

Chapter 2
Young Adulthood
(1819-1824)

Returning from Bristol in April 1819 Martineau joined in the excitement over her sister Lissey's engagement to Thomas Michael Greenhow, a surgeon at Newcastle. Rachel then went to stay with the Kentishes, and Ellen later attended her aunt's school. Thanking Lant Carpenter for his "great kindness" and valuable "instructions," Martineau added that James was to be sent to his school and (rather importantly) hoped he would return to her an "improved [and] valuable companion."¹

James had attended the Norwich Grammar School where his fellow students included Edward Rigby (son of Dr. Edward Rigby), James ("Rajah") Brooke and George Borrow (future linguist and picaresque travel writer) and where he received Presbyterian religious training. At Bristol, Carpenter would introduce James to the writings of Evangelicals and social reformers like William Wilberforce and Hannah More. Offered at a crucial stage in James's life, these works were to lead him away from the reason-based beliefs of his parents' Unitarianism to a more spiritual interpretation of the Gospel. On leaving Bristol in 1821, however, James planned to become an engineer like his brother Robert. Accordingly, a place was found for him in the machine works of James Fox at Derby, where he boarded with Rev. Edward Higginson (his future father-in-law). Disappointed at not being taken in by family members, James resented having to turn a lathe and labor in the model room rather than to be taught engineering. At the same time, he was emotionally swayed by the ministry of his cousin Henry Turner of Nottingham, whose death at a young age in January 1822 determined James to give up engineering and study for the ministry. Thomas, his father, was disappointed and told James he would always be poor. He agreed, however, to forfeit Fox's premium and to pay James's tuition for the five-year course at Manchester College beginning in autumn 1822.

While James's education and future career were nurtured in the way usual for sons of well-off Dissenting families, his elder sisters (probable future wives and mothers) were expected to continue studying at home. Martineau's disappointment at this intellectual

impasse surfaced repeatedly in her writings. By dividing her life into periods in her autobiography, she attempted to make sense of her struggles to achieve maturity. From “entering upon womanhood” in spring 1819, the thirteen years to her “complete establishment in an independent position” in London in November 1832 she labeled the “third period” of her life. The reading and studying she had pursued as a childhood escape mechanism intensified. Before breakfast she might read religious works in Latin with James, “after having been busy since five . . . in my own room.” She translated Tacitus (*more* accurately, she satisfied herself, than the distinguished Dr. John Aikin, brother of Anna Laetitia Barbauld), while she and Rachel read Italian and tried translating Petrarch’s sonnets. Yet:

I was at the work table regularly after breakfast, --making my own clothes, or the shirts of the household, or about some fancy work: I went out walking with the rest, --before dinner in winter, and after tea in summer.²

Martineau’s studies comprised history, rhetoric, the Bible and religious works that included John Locke and David Hartley (as popularized by Joseph Priestley) and the Scottish “common sense” philosophers. Concerned about foreknowledge vs. freewill, Martineau grasped at Priestley’s idea of natural laws--that will is itself determined by natural laws, or Necessarianism. Such hard-won ideas prepared her to tackle “political economy,” the classical economics of David Ricardo and Adam Smith.³

After marrying in 1820, Lissey went to live near Newcastle. Martineau’s eldest brother, Tom (given a medical education and seemingly the largest share of his parents’ financial resources), was elected visiting surgeon to the Norwich and Norfolk Hospital and began practice with his uncle Philip Meadows Martineau. Tom took a house owned by the well-off Gurney family on Bank Street and his future wife, Helen Bourn, began to correspond with Martineau family members and their friends.⁴

Martineau’s letters to Helen between 1821 and 1827 show her taking part in family musical activities and confirm the pleasant picture of daily life at the Magdalen Street house later described by James. When Elizabeth went to stay with Lissey before the birth of her first baby in 1821, Martineau gushed to Helen:

I told you how happy I was in the enjoyment of Rachel's society . . . and now my pleasure is increased by the arrival of my dear brother James I love to talk with him and to observe the surprising powers of his mind and to see how they have been turned to the best objects by his and *my friend* D^r Carpenter You cannot think how he and James Lee [a cousin] and I enjoy the long walks we have together.⁵

The young people planned to read William Russell's *The History of Modern Europe* and Lord John Russell's *An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution*. For Helen's amusement, Martineau copied out from the newspaper "an exquisite little song," and she and Rachel sang "a beautiful duett from Rob Roy."⁶

Martineau's effusion over Rachel seemed insincere after their childhood rivalry but followed Elizabeth's habit of smothering others with praise. On Rachel's birthday in January, Martineau told James of their "delectable Christmas festivities" --in spite of a dull and uncongenial sermon by Madge--and of a New Year's dinner at Tom's house. In February, Martineau stayed with her aunt and uncle Lee at Newington Green, London, when she went to see the Elgin marbles. In July in London, she saw Edmund Kean twice--in *Junius Brutus*, when she couldn't hear from the back of the theatre, and in *Othello*, when she heard perfectly from the pit.⁷

Similar happy occasions noted in Martineau's autobiography relieve the dark picture of a "long train of calamities" that began in 1822 with a sudden increase of deafness from an "accident" (perhaps a badly misjudged "cure" tried at her mother's behest). At the same time, Martineau's conscientious application to studies began to bear fruit, with James playing a crucial role. As he left to begin divinity studies at Manchester College in the autumn of 1822, James urged his sister to try "authorship" to keep up her spirits. Promptly, that "bright September morning," she sat down to write to the editor of the *Monthly Repository*, Robert Aspland the elder. Aspland had taken over the modest journal in 1806, and in the October number he printed "Part I" of Martineau's first published work, "Female Writers on Practical Divinity." The following Sunday, a copy of the journal duly arrived at Magdalen Street, where Tom and Helen (who was in on the secret) were coming for tea. At first unknowingly, Tom gave Martineau's piece high praise. Then calling her "dear" for the first time, he advised her to

pursue authorship and to leave sewing to others. “That evening,” she was to record fondly, “made me an authoress.” Seven years later, in 1829, Martineau faced the ruin of the family fortunes and the fact of her deafness by determining to support herself as a writer.⁸

Tom’s courtship of Helen Bourn of Manchester had succeeded after early discouragement--and the couple married in September 1822. Honeymooning in Scotland, they got back late to the annoyance of Philip Meadows, Tom’s uncle. While the newlyweds were away, the family helped to redecorate the house on Bank Street, Elizabeth keeping Tom informed of their repairing, painting, cleaning and sewing. Elizabeth trained the new cook, housemaid and manservant--telling Tom they now behaved “as well as possible.” On the newlyweds’ return, there were receptions and a party at Tom’s on Elizabeth’s birthday when Helen appeared in public for the first time. They also held a ball, but Martineau stayed away.⁹

Rivalry among the Martineau siblings continued to simmer. Before Tom and Helen’s marriage, Lissey had written from Newcastle to congratulate Tom on his engagement. She seemed to resent Tom's promising financial status as an associate of their uncle while *they* had only her husband’s “slender income.” After Tom and Helen had stayed with Lissey at Newcastle, she thanked him for the gift he had sent but explained that the Greenhows could not now afford a wedding gift for Tom and Helen. Moreover, the new house the Greenhows had taken was in a poor location for her husband’s patients--though it had a surgery, dining and drawing rooms and was affordable at £50 a year.

In November 1822, Robert (the Martineaus’ third son) had been offered a manufacturing partnership and the use of an “ample house in Dudley, with stables and coach house, &c., at £50 a year [out of which he will] have to keep a gig and horse for business purposes.” His wife’s mother would be nearby and would contribute £100 to their yearly income, Martineau told James. Thus, despite certain personal discontents, the Martineau family seemed relatively well off at the end of 1822.¹⁰

The tenor of life for those remaining at Magdalen Street in 1823 is suggested by a scene from Martineau’s story *The Friends*. There a family read aloud the “voyages & travel” of Capt. John Franklin while the father points out Franklin’s route on a map. Thomas had given Rachel a

watch for Valentine's Day, Martineau informed James, and *she* was ready to transcribe her first book for the printers.¹¹

Sadly, Tom's return to the cold and damp of Norfolk led to a worsening of the symptoms of tuberculosis, and he was urged--though not by his uncle Philip Meadows--to consult London doctors and to travel to Madeira. At present he and Helen would go to Torquay in Devon, where Martineau was to stay with them in April. There she was enthralled by watching the sea "from the shelter of the caves" and spent her days rambling, sketching, studying and reading aloud to her brother. Following Elizabeth's suggestion, she also wrote an essay on the Lord's Supper for her book. Sadly, Tom caught a cold, Martineau reported to James, and they feared he might cough blood again. Anxiously, Elizabeth prescribed remedies: Tom must sponge with vinegar and water, bathe in the sea for ten minutes twice a week and not tire himself by long rides in the hills. To Helen, Elizabeth reported on their servants left at Norwich and on the couple's furniture--safely covered in the Bank Street house, while she sewed for their future baby. In May, Elizabeth told Tom not to pay attention to Philip Meadows, who seemed to think Tom was staying away on purpose but who really wanted to make his own summer plans after a long life without holidays.

Meanwhile, Martineau told James he was authorized to bring his college friend John Hugh Worthington home for a visit (her first known mention of Worthington, who would figure crucially in her life), and she congratulated James on their friendship. The birth of Tom and Helen's baby at Norwich delighted the family, and though Tom was diagnosed as having no disease in the lungs, two doctors now advised him to leave Norwich for the winter.¹²

By the following August, Helen had begun to make inquiries about Madeira. She learned that a house for themselves and their servants with a garden and view of the mountains could be had for £400 a year or £240 for the six winter months. The owner's wife sent a sketch and plan of a house near Funchal, counseling Helen on furnishings and urging her to bring cotton underclothes and a supply of items like tapioca, currants and arrowroot.¹³ Thomas would presumably meet most of the considerable cost of Tom and Helen's travel and living expenses at Madeira. Towards the end of September, he hurried to Portsmouth to make arrangements for them on the steamer *Valiant* sailing 1 October with a cow on board. After

leaving Norwich, Tom and Helen spent a few days with Aunt Lee in London, but Tom was exhausted when they reached Portsmouth.

Magdalen Street seemed rather empty, Martineau lamented to James, with Rachel in Bristol and Henry at Cadiz, and she wished fervently that God would protect them all. On the *Valiant*, Tom and Helen studied Portuguese but experienced a rough sailing. By November they had reached Madeira with their servants, William and Tillett.¹⁴

Martineau had been surprised to learn in October that *Devotional Exercises*, printed earlier in the month, was in a race with the sequel to a book by Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, long-time head of Manchester College. Forwarding a copy of her “little book” to Lant Carpenter, she explained that she consulted Wellbeloved through James, and Wellbeloved had replied that “though he had a second part by him, he had no present intention of publishing it.” Would Carpenter give his opinion of her work? At Newcastle, Rev. Turner had encouraged Martineau’s efforts, and she sent him “20 copies” of the small book, instructing him to deduct “the price of the Carriage . . . from what you may receive for them.”¹⁵

A month after Tom and Helen sailed, Martineau began folio-size letters to the exiles. Reminding Tom of “the afternoon that James left us,” when she had scarcely dared to think of “the length of time” she and James would be separated, Tom and Helen’s “unvarying cheerfulness” had solaced her. Other homely news included Ellen’s studying French and Latin grammar and teaching Sunday school, Madge’s plan for a Vestry Library but rejection of William Taylor’s offer of *Emile*, and the first five hundred copies of her book coming out that day. Madge’s sermons were sometimes dull or “too doctrinal” and he was losing popularity, she sniffed. His new baby, moreover, was “an ugly decayed looking little boy,” though his wife “does not seem to know how ugly he is, or she would not show him till he is improved.”

Elizabeth, affirming her authority at Magdalen Street, began her own folio-size letters to Tom and Helen prescribing remedies for Tom’s cough, supplying tidbits of news of the family and neighbors and assuring them she watched out for their welfare. Gathering others’ letters to them (including ones for their servants), Norwich newspapers and journals like the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Repository*, the *Christian Disciple* and Tom’s medical journals, she would bundle them into packets for the next ship stopping at Madeira. Meanwhile she looked out for

merchant friends who might know about sailings. Would Tom send them his thoughts on Scripture passages? And could he send the recipe for making “chow-chow”? If Henry stopped in Madeira on his way home from Spain, as he hoped to do, could cuttings or seeds be sent for Bracondale or the Magdalen Street garden?¹⁶

On Christmas day, Elizabeth recalled happy family celebrations in the past, not aware that Tom and Helen had lost their baby. That year, she said, Harriet and Ellen provided cheer in the parlor with singing of duets and punch toasts by the fire. From Bristol, Rachel had sent a long “medley” of a letter. In the kitchen, the “merry & thankful” party included Old Blythe, “handsomer than ever,” his wife and nurse Newman--now nearly without subsistence owing to “machinery.” Harriet’s book seemed “much approved & sells well,” but strangely, no note had yet come from Lant Carpenter. Meanwhile Emily Taylor, who “generally gets her price,” had suggested that Harriet write a story for the small publisher Harvey and Darnton, and the two friends talked grandly of a new periodical on a larger scale than the *Repository*.¹⁷

Martineau then sent Tom and Helen copies of two sonnets by Emily. “[E]xcept to little *Octagon parties*,” the family “never go out,” she reported. Their father and James had seen the Greenhows at Newcastle, where they had “a very small income” but a “beautifully neat and genteel” house. Martineau hoped her story for Harvey and Darton would bring “about £5.” She and Emily wished to establish a “Unitarian Review” with the word Unitarian “not to appear on the title page” --the reviews in the *Repository* being “worth so little.” Emily was “one of the most benevolent creatures on earth,” she told James, and when she visited, they talked about necessity. Martineau then pictured a January day at home: after breakfast, she listened to Ellen recite Latin--who sometimes made her laugh. “Then I scribble while Ellen reads English; then we . . . go out, and meet [neighbors] or my father, whistling with his hands in his pockets.” After dinner, Martineau read the newspaper and *Butler’s Analogy*, while Elizabeth took up the *Christian Disciple* and invariably fell asleep lulled by Ellen’s music. After tea, Martineau read aloud *The Lady of the Lake*, followed by talk on family matters and one hour of reading aloud before bedtime. “Then I go upstairs, and write verses while curling my hair.”¹⁸

(Though Thomas often seemed a shadowy presence in family letters, he obviously cared for his children. In the following summer at Elizabeth's suggestion, he offered Harriet and James a coveted holiday in Scotland.)

By mid-January, Elizabeth had learned of the death of Tom and Helen's baby and commented stoically that on her side of the family the eldest (her father, Robert Rankin) and youngest had died within a week of each other. The family at Norwich would undertake to have the grave marker made, she said. Martineau claimed in a postscript that she had feared the worst and had not mentioned the baby's name in her last two letters. When Madge heard the news, he wept. (A letter to inform James about the baby's death was copied by Janetta, the daughter of a Polish colonel exiled at Norwich.) Other bad news, Martineau said, was their *uncle* Robert Rankin's losses mounting to £4,000. Isabella--just a month older than she--would have to leave home and become a governess. Meanwhile Henry, ever buoyant, reported on his dangerous adventures and success in getting orders for his father in Spain. Martineau's "strongest earthly affections" were for James and her "dearest earthly hopes" were for him and his future wife, Helen Higginson, yet she wanted to know when he would bring Worthington home for another visit.¹⁹

In addition to Butler, Martineau's reading over several months had included works by Belsham and Hartley, volumes of Sismondi's *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, some Juvenal and a little Greek. Her two pieces published in the January 1824 issue of the *Repository* were "Lines Occasioned by the Controversy on the Origin of Evil" (with personifications like Hope, Love, Peace and Christian Victory) and a poem, "On the Death of Lieutenant Hood" that showed her youthful skill at versification along with vivid kinesthetic and visual images of the polar region.²⁰

Worthington had spent a fortnight at Magdalen Street in August, and by February Martineau was mentioning him in letters to Tom and Helen. Now "dear Worthington" comforted James over Tom's absence in Madeira, and in March the two young divinity students preached together at Unitarian missions, wishing they "could be always colleagues."²¹ For next summer, Martineau went on, she and James shared a "dream" to take the packet to Leith "about the middle of August," visit in Edinburgh, "take Steam boat to Stirling, spend 3 weeks in

the Highlands” to Inverary in the southwest and “thence by the daily steam boat past Arran & Bute to Glasgow & Edinburgh.” She hoped to stay at Newcastle till Christmas, to proceed to York (the site of Manchester College) and then Nottingham to stay for a month with her widowed cousin Catherine Turner.

(In the midst of busy daily life at Norwich, the news from Madeira grew worse. Helen told her family that Tom had waited too long to leave England. He coughed, couldn’t breathe easily and was too weak to ride very far. In their monotonous life with few callers, her baby’s short illness had been a relief as she could not leave him for an instant. At Madeira, Helen reported, the local peasant men were handsome and the women dirty--but all were polite even when they surrounded her as she was trying to sketch. On Christmas Eve, she took twenty-two-year old Ann Tillet [a Methodist] to the Cathedral, where they saw gorgeously dressed women wearing jewels and artificial flowers in their hair.)

In her letters over the winter and spring, Elizabeth urged Tom to try soda water to lower his pulse and raspberry vinegar to cure his cough. He must walk moderately, eat little meat and go “on the sea.” To divert him, Elizabeth gossiped about Philip Meadows and a “meeting of medicals last week” to form another book society “at which proceeding an *ejected* member was very wrathful.” In Saturday’s paper then appeared “an advertisement calling [members] together -- signed Cross - Secretary. ---& very Cross the gentleman is I hear.” By March, the new book society was going badly because the doctor had failed to order wanted books. Tom’s uncle, Elizabeth implied, was becoming senile though he listened with attention to letters from Tom and Helen. At Magdalen Street, Ellen and Harriet played duets of the *Beggar’s Opera* on Tom and Helen’s piano (moved from Bank Street). Elizabeth and Harriet were reading Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion* (on the English Civil War) as well as sewing and knitting for Lissey’s children--“white & nankeen frocks, nightgowns, stockings, tippets.” Harriet had been at Diss and at Nottingham, “much improved by leading so quiet a life.” Her book was nearly sold out, while testimonials of its “usefulness & acceptableness” were coming in. Indeed, Lant Carpenter now advised printing an edition of 1,000 copies. Elizabeth wanted Tom to know how “pleased we are that on the whole you approve her Book She is very grateful for your observations.” Henry, still travelling in Spain, had been feared in danger from both “banditti”

and pirates at sea. After reaching Cádiz in November, he waited for a ship to Gibraltar, Málaga, Cartagena and Valencia, and would next try his luck in Granada and even Madrid--but not in Seville. In December, his ship was chased and nearly boarded by a Barbary corsair. Two letters had come from Barcelona in January, a "strong hold" for business, Elizabeth believed.

By mid-March the "perfectly plain & neatly executed" grave marker for the baby was ready to send. The Madges approved; Emily Taylor especially approved of the "consolation." Even William Taylor had called to offer his sympathy and to say that a sea captain acquaintance, with orders to cruise off the coast of Africa for the sake of intercepting slave ships, might carry a packet of letters to Tom and Helen. "Our dear Henry" had nearly finished his business in Spain and was preparing to go to Madeira, worrying Elizabeth because of the "Algerines." They watched "every opportunity" to send Tom letters, Martineau assured him, but his failure to get them arose from his father's "constant & full occupation, & [oddly] little knowledge how to obtain information" of sailings.

Henry reached Madeira in early May, Martineau later told James, and was optimistic about Tom. At Funchal he wrote six letters just in time to fling them to the mail ship. Yet even Henry's sanguine disposition failed to cheer Tom. Madeira had suffered a bad spring, and in mid-May Tom and Helen determined to come home. Finding passage on the *Apollo*, an American vessel sailing for Bordeaux, Tom was carried on board while Helen took a walk along the shore. In the beautiful scene she visited the baby's grave for the last time; there she found the grass dry and the rose she had planted dead. On the *Apollo* Tom and Helen shared a dirty cabin with others and could not use their personal utensils. Almost immediately the ship was becalmed, and everyone became seasick including their two servants. In the Bay of Biscay two weeks later they hit another dead calm. Feeling worse, Tom wished to get on shore to have his body delivered to an English doctor. On 5 June, he sat outside and had to be helped into bed. When Helen gave him some tea, he said "O delightful" and gradually died. The captain would not grant Tom's last request, in fear of being quarantined, and at Bordeaux he insisted that Tom be buried at sea. Helen asked her servants to read to her from the Bible, and the crew attended the funeral. It was "a dreadful trial," she told the Martineaus.²²

Helen may have headed for Paris while Henry, hurrying back across the Channel to meet her, was forced to wait at Calais. On a "Monday evening" he wrote from Newington Green that they had left France by steam packet at 1:00 A.M. that morning and that Helen was with their aunt, Margaret Lee. He would bring her to Norwich on Wednesday for a short stay, then take her to Manchester if no one else was available.²³

At Norwich Helen's unrestrained grief for her husband apparently upset the Martineaus, while she offended Elizabeth by demurring to be guided in her next moves. When Helen left Norwich for her family's home at Manchester, Martineau wrote to assure her *they* all loved her and that "after so many troubles, many quiet years must be in store for you." Next would be "the meeting with many dear friends" including Tom and their "sweet pureminded child." Lant Carpenter had written (in shorthand) on "the beauty of dear Tom's character," and James, who had won the first prize at college this year, would transcribe it for her. *His* mind was "more and more elevated by his studies" and helped by his "intercourse with [the] flocks on missionary Sundays," she added. "Tuesday fortnight" she and James would leave for Scotland. Cherishing James's newly acquired authority, she added:

If we can keep enough together for him to carry forward my mind with his, I shall be satisfied [and happy at seeing] what a field for useful exertion lies open before us both.²⁴

Over that spring, Martineau had studiously read "Belsham's Elements" and Hartley's "2nd vol." She may have said little to James about her latest intellectual effort, "Defense of Metaphysical Studies," until it was published. In the article she praised Hartley for accepting the doctrine of philosophical necessity and for his emphasis on the importance of habit formation. Man, she added, could not hope to understand the origin of evil in the world.²⁵

The young Martineaus' romantic view of Scotland (as for most early Victorians) clearly came from popular songs and from the poetry and novels of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott.²⁶ In late July they set out for London, where they would board a ship for Newcastle. They went to hear Edward Irving (now preaching in London, after Glasgow) and William Johnson Fox, installed since February at the new Finsbury Unitarian chapel in South Place. At Anna Laetitia Barbauld's, they could have met the personable historian and former MP, Sir

James Mackintosh (recently retired from the East India College at Haileybury) and the gregarious poet, Samuel Rogers.²⁷

From Edinburgh, Martineau confessed to Helen the “hours of deadly seasickness” before she went on deck to be cured by “the first blow of the breeze.” Staying with Unitarian friends, she and James were touring local sights like Hawthornden (the sixteenth-century house and gardens of William Drummond, friend of Ben Jonson) and the curiously carved church at Roslin. After “a delightful conversation” on the walk home, they arrived “by 8 o’clock, perfectly untired . . . having accomplished 17 miles.” Tomorrow they would head north to Loch Leven, Perth, Dunkeld, and the Western Highlands.

Martineau’s Scottish journey was to fulfill all her expectations. Gazing at glens, clouds and lakes as they walked, the two siblings found themselves deep in talk of necessarianism. Back in Newcastle, Martineau commented that she most loved Loch Katrine, though Scott’s use of it in “The Lady of the Lake” seemed almost profanation.

And then what a companion I had! Oh Helen, you cannot imagine how very many things we had each to communicate.²⁸

Probably staying with the Rankins at Newcastle, Martineau waited to hear from Elizabeth whether she might make visits to Nottingham and Manchester. In Manchester, Helen was desolate without sources of conversation, and she and James could conveniently stop to see her a few days before Christmas. To keep peace in the family, she warned James that he should abide by his promise *not* to try to see Helen Higginson.

The first edition of *Devotional Exercises* had yielded £50, and a second was in preparation--though Martineau disparaged her new “conceited” preface. She felt grateful to “old Mr. Turner” (who must have distributed his twenty copies) and to his daughter Ann. Now she was writing up her Highlands journal as a sketch for Houlston. Following a visit to the Greenhows at Dockway Square, Shields, she expressed disapproval of a lack of mental discipline, a poor sermon and a failure of resources for women.²⁹

From “College,” York, on 22 December 1824, Martineau informed Helen briskly she had a place taken for her on “the new Liverpool Mail for Friday” arriving at Manchester “about 1/2 past 8 in the evening.” After leaving “many dear friends” at Newcastle, other friends

(Unitarian, male) would accompany her to Helen's home. That morning she and James planned to spend an hour by themselves in [York] Minster, that she hoped would have "a tranquillizing effect" on him. Tonight's party of students was to include Edward Tagart, setting off for Norwich next morning, the "bearer of a Christmas packet to Magdalen Street." At Manchester, Lant Carpenter's transcribed letter of consolation to Helen (ironically?) praised her "well-regulated mind" able to bear loss. Helen, meanwhile, was apparently feeling slighted by some of the Martineaus and had offered to pay for Harriet and James to come to the opening of the new chapel at Manchester on Christmas day.³⁰

Martineau then stayed in Manchester over January and February to help Helen move into a small house off Oxford Road (rent £70), while Helen sent to Norwich for the furniture carefully watched over by Elizabeth. Worthington--serving as minister at Cross Street chapel, Manchester--had called on the Bourns and won over Helen's mother. On Octagon affairs, Martineau told James that Madge had been playing the stock market and made £1,200 on Mexican shares, but was out of humor because by waiting, he could have doubled his money. Tagart had been elected to fill Madge's place by a vote of sixty-three to eleven.

As Martineau was leaving Manchester in March, Elizabeth "sanctioned" an hour's visit to Helen Higginson at Derby. To James, Martineau commented on Helen's "plain features" and admonished him for extravagance in buying books. Their father (who paid all James's expenses) was anxious about his business while his servant (?) was possibly ill. Tagart, she went on, had found a temporary house at low rent, so he and his mother could look around in Norwich. To entertain Tagart's young sister, a pony gig excursion was planned. But James must interpret Norwich people and affairs for Tagart when he came home for the summer, i.e., warn him he was too young to give ladies' classes and should avoid printed sermons like the ones preached by Madge (on leaving, Madge had been presented with a [feeble] gift of plate). Next spring, Elizabeth and "Aunt Kentish" planned a trip to Newcastle via York, when *she* would act as housekeeper.³¹

Despite five years' advantage in age, Helen seemed awed by Martineau's study habits and new status as a contributor to the *Repository*. From Norwich, Martineau scolded her:

You ask me, dearest Helen, to write *soon* . . . it is not only a *sad* thing but a *wrong* thing to be in such a state [when one has] clear religious views [and] firm religious principles . . . are not these enough to prevent your sinking into a state of despondency?

Helen wished for “more *excitement*” than was good for her, it seemed, and should try to turn her attention from her feelings. “I now rise at 5, and you cannot think how I enjoy the 3^{1/2} hours,” Martineau boasted. “I wish you would do the same, and apply the time to *real, hard study* [underlined twice], (not fasting of course.)” Helen should get a copy of “Paley’s Moral Philosophy” (on duty) “the very day” she received Martineau’s letter. In the morning, Helen could “[r]ead for an hour [then] make an Abstract . . . for the next hour: read French for a third hour and so on every morning for a month.” While Helen might object that she forgot as fast as she read, she must persevere, for “it is all *in your mind*.” Martineau recommended “Dr. Johnson” over “Lord Byron” or “Wordsworth himself” for poetry, and Helen must “make [her]self mistress” of further religious works. For physical exercise, she could work in the garden or walk for miles “at a quick pace.”³²

On Martineau’s birthday, 12 June, she exclaimed to James that she and everybody around her seemed happy. Tokens received and *friends* made her thankful, “of whom you, dearest James, are the nearest and dearest.” Tagart’s young sister, Sarah, was staying at Magdalen Street and “doing well,” while Elizabeth and Thomas would be at York for James’s college examinations. In September, Martineau was at Cromer, having travelled by small boat, and was reading Shakespeare at night. Uncle John had reported the sad effect on Madge of his unfortunate investment, and the Greenhows thought of inviting him to visit to get him away from the stock exchange. Tagart was liked, Martineau assured James: she could *hear* his good sermons, Worthington not being comparable. In a glance at her future grand success, Martineau enclosed the plan of a story with characters named “Dr. Franklyn” and “Miles Chadwick” and asked James’s opinion. Her current reading comprised the Scottish Common Sense philosopher Dugald Stewart and Priestley.³³

In November, Martineau boasted that their cousin James Lee was “going through a course which I laid down for Emily Dowson [a Unitarian friend], following Dr Carpenter for a

guide.” She had now “added Locke, Hartley, & Priestley” to her library. Friends at Norwich, including Tagart, were gathering about one evening a month to read poetry and

literary morceaux of all kinds. You know M^r Tagart knows every little bit of beauty that is to be found in books [and] reads them better than anybody else could [and] we have his flute . . . either by itself, or accompanying my piano.

Robert’s wife Jane was pregnant, Ellen would spend Christmas with them in Birmingham, and in January Rachel was to pay “divers visits” in London. Henry had had an escape at sea that frightened their mother. (Elizabeth added that though Henry was indefatigable, she wished he could “provide for those we leave behind”).³⁴

¹ Auto. 1: 97-98; Greenhow would treat Martineau’s ovarian tumor in 1839; HM to Lant Carpenter, 24 July 1819, CL 1: 1.

² Auto. 1: 97 and 101.

³ For Locke, Hartley, Priestley, Smith, Ricardo and the “Common Sense” philosophers, cf. *Autobiography. Harriet Martineau*, ed. Linda H. Peterson (Peterborough, Ontario, Canada: Broadview, 2007) 102, note 1, and 103, note 1.

⁴ Martineau termed Philip Meadows Martineau “the most eminent provincial surgeon of his day, --in some departments, if not altogether” (Auto. 1: 8); HM to JM, 28 November [1820], *Harriet Martineau. Further Letters*, ed. Deborah A. Logan (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh UP) [henceforth HM/FL] 386 (all citations of Harriet Martineau’s letters to James Martineau are from shorthand summaries made by James and transcribed at the request of Robert Kiefer Webb).

⁵ See JM, “The Early Days of Harriet Martineau” ([letter] DN, 30 December 1884: 3, cols. 1-4, written in response to Florence Fenwick Miller’s *Harriet Martineau* (London: W. H. Allen, 1884); HM to Helen Martineau (née Bourn), 28 June 1821, CL 1: 2-4; James and his father joined Elizabeth at Newcastle for the christening of Lissey’s daughter, Frances (Fanny), and then travelled to Cumberland (James’s first visit to the Lake District may have planted a seed that in 1846 would entice Martineau to build a house at Ambleside).

⁶ William Russell, *The History of Modern Europe*, etc. (various editions) and Lord John Russell, *An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution, from the Reign of Henry VII. to the Present Time* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821); the latter traces progressive reforms in the English government from Henry VII through George III to prove its superiority over other European governments, both works suggestive as authorities for Martineau’s later historical writing.

⁷ HM to JM, 8 January, 2 May and 15 July 1822, HM/FL 388, 390 and 391-92; Margaret (née Martineau) and James Lee.

⁸ Elizabeth habitually prescribed medical treatments for family members; “Female Writers on Practical Divinity,” MR 17 (October and December 1822): 593-96 and 746-50; Auto. 1: 117-20;

after her first taste of success, Martineau determined to be paid for her pieces, “not being able to go on with gratuitous work” (HM to JM, 9 November 1822, HM/FL 393-94); for her next article for Aspland, “On Female Education,” MR 18 (February 1823): 77-81, a plea for fair educational opportunities for women, see Hoecker-Drysdale 22-23; most contributors to the *Repository* were Unitarian ministers, but others were lay writers like Martineau’s second cousin Emily Taylor (see Francis E. Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent. The Monthly Repository 1806-1838* [Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1944]; for lists of Martineau’s contributions, see 397 and 414-17).

⁹ Helen Bourn to Thomas Martineau, Jr., 13 November 1820, BANC [Box 9] 52; HM to JM, 3 and 13 October 1822, HM/FL 392-93 and 393; Elizabeth Martineau to Thomas Martineau, Jr., 11 and 19 September 1822, BANC [Box 8] 28 and 29.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Greenhow (née Martineau) to Thomas Martineau, Jr., 15 May and 30 December 1822, BANC [Box 7] 66 and 68; HM to JM, 9 November 1822, HM/FL 393-94; Robert’s wife, Jane (née Smith), daughter of Birmingham businessman Samuel Smith.

¹¹ For *The Friends*, see chap. 3; Capt. John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22* (London: John Murray, 1824); HM to JM, 2 March 1823, HM/FL 395; *Devotional Exercises, Consisting of Reflections and Prayers, for the use of young persons. To which is added A treatise on the Lord’s Supper*. By a lady (London: Rowland Hunter, 1823).

¹² Auto. 1: 125; HM to JM, 2 March, 1, 28 April, 2 and 19 June 1823, HM/FL 395, 396, 396-97, 397 and 398; Elizabeth Martineau to Thomas [and Helen] Martineau, Jr., 17 April and 5 May 1823, BANC [Box 8] 30 and 31.

¹³ Mary Blackburn to Helen Martineau, 27 August 1823, BANC [Box 7] 31.

¹⁴ HM to JM, 6, 30 October and 30 November 1823, HM/FL 398-99, 399-400 and 400-401.

¹⁵ HM to Lant Carpenter, 31 October 1823, NU. 1: SP 2 (2), Dorset County Archives; Martineau’s *Devotional Exercises* were inspired by Wellbeloved’s *Devotional Exercises for the Use of Young Persons* (1801, several times re-printed); in her final treatise Martineau urged young people to participate in communion in obedience to religious social custom (in the 1832 edition the treatise was replaced with “A Guide to the Study of the Scriptures”); for a biographical interpretation of Martineau’s religious writings, see Shelagh Hunter, *Harriet Martineau. The Poetics of Moralism* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996); HM to Rev. William Turner, 4 December 1823, CL 1: 8.

¹⁶ HM to Helen and Thomas Martineau, Jr., 1 November 1823, CL 1: 4-7; the ugly baby was Travers Madge who died in 1866 four years before his father; Elizabeth Martineau to Helen and Thomas Martineau, Jr., 30 November 1823, BANC [Box 8] 32.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Martineau to Thomas Martineau, Jr., 25 December 1823, BANC [Box 8] 33 (Martineau was to hold similar kitchen parties for servants and “workie” neighbors at Ambleside); machine looms had ruined the livelihood of Norwich’s traditional hand weavers; Emily Taylor, daughter of Samuel Taylor of Banham, Norfolk, was seven years older than Martineau and had published *Historical Prints* (London: Harvey & Darton, 1821) as well as children’s histories and selections from poets and artists.

¹⁸ HM to Helen and Thomas Martineau, Jr., 3 and 10 January 1824, CL 1: 8-12 and 12-15; Martineau’s first story to be published by Harvey and Darnton was probably *Five Years of Youth*;

or *Sense and Sentiment* (London, 1831); Martineau's poor opinion of *Repository* reviews may later have given her confidence to propose herself as a reviewer; HM to JM, 6 January 1824, HM/FL 402-403 (Emily Taylor's "benevolence" was to prove fatal to the friendship); Joseph Butler, *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. To which are added . . . I. Of Personal Identity. II. Of the Nature of Virtue* (London: J., J. and P. Knapton, 1736).

¹⁹ Elizabeth Martineau [and HM] to Helen and Thomas Martineau, Jr., 14 January 1824, BANC [Box 8] 35; for Robert Rankin (father), see Prologue; HM to JM, 2 February 1824, HM/FL 403-405.

²⁰ Thomas Belsham, *New Translation and Exposition of the Epistles of Paul* (London: Rowland Hunter, 1822) and see note 25; David Hartley, *Principles of Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (London: Hurst, Bees, Orme, and Brown, 1820); Jean-Charles Léonard Sismonde de Sismondi [Swiss historian and political economist who married an aunt of Martineau's later friend Fanny Mackintosh Wedgwood], *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, trans. Thomas Roscoe (London: Henry Colburn, 1823); MR, 19 (January 1824): 43-44 and 44-45 (the death of Lt. Hood was described in the narrative of Capt. John Franklin: see note 11).

²¹ Elizabeth Martineau to Helen and Thomas Martineau, Jr., 2 February 1824, BANC [Box 8] 36 (note added by Martineau); James later recorded that Worthington inspired "affectionate memories . . . for there was a play of delicate light and pious purity about him which was very winning" (in August 1826, however, James was surprised when Worthington revealed his engagement to his sister ["The Early Days of Harriet Martineau"]); for Martineau's letters, see next note.

²² Helen Martineau to Rev. and Mrs. John Gooch Robberds, 30 January and 28 May 1824, BANC [Box 9] 54 and 55; Catherine Turner (née Rankin), widow of Henry Turner; HM to JM, 6 January, 2 February, 12 April, 8 May and 20 June 1824, HM/FL 402-403, 403-405, 406-407, 407-408 and 410-11; HM to Helen and Thomas Martineau, Jr., 10 and 14 January, 2, [?]19-26 February and 17 March 1824, BANC [Box 8] 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38; Elizabeth Martineau to Helen and Thomas Martineau, Jr., 30 April 1824, JRUL.

²³ Henry Martineau (now the eldest brother) to Mrs. Joseph Bourn, Monday evening [28? June 1824], BANC [Box 8] 84.

²⁴ HM to Helen Martineau, 7 July 1824, CL 1: 20-23 (that an exposure to new ideas could ever prove incompatible with affection for James seemed unthinkable to Martineau).

²⁵ Thomas Belsham, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind, and of Moral Philosophy. To which is prefixed a Compendium of Logic* (London: J. Johnson, 1801) [see John Warren, "Harriet Martineau; or, Safety First," MSN 32 (February 2013): 3-10] and possibly David Hartley, *Conjecturae Quaedam de Sensu, Motu, et Idearum Generatione [Some Conjectures on Sense, Motion and the Generation of Ideas]* (1746); "Defense of Metaphysical Studies," MR 19 (May 1824): 268-73; in June, James recorded "Harriet's paper on Hartley in the *Repository* is starting many people . . . to study Hartley" (HM to JM, 14 June 1824, HM/FL 409-410; Martineau's last contribution to the *Repository* for another two-and-a-half years was to be a "letter" [dated 11 October 1824], "Reply to Difficulties in the Unitarians' Scheme of Atonement," MR 19 (October 1824): 598-600.

²⁶ Historians have claimed the Highlanders' heroism at Waterloo made them figures of romance; six years later, Martineau wrote two essays on Scott for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*

using him as an exemplum for her theories of child development and education and praising his moral view of literature though faulting his treatment of females and low life characters.

²⁷ See Carpenter, James Martineau 42-44 (for Elizabeth's recommendation they stay with Mrs. Welbanks in Edinburgh, see HM to JM, 2 February 1824, FL 403-405).

²⁸ HM to Helen Martineau, 3 August and 19 October 1824, CL 1: 23-25 and 25; as later editor of the Repository, Fox became Martineau's literary mentor; Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Thomas Martineau's childhood teacher, poet and religious writer and one of Martineau's primary "Female Writers on Practical Divinity" (see Hunter, chap. 2).

²⁹ HM to Helen Martineau, 22 December 1824, CL 1: 28-29; Elizabeth Martineau Greenhow to Helen Martineau, 17 October 1824, BANC [Box 7] 71; HM to JM, 8 December 1824, HM/FL 413; Tagart was to become co-pastor and successor to Thomas Madge at the Octagon chapel, but to distress the Martineaus by proposing marriage to the widowed Helen.

³⁰ HM to JM, 7 October and 14 November 1824, HM/FL 411-12 and 412-13; for Helen Higginson, see next note; in her original preface to *Devotional Exercises*, Martineau claimed to have "a vivid remembrance of the ideas and feelings on devotional subjects" that excited "the most powerful emotions" (see preface to the 3rd edition: Boston: Leonard C. Bowles, 1833); for Ann Turner, see chap. 1; Carpenter's facility in expressing matters of faith set a pattern for Martineau's *Repository* articles as well as for her letters to Helen over the next four years.

³¹ HM to JM, 8 January, 5 February, 10 March, 4 April and 5 May 1825, HM/FL 413-14, 414-15, 415, 416 and 416-17; a convert to Unitarianism, Madge had been pastor of the Octagon's demanding congregation since 1812 and in 1825 moved to the Essex Street chapel, London (*Inquirer*, 3 September 1870: 570; and *Christian Life*, 25 August 1878: 414); James was not supposed to see Helen, daughter of Edward Higginson, Unitarian minister at Derby, until he reached twenty-one, Elizabeth believing he had been trapped into promising marriage and blaming the Higginsons for leaving the young people together (the Higginsons had sent Elizabeth an apology for letting James and Helen form an attachment).

³² HM to Helen Martineau, 12 May 1825, CL 1: 30-33; William Paley, *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* ([various editions and] London: R. Faulder, 1785) assumes that God desired men to be happy and rewards and punishes them after death.

³³ HM to JM, 12 June, 11 September, 1 and 12 October 1825, HM/FL 417-18, 418, 418-19, 419-20; Madge became pastor at the Essex Street chapel, London; "Dr. Franklyn" and "Miles Chadwick," initial names of characters in Martineau's "Life in the Wilds," the first of her *Illustrations of Political Economy*, 9 vols. (London: Charles Fox, 1832-1834).

³⁴ HM to Helen Martineau, 13 November 1825, CL 1: 33-36 (Henry's cheerful shouldering of responsibility was to break down, and he virtually disappeared from almost all Martineau's accounts of her later life).