

## Chapter 48

### ***The Edinburgh Review, Daily News and Once A Week (1862-1863)***

In July, Martineau asked Reeve to let her review a book on Borneo that eulogized "Rajah Brooke." Brooke had alerted her to the book *in confidence* while his case was pending before Parliament. The author, Spencer St. John - former consul-general of Borneo - contrasted Brooke's success in Sarāwak by *cultivating* the Malays to the confrontational behavior of conquerors and missionaries. (Martineau's review appeared in October.)

About American matters, "*Sick at heart*" was her feeling. During the controversy with Greeley on the Morrill tariff the year before, her friends had searched in vain for copies of *Illustrations of Political Economy*. Now there was "a gushing supply of the old book, - glittering on the counters in red & green & gold, with a new title page announcing a partnership of an American publisher with Routledge." Now the foolish Americans would "assuredly take those old pictures . . . as descriptions of our present state; & finely they will crow over us!"<sup>1</sup>

A week later, Martineau told Reeve about a visit from William Wetmore Story, the American sculptor. Story, she laughed, "is a great hand at 'imaginary conversations' . . . He never had a conversation with me in his life [and] was 15 when I last saw him." Story was "too poetical for a sick-room [but] for his dear parents' sake" she was content to indulge him. "What odd letters one gets!" she went on. A "'Haynes of Brighton'" had coolly requested a copy of each of her works, saying his income was limited and he'd heard "they w<sup>d</sup> do him good." Next, she worried about the Queen's relations with the Prince [of Wales]. If *she* had her way, she would utterly ruin him, "spoil his temper towards herself & drive him into a life of mere frivolity." Finally, Reeve's review of the *Life of Pitt* in the July *Edinburgh* recalled an early pleasure of her own. "I *did* enjoy *writing* Pitt, in my Peace history; & I read Stanhope & 'Edinburgh' just as if I did not know it all by heart." Lord Stanhope must believe her portrait of Pitt to be a true one because "precisely his." Pitt was not, as ill-informed liberals had believed, "an epitome of the tory squires of 1820."<sup>2</sup>

To an "old friend" (probably W.J. Fox) in late July, Martineau reported her increased "feebleness of heart, with attendant symptoms" that kept Maria and her doctor in a state of anxiety. But Walker of the *Daily News* had been "at death's door," and she was giving all the help she could, "5 articles there in 4 days last week!" Lately she had written on military drill in education for *Once A Week*, a subject *he* suggested long ago. At the moment she could not refuse Evans "any help he sets his mind on; & hence the Historiettes w<sup>h</sup> are appearing there." Moreover she *enjoyed* seeing, "week by week, how Millais sees what I put before his eyes." His "last illustration of 'Sister Ann'" she thought really beautiful. The Rajah, she switched topics, was "very well satisfied with the state of things at Sarawak."<sup>3</sup>

She "exceedingly enjoyed the visit from David [Martineau] and spouse [Sarah]," Martineau told Sarah a few days later. One of her "fearful retching fits (a kind of convulsion from brain congestion)" had seized her the night before but was subdued in time. The editor's "Subs" at *Daily News* begged her "to send articles as often as I can," and besides those of last week were four that week. Mainly she was writing to Sarah about Isabella Rankin, who needed a third companion with her sister Margaret "to spend next winter abroad, in some warm southern place." Isabella did not want to "venture alone with Marg<sup>t</sup>," who had "rheumatic tendencies."

Would Fanny (Sarah's daughter) go? Isabella was 60, "& Marg<sup>t</sup>, I think, about 2 years older," both "very clever & very good." Margaret had lost her husband and three children, "but [Martineau added rather coolly], I don't fancy that she has low spirits."<sup>4</sup>

Walker at the *Daily News* was recovering slowly, and Martineau continued her hectic notes to Pigott. "I hear today from a friend (one of the *Times* staff) that [O'Sullivan's] book . . . is well worth my attention" - he having cut "a bad figure in the (genuine) intercepted correspond<sup>ce</sup> of the Southern agitators." Yet she could only undertake reviewing for special occasions. A "brutal" leader in *The Times* on "the Federals" and an account, "friendly to them, of the recent battles," puzzled her. Reeve was the author of the latter, taken "from the lips of the Princes," and she urged "We *must* keep all eyes open to the folly & badness of the tariff in U.S."

On a Sunday, Martineau wrote again: "*Sumner's* words are 'If the country is to be saved, it must be surgery.'" She received the "most gloriously beautiful letters, every week," which made her "wish the Amer<sup>ns</sup> had the luck to be so represented in 'D. News.'" But bits of "private confidence" in the letters meant she could only give out passages. After Pigott had failed to use "two articles on cotton supply," she asked him "to send them . . . by return of post, that I may use them elsewhere." She had "no strength to spare for waste writing" and claimed "anything we say [on free trade] will be eagerly reprinted in the [New York] *Evening Post*, & other respectable papers." To help Pigott on weekends she then offered to send leaders "by the Saturday evening mail (leaves here at 5 or 6 pm.):" nothing could be sent on Sundays, "by any means whatever." She *could* send a leader "by midday coach: but that drives me rather hard for a sick person, - letters in at 9, coach out at 12."<sup>5</sup>

Arthur Stanley had stopped to see Martineau in August, and she remarked to Milnes that he had aged, his expression seeming "so sad!" It was a pity the Prince had to see and hear him daily. She *wished* the Queen and royal family would see more of well-mannered middle-class people than of silly courtiers. Lucas's book, *Secularia*, interested her deeply, she went on, while another of her historiettes had come out. Her "ordinary work" was chiefly political, it being "a great relief to be able to speak, & clear up a few things; & not least, to disclaim & denounce the brutality of the *Times* towards America." That newspaper would be highly responsible for a *war* between the United States and Britain, having "done what it could to bring out what is discreditable & vulgar in our national character (under a lure of *gentility*)." Hence it was satisfying to work on the opposite tack. Her editor's "Sub" at the *Daily News* called him "the most nobly-conscientious & high-minded & trustworthy Editor in Europe. Pleasant!"<sup>6</sup>

Despite high spirits over her work, Martineau had "sinking-fits . . . partial and temporary loss of sight & c & c," she groaned to Erasmus. And she was *afraid* to ask Fanny about "Mackintosh [her son, 'Bro']." Lately, Arthur Stanley's sad face had even shocked the Arnolds. "At first, I thought his manner of speech more curt than ever; but he was so affectionate when he opened out about his mother and sister that I forgot it." She had not mentioned the Prince or the Queen to Stanley, not valuing "his view very much on that matter." (Stanley later told the Arnolds he was "*delighted*" he had come). "Poor fellow!" she gossiped on, "he took *one hour* to decide whether to come home or go into Syria: and his mother's dying wish, and his sister's wish, determined him to go forward." Had Erasmus read *Secularia*? It had altogether changed her impressions about the man she corresponded with almost every week: it was "so

fresh, so suggestive, so exceedingly pleasant!" Half-a-dozen eminent men she knew praised it. "The account of the conditions and prospects of French freedom" seemed the best statement of the case she had seen. Yet she could not understand his selection of material for *Once A Week*. "However, we have got 'Verner's Pride' now, and may be thankful." Her own "absurdly successful" historiettes, *couldn't* be very good by the labor she put into them, nor could she "do it as well as 30 years ago!"

For recreation, she had just opened "Carlyle's vol:" which Maria extolled as "just like living with the people." Fanny must now see why she had "'no hope' of the American case." Slavery was coming to an end, but the Northerners were "too degenerate, too ignorant, too passionate and altogether unreasonable to come well out of the struggle."

Charles Follen at Port Royal had not been heard from. Elisabeth Reid had written, however, "asking *why* I did not expect the Millennium in the North immediately." And the temper of the younger generation of abolitionists toward England exceeded everything she had ever heard of, being "quite like a Mania."<sup>7</sup>

To show Americans the danger of tariffs, Maria Chapman must have written to Richard Webb concerning copies of Martineau's *Illustrations of Taxation*. "We have told her," Martineau wrote to Webb in August, "that [sales of] the 'Taxation' tales dropped when the taxes they denounced were repealed," and they would not suit "any other country or time." Sales of "The Hamlets" (also asked about by Chapman) "dropped when the reform of the poor-law, urged therein, was carried out." Chapman's "saucy neighbours" had led her to ask Martineau, through a hoax, why Britain had "a heavy duty on silver," which it did not. To console Webb (suffering over his brother-in-law's uncongenial views on the death of his wife), Martineau added that her indignation was "swallowed up in amazement at the stupid narrowness of people who do not see *the impossibility* of their knowing anything of human destinies."<sup>8</sup>

(Travelling in France, Matthew Arnold chanced to sit next to Maria Chapman's daughter at dinner and described her as charming, "very pretty indeed").<sup>9</sup>

In early September, Reeve returned from Italy bringing good news of Garibaldi. "Well!" Martineau countered, "the Storys came, - & a number of old friends, - Marshalls & Monteaegles. Of course I did not see them." The Arnolds took "W.W.S's word for being an intimate friend of mine, & told him all about everything we do [and] showed him a photograph of me &c."

(Next morning, Mary Arnold was startled to learn that Martineau had never spoken with young Story, "he being a shy boy.")

Oddly, the Arnolds knew nothing of Story's "statues" or that he was a son of Judge Story, whose "glowing portrait" Martineau showed them. "Well! I hope we shall see *you*," she encouraged Reeve. She did not much like "*Remains of Mrs. Richard Trench*" in the July *Edinburgh* but preferred "Mrs. Delany," where it was "really curious to see into a whole world of life within our national life." Reeve's contributor "(M<sup>rs</sup> Grote apparently) is mighty saucy about M<sup>rs</sup> Delany; - so much that she cannot have read the book" (*Milnes* was in fact the reviewer).

At The Knoll, meanwhile, they were "in cloud & sunshine:" the latter from the "wonderfully happy, & *charming*" couple, Tom and his wife who had been there with their baby boy, "a splendid fellow." The clouds were "from Florence Nightingale's suffering in dying," her work over. And Martineau's "old friend, W.E. Forster" was *very ill*.<sup>10</sup>

Next sending sympathy to a Mr. Bartholomew, Martineau grieved over how many friends had gone, "whom I never expected to survive!" He no doubt remembered Eliza Follen and her sister - both dead. "Charles, - the laughing boy" was now "one of the Superintendents of Negroes in North Carolina," conducting training in freedom "under the Federal flag: - worthy work for the son of two staunch abolitionists."<sup>11</sup>

By mid-September, Martineau herself was engrossed in a scheme to help unemployed female factory operatives, the result of a stand against slave-grown cotton. Donations were being collected for cloth to be made up in sewing classes, the "workies" then being allowed to wear or sell the garments. "The *one subject*" on which she took time to write to Sarah was "to ask you & your daughters, & as many more ladies as you please," to look at a "slip" she enclosed which had been printed off from her letter to the *Daily News* by orders of the editor. "I need not tell you," she hinted,

that the "friend" is Maria: & besides her good buying, she & the maids have managed the cutting-out so well that we have had to alter the figures, as you see, [having obtained] 2 gowns, a shift & a frock more than we had calculated.

She doubted whether their countrywomen were aware of the "true nature & extent" of the calamity: "*four millions* of people in a state of destitution." Every one of the girls they clothed and employed in the sewing schools was, she might say, rescued.

In consequence of "an earnest petition from Manchester ladies," she had just written an article on "Cooking-establishments," but the "Sewing-schools [were] *all-important*." At such a time, "M. & I c<sup>d</sup> not enjoy any indulgence that we c<sup>d</sup> defer [and] I hope to send £5." Two friends had just sent each £5. Maria would shop next at Kendal; at Birmingham she could get things fit for winter wear. For Lancashire relief in general, people were now giving "£1000, or £500, or £50 monthly &c." Society must be roused, she sermonized, to "a full sense of what it has to do, in retribution for its carelessness (against all warning) about the cotton-supply." She and Maria had "put off building a cottage w<sup>h</sup> I meant to build (*for her*) this year: & I shall not invest this autumn." If Sarah saw anything in the *Daily News* on "L<sup>d</sup> E[lgin]'s conduct about *the* question, - the Land question," Sarah would know where it came from.<sup>12</sup>

By October, Martineau had finished two-thirds of her new historiette, "The Hampdens," and Lucas wondered whether she might not be working too hard. Yet her family "& Doctor, Nurse & Mr Atkinson" all believed she would die if she had to give up writing. Offering advice on *Once a Week*, she quibbled "*The blemish in M<sup>rs</sup> H<sup>y</sup> Wood's stories is an occasional vulgarity . . . viz, Sybilla's insult to Decima*" in this week's installment of "Verner's Pride" was "impossible in society." Yet she *liked* the Mormon part, that the Arnolds did not. From "a sense of duty" she had been reading Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White*, supposedly "a model story" but to her mainly a bore without moral interest despite charming characters. "Our parson's novel there *can* be no doubt about," she sniffed. "Pious commonplace only." Perhaps he hoped to make *Once A Week* "a tract receptacle." Now building a house, the parson had asked the White Lion *not* to sell drink to the workmen: "W<sup>d</sup> you believe it . . . for *his* sake!" Of *her* he merely asked favors, but with others he *meddled*.

A few days later, Martineau conveyed praise for Lucas's *Secularia* from "the Rev<sup>d</sup> George D. Boyle." Boyle had called and told her a great deal about his friend Goldwin Smith. The whole set of her Oxford friends had studied the "American case, & have come out hearty

comrades of Prof<sup>r</sup> Cairnes," she claimed. She longed to read Louis Blanc (probably mentioned by Lucas), but twelve volumes was absurd. At Ambleside, they had freakish weather - last week a waterspout and last night a hurricane, with a *meteor*: "A blue ball, slowly sailing as against the blast."<sup>13</sup>

When another autumn caller, Catherine Darwin, invited Maria for a week in London, Martineau was delighted and told Fanny Wedgwood she "heard a great deal" about the Wedgwoods. Would Fanny please report to Miss Darwin they had "sent away above £60 worth of those parcels of clothing" including £15 worth from *her*. Miss Darwin might also like to hear that "the great shopkeeper at Kendal, where M. bought many of the things," told his wife he "had never met with so good a buyer as Maria." Indeed, she astonished the Arnolds. "Only think of her cutting out 6 gowns and 4 petticoats before breakfast, and 27 garments after tea!" The cook washed out "the long pieces of calico," Caroline helped in the cutting out and Fan Arnold sorted and "tied up and ticketed" the garments. Shopkeepers and the carrier who took the packages were most generous. Some "delectable" correspondents in *The Times* supported the relief program too. Did Fanny not find "opinion somewhat improving about America?" It seemed "people were beginning to feel scared at finding what they ha[d] been praising in the South." However, the North's financial ignorance and guilt precluded all hope of a good issue. "How inferior to their forefathers!" And what was "L. Nap: saying to the Diplomats today?"<sup>14</sup>

Martineau had earlier thanked Emily Holt for a "£5 note" and then exclaimed "Bravo! dear friend! Give my love & hearty thanks to M<sup>rs</sup> Holt for her glorious second ten." Emily's "£5" had helped to redeem "bedding & clothes from pawn," though prudence was necessary to avoid "offering the temptation to pawn again." Yet she believed the "'Lancashire Lad' (M<sup>r</sup> Whittaker)" was quite "up to all this." Maria would see about providing "*shoes & clogs*" in Birmingham: so many children depended "for their schooling on being shod." Letters had come in from "a Jewish lady . . . sending off clothes to Lancashire, in conjunction with M<sup>rs</sup> Robert Chambers, who has made a grand collection, from her vast family."<sup>15</sup>

Walford must have enlisted Martineau's help to update his ambitious *County Families of the United Kingdom*. On 6 November, she wrote conspiratorially: "A use has turned up for those documents . . . . What w<sup>d</sup> our squire do if he knew of your note this morning!" Benson Harrison, of Green Bank, "(now very old)," was said to bear "three heavy griefs . . . his origin . . . the profligacy of his heir [and] the death of his good son Richard." His father, she believed, had risen from footboy to butler to "gentleman of large property;" as butler, he "got complete possession of the old gentleman his master." When the latter died, there was "mystery about his affairs; & this butler founded the wealthy Greenbank family." Matthew Harrison, the son, the "High Sheriff who made such a noise two years ago by the pomp with w<sup>h</sup> he went through the office [was] a dunce, & quarrelsome, & extravagant . . . a pest." She *didn't* think Walford would put "father or son (both J.Ps)" into his book. Meanwhile, *Verner's Pride* was going off sadly, "like a troubled dream where one can't get on." After being ill, she hoped soon to finish *her* latest fiction, her *historiette*.<sup>16</sup>

While Maria was away at the end of November, Martineau lamented to Sarah that it had been "many weeks since I had a single morning's holiday; & today and tomorrow are the only ones I expect till after X<sup>mas</sup>." Her editor was "fearfully ill," his staff must take their holidays, "& while America & Lancashire" were in their present state she could not send too many articles. She had "just finished the 3<sup>d</sup> *Historiette* ('The Hampdens') w<sup>h</sup> turns out much longer

than the 2<sup>d</sup>," and she was "wanted in 3 successive 'Edinburgh Reviews'" on subjects that belonged to her.

At the same time she had sent "£75 worth of clothing" for Lancashire, the last £10 being "in the form of boots & shoes." Today she was posting £5 of her own to a poor Unitarian minister and his wife who had "cut up their own window curtains to make petticoats for the women, & their chintz counterpanes for the old folks." Even the poor folk living in "the cluster of miserable dwellings . . . beside the mill waterfall" were giving regularly. "D<sup>r</sup> Davy, - with his own large fortune, & his wife's, & their two children . . . gives, in all £5!"

Catherine Turner had been staying with Martineau and taking a "batch of long walks" in the brilliant weather. She had *enough* champagne and found the next best thing were *grapes*-- which she ordered by the barrel from a tradesman. Mrs. Claude was impressed and asked Martineau's household to get a barrel for her too. "While on such subjects," she gave Sarah her "annual report." Though "very prosperous as to money matters," she was not now *investing* much money because of Lancashire, and there was "a good deal in the bank."

At last she had heard about Charles Follen, safe at Port Royal after being "very ill" and in charge of "the four plantations nearest the enemy." *Her* latest Lancashire charity - a divan cover raffled at Manchester - attracted "50 subscribers at £1 each." By "a piece of poetic justice" it was won by "the wife of the indefatigable Secretary, - M<sup>rs</sup> Arthur Heywood," but she *wished* "Lord Derby had got it, for the fun of the thing."<sup>17</sup>

On 20 December, Martineau sent Reeve her "prisons" article, specifying that it would probably come to 25 pages. "We shall go to the dogs if we don't get better men," she complained. "Sir G. Grey [home secretary] wants *clearness*, decision, & courage to lay open the whole case, & *ask for the means*." And how wonderfully ignorant *The Times* was about transportation!<sup>18</sup>

To Nightingale, Martineau lamented that *her* illness had caused Maria to lose "the privilege of seeing you, & receiving your instructions." Nightingale's letter was burnt, as she desired (presumably on the bad "morals & manners" of the Duke of Cambridge and "Sir G.C. Lewis . . . at the War Office"), and Nightingale's "Indian sanitary paper . . . a *style* of report which is sure to fix attention" put "under lock & key." Martineau had "a packet from Cap<sup>n</sup> [Pilkington] Jackson . . . about a creditable & hopeful move . . . to get a Soldiers' Institute established." Grandly, she urged: "Command me whenever you think I can be of any use whatever."<sup>19</sup>

A large Scotch cake, a drawing by Spring and a photograph of Spring and "Ammy" Brown arrived at The Knoll in December. Martineau praised little Spring's "pre-running-hand" and vowed to put the picture in her album of "particular friends." She had sent a "good large piece" of the cake to a German lady "who lives two miles off," and *she* pronounced it *delicious*.<sup>20</sup>

Martineau's untitled *Daily News* review of 1862 called the past year gloomy but educational for the nation: after the sad burial of Prince Albert troops were sent to Canada on the alarm of war with the United States - along with "deep anxiety" about cotton manufacturing. Parliament had made little political advance, but the *Trent* affair ended peaceably. In the royal family the Prince of Wales celebrated his twenty-first birthday overseas, and Martineau hoped he would soon give up roving and settle down to his duties as heir to the throne. Princess Alice was married and Prince Alfred was elected to the throne of Greece (a

"wild romance"). Other items included the social science congress in London in June, accidents, a revival of agrarian crime in Ireland and doubts over Britain's actions in China.<sup>21</sup>

On New Year's day the rain was "coming down in sheets" Martineau told Reeve. Maria, "cloaked and glogged," had gone to view any local flooding, Martineau's disagreeable neighbour having in the past accused her of *causing* a flood. When cellars filled or there was a pond in a field, they blamed somebody, "generally the newest resident, - who might 'somehow' drain away the flood." Next, to business. Her proofs had come last night, and "by this (the first) post" she was returning them to Reeve at home, not to Spottiswoode's. Reeve had inserted a paragraph in her article on convict systems in England and Ireland based on the findings of a commission that reported after the manuscript was gone, but they agreed about failings of the home office. She doubted that Cornwall Lewis, former home secretary, would "ever fill well *any* executive post." In the article, Martineau reviewed Parliamentary reports and those of a prison chaplain, a prison matron, justices visiting in Ireland, etc., and again urged the employment of scientific methods in treating convicts. "Intermediate" prisons that allowed criminals to improve worked well in Ireland but had not been tried in England; flogging was suitable punishment for burglars; "incurables" must be prevented from doing further "mischief" but capital punishment, from its uncertainty, should be abolished.<sup>22</sup>

When "Mess<sup>r</sup>s Longman's liberal cheque" arrived in mid-January, Martineau opined to Reeve that she hoped the article would "do some good." The *Daily News*, her other main platform, had been praised by ministers, "much helped by . . . the *Times*" on Jefferson Davis's proclamation. She had been certain the Southerners would some day show themselves for the barbarians they were. Her letters from "New York &c" were "full of energy & confidence." Last night she received "a history of this Rebellion, in 4 large vols, with *scores* of portraits (capital) of all the conspicuous men." Bafflingly, she had been sent "two 3<sup>d</sup> vols & no first," the binder having mislettered the volumes; "& we don't know who sent it." For Reeve's wife, who might want to spread the facts, she enclosed two copies of her "Mountaineer" paper from *Once A Week* on crinolines. Did the Reeves know anybody who wanted a really good cook?

Still worried about one set of statistics in her "prisons" article, Martineau had Maria make a copy for Reeve. If a correction were needed, how should she do it? Newly interesting was a letter from a friend "superintending four plantations at Port Royal, - with 'rebel' pickets within view on the other shore." Reading the friend's letter about the "old mansion & its groves & negroes," made her forget where she was living!<sup>23</sup>

In her *Edinburgh* article, Martineau described the prison reformer Alexander Maconochie as a "man of benevolent heart, but weak judgment and imperfect temper" who had not succeeded in his system of reforming prisoners. Maconochie, she told Reeve, had once sent her "a *peremptory summons* to embark for Hobart Town [in Tasmania] by the next ship" to help administer a prison. Changing the subject, she commented that "Dalhousie [in the last *Edinburgh* was] delightful!" Lancashire manufacturers were to be blamed for "keeping all the people on the spot" while refusing to use Indian cotton. She had not yet received "Kingleake's book" but was "not sure" she would read it. Other literary chitchat included the discovery of Spence's "direct pecuniary interest in Southern success." Finally, her "anti-hoop paper" was having "an enormous run," and being reprinted again.<sup>24</sup>

"That Liverpool paper you sent is among provincial journals the very lowest," Martineau exclaimed to a correspondent later in February. "I sh<sup>d</sup> like just to put you in possession of the

fact that I never made a penny of profit of the American case." What should she have asked, she wondered, one thousand or five? Yet "such a hopeless freetrade writer" as herself would likely get nothing. "The 'interest' to us in that letter of Mackay's was in seeing how far even his impudence w<sup>d</sup> go in relying on the ignorance of English readers," she went on. "'Meanwhites' in the towns" were "'mere loafers,'" not "shop keepers & artisans." Yet Mackay had done "one excellent service . . . by singular heedlessness" in admitting a fact "fatal to the Southern case [that by] the three-fifths suffrage, every white citizen has more political power than any citizen in the North." *The Times* correspondent Lawley, moreover, ignored the well-proven "negro regiments."<sup>25</sup>

Despite the bad winter and her "repeated attacks of congestion," Martineau dashed off a note to beg a favor of Lucy (probably Sarah's daughter) on behalf of her bedridden neighbour, Emily Napier. Emily's companion had been away for seven weeks, "& for all that time" Maria had "gone to Dovenest (3 miles each way) every day but two . . . in all weathers." Now Emily had "a great wish to read M. Cocquerel's sermons," and Maria said Lucy had the book. Would she lend it to her?<sup>26</sup>

By April, Martineau was experiencing almost daily episodes when "objects *go out* before my eyes, & for from half an hour to an hour I can scarcely see at all [followed by] pain in the head; - usually at the back [or the left or right side]." At times she had "violent retching fits . . . the heart very wild, & sometimes so feeble as to be scarcely perceptible." The treatment, she explained to Sarah, was "very simple, - stimulants. Hot mustard footbath, - ether & laudanum, - champagne, - brandy &c." More pleasantly, Susan (Maria's sister) was coming on 14 or 15 April, for a month of "mountaineering." Martineau had been working less this winter, *Daily News* being "a mere comfort & pleasure," *Once A Week* "no burden," and except for an *Edinburgh* article on occasion, she meant to take on nothing more. In an amusing incident, "a country gentleman & lady" had recently written begging her to come immediately to stay with them near Hampden - supposing her to be writing "The Hampdens" week by week, as it appeared in *Once A Week*. Even the printing took weeks, she laughed, and Millais was "very slow; - i.e., busy." Yet to see her "personages & incidents" presented through Millais's mind on Thursday mornings had become a great treat. Of the Royal family, she could report that "the little royal boys were drolly insensible to the privilege of being at the wedding [of the Prince of Wales] on the great 10th," little Prince Waldemar telling his mother "he was too ill to go, - with a very bad cold." Little "P. William of Prussia," committed to the charge of "P<sup>s</sup> Arthur & Leopold," misbehaved and bit his young uncles. "The Arch<sup>p</sup> of Canterbury got lost in the crowd," ending up in a carriage with "Lady Cranworth & M<sup>r</sup> Thackeray! Lady C. told him she had felt in a disreputable position before: but now, under the wing of the Church, all was safe." Fan Arnold was to have the "3 guinea wedding book, - a present," so Martineau would see that.<sup>27</sup>

Possibly answering an invitation from Evans's wife, Martineau declared in mid-April that Maria *must* have a holiday in London. Though her niece agreed to stay away only two weeks, London would seem "very wonderful to her." Three days later, a bombshell landed at The Knoll in the form of a telegram from Florence Nightingale urging Martineau to "Agitate agitate for Lord de Grey to succeed Sir George Lewis." Promptly, Martineau dashed off a leader that appeared on 17 April recommending de Grey as secretary of state for war.

To Reeve, Martineau later described the frantic sequence of events: "At 4 p.m. when I was tired out, & within 2 hours of post time, up rode a man from the telegraph office at



Windermere." The message said nothing of how the post came to be vacant! "All I could do at the moment was for M. to drop a line to the Ed: of 'D. News,' asking him to send to the train, the next night." In the evening, Martineau heard of the death of Sir George Cornwall Lewis, rose early next morning "& got the article off by the coach." ("A thousand thanks for all you have done for us," Nightingale wrote on the 23rd.) The appointment of Lord de Grey was "an immense point gained, - as against the Court & the Horse Guards," Martineau chortled.

Of other political gossip, she had "no doubt whatever" of the improvement of the American North, but she doubted their full regeneration. The only American she knew who desired peace was "Hawthorne!" whose opinions after his campaign biography of his friend President Franklin Pierce went for nothing. "Just now" she was about her "fourth Historiette."

In early May, Maria planned to stay with the Hensleigh Wedgwoods in London while her sister Susan came to The Knoll. Chatting on to Reeve, Martineau boasted that if Nightingale found the strength, she could not "resist the pleasure" of seeing Maria.<sup>28</sup>

Sending Henry Bright a photograph of herself (probably a "carte de visite"), Martineau avowed being pleased that William Gaskell remembered her, for "I remember him as vividly as if I had seen him yesterday." If Bright liked "traits of character" based on facial features, she could tell of "an emancipated Quaker" who suffered much from the inability to recall his dead wife's face. Yet *she* knew it was natural because it used to startle her that she remembered her mother's face less than a hundred others she had seen only a score of times. "What in the world is there to be proud of in the 'Alabama!'," she burst out. "I am heartily ashamed of her [and] glad to know some people at Liverpool who are neither knaves nor dupes on that American question." The "guilt, meanness, barbarism, cunning, & vulgarity of 'the Chivalry'" (i.e., the South) were becoming "tolerably undeniable," and one didn't have to admire the Yankees very much to be on their side in the quarrel. Wilkes, she repeated for Bright's benefit, was "a good hearted fellow, - fond of England & his relations here . . . somewhat scientific [though] muddleheaded & wrongheaded." Would the Rathbones remember Wilkes's kindness to a poor Welsh girl on board their ship in 1836, she wondered?

"How shocking is what you tell me of Hawthorne!" (Bright must have reported the source of Hawthorne's consular post.) Sumner, meanwhile, insisted there would not be war with England. Other political gossip concerned Cornwall Lewis at the war office, "more than his weight in mischief there," Martineau's work for the appointment of Lord de Grey and certainty that the Court and Horseguards would "succumb now." About Colenso she knew little and cared less, the whole dispute seemed "so very arrièrè" one couldn't care about the points of it.<sup>29</sup>

"I wonder how it would strike you about the Champagne," Martineau wrote to Sarah in May. When very ill, she had been ordered a glass "3 times a day, - & once, 4 times." Maria would return from her holiday on Thursday, having had a necessary change after the "great anxieties & fatigues about Miss Napier." Susan, now at The Knoll, would hear of Maria's London adventures at the "Philharmonic, Opera, Pauer's Concert, exhibitions plenty [sic], dinner parties, H. of Commons, Flower show, &c &c." Maria *did* miss seeing Reeve, "& the C. Dickens[es,] M<sup>r</sup> Lucas, & L<sup>d</sup> & L<sup>y</sup> Strangford."<sup>30</sup>

Two days later Sarah's cheque for champagne and a parcel containing "two tins, - of arrowroot" arrived. The latter was sure to be "a great comfort to many people besides ourselves . . . indeed *capital* stuff," Martineau exclaimed. She felt rich in presents that day,

including Richard Webb's "carte of his dear wife & . . . a great parcel of M. Leadbeater works, - M<sup>s</sup> Webb having been virtually the Editor of the 'L. Papers'." She and Susan had seen "the place where Mary L. lived, & had spent an evening with some of her descendants" (soon Martineau was to return to the "condition of Ireland" in *Daily News*). From Nightingale, Maria had brought back a gift of "photographs of the East" by Bedford. Nightingale herself *longed* for "release" but her work kept her alive. "Miss Napier's 'treasures'" were *also* being stored at The Knoll while she moved house: "an exquisite Reynolds, - the glorious busts of her father & uncle, & her father's own wonderful piece of sculpture, done in his old age."<sup>31</sup>

Maria had brought back critical "Memoranda" from Nightingale leading Martineau to *dream* of her at night and during her nap. "I see what you mean & wish; & I will do what I can when I get the Report," she replied, *wishing* for "the indubitable particulars of one, two, or three of the Duke of Cambridge's jobs, in order to alarm him, & excite the attention of others," and letting the *Daily News* lawyer check for libel. If only Maria could go to London once a month to take Nightingale's directions! Maria's good health, Martineau burst out, was partly owing to intellectual occupation: she revised and looked up references, had her "poultry yard, dairy, garden & housekeeping" and still found time to help neighbours. Clough was "most trying . . . lecturing Maria & her family about M. wearing herself out for me, & telling us all how we ought to manage differently." Maria's sisters at home *suffered* from their nursing and "tendance," Maria being almost ashamed of being so much stronger and happier. Visits to her family and twice-yearly outings were routinely arranged, she could go on mountain trips and had good nights, "for I almost never require anything in the night (owing to sitting up till I am easy enough, under my opiate, to go to bed)."

Martineau enclosed two vignettes of The Knoll: a gloomy one set in a roundel (the early present of two artist friends) and a more distant view made for shops in the Lake District showing the farm helper's cottage and sheds. *Nightingale's* photographs would bathe Martineau "in the sunshine of Egypt." How they brought back *sensations* of the Nile! But she must correct her friend's memory of their first meeting: when the Nightingales were staying with the Taylors at Buckenham, Martineau recalled meeting on the road "two little girls [in] warm cloth pelisses . . . gazing intently at me." Nightingale's envelope case, sent to her at Tynemouth, was one of her "special legacies."<sup>32</sup>

(Jubilantly, Nightingale reported that at its final meeting the India Sanitary Commission had [almost] accepted her report that was sure to prove a new day for the native population of India. On a separate sheet marked "'Private,'" Nightingale assured Martineau that Annie Clough had not spoken of Maria's health. Moreover, she could see Maria's mental and bodily "soundness").<sup>33</sup>

Hearing of her old friend Frances Ogden's "affliction" from her doctor, Martineau offered rather coldly that people with grief must be allowed to suffer, yet hoping a grandchild or two might come to stay.<sup>34</sup> Next, receiving a gift of Bessie Rayner Parkes's rather pedestrian poems, Martineau nevertheless noted some "natural . . . expression of true feelings." Maria had wished to visit Bessie's "Reading-room" in London but could not "under her press of engagements." Yet Maria seemed "completely refreshed after such a winter as I hope she will never have again," walking daily "3 miles out & back again, to see Miss N!"<sup>35</sup>

A few weeks later another unexpected gift arrived, from New York publisher George Palmer Putnam: *The Rebellion Record*, a multi-volume collection of primary materials on the

American Civil War. The work was "of very great value," Martineau wrote to Putnam, "supplying me with a firm ground of facts on all occasions." Indeed she would use "any thing to get in a word of rebuke or refutation of the partisans of the South who take advantage of the prevalent ignorance of . . . American affairs." Neighbours had looked eagerly at the portraits, "& very interesting they are, from being so life-like." In spite of the rancour and the terrible slaughter of the American war, she held its main point, "the extinction of Slavery," to be secure.<sup>36</sup>

In June, Martineau joined in the fierce protest over a letter in *The Times* from (the radical) American Unitarian abolitionist Moncure Daniel Conway to James Murray Mason, Confederate representative in London. Conway proposed that Confederate states at once begin to emancipate their slaves, to be guaranteed by a liberal European commission. He claimed that leading American antislavery men for whom he spoke would then immediately oppose the war. Conway's "calamitous act" amounted to "high treason," Martineau stormed to Clementia Taylor, and she had decided "after many hours of anxious thought" that an "express communication" with the American minister was the best plan. Adams's friends might "go to him in the name of as many of us as may choose to be represented" to assure him of our abhorrence of Conway's "opening a negotiation with the representatives of the rebels, for the purpose of contravening the policy of the Gov<sup>t</sup> to w<sup>h</sup> he has sworn allegiance." As an MP and treasurer of the London Emancipation Society, Peter Taylor would surely "be ready at any moment to give an account in Part<sup>l</sup> of the loyal views & feelings of the English Abolitionists towards the Amer<sup>n</sup> gov<sup>t</sup>."

Politically inexperienced, even ignorant, as too many American abolitionists were, they knew loyalty from treason. "For my part," she asserted vehemently, "I *know* what some of the chief of them think & feel on this very matter." Copies of her letter, she added, were being sent to several antislavery friends, and she trusted the Taylors to spare her the necessity of withdrawing her name from their society.<sup>37</sup>

In July, Martineau boasted to Reeve that she held "the very first copy issued of the Indian Sanitary Report" that was to have been presented to Parliament five months earlier. "I write to ask what you think of it for an article in the 'Edinburgh'" for October, when public interest would be roused by the court-martial and Sergeant-Major Lilley's case. The subject was "admirable, - useful, humane, picturesque, anecdotal, &c," and she had an insight into the business, which no other reviewer of the report could have.

She was "in correspond<sup>ce</sup> also with Capn Pilkington Jackson," and it would be serving his great cause at the same time. "I suppose it w<sup>d</sup> be a thing unheard of, - too far from judicial dignity - to have illustrations in a review article," she added. Nightingale would let them have her plates, but no - that would look like complicity with the war office. Martineau's article could be written at the end of the parliamentary session, for "Historiette IV lies waiting for Millais' return from his holiday, - to illustrate." Having refused new work "on all hands," she had only "regular (& moderate) work till the autumn." The time for another good subject, the census, had possibly passed; "at least, this is too busy a year for it perhaps." Tomorrow she was to write on the "Needle-woman subject," but *Once A Week* took a month or so to be printed, and she had sent a "still more pressing one yesterday." Maria, meanwhile, was teaching the "Sewing-machine arts" to neighbours and was summoned for help when machines broke down, "generally for want of cleaning." Martineau's testimony had so impressed the sewing-machine

agent that he had sent a £20 machine in exchange for the £10 one they had. "The new one does wonderful things in ornamental work," she ended to Reeve.<sup>38</sup>

In a comic reversal, "'Objection to soup!'" Martineau exclaimed to Pigott on a Sunday. "You will not wish for any notice of this lady's letter . . . for it is clear that she wants to exhibit her recipes; & she begins by misrepresenting 'D.N.'" Tomorrow if her American letters came she would do "the Negroes . . . as it is pressing." In early September, Martineau took Pigott's hint of the "vast cotton area . . . w<sup>h</sup> might be available in Southern Italy" then turned to the Ottawa Canal and Irish Agriculture.<sup>39</sup>

When Walford rejected Martineau's article on Conway for *Once A Week*, she replied it had *not* been written for Americans but as a needed lesson for England. She hoped too that recent telegrams and newspapers had altered Lucas's mind so he would print another piece she had sent. Otherwise, they should return the manuscript. All American parties had agreed to condemn Conway, which *The Times* ignored, as usual. Meanwhile, the American situation had become "interesting."

On the subject of the (extended) Martineau family, cousin Joseph (Uncle John's eldest son) had died in June; by a "just will," his adopted foundling daughter was provided for, his nephews and nieces to get equal shares of the estate. "I doubt not," she gossiped, "there will be a pretty portion for each, - for he was prodigiously rich." Cousin Richard (one of his sons), whom she *could* ask, was abroad.<sup>40</sup>

On the first of August, *Macmillan's* published Martineau's "Death or Life in India" dramatizing the "ministering spirit" of Florence Nightingale whose work with that of Sydney Herbert and Dr. Thomas Alexander was meant to save from disease, or death, British army recruits sent to India. Their bluebook report advocated the provision of improved barracks, water, clothing, food, hospitals and leisure opportunities and recommended "the Indian Commissions should be three - one for each Presidency."<sup>41</sup>

Martineau's *Daily News* leader of 4 August endorsed the proposed factory act to protect child potteries workers, match and percussion cap makers, fustian cutters and chimney-sweeps. In contrast to her sometimes violent stand against factory law (as in *The Factory Controversy*) she movingly described the "crooked backs, bent limbs, haggard faces, and fevered skins" of child laborers now under protection, and the continuing "paralysis, asthma, and consumption . . . dwarfing and deformity . . . irksome and early death inflicted on 11,000 children and young persons" in the potteries. More predictably she added that the new law on compulsory schooling for young workers would benefit both parents and factory occupiers economically.<sup>42</sup>

Suggestions for *Once A Week* flew off to Walford over the following weeks. Woodcuts that might illustrate Nightingale's Indian Sanitary Report were coming from Spottiswoode's; *Once A Week* was distributed in India and doing *good* there; children's employment was of interest - the new blue book (used for the *Daily News*) inspired her; and a great battle was expected in America on the fifteenth of August. Finally she wanted to inform women that *whiting* was good for scalds and burns. Her cook had burned face and arm while canning fruit and had whitened her face but not her arm, which *blistered*, to the *surprise* of surgeons and others.

On 2 August, Martineau exploded to Walford that "tricksters" were trying to suppress the evidence in Nightingale's report. *Her* article had been based on Nightingale's share of it, but Nightingale could not lend the woodcut blocks because the "intrigue" would be exposed.

Two other good topics, "‘Children's Employment,’ together with Chadwick's Half-time Evidence: & a capital new Woman's employment," had been suggested by an inquiry sent to her "fresh," unlike a bluebook topic. She thanked Walford for explaining Lucas's stand on America, noting that his brother had been described by *The Times* as an "African merchant" and that Lucas flew off over Conway. But having seen into American politics for the last twenty-five years, she knew Lucas was misled by "Spence & others." Indeed, she might not continue to write for *Once A Week* except to complete the historiettes, not from "temper," but because she must fulfil her main function in political matters.<sup>43</sup>

Waiting to be paid for the last historiette, Martineau groaned to Walford in September that she had *trusted* Millais, who was slow. Maria was leaving next Saturday for Birmingham and would stock up on medicine, clothes, winter fruit and groceries - which all took money! If Walford was coming to Ambleside, he should tell her ahead of time and she would *try* to see him - and she hoped Lucas was recovering from illness. *The Times* seemed "edging round" on the North and the South, while the news from America included the overthrow of "rowdy Peace Democrats."<sup>44</sup> On the twentieth, Martineau asked Walford if he was still acting editor and trusted that he would like her article (possibly on vermin), which she thought was *needed*.

From Emma Darwin, Martineau had received a privately printed "Appeal," that caused her to put aside topics like the Ottawa canal and Saskatchewan gold fields. Though set in the Western Hemisphere, these topics were *not* on American politics, she assured Walford. (Martineau's *Daily News* leaders on gold discoveries in Hudson's Bay and the Ottawa Canal were followed by "Gold, Bread, and Something More" in *Once A Week* where she described *her own* experience on the first ship to make "the great Lake Navigation" in 1836). Would Lucas follow *The Times's* switch to a more balanced view of the North? Too bad antislavery was forbidden as a topic for *Once A Week*! She had information on the freed slaves - probably the only one in England to have it - that readers should know about.

W.E. Forster had suggested that Martineau "show up tourists," but Felicia Hemans's account of tourists in her correspondence seemed disagreeable and "*conceited*." Indeed, Martineau had received a letter from "Hiram E. Plownomore" (a retired farmer?) lamenting that they couldn't meet and enclosing a bill for his hotel at Bowness, where the dinner and wine had been *poor*. The Crown Hotel was in her "Guide to the Lakes," but did he suppose her a partner in all the inns she listed? On another occasion, a group of six or seven tourists came to the door, a mother asking her maid how to get fresh eggs and wanting to see Martineau, the father staring at her through the window, the children noisy - and she had been ill!<sup>45</sup>

Even Garrison received a scolding. In the *Liberator* of 7 August, Martineau spotted an error about the English government: "in the present state of feeling existing in your country against England," the *Liberator* had mistakenly claimed that because John Bright came "from the industrial classes," he had no chance of being in the cabinet. "M<sup>r</sup> Cobden, M<sup>r</sup> Bright's twin brother in politics" and in station, *had* been urged to take a seat in the cabinet, she informed Garrison. Did the writer not know that "the Peels were cotton-spinners & Canning's mother an actress, & Lord Chancellor Eldon's father a humble coal-seller?" In the present cabinet, six members were "of an origin at least level with M<sup>r</sup> Bright's," it being "characteristic of our polity" that a political career was open to desert. And "oratorical power" was not a main qualification for office: only Palmerston, Gladstone and Stansfeld in the present government were remarkable speakers. Bright's failure was owing to "his disqualifications for statesmanship . . .

his want of political knowledge, & his want of patriotism." Other negative qualities rendered his "really fine oratory" ineffectual. Americans tended to think "'the governing classes' of England" were aristocrats, but only statesmanlike qualities were requisite to statesmanship. "I hope this matter is clear to you, my dear friend, & that you will make it clear to others," she ended, such "misapprehensions" possibly led to "censure, ridicule, or mere surprise."<sup>46</sup>

In a "nice letter" from Martha to Emily Napier, Martineau was sorry to see the "spelling and writing so bad." Under *her* schooling, Martha had improved, and if Emily called on her she would find an "exquisite lady" (though Martineau could not "pay a corresponding comp<sup>t</sup> to her husband"). Martineau was "unusually ill" yesterday she told Emily but had "a capital night [after] a cup of uncommonly hot spiced-gravy soup!"<sup>47</sup>

Fanny Wedgwood had acted as "nurse" for a week in September, and Martineau congratulated her: "You nicely escaped my head attacks . . . Last evening, my sight went away twice." She would *like* to go to bed now but did not dare. "I did write an article this morning," she went on, "to discuss Sumner's *atrocious* speech, - before Secesh papers in England get hold of it." Sumner surely did not reckon on her "support and approbation," though according to Maria Chapman American papers were treating Sumner's speech as a "bid for the Presidentship. Hang the Presidentship!" Martineau burst out, "always coming in to spoil the best men!" (Chapman's letter had been on good paper this time, written in black ink and "charming.") Catherine Turner was at the Knoll, "looking the most wonderful woman of 66," tripping about like a girl and showing "two entire rows of well shaped and white teeth." Frederika Meyer, meanwhile, was recovering from a near fatal illness.

The following morning, Martineau wrote to Fanny again. "Capital news!" Frederika was "very much better," and *she herself* was "better in head." Of less happy news, Harrison (the local squire) had still been alive yesterday, so the tolling bell might be for another, and Reeve's mother was on her deathbed, sadly suffering. Reeve and his wife had been the guests of the hard-working politician Edward Ellice almost up to *his* death. Reeve had just asked whether there was a topic she would like to write about for the January *Edinburgh*.

Fanny had "lost one pleasure" at The Knoll: "M<sup>r</sup> Atkinson's singularly capital letters." If he was still at Boulogne, she would hear this week. Showing them to anybody was useless, however, as only *she* could read them. Of the annoying "peepers and priers" spotted outside when Fanny was there, one turned out to be "M<sup>r</sup> Ironsides of Sheffield!" That former member of the yeomanry once sent to help quell a keelsmen's strike had gone about smiling at her account of union violence in Sheffield in *Once A Week*, "dropping all mention of the blowing up of independent workmen every few weeks."

When Fanny left, Martineau seemed to hear her voice "sounding . . . night and day." The weather today was "brilliant, gay and yet tranquil and soft." Catherine was going to the Claudes' and unless her head failed, *she* was to write a leader on the "Infanticide-cure movement." The "nice little leveret for dinner," she had heard was Fanny's legacy. "Many thanks!"<sup>48</sup>

Martineau told Reeve she wouldn't forget Fanny's visit if she lived "1,000 years." About the *Edinburgh*, there was *never* a time when she had no topic. Indeed, Millais's faithlessness promised her leisure: "After five months' waiting, & in spite of positive engagements, the [seven] illustrations for "Son Christopher" are not forthcoming *yet*." So if she and Reeve were to agree on a topic, she would not fear to engage for an article. Did he know how the public

had been cheated of the Indian sanitary evidence? "By a '*mistake*' the type of the Evidence was broken up when a few hundred copies were printed." Fuming, Martineau pointed out that Hansard's and MPs could not get hold of the full report, "unequalled in reality & variety," so the commissioners were forced to print "F. Nightingale's '*Observations*' on the Evidence."

For the *Edinburgh*, Martineau would like to show the transition of "the Negro of the 19<sup>th</sup> century" without discussing American politics. She knew of "70 plantations in full work along the Mississippi" under new arrangements, where conduct of the former slaves was exemplary. "About Poland," she *never* had any hope and did not understand the Poles, though their sufferings were "utterly intolerable." Nor did she see any way to do them good beyond "saying what we think of such a tyranny as that of Russia." In America, on the other hand, the weakening of the Confederacy and "the *improvement* of the North, - moral & political," was amazingly rapid. Sumner, however, seemed to have been "trying to demolish himself for some time past" and had done it now. A man who "declared war against England," could not gain the "Presidentship."<sup>49</sup>

A few days later, Martineau reassured Reeve she did not wish "to say anything *on this occasion* about either politics or abolitionism in America." Her authorities for an article would be "the responsible functionaries, & mainly their published, or rendered Reports." Indeed, the Freedmen Commission had written to her for suggestions and counsel. If Reeve approved, she would proceed. And she was glad he would make use of the "Indian Evidence."<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> HM to HR, 9 July 1862, *CL* 4: 344-46; Martineau's review, "The English in the Eastern Seas," *ER* 116 (October 1862): 398-417, described Spenser St. John's *Life in the Forests of the Far East* [1862] as full of interest but *poorly* constructed with a mass of raw material that was merely confusing; for Greeley and the Morrill tariff, see chap. 47; *Popular Tales. By Harriet Martineau. Life in the Wilds. The Hill and the Valley. Brooke and Brooke Farm.* 9 vols. (London and New York: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1862).

<sup>2</sup> HM to HR, 16 July 1862, *CL* 4: 346-47; William Wetmore Story (son of Judge Story) lived in Rome: his sculptures *Cleopatra* and *Libyan Sibyl* attracted interest at the International Exposition in London opened in May 1862; HR, "Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt," *ER* 116 (July 1862): 113-52 (Martineau detailed Pitt's difficulties in Book I, *Intro. HP*).

<sup>3</sup> HM to (WJF?), 22 July 1862, *CL* 4: 348-49 (after the death of Eliza Flower, Fox was reconciled with his wife and in April 1862 resigned as MP for Oldham); for Martineau's leaders on cotton and the American tariff: 14, 15, 15, 16 and 17 July 1862, see Appen., *HM/DN*; in "The English Boy of the Future" [signed From the Mountain], *OW* 7 (16 August 1862): 203-205, Martineau recommended drill to rid school boys of excess energy and improve their health (Fox's unsuccessful education bill had been introduced in Parliament in 1850); for the "Rajah," see note 1; for "Sister's Anna's Probation," see chap. 47, note 19.

<sup>4</sup> HM to Sarah, 25 July 1862, *CL* 4: 350-51; Frances ("Fanny"), Sarah's middle daughter; for Martineau's known *Daily News* leaders, see chap. 47 and Appen., *HM/DN*.

<sup>5</sup> HM to Pigott, 25 July, Sunday [August], Thursday [7 August], [Thursday] 28 August and Tuesday [September] 1862, *CL* 4: 350, 353, 354, 356-57 and 357-58 (Martineau's "friend" at *The*

*Times* may have been Lucas; the "beautiful" letters were no doubt Maria Chapman's); "Mr. O'Sullivan's Politic Hints or Instructions on 'Union, Disunion, And Re-Union,'" [I], II, *DN*, 6 and 7 August 1862: 5, cols. 4-6 and 5, cols. 5-6--6, col. 1; Martineau's leaders on cotton supply appeared on 9 and 12 August (for all leaders, see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>6</sup> HM to Milnes, 11 August 1862, *CL* 4: 355-56; Samuel Lucas, *Secularia; or, Surveys on the Mainstream of History* (London: J. Murray, 1862; on men, classes of society and the meaning of history, inevitable progress being the result of "general laws").

<sup>7</sup> HM to ED, 15 August 1862, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 227-31); "Mackintosh" or "Bro," Fanny Wedgwood's son; Stanley had accompanied the Prince of Wales on a tour of the Middle East and returned only after his mother's death; Martineau claimed *Secularia* had been praised by Sir Henry Holland, Lord Stanhope, Lord Stanley, Charles Knight, Dean Milman "&c &c" (Lucas wrote a number of similar popular histories); for the sharp decline in circulation of *Once A Week*, see William E. Buckler, "'Once a Week' under Samuel Lucas, 1859-65," *PMLA* 67 (1952): 924-41; "Verner's Pride," by Ellen (Mrs. Henry) Wood, ran in *Once A Week*, 28 June 1862-7 February 1863; TC, *History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*. Vol. 3 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1858-1865); for Follen, see note 23.

<sup>8</sup> For new reprints of Martineau's political economy tales, see note 1; HM to Richard Webb, 17 August 1862, *CL* 4: 351-52 (Maria Chapman's requests concerning Martineau's "political economy" tales seem naive); "The Hamlets" was the second of *Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated* (1833).

<sup>9</sup> MA to Mary Penrose Arnold, 4 February 1863, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 187 ("Lizzie" [Chapman] Laugel was the daughter).

<sup>10</sup> HM to HR, 9 September 1862, LMU (partly pbd. *CL* 4: 358-59); Milnes, "Remains of Mrs. Richard Trench (18th-century memoirs)," *ER* 116 (July 1862): 238-60; for "Mrs. Delany," see chap. 47, note 39.

<sup>11</sup> HM to Mr. Bartholomew, 16 September 1862, *CL* 4: 359-60 (Bartholomew, a friend of Akinson's, had sent Martineau a "token of personal regard").

<sup>12</sup> HM to Sarah, 17 September 1862, *CL* : 360-61; "The Distress in Lancashire" [letter signed "H.M."], *DN*, 10 September 1862: 4, col. 5, rptd. *Auto.* 3: 388-89 [and see "Help for the 'Workies,'" *OW* 7 [4 October 1862]: 399-403]; Martineau reported that Elgin (newly appointed governor-general of India) had suspended the sale of public lands: *DN*, 23 September 1862 (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>13</sup> HM to Lucas, 18 and 20 [or 27] October 1862, *CL* 4: 362 and 363-64; for "The Hampdens," see note 27; "Verner's Pride" [see note 7], *OW* 7 (18 October 1862): 463-71 (in this episode, the selfish wife, Sybilla, belittles her sister-in-law, Decima, for failing to catch a husband; in a past episode [*OW* 7 (27 September 1862): 379-86] a "missionary from Jerusalem," i.e., Salt Lake City, describes Mormon life to credulous laborers); Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (London: Sampson Low, 1860) ran in Dickens's *All the Year Round*, 26 November 1859-25 August 1860; the parson's tale has not been identified; [Jean Joseph] Louis Blanc, *Histoire de la Revolution Française*, 12 vols. (Paris: Langlois et Leclerq, 1847-1862).

<sup>14</sup> HM to FW, 2 November 1862, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 231-34); in August 1862, Napoleon III had met with a new Spanish Ambassador and with John Slidell, the Confederate emissary.



- 
- <sup>15</sup> HM to Emily Sarah Holt, 24 October and 4 November 1862, *CL* 4: 363 and 364; Whittaker (of Wigan), one of several *Times* correspondents reporting on Lancashire relief activities.
- <sup>16</sup> HM to Walford, *CL* 4: 365; Edward Walford, *The County Families of the United Kingdom; or, Royal manual of the titled and untitled aristocracy of Great Britain and Ireland. Containing a brief notice of the descent, birth, marriage, education, and appointments of each person, etc.* [title varies] (London: Spottiswoode, 1860-1920); Benson Harrison had helped to preside at Martineau's trial over church rates (see chap. 43).
- <sup>17</sup> HM to Sarah, 27 November 1862, *CL* 4: 366-67.
- <sup>18</sup> HM to HR, 20 December 1862, *CL* 4: 368; "Convict System in England and Ireland," *ER* 116 (January 1863): 241-68; *The Times* noted opposing views on transportation as a cure for criminal behavior and recommended transportation for life for *less* serious offenders (11 December 1862: 8, col. 5, and 16 December 1862: 8, col. 4).
- <sup>19</sup> HM to FN, 24 December 1862, *CL* 369-70; Martineau next reported a request from the clergy of Davenport for a soldiers' Institute to prevent drunkenness, etc. (*DN*, 7 January 1863: see Appen., *HM/DN*).
- <sup>20</sup> HM to Spring, 29 December 1862, *CL* 4: 370 (in October 1857 Martineau had thanked Spring for a cambric handkerchief, "nicely hemmed" [HM to Isabella Spring Brown, 22 October 1857, NLS MS 1889 f. 192-93]).
- <sup>21</sup> *DN*, 31 December 1862: 4, cols. 1-5); the election of Alfred, Queen Victoria's second son, was invalidated; see also "Prince Alfred's Romance" [signed From the Mountain], *OW* 8 (24 January 1863): 120-23.
- <sup>22</sup> HM to HR, 1 January 1863, LMU 2/074 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 1-2); see note 18.
- <sup>23</sup> HM to HR, 27 January 1863, LMU 2/074 and *CL* 5: 2; following New Orleans' fall to the North, Jefferson Davis declared General Butler a felon who should be hanged and his officers executed; *The Times* (13 January 1863: 8, cols. 4-5) warned Davis he would lose the sympathy of Europe for the Confederacy if he did not retract his words; "A New Kind of Wilful Murder" [signed From the Mountain], *OW* 8 (3 January 1863): 36-39 (on deaths from crinolines catching fire, etc.); the friend in Port Royal was no doubt young Follen.
- <sup>24</sup> HM to HR, 7 and 11 February 1863, LMU /2/076 and /2/078 (first partly rpd. *CL* 5: 2-3, second 3-4); Capt. Sir Alexander Maconochie, geographer and prison reformer repeatedly sacked for poor management corresponded with Martineau in the late 1830s; G.D. Campbell, "India under Lord Dalhousie," *ER* 117 (January 1863): 1-42; Alexander William Kingslake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1863), Vol. 1; for Spence, see chap. 47; Martineau must mean her piece on crinolines in *Once A Week*.
- <sup>25</sup> HM to a "friend [Henry Bright?]" 27 February 1863, *CL* 5: 5-6 (though not on the *The Times's* staff, Charles Mackay had replaced William Howard Russell as American correspondent); Francis Lawley, correspondent for *The Times* covering the confederacy.
- <sup>26</sup> HM to Lucy [Wills?], 11 March 1863, *HM/FL* 284-85; "Cocquerel's" sermons have not been identified.
- <sup>27</sup> HM to Sarah, 4 April 1863, CRO(K) 30 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 6-7); Martineau failed to consider *eyestrain* as a possible cause of her "attacks;" to Queen Victoria's slight disapproval, on 10 March 1863 Prince Albert Edward (later Edward VII) married Princess Alexandra, daughter of the heir to the Danish throne; for two *Daily News* leaders and a letter on the wedding, 7, 10 and

18 March 1863, see Appen., *HM/DN*; "The Hampdens" [signed From the Mountain], *OW* 8 (14, 21, 28 February, 7, 14, 21, 28 March, 4, 11 and 18 April 1863): 211-16, 239-44, 267-72, 281-87, 309-15, 337-44, 365-71, 393-97, 421-28 and 449-56 (the story was set in Cornwall menaced by Dutch, French, Spanish and Barbary pirates in 1635); Millais's popularity as an illustrator helped him win election to the Royal Academy: see *The Times*, 4 February 1863: 8, col. 2.

<sup>28</sup> HM to Evans, 12 April 1863, BANC [Box 1] 66 (partly pbd. *HM/FL* 285); FN to HM, 15 and 23 April 1863, BL Add MS 45788 ff. 174 and 175 (for Martineau's leaders on the search for a new secretary of state for war and her attack on the Horse Guards, 17 and 30 April 1863, see Appen., *HM/DN*; for a dramatic account of the appointment, see Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale* 2: 30-31); HM to HR, 25 April 1863, *CL* 5: 7-8; "Son Christopher" (set at the time of James II with historical figures of the Monmouth plot) began in *OW* on 24 October 1863 (see note 49 and Shu-Fang Lai).

<sup>29</sup> HM to Henry Arthur Bright, 3 May 1863, BANC [Box 1] 27 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 9-10); the "emancipated Quaker" was surely Richard Webb; the steamship *Alabama*, built in Britain, was meant to run the Northern blockade of the Atlantic in violation of British neutrality (for the later sinking of the *Alabama*, reported in the *Daily News*, see J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War* [Pittsburgh, PA: U of Pittsburgh P, 1983]: 569-71); for the Rathbones, see chap. 45, note 56; in *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (London: Longman, 1862-79), Rev. John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, challenged the historical accuracy of the Bible as well as its relevance to modern society.

<sup>30</sup> HM to Sarah, 10 May 1863, CRO(K) 28 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 11); Herr Ernst Pauer, claiming to have rearranged the romantic school, was giving "*Performances of Pianoforte Music, in Strictly Chronological Order*" at Willis's Rooms (see *The Times*, 4 May 1863: 12, cols. 4-5); Martineau named *her* acquaintances.

<sup>31</sup> HM to Sarah, 12 May 1863, *CL* 5: 11-12; for Mary Leadbeater, see chap. 34; [rev.] "The Condition of Ireland. [fn.: Report of the supposed Progressive Decline of Irish Prosperity.] By W. Neilson Hancock, L.L.D. Dublin, 1863," *DN*, 4 May 1863: 2, cols. 1-3 (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>32</sup> HM to FN, 17 May 1863, *CL* 5:12-14 (for the two types of stationery, see BL Add MS 45788 ff. 182 and 183).

<sup>33</sup> FN to HM, 19 May 1863, BL Add MS 45788 ff. 184-87.

<sup>34</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, 12 May 1863, Armitt Library ALMS 367/21; the "affliction" has not been identified, while Martineau's friendship with the Ogdens may have lapsed.

<sup>35</sup> HM to Bessie Rayner Parkes, 17 May 1863, *CL* 5: 15; Bessie Rayner Parkes, *Ballads and Songs* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1863); Parkes belonged to the Langham Place group whose library and reading room offered educational and employment information for women; Martineau's confidence in Maria's good health was soon to be shattered.

<sup>36</sup> HM to George Palmer Putnam, 9 June 1863, NYPL/Putnam Papers (partly pubd. *CL* 5: 15-16); *The Rebellion Record; a Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc. With an Introductory Address, on the Causes of the Struggle, and the Great Issues before the Country, by Edward Everett*, ed. Frank Moore, 11 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam: D. Van Nostrand, 1861-1863 [1864-1868]).

<sup>37</sup> HM to Clementia (Mrs. Peter Alfred) Taylor, 20 June 1863 [copy, by Maria Martineau?], *CL* 5: 16-17; for the exchange of letters between Moncure Daniel Conway and James Murray Mason, 10-17 June 1863, see *The Times*, 18 June 1863: 11, col. 6; Conway's first letter to Mason was

dated "Aubrey-house, Nottingham, W. June 10th, 1863" (home of the Taylors); Conway claimed in a letter of 22 June that his proposal was a "test" not compromising the abolitionists: *The Times*, 23 June 1863: 12, col. 2 (Conway had come to England on a speaking tour and in 1864 became minister at the [radical] South Place Chapel, Finsbury); Charles Francis Adams, American minister.

<sup>38</sup> HM to HR, 10 July 1863, *CL* 5: 18-19 (for the "Indian Sanitary Report," see HM to FN, 24 December 1862, *CL* 4: 369-70); Martineau's leaders on the Indian Sanitary Report appeared on 16, 22 and 30 July 1863 (and see Appen., *HM/DN*); Sergeant-Major Lilley died of "apoplexy" after being kept under "close arrest" for 27 days in India; his wife incarcerated with him also died, and the case caused a scandal and court-martial of the commander of his regiment (see, for example, *The Times*, 15 June 1863: 9, cols. 1-2); in January 1864, Reeve published Ross Donnelly Mangles, "The Progress of India," *ER* 119 [January 1864]: 95-136, summarizing progress in Indian agriculture including tea and cotton growing and in building irrigation systems, railways and canals (a former Indian administrator, Mangles contributed ten articles on India to the *Edinburgh*).

<sup>39</sup> HM to Pigott, Sunday [?summer 1863] and 6 September 1863, *CL* 5: 21 and 25-26 (Martineau had recommended both cooking and sewing schools as relief for out-of-work female operatives in Lancashire; her leaders on Italian cotton, the Ottawa Canal and Irish agriculture appeared on 9, 14 and 21 September 1863: see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>40</sup> HM to Walford, 20 July and 6 September 1863, *CL* 5: 19-20 and 25-26; for the "American situation" and cousin's Joseph's estate, cf. *CL* 5: 20, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>41</sup> "Death or Life in India," *Macmillan's* 8 (August 1863): 332-40; Dr. Thomas Alexander, director general of the army medical department, died in 1860.

<sup>42</sup> "The Factory Act," *HM/DN* 121-28 [*DN*, 4 August 1863]; a follow-up leader on the future Factory Act of 1864 appeared on 11 August 1863 (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>43</sup> HM to Walford, 27 July and 2 August 1863, *CL* 5: 20-21 and 22-23; Martineau may refer to the expected advance of Northern troops under Gen. Rosencrans on Chattanooga, Tennessee; see "Florence Nightingale Latest Charity" (Indian sanitary reform), "An Industrial Chance for Women" (including cheesemaking), "The Merits of Half-and-Half Training" (part-time school for children in the potteries), *OW* 9 (15 August 1863): 205-09, (5 September 1863): 290-94 and (19 September 1863): 357-61; Martineau's usual signature for articles on current affairs, "From the Mountain," was omitted after "Mock Diplomacy" [on the wrong of past, non-official peace delegates], *OW* 9 (25 July 1863): 133-36.

<sup>44</sup> HM to Walford, 12 September 1863, *CL* 5: 27; the Peace Democrats (called Copperheads) opposed the abolition of slavery.

<sup>45</sup> HM to Walford, 20 September 1863, *CL* 5: 28-29; "The Rural Vermin Question" [?] and "Gold, Bread and Something More" (a proposed new commercial canal), *OW* 9 (3 October 1863): 396-400 and (17 October 1863): 454-58; see also "Gold and Hudson's Bay" and "Ottawa Canal" (*DN*, 27 August and 14 September 1863), Appen., *HM/DN*.

<sup>46</sup> HM to WLG, 24 August 1863, *CL* 5: 23-25 (Martineau considered herself the teller of *truths* to both England and America, but Garrison could be dogmatic too); James Stansfeld, a (Unitarian) radical and junior lord of the Admiralty under Palmerston as of April 1863.

<sup>47</sup> HM to Emily Napier, 22 September 1863, *CL* 5: 29; Napier now lived at Gale Bank, near Ambleside.

---

<sup>48</sup> HM to FW, [after midnight] 28 September 1863, *HM/FW* 234-36; Sumner, chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, accused Britain and France of having been "moved to intermeddle" in the American conflict: see "Our Foreign Relations: Showing Present Perils from England and France, Nature and Condition of Intervention by Mediation and also by Recognition, Impossibility of any Recognition of a new Power with Slavery as a Corner-stone, and Wrongful Concession of Ocean Belligerence" (Speech before the Citizens of New York, at the Cooper Institute, September 10, 1863; pbd. *Charles Sumner. His Complete Works* [Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1872 and 1873] 10: 1-166); "The Last Sheffield Outrage," *OW* 5 (14 December 1861): 679-83 (see also, "Sheffield Outrages," *HM/DN* 107-11); in *Daily News*, 30 September 1863, Martineau claimed that foundling hospitals enabled mothers to get rid of unwanted babies without guilt (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

<sup>49</sup> HM to HR, 29 September 1863, *LMU /2/020* (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 29-32) and 3 October 1863, *CL* 5: 32-34; Nightingale was faithfully sending Martineau reports on the vicissitudes of her plans for Indian sanitary reform (see FN to HM, 3, 17 and [undated fragment] September 1863, *BL Add MS 45788/1* ff. 214-17, 224-27 and 228-29); see HM to Milnes, 15 October 1863, *HM/FL* 288; Martineau had sent Reeve's mother a copy of (at least one) of the *Illustrations of Political Economy* (HM to WJF, [11 January 1832], *CL* 1: 113-14); "Son Christopher: An Historiette. By Harriet Martineau," *OW* 9 (24, 31 October, 7, 14, 21, 28 November, 5 and 12 December 1863): 491-98, 519-24, 547-52, 575-81, 603-607, 631-35, 659-68 and 687-90 (see Shu Fang Lai 140); Martineau's article was to be "The Negro Race in America," *ER* 119 (January 1864): 203-42.

<sup>50</sup> HM to HR, 3 October 1863, *CL* 5: 32-34; Nightingale was faithfully sending Martineau reports on the vicissitudes of her plans for Indian sanitary reform (see FN to HM, 3, 17 and [undated fragment] September 1863, *BL Add MS 45788/1* ff. 214-17, 224-27 and 228-29); see HM to Milnes, 15 October 1863, *HM/FL* 288; for "The Negro Race in America," see next chapter.