

## Chapter 18

### Novelist; the Coronation, International Copyright Law, British Association for the Advancement of Science, Travel/Scotland, Prisons and American Abolitionists (1838)

From the summer of 1837, Martineau claimed she had "begun to sink under domestic anxieties" plus the toil which offered the "only practicable relief from them." Following the need to be "always correct," she welcomed the challenge of writing a novel. In spite of "pent-up sufferings, feelings, and convictions" that might have hurt literary objectivity, she was encouraged by Elizabeth Ker to try writing about "one or two moral subjects" on which she "wanted the relief of speech." Initially she favored a real-life story told by Catharine Sedgwick about two sisters, "the younger of whom loves and finally marries the betrothed of the elder." Deciding against that story she chose a similar plot from real life (as she thought) about a man "cruelly driven, by a match-making lady, to propose to the sister of the woman he loved." Encouragement for her new undertaking arrived unexpectedly in the form of a painting--a gift from the Vincent Thompsons with whom she had seen it at the British Institution. The romantic landscape of North Wales drew her "to feast on the gush of sunlight between two mountains, and the settling of the shadows upon the woods at their base." Outside Martineau's small study, by contrast, "dingy red walls rose up almost within reach, and idle clerks of the Foreign Office lolled out of dusty windows, to stare down upon their opposite neighbours."<sup>1</sup>

Martineau might have derived the title of *Deerbrook* (the novel's village setting) from Deerfield, Massachusetts, the scene of an early 17th-century Indian attack she recounted in *Retrospect*. Orphans figured prominently in Martineau's early stories, and the three heroines of *Deerbrook* are all orphans. Her doctor hero--whose later unpopularity stems from his up-to-date medical knowledge--was modeled on William Henry Furness, a high-minded outsider in his community, as she thought. Over the nine months' gestation of the novel, however, Martineau continued to work out aspects of her characters and details of the plot as she had done for her political economy tales.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to her account of personal dissatisfaction in 1838, exciting events were happening outside Martineau's study. On 24 May the 275-foot steamship *British Queen* built to carry goods and passengers was launched at Limehouse, and on 17 June the steamship *Great Western* out of Bristol arrived in New York after fifteen days at sea -- the first steam voyage across the Atlantic. Even more exhilarating, on 28 June the young Princess Alexandrina Victoria was crowned in Westminster Abbey to begin her reign as Queen Victoria.

In her autobiography, Martineau highlighted the political importance of the coronation, after the reign of the "infirm and feeble" William IV whom she had seen the year before. The "usefulness" of her books to the Princess, who loved *Ella of Garveloch* and had gone "running and skipping," to show her mother the advertisement of *Illustrations of Taxation*, seemed thoroughly to please Martineau. Having seen the Princess at Macready's *Lear* and on other occasions, she judged her to be spirited and unspoiled.

Martineau had demurred at going to the coronation, but the excitement must have been contagious. It was her *duty* to attend, she later claimed, Bishop Stanley having sent her

two tickets (the Treasury sent two tickets for her brothers, she told William Ware). Hoping to get a seat in the transept gallery over the entrance to the Poets' Corner she planned to go alone early. Rising at half-past three (the maids mistakenly calling her at half-past two), she heard the twenty-one guns being fired. From her bedroom window she could see "numbers of ladies . . . already hurrying by," and she quickly donned her "crape and blonde" (black silk and light silk lace) with Elizabeth's pearl ornaments. "The streets had hedges of police from our little street to the gates of the Abbey . . . so nothing could [have been] safer," she fumed, but Henry, or possibly James, forced her to wait while one of them ate breakfast. As she feared, she had "missed the front row," where she "might have heard and seen every thing!" Once inside the abbey, however, she found a seat in the back row of the transept gallery with a pillar to lean against and space for a "shawl and bag of sandwiches."

The grand procession up the nave into the choir was to begin at noon. Through the long leisure in her gallery perch, Martineau gazed at details of the stone architecture that contrasted to the gaily dressed figures passing below. Withered old peeresses wearing diamonds on their "brown and wrinkled" necks and arms seemed disgusting, and when the sun shone into the abbey, the sparkling of their jewels nauseated her. She managed to read her book and eat a sandwich, but for most of the ceremony, she sadly saw nothing. Finally, by standing on the rail behind her, she glimpsed the enthroning of the Queen, "trains of peers touching her crown" and one aged peer fallen and unable to rise. Such a mixture of divine and secular in the Anglican ceremony seemed sacrilegious. Yet it had been "a wonderful day" in spite of the painful waiting for her brothers. That evening she skipped the illuminations to have tea with Elizabeth (by domestic blackmail?) and after going to bed at midnight slept "eight hours at a stretch, for once."<sup>3</sup>

By Saturday, Martineau had a cold yet managed to write ten pages of *The Lady's Maid* before entertaining "a long list" of callers. She admitted in her diary not feeling happy, wanting "inner life" while her work on *Deerbrook* lagged. In early July, she told Ware she was "awestruck" at the idea of a novel and wasn't sure she had "confidence to go on." Though it had been "all in my head & very promising while there . . . I tremble to write it."

Bentley had not issued *Letters from Palmyra*, she reported to Ware, but "got a copy at some Amer<sup>n</sup> bookseller's . . . on the appearance of the review in the London & West<sup>r</sup> [by John Stuart Mill], by w<sup>h</sup> we hoped to prepare the way for a proper publication here." Because the first edition of Ware's novel had appeared in New York and Boston in 1837, she saw "no hope of getting money out of Bentley" so long as the law did not "compel him." She had directed "a peremptory message" for him to send Ware "25 copies free of all charge" and "some money too," but had "no hope of a cent." The British copyright law had passed the Commons, however, and would "no doubt" pass the Lords to do justice to herself and to Ware "& a hundred others, by a treaty between the two Govt<sup>s</sup>." France would cooperate, and she hoped the American President would too.

Our bill [enables] the Queen in Council to treat with foreign Govt<sup>s</sup> for the protection of authors, -- granting to foreign authors the same protection as to our own.

From her American books in his country she had received

not a shilling . . . If, instead of a wicked & nonsensical war about the frontier, we arrive at doing the authors of our two nations full justice, how pleasant it will be!

Sadly, the Wares had lost their baby, and Martineau worried about Furness's poor health. Preaching in London, Gannett had "had crowds to hear him," she reported, but the "solidity" of his ideas was dubious, and he dismayed listeners "who happened to come in for the same sermon twice . . . w<sup>h</sup> before was understood to be extempore."

Having the Gannetts in London was painful -- she couldn't give them proper attention. "While [Anna] c<sup>d</sup> come with him, we got on pretty well," Martineau added, but since "her sad illness," Gannett could be invited "only with company." Struggling "with the recollection of his former insanity," she was "heartily afraid of him." *How to Observe* had proved "the toughest job" she ever had to do, she repeated, while the Poor Law Commissioners' asking her to write "2 model N<sup>o</sup>s of their *Industrial Series*" (i.e., *The Maid of All Work* and *The Lady's Maid*, "just finished") was "a remarkable sign of the times," along with her "very grave article in the London & West" ("Domestic Service"). From the last, however, the editor had cut her extracts from Sedgwick's *Live and Let Live*. Of family news, Rachel's school was thriving, and James remained in London. "Our little lady [Victoria] won't be a Zenobia," she opined, but "as good as her circumstances will allow."<sup>4</sup>

Answering a letter from Judge Story, Martineau spoke of new friends: Story's letter from Cambridge, Massachusetts, had been delivered by "M<sup>r</sup> Turner," who frequently called. Story was thanked for the "wonderful moderation" of his censures of her American books and "kind construction" of her intentions. Her comments on "female intemperance" in America came from "the testimony of physicians & others likely to know." Of cases of the same vice in England the "the best kindness" was "not to conceal *the general fact*, but to make it known, in order to research into the causes." Lord Morpeth, Chief Secretary for Ireland (a dedicated reformer with interests similar to Martineau's), wanted to meet Turner, and she exulted over "the almost perfect administration of Irish affairs by Lord Mulgrave's Gov't." Its legislation was "bad yet," but Story had "doubtless observed the great increase of convictions, with the extraordinary decrease in grave crime . . . during the last three years." Lately she had often seen the John Hilliards, introduced by his brother George, and was "very fond" of them. Next day she was going to stay "16 miles off" in the country, "writing all the mornings, & on horseback in the afternoons." After "the Scientific Meeting at Newcastle" in August she would travel to "the Lakes, & the Western Islands & Highlands of Scotland." *How to Observe* was due out that very week, "before the flock of summer travellers takes wing." Macready (who "unified & reformed, & much exalted the Drama") was to continue as manager of Covent Garden for another year. She hoped to introduce him to Story when he went to America.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile Martineau was keeping abreast of happenings in America like the Garrisonians' latest drive to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and prohibit "the internal trade." Follen described reveling in his rural life, strolling out after breakfast to gather wildflowers with Eliza and Charley or lying in a fern bed dreaming of Switzerland while he was beginning a work on "the science of the soul."<sup>6</sup>

At the end of July, Martineau seemed to take on Elizabeth's role in writing to Rachel (or James) about plans for a holiday in Grasmere (?) when she hoped to see them. Lissey might bring seventeen-year-old Fanny Greenhow to the Lakes "and thence to Liverpool." At the same time, James recorded that his sister was coming, "not only to see Helen and our children, but to

become better acquainted with Rachel's establishment [which was] about to become Fanny's home for some years."

Martineau hoped to "spend a fortnight or so" near James's cottage -- or she and her travelling companions, the Porters, might see Lissey and Fanny off to Liverpool from Newcastle. Henry, she went on, had settled his affairs at Norwich. At James's suggestion their mother had seen Mr. Estlin and felt cheered about her eyes. Finally, Martineau was making plans to receive Ailsie, the American mulatto child "commended to her protection" by her owner and "so interesting and forlorn in her slave destiny." The child was "of very remarkable beauty and intelligence" and would be trained "as Martineau's servant or for some equivalent independent industrial lot." Ailsie's master was to give "£20 per annum for her school." If she arrived in Liverpool, James agreed that he would take her "in charge . . . for forwarding."<sup>7</sup>

From on board the steamer for Newcastle, Martineau pressed James further on family plans: Lissey could not leave home for long, but James might "meet them at Keswick, and go with them to Kendal, keeping Fanny as visitor" till she went back to Liverpool with James's family. Meanwhile Henry, "much improved," had been promoted to the rank of an "'examining clerk'" at Somerset House. She was "just starting out with four Porters, Robertson and others, plus many servants" and expecting to be in Carlisle in early September. For their "Scotch tour," she had "engaged to explore the Macbeth country (Birnam and Dunsinane)" for Knight's pictorial Shakespeare. Furnished with a copy for the purpose, her 'recompense would be ten copies of the work.' *How to Observe*, she boasted, was "a great success;" and she gossiped about Brougham and "Grote and the Bentham[ite]s'" anger with John Stuart Mill for his "article on Bentham in the Westminster."<sup>8</sup>

As the steamer plied northward, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (son of the Anglican Bishop of Norwich) introduced himself. Young Stanley had no doubt been warned in advance of Martineau's opinionated talk and observed that she "behaved very well all the voyage -- perhaps because she was sick." At Newcastle, to his surprise, she invited him to stay with the Greenhows where he discovered her sister to be pretty and agreeable and unlike her. Dining with the Rev. William Turner and Robertson, Stanley found the latter to be "a remarkable man, very clever, very zealous." Next day Martineau played the pianoforte and spoke on topics ranging from the oppression of women and the New Testament to Macready's moral goodness. "One hardly knows what to make of Miss M." the baffled young Stanley recorded, "a woman so entirely in a man's position, and yet not without the quiet of a woman." It was like a "thaumatrope."<sup>9</sup>

Years later, Martineau described the "freight of *savants* . . . -- sound scientific men; a literary humbug or two; a statistical pretender or two; and a few gentlemen, clerical or other" who travelled to Newcastle by sea. On entering Shields Harbour, the whole company stood on deck to see the romantic ruins of Tynemouth Priory (to be clearly visible from Martineau's sickroom window) and other "beauties of that coast." Locals gathered on the quays, "to stare at the strange vessel." When asked who they were, "the great men on deck shouted in reply 'savans,' 'philosophers,' 'nondescripts.'"<sup>10</sup>

The British Association for the Advancement of Science met from 20 to 25 August. Carlyle warned Martineau the speakers would be mostly mediocre; Dickens had parodied the association in "Full Report of the First Meeting (at York in 1831) of the Mudfrog Association for

the Advancement of Everything." For a week a Dr. Lardner -- probably Dionysius Lardner, professor of mechanical philosophy at University College, London, originator of an encyclopedia and skeptical of the reliability of steam for crossing the Atlantic -- "industriously spread" a rumor that the *Great Western* (carrying people Martineau knew) was floundering in the mid-Atlantic. Martineau was disgusted by "coxcombs," "third-rate men with their specialities" and women coyly sketching and quizzing the members. She heard only "two or three valuable addresses," probably including those by Sir John Herschel on astronomy and possibly Babbage on mechanical science. The newspapers reported talks on air quality, steam navigation, properties of fluids, heat in homes, improved writing tables and a geological description of the Newcastle coal fields -- the "most important in the country." Experiments, devices and performances by child prodigies were also featured. Evening festivities with a gas-lit promenade in the Green Market attracted even Quakers (not often seen at social gatherings), who stared at Martineau as an "anti-slavery confessor." Strolling in public Martineau was followed by a "tail of hundreds," Robertson told Jane Carlyle. With Rachel, Martineau planned a joke. Evidently on holiday from her school at Liverpool, Rachel dressed her hair like her sister's, borrowed an ear trumpet and walked up and down the opposite side of the room. Later an amused Jane Carlyle told Fanny Wedgwood that Martineau had "*'monopolized the personal pronoun there'* as Robertson elegantly expressed it--If any man woman or child said 'she' or 'her' you found on listening further that Harriet was the person meant!"<sup>11</sup>

During the week a Professor Daubeny (probably Charles Daubeny, professor of chemistry and botany at Oxford who had travelled in the United States and Canada in 1837 and 1838) handed Martineau "some American newspapers" reporting the murder in Illinois of the abolitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy. Martineau thought Lovejoy's speech, "a few days before his murder, the grandest affair now transacting on earth." When she told Robertson about the "first American witness unto death in the cause of liberty of speech," he asked for "a vivid historical sketch" of the American abolitionists for the *London & Westminster*. Her response was "The Martyr Age of the United States," comprising mini biographies of Garrison, Prudence Crandall, the Childs, James G. Birney, Amos Dresser, Maria Chapman, Angelina E. Grimké and John Quincy Adams as well as a précis of recent events in the cause. Martineau's third contribution to a major quarterly thereby publicized her commitment to radical abolitionism.<sup>12</sup>

On 2 September, Martineau and her party left Newcastle for the Lake District. Driving along Lake Windermere and "through Ambleside . . . to Grasmere," they passed the field where Martineau's future home, The Knoll, would stand. Circling back, they had a "last view of Windermere" before heading north through Patterdale. On 6 September, the Glasgow *Scottish Guardian* reported that Martineau had visited "several of the public works and other objects of curiosity" in the city. Scottish newspapers had in fact printed snippets about Martineau before her arrival. On 25 July, the Edinburgh *Scotsman* included an excerpt from *Society* and on 22 August reviewed the *second* edition of the work, apologizing for lateness but expressing astonishment at Martineau's "masculine strength of mind," along with "weaknesses and puerilities" typical of her sex. (Following these flicks of male chauvinism, the *Scotsman* waited a week to reprint the notice from the Glasgow *Guardian*).<sup>13</sup>

The party's next stop was Lord and Lady Murray's country seat at Strachur on the south side of Loch Fyne. Treated with "singular hospitality," they dined on Highland fare like "salmon

and Loch herrings, grouse pies, and red-deer soup" and went sightseeing on the "little Loch Fyne steamer." Lord Murray (Martineau's neighbor in London) had an added motive for asking her to stay: he wanted her help in rousing Scottish public opinion for his prisons bill, lost in the last session. During a walk by the loch side, Murray asked Martineau to "write some papers on prison management" to familiarize "the Scotch with the principle of punishment . . . and American imprisonment" (in addition to a two-part review in the *Repository* in 1832 Martineau reported on American prisons in both *Society* and *Retrospect*). Murray arranged for her to call on William Chambers in Edinburgh, for whom she wrote the three-part "Prison Life" based on her visits to American prisons.<sup>14</sup>

Another Scottish prison reformer, Captain Alexander Maconochie (author of *Report on the State of Prison Discipline in Van Diemen's Land* [1838] and *Thoughts on Convict Management, and other subjects connected with the Australian Penal Colonies* [1838]) had written to Martineau in May to explain the "social" system for reforming prisoners he wanted to introduce into Britain. Addressing her as "My dear Harriet," he included a story of a ruffian's last-minute repentance and asked if she did not "love the cause?"<sup>15</sup>

"From Strachur," Martineau continued her account of the excursion, "we pursued our way to the Western Islands: and, after being weather-bound in Mull, we accomplished the visit to Iona." Examining the relics with "speechless interest" they picked out "Macbeth's grave in the line of . . . Scottish kings." Later, looking back from Staffa she ended poetically, they could see the cathedral on Iona "standing up against a bar of yellow western sky" in the "myrtle-green tumbling sea."

In Knight's *Pictorial Shakspere* [sic] vivid notes to *Macbeth*, possibly by Martineau, identify Iona as "separated only by a narrow channel from the island of Mull," where the "stone crosses . . . lofty walls and Saxon and Gothic arches" of the cathedral "form a strange contrast with the hovels of the fishermen which stand upon the shore."

Though the captain promised to take Martineau by the "Garveloch Isles" to see "the homes of the personages about whom I had written so familiarly," the weather was too rough" and she had to wait until "a glorious sunny day in July, 1852." After the Western Islands, the party travelled to the Western and Northern Highlands. Next staying in a crowded inn at Fort William and hoping to take the steamer north on the Caledonian Canal, Martineau was pestered by "a rising young barrister" who wanted her opinions on "the progress of education and the increase of crime in Scotland." Too exhausted to think, she told him to his astonishment and the "inextinguishable laughter" of her party that she knew nothing of those matters and on this pleasure trip had made no inquiry.

Returning by way of Inverness, the party possibly passed the hill where "Macbeth's castle" may have stood, "examined Cawdor Castle [and] sat down and lingered on the Witches Heath, between Nairn and Forres" (as cited in "Illustrations of Act I" in Knight's edition of *Macbeth*). They probably also saw the ruins of "an aisle of the abbey of Sccone" (noted in "Illustrations of Act II"), while a letter from Lord Murray's brother opened "all the known recesses of Glammis Castle" (also noted in "Illustrations of Act I"). On Birnam Hill, they saw "traces of an ancient fort . . . called Duncan's Court" which was

precisely the point where a general, in full march towards Dunsinane, would be likely to pause . . . and from this spot would the "leavy screen" devised by Malcolm become necessary.

For Knight's earnest readers in search of literary realism, Martineau supplied an analysis of the military logic:

as the distance is twelve miles in a direct line, no sentinel on the Dunsinane hills could see the wood at Birnam begin to move, or even that there was a wood. We must suppose either that the distance was contracted for the poet's purpose, or that the wood called Birnam extended from the hill for some miles into the plain. ["Illustrations of Act V"]

In the end, Martineau's sense of romance won out over her historical pragmatism. "I do not know," she admitted in her autobiography, "whether any of the air of the localities hangs about those notes of mine . . . but to me, the gathering up of knowledge and associations for them was almost as pleasant work as any I ever had to do."<sup>16</sup>

Following the trawl through *Macbeth* country, the party reached Edinburgh in October where Martineau parted from her "kind companions." Perhaps through William Chambers, she met the unconventional, [?] forty-six-year-old Catherine Stevens Crowe, author of a blank verse tragedy and later a prolific writer of romantic novels, translations from the German and tales from the occult. Despite their differences of taste, she and Martineau became lifelong friends. Martineau's old London neighbors Lord Jeffrey and his wife entertained her at Craigcrook, their summer retreat "on the eastern slope of Corstorphine Hill" in Cramond parish outside the city. "Miss Rogers" was there with a young friend and urged Martineau to "take a seat in her carriage as far as Newcastle." As for most "literary" travelers, the ladies stopped first at Dryburgh Abbey and then at Abbotsford, where the "smallness and toy-character" of Scott's dream castle seemed a sad let-down for Martineau. "Scott and Lockhart must have known what a good Scotch house is," she scoffed in her autobiography, "and their glorification of this place shakes one's faith in their other descriptions."<sup>17</sup>

Continuing homeward, Martineau stayed at Newcastle in October. Writing to Rev. John W. Thom, James's colleague at Liverpool, she praised the "value & importance" of his *Christian Teacher* and offered to help with contributions "hereafter." At present she had "such a mountain of work" before her she was "almost afraid to look forward." Unhappily, for reasons Martineau failed to explain, she was "called home" from Newcastle, and the "long solitary mail journey [seemed] a very heavy one, full of apprehension and pain." Henry's behavior may have caused Elizabeth to summon Martineau home. In her autobiography she referred simply to the shocks she was to feel in "that unhappy year" including a "vague notion" of the internal disease that would prostrate her.

Despite an unhappy ending, the northern journey had been a grand success. Though "some years younger than the two heads" of the party, Martineau enjoyed being treated as an elder, the four young people in the party making tea, giving up "the sofas and warm corners, and so on."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Auto. 2: 107-14; the painting was probably by Thomas Baker of the midlands--who exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1831.

<sup>2</sup> Deerfield was the scene of *The Unredeemed Captive, A Family Story from Early America*, ed. John Demos (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994) telling of an orphaned girl whose mother was tomahawked by Indians but who later chose to stay with the tribe; orphans possibly served as

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wish fulfillments for Martineau, while other doctor models might have been Gaston I, Philip Meadows or Tom Martineau, Greenhow, or her admired friend Southwood Smith; *Deerbrook* turns on sibling rivalry and a physically handicapped female--both significant problems for Martineau--though she later heard the story of the unhappy marriage was not true.

<sup>3</sup> Martineau was to declare the young Queen badly served by Melbourne and the Whigs, and she rejoiced when Robert Peel came into office: *Auto.* 2: 120-29 (as a child, Martineau had reacted hysterically to sparkling prisms on the mantel; tea with Elizabeth may have been via domestic blackmail).

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Martineau "trembled" at exposing her manipulative mother: in *Deerbrook* only the grandmother is unselfish; *The Guide to Service. The Lady's Maid [and The Maid of All-Work]* (London: Charles Knight, 1838; *Auto.* 3: 220; HM to the William Wares, 8 July 1838, BPLMsEng244f10 (partly rptd. *CL* 2: 25-27); John Stuart Mill, "Letters from Palmyra," *L&WR*, 6 and 28 (January 1838): 436-70; William Ware, *Letters of Lucius M. Piso [pseud.] from Palmyra, to His Friend Marcus Curtius, at Rome. Now First Translated and Published* (New York: C. S. Francis, Boston J. H. Francis, 1837) and *Zenobia, Queen of the East; or, Letters from Palmyra. By Lucius Manlius Piso [pseud.]* (London: R. Bentley, 1838); an Anglo-American war was threatened over the Canadian "rebels" and the Canadian regulars' sinking of the American paddle steamer *Caroline*.

<sup>5</sup> HM to Joseph Story, 8 July 1838 (see Michael Culver, "A Harriet Martineau Letter, *Notes and Queries*, December 1984: 475-78); Martineau probably meant Sharon Turner, advisor to John Murray on laws relating to literary property and libel and writer on copyright law; in *Society*, Martineau claimed that "vacuity" led to intemperance among high class American women: see *SA* 3: 159-61; George Howard, Viscount Morpeth, later 7th Earl of Carlisle; Mulgrave was lord lieutenant for Ireland; George Hilliard's company, Hilliard and Gray of Boston, published Martineau's *Miscellanies*.

<sup>6</sup> Follen to HM, 31 July 1838, *The Works of Charles Follen* 1: 489-90 (both slavery issues were to feature in Martineau's future writing).

<sup>7</sup> HM to Rachel [and JM], 29 July 1838, *HM/FL* 481; *Auto.* 2: 143-44 (on Ailsie, whose owners were the Newbreens).

<sup>8</sup> HM to JM, 14 August 1838, *HM/FL*, 481-82 (the proposed visit to James does not appear in Martineau's autobiography); John Stuart Mill, "The Works of Jeremy Bentham," *L&WR* 7 & 29 (August 1838): 467-506, citing Bentham's failure to consider diverse human feelings).

<sup>9</sup> *The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Late Dean of Westminster*, ed. Rowland E. Prothero (London: J. Murray, 1893), 1: 202-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Auto.* 2: 135-36; even zealous Victorian pedants could be waggish on occasion.

<sup>11</sup> *Auto.* 2: 134-38; Charles Dickens, "Full Report of the First Meeting of the Mudfrog Association for the Advancement of Everything," *Bentley's Miscellany* 2 (October 1837): 397-413; see D. Hays, "The Rise and Fall of Dionysius Lardner," *Annals of Science* 38 (1981): 527-42 (see also, Rosemary Ashton, *Victorian Bloomsbury* [New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2012]); JWC to TC, 9 September 1838, and JWC to FW, 15 October 1838, *Carlyle Letters* 10: 167-72 and 204-206.

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<sup>12</sup> Auto. 3: 221; for "The Martyr Age of the United States," see chap. 13, note 15 (reprinted as *The Martyr Age of the United States of America, with an appeal on behalf of the Oberlin Institute in aid of the abolition of slavery* [Edinburgh: Oliphant & Son, 1840]).

<sup>13</sup> Auto. 2: 138-39; *Scottish Guardian*, 6 September 1838; *Scotsman*, 25 July 1838: 4, col. 5, 22 August 1838: 4, col. 2 and 12 September 1838: 3, col. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Auto. 139-40 (after her "cure" by means of mesmerism in 1844 Martineau declined Murray's invitation to Edinburgh [HM to Lord Murray, 13 February (1845), CL 3: 4-5]); "Prison Discipline" and "Secondary Punishments" in the *Repository* (see chap. 6, note 44) discuss measures such as classification and segregation of prisoners and limitation of capital punishment; "Sufferers," SA 3: 179-204; "Prisons," RWT 1: 199-227; "Prison Life," *Chambers's* 7: 1, 8 and 15 December 1838: 353-54, 361-62 and 369-70 ("Mess<sup>rs</sup> Chambers" were to publish Martineau's *History of the Peace and Introduction to the History of the Peace* (see chap. 1, note 18); Capt. Alexander Maconochie to HM, 2 May 1838, NLS 1838: 353-54, 362-63 and 370-71.

<sup>15</sup> Capt. Alexander Maconochie to HM, 2 May 1838, NLS 1838: 353-54, 362-63 and 370-71 (for Martineau's later disenchantment with Maconochie, see HM to Emily and Rosa Beaufort, 19 January 1858, CL 4: 67-69).

<sup>16</sup> Auto. 2: 135 and 141; 1: 337-38; *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspere*, ed. Charles Knight (London: Charles Knight, 18[39]-42) 2: 30-31, 20-22, 51 and 59-60; Jonathan Bate praises Knight as editor of various editions of Shakespeare for as far as possible favoring the Folio including the spelling: see, for example, "The Folio restored," *TLS*, 20 April 2007: 11-13.

<sup>17</sup> Sarah Rogers, sister of Samuel Rogers; Auto. 2: 141-42.

<sup>18</sup> HM to John W. Thom, 9 October 1838, HM/FL 41; Auto. 2: 142-43; Henry's salary at the Registration Office, however, increased at year's end to £100 "with prospect of more," enabling him to pay Elizabeth "the small balance of the account between them": HM to JM, 10 or 17 January 1839, HM/FL 482.