

Chapter 49: Deaths (1863-1864)

Maria returned on 17 October with "a score of particularly fine *oysters*," Martineau exclaimed to Fanny Wedgwood. Fanny knew the secret of her oddly behaving cook, Jane, she added - to whom she had given a month's notice, putting Caroline "in gay spirits ever since." Maria knew of a "perfect servant," but £20 a year was more than she could pay. "So Cath: Darwin is married!" Martineau went on. "I really was so glad to see it!" Caroline heard from Catherine's maid that "she (the maid) wished it very much!"

Other tidbits concerned "dear F. Meyer" and "Matt: Arnold," who "came one morning" just as "one of my head attacks was fast coming on," and after he left she could not see. "He came for an evening, the next week; and very pleasant we were." Mary Arnold had been "somewhat moved . . . by the Arch^p's death," and Catherine "most strangely and vexatiously" told her that "I wrote the [unflattering] Memoir of Whately in 'D. News', and she is eager to see it!" Yet Martineau believed her account to be "not only true, but what is commonly thought." For Whately "certainly did alienate his clergy terribly by his insolent intolerance of opposition." The "Lyndhurst Memoir" had also been hers, Martineau added to Fanny. And her new *Edinburgh* article was "half done."¹

In "Archbishop Whately," Martineau acknowledged his early promise, including his appointment as professor of political economy at Trinity College, Dublin, and other intellectual and social reform endeavors. However, echoing *The Times*, she deplored Whately's failure to contribute significantly to the Church.

In another obituary, "Lord Lyndhurst," Martineau described the "aristocratic self-seeker" John Singleton Copley (son of the American painter), a lawyer who undertook notorious cases for the defense but in politics was an extreme reactionary.²

Through early November, letters concerning Martineau's proposed article for the *Edinburgh* landed on Reeve's desk. "I thought it was agreed that I was to confine myself to the Negro subject," she began, as the effect on the masters "of every increase of the poll tax on slaves by Jeff: Davis" seemed the subject for another, future article. While fully aware of "the extreme importance of accuracy in statement," she had all the evidence "any critic can reasonably demand." Indeed, the *onus* of proof lay with "the authors of the Reports & other published & respected statements" on which she proceeded. As proof of her insider knowledge, *she was responsible* for driving the Confederate agent William Lowndes Yancey out of the country, he venturing "everything on the supposition that nobody here knew about the slave trade." Yet when she supplied "dates & particulars . . . he was off like a shot."

On 12 November, Martineau boasted to Reeve: "Here is the proof . . . so convenient for reference, & for inserting bits in the confirmatory way." Had not "Sir H^y Holland" (now touring America) told him about camps set up for freed slaves? She wished young Follen would write again "before we print off."

Had Reeve seen Laugel's article, "La guerre civile aux États-Unis"? What a rage the South was in about the steam rams! On other subjects: "Yes, Dean Stanley's friends" were well pleased at his engagement, and she was sure Elgin would rejoice in the match. "L^y A. Bruce" was an intimate friend of Martineau's "crony, - Mrs Chapman (U.S.)," but was "fearfully old" for Stanley. Of further political gossip, Napoleon III had been "furnished . . . with maps for his Mexican war" by Seward. "A pretty fact to have to deal with, the next time the Monroe

doctrine is shaken in L. Nap's face!" At last "here is proof of my Historiette IV, - whereof Millais' illustrations really are beautiful," making up "for keeping us waiting so long."

Reeve had objected to Martineau's expression, "banditti of treason," which she could not recall using in reference to the Southerners. In fact, she had been referring to "*the New York rioters*, - the cotton-sweepers, Paddies & loafers of the Northern ports, & their traitorous leaders & wirepullers." Moreover, she hoped Reeve understood "this capital Cuba transaction," of slaveholders shipping off their negroes to Cuba "for deposit," and the American consul "getting them all freed . . . by the laws of Spain." *She* got "shockingly scolded on both sides," she groaned, "the Secesh interest [being] the most absurd, the Northern . . . the most peevish"³

When another cheque from Sarah for one of her "chief bodily comforts" arrived, Martineau explained that "coming *downstairs*" she went backward: if she could see the descent, she'd certainly topple headlong. Today Maria Chapman's daughter Anne and her sister Caroline were leaving from Liverpool in the *Persia*, worrying Martineau about a November voyage. Though the "queer cook" *had* been a worry, she "c^d not so send her away as to injure her character," she assured Sarah. Of political gossip, Sarah must not believe a word of the Palmerston scandal (Palmerston, aged 79, had been named "co-respondent" in a divorce trial). *Four* of Martineau's leaders had appeared in the *Daily News* on four successive days, one subeditor being on the continent and the other ill in bed:

Tuesday last, - Sir B. Peacocke's judgment in the Bengal Rent question.

Wed^y. Rural Boiler explosions.

Thurs^y. The Americans & Russia.

Friday. Contract Law for India.

And what a "fine outspoken fellow Prof^r Goldwin Smith is!" She would like to see him and the Duke of Newcastle brought "face to face, - both so able to say what they mean, & both so earnest!" Robert, who seemed well enough, was to go to London - which settled his mind and amused his spirits, Martineau sniffed.⁴

Breezily to Fanny Wedgwood, Martineau next reported of "a specimen of the young lady class," a Miss Dobson, who came to tea. The girl had "evidently been made much of, - is considered something superlative by her parents, - in which conclusion she dutifully acquiesces." She was wearing a skirt that really frightened Martineau, and Maria had "to fly to the fender to snatch the girl's dress from the bars!" Dobson was "rather pretty, very confident and ready," but ignorant beyond all Martineau had supposed possible. Though lectured, the girl "jumped at the proposal of coming again," which spoke well for her temper.

"Next, my queer cook Jane," who failed to feed the fowls, wandered around at night and finally "stood by the kitchen fire, doing nothing." When Jane's month was up, Martineau had called her in to settle her wages and told her to leave before dark, Caroline meanwhile being afraid to be alone with her. "In the afternoon, M. asked for her . . . but she was not to be found": she had not passed the glass door but had apparently climbed over the paling in the back. That day Jane's sister had called and was amazed to hear she had gone. "So ends the 2^d adventure . . . with insane cooks." A coming girl *might* not disappoint them, though she looked too young. Otherwise, the autumn cleaning was done, "winter curtains up, and a charming new carpet" in her bedroom, geraniums "all got in: bulbs all potted, and the table-garden (bulbs in moss) already growing; mangolds nearly all housed &c." A pleasant letter from "a leading firm in Boston U.S." was offering to republish her *History of the Peace*, for which she would write a

new introduction for Americans. The Chambers firm had "shamefully suppressed, in their preface, that Craik wrote any part of it," but *conveyed* that "the heavy part written by that worthy man" was *hers* (Martineau's old bone of contention with them).

Maria had heard "from dear old Rich^d Napier . . . telling of the approach of the 'Peninsular War', as a mark of their gratitude &c," for helping to care for his elder sister, Emily Napier. Martineau hoped they would find an inscription on the flyleaf.

For once, a letter of Maria Chapman's had been lost! Meanwhile, Martineau had received pamphlets from "Col^l Anderson, from Cincinnati," now probably "L^t Governor of Ohio." But she would "like to show these speeches to Secesh gentry who talk of the west joining the South." Mackay had blundered in his report on Northern forces, "so I suppose we have "his last dying speech in yesterday's *Times*." All was now well about the "'Edinburgh' article," Reeve having been "only half-hearted about it" till she bombarded him with *facts*.

Happily, Fanny had paid a visit to Elisabeth Reid - who surely did not believe the "Pam scandal." Yet a man of "pure life, and domestic habits and tastes, is *never* subject, in England, to a charge of this nature," she concluded primly.⁵

In late November, Martineau was stunned by the death of Lord Elgin in the Himalayas--not just as a personal loss, Maria told Nightingale: "All those years she has . . . honoured, & admired, & (even sometimes) guided his course." Without hesitating, Martineau wrote a new opening paragraph for her pre-written *Daily News* obituary deploring the "bitter pain" of the cutting off of a career twenty years before his time. In addition to praising Elgin's various colonial assignments, she described the spectacular scenery of his last journey through the high mountains of India, followed by his fatal heart attack.⁶

Resuming work on her history, Martineau specified to Walker and Wise various insertions and "one correction . . . suggested to me since Chambers's edition came out." The new four-volume edition was to appear as *History of the Peace: being a History of England from 1816 to 1854. With an Introduction from 1800 to 1815*.⁷

At year's end "grief and hard work" had lately "quite overwhelmed" her, Martineau admitted to Fanny Wedgwood. Indeed, she had heard from Lady Elgin *after* her husband safely crossed a dangerous Himalayan pass. Of positive news, Reeve called her *Edinburgh* article "'interesting and novel.'" Lately, she had remonstrated with Charles Knight for quoting "in his charming new 'Passages in a Working Life &c' . . . an early and witless sneer of Macaulay's against Americans." She had kept back the proofs of the "'Edinburgh' article," she went on, "for the Presid^t's Message [on emancipation and amnesty for Confederate citizens] and got them off on Tuesday of last week" while "M. was at all spare times copying my History Chapter for America." The full text of Lincoln's message arrived on Wed^y *night*: so I had to rise so early as to be at breakfast before 8, in order to get an article done for the 11 1/2 coach, - and to telegraph to the [*Daily News*] Office to fetch it in the evening. But, it being X^{mas} eve, the trains were *hours* late [and] the article appeared on Saturday.

Caroline Weston's mistakes about the Rams upset Martineau (from Forster, she knew that "orders to stop the rams" had anticipated Sumner's speech). And about Maria Chapman's sisters' failure to help care for their mother and aunts, "I thought it well to tell you how utterly unreasonable these 'patriots' are who stay as long in England and come back as soon as they possibly can . . . away from aged parents and home ties."⁸

In Ambleside, Fredrika Meyer had come for a half-hour "in a car . . . looking not ill, but

old, - *blue* and wrinkled," and she astounded Martineau by saying that "her illness was not *lungs* at all, but 'Bright's disease.'" Of the new version of Martineau's history, she explained to Fanny that "the last years of the Peace" were written in less detail, yet enough to make it "a History of the *Forty* years' Peace, . . . the clear superiority of the Amerⁿ edition" would be just retribution for "Mess^{rs} Chambers," who had behaved shabbily about it.

"Poor Jenny Carlyle!" Martineau went on. "What a place to have a nervous fever in!" But what did Fanny think of Cobden's case against Delane? It was a sad pity Cobden was "so childish and cross," but "worth while . . . for the irreparable ignominy" in which Delane was left. Martineau's other news touched on her "very successful" [historiette] . . . not a copy of those particular N^{os} to be had in Birmingham, for days together," and on "Lady Richardson's courting (vainly) of Maria, at an accidental meeting, (M. being at Fox How, reading to M^{rs} Arnold a letter of Lady Elgin's)."⁹

Martineau's topics in "Review of the Year" for the *Daily News* comprised Lincoln's early "Proclamation of Emancipation," unsettling events in European nations - including the Polish rebellion and Parliament's failure to pass measures like the abolition of Church rates - and the granting of further rights to nonconformists at Oxford and Cambridge. A "considerable change" in the tone of the British about the American war seemed to have come about partly through the passage of Henry Ward Beecher through the country, Martineau opined. Russell's speech at Blairgowrie, after he had "caused the seizure of the steam rams at Liverpool and in the Clyde," was the most important ministerial speech of the year.¹⁰

Martineau's long-anticipated article in the January *Edinburgh*, "The Negro Race in America," surveyed historical details of the lives of American blacks including escapes and insurrections. Using official publications, she summarized the current status of emancipated and free blacks as soldiers and wage workers. For example, plantations being worked by freed slaves along the Mississippi River were sending the cotton to New Orleans. Planters who signed agreements to treat their ex-slaves well found they worked better than before. American slavery was doomed, she insisted, for the Confederacy could not win as a slave power.¹¹

Unexpectedly, a pamphlet from the American Charles Greely Loring now caused Martineau to protest violently against the North. She and Louisa had *not* forgotten the family festival at his father's home, she began to Loring. Louisa had married a Unitarian minister and lived at Shrewsbury with a daughter "much taller than herself, & a son at his studies." Though now very ill, *she* had been for "above a quarter of [a] century . . . *the* defence of your country here." Her "Martyr Age" in 1838 "caused M^r Mill's interest in the case" and over the years she had warned Britain of the impending American Civil War. Yet her task had become "more & more difficult as the unworthiness & incapacity of the North [had] been disclosed by events," complicity with the "Slave power" having destroyed much sympathy for them. "(You were helping to stone the prophets when I left Boston)," she reminded Loring. *She* did not "tolerate the 'Times' & 'Saturday Review's'" current anti-American sentiment, but she did not think Americans had much right to quarrel with them. Southern cotton had not tempted Britain "to break through a principle," Northern trade not being essential to Britain. Nevertheless, she would support Loring's right of free speech and help to distribute any copies of his pamphlet he sent.¹²

Reading all of "poor Cha^s Loring's pamphlet" had taken more effort than it was worth, she fumed to Richard Webb. As a lawyer, Loring argued that England had violated the law of

nations in allowing rams to be built for the "rebels." Yet he was "the gentleman" who excused "the dragging of Garrison to the tar-kettle, in the streets of Boston . . . on the ground that the crowd were gentlemen [who] 'did not choose to have such a man live among them.'" When she left Boston after attending an abolition meeting, Loring was evidently glad to be rid of her "(his dear wife was *not*)." But now that antislavery was creditable among his class at Boston, he had written affectionately, not saying that "his dear wife had died, & he had immediately married again," but speaking of his children and how fond they had been of *her* "all this time!" He was "no relation of dear Ellis Gray Loring . . . who wrote me a funny account, after my first American book came out, of the way his namesake was going about, - appropriating every thing w^h I said I had heard from 'a gentleman,' or 'an informant' &c, & vehemently declaring . . . he had said nothing of the kind!" Pointing to errors on two of Charles Loring's pages, she could go on - but she was too tired. Caroline Weston "seems really to have lost her head about England & the U.S." Martineau added, that "'the *entire* British press, without exception, is hostile to the North,' but that Sumner's Speech compelled Lords Palmerston & Russell to stop the steam rams': & plenty more of the same sort."¹³

When Reeve's mother died, Martineau wrote consolingly that it must have been a release from pain "on the one part" and a release of tension for him. "I almost dread the Marseilles family hearing the news," she added. "M^r Philip Taylor is young in his feelings; & the deaths of brothers & sister are as bitter to him as if he had not just been keeping his 50th wedding day."¹⁴

Shocking tragedy was soon to overwhelm Martineau herself. On 2 February, she wrote to Spring Brown that her "beloved Maria" was ill and sitting up in her bedroom with Harriet Higginson beside her. Just now, Martineau confessed, writing wore her out, "especially . . . when H. & I have so many notes to send by post every day." Spring's *writing* had improved, she added approvingly: it was smaller and becoming her own "hand."¹⁵

Characteristically, Martineau continued to work. On 5 February, she moaned to Reeve that she had been "trying, to little purpose, to make out the figures requisite to answer the *Times* from the Census department of the American Almanack for 63," in case her figures in "The Negro Race in America" should be challenged. Yet she liked the first notice seen, in the *Spectator*. The alarm about Maria had knocked her over completely at first. "A nasty low fever" hung on, and Maria passed her days "in a drowsy languor w^h may last a long while." Ellen's "precious little daughter," Harriet, had been a great comfort but she must soon leave, and Maria's sister Jenny take her place. Reeve had suggested the census as the topic of an article, but Martineau still thought it rather late. She *wanted* to write about Nightingale's Indian sanitary reform, having been "in correspond^{ce} with L^d Elgin about it when he fell ill." There would "soon be a *row* in the House . . . & no subject can be more interesting if at all skillfully treated."¹⁶

As Maria's state varied over the following two weeks, Martineau grasped at every slight sign of her recovery. "Mr S[hepherd] fully believes now that the fever is wearing out, & her strength *not*," she told Reeve. Later she admitted: "Dear friends, I am weak & spent, & I must not write so much. . . . While no *essential change* happens either way, I will rest from the pen." Possibly a week later, Maria was "a shade worse in some ways & better in others, & of course weaker." Shepherd forbade hope, but Ellen (now also there) would not give up. Unknown to Maria, her sister often mesmerized her to ease her breathing. Maria's mother and brother

Frank had arrived the evening before; her elder brother (Thomas) was going home, Martineau hoping he would "carry some sort of relief to his poor father." They had a chance, "but a sadly uncertain one, - of a trained nurse of high value from L. pool" that night. To Reeve, she was "writing as if there were hope," but did not think there was.¹⁷

Surprisingly, Martineau next felt encouraged about Maria. In her usual clear hand, she told Sarah about organizing the helpers while worrying about Ellen's unwell husband. All agreed that "*if M. goes on as well as at present*, Ellen may go home when my new cook comes, - next Tuesday, - Sister Jane cheerfully undertaking the housekeeping." Ellen, however, *would not go* until she saw that "somebody (w^h means Caroline)" could be spared to care for Martineau herself. The Liverpool nurse could stay, and the wife of her cottage tenant, "a great friend of M's," would come when wanted, "& her little daughter, - a well trained girl of 14," having "all along done Caroline's housework." For nursing, Caroline would "be at liberty to occupy the bed in my room," Martineau went on busily. "Sister Jane & Jenny" were staying in a "most comfortable lodging close at hand," and Martineau's "faithful old friend, M^{rs} Turner," would come for two or three weeks.

Faithfully, Martineau reported Maria's alternate languor, her wish to get up and her diet of "turtle-soup (of w^h she takes really a great deal) & meat tea." At times Maria rallied, thanks to "Miss Meyer's very special . . . rare old brandy" and by "a special bottle of old Port" brought by the doctor, "w^h she takes mixed with champagne!" A quantity of the latter remained, Martineau informed Sarah practically, though *she* had been given it, "in the night when the sinkings were at their worst, & twice in the day." It had proved the best thing for Maria, she believed. All believed "(& F. Nightingale too) that the hurricane did much" to save her. "She *would* have the window wide open, & the wind roaring through the room & half-strangling the nurses, while she reveled in it."¹⁸

On 28 February, Martineau wrote to Erasmus Darwin. She had "the sweetest note from Fanny yesterday" and until the Wedgwood circle heard again they must suppose that while Maria *might* live, the chances were "infinitely against it." Maria had implored people to let her come in to help Martineau, yet she was not *delirious*, just wandering at times. The question now was of her ability to take food until the fever was spent.¹⁹

Next day, Martineau's last attempts to convince herself and others that her niece might recover were crushed, and Maria died of typhoid fever. Catherine Turner wrote to Erasmus after a few days that Martineau was bearing her loss and continuing to work. On 10 March, she made a new will. Later that spring she sold her two cottages at Ellerigg, stipulating that "all rates & taxes on them" would henceforth be paid by Boyle of Ellerhow and that she wished to be addressed again for income tax under "Schedule D." Her professional income this year was "not half of what it was last," and she must save herself from surcharge.²⁰

As if the loss of Maria were not enough, a dreary time of illness followed at The Knoll. Catherine Turner was there, but Martineau confessed to Reeve that Caroline - *used* to caring for Martineau and one of her "best friends" - had to be sent to her family for a complete change. Now Caroline must be recalled owing to her own "singular occasional failure of sight, not nervous at all, but [as the doctor said] from 'imperfect circulation in the brain.'" What Martineau was to do without Maria, Reeve might wonder. For a few days, she said mysteriously, she held a secret from the rest of Robert's family: Jenny had confided her "'deepest wish,' - & in fact her settled purpose . . . to fulfill Maria's office in regard to me." In

spite of possible objections, Jenny trusted "to contribute more to her parents' happiness than if she remained with them," Martineau reported.²¹

To her old friend Carlisle, Martineau exalted in the "close companionship for so many years," without harsh words, and her own deep enjoyment of the "contemplation of [Maria's] character." Though Maria had been in "finest health & spirits" during nine years, she had lately been "somewhat worn," visiting "a poor dying woman in a pestiferous house." Now before *she* died, she hoped to see Ireland doing better - though she despaired while Sir R. Peel was in office.²²

By an expression of sympathy for her loss, Reeve may have endeared himself to Martineau. Altering her salutation to "Dear Cousin," she recited a litany of illnesses and griefs, including more deaths from fever than she could remember. No doubt he knew of the alarm over newly married John Martineau (Richard's son), Richard himself being enfeebled by a slight stroke. In March, she had relieved Richard of caring for her money affairs in London, David (Sarah's elder son), having offered to act for her. Of the model cottages on the hillside, there was *now* no special reason for keeping them, and Jenny must not have "too much upon her at first." Her purpose in forming a building society had been answered: "fifteen cottages (or more) having been built in consequence of my move." Satisfaction over that success and the advantages she was offering Jenny for "freedom & leisure here," as well as a "rich culture" derived from books, soothed Martineau. Atkinson had remarked on Jenny's carte: "What a fine reflective woman's head she has!" Would Reeve's wife like to have the two cartes of Jenny she enclosed?

Martineau had heard of a *Quarterly* article that mentioned *her* on the topic of American flattery, but had not seen it. About *The Times*, there was no saying what falsehoods one might find in it. Her *facts* would not demand a reply. A new book on America would "give more knowledge, & create more respect for the great struggle than perhaps all other printed matter" so far. She was not angling to review it nor "make Gen^l Butler agreeable" - it was vulgarly written, with false American spelling and other disgraces - but it had kept her out of bed "*hours* too late, night after night." Though "anything but agreeable," she now thought General Benjamin Franklin Butler "a marvel of ability, & thoroughly upright & patriotic; & moreover, always growing wiser" (in the *Daily News*, Martineau praised Butler for including *artisans* to support fighting men in his forces). If Butler could be seated in the White House "without the distraction & mischief of an election the Republic w^d be safe." As it was, she hoped Lincoln would be reelected.²³

Yesterday, she had finished a bit of calming work - her fifth historiette, helping Lucas to recover from his "despondency" of ten months. On other matters, the "German-Danish subject" pained her, especially the perversion on the part of the Queen, who had better "take care, if she thinks the decision about war with Germany rests with *her*."²⁴

When Edward Walford wrote in sympathy for Maria's death, Martineau repeated her "greatest blessing" in having "Maria's younger sister" as companion and helper. Her new historiette, "written large & wide," must be "shorter than the two preceding," though she had forgotten "the M.S. length of the others." Would Walford and Lucas like it, she wondered: Jenny read it with "avidity." By June, no word from Walford about the historiette had come and Martineau asked playfully: "'O dear! what can the matter be, - the proofs are so long in the air!'" Lucas liked it, she knew, and had said "if he had it at the end of *April*, he w^d stir up

Millais." She *much* wished to finish the series and could not begin "N^o VI with due spirit till I know the fate of N^o V."²⁵

Corresponding with the mother of Robert Gould Shaw, leader of the first black regiment in the Civil War who was killed in South Carolina in 1863, Martineau assured her that "the precious portrait of your son" was "set up within the glass of the bookcase opposite to my easy chair." Visitors exclaimed "Who is that?" and "having heard the story," were pleased to see the portrait.²⁶

"You sent me such a kind letter when all was over," Martineau wrote to Sarah in May. "How long ago it seems!" On the 26th of January, Maria had made "her last entry in the little household diary we keep for convenience, of letters written, &c." Next day she and Harriet Higginson called at Fox How where Fan Arnold remarked on Maria's being "so *grave*, - not playful with the children as usual." Shepherd was called three days later, and Maria "was downstairs only once more, - on Sunday 31st." Boyle, "a kind hearted man," had offered to buy Martineau's cottages for £500 and to bear all expenses "within about £70 of what I have spent on that little estate." But she didn't "grudge [the loss for] starting the cottage-building now in good progress in this neighbourhood." Jenny enjoyed her new freedom, Martineau asserted, though there would be "more to do by & by, when people write as formerly on all sorts of topics, & when I grow worse." The east winds helped, but only "thinking & writing" could be done with ease. "Walking, standing, breathing, sleeping, eating, digesting, seeing (as well as hearing)" were all difficult. Fredrika Meyer, her dearest local friend, was proving a "*strong* stay" to Jenny and had found them a good new second servant who came "in the very midst of M's illness."

Of other family news, Gertrude (James's daughter) was with Robert's family. Martineau wished they would go "to Malvern or somewhere soon" and that Robert would acquire a reading and walking companion. Sadly, her old friend Robert Mackintosh was dead, "& his nephew, Mackintosh Wedgwood ['Bro'], is dying." In the *Daily News* recently she had seen admirable letters from Sarah's younger son, George, on sugar duties; and she wanted more information.

What times these are! - this Russian treachery, & secret alliance against us & France & the Scandinav^{ns}, - & the Pope & the Emperor about to leave the scene, - & the Second Empire coming to a close, - & our Queen on the wrong side . . . & the critical campaign arriving in America . . . when some of us thought we had nearly done with life's concerns!

On a positive note, she had just learned that the circulation of *Daily News* was "*enormous*."²⁷

Earlier in the year, Fanny Wedgwood had taken Bro to Italy. "I am so anxious to hear of you and yours!" Martineau wrote. "And poor dear Molly too, - how can she bear *her* burden!" If heat was good for Bro, Martineau hoped to hear of his revival. "My dear Jenny looks better and happier from day to day," she raved. People in the road ask if she was "'sister to her that is *gone down*?"²⁸

An unexpected request from Philip Carpenter arrived within a week, asking for help to pay for a doctor for Martha Fulcher Andrews. Martineau's anger at Martha's brother had not cooled, and she burst out: "For 12 years since we met she has been in constant (& far too fervent) gratitude for what I have done regularly for her helpless family in Norfolk," and now

"other friends must share the expense." Maria's illness had been "very expensive, allowing her to send just £2. Nor could she invite Carpenter to come to The Knoll, Jenny having to tell even Richard and his wife not to come. Only neighbors or others who could simply go away if she was not able that day could be encouraged to call. They and the lawyer and the witnesses were the only people she had seen since Maria's death, and she almost had a stroke.

Carpenter must promptly have offered Martineau help (though *his* income was modest), but she had enough, she said and simply had to wait till 12 August when her dividends were due. Her nephew Frank and others had offered loans too, yet she must economize. Illness seemed to be everywhere, and her family had just suffered an even more severe shock. Willie Greenhow's wife, Marion, on her way to spend the day with her six-year-old daughter and the nursemaid at the George Martineaus' (her aunt's) country house, "threw herself under the express train at Esher on Wed^y, when her husband & brother were at the Derby." Rachel and Fanny Lupton (Willie's sister) had hurried to the scene, and Rachel went to London to tell Marion's family. Though not in yesterday's *Times*, it could not be kept quiet. Was Carpenter thinking of going to Canada? Southerners were migrating to Mexico, the war being near its end. Love to him and his wife, Martineau ended.²⁹

"Poor Marion's terrible death was not an event to shake *me* much," Martineau told Reeve rather drily, but Jenny's reaction concerned her. "Poor Marion had been insane once before, - before her marriage. . . . Of her 3 brothers, one is deficient, & another in a lunatic asylum." Nor should Marion have been allowed to stand "at a railway station, with no other protection than the nursemaid & child [when it was] quite enough for *good* nerves to see from a platform the rush of an express train." Cousin marriages were notorious. Had Reeve seen the "Report on Idiocy of the Mass^{ts} Commission some years ago?"

Sensational accounts that Martineau's sister Lissey (Greenhow), had just died were causing inquiries. As a result, Martineau furnished the date of Lissey's death ("15 years since"), and Lucas and Walford put a paragraph into *The Times*.

Two weeks later a business letter marked "(Confidential)" flew off to Reeve. "Absurd as it may look, I have to speak to you about your Oct^r N^o while you are busy getting out the July one," Martineau apologized. Of "three or four topics . . . full before the public mind," one was the Rochdale and other cooperatives that had "stood their ground through the Cotton Famine." Political economists had been coming round to them for a long time, "& John S. Mill (in whom however *I* have no particular confidence)" supported them. Second, the "L^d Chancellor's Credit clause in his County Courts Amendment Bill" was creating "a strong interest among 3 classes - indeed *all* classes of society," which brought out the "Cooperatives' system of ready money payments in a very lustrous way." Their system precluded any sort of "tyranny" by unions, and finally, "the great question of Labourers' dwelling" might also be treated. She had long approved of the Rochdale experiment, "sufficient men of the right sort" having been found, but she would not conceal any "dangers & difficulties in the case." Holyoake had told the story of the Rochdale experiment "uncommonly well," and she could get the requisite material for a "sketch of the Cooperative movement to the present." Of the "Christian Socialists' doings, she could not see "any sound and durable result," heartily as she respected Kingsley, Hughes, Furnivall and others. So she would prefer being absolutely silent about their schemes.

Jenny was well and cheerful, but *she* was not. Agreeing to look at a recent *Quarterly* article on cooperatives, Martineau worried to Reeve about the Schleswig-Holstein affair, for "a

German neighbour (& very dear friend) of mine was here last evening, - eager to tell me of the high spirits the Princess of Wales was in at the Caledonian ball last week." The friend so *hated* the Danes that Martineau had always avoided the subject until now.

"I wonder whether you know M^r Lucas's wife," she asked Reeve. "How desperately happy he is, now it is all out! . . . Who is M^{rs} Lucas?' - That is just what I don't know," she gossiped conspiratorially. "About 3 weeks since," Lucas told her he had been married for some time, although his mother objected to his sons marrying at all. "Only conceive a man of his age being treated like a boy in his teens!"³⁰

Martineau's other friends, meanwhile, experienced tragedy like hers. "I can't help sending you my love and grief," she wrote to Fanny Wedgwood after Bro's death. The cutting short of such a life seemed all but unbearable: "*waking*" for her was the worst time - unless it was before going to sleep. In sympathy, Fanny's second eldest daughter, Effie, had sent "*such* letters," for which she was deeply thankful.³¹

¹ HM to FW, 18 October 1863, *HM/FW* 236-39; the cook, Jane, possibly alcoholic; Caroline Jones, Martineau's maid; Erasmus and Charles Darwin's unmarried, youngest sister had married Rev. Charles Langton, widower of their eldest sister; (Arnold sometimes wrote to his mother asking for information from Martineau or sending her a message: see MA to Mary Penrose Arnold, 21 October, 5 November and 29 December 1863, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 236, 240 and 259).

² "Archbishop Whately" and "Lord Lyndhurst," *DN*, 10 and 13 October 1863: 5, cols. 5-6--6, col. 1 and 4, cols. 5-6 (rptd. *BS* 175-87 and 100-107).

³ HM to HR, 1, 7, 12 and 17 November 1863, *CL* 5: 35-37, 37-39, 40-42 and 44; Martineau cited Yancey's support for the slave trade in the *Daily News*, 28 January 1862 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); Auguste Laugel, *La guerre civile aux États-Unis, 1861--1863, le gouvernement fédéral, les armées et les partis . . . Extrait de la Revue des Deux Mondes, etc.* (Paris, 1863); Martineau regretted Laugel's failure to note the abundance of land or "financial affairs, especially their paper currency" (see *HM/FW* 245); the rams, built in British ports, were meant for running the Northern blockade; Arthur Stanley was to marry Lady Augusta Bruce, Elgin's younger sister and former lady-in-waiting to the Queen, in December 1863; for "Son Christopher: An Historiette" see chap. 48, note 49.

⁴ HM to Sarah, 7 November 1863, *CRO(K)* (partly pubd. *CL* 5: 39-40); for leaders on 3, 4 and 6 November 1863 [5 November 1863 missing], see Appen., *HM/DN* (Goldwin Smith, former regius professor of modern history at Oxford and pro-North advocate; for Martineau's high opinion of Henry Pelham, 5th Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme, now colonial secretary under Palmerston, see HM to Bright, 3 May 1863, *CL* 5: 10.

⁵ HM to FW, 8 November 1863, *HM/FW* 239-43; see HM to Walker and Wise [of Boston], 23 October and 17 December 1863, *CL* 5: 34-35 and 45 (for Martineau's disgust with Chambers, see above); Richard Napier, the youngest Napier brother (for the Napiers, see chap. 37, note

26); Sir William Francis Patrick Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*. 6 vols. (London: J. Murray [vol. 1]; Thomas and William Boone [vols. 2-6], 1828-1840); Napier claimed to use original sources but was attacked for inaccuracy; for Union (formerly Republican) party majorities, see John C. Waugh, *Reelecting Lincoln. The Battle for the 1864 Presidency* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 1997) 21-22; Col. Charles Anderson served as governor of Ohio 1865-66.

⁶ Maria Martineau to FN, 15 December 1863, *CL* 5: 363-64; "The Earl of Elgin," *DN*, 12 December 1863: 5, cols. 4-6--6, col. 1 (rptd. as "The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine," *BS* 108-21).

⁷ See note 5; (Boston: Walker, Wise, 1864-1866); Martineau began by claiming she "had no concern in the First Book, except . . . the short chapter on the South American Republics" 1: 1); see also, *The History of England from the Commencement of the XIXth Century to the Crimean War* [Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1863]).

⁸ HM to FW, 31 December 1863, *HM/FW* 243-48; for Martineau's *Edinburgh* article, "The Negro Race in America," see chap. 48, note 49; Charles Knight, *Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century: with a Prelude of Early Reminiscences* (London: Knight, 1864 [1863] (a reference to an early farce by Macaulay [1: 333])); Martineau's leader of 26 December 1863 on amnesty and pardon noted prospects for European immigrants to the U.S. (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

⁹ Jane Carlyle was bedridden at home after an accident (see JWC to Lady Airlie, 2 November 1863, *Newly Selected Letters* 294-95); Cobden charged *The Times* (edited by John Thadeus Delane) with "libelous outrage" against himself and John Bright (see *HM/FW* 248, note 21); for Martineau's historiette, "Son Christopher," see chap. 48, notes 28 and 49; Lady Richardson, daughter of Eliza Fletcher (who had snubbed Martineau).

¹⁰ "Review of the Year," *DN*, 31 December 1863: 4, cols. 2-6 (Lincoln's amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery had passed the Senate but failed in the House).

¹¹ See chap. 48, note 49.

¹² HM to Charles Greely Loring, 2 January 1864, HoughtonHarvard/ BmsAm 2165(987) [partly pbd., *CL* 5: 46-50); Charles Greely Loring, *Neutral Relations of England and the United States* (Boston: William V. Spencer, 1864), articles from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Loring then published *England's Liability for Indemnity, etc.* [on "Historicus" in *The Times*, reprinted in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*; Boston: W.V. Spencer, 1864]).

¹³ HM to Richard Webb, 7 January 1864, *CL* 5: 50-51 (for leaders on Sumner and the Rams, see Appen., *HM/DN*).

¹⁴ HM to HR, 12 January 1864, *HM//FL* 292-93; Philip Taylor (Reeve's maternal uncle?), John Martineau's former partner in City Road.

¹⁵ HM to Spring Brown, 2 February 1864, *CL* 5: 52 (Spring, almost thirteen, had sent a gift--probably of mosses mounted on a card that young Harriet might use as a guide for moss-hunting at Ambleside: for the Victorian fad of mounting mosses or seaweed, cf. *HM/FW* 34).

¹⁶ HM to HR, 5 February 1864, *CL* 5: 53-54; statistics given in *The Times* (29 January 1864: 9, cols. 2-3) on the status of American blacks differed from Martineau's; no *Spectator* notice of "The Negro Race in America" has been found.

¹⁷ HM to HR, Tuesday [9?] February and Wednesday [17?] February 1864, *CL* 5: 54-55 and 55.

¹⁸ HM to Sarah, 19 February 1864, *CL* 5: 55-57; the Liverpool training school and home for nurses established by philanthropist William Rathbone opened in 1862.

¹⁹ HM to Erasmus, 28 February 1864, *HM/FW* 248-249.

²⁰ 20 HM to C. [Joseph?] Townson, 12 May 1864, *HM/FL* 294 (a Benjamin Townson, tax collector, lived at Woodbine Cottage, Ambleside).

²¹ HM to HR, 14 March 1864, *CL* 5: 58-59; on Maria's death George Eliot commented sympathetically at the shock to "an invalid like H.M. . . . deprived of a beloved nurse and companion" (George Eliot to Cara (Mrs. Charles) Bray, 7 March [1864], Haight, *The George Eliot Letters* 4: 135-36).

²² HM to Carlisle, 13 March 1864, *CL* 5: 57-58; by "poor dying woman" Martineau must have meant Emily Napier, who survived; as chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Robert Peel (eldest son of the prime minister) lacked tact towards Catholics and failed to develop a land policy.

²³ HM to HR, 6 May 1864, *LMU* 2/090 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 61-63); Robert Neville Lawley [brother of the *The Times's* American correspondent: see chap. 48, note 25], "Prospects of the Confederates," *QR* 115 (April 1864): 289-311; Martineau probably referred to James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans; being a History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862: with an Account of the Capture of New Orleans, and a Sketch of the Previous Career of the General, Civil and Military* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1864; a colorful anecdotal account of Butler's rough justice with praise for the emancipated slaves); *DN*, 10 May 1864 (see Appen, *HM/DN*).

²⁴ For the new historiette, see next note; Queen Victoria attempted to intervene in the Schleswig-Holstein dispute through her daughter Vicky (married to the Crown Prince of Prussia) while British sympathies lay largely with Denmark (the Prince of Wales being married to the Danish Princess Alexandra).

²⁵ HM to Walford, 29 April, 5 May and 28 June 1864, (first and second) *CL* 5: 59-60, 61 and (third) *NYPL/Berg* 579586B (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 70-71); for Martineau's fifth historiette, "A Family History," see chap. 50, note 48 (Martineau knew of *Once A Week's* limited space but the magazine may have begun to suffer financial difficulties); for the journal's failure to give prominence to "serial tales by Novelists of Celebrity," as claimed in its prospectus, see Shu-Fang Lai 19.

²⁶ HM to Sarah (Mrs. Francis George) Shaw, 24 March and 5 May 1864, (first) *Auto.* 3: 415, (second) *CL* 5: 60-61; see *Memorial to Robert Gould Shaw* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge UP, 1864).

²⁷ HM to Sarah, 18 May 1864, *CL* 5: 63-65; written on the envelope by another [Sarah's?] hand: "D^r George[,] I hope you will write to Cousin Harriet about the Sugar duties as you understand the subject best"; for George Martineau on sugar duties, see *The Times*, 24 April 1864: 6, col. 5; Martineau summarized concerns over European developments in *DN*, 16 September 1864 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); the Second Empire, under Napoleon III of France, lasted to 1870.

²⁸ HM to FW, 20 May 1864, *HM/FW* 249-50; Molly, Robert Mackintosh's widow.

²⁹ HM to PPC, 26 and 28 May 1864, *HMC MS H. Martineau* 1 fols. 114-16 and 117 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 66 and 67); Martineau's will was dated 10 March 1864, witnessed by "James C. Shepherd Surgeon Ambleside - James Newby Bank Agent Ambleside."

³⁰ HM to HR, 6, 17 and 22 June 1864, (first) *FL* 294-95, (last two) *CL* 5: 68-69 and 70; the Unitarian *Inquirer* noted the death of "Marion, wife of William Thomas Greenhow, Esq.," at Esher, on 25 May 1865; in 1844, Rochdale weavers had formed a cooperative store to sell goods at price, or later to divide profits among members; George Jacob Holyoake, *Self-Help by*

the People. History of Co-operation in Rochdale (London: John Watts [printer], [1858]); Alfred Hill, "Cooperative Societies," *QR* 114 (October 1863): 418-48; the German friend was no doubt Frederika Meyer. For the Princess of Wales, see note 24.

³¹ HM to FW, 27 June 1864, *HM/FW* 250-51; James Mackintosh Wedgwood, "Bro" (born in 1824), died on 24 June 1864; Katherine Euphemia Wedgwood, "Effie," was 24.