2/058 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 285-86); John Anderson, the fugitive slave from Missouri, was discharged by a Toronto court in February after being tried for murder (see, for example, "Case of the Fugitive Slave Anderson," *The Times*, 27 February 1861: 12, col. 6); Frances Elizabeth, Longfellow's second wife (née Appleton) died on 10 July 1861; "Lord Herbert of Lea," 6 August: 4, cols. 4-6-5, col. 1 (rptd. *BS* 78-90).

<sup>32</sup> For "The Young Repealer," see note 26; HM to Ticknor and Fields, 5 September 1861, *CL* 4: 287; "Health in the Camp," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1861: 571-80 (a chatty, informal account of English and French sufferings in the Crimean War leading to reforms); "Health in the Hospital," *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1861: 718-30 (a largely narrative account of Nightingale's work in the Crimea).

<sup>33</sup> HM to FN, 20 and 25 September 1861, *CL* 4: 288 and 289 (Martineau may echo the sentiments of radical abolitionists like Maria Chapman); FN to HM, 24, 24 and 24 September 1861, BL Add 45788/1 ff. 127-30, 131-32 and 133-45.

<sup>34</sup> HM to Simon Cameron, 30 September 1861, *CL* 4: 290-91; Cameron was to be replaced in Lincoln's cabinet in January 1862.