

Part 1
Early Life and Celebrity
(1802-1834)

Chapter 1
Harriet Martineau Grows Up in Norwich
(1802-1819)

When Harriet (the Martineaus' sixth child) was born on 12 June 1802, Thomas's Spanish trade was suffering from the effects of the Napoleonic wars, and the family moved from Gurney Court across Magdalen Street to a plain, three-story brick house.¹ There, carts could pass through an arched passage from Magdalen Street to Thomas's warehouse off Boswell's Court. Utilitarian sheds bordered a planting strip where the Martineau children made gardens and where Harriet and James once tried to dig to China but as somber Victorian children decided instead to make a "grave" to test the feeling of being dead. Harriet Martineau's autobiography, completed in 1855 when she thought she was dying, cites similar grim incidents from her childhood. Yet the Martineau family enjoyed games and carefree occasions--the girls had hoops and all played at battledore and cards. On special days Thomas let the children play among the bolts of cloth in his warehouse (Harriet remembered with anguish running off to play hide-and-seek and leaving behind her childhood friend who had lost a leg). Another traumatic moment for Harriet arose when the family climbed to the long-windowed room, built originally for weavers, to gaze at a rare comet. Strangely, the anxious nine-year-old Harriet could not see it.²

The accomplishments of Norwich writers and artists of the early nineteenth century like William Taylor--a respected scholar and translator of German literary works--or the painters John Sell Cotman and John Crome scarcely touched Thomas Martineau's family. Their lives were centered on domestic concerns and the Octagon Chapel. Elizabeth (possibly frustrated by slender means as well as by living in a kind of intellectual vacuum) practiced a rigid household economy. Years later her youngest daughter, Ellen, recorded

that Elizabeth found Norwich “cold and haughty.” She did not know French like other women in Thomas’s family including his cousin Susannah Taylor who lived around the corner. Elizabeth excelled in managing her home but was less successful socially than the housewifely and unintimidating Susannah. John Taylor, Susannah’s husband (not related to William Taylor), was a yarn maker who wrote hymns and served as deacon of the Octagon Chapel. Susannah herself corresponded with a wide circle of friends and attracted callers like the young barristers on circuit Henry Crabb Robinson and James Mackintosh, who came for her sensible talk. As a young woman Susannah had contributed to *The Cabinet. By a Society of Gentlemen* (1795), a journal started by William Taylor and other members of the Norwich literati, and her writings were sometimes read or acted at gatherings of the Martineaus and Taylors. Harriet rarely referred to such occasions or to the grand parties given by Philip Meadows Martineau. Hinting that deafness made such gatherings painful, she may also have identified with her mother’s unease.³

The co-pastor of the Octagon Chapel after 1811, Rev. Thomas Madge, was a frequent guest for Sunday evening supper at the house on Magdalen Street. Among other Unitarian or Dissenting callers were the distinguished women writers Anna Letitia Barbauld (Thomas’s early teacher) and Amelia Opie, wife of the noted painter John Opie and daughter of the Martineaus’ family doctor. In the nine years following Harriet’s birth, Elizabeth had two more confinements: James, born in 1805, and Ellen, in 1811. In her household Elizabeth directed servants, marketed, baked, sewed and helped Thomas in his business. The younger children learned their letters from Elizabeth, and she listened to the older children read aloud from works of history, biography and literature. She especially loved the poetry of Robert Burns, whom her brother had known. With Thomas, she insisted their children have music, drawing, French and Latin masters at home. To teach Harriet and her next eldest sister, Rachel, plain and fancy sewing, an old nurse came to the house. The girls also learned to iron, plat bonnets, knit stockings, cover silk shoes and to bake pies, pastry and gingerbread. When Elizabeth went to shop at the marketplace between the Norwich guildhall and St. Peter Mancroft church, she took a younger child along to help carry packages. James remembered with amusement his mother’s stopping to talk to Susannah Taylor on serious questions of the day while a leg of Susannah’s butcher’s joint protruded from her basket.⁴ After the Martineau children had left home, Elizabeth forwarded long accounts of family and Norwich doings. Harriet was to call the Magdalen Street house

“prosaic to the last degree,” but she admitted that her “dreamy years” had been spent there.

Reading notes of her earliest childhood memories to Anna Jameson in 1841, Martineau must have included the vivid tactile and kinesthetic sensations described in her “singular autobiography,” meant to serve as “a lesson in education” and to “exhibit the effect of certain early impressions on particular temperaments.” She claimed to remember staying with strangers in the country at age two, stepping off a high stoop, tottering, and grasping a rough elm tree. At night in the couple’s cottage she was startled by the cold calico sheets and the creaking of the turned-up bedstead. Just before she turned three, she remembered the spare room door at the Magdalen Street house standing open and a strange woman by the fire who placed a “bundle of flannel” on her lap: the newly-born James. Staying at Yarmouth for Elizabeth’s health shortly afterwards, Harriet was frightened by the rough waves and the sight of seaweed swirling under the jetty. Even pleasures like the feel of a black velvet button on a mourning cap worn by her sister Rachel or the puzzling dream of a stag, her mother and a piece sugar left impressions of seeming guilt or fear. Intense colors like the green of plants in early spring could make her ill, she had wild fears of being crushed by the sky or eaten by a bear, and she dreaded walks past the sound of feather beds being beaten. Magic lantern shows, bright lights or (once) a spectrum caused by glass prisms on the mantelpiece caused her to panic. “Snap,” the wickerwork, cloth and papier-mâché, “fire”-spouting dragon (dating from the town’s medieval St. George’s Guild) that wound through the streets of Norwich during the yearly mayor’s inauguration parade terrified her. Indirectly she blamed her mother for letting the wet-nurse nearly starve her as well as for not noticing that she suffered upset stomachs, probably from an allergy to cow’s milk. She also had earaches and hinted at misjudged treatment that caused her deafness. She claimed not to have any sense of smell or taste though she could recall favorite dishes on the family table.

These early memories were to form part of Martineau’s series of common-sense articles on child raising written for *The People’s Journal* in 1846 and 1847.⁵ There, venting anger at her parents’ injustice as well as shame at her failure to be a better child, she pled with mothers to show unstinting love, patience and cheerfulness. Children become apathetic or sly from fear, she warned, and a wise parent could correct “secretiveness and defiance [and an] inordinate love of approbation” by paying close attention to the child’s

needs. Children needed privacy and should practice duties like washing all over with cold water every day. They learned from elder siblings, but the latter's quarreling and crabbiness towards younger children could cause anguish. In her autobiography Martineau was to augment such memories with incidents of jealousy at Elizabeth's seeming preference for Rachel. Rage at her mother led to feelings of guilt or thoughts of suicide, and she dreamt of angels coming through high windows in the Octagon Chapel to rescue her.

As years passed, Harriet strove with only moderate success to please her formidable mother. Thomas evidently offered kindness but relied on his wife to manage their daughters. Harriet remembered her father's holding her hand on Yarmouth jetty, though she said nothing of her fright, and his later calming her childish terror of invasion by Napoleon. At home, Thomas must often have been immersed in business cares and to have given most of his attention to his four sons. Community duties made further demands on his time: he served as church warden for St. George's parish (expected of Dissenters in Norwich) and as deacon of the Octagon Chapel.

Like many Victorian children, Harriet learned to read and print at an early age. Making tiny books of folded paper--as did the talented Brontës and John Ruskin--she filled hers with Calvinist maxims learned from the country family who cared for her. As Harriet grew up, religious practices became part of a desperate effort to gain approval and bolster her self-esteem.⁶

By the newly popular Lancastrian method, Harriet and Rachel first studied French with their elder sister, Elizabeth (called Lissey by the family), Latin with Thomas (called Tom) and arithmetic with Henry.⁷ Lissey was impatient like their mother, Tom (as the eldest son) strict and reserved, and Henry sometimes cutting up. Though she internalized "duty" towards her lessons, Harriet was thought dull compared to bright Rachel. She dreaded the knock on the door of their music teacher, John Beckwith, a fine musician and the organist at St. Peter's Mancroft Church forced to eke out his stipend of £30 a year. At seven, Harriet "discovered" *Paradise Lost*, and until she was fourteen, she reread and memorized long passages of Milton's epic. Meanwhile her first real sense of achievement came during attendance at the school for sons and daughters of Dissenters conducted by Rev. Isaac Perry.

Outside the house on Magdalen Street, a bustling Norwich grew from a population of under 40,000, when Harriet Martineau was born, to more than 60,000 in 1832,* when

she left to live in London. The city's earlier, high Neo-Classical culture (shown in its Georgian architecture and by its humanism) was exemplified in the life of her uncle Philip Meadows Martineau. Somewhat of an eccentric, he appeared in old-fashioned dress, wore a pigtail and powdered his hair. In addition to his practice as a surgeon, in the 1780s he projected a subscription library--to become the Norfolk and Norwich Book Society whose books Martineau used for her writing. In 1792 he built Bracondale Lodge--later enlarged to a mansion--on an estate outside the city.⁸ He also acquired paintings, including at least one by John Crome. The death of his first wife in 1810 caused an unusual emotional stir in the Magdalen Street household, and Harriet remembered an impressive funeral with a special anthem. She also recalled being taken for outings in the doctor's carriage when he called on country patients. Philip Meadows re-married, and his only child, Frances Anne, became Harriet's lifelong friend. In 1824 he helped found a grand triennial music festival in aid of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. At his death in 1829, all the medical officers of the hospital attended the funeral.

When Harriet was seven, she traveled by post-chaise along with Lissey, Rachel, James, their mother and aunt Margaret to Newcastle to stay with the Rankins. Stopping at Burleigh House during the three- or four-days' journey, the two adults and fifteen-year-old Lissey disappeared inside to look at the paintings, causing the three younger children to believe they'd been deserted. At Tynemouth, Harriet again suffered from hysterical blindness when she couldn't see the sea in front of her.⁹ At Newcastle, she was further chagrined at not remembering all of a sermon and by her grandfather's blaming James for a neighbor boy's pranks. Nevertheless, the intimacy with Elizabeth's "gentle" sister Mary, who sang the children hymns, and the new ideas gained like the moving shadow of a sundial in the garden, helped Harriet overcome her infantile fearfulness. Rev. William Turner, her mother's former pastor and a family friend, noticed Harriet's precocity. While they stayed at Newcastle the Martineaus regularly went to Sunday afternoon tea at the Turners' home.¹⁰

On the family's return to Norwich in October they brought with them thirteen-year-old Ann, Rev. Turner's youngest child, who became Harriet's first close "adult" female friend. Ann prompted seven-year-old Harriet to study the New Testament, confess her sins and say her prayers morning and night. Eventually she encouraged the impressionable girl to make daily lists of her good and bad deeds and to search through both Testaments for

precepts--perhaps establishing a pattern for Harriet's later attraction to *systems* like Necessarianism and Positivism. At Norwich, Harriet's efforts to be good included playing with the neighbor girl amputee, all the while indulging in fantasies of mutilation and martyrdom. Perhaps Elizabeth sensed Harriet's unhealthy preoccupation as well as worrying about the danger to her spine, for she ordered her to stop letting the girl hang on her shoulder. At age nine, Harriet was again sent to a family in the country for her "health" and there suffered for six months under the care of an unsympathetic governess. Yet she began to love trees and flowers and during the autumn felt the thrill of collecting chestnuts.

Elizabeth's last decision to send Harriet away may have been because at age thirty-nine she found she was pregnant. Indeed, Rachel was sent to join Harriet shortly before the arrival of their new sister, Ellen. Excitement over the new baby almost caused Harriet to be ill. Allowed to express unrestrained affection, she became anxious over the baby's development and wondered (she and Rachel then struggling with French verbs) how an infant could possibly learn all the words in a language. Indeed, Ellen was to prove a lasting source of happiness in Harriet's life, often siding with her over family differences and helping to defuse her anger at Elizabeth.

During a month at Cromer on the Norfolk coast in 1812, Harriet saw the sea and felt happy to sit by herself in the garden. In the following year, she and Rachel began their two-year stint as pupils of Rev. Isaac Perry, a convert to Unitarianism. Harriet later painted a Dickensian portrait of the Regency pedagogue in his "black coat . . . grey pantaloons, and powdered hair." Though "fearfully dull" as a preacher as well as being "far too simple and gullible for a boys' schoolmaster," Perry was an ideal gentle teacher for the intelligent, tractable daughters of Norwich Dissenters. Harriet began to blossom intellectually and learned to love Perry's methodical lessons in Latin, French, arithmetic and especially composition--taught with the aid of his "pointing and see-sawing finger," repeating the formula of "Proposition . . . Reason . . . Rule . . . Example[s, ancient and modern] . . . Confirmation . . . and . . . Conclusion." Twenty years later Harriet told Perry of her indebtedness to his method in writing her sensationally successful political economy tales. "In the large vaulted schoolroom," the girls sat at the front row of desks, "painted red, and carved all over with idle boys' devices." All worked steadily for three hours every morning and afternoon, plus four hours' Latin recitation on Saturdays. At first Harriet could not hear, so in spite of being the youngest and least advanced she was placed next to the teacher's

raised desk. On one occasion she was taunted for being a tattletale when she told the usher about misbehaving boys. Perry's punishment of the miscreants, when he came back after stepping out of the room, underlined what was deemed feasible for the boys in his charge-- thirty, fifty or seventy lines of Greek to memorize by the end of the day. Harriet, still unhappy at home, found "refuge from moral suffering" in the rote learning of French grammar, totaling sums in arithmetic and organizing ideas for her compositions.

When Perry called at Magdalen Street one evening, Elizabeth's solemn face at dinner frightened Harriet, who felt sure she had done something terrible. Perry, however, had come to advise the Martineaus that his school was closing. And when Harriet heard that he had praised both Rachel and herself, she wept with pain and relief. Her mother enjoyed such scenes, Martineau later claimed, yet Elizabeth may have been sobered by learning that she now had the education of her two middle daughters--possibly both physically volatile from the onset of menstruation--partly in her own hands.

In her autobiography, Martineau portrays herself as feeling physically and emotionally miserable over the next three-and-a-half years. While she and Rachel were again taught at home by their siblings and by visiting masters in French, music and drawing, her stomach ailments continued, and her deafness worsened. Conscious of being bullied-- though Elizabeth stopped this at times--Harriet became a religious fanatic (not a Unitarian characteristic) and studied harder. Always determined to master facts, she could not understand why adults resented being corrected. Indeed, the emotional investment in her studies must have made her an unappealing teenager, but it helped prepare her to step with aplomb into her future role as a doctrinaire authority.

Partly with amusement, Martineau recounted in her autobiography that by age fifteen she agonized in equal proportions over her deafness, her thin hair and her poor handwriting. Perhaps as testimony to her "self-management," however, the painfully crabbed hand she worried about underwent a dramatic metamorphosis into the clear, decisive hand she used to fill reams of manuscript pages and long personal letters. Harriet's other worries found a sympathetic listener in "Aunt Kentish," wife of her mother's second eldest brother, Robert, at Bristol.

Two incidents may have precipitated Elizabeth's concern for her maternal authority, just when her eldest daughter was beginning to have suitors, determining her to again send away her difficult third daughter. Once in the presence of a visiting seamstress, Martineau

was berated for failing to find some cravats she was sent to fetch from an upstairs drawer. After a show of temper, her mother found them in an entirely different place and then apologized--perhaps embarrassed in front of the workwoman--to her astonished daughter. On another occasion, goaded by a schoolfellow whom she admired and feared, Harriet accused her mother of always taking Rachel's side. Elizabeth, clearly shocked, sent Harriet to bed and ordered her to say her prayers. Significantly for the only time in her girlhood, Harriet failed to say her prayers. Though she doesn't date the two episodes, they stayed in her memory. Then in spring 1817 Harriet was surprised when Elizabeth (contrary to the prejudices she'd instilled in her daughters) broached the idea of a boarding school at Yarmouth. As miserable as she was at home, Harriet rejected the idea out of hand:

It would have been ruin to a temper like mine at that crisis to have sent me among silly and ignorant people, to have my "manners formed,"

she commented rather self-righteously.¹¹ Elizabeth may meanwhile have confessed her problems with Harriet to members of the Rankin family. Within half a year, a letter arrived from Elizabeth's capable sister-in-law at Bristol inviting Harriet to join the classes in the girls' school she conducted with the aid of her three clever daughters.

Martineau claimed not to know of her mother's ploy until months later. Believing she was to stay with Aunt Kentish for a few weeks, she set out with her father in February 1818, traveling from flat, bleak Norfolk to the soft rolling downs and meadows around Bristol. Now perceivably deaf, she arrived evidently looking cross and unhappy, but her cousins (close to her in age and to her mind amazingly accomplished) welcomed her lovingly. Soon she was struck by the ease with which they could "learn a new language at odd minutes," read "a tough philosophical book by taking turns in the court for air," and perfectly remember sermons and new musical works they had just heard. Aunt Kentish listened patiently to the teenaged Harriet's woes over her hair (just then being worn long in back with "full ringlets on each side of the face"¹²) and appealed to a friend who suggested brushing instead of over-combing her hair. In the classroom, Harriet found her deafness and lack of school savvy (such as being able to answer questions thrown out by the teacher) frustrating, but she pored over tomes of logic, rhetoric, history and poetry, and she loved the scenery around their walks.¹³

The year-and-a-half at Bristol no doubt helped Harriet to overcome her fearfulness and self-doubt. Her rigidity softened under Aunt Kentish's affectionate sympathy, and she

was exposed to the charismatic teaching of Rev. Lant Carpenter, co-pastor of the Unitarian Lewin's Mead Chapel. Carpenter conducted a successful school for boys at Bristol and had varied interests. He was a determinist and an admirer of Hartley, a student of the physical sciences, an independent liberal in politics and the author of a popular manual on New Testament geography.¹⁴ He hoped to unite his Bristol congregation in practicing a religious life that would include welfare for the "neglected" classes. As a religious guide, he pointed Harriet Martineau's way to her first attempts at writing for publication, while his other interests influenced her future areas of journalistic expertise. When she returned to Norwich, Harriet's enthusiasm for Carpenter convinced her parents to spend the £100 per year for two years to send James to study at his school. While he was there, James absorbed Carpenter's penchant for the physical sciences, and more significantly, his Evangelicalism (in 1827 James was asked to take over the school for a year).

Like other middle-class Victorian females, Harriet Martineau must have channeled her awakening sexuality towards religious objects--though she later spoke with scorn of her religious fanaticism at age seventeen.¹⁵ Meanwhile, she began to sense her power of concentration and was intent on pursuing truth wherever it led her. Despite continuing emotional strain over relations with Elizabeth and her siblings at home, Harriet's time at Bristol helped lay a foundation for her later public persona of genial but authoritative self-confidence.

Although the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815 ended a direct threat to England by Napoleon, the war years had profoundly affected the daily lives of people of all levels in Norwich. In her *Introduction to the History of the Peace*, Martineau later summarized the events of the first decade and a half of the century when Napoleon had notoriously vacillated in his attitude to England. Less than two years after the signing of a peace treaty with England in 1802 (inspiring the mayor and corporation at Norwich to lead a procession from the guildhall through the streets) Napoleon was crowned Emperor and Spain declared war on England. Bitter political debates in Parliament and continuing military preparations exacerbated public anxiety. In 1810 poor harvests and a commercial crash initiated a period of economic suffering. "Nothing had been seen, since the beginning of the century, to compare with the distress of 1811 and 1812," Martineau declared. Foreign commerce was now at the lowest state within memory, manufacturers could not pay workingmen a living wage, and the price of bread and meat--staples of the working-class diet--remained high.

There were extremes of cold and heat in England and on the continent. The comet of 1811 seemed to foretell Napoleon's doom, but violent murders, gangs of deserters and escaping French prisoners caused widespread fear. The fate of handloom weavers worsened, and there were epidemics of machine-breaking. After years of alternating war scares and hopes for peace, a coach bringing news of another (abortive) peace treaty between France and the Allies arrived in Norwich in early June 1814 and was pulled four times around the market place, then paraded through the streets by the excited townspeople. Martineau described Napoleon's escape from Elba and his entry into Paris, less than a year later, as "bad news for London--bad news for every cottage in Britain."¹⁶

Noting the particular effects of the war on her family, Martineau remembered her father's excitement over English victories in Spain and the look on his face when he told her mother of the imposition of an income tax--crucial to his narrow margin of profit as a cloth manufacturer.

I remember the proclamation of peace in 1814, and our all going to see the illuminations; those abominable transparencies, among the rest, which represented Bonaparte (always in green coat, white breeches and boots) as carried to hell by devils, pitch-forked in the fiery lake by the same attendants, or haunted by the Duc d'Enghien [son of the Duc de Bourbon, executed by Napoleon]. I well remember the awful moment when Mr. Drummond (of the chemical lectures) looked in at the back door (on his way from the counting-house) and telling my mother that "Boney" had escaped from Elba, and was actually in France. This impressed me more than the subsequent hot Midsummer morning when somebody (I forget whether father or brother) burst in with the news of the Waterloo slaughter. It was the slaughter that was uppermost with us, I believe, though we never had a relative, nor, as far as I know, even an acquaintance, in either army or navy.¹⁷

As a thirteen-year-old, Martineau mixed an adult awareness of war horrors no doubt discussed by her family with an irrational fear of bright lights and colors (a potentially evil "super-male" would figure imaginatively in passages of her chronicle history, *The History of England During the Thirty Years' Peace*, as well as in her political journalism).¹⁸

Despite the depressed state of British trade after the Napoleonic wars, widespread poverty and lawlessness that led to political wrangling and restrictive laws, numbers of uprooted, liberal Europeans crossed the channel and circulated freely in English middle-class

society. Dr. John William Polidori, the son of an Italian political refugee, Gaetano Polidori, was in fact born in London and received his M. D. degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1815. Polidori spent a stormy year as private physician and secretary to Lord Byron and then came to practice medicine at Norwich. He was taken up by the rakish intellectual Unitarian William Taylor, and according to Martineau became an admirer of her eldest sister, Lissey. He often came to call, arousing Martineau's first serious, heterosexual crush:

We younger ones romanced amazingly about him,--drew his remarkable profile on the backs of all our letters, dreamed of him, listened to all his marvellous stories, and, when he got a concussion of the brain by driving his gig against a tree in Lord Stafford's park, were inconsolable.¹⁹

¹ A plaque marks the house as the birthplace of James Martineau.

² Details of Martineau's early years are from *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography, with Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman* (London: Smith, Elder, 1877) 1: 1-116 [henceforth *Auto.*]; Martineau's chagrin may have led her to highlight "falling stars" and similar phenomena in America.

³ Martineau was to censure William Taylor for his drinking and corruption of his young admirers; in 1819 when sixty-five members of the Martineau family came from as far as Dublin to dine together at Norwich, Elizabeth noted the "fine character manifested all through so large an assembly" (quoted by Joseph Estlin Carpenter in *James Martineau. Theologian & Teacher* [London: Philip Green, 1905] 17).

⁴ Martineau later complained that *she* had not been taught to "purchase stores . . . or to deal with the butcher and fishmonger" (*Auto.* 1: 84).

⁵ See *Anna Jameson: Letters and Friendships*, ed. Mrs. Steuart Erskine (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1915) 218; *Household Education* (London: Moxon, 1849) 90-92, 98-99, 201-5 (summarized in Susan Hoecker-Drysdale, *Harriet Martineau. First Woman Sociologist* (Oxford: Berg, 1992) 104-7) and *Auto.* 1: 1-17; HM to Anna Jameson, 15 July [1841], BANC [Box 3] 85 (partly pbd. *CL* 2: 81-84).

⁶ *Household Education* 175; see Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994) 153.

⁷ Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, used Andrew Bell's monitorial system for elementary school teaching and published a first book on his work in 1810.

⁸ Philip Meadows hired Humphrey Repton to design a garden with a fake ruin that incorporated a slab of the tomb of Richard de Walsham, Abbot of St. Benets, 1411-1439 (Hugh Kinder, "Phillip Meadows Martineau and the Artificial Ruin in Bracondale," *MSN* 16 [January 2002]: 18-19).

⁹ Similar phenomena of sense deprivation reportedly occur most often in the youngest child of a large family.

¹⁰ During his active career as Unitarian divine, Turner conducted a private school for boys, founded charity schools for the "Labouring Poor," wrote in favor of vaccination for smallpox, supported anti-slave trade efforts, formed a vestry library and sponsored activities such as lectures for working men (like those Harriet initiated at Ambleside forty years later): see

Stephen Harbottle, *The Reverend William Turner. Dissent and Reform in Georgian Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Northern Universities Press, 1997); Turner served as a model for Elizabeth Gaskell's character, Thurston Benson, in *Ruth*.

¹¹ *Auto.* 1: 91.

¹² See C. Willett Cunnington, *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937) 63.

¹³ Martineau portrayed similar happy outings in writings like *Deerbrook. A Novel* (London: Moxon, 1839).

¹⁴ Lant Carpenter, *An Introduction to the Geography of the New Testament* (London: Longman, 1817), 4th edition; at midlife Martineau was to term Carpenter "superficial in his knowledge, scanty in ability, narrow in his conceptions, and thoroughly priestly in his temper" (*Auto.* 1: 95), but for the present her Unitarian convictions were unshaken; see R.K. Webb, "John Bowring and Unitarianism," *Utilitas*, 4, No. 1 (May 1992): 66-67.

¹⁵ Martineau's parents' Unitarian faith included support for rational inquiry, moderation in religious practice and acceptance of parts of the Bible as religious history, rather than revelation: see Valerie Kossew Pichanick, *Harriet Martineau. The Woman and Her Work, 1802-76* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1980) chap. 2.

¹⁶ *Introduction to History of the Peace* (London: Charles Knight, 1851) ccxciii and cccxcii; *Auto.* 1: 79-80.

¹⁷ *Auto.* 1: 79-80.

¹⁸ *The History of England During the Thirty Years' Peace 1816-1846* (London: Charles Knight, 1849).

¹⁹ *Auto.* 1: 82; Polidori's sister, Frances Mary Lavinia, married Gabriele Rossetti and became the mother of Maria, Dante Gabriel, William Michael and Christina Rossetti.