

Chapter 47 *Daily News; the American Civil War (1861-1862)*

Learning through "dear Emma Weston" in early October that Reeve was still at Vichy, Martineau declared an hour's talk would set her right on two subjects she wished to discuss, one of "very grave importance." Motley had returned home in a state of depression over the war. If Reeve saw the *Daily News*, he would see the beginning of "a real change . . . on the anti-slavery matter." Yet she wondered how "anybody . . . can expect sudden virtue & enlightenment in those particular Northern folk who have been wicked or cowardly for 30 years past." Two things seemed "settled certainties . . . the utter helplessness of the South . . . & the inevitableness of emancipation." Not naming the *Atlantic Monthly* or the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, she declared she had been "hard at work . . . about the health of the American army."

Meanwhile another of her "businesses" had been the "bombshell of a minute of Lingen's" (she treated the Revised Code [on education] in the *Daily News* on 24 September and then in 15 October), which she would support if "the requisite changes" were made. On 1st October, she "celebrated" the Cobden treaty (on free trade with France), "thinking it a good opportunity for giving the Amerⁿ Protectionists another snub." Greeley "& C^o," she scoffed, were telling people the tariff was "'only political economy', - a worldly matter which a high-minded & religious people sh^d be above caring about."

At The Knoll, Maria had remembered a remedy for tic that helped her father and made Martineau feel "so comfortable today." Tomorrow Catherine Darwin was coming to tell her of "many friends."¹

Following a few days of considering how to help Nightingale, Martineau urged that they must *not* give up Herbert's work "to be undone by weak, foolish or bad men as soon as he is buried away." No harm could come from trying to shame the horse guards (enemies of Herbert's plans for reform of the army): *she* had consulted her editor at the *Daily News*, and Reeve *might* let her use the *Edinburgh*. The *Westminster* was no good, for "besides other reasons," it had such a miserable circulation" (Martineau failing to mention her break with Chapman). If she could get sufficient, clear *facts*, she would harass the commander-in-chief with a leader per Saturday "for as many weeks as there are heads of accusation against him and his Department. We don't want to mince matters," she crowed. The leaders could begin in six weeks when MPs and the travelling public had begun to settle at home and read the papers. Parliament would have to act. Under three headings, Martineau then summarized steps she had taken and proposed to take.²

By 9 October, she was eager to "open our persecution of the snobs." First she would try to rub up her memory to "recall all the sins of the Horseguards in 'George's era'" and would let the editor and lawyer of *Daily News* look out for libel. The Queen had meddled in past purchase matters (of military commissions) and she would "frighten her & move her." Some weeks ago, she gossiped, Sir Benjamin Hawes (under-secretary for war) and his daughter had called, but Maria was out so she did not get "*his* War-office wisdom." On health matters, she learned from Catherine Darwin that Sir Henry Holland insisted "on our very method" of treatment for tic - carrot tea!³

Reveling in her life at The Knoll, Martineau outlined for Fanny Wedgwood the grand campaign to take place before Maria went on holiday:

the house-cleaning, the great wash, study arranging, clearing of letter boxes, posting up of memoranda, bringing in of geraniums, taking stock of hay and mangold, making the tiptop preserve, - blackberry jelly (*not jam*,) bidding friends not expect letters for a month &c &c.

Just one item was deferred: killing the pig, "the sausage and porkpie festival [would be left] till M's return, and cold weather."

Of the death of Fanny Longfellow, Martineau imagined it had been a "*killing* blow" to Molly (Fanny's sister-in-law) and so unnecessary for want of "the commonest presence of mind. . . . *Why* were not her muslin dresses properly starched? . . . Witness those poor ballet girls at Phil^a." *England and her Soldiers* had been "much taken to heart in America," she went on. Her letter to the American "Sec^y at War," meanwhile, had been marked "'private', lest the whole thing should come out in the newspapers as 'aid and comfort' . . . to the North." The American "trimmers in the cities" were deplorable: she had just sent off "an article insisting that *the revolution* must be acknowledged in the North." By "shaming the Morrill-tariff makers" she caused Greeley to gnash his teeth at her, but she wished "to awaken *somebody* there" to the principle and import of free trade. Compared to the Garrisonians, "Mrs Stowe and sundry clergymen cut a wretched figure, don't they?"⁴

Martineau's signature "H.M." in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* had been turned into "Her Majesty," but she did not care, and Wendell Phillips's anti-English statements simply showed his want of knowledge. Only a few of the leading abolitionists were adequate to their "new and high position," which Garrison and Chapman *were*. "Motley's last" seemed diffuse and sunken "low in its Carlylisms &c." Of Carlyle, she had heard that "no collapse of fame was ever so remarkable," young men saying his vogue was "completely gone." Of others, Elisabeth Reid seemed "considerably revived," but "poor Russell" (James's son) had "three epileptic fits in 3 weeks in the summer," leaving "no hope of the case." At Ambleside they had "a nice pleasant parson . . . in the place of the sot who troubled about the road . . . and made faces at ladies." Rev. Canon Charles D. Bell was "disposed to be friendly," and the schools were a good topic between them.⁵

Further domestic news flew off to Sarah two days later, as well as thanks for a "generous gift" of wine and "subscription." Had Rachel heard their cousin Emily Rankin was a "postulate, in preparation for being a Nun?" Maria (*not* a nun) was "*so good!*" She was taking "a poor little child from a cottage below to be cured at the Homeopathic Hospital [in Birmingham] & return with her." The child had "a disease left by gastric fever" that local doctors could not cure. "I perceive you have not heard of dear M^{rs} Follen's death," Martineau went on, "of typhus fever, in consequence of the severe cold, January 1860." Eliza Follen's sister, "Charles's 'Aunt Susan,'" died the previous January, "& thus the poor fellow is left very lonely." He wished to "go forth to the wars," but his shortsightedness was an impediment.⁶

(An emotional statement from Nightingale headed "[seven years this very day since I began to fight for the Army]" balked Martineau's latest offer of help. Nightingale pled that she might not be able to furnish materials for Army articles in the *Daily News* owing to an unforeseen press of business for November. There was no use drawing up anything now because what Martineau wanted to know was "where the H. Guards &c [were] thwarting S.H.'s plans." Nightingale was not in touch with the war office while people were out of London; she would send Martineau materials if she could, "but physical strength" less and less obeyed her

will. Instead, she enclosed a sketch of what Herbert had done privately. Gladstone was the only other person to have it, and she had been obliged to give it to him "out of deference" to Herbert's wife. Gladstone claimed he was ignorant of what "his friend had done. . . . Alas if this were true," Nightingale wailed).

Undaunted, Martineau promised not to pester Nightingale for war office information - but should she begin a month later? Six or eight weeks before Parliament met. Could Nightingale put her in touch with war office people? The *Daily News* alone kept England right on American affairs, and Nightingale's "sketch" would be kept secret.

Abruptly changing the subject, Martineau exclaimed: "So Julia is gone to Algiers! . . . the fatigue of preparation & travel seems to indicate a great change in her," i.e., Julia must be aging!⁷

(Nightingale replied to Martineau's new request that she could not give war office names because they did not know she was using their information, and that seemed honorable. Her "dear master" had trusted her; she must trust herself and be discreet. About the good of carrots, Nightingale believed heart complaints involving a sedentary life came from the liver).⁸

Martineau's maids seemed pleased when a gift of grouse from one of the Holt brothers arrived at The Knoll, they having the care of her for a week "between Maria's going & M^{rs} Turner's coming." Maria's mission "(to the Homeopathic Hospital)" was troubling, however, the baby being very ill. Martineau had just written to "M^{rs} Ogden about the fate of their son's tutor, - Theophis: Davies [who] committed suicide last week, - leaving a widow & a young child," an "hereditary tendency" evidently to blame. For a time he held "an inferior post in 'Daily News' office," but was "indolent & morbid." Finally, Martineau gossiped, W.H. Channing's non-appearance at the Effra Road chapel caused difficulties; his proper place was "his own country," but he couldn't "find any body there to agree with,- or any course to approve."⁹

Next Martineau turned her attention to Reeve's article in the October *Edinburgh*, "The Disunion of America," where he argued that the American Constitution was non-binding, the idea of the Union being weak and the sides now fighting for "TERRITORIAL DOMINION." The country lacked the resources to maintain the war for long, Reeve claimed. On the 30th Martineau wrote frankly: "I need not tell you that there are points, - & one or two of great importance, in regard to w^h I differ from you." Though Reeve had scarcely touched on certain matters important for American readers, she praised his nearly adequate knowledge, "method & temper." His article would form "a chief topic" of her "Letter 59" (in fact, "No. 58") to the *Standard*, to be sent on Monday. Her business was to hold up the fact that the struggle had become revolutionary, so she would not speak of their differences. "But O dear! *don't* any more speak of 'M^{rs} B. Stowe & the abolitionists.'" Stowe had been "counter working her mischievous sentimentality & irrationality" for years, being "not quite up to their mark, in regard to plain sense & practical diligence." Stowe was afraid of "her brother Henry's congregation," Martineau sneered, "lest she sh^d draw on herself their orthodox frowns." Gradual emancipation never could succeed as "a man cannot at once be & not be a chattel." *The Times*, she maintained, reported confused numbers, having "so lately got rebukes for saying of the South 'they are ten millions' now gets down to 'six.'"¹⁰

On "continental affairs," Martineau went on, experience had taught her not "to write . . . under a fourpenny stamp, - as also not to sign." A German friend (Frederika Meyer?) had

warned of grave times ahead, and *she* remembered "(being then 4) the battle of Trafalgar, - my mother crying behind the parlor door about L^d Nelson." As to her suggestions of subjects, one had been taken up (probably by *Macmillan's*), but the lesser topic "might, & ought to be treated somewhere soon, - *Domestic Service*." Guidance or rebuke, she declared, should be offered to employers who complained. Martineau's acquaintance considered her "singularly 'lucky' in that department of life," but she did not think it "*all* luck." The *Edinburgh* may already have covered the subject - and she would be glad when the "Index" Longmans had promised was ready. "The éloge [praise] of Macaulay won't serve at all," she opined. She knew nothing of Paget, but his "profligate indifference to truth [was] well established."¹¹

Comparing her case with Nightingale's "desire for release," Martineau asserted in November that she was less eager than "3 or 4 years since, - partly perhaps because I suffer less (in the absence of Tic) . . . but much more from the American outbreak, w^h causes me to be seriously *wanted*." Her constant work on both sides of the Atlantic put down personal feelings, even her "bodily sensations," though she could not move, could not "go into the garden, & see after the flowers" as their "pleasant new incumbent, M^r Bell," had seen Nightingale doing at Hampstead lately. "But to business; - the liver treatment:" a somnambule Robert formerly consulted at Cheltenham ordered him "to eat carrots liberally, & to drink carrot tea." Martineau herself had been taking carrots daily, and Catherine Turner thought she looked better, "with less dim & congested eyes," though of course her breathing, strength or "action of the heart" had not improved.¹²

A week later, Martineau took time to write to Harriet "Tiny" Payn [probably a daughter of John Payn], sending her "a parcel of books . . . 4 volumes of stories which I wrote many years ago" with her love to "Papa & Mamma."¹³

In November, Martineau thanked Sumner for his "help on poor Anderson's behalf" *and* for his speech "at Worcester [on restoration of] the Union." People in Europe believed the war to be about the abolition of slavery, Martineau noted, but [l]ook at the action of the Government at Washington [determined] to uphold the pro-slavery constitution." While doing her best to "keep our public informed" in the *Daily News*, she understood "the dreadful barbarism of war on both sides." The military sanitary reports and the "*War-office Regulations* in that department" that she and Nightingale had sent to Cameron would gladly (she repeated) be sent "to every army in the world."¹⁴

Seemingly anxious to conciliate Reeve, Martineau argued that *she* never could see that they differed "so very widely on American affairs." If she appeared to be "intolerant about American matters," it must be from her "*knowing* a good many things, for want of w^h some English people are at present making some grave mistakes." Yet the "Guy" that year, in some parts of London had been "Jefferson Davis, the SLAVEHOLDER!" Defending a recent *Daily News* leader, Martineau launched into a diatribe on the "political slavishness, & national vanity & timidity" of Northerners (manufacturers, supporters of the Morrill tariff) and those opposed to the war. "Meantime, what I have to do is plain enough . . . to sustain, as far as my power goes, the virtuous people & their cause" and to expose the weakness and guilt of the Secessionists. The *Daily News*, she boasted, "has an influence there beyond all calculation." On *Edinburgh* matters, could Reeve help her to find "a book or other utterance" to review for her domestic service article? How did the Reeves deal with board wages paid to their cook? In her London days, she understood that the regular and established pay was "10^s/ per week for the

menservants, & 6^s/ for the women." In an article she would "dwell chiefly on the middleclass case," but the aristocratic one might be very amusing. Striking facts were known of the "new pride growing up in our manufacturing towns, the women recoiling from domestic service as 'bondage' & 'degradation.'"¹⁵

Later in November, Martineau admitted to Henry Bright that she was "abundantly tired with writing two leaders," one for an American newspaper "whereof I am the 'English correspondent.'" The Arnolds, just back from Liverpool, had described the hubbub over the *Trent* affair. Among her letters from London was a grave one from "Senex" of *The Times*, but she did not think there would be war: the Northern Fremont party "will never act against us with the profligate proslavery constitutional set who have brought this retribution upon the country." Seward could not be got rid of, and some Northerners were behaving badly, but the New England and Western population were worthy and the common soldiers were suffering privations. The Bull Run disaster had been caused by camp followers "in the Southern interest; - the *Maryland teamsters* [who were] sent for ammunition, & took the oppor^y to make a panic & flight." She worried the two sides would not be able to live together for a long time to come. Lincoln, however, would "willingly work out their principles; for he is honest, though slow."¹⁶

Martineau's other leader may have been on Sidney Herbert, though the *Trent* affair was primary. "I dare say you may see my account [of Wilkes] in 'Daily News' today," she alerted Reeve on 4 December. As soon as she found it was her old friend *Charles Wilkes* who was involved, she wished "to put a stop to the irritating notion of his being a saucy filibuster," as reported by *The Times*. "I got up early yesterday, to write & get it off by the noon coach, to save a day; & if it got to the office by midnight, you may be reading it at this moment."¹⁷

Working on her domestic service piece, Martineau was cheered by a "really *delightful*" packet from Reeve's wife. By a "curious turn of fate," her own "cook & dairywoman" now fancied herself "degraded" by being in service, her head having been turned by a younger sister's rising "to a good position as a certified school mistress." The sister had "'dined at Gosfield Park, with a footman standing behind her chair,'" and poor gauche Mary hankered after being a lady too. She had now "put off her caps, - put on a chenille net," had a new front tooth put in a gap and called herself "Miss Ellis." The twenty-three-year old girl would probably lose her savings and her health over her needle, Martineau predicted, and be driven back into service. Her other maid - an attorney's daughter - did *not* feel degraded. From Catherine Turner, she had recently heard much "about the mind & position of servants & employers in a manufacturing town" (probably Nottingham).

For Reeve to glance over and return, Martineau enclosed her "December Letter to the A.S. 'Standard,'" wanting him to see how perfectly free she was to say what she wished in America. Six months earlier she had written just as freely on the Morrill tariff, and now that she knew that "C. Wilkes was the perpetrator" of the *Trent* boarding, she had "the strongest hope of peace being preserved." Wilkes no doubt acted "out of his own blundering head;" no traitor acting on behalf of the South, he did not have "wit enough, any more than guile [to cause an international crisis]." When she returned from America in 1836, she "introduced him at the Admiralty, v^{ia} Admiral Beaufort," who helped him to "the best scientific instruments &c, in preparation for the exploring Expedition w^h he was about to command." And she had asked her brother Henry to show Wilkes around Norwich.¹⁸

Recently in "The Last Sheffield Outrage" in *Once A Week* Martineau had decried the

horror of trades unions' violence. Now she wanted Evans's honest opinion of her first "historiette" and begged him to send it back in the enclosed envelope if it did not please him. Though uncertain of her tale, "Sister Anna's Probation," she nevertheless thought the subject unusual - or *new*. The main incident being based on *fact* at Rome forty years ago, "Caister" in the first batch must be altered to "Stoke Holy Cross."

Of the "overwhelming" event for the nation (the death of Prince Albert), she could not speak but *respected The Times* for its "bold & faithful" treatment of him.¹⁹

Writing diligently to Reeve on Christmas day, Martineau suggested Prince Albert's address at the opening of the Domestic Servants' Institution in May as a suitable "text & heading" for her *Edinburgh* article. Could Reeve get "Longmans' people or anybody to look it out?" The whole mass of her work except her regular commitments should be cleared away "by or on New Year's day" and she could begin her article soon after. Albert's death had caused her to be apprehensive of the future: the Queen's temper was "*not* cured; & of course we all fear for her brain. And no hope in that wretched boy!" The Prince of Wales's "mere 'goodness,' w^h his tutor Tarver has always extolled to me," promised nothing, and now that his "'goodness' & docility" had given way, there was no hope. At Oxford, surrounded by "noblemen who were gentlemen," he had been fine, but at Cambridge "a vulgar set got about him," and he was lost (Martineau was repeating common gossip). An incident at Liverpool reported by Catherine Turner about the prince was instructive: cuffed by his mother because he did not "sit forward & bow," the young prince stuck his tongue out at people along the way.²⁰

On another topic, Martineau's American letters had said "not one word on the *Trent* subject for the last two weeks" while people in Britain "harped upon arbitration, in case of an unfavourable answer from Washington." Forster's address to his constituents at Bradford next Tuesday evening would give "the best account of the arbitration view," she thought.

In "this gloomy time," a gay letter from Emily Beaufort reported a second edition of her book and her plans to marry "the 'Saturday' reviewer" who belittled it, "Lord Strangford." At Ambleside, they were having "a splendid sunny X^{mas} day." The kitchen was "full of odds & ends of people . . . with a vast dinner, tea & supper, & such amusement as we can devise." Now she must go to work on the "review of the year" for *Daily News*. "What a vile Message Lincoln's is!"²¹

After posting her *Daily News* piece, Martineau wrote to Evans about "our volume ('Health &c')" that was published a year ago and given "immense praise," but what was the circulation? She was "dreading the post [tonight] with my American letters." Maria was copying a letter of hers "to one of their best journals w^h will make some of them very angry with me, but will I trust, pitch the tone of a good many more."²² Next day Martineau sent off "the whole remainder" of her historiette, "Sister Anna's Probation." Walford was ill, she knew, and Lucas absent, but she kept no copy and begged to know that it was safely received. "In due course, I sh^d like one more honest opinion of this tale. . . . My only notion is that it is unusual . . . & I think new."²³

"It seems an immense time since we heard any thing of you!" Martineau next chided Philip Carpenter. *Her* life was "the most monotonous, to all appearance" but "full of interest because full of work, & the intercourse w^h political & moral business brings." Though seldom *seeing* anybody but neighbors, she had "a finger in the pie, everywhere, almost." Of political concerns, it was "a dreadful misfortune that so many of the Americans [had] committed

themselves to Captⁿ Wilkes's act: but . . . they will surely never be so mad as to bring us down upon them!" Martha (Martineau's former maid) and husband were "spending Christmas with your sister [Mary Carpenter]," she ended, "w^h is very pleasant."

(Carpenter must have asked for copies of the *Daily News* with Martineau's views on America, as well as for information about her "remedy." Maria answered that they kept the papers for reference and that carrot tea was made by boiling a thinly sliced carrot for two hours or more "to a tumblerful," which should be made fresh daily and taken hot).²⁴

In early 1862, Martineau's contributions to the *Daily News* included reviews of two troubling publications on America: a pamphlet by Thomas Colley Grattan praising the Confederacy and a "friendly" book by James Spence minimizing the evils of slavery and censuring the abolitionists. All but one of Martineau's twenty-two known leaders in the *Daily News* for January, February and March 1862 were devoted to American issues or the related issue of Indian-grown cotton.²⁵

Lucas had sent Martineau "the Daily Telegraph" in early January, and she agreed that everyone was upset at American behavior over the *Trent*. But *that* had nothing to do with the behavior of "our journalism." Charleston harbor had *not* been destroyed, ships were going in and out. "When will the *Times* apologize for that, & half a hundred other mistaken grounds of denunciation?" About the *Trent*, she was surprised that friends of America were "disappointed." After "30 years of cowardly & base subservience to the Proslavery faction ruling the country, how c^d the North be expected to start up complete in virtue when the hour of regeneration arrived?" If he only knew how furious some of the best of the leaders of society in America were with her now! Evans, she feared, must be ill - he hadn't answered her question of three weeks ago. *She* was suffering much, but must not be incapable *now*. She had read Cornelia Knight and must get hold of the *Quarterly*: she heard it had good pictures of Southern life and slavery.²⁶

Thomas Walker at the *Daily News* was ill too, and from late November Martineau plied Edward Pigott (filling in for Walker) with suggestions, "as unlike what other papers will probably put forth." She much wished "to write on the Herbert observance," but *had to* rest. Was their "'Reader' out on his travels?" The "misprints & omissions" in her pieces were "really *too* bad." Someday she would like to return to the subject of women's employment or to the "mischief" among American abolitionists and to accidents such as drowning.

On Sunday at noon a man, - a stout fellow of 38, - was seen lying at the bottom of the little river (the Rotha) - drowned in bathing, unaccountably, unless he was drunk, - as he too often was.

The "lack of power in the Sanitary inspection department" wanted exposing, but she would wait for her American letters "to say something about the Negroes." In reference to the "*Trent* affair," Forster assured her the *Daily News* "prevented matters being much worse." In March, Martineau turned to agricultural statistics taken from the "Report of the Agricultural Gazette."²⁷

In January, Martineau declared Walford's "little Memoir" of her in *Men of the Time* "a real wonder among Memoirs for correctness" but the portrait was "*dreadful* . . . the whole thing scullionish, - with the great round eyes & buttony mouth." *Maria* was grateful for Walford's trouble about "the Clough notices," and "Arthur Stanley had sent a Memoir to 'Daily News' . . . w^h will gratify poor dear Blanch, - & her children when they grow up." On Tuesday,

Martineau would be "writing, hermit wise," she ended to Walford.²⁸

On a January day of "mild sunshine," Martineau watched Maria "set a lapful of tulip bulbs" in front of her glass door before she wrote to Reeve. His article on the *Trent* case looked "exceedingly interesting," and she hoped it would do good "over the water." Americans didn't like to be "lessoned," but *she* didn't spare them. "Here is "Spence's book," she groaned, "so ignorantly & absurdly reviewed in the *Times*, & now doing so much mischief!" Lucas - who seemed to have such an odd sort of mind - had probably written the review. Yet in literary matters he was "considerate, courteous, kind, & throwing out critical notions very suggestive & interesting." *Once a Week* was "atrociously poor & even bad!" Lucas could not "for the life of him" see that there was any harm in the "ruffianism" of the *Times* towards America. Yet after the Orsini affair, "what would the *Times* have deserved if it had brought on war by such railing, slander, & provoking contempt as it daily sheds forth on the Americans?"

(Reeve must have changed the subject and simply urged Martineau to get the *Lady's Guide to the Ordering of her Household* for her article.) "I think you have misread that letter of mine," she shot back. "I *did* expressly recognize Wilkes's right to board & search," and she did not believe the Americans were likely to attack Canada.²⁹

In the midst of serious writing, Martineau wrote briskly to Fanny Wedgwood on 20th January: she *would* "not wait any longer" but write a short letter rather than none. Reminding Americans of their duties kept her busy: "They [the *Standard*] print all I send . . . I rely on them (the Committee) to stop me at any moment." For the American people, she had no hope. Young Follen boasted "in an insane sort of way," but she doubted whether "any American, except the cosmopolitan M^{rs} Chapman," understood "the essential barbarism of their condition, - their inferiority to their great-grandfathers." Nevertheless, the "ruffianism of the London *Times*, and the captious contempt of the *Times* Correspondent, who never remembers that he can see nothing of genuine Amerⁿ life at Washington," made her anxious. About the war, Englishmen could not long "countenance a military practice of damage and annoyance, instead of conduct and valour in the field." But it was "too bad of the *Times*" to print erroneous information about the North's blocking of the Charleston harbor. Moreover, "the story going about, of M^r Seward's interview with the Queen," was untrue and injurious: he was not a "'self-raised' or ignorant man" who would "talk of the Queen being a 'gal.'" Oddly, not a single word of acknowledgement had come from the "Amerⁿ War-Office" concerning the sanitary papers for which they *must* have been thankful. Yet based on inside information, she knew that perplexity about emancipation wore Lincoln. Meanwhile *Britain* had *her* trial "in the shocking delinquency of opinion and conduct in our London Club class and the like [who] accept Spence's book, and buy 3 editions of Grattan's pamphlet."

Martineau hoped Fanny's daughter Effie (Katherine Euphemia) had "no remains of her serious illness." *She* was suffering from tic again, and fevers were everywhere. "At Bowness and Windermere," a commission of inquiry had found that *all* the water they used and drank was "abominable!" Annie Clough was back, temporarily, and would be "an immense loss as a friend of education." Troublingly, Martineau had heard nothing from Elisabeth Reid, "though we write monthly or oftener."³⁰

Explaining Reid's silence to Fanny some days later (she had "not written since October!"), Martineau explained that Reid was offended by her attacks on Americans in the *Standard*. Yet "what a pity!" if this proved the end of a long friendship. Martineau had *thought*

it was time for "another tiff," and she dreaded "self humiliation" by Reid sure to follow, "the feeling *au fond*," being jealousy of Martineau's other friends. Maria Chapman was "a real misery to her," as it was "a vexation" to Atkinson. In fact, the *Standard* had *asked her* to write "on topics in any way connected with human freedom, and national or international duty." More than once, she had offered to withdraw, perceiving "signs of irritation, - about the Morrill tariff, especially," but she had been requested to go on. Having "worked *with* and for the old abolitionists for above 1/4 of a century . . . against a sinning government and people," she had "proceeded, - with some surprise at flashes of temper from the Editor and others now and then." Still confident of their "substantial agreement," she had sent the *Standard* her "outpouring of grief at the *Trent* affair, as deadly mischievous to the Cause." Her letter was liked and approved by *some*, but "the editor and several correspondents" fancied it written *at* them. Insults to her "in letters and 'replies' swarming with mistakes" had since filled the pages of the *Standard*. Believing it "unseemly to wrangle in a newspaper" she imagined the *Standard* would beg her to continue - though she *could* not. It *had* startled her when the editor judged her first two letters "perhaps pretty fair, - but not 'racy.'" Now he was evidently expecting a row. "I should like to see his face . . . when he opens my few lines," she exulted to Fanny.

"Mr Cameron has, at last, written to me [and] thanked F. Nightingale" (Cameron's airy letter must have added fuel to Martineau's charge that most of her American friends, even Sumner, seemed incapable of *doing* anything).³¹

"I must just thank you . . . for sending me this welcome information about the Warrant," Martineau wrote to Hilary Bonham Carter (helping Nightingale) six weeks later. "I don't know what to think of North American Hygiene." Accounts were contradictory "(Americans being very sickly)," but habits of the "'Mean whites,'" who formed "the main constituent of the [Confederate] army," were especially bad. Strangely, Lydia Maria Child, a "(tiresome egotist)," seemed to think the British were anxious to hear *her* opinion of them, and in asking the Queen to donate land "for the negroes to settle on," that the West Indies were "the Queen's own farm!" On the *Trent* affair, Child had censured Martineau for calling Mason and Slidell "Southern gentlemen" and claimed that "'thousands of Americans'" were taken from their ships by the British. Poor Charles Follen, meanwhile, was writing oracular letters calling the President "third rate & the like," while his "*brag*" exceeded that of anybody else Martineau corresponded with.³²

Addressing a "Madam" who wished for information about John Chapman and the *Westminster Review*, Martineau repeated the story of his failure in 1854, her loan and his current betrayal of the "Liberal" cause. The *Westminster* had "veered about," she sneered, "nearly all round the compass, on the slavery question till now, when it points due South." Chapman led a parasitical existence, having failed at everything. Indeed, the men formerly involved with him on the *Westminster* would be amused at anyone applying to *her*. Next day, Martineau added shocking news: Manwaring had failed and the *Westminster* was for sale! Her friend Atkinson had inquired and learned that the failure simply left "*unpaid one half year's proceeds of the sale of the Review*." The anecdote needed no further comment, she ended.³³

In early March, Martineau wrote to thank Isabella Mary Beeton for the *Lady's Guide to the Order of her Household*: the cookery part her niece/housekeeper had declared "valuable indeed." Beeton's listing of the "cost of dishes" seemed new and useful and the specifying of servants' duties excellent. Martineau least liked "the instructions on Manners, and in Medical

matters." Being a homeopath, she thought the latter dangerous, even "though from a professional hand." Beeton might like to hear her comments for the sake of a "second edition," but in "nineteen-twentieths of the book," she concurred.³⁴

Martineau's "Modern Domestic Service" went off to Reeve later in March. "I hope Spottiswood's [sic] people will remember to send me the M.S. with the proofs, as before," she reminded him. *All* her illustrative strokes, from anecdotes "to mere touches," were fact. Reeve needn't worry about her example of the "pietizing" family who worked a shirtmaking housemaid almost to death: they were gone to New Zealand. "When the girl came to me here, I took her workbag from her, & made her stay to sup & sleep, - taking care that she sh^d for once have a night's rest of 7 hours." With this clergyman, the girl's employer, "Wm Greg's boy (of ten) . . . was to have read Latin," but the clergyman told Greg that he could not avoid speaking of "fallen Man &c," at which Greg was forced to withdraw his "unfortunately argumentative" son. Another tidbit concerning religion was that "Tom Arnold, (the D^r's 2^d son)," was now Catholic and that his "virago of a wife, a Tasmanian," was a "furious protestant" and that they quarreled awfully. "M^{rs} H. Reeve" must object to anything she thought wrong in the article, Martineau added. "What a treat M^r Lowe's Educational speech [on the Revised Code] was!"³⁵

When the politician and educational reformer Henry Austin Bruce sent Martineau his photograph through Emily Napier (his wife's aunt), Martineau answered modestly that she'd been *gratified* to write "the little memoir" of the Napiers. To Bruce's wife she explained later that she *had* a visitor coming the next evening and could not manage more than one at a time.³⁶

To Walford at *Once A Week* Martineau dashed off four possible titles for her piece on the International Exhibition at Brompton and included "a few more notices or notions about 'Men of the Times'" (i.e., corrections). Some of her American friends "w^d be rather surprised to find themselves 'Men of the Time,'" she quipped, but it was better to "have too many than omit." Probably relying on her political connections, she then wrote to Lord Stanley, having advised the postmistress, Mrs. Nicholson, to write to him and to send a "memorial" from residents in the valley.³⁷

After her article had gone off to Reeve, Martineau heard "two or three good things about servants" she might have used. Following the recent "Miss Ellis" at The Knoll, she hired the orphaned daughter of a Shropshire farmer, "Sarah," who proved "equally fit for the dairy & poultry work & the house work." When the Napiers came to inquire about hiring Sarah's sister, they declared her to be "like a servant out of story book." Sarah wasn't pretty, but "to have the luxury of a beautiful face & graceful form in the house" would be mere "luck." Reeve's "apprehensions about our Lancashire people," might be relieved by a "cotton supply from India . . . & the speedy removal (or reduction at least) of the Import duties there."

If the Reeves were coming to Ambleside, October was best "when the extreme pressure of tourists begins to remit." In *September* Martineau had *known* neighbors to sleep under the trees "when the strangers seized on every bed in the place." Turning to business, she wished to "get the actual, present facts of the Negro case made public" in the *Edinburgh*, with free expenditure of the facts that were burning her pocket.

(Maria's holiday in London probably included seeing the Reeves and returning with "M^{rs} H. Reeve's carte.") If Reeve's wife wanted to see what *she* looked like when in health, Richmond's engraving was in the exhibition, "N^o 2667 of the Portraits," Martineau wrote. The

very best photograph portrait *she* had ever seen was of Maria, which was always set before her when Maria was absent. Finally, she called Reeve's attention to a familiar target. "I don't believe the *Times* Exhibition reporter has any notion that W^m Story is Judge Story's son," the name being always given as "Storey."³⁸

Martineau's "ridiculously successful apparent freak . . . 'Sister Anna's Probation'" having just ended, she must get busy with a second, she told Fanny Wedgwood. Beginning with an "immense deal of reading," she was determined to have characters speak "natural language, and not that half scripture and half slang which fiction writers give us for old English." "Prof^r Masson" (editor of *Macmillan's*) was asking her to write about America too, though she had refused all other new offers. What had the Wedgwood circle heard about American affairs? The North seemed to prefer "passion and sentiment to principle and reason" (the Morrill tariff was to blame), yet Britain must uphold them "as the alternative to the South." Francis Newman complained that Froude would not let him defend the North in *Fraser's* saying "'the intellect of England has decided against the North.'"

Speaking of difficult people, Annie Clough had left Ambleside, and "O! it is impossible to tell the relief thereof!" She was not so bad as Emily Taylor, "but so like her"! Annie, though benevolent and devoted, was "always wrong in judgment," mischievous and meddling. Even Maria felt "the incubus of a meddling neighbour." However, she was glad to sign Graves's address thanking Annie for her "devotedness to education," Annie having given "£200 to the new schools." Annie should travel and "perhaps come back here in 2 years."

Had *Fanny* heard anything of the Strangfords - said to be "in miserable health [but] so happy!" Lady Elgin had forwarded an appeal for Prince Albert's Memorial, which Martineau thought a pity. "Our squire and squires give; and our excellent incumbent, M^r Bell" (friendly to *Martineau*), would ask for donations. Just now she *longed* for "the second series of M^{rs} Delany," while writing long letters to Elisabeth Reid. Manwaring (bankrupt) only owed her £7, she repeated rather smugly.³⁹

When Milnes sent Martineau a book of poetry by a David Gray (reviewed by Milnes in the April *Edinburgh*), she declared she already knew of "the solid beauty of some of his passages, when the volume arrived [yet] every page astonished me more." How thankful Milnes must be that he had helped him! "I fear I sh^d have been prejudiced by his vehement passion for fame," which *she* had never felt. On American questions, she was discouraged by the North's failure to abolish slavery, and paying former slaves was *not* hard. "Spain is now the only slaveholding nation in Christendom," she groaned. Yet Lincoln must "throw out tubs," for he knew how to solve the issue.⁴⁰

"This note from M^{rs} Chapman arrived this morning," Martineau wrote to the Webbs at Dublin in late May: "it w^d have been forwarded by today's post but that Maria is absent . . . & I can't get through each day's business when alone." "Prof^r Cairnes's much-needed & valuable book" had arrived safely. On Webb's "handsome support" for her in the *Standard*, she had "one word of disapprobation:" it had not been an "error" to use the tone she used about the *Trent* affair, but "if anything . . . a compliment." Webb might call Americans proud - *she* called them vain, although people on the plantations had "a sort of pride." Though the Americans learned quickly in military art, they did not "want to learn politics & political economy." Maria Chapman bid her "not mind the journalists," but what could one say "while nearly all the demonstration there is proslavery?"

(Shockingly, two months later Martineau was to console Webb on the death of his wife. Yet she rejoiced that *she* had "not had the long illness that F. Nightingale & I . . . have to accept as our way of dying of heart disease").⁴¹

Writing to Edward Flower in June, Martineau praised lectures given by his brother on the history of an English settlement in America: the more information the public got, the better. Meanwhile, British opinion about the North seemed to be turning, as revelations by captured correspondents revealed the South's fraud. Everyone should read Cairnes's book, only Mill's well-known article in *Fraser's* being its equal and Spence now looking foolish. Her own article in *Macmillan's*, "The Brewing of the American Storm," impressed people, though for twenty-five years the fact that the abolition of slavery in Washington, D.C., was the greatest event in the history of the American republic *had* been known. Washington was federal territory, and slavery was now merely a *state* institution, a civil war then being "necessary."⁴²

Had Henry Bright seen the clue to the conduct of Napoleon III after the attempt on his life, Martineau wondered? The emperor wished to mediate an end to the Civil War before abolition could be carried out, she avouched, having "very nearly lost his wits" over the loss of a cotton supply. For Fanny Wedgwood, Martineau reported further that Maria Chapman had received warnings from France "that 'Scamp' was meditating mischief, and Washington must be on its guard." Just today she had "*such* a beautiful letter from M^{rs} Chapman . . . sending £5 for Lancashire" and claiming to help "as one of the nation whose sin has caused this suffering." Sadly, "Bro" (Fanny's son) was seriously ill, and Martineau begged "3 or 4 lines of bulletin" from Snow or Effie.⁴³

Martineau had earlier revealed to the Webbs her reliance on the "solace" of the working classes to relieve "tic." In June, Sarah sent another cheque for champagne; Martineau thanked her and detailed domestic worries - four severe storms, a dearth of fresh fruit and vegetables, the mangold "perished out of the ground after appearing well" and "round the neighbourhood" not a brood of chicks or ducklings in prospect, only the promise of "a large & early hay crop." *She* had been preaching in the *Daily News* "about bird-murder & drainage," while she and "D^r Acland"

played into each other's hands to stop the frequent drownings of University men by boat-accidents, both on the Isis [the Thames at Oxford] & in our Lakes [by having] everybody taught to swim, & to discredit the use of skiffs.

The Luptons (Sarah's niece and nephew) she hoped had their boys "well practiced in swimming, from two or three years upwards."

Last week, she had an "interesting visit . . . from M^r Anderson, - the brother of the hero of Fort Sumter," who came from London on purpose "'as a grateful Union Man.'" To her slight surprise he brought an introduction from "one of the staff of the *Times*," and she "learned many things of great value" from him. After she had showed him Cairnes's book, he decided to go straight to Galway, to see *him*.⁴⁴

"I have been writing 6 long articles in 7 days," she went on to Sarah. Yet she couldn't refuse useful new connections. "Mediation" to end the Civil War "w^d spoil the process of getting cotton from India, & tantalize the poor people in Lancashire," but she trusted Russell to keep Napoleon III in order. Elgin, as viceroy of India, might help with cotton from there. Poor Lady Elgin, with "a dreadful wrench," was leaving her six children behind to join him. At The Knoll that day, Maria, "with Caroline's help & a long ladder," had trimmed "all the ivy &

climbers on two sides of the house [which prevented] the gazing of any gardener in at the windows!" In London, Maria and her sisters had called on Elisabeth Reid, who cried and said she thought Martineau meant to throw her over. "Ellen's daughter is reaching home this evening," Martineau boasted fondly, "leaving school finally [not that] she fancies her education finished."⁴⁵

(Martineau's censure of the *Trent* affair and of the Morrill tariff had not offended all her American friends. When Charles Follen announced to Garrison in June that he was going to Port Royal "suddenly," he added that he had resigned his membership on committees of the American Anti-Slavery Society partly because of the board's treatment of Martineau. A week later, he told Maria Chapman he was "off like a shot for Port Royal." Chapman ran "up to town to see him off" and found him in good spirits, "in hopes of doing great good").⁴⁶

Notes

¹ HM to HR, 2 October 1861, LMU 2/059 (partly pbd. *CL* 4:292-94); for leaders on the American Civil War and on free trade, see Appen., *HM/DN*; Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen (later 1st Baron Lingen), permanent secretary of the education office (married to Emma, second daughter of the Robert Huttons); the Revised Code provided for state grants to schools based on "payment by results," i.e. the results of standardized examinations in reading, writing and arithmetic, Martineau arguing that such skills must precede moral training; Catherine, Erasmus Darwin's youngest sister.

² HM to FN, [October 1861] and 4 October 1861, *CL* 4: 291-92 and 294-95); (HM to FN, n.d., BL Add MS45788, ff. 154-55); "*American War-Office*," "*Miss Dix*," and "*Midwifery Nurses*" (HM to FN, n.d., BL Add MS45788, ff. 154-55); see Sir Edward Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale* [London: Macmillan, 1914] 6.

³ HM to FN, 9 October 1861, *CL* 4: 296-97; in 1862, Hawes was to oppose Nightingale's plans for reform.

⁴ HM to FW, 21 October 1861, *HM/FW* 210-14; at the Continental Theatre in Philadelphia on 14 September 1861 a ballet dancer's dress caught fire from an open gas jet: her panic and the deaths of six ballet dancers then took on apocalyptic significance (full page drawings of the scantily clad dancers engulfed by flames appeared, for example, in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York, 28 September 1861: 304-305 and 312-13).

⁵ Martineau's "letter" of 7 October 1861 touched on Fremont, cotton supply and the French-English trade treaty: *NASS*, 2 November 1861: 3, cols. 4-5; for Motley - whose style was slightly inflated - see chap. 46, note 23; Carlyle was working doggedly on the third volume of *Frederick the Great*, to appear in 1862.

⁶ HM to Sarah, 23 October 1861, *CL* 4: 297; Sarah's "subscription" was surely a donation to the Boston abolitionists; Robert, Maria's father, was a patron of the Homeopathic Hospital in Birmingham.

⁷ FN to HM, 24 October 1861, BL Add MS1890 f.16 (as chancellor of the exchequer, Gladstone was concerned for economy); HM to FN, 29 October 1861, *CL* 4: 298-99; Julia Smith was three years older than Martineau.

⁸ FN to HM, 31 October 1861, BL Add MS 45788 ff. 167-69.

⁹ HM to Emily Sarah Holt, [26 October 1861], *CL* 4: 298 (for an earlier gift of grouse from the

Holts, see chap. 45); William Henry Channing (minister since 1851 at Hope Street chapel, Liverpool) was to take up a ministry at the Effra Road Society, Brixton, but "was demanded at home by the friends of liberty" (Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Memoir of William Henry Channing* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey, 1887) 302.

¹⁰ HM to HR, 30 October 1861, *CL* 4: 299-302 (for Reeve's article, see chap. 46, note 23; Reeve was reluctant to let *Martineau* write on the American crisis); "Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau . . . LVIII. November 2, 1861," *NASS*, 7 December 1861: 2, cols. 5-6 (Martineau opined that the recent *Edinburgh* article should have shown that the American case was understood); Henry Ward Beecher, Congregational minister of the Plymouth Church of Brooklyn, influential abolitionist and supporter of the Republican Party.

¹¹ i.e., a fourpenny stamp for a long (and controversial?) letter; (Reeve was born seven years *after* the Battle of Trafalgar); for Martineau's article on America in *Macmillan's*; see chap. 46, note 23; for her article on domestic service, see note 15 below; Longmans, publishers of the *Edinburgh*; "Servants, domestic" in *General Index to the Edinburgh Review, from the Eighty-first to the Hundred-and-tenth Volumes, Inclusive. (January 1845 - October 1859.)* London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1862), page 374, was to list only *Martineau's* article; a mistake for James Maccreiff, "Macaulay's *History of England* (vol. V)," *ER* 114 (October 1961): 279-317? (John Paget contributed articles on Macaulay to *Blackwoods Magazine*).

¹² HM to FN, 2 November 1861, *CL* 4: 302-303; Nightingale's brooding was soon deepened by the death in Florence of her devoted helper, Arthur Hugh Clough.

¹³ HM to Harriet "Tiny" Payn, 8 November 1861, *CL* 4: 306 (Martineau may have sent *The Playfellow* series).

¹⁴ HM to Sumner, November 1861, *CL* 4: 307-309 (Sumner spoke to the state Republican convention at Worcester, Massachusetts, on "Union and Peace. How Shall They Be Restored?"); see Charles Sumner to HM, 29 October 1861, *Letters of Charles Sumner* 2: 81-82, citing Britain's mistake "that this is not a war against Slavery."

¹⁵ HM to HR, 8 November 1861, *CL* 4: 303-305 (on Guy Fawkes Day British children collect coins for a "guy" to be burned in effigy); in "Modern Domestic Service," *ER* 115 (April 1862): 409-39, Martineau reviewed *Address of Prince Albert at the Meeting of the Servants' Provident Society* (16 May 1849), *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Domestic Servants' Benevolent Institution* (1861), *Lady's Guide to the Ordering of her Household* (London: 1861) and *The Book of Household Management* by Isabella Beeton (London: 1861 [Beeton addressed middle class homemakers, while Martineau showed an understanding of working class servants]).

¹⁶ HM to Henry Bright, 30 November 1861, *CL* 4: 309-11 (Reeve signed letters to *The Times* "Senex"); in the "Trent affair" of 8 November 1861 Commander John Wilkes of the U.S. Navy aroused British anger by boarding the British ship *Trent* to remove two Confederate envoys, James Murray Mason and John Slidell; no "letter" dated November 1861 appeared in the *Standard*, but Martineau may refer to "Our European Correspondence. Letters from Harriet Martineau. . . . LIX." [Letter of 2 December 1861], *NASS*, 28 December 1861: 2, cols. 5-6 (rptd. Logan, *Writings on Slavery* 153-56) expressing disappointment in American statesmanship and implicating all U.S. citizens in Wilkes's action (statements that proved fatal for her association with the *Standard*).

¹⁷ "Sidney Herbert" (*HM/DN* 207-14 [*DN*, 2 December 1861]) relied on Nightingale's reports to

summarize Herbert's "precise service" in improving army well-being and reported a meeting held in London on 28 November to honor him; HM to HR, 4 December 1861, LMU 2/062 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 311-12); see, on Commander Wilkes [*Trent* affair], 5 December 1861 (Appen., *HM/DN*); see also "The Seizure on Board the Steamer *Trent*" [letter signed Fair Play - Martineau?], *DN*, 30 November 1861: 6, col. 2, reviewing the history of Southern secession and arguing that England should arbitrate.

¹⁸ Martineau used this first example in "Modern Domestic Service" (415-16); for her letter to the *Standard* of 2 December 1861, see note 16; on the Morrill tariff, see for example "Our European Correspondence. . . . LI." [Letter of 6 May 1861] 1 June 1861: 2, cols. 4-5, and ". . . XVI." [Letter of 12 August 1861] 7 September 1861: 2, col. 6 - 3, col. 1 (partly rptd. Logan, *Writings on Slavery* 150-51 and 151-53); HM to Henry Martineau, 26 August [1836], *CL* 1: 309-10.

¹⁹ "The Last Sheffield Outrage," *OW*, 14 December 1861: 679-83 [signed "From the Mountain"]; see also, "Sheffield Outrages," *HM/DN* 107-111 (*DN*, 26 March 1862: Appen., *HM/DN*); see, HM to Evans, 23 December 1861, NYPL/Berg and HM to friend [*Once a Week*], 31 December 1861, *CL* 4: 318-19; "Sister Anna's Probation," *OW* 6 (15, 22, 29 March, 5 and 12 April 1862): 309-15, 337-44, 365-73, 393-98 and 421-26 (Caister, Norfolk?); Prince Albert died at Windsor Castle, 14 December 1861: see leading articles in *The Times*, 16, 17 and 18 December 1861.

²⁰ HM to HR, Christmas Day [25 December] 1861, *CL* 4: 314-15 (for Prince Albert's address, see note 15); Prince Edward had caused a scandal by having an actress in his bedroom, arranged by his fellow officers; Rev. Charles Tarver, classical tutor to the Prince; a leader in *The Times*, 17 December 1861: 6, cols. 2-3, cautioned the Prince that self-sacrifice was needed and he must choose between frivolity and a life of usefulness.

²¹ Emily Beaufort to HM, 9 and 12 December 1861, BUL 64 and 65; for Beaufort's book, see chap. 45, note 40; Percy Ellen Frederick William Smythe, 8th Viscount Strangford, a diplomat and philologist as well as a journalist; in his Annual Message to Congress, 3 December 1861, President Lincoln declared the North to be fighting for the integrity of the Union, not against slavery; *The Times* (17 December 1861: 6, cols. 3-4) censured Lincoln for failing to explain his Cabinet's views on the *Trent* episode, what to do about the slaves, or financing the war.

²² "Review of the Year," *DN*, 31 December 1861: 4, cols. 1-6; HM to Evans, 30 December 1861, *CL* 4: 317 (Martineau must mean her letter to NAAS dated 28 December 1861: see "Mason and Slidell: The *Trent* Affair," Logan, *Writings on Slavery* 153-56).

²³ HM to [editors] *OW*, 31 December 1861, *CL* 4: 318.

²⁴ HM to [PPC], 30 December 1861, *CL* 4: 316; Carpenter was lecturing in Devon and Cornwall on his American travels, attacking slavery and the South (on 30 November 1861 he had written to Seward to protest seizure of the *Trent* [Carpenter, *Memoirs of the Life and Work* 257-61]); Maria Martineau to PPC, January [?1862], HMC MS H. Martineau 1 ff. 112-13.

²⁵ For Grattan [one-time British consul to Massachusetts], *England and the Disrupted States of America* [London: Ridgway, 1861], see *DN*, 9 and 11 January 1862 (Appen., *HM/DN*), and for Spence, *The American Union: Its Effect on National Character and Policy, with an Inquiry into Secession as a Constitutional Right, and the Causes of the Disruption* (London: R. Bentley, 1861), see [rev.] "The English View of the American Question. (Mr. Spence's Book On "The American Union."), *DN*, 28 and 31 January 1862: 2, cols. 1-4 and 2, cols. 1-4; see Appen., *HM/DN* (and see *HM/FW* 217, notes 11 and 10).

²⁶ HM to Lucas, 2 [3] January 1862, Bod Lib MS Eng. lett. d. 397/2 ff. 207-8 (*The Times*

continued to publish articles as on the destruction of Charleston harbor, etc.); [rev.] Herman Merivale, "*Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte of Wales: with Extracts from her Journals and Anecdote-Books*," *QR* 111 (January 1862): 41-72 (racy gossip about the royal family, Nelson, Lady Hamilton, etc., by an "under-governess"); William Forsyth, "The American Crisis," *QR* 111 (January 1862): 239-80 (an apology for the South, reviewing Spence and the *Trent* case, lamenting "the destruction of Charleston Harbour").

²⁷ HM to Edward Frederick Smythe Pigott, Tuesday [November-December 1861], Friday [1861], [1862], Saturday [1862] and Tuesday [April 1862], *CL* 4: 312-13, 313-14, 321-22, 318-19 and 335; for Martineau's leaders on army sanitation, see Appen., *HM/DN*; Martineau described Southern blacks pouring into the North or escaping to swamps, while 1,000 were employed at Port Royal (*DN*, 18 and 21 December 1861: see Appen., *HM/DN*; for Martineau's commonsense view of Captain Wilkes and the "*Trent* affair," see above; in "The Weather and the Crops" (*DN*, 9 April 1862: 3, col. 1) Martineau summarized the effect of the weather on livestock, the loss of grain from bad stowage or sunken ships, etc.

²⁸ HM to Walford, 12 January 1862, *CL* 4: 320; "Martineau, Harriet," Edward Walford ["M.A. Late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford"], *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* (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1862) 532-34 (under "Martineau, Harriet," Walford surveyed her family background and publications through 1861 except for her anonymous contributions to major journals like the *Westminster*, the *Edinburgh* and the *Daily News*; no portraits appeared in the 1862 edition); Arthur Hugh Clough died in November 1861 leaving a widow, the former Blanche Mary Shore Smith; Martineau may have been completing a summary of recent events for *Once A Week*, either "Much Right and Much Wrong" or "The Slave Difficulty in America" [both signed From the Mountain], *OW* 6 (25 January and 1 February 1862): 118-21 and 145-48.

²⁹ HM to HR, 16, 23 and Friday [24?] January 1862, Union," *The Times*, 6 January 1862: 10, col. 7, and 14 January 1862: 10, col. 3; HR, "Belligerents and Neutrals," *ER* 115 (January 1862): 258-92; Martineau was to review the "Lady's Guide" in "Modern Domestic Service" (see note 15).

³⁰ HM to FW, 20 January 1862, *HM/FW* 214-17; for Charles Follen's enterprise in the South, see, for example, note 46; William Howard Russell caused an outcry in the North for his unflattering report of Northern troops in the battle of Bull Run (see J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh UP, 1983) 100 (Northern Gen. George B. McClellan was *planning* to attack Richmond); Seward reportedly described the Queen as "sturdy, small and unaffected."

³¹ HM to FW, 6 February 1862, *HM/FW* 217-22; for Martineau's "last" letter of 7 February 1862 declaring that American abolitionists had descended from the lofty patriotism of twenty-five years past, see *NASS*, 1 March 1862: 2, cols. 5-6 (rptd. Logan, *Writings on Slavery* 162-64), followed by "Remarks by the Editor" rejecting her imputations but agreeing that she should retire; Martineau's wrangling with *The Times* in fact formed a keynote for many of her political leaders in the *Daily News*; Simon Cameron to HM, 6 January 1862, BUL MS
Harriet Martineau 180 (Cameron thanked Martineau for a contribution to the government's Medical Library and sent copies of *his* annual report to Congress and reports of the American

Sanitary Commission).

³² HM to Hilary Bonham Carter 12 February 1862, *CL* 4: 326-27 (Nightingale was collecting evidence and preparing statistics on the health of the British army in India); in "England and America. A Letter from Mrs. L. Maria Child," *NASS*, 18 January 1862: 2, cols. 4-6, Child protested against past incidents of aggression by Britain and by the South, British sea captains' impressment of American sailors and Martineau's recent letter on the *Trent* affair.

³³ HM to "Madam," 22 and 23 February 1862, *CL* 4: 328-30 and 331; George Manwaring, publisher of the *Westminster*, see below).

³⁴ HM to Isabella Mary (Mrs. Samuel Orchart) Beeton, 4 March 1862, *CL* 4: 333-34; Mrs. Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management, Comprising Information [on servants' duties and sanitary, medical, and legal memoranda] With a History of the Origin, Properties, and Uses of All Things Connected with Home Life and Comfort* (London: S. O. Beeton, 1859-61 [issued in 24, 3d parts with topics numbered to 2,732]; reviewed in Martineau's *Edinburgh* article: see note 15).

³⁵ HM to HR, 24 February 1862, *CL* 4: 331-332; for the anecdote see "Modern Domestic Service" 437-38; Spottiswoode's, printers for the *Edinburgh Review*; Robert Lowe, vice-president of the parliamentary Committee of Council on Education, spoke just before agreement on the motion to go into committee on the Revised Code.

³⁶ HM to Henry Austin Bruce, 19 March 1862, *CL* 4: 334 (in 1854 Bruce had married as his second wife the younger daughter of Sir William Napier, historian of the Peninsular War); HM to Nora Creina Blanche (Mrs. Henry Austin Bruce), Friday [?21 March 1862], *BANC* [Box 1] 31; Emily Napier lived at Dove Nest, 3 miles away in Ambleside.

³⁷ HM to Walford, April 1862, *CL* 4: 335-36; for the International Exhibition at Brompton, a display of industrial arts and products modeled on the Great Exposition of 1851, see Martineau's skeptical "What May Come of the Exhibition" [signed From the Mountain], *OW* 6 (26 April 1862): 491-94); HM to Lord Edward Henry Stanley, 8 April 1862, *FL* 277 (seemingly a reference to debts owed by "Mr Fred: Peel," son of the former prime minister).

³⁸ HM to HR, 17 April and 2 June 1862, *MS* Richard Martineau (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 336-37) and *LMU* 2/069 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 341-42); the newly popular cartes-de-visite were visiting card-size black and white photographs; for Richmond's 1839 portrait of Martineau see *Autobiography* 2: ii; for Martineau's next article for the *Edinburgh*, see chap. 45, note 9; for sculptor William Wetmore Story, see chap. 48, note 2.

³⁹ HM to FW, 25 April 1862, *MS* Wedgwood Papers, *UKL* (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 222-25; for Martineau's second historiette, "The Anglers of the Dove," 9 (19 and 26 July, 2, 9 and 16 August 1863): 85-90, 113-20, 141-48, 169-75 and 197-202, turned on the imprisonment of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Tutbury Castle (see Shu-Fang Lai, 118-19); Newman was a contributor to *Fraser's Magazine* of which Froude was editor; Annie's censure of Martineau for "using" Maria evidently still rankled; *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville (Mrs. Delany): with Interesting Reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte*, Second Series (London: R. Bentley, 1862).

⁴⁰ HM to Milnes, 9 May 1862, *CL* 4: 337-38; Milnes, "David Grey," *ER* 115 (April 1862): 567-76; Swiftean "tubs" might confuse Northern opposition to Lincoln's acts.

⁴¹ HM to Mr. and Mrs. Richard Webb, 27 May 1862, *CL* 4: 338-40; John Eliot Cairnes [professor of jurisprudence and political economy in Queen's College, Galway], *The Slave Power; its Character, Career, and Probable Designs; being an Attempt to explain the real issues Involved in*

the American Contest (London: Parker, son, and Bourn, 1862), dedicated to John Stuart Mill and arguing that slave labor, ruinous to the land, was an economic determinant of history that would lead to the permanent separation of the North and the South (see "Professor Cairnes's Practical View of the American Case," *DN*, 11, 14, 17 June 1862: 4, cols. 5-6, col. 1; 5, cols. 1-3; 4, col. 6 - 5, cols. 1-2 [Appen., *HM/DN*]); Webb scolded the *Standard* for the "scant courtesy of your parting words to Harriet Martineau," *NASS*, 19 April 1862: 2, col. 6 - 3, col.1; HM to Richard Webb, 17 July 1862, *CL* 4: 338-39.

⁴² HM to Edward Fordham Flower, 2 June 1862, *CL* 4: 340-41; probably George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818, by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower. Printed from manuscript presented by the author to the Chicago historical society, September 18, 1860* (Chicago: Fergus Printing Co., 1882); John Stuart Mill, "The Contest in America," *Fraser's* 65 (February 1862): 258-68 (Mill defended the legality of the North's fight against a power professing "the principles of Attila and Genghis Khan as the foundation of its Constitution"); for *Macmillan's*, see note chap. 46, note 23.

⁴³ HM to Henry Bright, 8 June [1862], BANC [Box 1] 27 (see *DN*, 20 June 1862, and Appen., *HM/DN*); HM to FW, 16 June 1862, *HM/FW* 226-27; "Scamp" was Napoleon III; for relief of the Lancashire cotton workers, see chap. 48, note 12.

⁴⁴ HM to Sarah, 13 June 1862 [the "solace" must have been tobacco], CRO(K) 22 (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 342-44); "The Weather and the Crops," *DN*, 9 April 1862: 3, col. 1; Martineau's leaders on the protection of birds and on arterial drainage appeared on 3 and 13 June 1862 (see Appen., *HM/DN*, and "Drainage," *HM/DN* 113-20); Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, politician and reformer, promoter of agriculture and of practical education; Luptons: sons of Fanny Lupton, Martineau's niece; Col. Charles Anderson, brother of Robert Anderson, the "hero of Ft. Sumter."

⁴⁵ Martineau's "six articles" probably included the three-part review of Cairnes's book (see note 41); Ellen's daughter, Harriet, was to attend the Ladies' College in Bedford Square.

⁴⁶ Charles Follen to WLG, 29 June 1862, BPL Ms.A.9.2.32 p. 13; Port Royal Island, South Carolina (one of the prosperous cotton-growing Sea Islands) had been taken by Union forces; MWC to Anne Chapman, 6 July 1862, BPL Ms.A.9.2.31 p. 9.