

Chapter 50

Schools Reform: *The Times*, *Daily News*, *Cornhill*, *Edinburgh Review* (1864-1866)

When told of the need for an investigation of middle-class grammar and other schools, Martineau weighed in with a *Daily News* leader. Now that the universities and great public schools as well as working class schools had been inquired into, the middle class (the greatest class should see to its grammar (proprietary or private) schools, she declared. Poor scores on examinations and the failure to agree on the aims or method of character training must be dealt with, and the middle-classes needed to decide what they wanted.¹

(Before and following Maria's death, Matthew Arnold had asked his mother to tell Martineau how sorry he was. His recent account of two excellent French schools in *A French Eton* had closed with his hope that English Anglicans and Dissenters might join together to raise the standards in *their* schools.² Accordingly, in early July he told his mother of an "interesting" letter from Martineau and next day wrote to consult her on middle-class schools. A committed Anglican, Arnold conceded that he had changed and felt that his ideas, "in sharp opposition" to those who *had* ideas, couldn't be right. If she objected to the Poor Law board as a "necessary agency" to bring about change, would she consider a central board that could prevent sectarian interests from taking over? As a school inspector, he had seen more of British schools that prepared boys for commerce than for a professional career. Achievements came mostly from the latter [Haileybury, he said, had the virtues of an old-fashioned public school], and the former seemed intellectually dull and narrow. Yet they were growing, and England would become another Holland. Of girls and women, he couldn't yet speak but foresaw great change. Martineau, he added in apology, had brought his long letter on herself by her "kind and suggestive criticism," and he suggested she do what she could to enlarge and liberalize middle-class spirit, having "so much power" to do so. Martineau accepted the challenge, and a week later Arnold asked if he should speak to Smith of *Cornhill* or Masson of *Macmillan's* about a paper from her on middle-class education, to save *her* from having to write. Two articles by Martineau on middle-class education for boys and for girls then appeared in October and November in the *Cornhill*).³

Meanwhile, women in Martineau's family were writing frantically about Marion's suicide. Lucy (Sarah's daughter) had broken the news to Jenny to spare Martineau, but letters to Martineau from Susan and Rachel arrived in the same post. "Today we have M^{rs} Greenhow's letter to Ellen from Leeds," Martineau wrote back to Lucy; "I commit to you a note for M^{rs} Charles, to forward or withhold according to her state. . . . Our love to Cousin Ann." To Sarah, Martineau worried about "M^{rs} George," and "the terrible effect of Marion's death on both Bertha Wills & M^{rs} Meadows M." Yet Marion's death "c^d be no *surprise* to anybody (strangely excepting her husband & her brother, who were . . . equally blind)" at such a catastrophe. She supposed the verdict by the coroner's jury was "'insanity,'" but was any comment added? Had the inquest sat more than twice? "Poor little Mabel," Marion's baby, would thrive for now in Fanny Lupton's cheerful household - and Martineau hoped she could grow up there. Now Sarah and Mary, planning a round of visits, wanted to come to see her. "I *cannot* converse, - except a little in the evenings," she cautioned, but there was *no* nursing to be done by any friend who came. In Jenny's absence, Caroline would take that over while another servant did

her work. She only needed help with managing the house, "(w^h comes just to ordering dinner)," and the constant press of letters to be written.

Owing to the £3,000 arranged for Maria, Martineau went on, "I have now to pay Probate & Legacy duty on money w^h is in fact my own!" That would come to about £170, and the "expenses of those terrible months, - Feb^y & March, were very great." During those weeks, moreover, she *couldn't* work. Besides the duties, her expenditure for the half-year had been "£290, - my independent income being £358, & my earnings only £90 yet this year." Happily, she had money in the bank and would get her dividends on 12 August. George had written her a "capital letter about the Sugar duties, w^h Robert liked exceedingly."

No hay had been cut in the valley except Davy's - "& his lies soaking." To her disgust, tourists still came "peeping up on the terrace, very disagreeably." When Sarah sent a cheque for £50, Martineau briskly returned it saying there were "7 bottles [of champagne] left; so six weeks hence will do for the £4.11.0." If she felt "straightened at any time," she promised to tell Sarah. Moreover, she expected "£25 . . . from America (last payment for my History) & *between ourselves*, I have engaged for an article for the October N^o of the 'Edinburgh Review,' which, if I am able to do it, will bring me £30 or so." And there was "always 'Daily News'." Martineau had plans for Sarah and Mary to come and Jenny go to Edgbaston. "A dim & uncertain prospect" existed of an old friend coming, but that was *very* uncertain.⁴

By mid-July, Martineau's piece for the *Edinburgh* on cooperative societies was nearly done, she told Reeve. Yet she wanted to delay a month for what might "turn up" - and because of her suffering from "defective circulation in the brain, - recurring several times a day." She had read through most of the new *Edinburgh* however. Did not Reeve think well of Grant's campaign? *The Times* was no help, but he should look at the "Army & Navy Gazette." British military authorities had openly declared their opinion "not only that Grant is really a great general, - but that he will eventually take both Petersburg & Richmond." For Reeve, she described the "splendid copy; inscribed in gilt letters &c, - of 'the Rebellion Record' . . . from 'Citizens of New York,'" who presented copies to "21 persons in England, & a few public libraries." Meanwhile, her household were well "after being all (Jenny & the maids) revaccinated."⁵

Waiting in late August for "a bit of information" to come from Birmingham, Martineau was still holding her manuscript for the *Edinburgh*. "Matt: Arnold put me up to writing on middle-class education," she confided to Reeve, and being already engaged for *him* she chose the *Cornhill* - "'Boys' in October, - 'Girls' in November" - the proofs just being corrected. Her *Daily News* editor would soon be off on holiday; his "L^{ts}" begged her for more articles in the "roving season," and it was the proper role of a stationary person like herself to be a "resource & resort." Having a long list of topics she *could* work, but she felt like a piece of "ever so shaky" cracked china put "on a high shelf in a cupboard." The piece might last for years but could fly apart if taken out! Helen Taylor had written to Martineau's nieces, "announcing her engagement, & told them how soon (before the offer) she knew - 'what was in the wind!'"⁶

Martineau's *Daily News* leaders over the rest of August and early autumn demonstrated her skill at using material gathered for longer articles, for example on middle-class education (7 and 27 September), strikes (4 and 18 October) and dwellings for laborers (5 October). Over the same period she dashed off articles on subjects like Spanish financial irresponsibility, drought,

Russia, fish and meat supplies, criminals, Egypt, the problem of transported criminals and the American Civil War.⁷

"I have been thinking of you with strong sympathy for a long time past," Martineau wrote to Garrison in August, "particularly since your precious wife's illness, & since the peculiar trial . . . of your being misunderstood & unkindly treated by old comrades." She and he agreed on the question of Lincoln's "character, deserts, & claim to reelection." When "Professor Cairnes" called, he hadn't seen the *Liberator* "containing M^r Newman's letter," but he borrowed it and "expressed strong surprise . . . at the absurdity, & regret at the tone of that letter [and] pointed out particularly the passage about its being M^r Lincoln's duty . . . to abdicate!" Garrison may have wondered at her silence over "Wendell Phillips & his clique," but she thought it best to take no notice whatever of the split among the old abolitionists. Phillips's "crazy denunciations of 'England'" deprived him of all public influence in her country. Nor did Francis Newman have any weight - the "*private reason*" being that the elder brother was supposed to be not quite sound in brain. Newman liked to create a sensation by saying "strong & odd things." Conway, similarly, might be a pet among the "intemperate & ill-informed clique [of] the P.A. Taylors," but he made ludicrous mistakes in his letters. "Cairnes, Forster, John Mill & that sort of men have great weight; & the others are not worthy of notice." Goldwin Smith was another real power. As *much* as circumstances permitted she put into the *Daily News*, but to introduce "Phillips's vagaries" would only damage the cause and him. "Yours, dear friend, affectionately," she signed herself to Garrison.⁸

"It was terrible- - your being here as you were!" Martineau exclaimed to Carpenter (probably in August). Jenny had been "with cousins in Patterdale," and she had "such a headache" she could not risk seeing him. "But are you really going to Canada?" Canada hardly interested her, "the people being so very mediocre."

Carpenter having then sent Martineau fruit, she was delighted: the pears were "the ripest we have tasted this season: & O! I am so fond of melon [such] as that!" In "a private word," she assured him she was "likely to have, quite money enough [having been] obliged to write 3 articles, this last month."⁹

Martineau's old friend Carlisle (almost exactly her age) must have complained of suffering and illness. While sorry, she did not think mild illness after sixty hard to bear. In "observing the world as one recedes from it, life becomes finer," unless one suffered from severe pain. When Admiral Beaufort's first wife was dying of sheer pain, she said her long illness had been the happiest time of her life. Now "a blessed little niece" had chosen to devote herself to Martineau, and *work*, she supposed, kept her alive. But the soul had gone out of everything when Maria died, half a year ago. She hoped Carlisle thought Garrison "finer than ever. I do. - The second generation of the Abolitionists are (some of them) fussy, narrow & vulgar," but the weekly letters from Maria Chapman seemed life itself.¹⁰

(From Marlboro, South Carolina, Charles Follen had written to Maria Chapman in Boston to tell of his landing safely from the Sea Islands. As a capital investment, he and his partner had [legally] taken over an abandoned plantation and paid former slaves by the month in Northern "greenbacks," confident they would not "fail to make a handsome profit." When the plantation was raided Follen had not wanted to leave the women and children - especially since other Northerners were risking their lives while he was "sitting safely behind." Though thinking little of Southern character, he opposed the confiscation of property and vengeance. On

emancipation, he did not believe the Negro race had proven abilities but had "weak and ugly traits of character." He was inclined, however, to push "further South." His "brave, sensible . . . honest" partner would probably go on with the scheme of Southern cultivation using free labor and Follen would try to "join or at least invest with him." Finally, he gave his "dear love to Aunt Harriet," whom he had supported in her row with the *Standard*.)¹¹

Though Follen's story seemed critical, Martineau kept her eye on a number of compelling topics and sent Reeve a pamphlet by Sir William Rose Mansfield, a former contributor to the *Edinburgh*, on the gold standard for India. Reeve's remarks on the American General Butler surprised her: she remembered "nothing of cruelty or of any approach to needless *outrage*, in Butler's conduct." She had sent it for "the value & beauty of the State papers & political correspondence." Last week Henry Austin Bruce called - how well he understood the American matter! Reeve's visit, she hastened to add, had been a great pleasure too.¹²

While in the *Daily News* labeling *benefit* societies unsound, Martineau claimed in the *Edinburgh* that cooperatives were thriving. The homely story of the Rochdale pioneers where workers were the capitalists was often retold, and she cited the numbers of cooperative societies registered in England, Wales and Scotland. Cooperatives not only supported schools, reading rooms and baths, they had contributed to cotton famine relief. In short anecdotes Martineau described the uneconomic shopping and credit practices of working people and the tyranny of trades unions. Affirming that *Cooperatives* showed the natural affinity of capital and labor, she conceded that they could not be expected to eliminate all poverty.¹³

Martineau's article on middle-class schools for boys in the October *Cornhill* nodded to Arnold's ideal in *A French Eton*. Though the British would reject the strictness of a Toulouse lyceum, middle-class parents could not afford the great English public schools. How could they then find good schools for their sons? Public and working-class schools had been investigated, and Brougham now petitioned the Lords for the inspection of other secondary schools. Arnold had showed the advantage of state aid, Martineau ended, and reforms were going on. In her article on middle-class girls in the November *Cornhill*, she reminded readers that girls *had* once been given a classical education. That had ended during the religious struggles of the seventeenth century, girls afterwards learning simply household management. Later, when parents had Napoleonic war profits to spend, middle-class boarding schools and ladies' seminaries opened (the latter characterized by false pretensions, vulgarity and cant). Nor had lower middle-class girls been well served, though training schools offered some benefits. As promising examples, Martineau pointed to French schools for girls, to Antioch College and Vassar in America (the latter to open soon) and to Queen's College and Bedford College in London.¹⁴

(Arnold alerted Emily Davies [later co-founder of Girton College, Cambridge] to the article on middle-class girls' education but could not resist making fun of Martineau for touting the *greatness* of the middle class).¹⁵

After Martineau's first *Cornhill* article, the editors sent her a letter from reform MP Hugh Fortescue leading her to wish she had seen his volume on efforts to provide middle class schools, notably in Devon, before finishing her task. "My friend M^r Arnold & I are for ever arguing that question of State aid," she explained. "The great wish of both of us is to rouse the public to take *some* view, & to proceed to do *something*." She and Arnold agreed on the need

for "effective Inspection," which "he assumes . . . can be provided only by the State" while she would rely on "the parties most nearly interested in the result."¹⁶

In October, Martineau begged Walford for an extra copy of *Once A Week* with her article "Wilful Murder," on the danger of crinolines. Emily Napier had called the night before, "just back from a round of visits in London and elsewhere, - among the very leaders of fashion," and when asked why she had "left off crinoline," showed Martineau's article. A Mrs. Paget of Euston Square next appeared without crinoline, all her female servants doing the same, "except in church going!" Now Mrs. Paget requested a copy of the article "that she may, with permission, reprint it."¹⁷

By the end of the month, Martineau had begun to suffer alarming new symptoms. While Jenny went for her walk in the morning (to "return in time to send Caroline to church"), she was "propped up in bed, in the sunshine, & such a sweet air from the open window!" But in addition to "*congestion* (the constant story in heart disease, you know.) . . . involving kidneys, liver & lower bowel," she told Sarah, she suffered "persistent diarrhoea and "hemorrhage" and was treated with opiates: "starch & laudanum injections . . . 3 in the 24 hours." The quantity "in addition to the usual medicines" was enormous, but opiates suited her marvelously. She could not lie "'horizontal,' as M^r S. w^d fain have me. . . . In heart disease, one can't breathe; & I am obliged to put my feet down at intervals." Treatment included "cold drinks, - cold wet cloths &c &c." Yet her appetite was "sharp & constant. Meat at each meal, cold port wine begins [?]" and arrowroot in *strong* beef tea with dry biscuit. All the household thought her time had come but "for Jenny's & Caroline's sakes," she moralized, "I must be willing to hold on for a while."

Sarah had sent bulbs (or plants) for the garden, and Jenny was out "3 hours yesterday, inquiring & negotiating about new soil &c." Earlier Jenny had found "a nest of 8 [duck] eggs on the rock . . . all bad of course!" Cheerfully, Martineau sent her love to all, "& to Rachel & Miss p."¹⁸

In a *Daily News* leader on colliery strikes, 4 October 1864, Martineau used data probably furnished by her nephew Thomas's warning that hardware manufacturers of Birmingham might close owing to scarcity of coal. Reports in *The Times* of rick-burning in the Yorkshire wolds next roused her to offer *practical* suggestions on agricultural workers. On 11 November, she argued that better planning for part-time and evening schools *could* make a difference on the future "intelligence, morals, and manners of the parish." Were

croakers unaware that [a] plan of alternate school and field work [had been tried] with the best results? . . . Further, the improvement in the science and art of agricultur[e] is from year to year elevating the mind, the character, the position, and the fortunes of the rural labourer.¹⁹

Reeve had just come back from France when Martineau wrote on 15 November about the death of his former father-in-law and of "dear cousin Richard M's seizure last Friday, - a 'stroke' so severe that we really hope the end cannot be far off." In addition, when Jenny returned on Saturday night she found the maids "in sore trouble, & me in great pain, & wandering." Reeve had enclosed a cheque which she "acknowledged . . . to Mess^{rs} Longman."²⁰

Although "not much better" six days later, Martineau reported to Sarah that the "President's Message" had obliged her to write an article that morning. Sarah's cheque for champagne had come in good time as she had just "2 bottles left, & sh^d have had 4 but for being so ill just now."

Champagne, she insisted, was "the only stimulant considered feasible" for what Shepherd termed influenza. At his order she had tried "port (negus)," but it set her coughing. Luckily for The Knoll, Sarah was sending arrowroot too. The cook (a new Jane) had "lazily helped herself to it by reaching up to a high shelf with a spoon, instead of taking down the box; & one day there was none left!" But the improvements to the garden were finished, "the only remaining thing being to pay for the wire fence" for Jenny's fowl yard.²¹

On Christmas day two more letters flew off to Sarah's family at "Foxholes, Walton on Thames." Martineau thanked Lucy for "the pretty little greeting" and hoped Rachel would be with them in the winter cold. Harriet Higginson was staying at The Knoll, enjoying skating on Rydal Lake with the Shepherd girls and boys and "taking food to enable them to stay till sunset." Today, though, Harriet was

immensely busy [acknowledging] piles of presents . . . distributing some, & looking to the half dozen dinners supplied to the families who used to dine here, - & amusing an old woman or two in the kitchen, - & taking tender care of me on a bad day.

Harriet was to go home on 2 January and Martineau's new temporary companion, "Miss Goodwin," would return on 12 January. She congratulated *herself* on the improvement in Goodwin's health during her residence at The Knoll, where she was "wonderfully happy, - & an inestimable blessing to me & my house." Now she must write her thanks to Caroline for "a pair of slippers (in my favourite colours) & a charming old-lady's cap: both her own making."²²

(Jenny reported to Sarah that, even after cutting back on Christmas entertaining at The Knoll, nine were expected for dinner. Yesterday arrived a

welcome box from M^{rs} Brown at Edinburgh . . . with scotch bread & a large cake in it, marmalade, a shetland shawl, & some pretty mosses done by her little daughter.

American apples, & oranges from M^{rs} Holt. A barrel of oysters some little time ago from M^r Darwin. A new novel, "Married Beneath Him," from the author, whose name is to be kept secret. . . . First one fine pheasant from Miss Napier & then two more.

Jenny also copied out the letter Martineau received from the Duchess of Sutherland (Carlisle's sister) expressing a "deep feeling of gratitude . . . for the Author of the beautiful article in the *Daily News*".²³

Martineau's obituaries in the *Daily News* over the past three months comprised ones for Walter Savage Landor, the Duke of Newcastle, David Roberts and the Earl of Carlisle. Landor's long life was attributed to "a deep, pure, fresh current of tenderness and sweetness [that] ran under the film of gall" he often displayed, she argued. Martineau's youthful admiration for Landor's "Imaginary Conversations" had been disappointed, however, owing to his failure of "large spirit and generous temper of genius." Of the Duke of Newcastle, Martineau claimed that no statesman had won a more universal respect and regard. As one of Sir Robert Peel's "most trusted lieutenants," in 1846 he had briefly become chief secretary for Ireland. As secretary for war in 1854, he tried with Sidney Herbert to neutralize the blunders and deficiencies of others. Then after becoming colonial secretary in 1859 he served importantly as companion and guide to the young Prince of Wales in his Canadian travels. David Roberts was Britain's most familiarly known artist in the countries of Europe and beyond, Martineau declared, his delineations of architecture, landscape and figures being accurate records of scenes from Egypt and the Holy Lands and of European cathedrals, castles and town buildings.

A cheerful man, "with the enjoyment which belongs to the inclination and habit of industry," Roberts had shown a "liberality of views and of temper" as well as munificence.

Martineau's final obituary of 1864 began solemnly: "The Earl of Carlisle lies dead at Castle Howard." Praising Carlisle's sympathy and fairness, Martineau commended his six years as chief secretary for Ireland aided by under-secretary Thomas Drummond, as well as his last years as lord lieutenant of Ireland when he stood up to the Orangemen. Carlisle opposed American slavery and loved literature. Even after his stroke, he heroically addressed the Tercentenary Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon, she ended.²⁴

In late December, Martineau received a book from an American promising to be "very useful" while she continued to work. Forster had called the day before and "brought us the good & bad news (the Canadian blunder, Sherman & Hood) - 6 hours before the post." She had been curious "to see what Mackay & the *Times* would make of it," William Howard Russell's return having been "a sad mistake."²⁵

In grieving to a friend (aged 52?) over sad events of the past year Martineau noted the death of the Knights' eldest daughter. More cheerfully at The Knoll, on Christmas day Jenny had gone down "twice to the kitchen party (with) presents for the children - dolls for the girls, & gay & warm 'comforters' for the boys." All was quiet "till the evening wore on, when J heard them wonderfully merry." Jenny enjoyed the Arnolds' family party too, "with a capital tree, - & such nice children!" Though "better in health, & so much more evenly cheerful than she ever was at home," Jenny had been "a little upset by her fond brothers' Xmas letters." Generally she was "wonderfully cheerful [and] so earnest to help me!"²⁶

A review of the year 1864 that appeared in the *Daily News* on 31 December was evidently *not* Martineau's, owing to a mistake by Jenny in posting it on time. Less forceful than Martineau's usual adroit surveys, the article nevertheless listed deaths of several figures whose lives had touched hers: William Johnson Fox, Lucy Aikin, Adelaide A. Procter, Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Mr. Dilke, of the *Athenaeum*," and Nassau W. Senior.²⁷

Reminiscing to Reeve that she had been "as quiet as we c^d make ourselves" feeling she "had no right to interfere with the X^{mas} dinner," she told of the children and "consequently snapdragons" (which she loved). However, Caroline had been in mourning for "her beautiful & beloved elder sister: & the old man of the party (near 90) is bedridden & foolish, & of course c^d not come;" all missed Maria. Martineau's attacks of "congestion" were more frequent, and she was "very ill till the last 3 days, during which the frost has revived me remarkably." Forster had come twice with "political news & views." In addition, a new acquaintance, Benjamin Moran of the American legation, was "immensely civil" and sent her "valuable books, & letters of enthusiasm" for her pro-North views. *The Times*, "so full of mistakes of late," had gone so far as to publish "prophecies a month after events have shown them to be absurd." But she knew the writers had to struggle with "Delane's unequalled ignorance," and their geography was "so absurd." Why didn't they look at a map of the United States? Their (rival) summary of the year, "usually so well done, - as to method & manner," had left out half of "the most interesting things . . . & the other half stretched out into wearisome length."

Had Reeve or his wife or Hope seen the promising "new novel 'Married beneath him'?" Other cheerful news included the birth of Jenny's first niece, "Ellen," born last Friday.²⁸

Despite her worsening faculties, Martineau continued to be called on as versatile specialist for the *Daily News*. On 6 January, with the editor Walker's "kind permission" Pigott sent a just-published book on "the Mysore case" which he did not doubt was familiar to her. The author, Major Evans Bell, had strong opinions on "the annexation policy" in India and wanted it "candidly and carefully discussed by impartial and competent judges." Pigott had assured Bell the book would "be placed in the best hands" but could not anticipate "the judgment upon its merits." Would Martineau be good enough to give it her best attention and review it at her early convenience?

She would *try* to fulfill his wishes, Martineau replied, but was growing feebler and becoming "dreadfully slow" in reading. Then, true to form, she jotted down two double-columned pages of notes (showing page numbers) and within two weeks had produced a two-part review: *The Mysore Reversion, "an Exceptional Case."*²⁹

Having written the review "by special request of a man who is learned in Indian affairs," Martineau confessed to Reeve, he could see that she disagreed with Major Bell but felt there was "not a day to lose in deciding on what we shall do about Mysore on the Rajah's death." The case, she argued, formed a turning point of British policy and repute "after our many & long protestations about having closed our Annexation Policy." The public ought to hear all about this critical matter, "& they sh^d hear it from the 'Edinburgh'." Another item of gossip was the death of Reeve's supposed friend, Charles Greville, the diarist, who - though she didn't "remember being acquainted with him - had sent her his book, - 'Past & Present Policy &c'."

Reeve must have mentioned Martineau's returning Carlisle's letters after his death, and she assured him she had *hers* back from "the Ex^{ts} of Miss Edgeworth, Lady Byron, Charlotte Brontë &c." One Carlisle letter that *should* be published, however, included "the most thorough-going testimony to the reality of the Mesmeric phenomena." On "Federal progress" in the American Civil War, Reeve's skepticism amused her - but he must see how the South was "falling into wreck of all sorts." *She* was "deeply concerned about Cha^s Follen being swept out of his house by a party of cavalry, & carried off" - he was not strong enough to stand "a month of the treatment inflicted on Northern prisoners."³⁰

(When Atkinson sent Martineau a "long letter" and - probably - a book by the prolific painter and journalist Philip Gilbert Hamerton, Jenny replied that her aunt had "read it aloud last evening, & enjoyed its refreshment, for . . . shut up folk care for Art [and Hamerton] seemed to give . . . a fresh delight in her view of the clouds [over] Loughrigg & Wansfell." Martineau was "rather more hard at work than she ought to be," however, as the *Daily News* editors wanted "more Articles till Parliament meets)."³¹

Several piquant bulletins went off to Fanny Wedgwood three weeks later: "M^{rs} Arnold, who is 73, & whom nothing can warm . . . is to visit poor Mary [her daughter], whose (second) husband is mortally ill [of] 'Bright's disease.'" Forster had *not* been "immersed to the chin" in the river Wharfe while trying to help a waggoner and horses, as *The Times* reported, but *had* caught a cold and could "scarcely speak to his constituents just after [though it was] evidently a great vexation to the *Times* that it can find so little to say against him." Martineau worried about Elisabeth Reid, of whom she had heard lately, "having been in correspondence with Eliza Bostock (about the Middleclass Education Commission)."³²

Reid knew nothing of young Charles Follen's fate - and "I have not heard one word . . . since the first account," Martineau added. Maria Chapman's weekly letter had not come for the first time in ten years, and the preceding one did not mention him. If they knew his whereabouts, Follen's English friends could surely raise £100 to be sent in a draft or bill "*payable to himself*, to make sure of his getting it." Martineau did not believe that "after his tender rearing, and with his somewhat self-indulgent habits, [he] could survive a month of a Southern prison." *Reeve*, she noted indignantly, had seen "the fearful Report of the Commis^{rs} on Confed: prisons and hospitals" and concluded that the sufferers deserved all they had to endure for their ferocity in continuing the war! By contrast, Goldwin Smith's optimistic view of the future of the United States in his letter to the *Daily News* led her to follow it up with a leader. Yet she worried deeply about the Americans, including Follen.

Today Jenny was "putting up" the Wedgwoods' *Saturday Reviews* to be posted: there was "nothing like the 'Saturday'" for some of her purposes. A year ago yesterday, she had had her "first grave alarm about Maria," and a year ago Saturday, Maria had written "her last letter, a birthday greeting to her sister Susan."³³

On 6 February a "bounty" of delectable oysters came opportunely from Erasmus [Darwin], Martineau wrote, for "after being uncommonly well in the cold, I have been ill again." Good news of Charles Follen had come, meanwhile, a telegram to Maria Chapman said he had escaped from the rebels, had *not* been "'exchanged,'" nor "'captured,'" but "'conscripted, to serve in the rebel army.'" The son of the man from whom they rented the plantation had betrayed him after his partner safely "carried off their cotton crop . . . to Nashville." Romanticizing, Martineau went on:

We shall probably hear that he was helped away . . . by negroes, who make it their business, all through the Slave States, to feed, & hide, & pass on Federal officers. They cook & carry food, - make hiding-places in the woods, keep guard in the day while the fugitives sleep, ferry them across rivers, & see them over the frontier.

The *desertions* were the most wonderful thing. Numbers of Southerners had joined the Federal army or lectured in the North or in Canada of having been "tricked or coerced into defending the bad Southern cause." Surely the war would not go on long now. *Fraser's* had printed a "bad article . . . about the Abolitionists," said to be by "that ignorant & mischievous dunce Conway," whose party "(a handful of mischievous fanatics) have been trying to stop the 'Liberator.'" Garrison, though, had shown himself "greater than ever, *most* magnanimous."³⁴

Sarah had been ill, and Martineau sympathized, pitying convalescents "who are expected by *inexperienced* observers to enjoy themselves." Lady Elgin had also been unwell but *might* come to see Martineau, while her "precious young bride-daughter, L^y Elma Thurlow, at Vienna," had suffered from "the fever so prevalent there." Influenza had spread among Martineau's neighbors, and "we find that *you* have given a great impulse to the champagne trade in this place!" Shepherd had "ordered champagne right & left, to patients beginning to hold up their heads." Would Sarah or Mary (her eldest daughter) direct their servants to open carefully "a large case [sent] yesterday, & to return it empty by luggage train?" It contained the "double-seat," Sarah had seen unfinished "(in wool-work)," and she begged Sarah to accept it. In Ambleside it was admired "from the parson down to the maidservants, - who went to see it at the cabinet maker's." Did Sarah know that Charles Follen had "telegraphed himself 'all right' on reaching Columbia, Tennessee?"³⁵

The "sharp cold, clear weather" of January revived Martineau, allowing her to turn to "Correspond^{ce} - not work," she assured Florence Nightingale cheerily. Otherwise, *Daily News* kept her busy, there being no time after Parliament met. From Julia Smith, Martineau inferred that Nightingale was "in no way better" and (grimly) described "the relieving effect [on *her*] of the new method - an opiate injection (bowels) once in 48 hours." Of cheerful news, Annie Clough had "sent Hilary's statue to our Mechanics Institute. . . . O! it is beautiful!" Yet *Nightingale* would be more pleased that the mistress of a "Training-school for school teachers at Nottingham" had read *Notes on Nursing* with the young women who then made changes in their bedrooms (possibly moving beds north-south and opening windows).³⁶

Nightingale next reminded Martineau of the demand for trained nurses in both workhouse infirmaries and for the British in India. Though she scorned the idea of "Women's mission," the lack of efficient women made her sick she said. When Martineau proposed an article, Nightingale - knowing what *could* be accomplished even by men like her "Homeric hero" Sir John Lawrence - hesitated. She *did not* aspire to send out nurses by the hundred or thousand, but rather a small staff of trained nurses and *trained training nurses*. The difficulty was to attract women of the right sort, with skills of organization and authority. In a third letter, Nightingale discussed existing nurses' training programs.³⁷

Martineau's matter-of-fact leader of 23 February duly stressed the current need by English women for respectable work, as well as the *opportunity* offered by a career in nursing. Beyond "the private demand for trained nurses," ongoing hospital reform would involve hiring trained nurses "both at home and wherever we have settlements abroad." Multitudes must by now have heard of the Nightingale Fund, which provided "lodging, board, washing, and some outer clothing for young women of good character . . . from twenty-five to thirty-five years old" who then serve as assistant nurses in St. Thomas Hospital. Martineau appealed to the candidates'

countrywomen, to sensible and benevolent mothers, neighbours, and friends, to look out for the nursing element . . . in town or country . . . to give society the benefit of it [and] the young women . . . the respect, profit, and blessing of such an occupation.

In an article for the *Cornhill*, Martineau repeated the benefits of a career in nursing for women, especially in India. Nightingale then thanked her for that "invaluable article" and also "in her heart" for the one in *Daily News*.³⁸

Knowing Reeve's early studies in Geneva had led to friendships with European literary notables like the diarist Charles Greville (and believing he would undertake the editing of Greville's ninety-volume diary) Martineau took it upon herself to lecture him on the privacy of *letters*. Lucy Aikin's published letters to William Ellery Channing, for example, exemplified the "indefensibleness" of publishing private correspondence, with their "swarms of mistakes of statement, unfounded aspersions on myself & others, & a sort of injury . . . to D^r Channing," whose "reputation & influence" were lowered by the letters only known of through Aikin's replies. The charges against *herself*, "grounded on mistakes & confusions," had been lying hidden for a quarter of a century, and she knew they did not represent Aikin's feelings of higher respect for her at the last. However, Aikin *was* a "very able writer on . . . England & America." Channing (she gossiped) felt his own manners to be "extremely repulsive, & harsh, & disagreeable [and he] passed through life with wonderfully little knowledge of *Men*, - however well he knew *Man*." Of his "'sweet girl & boy', D^r C's only children," Mary had married "the heir

of a slave-estate, & gone South," and William had divorced his "'faultless wife'" in order to "marry the wife 'the spirits' told him to take, for the fuller developm^t of *his* nature!" Yesterday, she went on, would not be forgotten soon "with its bright news, - of the abolition of Slavery in America." Garrison's conduct had been "noble & touching beyond expression." And how very fine "Goldwin Smith's lecture - (given in the 'Atlantic Monthly')" was!³⁹

Martineau next responded eagerly to Reeve's proposal that she review Mary Carpenter's *Our Convicts*, which she had *just* been considering how to make known. "Now, is not that strange?" While aware of Mary's "ins & outs," she had a cordial respect for her "*public conduct & demeanour*," Mary dreading "fussy & ill mannered women's appearance at Social Science Meetings & the like." Everything Mary Carpenter said proceeded from "thorough knowledge of her subject." Although Mary was "eccentric (after her father) in daily life, her manners on public occasions might really be a model." She was "self-possessed & dignified," spoke "not an unnecessary word," *listened* with "admirable interest" and discussed with "a *cheerfulness* w^h is a great charm on those occasions." Reeve, meanwhile, must have guessed that a *Daily News* leader on the "Reciprocity Treaty" was Martineau's. "Lady Elgin & I had been mourning over [the treaty's] probable fate," she revealed, "& I thought I w^d try & reach Sumner & Seward through 'D. News'; & the Editor was quite disposed."⁴⁰

Concerned about her last, unpublished historiette, Martineau wrote brusquely to Walford in March, *Once A Week* having printed nothing of hers since December 1863. Friends' inquiries had been annoying: otherwise, *Once A Week* had treated her well. *Evans* probably failed to want the rest of her "series," she added tartly, despite her assured status as a writer. Walford and Lucas were not to blame, she knew. (When Lucas then put Martineau's name on an "advertisement" for a new magazine in April, the "mischief" upset her.) She had not seen *The Times's* review of Charles Knight's *Passages of a Working Life* but thought the work a "curious monument of bad taste" including the dedication to his wife and "tiresome" praise of *all*. Such a "timid man" who thus published a work on himself, his wife *wanting* him to stop writing books, amazed her. Moreover, Knight misquoted *her* that Charlotte Brontë had sat on a low stool looking up at her "with timid admiration" at their first meeting. Brontë had sat on the *sofa* and was *short*, Martineau sniffed, so she naturally looked *up*.

In Ambleside, it was a "splendid glittering" winter day, and the frost usually revived her. But she saw she must "withdraw from writing (except journalism, with its favourable conditions)." Having received the proof of her article on nurses for the *Cornhill*, she "must not detain [it] for a single post, - & *I can't see*. I see double or treble." Yet she *would* do it as well as "get the new Historiette out . . . Our impression is that *we* shall like it." Indeed, she compared herself to "M^{rs} Henry Wood," whose ailing husband interfered with her writing, and "M^{rs} Trollope," who had sat by her dead daughter's coffin writing, "for bread for her surviving children!"⁴¹

Evoking her own loss, Martineau expressed sympathy to Sara Hennell for the death of a young niece. "Ah! it is the suffering to those who linger which is the sore grief! Maria's 5 weeks seemed endless: & this last Febr^y they again seemed endless." Happily there was "(at least in *my* time) no anniversary of [Maria's] death. . . . she died on the 29th of Febr^y." Yet the "roomsful of bulbs, & daily blooming of more remind us of that time from hour to hour." Would Hennell thank Hilary Smith, whom she would soon see, for inquiring about "Hamerton the artist?" His "'Painter's Camp'" was "so charming & so valuable," it had made her want to

learn about his pictures. Only think of Harriet's (- Ellen's Harriet) courage, - to come & take charge of me for a month . . . while Jenny goes to her parents, Catherine Turner being "kept away by a prior claim."⁴²

During this "worst time" of the year, Caroline was away too. "I have sent her to her sister in Liverpool," Martineau explained to Sarah: "M^s Ewington" was "always glad to come, for the good dinners & the kitchen gossip." Next would be the spring cleaning, then Jenny's dreaded absence for a month. "Dear little Harriet . . . will be & do all that a girl of 19 can" but she dreaded "having no one to lean on, - to govern the house, - me included." The change in Jenny would surprise and delight Sarah: how "independent & authoritative" she'd grown. Fan Arnold - "a *great* resource - was to be home soon, and Frederika Meyer was "really coming about the 1st of April."

Of other homely matters, Martineau brightened: there was talk of "my getting out at the glass door, & walking 5 or 6 yards to where I can see the new fence to the fowl yard," the hens now laying "a dozen to a score of eggs daily." The new cow had carried them "well over the winter; & now the red cow's calf" was due. The "house, porch & terrace" were "crowded with bulbous flowers, as well as primulas & cinerarias, - the latter a present from my kind Quaker neighbour, M^r Crosfield." Sarah wanted to return a borrowed flask, and Martineau assured her that if it reached "Edgbaston by Mayday, or Liverpool by April 3^d," it would come straight to her (presumably via Robert and Jane or Rachel) in time for the "season of excursions."

Did Sarah or her clan know of persons likely to be fit for Nightingale's nurses' training programme? Superintendents and matrons were "as sorely wanted as Nurses; & good ones can obtain almost *any* terms." The workhouse infirmary death of Timothy Daly - widely reported in the newspapers - had caused a huge stir, and "hundreds upon hundreds" of nurses were wanted for India. Martineau's other new interest was spreading word of "*Charqui* [jerky], - the threepenny beef from South America," which opened up "a new prospect to people, in regard to diet." Though disliked by working people, she and the Arnolds and the Claudes were sharing a supply. Warriner, "(Chief of the Cooking department of the Army)," was going to send her recipes. "We are *delighted* that you like my bit of [needle] work so much. . . . C. Follen is well again, & at Boston by this time, I hope," Martineau ended.⁴³

James Payn, now editor of *Chambers's*, must have asked Martineau for an article on the "'Nurse' topic." The *Cornhill* "had it first," she demurred, but she had "plenty of material - more than almost any body in this country," and could "keep . . . clear of the 'Cornhill' track." A week and a half later, she quipped: "I can no more . . . I can, I can, I can no more!" Her article for *Chambers's* was "quite unlike the 'Cornhill' article, - new material having come to hand (from F. Nightingale) since." And she sent best love to Louise, Payn's wife.⁴⁴

Having declared to Reeve at the end of March that she was "not fit for writing today & must be short," Martineau managed to fill nine pages on topics of concern to the *Edinburgh*. "First, about the Idiots" (Edwin Sidney's article on idiocy was commissioned for the July *Edinburgh*), she enclosed "an extract [in her own hand] from the valuable Massachusetts 'Report on Idiocy.'" She hoped his contributor would speak of "the making of Idiots, as well as of the treatment of them." Though the evidence against cousin-marriages "might appall all the Royal, Quaker, Jewish & other couples who commit the sin," *she* lost no opportunity to oppose the practice. Mary Carpenter's book, she went on, had turned out to be far more interesting

when read as a whole, being the "only complete view . . . of the history & philosophy of her subject." Mary had mistakenly thought the review in *Daily News* was Martineau's and was glad it was *not* as it neglected the principles the book was written to illustrate.⁴⁵

Martineau agreed with Reeve that it would have been interesting to trace the life of the "criminal portion of society . . . from the earliest liabilities, & the influences under w^h they grow up." July was too soon for *her* article, she said, and October too far off to count on. In America, nothing could be finer than the "spirit & temper" of the not yet victorious North and the desire of (many) Southerners to be "back under the old flag on any terms." She liked the "military review" in the *Edinburgh*, and "Seven per cent" was capital; "the writer on the Colonial Church" she hoped would now resume "on occasion of this most portentous decision in the Colenso case."⁴⁶

To Mary Carpenter, Martineau wrote brusquely in April that her belief in "'Spiritualism' (so called) [was] not true." Aware of the existence in the brain of "rarely used and undeveloped powers," she strongly disapproved of any notion of contact with departed spirits. "About the facts of mesmerism," her position was the same as that of twenty years ago: she held no opinion based on theory, "but knowledge of facts." If Cuvier and other "eminent naturalists" insisted on those facts, no reasonable person could hold "variable opinions on the case."⁴⁷

In Jenny's absence nineteen-year-old Harriet failed to intercept "begging letters, &c &c" leaving Martineau by late April "more sunk & ill than at any time since the November illness." Shepherd wanted her "to throw *everything* aside till J. returns," but she could not, she told Sarah. "L^y E. spent 3 evenings with me, - much shocked to find me in so much worse a state than she had supposed," though their long talks seemed to do *her* good. Lady Elgin brought her an engraved portrait of "Lord E, & photographs of Broomhall, her private sitting room, with herself in it; & *beautiful* little Lady Louisa" (she would tell Sarah more another time). Lady Elgin took away Martineau's *Cornhill*, with her article on Nightingale's nursing programme, "for M^{rs} Bruce to read to the Queen." Finally, Martineau added, "after waiting a whole year for the artists," her historiette would begin next week in *Once A Week*. She was writing for the *Edinburgh*, "by special desire," but she felt as if it must be the last time. (Perhaps forgotten, Martineau's short tale, "The Cathedral Library," then appeared in *Once A Week* on 29 April).⁴⁸

Though still feeling too ill at the end of May to begin her article for Reeve, Martineau boasted "those ten articles [for the *Edinburgh*] make a satisfying chapter at the end of my literary life." She was "glad [too] that some of my views of the American case stand in the 'Edinburgh,' as elsewhere." Calhoun, for example, had told her the republic could only be preserved by the subject of slavery being excluded from Congress; "Old Madison, & Chief Justice Marshall had given up hope when I knew them; & Mr Clay's insincere glorification of the Colonisation Society amounted to a confession of the same kind." A recent account of Garrison told of his associates being presented with a black man's first freely earned five-dollar notes. Moreover, former Vice-president Andrew Johnson - although making a bad impression at his inauguration as President - was a "hard worker" (Lincoln had been assassinated on 14 April).

Cousin Fanny, she went on, wrote to ask "whether Booth [Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth] was . . . the grandson of old Booth, the music & book seller in the Market place in Norwich!" Laughing, she added, "I dare say [Norwich] thinks it was at the bottom of the late eruption of Etna, & of Prince Kung's restoration, & of the death of the Czarewitch, & of the Spanish failure in St Domingo." Had Reeve heard anything of Lucas and his new magazine? The

bad taste of the circular amazed her. He had even included her name as a contributor when she said "no."

Now a family, "Boucheretts of Lincolnshire, - clerical & philanthropic," wished to call on her at The Knoll. "Miss B. is one of the Social Science ladies. If able next week, I am disposed to see her."⁴⁹

Though she had closed her "*literary* career" and informed editors of her resolve, Martineau told Sarah in late May she would go on with the *Daily News*. The work was "so easy, & so very interesting, & so important now that all the world . . . admits that we have been right throughout about American & other affairs." As to money, she had plenty: "ie, £80 in hand, & £100 in the bank here, after having invested £100 this spring: & plenty more coming in." Last Thursday evening, Frederika Meyer brought her "photographs of beautiful German pictures, & *cartes* of Langiewicz & his lady aide-de-camp." Meyer reported "a world of things of Prussian & Saxon public affairs, - full of interest."

All Martineau's neighbors loved Harriet Higginson (whose mistakes seemed forgotten). "I do wish she'd had the comfort of such a cook as we have now," rather than "Cook Jane." Their new woman, "an old-fashioned sort of servant, - aged 35 - who longs *to settle*, & can't get on in a bustling town," liked their quiet household. Yet Martineau had been "distinctly worse this spring," she groaned, "& the other day I had a head-attack again." (Jenny confirmed her aunt's "aches & pains [and] general uneasiness off over," after "close, thundery, days").⁵⁰

Martineau's *Daily News* obituary in June of the polar explorer Sir John Richardson (the Davys' brother-in-law and her neighbour at Grasmere) showed her skill at marshaling facts of his masculine exploits as well as his pleasure in domestic pursuits. As a naval surgeon "well-skilled in Natural History," Richardson was fated to survive his partner in polar exploration, Lieutenant (later Sir) John Franklin, she wrote.⁵¹

"Your letters are burnt. It is *hard* work," Martineau protested to Nightingale on 12 June. "I am 63 today [and] going to transact the very last bit of one kind of business this morning, - proof-correcting . . . the last 'Edinburgh' article." *Daily News* produced "no fatigue, responsibility or other anxiety [and was] full of interest & satisfaction," so she would continue with it. "A sudden rush of candidates to the Nursing Training establishment" were declared to be owing to her articles "in the 'Cornhill' & 'Chambers.'" And how "very sensible & clever some of these women are who are busy about the Employment Clause &c!" Emily Davies's little pamphlet about "Educational Funds applicable to Girls' Schools" did her good. Unfortunately, Bessie Parkes was "in the grasp of the priest (Romish)," and that meant an end of her. Bessie's recent book had diverged "into error (polit' economical) & moral weakness." Meanwhile, Jessie Boucherette was there, whom Martineau liked "exceedingly."⁵²

Two weeks later Martineau wrote to Philip Carpenter in Canada "I am so pleased to hear from you!" Her last attempt to work included a review of his sister's "'Convict' book," but she didn't know if the article was worth publishing. What "bad Amerⁿ news" had he heard, she wondered? Her letters from there had been "uncommonly cheerful."⁵³

In late July Martineau was suffering from shingles, Jenny reported to Sarah. So the family might know the facts, Jenny copied out her aunt's letter to Ellen concerning Lucy Aikin's "Memoir" and sent along a note from Jessie Boucherette. In a jovial mood, Martineau wrote "I propose to J. to be photographed - I myself - sitting up in bed, as at 3 a.m., with the champagne bottle in one hand, & the glass in the other!" The worst mischief of the Aikin letters, she

repeated to Sarah, was "in regard to Dr Channing." Before she went to America she had known that "mischief w^d come of his correspondence with Lucy Aikin, from what she herself told me."

Reeve approved of her "Life in the Criminal Class," and Spottiswoode's had the proof. On the shingles, "we began to think yesterday . . . that we are getting the upper hand of the pain." Metaphysically, she wondered - and could not fancy - that anyone ever came out of "six weeks of severe & unremitting pain with a belief in everlasting pain." On this brilliant morning, she had sent both her maids "up Loughrigg," for a treat, "one of them having never, I suppose, been 100 feet above the sealevel in her life." When Catherine Turner arrived, she hoped to send Jenny to the British Association meeting in Birmingham, to "hear new things, & get a complete change of ideas."⁵⁴

Reeve's commenting on Gladstone (currently Chancellor of the Exchequer) caused Martineau to sniff "I think of him exactly as I did five & twenty years ago, - admiring him extremely, & reading all his speeches, but having no confidence in him at all." Palmerston, on the other hand, showed how far the nation could go "in tolerating, & even accepting humbug" while Gladstone was above "*that*." Of Mill, she anticipated no important result of his being in Parliament,

I think him a much overrated man . . . & he is too old to begin, - too unsuited to the atmosphere of parliament to flourish there. [Yet] I have an impression that he is much improved since his wife's death. . . . Indeed, it is only at the expense of his reputation for [poor] judgment that he has kept his character after such a management of his domestic life.

Was Reeve going grouse hunting? The more he shot, the more he would save somebody's butcher bill, she hinted. At The Knoll, they were keeping more "fowls & ducks, & . . . the whole pig," instead of selling half. "I am always poking at the cottagers . . . about keeping more fowls. It is absurd that they don't," she ended sensibly.⁵⁵

Still suffering with shingles in mid-August, Martineau told Sarah of "the numbness . . . excessive sensitiveness . . . & the facepain frequently returning." Though she reduced the "*extra* opiates by 25 drops a day," port wine, ale and champagne often seemed "mere water" to her. "At 3 a.m. I have a sandwich & a bumper of champagne, & this sends me to sleep for two, - sometimes nearly 3 hours," for "some *real* sleep." As Sarah kindly desired, she had just paid "£4..10..0" for another batch of champagne. Luckily, Jenny and Caroline were good sleepers. "I move about very quietly; & we had the doors (as well as the windows) open at night for the heat; so I c^d wander about, & go into the spare room . . . when the pain was too bad." Jenny did not go to the British Association meeting because Catherine Turner could not come until October, "& our little new cook, aged 16," *sent* by Catherine, needed more teaching and training. Martineau dared not enter on the subject of "Cousin Richard's death," who was "as a true brother to me from our youth up." Sadly, before Richard's seizure Lucy had written that he was better than she had expected "after the exertion of going to Thetford to vote." From America, Martineau heard that blacks were conducting themselves admirably. Just now she was enjoying a "delightful & profitable volume" from Mudie's: "Tylor's 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind.'"⁵⁶

Jenny's dining today "with two admirable ladies, - Misses Boucherette & Bostock, - at Loughrigg Tarn," would tell Nightingale that Martineau's shingles had abated. "Vichy water has done much for me," she added. Through Julia, she knew of Nightingale's state, Nightingale's

last letter to Jenny having contained "India facts" *she* might use in *Daily News* leaders. Nightingale reported the suffering and death of her cousin Hilary Bonham Carter, but encouraged Martineau to keep working.⁵⁷

Writing "*Private*" on a letter to Pigott, Martineau expressed satisfaction at knowing his wishes on subjects for the *Daily News*. Yet the Queen's having "*made up her mind never to meet her Parliament again*" was a misery. Martineau's friend, wife of the dean of St. Paul's, heard it from the Queen herself, whose selfishness was shocking. The Queen felt sure she would have "some bad attack," and while her physicians did not agree, they were "courtiers." All her ladies and gentlemen wanted her to resume her duties. Moreover *she* was never tired and wore people out by her restless "dragging her delicate children about in night journeys . . . Louise, with her terrible headaches . . . & Beatrice, who is fearfully delicate: & the doctors let it go on without any remonstrance." Between the Queen's willfulness and the Prince of Wales's idleness, the country had "a black look out," as some of the Ministers thought. Martineau would watch, too, the movement about prevention of "child-murder:" the next meeting of a newly formed group was to be on Monday.⁵⁸

Martineau's leader in the *Daily News* next day urged the Queen to return to active life for the first new Parliament since Prince's Albert's death. Concerning infanticide, Martineau recommended looking at all solutions - though the French example of secretly depositing unwanted infants showed that this increased immorality, and sinners must not be relieved of responsibility. At a public meeting the people were concerned only for unmarried mothers, but poor over-worked married women might be guilty too, as past burial club abuses revealed. On a positive note, Nightingale's fund was now training midwives to supplant the "wretches" who thought babies were better off dead.⁵⁹

Samuel Brown's cousin, Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh, stopped to see Martineau a few days later. "If I had been fit to be told that you were here, & try to see you, it would have been a great pleasure," she apologized. Brown's welcome present had come the day before: everyone knew "Rab and his Friends," and she hungered for these new little books. But "How long it takes some people to wear out!" Having *said* people should stop work at 60, she "*could not.*" Intrigued by Samuel Brown's uncommon children and their diligent mother, she received "the most beautiful notes from Spring!"⁶⁰

A new man, Callender, wished to bring Martineau a certificate (probably from the building society) in early October: she was too ill to see a new face she told Bell, and her neighbour Wilson would come for it.⁶¹

After "Life in the Criminal Class" appeared in the October *Edinburgh*, Martineau vaunted to Reeve that she was rather amused at her "misgivings & doubts . . . seeing that we have already heard more of it, in a favourable way, than . . . I ever did before, so soon after publication." Yet she *saw* she was now unfit for anything but "light & fragmentary" *Daily News* work and would not attempt anything more, "unless," she joked, "I lose my faculties." The latest *Edinburgh* looked interesting. She had "pounced upon the memorials of dear old Miss Berry [and longed] for the book if Mudie would but send it." Despite uncertain health, she again did "double work & more for 'D. News' for some weeks." Walker, the editor, was taking his usual month's holiday "to watch by his dying wife . . . dying by slow & terrible torture," so she sent in "4 or 5 leaders per week" while the rest of the corps took their holidays. She had "a very high respect" for the editor, whom she did not know by sight!⁶²

Martineau also begged Reeve to attend to a personal matter “in regard to w^h you may soon have an opportunity of rendering me a great service.” A copy of her answer to “some stupid, confused, bungled accounts” of conversations on the ship, “in August 1836, when I returned from America, in the . . . party with M^{rs} Farrar, the wife of the Professor Farrar known in connexion with Harvard University,” was enclosed. In a new book of “recollections,” Eliza Farrar had described Martineau’s lecturing to fellow passengers on Kant, her “extra good” conversation and her boast that she had shown Lords Durham and Howick confidential evidence on the new poor laws, loaned to her for *Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated*. Farrar, Martineau stormed, was “a coarse, double-minded, complacent, shallow, cowardly shrewd & kindly emancipated Quaker,” who knew perfectly well that all she knew of Kant had been from “a pious clergyman, (D^r Follen) an intimate friend of her own.” Reeve should keep the copy of the letter, so that if Farrar’s book got noticed in Britain and Martineau’s sayings quoted, *he* would have the answer.

In Boston, the whole edition had “sold in 3 days.” By tomorrow’s mail she would send the enclosed letter to the friend “who kindly copied the extracts for me” and would provide for Farrar’s seeing it. How she would quake, cowardly as she was! “I sh^d say,” she finished, “that she owes her consequence, such as it is, chiefly to her having been a sort of early patron to Marg^t Fuller, & passing as an intimate friend of hers.” Martineau had been the Farrars’ guest “the week of the Cambridge Commemoration of 1835,” making the perfidy all the worse. (In “A Month at Sea,” the Farrars were portrayed as the genial “Professor Ely” and his wife, “Mrs. Ely” who beguiled fellow passengers with “capital sketches of characters; - oddities . . . a little coarsely . . . but with much power”).

Martineau's letter to “My dear friend” (copied by her “dear old Coz, M^{rs} Turner”) expressed surprise at “a series of extra^ory statements” by Farrar and her publishing of private conversations, “after a lapse of nearly 30 years,” especially those “imputing dishonourableness” to her. For example, Martineau had visited “Lambton Castle (not Court),” and evidence from the Poor Law Commission was “widely promulgated,” not secret, and so on. She had forgotten all about her “not very successful” lecture on Kant on board the ship and was not aware she had ever thought of Kant or his philosophy “from that day to this.” If needed, Martineau’s “friend,” would probably “diffuse” her letter through the American press, as Martineau should in England, she assured Reeve.⁶³

Martineau’s obituary of Palmerston in the *Daily News* of 19 October noted his entrance into Parliament in 1806 as a “grave and prudent youth” surrounded by brilliant colleagues. His “chief talent . . . ingenuity . . . never rising to greatness” succeeded “in a certain sense . . . to make the influence of England felt everywhere.” In the Crimean War, however, his conduct failed to humble Russia sufficiently or to allow England her just honours. In the end, his repeated international successes did nothing to fit his country “for a wise conduct of national affairs in the time to come.”⁶⁴

Along with her “departments” in the *Daily News*, new books continued to absorb Martineau. “I know Garnett’s ways too well to have any suspicion of your forgetting *your* kind promise,” she wrote to Jemima Quillinan in early November. Garnett must be “full just now of his great scheme about our Worthies (Ned Lloyd’s County History).” There was no hurry, as Martineau had had “a mysterious present, by post,” of a most interesting book - “Miss Berry’s Journals,’ in 3 big volumes.” If Quillinan or her sister had “the least wish to see the Berry book,”

or any book Martineau had, she would be delighted to lend it, and the catalogue was at their service. "There are some good old novels; - very few modern ones."⁶⁵

"So it was you that sent us 'Miss Berry'!" Martineau exclaimed to Fanny Wedgwood in December. No one she knew had enjoyed the book half so much or had "any clear idea of that trio" (Mary Berry, her sister Agnes and their friend Lady Charlotte Lindsay), or cared about their times as *she* did. At The Knoll, Jenny had come back from Birmingham, and Caroline was with her family for a fortnight to have homeopathic treatment for "a mischief to one eye w^h was one of her ailments when she first came." Martineau *missed* Caroline, but the new cook *delighted* her: "a Nottingham lace girl . . . who had never been in service, but had a good mother, who made her so clean & neathanded & a capital needlewoman." At first the girl "wanted manners, - talked too loud & too much: but she has nearly cured that" and was having lessons from Jenny three nights a week. "I hope it is not absurd to send you all this," she broke off, "but one hears so much of bad cooks & *no* cooks." The girl would receive "£9 [a year], besides beer & tea money," rising to £12, if Martineau lived "long enough." She was always up "at 1/2 past 5 [which was] such a comfort" as bed in the morning was Martineau's "wretched time." Besides the pleasure of "Mary Berry," she went on, a large book had come in, "w^h must be read at once, - M^r Grote's." At first a "pure delight," the number of repetitions puzzled her:

E.g. I find *nine* times, if not more, in the first vol: that M^r Grote believes that none of the Dialogues were produced in the lifetime of Socrates. . . . But O! the good it does one to plunge back . . . into those old pagan times, with a mind so unlike & a heart so like our own!

However, she was *so* slow at reading she must give up "one pleasure & advantage, - the 'Saturday Review'" (still being forwarded by the Wedgwoods). Sometimes she saw badly, or her head failed her. And "I must read the newspapers as long as I go on in 'Daily News.'" In truth, she confessed sadly, "the main spring of my life snapped when I lost Maria." Still, she had lots to tell Fanny, beginning with "M^{rs} Farrar's mischief," her "apology & submission," and her plea, "you w^d never guess what, - 'ignorance of political economy, & failure of memory.' What a book to write with 'an impaired memory!'"

Next, that "letter in the *Times* about Jamaica, signed 'G,'" said to be W.R. Greg's! Such a "hateful subject, - this Jamaica one, till justice is done." In American affairs, there was some "comfort . . . in the defection of most of the small minority that went with Wendell Phillips & his toadies." Garrison's "moral *genius*" now made him supreme. She *hoped* Peter Taylor had begun to see through Conway's mischief; Beecher's happy conversion was important, but he too lacked judgment. People didn't seem to see "that the negroes *must* have the suffrage, for the South's own safety."⁶⁶

Telling Sarah she wouldn't "wait any longer for more fitness to write," Martineau filled eight letter-size pages rehearsing Caroline's illness and the *marvel* of their new cook who saved the household in "sugar, butter & *breakage* . . . coals, flour & meat." Of sad news, Harriet Higginson had suffered "a great shock in the death of a young comrade at the College [who] ought never to have gone to the College" and "died of epilepsy & paralysis." On family business, Martineau was resolved that a miniature of "our grandfather Martineau" left by Aunt Lee "ought next to be in David's hands." Wasn't he the "eldest representative of the next generation?" Though "doubtless a good likeness, there were too many shadows to be a good painting." She was grateful for Sarah's offer of champagne: Shepherd now insisted she take

more than one glass a day - happily "*that & not brandy.*" About the Jamaica troubles, she hoped "to live to see Gov^r Eyre brought to trial, & the Island made a Crown colony." Forster's being in office would help as he would "keep M^r Cardwell up to the mark." A letter from Mary Arnold at Liverpool, "rejoicing in the Forsters' new position," reported also "that M^r Hiley (the 3^d son-in-law)" was dying: his going would be a relief, Martineau sniffed.⁶⁷

Reeve must have suggested an article on American affairs, Martineau then outlining the view on "Reconstruction" the *Edinburgh* might take. There had been "extreme danger . . . of the President being driven into the arms of the South" and provoking a war of races by the "bad judgment, & the passion for agitation" of the new abolitionists. "The old original ones, - Garrison, M^{rs} Chapman & others," were "rational, self-forgetful, prudent & generous; while Wendell Phillips, Sumner & their party" had "talked & acted most perilously." In Britain, the danger was from those "on the Northern side" following the lead of Conway, "the tool of the fanatics." The *Daily News* was under attack by such London abolitionists and "even by the 'Spectator', which ought to have more knowledge."⁶⁸

Peter Taylor seemed "*always* wrong, - more or less," Martineau protested. An answer she had written to his wife was read in their committee, she heard, when she was "long discussed; & I have no doubt, prodigiously pulled to pieces." For the kind of article Reeve wanted, Cairnes was the only qualified person she knew, and she would hear his views in a few days. "*Entre nous*, the article on the three last Presidents [Buchanan, Lincoln and Johnson], in 'D. News' of the 9th inst^t, was my indirect answer to the 'Spectator' criticism." Another of her articles, on the "Message," would probably appear tomorrow or next day. "It would be worth *any* effort to do the thing more fully & completely for you," she groaned, "but I *cannot* do it."⁶⁹

After she had seen the full text in *The Times*, Henry Bright sent Martineau an abstract of the President's Message. Sumner's stand being now unsound, she told him, she hoped Sir F. Bruce would get a "Reciprocity Treaty as good as his brother's, in spite of Sumner." On another of their joint concerns, the welfare of the James Payns, she shook her head. The Payns had lost two children while he played whist daily as a source of income. He had done so in college, she knew, but was now earning money from his writing. His wife, whom she liked, had become an affectionate friend. *Sir Massingberd* seemed very clever, but she had not seen his new novel, *Clyffards*.⁷⁰

¹ See, for example, "Middle-Class Education," *The Times*, 20 June 1864: 6, col. 2; *DN*, 25 June 1864 (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

² MA to Mary Penrose Arnold, 11 February and 5 March 1864, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 281 and 288; MA, *A French Eton; or, Middle Class Education and the State* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1864).

³ MA to Mary Penrose Arnold, 6 July 1864, and MA to HM, 7 July 1864, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 322 and 323-26; see note 14.

⁴ HM to Lucy Martineau, Saturday [2 July 1864], *CL* 5: 72, and HM to Sarah, 2 and 9 July 1864, *CRO(K)* 35 and 36 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 72-73 and 74; "Mrs. Charles" was probably Elizabeth Mary (née Jillard) of Tulse Hill, Norwood, Surrey - Marion's mother (Martineau's cousin Charles was the third son of David Martineau III); Ann was probably David Martineau's fourth daughter (Charles's elder sister), who lived with her sister Lucy at 165 Clapham Road, Clapham (earlier Stockwell Common), Surrey; for sugar duties, see chap. 49, note 27.

⁵ HM to HR, 13 July 1864, LMU 2/094 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 75); "Co-operative Societies in 1864," *ER* 120 (October 1864): 407-36; *The Times* (8 July 1864: 10, col. 6, for example) reprinted an anecdote from the *New York Times* about Grant's placidly whittling on a piece of wood as battle reports came in; in July the *Naval and Military Gazette. East India and Colonial Chronicle* reported *four* times, however, that Grant had failed in his attempt to take Richmond (2, 9, 16 and 23 July 1864: 424, col. 2, 440, col. 2, 456, col. 2 and 473, col. 1); for the *Rebellion Record*, see chap. 48, note 36.

⁶ HM to HR, 20 August 1864, LMU 2/095 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 78-79); see note 14; Helen Taylor was Reeve's relative, not John Stuart Mill's stepdaughter.

⁷ See Appen., *HM/DN*.

⁸ HM to WLG, 10 August 1864, *CL* 5: 75-77: for Cairnes, see chap. 47, note 41; see Francis Newman, "To William Lloyd Garrison, Apostle of Negro Freedom" [letter of 7 June 1864], *Liberator*, 1 July 1864: 106, cols. 4-5 (attacking Garrison's support for Lincoln, who had not emancipated all American slaves), "Letter to Professor Newman," *Liberator*, 15 July 1864: 114, col. 5, and "Letter to Professor Newman, No. II, *Liberator*, 22 July 1864: 118, cols. 2-3; for Phillips, see chap. 47, page 4.

⁹ HM to PPC, Sunday [c. August] and 31 August 1864, *CL* 5: 77-78 and HMC H. Martineau 1 f. 122 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 80); for Martineau's three articles, in the *Edinburgh* and *Cornhill*, see notes 5 and 14.

¹⁰ HM to Carlisle, 29 August 1864, CH J19/1/108/111 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 79); Carlisle retired from the lord lieutenancy of Ireland in October and died in December 1864; for Garrison, see above, note 8.

¹¹ Charles Follen to MWC, 17 September 1864, BPL, Ms.A.9.2.32 p. 13 (Martineau had included *The Report on Freedmen of South Carolina to the Secretary of the Treasury* in works reviewed for "The Negro Race in America" (see chap. 48, note 49).

¹² HM to HR, 26 September 1864, *CL* 5: 81; Sir William Rose Mansfield, *On the Introduction of a Gold Currency into India. By His Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. R. Mansfield, K. C. B.* (London: John Murray, 1864; [Mansfield contributed an article on the Crimean War to the *Edinburgh* in July 1854; he served as chief of staff, then commander-in-chief in India, 1857-1870]); for Gen. Butler, see chap. 49 (Butler's anti-British *Character and Results of the War. How to Prosecute and how to End it. A Thrilling and Eloquent Speech*, given at a dinner in his honor had been published as a pamphlet [Philadelphia, 1863]); in April 1864, Bruce became vice-president of committee of council on education (see chap. 47).

¹³ *DN*, 5 March 1864 (see Appen., *HM/DN*); for "Co-operative Societies in 1864," see note 5.

¹⁴ "Middle-Class Education in England: Boys" and "Middle-Class Education in England: Girls," *Cornhill Magazine* 10 (October 1864): 409-26 and (November 1864): 549-68 (see *HM/FW* 253, note 3, and "Education of Middle Class Girls," *HM/DN* 47-53); an announcement for the Bedford College session 1864-65 had appeared in the *Inquirer*, 20 and 27 August 1864: 544 and 576.

¹⁵ MA to Sarah Emily Davies, 14 October 1864, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* 2: 343-44; and see *HM/FW* 268, note 4.

¹⁶ HM to Fortescue, 22 October 1864, *CL* 5: 83-84; the Right Hon. Earl Fortescue, *Public Schools for the Middle Classes* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1864).

¹⁷ HM to Walford, 14 October 1864, *CL* 5: 83; for "A New Kind of Wilful Murder," see chap. 48, note 23.

¹⁸ HM to Sarah, 30 October 1864, *CRO(K)* 37 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 84-85).

¹⁹ See Appen., *HM/DN*; for fires in the Yorkshire wolds see *The Times*, 12 September 1864: 8, col. 6, and 26 September 1864: 5: col. 4; see "Education: Rural Laborers," *HM/DN* 129-37.

²⁰ HM to HR, 15 November 1864, *HM/FL* 297; Reeve's first wife, née Hope Richardson, died soon after the birth of their daughter, Hope.

²¹ HM to Sarah, 21 December 1864, *HM/FL* 298-99; Lincoln's Message cited achievements such as the telegraph, trains and Homestead Act and expressed hope that Congress would abolish slavery: "President's Message," *DN*, 23 December 1864: 4, cols. 3-5.

²² HM to Lucy [Wills], 25 December 1864, *CL* 5: 88.

²³ Jane (Jenny) Martineau to Sarah, 25 December 1864, *CRO(K)* 39; for Carlisle, see nest note.

²⁴ "Walter Savage Landor," *DN*, 27 September 1864: 4, cols. 4-5; "Death of the Duke of Newcastle," *DN*, 19 October 1864: 4, cols. 5-6 (*Peel* ranked permanently among Martineau's heroes); "David Roberts," *DN*, 1 December 1864: 5, cols. 4-5; "Death of the Earl of Carlisle," *DN*, 6 December 1864: 5, cols. 4-6 (rptd. *BS* 437-45, 122-30, 254-61 and 131-42).

²⁵ HM to (Benjamin Moran?: see below), 30 December 1864, *CL* 5: 88-89 (Canada had freed Confederate troops who attacked the town of St. Albans, Vermont, while Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman had defeated the Confederate General John B. Hood: see *CL* 5: 89, note 1); for Mackay, see chap. 48, note 25; (a change from Martineau's low opinion of Russell's earlier reports from America).

²⁶ HM to (?), 30 December 1864, *CL* 5: 89-90.

²⁷ "1864," *DN*, 31 December 1864 (a Sunday): 4, cols. 1-5 (for Martineau's lost review of the year, see HM to HR, 6 January 1865, *CL* 5: 93-94, and below; see John Vint, "Harriet Martineau and Social Conflict: Political Economy into Fiction into Melodrama" [Part I] (*MSA*, 32 [Winter 2012]: 23-32) on Martineau's relationship with political economists like Senior.

²⁸ HM to HR, 4 January 1865, *CL* 5: 91-93; James Payn, *Married Beneath Him. By the Author of "Lost Sir Massingerd"* (London: Macmillan, 1865).

²⁹ Pigott to HM, 6 January 1865 and "(Midnight): 'Major Bell's book'" [memo in Martineau's hand], *BUL MS Harriet Martineau* 1195 and 1196 a-b; Martineau to Pigott, Thurs. 7 [late 1864?] and 8 January 1865, *FL* 299 and 299-300; "British Rule and Native States in India. I. [and II.] 'The Mysore Reversion, "an Exceptional Case.'" By Major Evans Bell, Madras Staff Corps. [London: Trübner] 1865," *DN* 2 and 23 January 1865: 2, cols. 1-2, and 3, cols. 1-3 (arguing against annexation by the British); six additional leaders on India by Martineau - on Bhootan, Indian finance and Indian agriculture - appeared from early January through March (see Appen, *HM/DN*).

³⁰ HM to HR, 22 January 1865, *CL* 5: 94-96 (but see Ross Donnelly Mangles, "The Progress of India," *ER* 119 [January 1864]: 95-136 [with foldout map, 94-95, a review of works on cultivation of crops such as tea and cotton and on railroads, irrigation works, navigation and finances]); Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, *Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland* (London: Edward Moxon, 1845); for Carlisle's reported statement on mesmerism, see chap. 40.

³¹ Jane [Jenny] Martineau to HGA, 9 January 1865, *BUL HM Add.* 120 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 364-65); for Hamerton's book, see note 42.

32 HM to FW, 30 January 1865, *HM/FW* 251-53; on Forster, see *The Times*, 19 January 1865: 11, col. 6; Elizabeth Ann Bostock, friend of Elisabeth Reid and trustee of the Ladies' College at Bedford Square, later active in opening the Cambridge examination to "middle-class" girl.

33 *Narrative of Privations and Sufferings of United-States Officers and Soldiers While Prisoners of War in the Hands of Rebel Authorities* (Philadelphia 1864), a report by federal commissioners on Southern military prisons; Goldwin Smith, "The Prospect of Peace in America" (*DN*, 28 January 1865: 4, col. 5) included suggestions for the financial security of a reunited nation; see "The Advantages of Slavery and the Slave Trade," *Saturday Review*, 20 February 1864: 219-21 (sceptical of the potential of former slaves as well as of Martineau's "absurd anecdotes," as in "The Negro Race in America.")

34 HM to ED, 7 February 1865, UKL (partly pbd., *HM/FW* 254-55); Moncure Daniel Conway, "President Lincoln. By an American Abolitionist" (*Fraser's* 71 [January 1865]: 1-21) censuring Lincoln for delaying emancipation (for Conway's exchange in *The Times*, see chap. 48); Garrison had not fully supported Lincoln until after the Emancipation Proclamation.

35 HM to Sarah, 10 February 1865, *CL* 5: 97.

36 HM to FN, 23 January 1865, *CL* 5: 96-97; for Martineau's review of *The Mysore Reversion*, see above (in addition to leaders on India, Martineau addressed issues like poverty, passages to the Pacific, Dr. Baikie [African traveller], cooperatives and dressmaking: see Appen., *HM/DN*); for an unidentified "statue" of Nightingale, see *CL* 5: 97, note 1.

37 FN to HM, 12, 20, 22 February and 1 April 1865, MS BL Add. 45788: ff. 280-83, 284-90, 291-94 and 295-96.

38 See "Nurses," *HM/DN*, 39-45 [*DN*, 23 February 1865] and "Nurses Wanted," *Cornhill Magazine* 11 (April 1865): 409-25, addressed to *middle-class* females.

39 HM to HR, 16 February 1865, *CL* 5: 98-99; see *The Greville Memoirs. A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV. by the late Charles C. F. Greville, Esq., Clerk of the Council to Those Sovereigns*, ed. Henry Reeve (London: Longmans, Green, 1874); Lucy Aikin had positive things to say about Martineau, but see *Memoirs, Miscellanies and Letters of the late Lucy Aikin: including those addressed to the Rev. Dr. Channing from 1826 to 1842*, ed. Philip Hemery Le Breton (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864); in a few lines, *The Times* of 15 February 1865 (page 12, col. 1) announced passage by Congress of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery; Goldwin Smith, "England and America," *Atlantic Monthly* 14 (December 1864): 749-69 (praising American attainment of social justice, etc., yet excusing English blockade-runners).

40 HM to HR, 18 February 1865, *CL* 5: 99-100; Mary Carpenter, *Our Convicts* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864) (included in Martineau's review, "Life in the Criminal Class," *ER* 122 (October 1865): 337-71; *DN*, 14 February 1865: 4, cols. 2-3 (Sumner and Seward wished to abrogate a treaty concerning the border between Canada and the U.S.); a *Daily News* leader of 24 February 1866, probably by Martineau, reported failure of the treaty [4, cols. 3-4]).

41 HM to Walford, 10 March and 21 April 1865, *CL* 5: 101-103 and 108 (for Lucas's new magazine, see note 49; Knight, *Passages* 3: 188-89 (no review in *The Times* has been identified, but Martineau seemed to envy Knight's genial male self-confidence); for the *Cornhill*, see note 38; for "A Family History" see note 48.

⁴² HM to Sara Hennell, 10 March 1865, MS Coventry Central Library 5465 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 100-101); Nelly, daughter of Cara and Charles Bray, died of consumption; three leap years came round before Martineau's death in 1876; Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *A Painter's Camp* (London: Macmillan, 1866; a painter's adventures in the English, Scottish and French countryside).

⁴³ HM to Sarah [?], 16 March 1865, CRO(K) 42 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 104-105); Mrs. Ewington has not been identified; for Timothy Daly, see *HM/DN* 42; George Warriner, proprietor of the George and Vulture Tavern in London, was cookery instructor to the British army.

⁴⁴ HM to James Payn, 17 and 28 March 1865, *CL* 5: 105 and 106; "The Nursing Profession in England," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 13 May 1865: 294-98 (explaining requirements, training and opportunities for working nurses, head nurses and matrons).

⁴⁵ HM to HR, 31 March 1865, *CL* 5: 106-108 (Edwin Sidney, "Idiot Asylums," *ER* 122 [July 1865]: 37-74); "Extract from a 'Report made to the Legislature of Massachusetts on Idiocy.' (D^r Howe, Chairman of the Commissioners.) 1840" cited statistics on the "fearful" results of cousin-marriage.

⁴⁶ C.G. Chesney, "The Last Campaign in America," *ER* 121 (January 1865): 252-88; George Goschen, "Seven Per Cent," *ER* 121 (January 1865): 223-51; (probably) Herman Merivale, "The Colonial Episcopate," *ER* 118 (October 1863): 552-87.

⁴⁷ HM to Mary Carpenter, 17 April 1866, *CL* 5: 137.

⁴⁸ HM to Sarah, 23 April 1865, CRO(K) 43 (partly pbd., *CL* 5: 109); at the head of her letter, Martineau wrote: "(Shakespeare's birthday, & the 15th anniversary of Wordsworth's death. It was just such a summer's day."); Lady Augusta Bruce (Elgin's sister, married to Arthur Stanley), lady-in-waiting to the Queen (Sarah evidently enjoyed gossip about Martineau's aristocratic friends); "The Cathedral Library," *OW* 12 (29 April 1865): 528-32 (about orphans adopted by a bishop who commits suicide); "A Family History. By Harriet Martineau," *OW* 12 (6, 13, 20 and 27 May, 3, 10 and 17 June 1865): 533-37, 561-66, 589-93, 617-21, 645-48, 673-77 and 701-704; *OW* 13 (24 June and 1 July 1865): 1-5 and 29-34 (about a family caught up in the ruinous 18th-century South Sea Company scheme, with cameos of literary figures like Addison, Gay and Pope; action and dialogue in both the short story and serial seem flat rather than lively and convincing in Martineau's usual manner).

⁴⁹ HM to HR, 25 May 1865, *CL* 5: 110-112; Mount Etna had been particularly active in recent months; Prince Kung, Chinese prime minister; Nicholas, eldest son of Czar Alexander II; Santo Domingo had expelled Spanish troops; Lucas's *Shilling Magazine* lasted only a few months; Jessie Boucherette, one of the "Ladies of Langham Place" who established The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women in June 1859.

⁵⁰ HM to Sarah, 27 May 1865, CRO(K) 44 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 113; "I think Jenny told you that the flask arrived safe," Martineau wrote inside the envelope); Maryan (Maryon, Marian) Langiewicz, Polish leader of the 1863 insurrection against the Russian occupation; for Martineau's leaders on Prussia, 12 September 1865, 17 February and 20 April 1866, see Appen., *HM/DN*; Jane (Jenny) Martineau to Sarah, 28 May 1865, *HM/FL* 373.

⁵¹ "DEATH OF SIR JOHN RICHARDSON," *DN*, 9 June 1865: 5, cols. 5-6 (rptd. *BS* 231-37).

⁵² HM to FN, 12 June 1865, *CL* 5: 113-15; see Jenny to Sarah, 28 July 1865, *HM/FL*, 373-374, and HM to Sarah, Tuesday [28 July 1865?], *HM/FL* 303; see Jessie Boucherette, *Hints on Self-Help; a Book for young Women* (London: S. W. Partridge, 1863; instruction "on the Conditions of Industrial Success"); Emily Davies, *The Application of Funds to the Education of Girls* (London:

Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865): rev., *DN*, 30 September 1865 (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

⁵³ HM to PPC, 26 June 1865, *CL* 5: 115-16; see next note.

⁵⁴ Jenny to Sarah, 28 July 1865, *HM/FL*, 373-374; HM to Sarah, Tuesday [28 July 1865?], *HM/FL* 303; "Life in the Criminal Class," *ER* 122 (October 1865): 337-71 (rev. of Mary Carpenter's book on convicts and the memoirs of a female convict written by a prison matron).

⁵⁵ HM to HR, 8 August 1865, *LMU* 2/105 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 116); Palmerston, prime minister and first lord of the treasury; John Stuart Mill entered Parliament just that year.

⁵⁶ HM to Sarah, 18 August 1865 ["Answered Augst 20th with cheque" written on the envelope in another hand], *CRO(K)* 48 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 117); Martineau's report of former slaves may have come from a recent circular: see HM to Mrs. Tyndall, 3 September 1865, *HM/FL* 304; Edward Burnet Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (London: John Murray, 1865), on language, art, customs and myths.

⁵⁷ HM to FN, 24 August 1865, *CL* 5: 117-18; see *DN*, 19 and 24 August 1865, on "Indian lands" (see Appen., *HM/DN*); FN to HM, 6 September 1865, *BL Add MS45788/1 f.* 302.

⁵⁸ HM to Pigott, 1 September 1865, *CL* 5: 119; Martineau's friend Lady Augusta Bruce, married to Dean Arthur Stanley.

⁵⁹ For *Daily News* leaders on the Queen's "retirement" and on infanticide, 2 and 8 September 1865, see Appen., *HM/DN* [in the new cabinet formed in October 1865, Russell became prime minister and Clarendon foreign secretary].

⁶⁰ HM to Dr. John Brown, 13 September 1865, *CL* 5: 120; *Rab and His Friends and Marjorie Fleming, a Sketch. Being the Paper Entitled "Pet Marjorie: A Story of Child Life Fifty Years Ago"* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1863 and 1864; John Brown was described as the adviser of Samuel Brown's set at Edinburgh and the *sanest* among them (*Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott. And Notices of his Artistic and Poetic Circle of Friends 1830 to 1882*, ed. W. Minto [London: James R. Osgood, 1892] 1: 219).

⁶¹ HM to Mr. Bell [Thomas Bell, chairman of trustees of the building society], 3 October 1865, *BANC* [Box 1] 9 (Martineau lists twelve Bells in her Lake District directory of 1855; another Bell was officer of the inland revenue at Keswick); Callender has not been identified.

⁶² HM to HR, 18 October 1865, *LMU* 2/106 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 123); "Life in the Criminal Class" treated crime as a sociological phenomenon and praised reformatories' "incitement [to good] and guidance" of criminals (Carpenter sent two-hundred copies of the article to "Mr. Sanborne, in Boston, U.S.: Carpenter, *Life and Work of Mary Carpenter* 307); "Journal and Correspondence of Miss Berry," *ER* 122 (October 1865): 297-336 [review of *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783 to 1852*, ed. Theresa Lewis (London: Longmans, 1865)]; Martineau's *Daily News* wide-ranging leaders from mid-September to mid-October 1865 covered murrain, cholera, health acts, diet, India and girls' education, etc. (see Appen., *HM/DN*).

⁶³ Martineau asked Maria Chapman to distribute her "protest" at Farrar's statements (HM to MWC, 16 and 19 October 1865, *CL* 5: 122 and 123; for Farrar's book, see chap. 13, note 4); Martineau's letter of 16 October 1865 was copied out by "her dear old Coz, M^{rs} Turner" (see *CL* 5: 120-22; for the Farrars' patronage of Margaret Fuller, see John Matteson, *The Lives of Margaret Fuller* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2012).

⁶⁴ "Lord Palmerston," *DN*, 19 October 1865: 5, cols. 2-4 (rptd. *BS* 143-53).

⁶⁵ HM to [Jemima] Quillinan, 7 November and 13 December 1865, (first) *CL* 5: 124, (second) Dove Cottage Museum Library, Grasmere (the Misses Jemima [Mima] and Rotha Quillinan lived at Loughrigg Holme, Ambleside); neither their promise of a book nor the country history have been identified; for "Miss Berry," see next note.

⁶⁶ HM to FW, 1 December 1865, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 255-59); Robert was a patron of the homeopathic hospital at Birmingham; for Martineau's *Daily News* obituary of Mary Berry, the "repository of the whole literary history of fourscore years," see chap. 35, note 1.

⁶⁷ George Grote, *Plato, and the Other Companions of Socrates* (London: J. Murray, 1865); a letter from "G." (*The Times*, 23 November 1865: 6, col. 3) partly blamed Baptist missionaries for inciting former slaves to riot and for the (illegal) execution of a black leader by Governor Edward John Eyre; for Wendell Phillips, see note 8; President Andrew Johnson hoped to leave the issue of black suffrage to the individual Southern states; for Henry Ward Beecher, see chap. 47, note 10, and *The Times*, 18 November 1865: 9, col. 2.

⁶⁸ HM to Sarah, 3 December 1865, CRO(K) 49 (partly pbd. *CL* 5: 125-26); Harriet was a student at the Ladies' College, Bedford Square (founded through efforts of Elisabeth Reid); Sarah's son David, born in 1827; Forster had just become secretary of state for colonies under Edward Cardwell and, at his urging, Cardwell had sent a commission of inquiry to Jamaica.

⁶⁹ HM to HR, 20 December 1865, *CL* 5: 126-28; for "Reconstruction," see *The Times*, 16 December 1865: 12, col. 1; for Sumner and for Wendell Phillips's lecturing on "The South Victorious," see *The Times*, 18 December 1865: 9, col. 2; the *Spectator* claimed not to comprehend the *Daily News's* upholding President Andrew Johnson's aim to let former Confederate states pass *any* laws on blacks, including slavery (2 December 1865: 1328, col. 1) and reported Johnson's first Message on the "divine right" of the Constitution at home, and a policy of defense abroad (23 December 1865: 1426, cols. 1-2).

⁷⁰ HM to Henry Arthur Bright, 23 December 1865, *CL* 5: 128-30; *The Times*, 18 December 1865: 7, cols. 1-6; Sir Frederick Bruce, British minister to the United States; James Payn, *Lost Sir Massingberd. A Romance of Real Life* (London: Sampson, Low, Son and Marston, 1865) featured two young heroes as well as gypsies, a wicked uncle who disappears, a Bow Street runner and a "paper-chase"; *The Clyffards of Clyffe* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1866).