

Chapter 21

An Invalid, Martineau Stays in Newcastle and Settles at Tynemouth (1839)

In closing the "Fourth Period" of her autobiography, Martineau admitted she had sunk to a low state emotionally and physically. Although her reputation, industry and "social intercourses" had reached the height of prosperity, she felt overburdened with troubles and welcomed a release from "responsibility, anxiety, and suspense." During her first years in London she was supported by her mother's "trustful, generous, self-denying sympathy and maternal appreciation," but when Elizabeth became "fretted by cares and infirmities," Martineau's health broke down.¹

In Newcastle, Martineau stayed at a lodging near the Greenhows for a month while the "nature and prospects" of her case were studied. She then moved to "their hospitable house" where business acquaintances and friends like Knight kept in close touch. From Newcastle, she thanked Charles Hemans for a volume of his mother's poems, explaining that she was confined to the sofa by a "temporary illness."

James complained at the end of July that she "rather cynically" supposed Channing's warm interest in his (James's) Liverpool controversy to be "*good for him* in the way of exceptional excitement" rather than encouraging for James and his colleagues. Additionally, she had boasted that her "Martyr Age" led Lord Morpeth and his sister the Duchess of Sutherland to "seek acquaintance with Garrison."²

By September, Martineau's case remained "as it was" but with "more uneasiness and pain." Her custom she told Fanny Wedgwood, was to
come down to breakfast, walk a little . . . and scribble . . . read a little, work slippers, talk and enjoy *extremely* the talk of the children, -- innocent, frank, affectionate *thinking* boys, of 8 and 10.

She was reading a new translation of *The Imprisonment of Silvio Pellico* to the boys, while Fanny (Greenhow), Lissey's eighteen-year-old daughter, "the very most delicious girl" ever to come in her way, was always beside her. Local causes engrossed Martineau too, and Dr. Kay was coming "to see about improving . . . Newcastle education." The city itself was "a fine spirited place" with glorious street architecture. Only regrettable was the "religious bigotry," the Dissenters being the "wisest folk, the Evangelicals and Puseyites the most numerous." *She* was also beginning *Das Leben Jesu* by Strauss (in German), her appetite for reading undeterred by sickness. But De Quincey's account in *Tait's* of the "daily life and habits" of the Lake poets she thought "the most tremendous breach of confidence ever committed," and Chorley's "Lion" she didn't believe could live. *Deerbrook* was "still indubitably rising," though the "grounds for Carlyle's condemnation" puzzled her.³

In October, Martineau again described her state to Fanny Wedgwood, wanting "when uselessly ill, to have some of other people's illness too" (Fanny was in the seventh month of her pregnancy). *She* had given up "all attempts to walk," though Greenhow wanted her to get fresh air. Just once after a birthday party for her mother at her grandmother's had she gone out. Her reading now comprised Montaigne and "a bit of Molière with the boys" as well as Manzoni's /

Promessi Sposi (favored for learners of Italian) with her niece Fanny, "discovering thereby" that she "could read Italian almost like French or English." Still she longed for her library and hoped Carlyle would send her his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*: "O those 4 vols.!"⁴

The Follens sent Martineau reports of the "Anti-Slavery cause," while distinguished people like the wealthy flax spinners of Leeds, the Marshalls (alerted by Carlyle) inquired after her health. Of other bits of gossip for Fanny: "What a funny idea is that of Carlyle being Moral Philosophy Professor, -- a business which requires logic so especially! . . . Is not "Cinq Mars" very fine? I should like to read more of De Vigny." On the reported death of Lord Brougham (overturned in his carriage and treated to uncomplimentary obituaries in London papers), she sniffed "We were too near to Penrith to be taken in."⁵

By "slow degrees," she was "doing the *Dress-maker* for Knight's series," with "technical details . . . furnished by a professional person," the morals of needle-women being of "immense importance." Knight had her "scraps of notes for his Pictorial Shakspeare -- , -- the Shrew, Merchant, and Othello, -- pretty work" that had steeped her in Italy for the hour (Knight alleged that a highly-valued friend recently returned from Italy "strengthened the conjecture" that Shakespeare meant to show Italy of his own time; notes on the topographical, historical and textual background of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Merchant of Venice* included ones signed "[M.]"). Basking in the attention of her family as she wrote to Fanny, Martineau reported her mother's plan to come to Newcastle on a visit and that her sister Lissey was sitting beside her.

"Did you ever study fully any girl of 18?" she went on. Was there "any study so charming in the world?" Her niece Fanny Greenhow was "so melting" and unspoiled that "to meet her angel countenance at every turn, to have her hand smoothing everything . . . and to hear her voice, reasoning or laughing with her little brothers" seemed "almost an oppression of luxury." Her beloved James, moreover, was making a hymn-book, "a rare beauty of a collection." Finally, she sent regards to Erasmus and Hensleigh.⁶

Thanking Louisa Jeffery for slippers, Martineau admitted that by November she could no longer "warm her feet by exercise." For the winter she would stay in this happy home and then "see what ought next to be done," her sisters having agreed to "take it in turn" to stay with their mother and aunt. Follens "c^d not come to Europe after all," she continued, "being too much wanted at home." Delectable letters from them poured in, as well as from the Loring and "a good many others, -- splendid ones from M^{rs} H^y Chapman." Louisa was welcome to borrow any of her books, "only leaving a mem: thereof on the study table" (at Fludyer Street). The Greenhows had the *measles*, and Elizabeth was on her way home.⁷

Before the end of the month, Carlyle sent Martineau his "four thick volumes." *He* was "kept in health and brightened," she told James almost enviously, "by daily riding on a horse given him by Mr. Marshall" (Jane may have reported these details from Liverpool where she and Carlyle attended a service in Paradise Street, but where she could not get her husband to call on James). On 29 November, Martineau walked outside "for the first time . . . but was so tired she [would] not repeat the experiment," plus she was having horrible dreams.

Henry's unreliable behavior continued, though he had *seemed* to be keeping his good name at Norwich. For example, during the year, he had submitted a proposal to the Court of Chancery concerning the property of the former French Church, St. Mary the Less. Yet on 5 December, James noted:

With regard to Henry I seem to have proposed some plan (probably emigration) in the expenses of which his brothers and sisters should join, according to their power. Harriet suspends judgment till Robert has spoken; but, for every sum given . . . Lissey certainly could not join.⁸

In December, Martineau sent Macready advice on an ear trumpet for Thomas Landseer, elder brother of the painters Charles and Edwin Landseer. Next writing to Ellen Needham at Liverpool about the Oberlin in Ohio, Martineau reported on two American antislavery agents, William E. Dawes and John Keep, travelling in England and Scotland to collect funds for the insolvent institute. Could Ellen try to get a statement into the newspapers? And could she get "any clergymen of any sort to preach for the Oberlin?" Or collect subscriptions? Or "interest the Gregs, & through them, any Manchester, Liverpool or other people?" Ellen could "tell the story to Cath^e Turner & to M^r. W^m Enfield" (town clerk of Catherine's home at Nottingham), to spread among Unitarians. A public meeting was to be held at Newcastle for the cause.

Her conscience was "set at ease by the impossibility of working," Martineau went on to Ellen, yet she had a book in her head, "likely to be the best" of the kind she had done. Sadly, various friends were ill. A letter from Carlyle, "delightful in itself," contained "an over-proportion of bad news:" his wife was ailing,

(almost of course,) Eras: Darwin the same. Southey completely, almost hopelessly broken down, with a sort of apoplexy. John Sterling . . . obliged to go again to Madeira, for health; &, finally, the London & West^r to be given up, after the next N^o.⁹

Carlyle's gloomy tidings did faze Martineau she told Fanny Wedgwood. She wanted to move back to London if she should "get well enough to work." Yet "since Sep^r," she had had "her bonnet on twice . . . & both times [was] clearly the worse for the experiment." In London her mother "had notice to quit" 17 Fludyer Street "next Michaelmas," as the rest of the street was coming down. If Martineau did return, she thought of looking at "some pretty cheap houses about Regent Square, or some unfashionable parts near." Working on behalf of the "affair of the Oberlin," she was "glad to see "Miss Wedgwood's name" in the list of donors" (either Hensleigh's elder sister or his spinster aunt), and the Corporation of London's donation of £200 was a sign of success. Expecting the mayor of Newcastle and the two American delegates to call on her, she dreamed Garrison had come with them, but "Alas! when he was just beginning to speak to me, it proved only a dream." She wished British testimony (in Maria Chapman's phraseology?) to "shine in the eyes and ring in the ears of the slave-holders."

As for Captain Frederick Marryat's just published *A Diary in America*, he should have "taken pains to get good information" about her "intercourse with slave-holders" before committing himself against her in print. Slave-holders had invited her to their homes *because* she had written *Demerara*, wanting her to "see slavery more closely" than as "an ordinary traveller, passing from inn to inn." Though she had seen only reviews of Marryat's book, she thought of writing "a brief statement" of what she *had* done, to set him straight. "I beg you to thank E. Darwin for his very kind letter," she went on, and she wouldn't "scruple to ask any thing of him." Would he or Fanny tell her "what Italian dictionary you consider the best?" Her niece Fanny's was "a bad one." If she could "devise any means of procuring . . . the only indulgence" she lacked, "a good supply of books," she would "probably ask E.D's help." Their

Literary Society bought only one copy of each new book, while circulating libraries had "nothing but bad novels," and the book societies were "in the hands of evangelical folk, who admit only religious biographies &c." Meantime, she dreaded "seeing [Carlyle's] pamphlet or book," of which he told her she should "believe some, and forgive the rest." On a personal note, she warned Fanny not to let "eternal morning callers" weary her after the birth of her baby (Katherine Euphemia, later Effie), born in November.¹⁰

In December, Martineau began a new journal noting that *The Dress-Maker* had been done "with slowness and uncertainly," though she was not suffering greatly. It was "much approved," and friends had cheered her. "Out of doors once this month [on 29 November?] and do not mean to try again at present." Lord Durham had invited her to Lambton Castle to meet the Duke of Sussex, but she "[c]ould not go, of course." Charles Buller and Mr. Hawes (probably Benjamin Hawes, MP for Lambeth) had come over from Lambton, and she enjoyed talk on politics with them. Carlyle, she laughed, characterized John Sterling's "striking review" of *Chartism* in the *Westminster* as "like the Brocken Spectre, -- a very *large* likeness and not very correct." That day, the mayor of Newcastle had called to discuss the Oberlin.¹¹

Next day, an unusual request went off to Macready. William Godwin's seventy-year old widow, the former Mary Jane Clairmont, wanted him to read a play translated from German popular drama by her "excellent son [from a previous marriage], now a Professor in the Theresiana at Vienna," with a view to producing it. Profits would add to a "gift lately received from Government," to provide for her old age. Martineau knew Macready's kindness and thought he would agree about what was "due from society to the Godwins," who were all "very clever." In a postscript she warned: "M^{rs} G is a singular old lady . . . so overflowing with all manner of admirations, that it is really desirable to give notice thereof to any one about to see her." That evening, Martineau explained the Oberlin cause to a Mr. McAlister--and hoped a sermon might "come out of it."¹²

Otilie von Goethe -- volatile daughter-in-law of the poet and a patron and friend of Anna Jameson -- was "charmed" with her "America," Martineau jotted down on 17 December. She had sent letters to Lord Brougham and Lord Morpeth about the Oberlin and was accepting contributions -- Lord Murray, Milnes, Elisabeth Reid "and a lump besides," had already answered. Dawes, "an Ohio man, good-looking and hearty," called that day (and twice after Christmas), telling her about the wrangles in the corporation of London over the proposal to give the Oberlin £1,000, but that one member was reluctant to offend the South. Dawes described the hardships of Oberlin professors and students, and his "glorious faith and piety, together with [his] shrewdness and business character of mind," excited Martineau's admiration.

At the Greenhows,' Christmas brought merry doings. Martineau was "practising quadrilles for the children's dance in the evening" and thought the new "gallopade step in a country dance . . . a great improvement on the old jiggling step."

(Slightly out of touch, Carlyle gossiped to Monckton Milnes: "Poor Miss Martineau has not only lost her ear-trumpet, but her health [and] is in a very infirm though not dangerous state [!]")

On New Year's Eve, Frederic Hill called on Martineau to learn if she could "point out a

person fit to be governor of the new prison at Perth." Writing in her journal an hour before midnight, she admitted having encouraged her own "selfishness" over the past year. "Now for joining heart with the Follens over the sea," who must surely be "thinking of her this midnight," she added.

Feeling sad and unable to read the *Examiner* or write for the Oberlin next day, Martineau made a cap. Catherine Turner then called, looking "charmingly," and Martineau tried reading German--probably Varnhagen von Ense's memoirs of his wife, Rahel -- but it didn't help. Reading something by the anti-slave trade activist William Wilberforce, she met "with a few facts about Toussaint," a seemingly dead subject left for her to revive. Wilberforce, she concluded, "grows twaddling in his old age, through want of cultivation of mind."

During the next few days, Martineau had another "sweet, long talk" with Catherine discussing a "chance . . . of good to the class of unhappy women" (prostitutes?). On the 13th, Dawes called about the "Oberlin tract" (*The Martyr Age*) and tired Martineau; and she was further discouraged by hearing of a medical case like hers.

Greenhow now surgically removed "a small polypus" and applied leeches, but (unsurprisingly) the pain, "oppressive sickness" and constipation continued.¹³

Putting discomfort aside, Martineau wrote to beg Fanny Wedgwood for news of Charles and Emma Darwin's first baby -- and of Robert Mackintosh's engagement to Mary Appleton in Boston. Mary and Robert had called on the Follens in East Lexington, who sent Martineau the news. Not only was Mary beautiful, but "winning, sweet, simple, and most thoroughly domestic," though Fanny Butler called her "Portia." As her future sister-in-law, Fanny (Wedgwood) "need not have five minutes' constraint" with her, Martineau affirmed. She remembered Mary's rapt look during an evening at the "T. Sedgwicks" in Stockbridge when she had read out "one of Carlyle's articles."

Of other tidbits, *Chartism* seemed "stuck all thro' with prejudices and bits of injustice, as thick as a tippy cake with almonds." In spite of Carlyle's "fine sympathy with the many," he overlooked "what the Poor Law Comm^s [had] done for Education" and he showed "insolence to the Irish." Robertson complained that Carlyle was "declaring (against warning) that the London & West^r" was to cease, "whereas no such thing" was yet settled. Meanwhile, Captain Marryat's attacks on *her* were "most satisfactorily false throughout," while *Deerbrook* had converted her enemies "in multitudes." Finally, there was not "a merrier family party in Eng^d," than the Greenhows', though in the spring Martineau would go to "a lodging at Tynemouth" where she might "see the sea, instead of brick houses." There she would be only a half-hour away from her "good surgeon" and could "gently and easily" write the book she had in her mind.¹⁴

For Fox's "*private satisfaction*," Martineau wrote to tell him of her illness and to report on her latest writings: "notes on the localities of Shakspeare's Italian plays . . . the 'Dressmaker' . . . the 'Appeal' for the Oberlin," the "Newcastle Improvements" and "much correspondence." Could Fox help the Oberlin? She expected his lectures to workies to be sent from Fludyer Street (where she had spent only a few hours since April). Didn't he like "Mazzini's [badly translated] review of Carlyle's *French Rev*" in the January *Monthly Chronicle*? The portrait of Channing "in the new edition of his works" was "exactly like," and *she* had a "most faithful & beautiful portrait" of Follen to spare.¹⁵

(Carlyle told his mother that Martineau wrote "to Jane sometimes," pretending to be "very happy," but could "not be *happy*, having some grievous disorder about her."¹⁶)

Meanwhile the sale of *The Martyr Age* pamphlet at £2.10 was gratifying, Elisabeth Reid having accepted two hundred copies to distribute. By 7 March, "subscriptions to the Oberlin" were flowing in so fast the delegates had hopes of doubling the £3000 "already transmitted to America."¹⁷

Sadly, Aunt Lee who had been more to Martineau than friends "could easily believe" was sinking. Ellen was at Fludyer Street, and Martineau hoped her mother would "break up housekeeping and commit herself to the care of her children."

Most shocking was the death on 13 January of Dr. Follen in the explosion of the steamboat *Lexington* as it passed through Long Island Sound en route to Boston. Hungering for "tidings," Martineau agonized about little Charley. Follen had been, moreover, her "very nearest friend, guide and guardian." With his wife, she had known him best of anyone in her existence, and on leaving America she expected only to meet them "in another life." Julia Smith had a copy of "a beautiful sermon of M^r Dewey's on the event," to be forwarded to "M^{rs} G.R. Porter/ Norwood Lane, Dulwich."

Martineau told the Greenhow children about Charley, though hating to spoil their "great festival of the year," Valentine's Eve. Willy sat next to her that night and later said he was sorry her evening was spoiled. While "his 12 presents were pouring in," Martineau went on, "I never suspected he was reading my thoughts." Of other tidbits, she thanked Erasmus through Fanny for sending her Mazzini's review of *Chartism* laughed at by Jane Carlyle -- who was kind, but whose "inaccuracy [was] mischievous." James had "no thought whatever of leaving Liverpool," Martineau went on, but might take "the Intellectual Phil' chair at the Manchester College" to better make use of his "rich and rare powers." Her latest reading comprised an article on Robin Hood in the *Westminster*, the *Athenaeum* on Chartism and *Blackwood's* on *Deerbrook* -- and she was waiting to see a piece on American philosophy by Monckton Milnes in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (a mistake for Milnes's review of Emerson in the *Westminster*). "On the 16th, I move to Tynemouth," she alerted Fanny, to "12 Front St."¹⁸

The bustle of settling into a first-floor room (above the ground floor) in the coastal town of Tynemouth seemed hardly to slow Martineau's writing and correspondence, but it marked her entrance into a new stage of life as a single, middle-class woman living alone with adequate (but modest) means. Having invested £1,000 of her earnings in the deferred annuity, she was deprived of "immediate resources" and relied on gifts -- two generous sisters [the Yates?] sent her a bank note for £100 -- repaid when her "prosperity returned." From her bed/sitting room window, Martineau looked out on the sea and the mouth of the Tyne, the stark Northumbrian coast offering spectacular scenery and a variety of human subjects. Front Street -- lined by brick row houses on either side -- ran slightly downhill to the north towards the military "castle" built next to the ruins of an ancient priory. Martineau's landlady, Mrs. Halliday, assisted by her sickly niece from South Shields across the river, let out at least two other rooms-with-board.¹⁹

Three weeks after settling at Tynemouth, Martineau thanked Robert Browning for *Sordello* -- probably forwarded by Lissey. On 18 April, she assured Louisa Jeffery that the offer

"to companionize or nurse" her was not needed, for

I have begun a book again; & I find I am equal to writing if I have no other call upon my strength. My days, passed in entire solitude & silence, are really delicious, & very profitable.

She could lie on the sofa and read "without the effort of *listening*," which was a fatigue. Her aunts and sister and brother-in-law often looked in on her for an hour, and the landlady was "on the watch to send for them, in case of the seizure w^h must happen, sooner or later." Yet cases like hers had been "*15 years*" in coming to a crisis." Friends who came in the summer could lodge nearby and spend evenings with her, but solitude allowed the "power of exertion," of which she did not want to give up "a single week." Today she planned to walk to the end of the street, "the first attempt since October to set foot out of doors" but now the "green downs, the larks, primroses, sunshine & blue sea" allured her. Channing had "preached most beautifully on the loss of the *Lexington*," she went on to Louisa.

M^{rs} Follen fell on the floor, as if shot, when the news arrived, & it was eight hours before she showed any sign of life. It was Charley's tears & entreaties that she w^d come back to him that revived her.²⁰

Eliza Follen was to edit her husband's works, Martineau told James, to be published in four volumes. *She* would like "to send out a list of the copies bespoke" in England . . . and so prevent a pirated reprint here." Martineau liked James's sermon "Endeavourers XII," suggested by the burning of the *Lexington*. His concluding argument she thought strong enough to overpower all "doubts and fears that can be marshalled against our faith." For Ellen and Alfred's sake she had made inquiries of colonial people "about the openings for capable young medical men in our settlements beyond seas," and she strongly advised "Alfred to settle with Ellen at Adelaide, S. Australia" (James was to officiate at their wedding in April 1841). "Sir C. C[larke]'s opinion" on her case had determined her to take her "present rooms for the year," she told James.²¹

To Maria Chapman, Martineau boasted she had done what she could to keep the Oberlin safe. "Living and dying," she would stay with the cause. Now she was "about a book" that might do some good, and she hoped Garrison remembered her "with regard." In a postscript, she asked how Chapman felt "about a community of goods, and yet an inviolate personal freedom" (possibly her response to George Ripley's plans for the Brook Farm colony).²²

Though Martineau had earlier deferred to the Kers' opposition to a novel about Toussaint L'Ouverture, the idea returned to haunt her. "[M]y subject opened before me," she recorded dramatically in her autobiography, "as I lay gazing upon the moon-lit sea, in the evenings of April and May." Immersing herself in works later cited in her appendix to the novel, she found "new traits in the man, new links between the personages, and a clearer perception of the guiding principle of the work." Indeed, her idealized portraits of Toussaint and his family and associates closely followed Capt. Marcus Rainsford's account of the British occupation of Haiti and the Haitian revolution. On "Saturday, the 2nd of May," using details from her visit to the bleak Fort de Joux in spring 1839, she began *The Hour and the Man. A Historical Romance* with "Toussaint's arrival at the Jura."²³

Interrupting Martineau briefly, a plea came from Ellis Gray Loring to arrange a meeting for the "lovely & sweet" Jane Tuckerman of Boston with Carlyle. Complying, she warned them

"If the thing bores you, tell me so, & I will get you off." *She* was sitting at an open window working on the book she had dreamt of for five years, her "table . . . covered with primroses [and] the air full of lark-music." Below, gardens were

budding & blossoming, the down of a *dazzling* green . . . the sea like a pearly floor of heaven, with a fleet far away, & the rocky Durham shore stretching away [to the south], point after point.

How did she stand as a possible "holder of ten pounds' worth of share or shares" in the library Carlyle was trying to create? She *liked* his plan for lectures, but where was the "Confessor or Martyr Hero" in his "glorious Company? -- the man brave & strong for & against *Opinion*?" She would favor "six lectures to one on this aspect of the Hero." If he had "not considered [the hero] that in every situation [he] should never have thought him worth talking about," Carlyle grumbled testily. Martineau wondered about their "joining her in her sea-residence," Carlyle told his sister, but he feared Tynemouth was "at bottom a fashionable bathing-village full of Northumbrian quality and half and quarter quality, -- a place to be fled from!" Yet he worried over Martineau's "sore and dangerous illness of some sort; she that used to be so healthy."²⁴

In May, Martineau was "very unwell," she told James, but Greenhow "hit upon a method of applying opiate treatment" which enabled her "to resume her writing" (she had refused to apply the iodine ointment recommended by Clarke so Greenhow prescribed an [oral] iodine tonic).

Concern for Erasmus Darwin's bad health led Martineau to apologize to Fanny Wedgwood for wanting sympathy for *herself*. Next answering seven-year-old Snow's "nice letter" in simple vocabulary and clear imagery, she noted the shore at Tynemouth "was not all sand, nor yet shingle (while there) is so much seaweed on the rocks that they are very slippery." When *she* was nine, she had an adventure in trying to "get round a point at low water" but slipped on the rocks so that her "white frock was all plastered with seaweed." If Snow came to Tynemouth, she might fish for crabs and collect specimens of seaweeds.

Possibly later that spring, Martineau excitedly gave Fanny directions for getting to Tynemouth. At the moment, her "poor weak head" was bewildered "with a proof still to do [probably a portion of *The Hour and the Man*], and Robertson just come, with a huge pile of new books and letters, -- overpowering to look at." Fanny must write to Lissey so her husband or a servant could meet them at Newcastle to put them on the Tynemouth train. "I should advise your coming straight here, (N^o 12)," where "I can ensure you a *clean* attic, with a good bed in it," and the landlady might suggest suitable lodgings: "O how welcome you will be, dear Fanny! None of my friends have found the least difficulty in getting here."²⁵

Almost to confirm Martineau's words, William Howitt came for tea before leaving for a year in Germany and Switzerland. Rachel and her friend Jane Pilkington then promised to come to Tynemouth for a week. Emily Taylor *would* come if she could leave her old aunt, prompting Martineau's comment to James, "I do love her, and not a whit the less for our differences being so wide as they are."²⁶

In London on 12 June, the World's Anti-Slavery Convention called by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society opened at Exeter Hall. Martineau sent a note of "love and sympathy" and support to the American, Lucretia Mott, of whom she had heard through Elisabeth Reid and Julia Smith. Could Lucretia write a few words about the Furnesses, she wondered? Martineau was doing her part by asking for contributions to the *Liberty Bell*,

begging Anna Jameson to "send to this spirit of freedom . . . any sort of piece." Moreover, if Jameson could come to Tynemouth it would give her "unspeakable pleasure." Last evening, Elizabeth Ker -- whose *sincerity* led people to call her blunt (which she was *not*) -- had left her.²⁷

(At the convention, the females from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were not allowed to be seated with the main body of delegates and had to sit in the gallery. When Garrison arrived late, he joined them along with other men who in protest declined to participate. In London, however, Garrison met noted philanthropists like Lady Byron, Amelia Opie, Mary and William Howitt and Elizabeth Fry. Before calling on Martineau at Tynemouth on his way to Scotland [on 11 or 12 July], he was entertained by "the rich Quaker banker, Samuel Gurney" in the presence of the Duchess of Sutherland and her brother Lord Morpeth, and he sat for the painter Benjamin Robert Haydon's group portrait. One of Garrison's meetings with Lady Byron took place at dinner and tea in the home of Elisabeth Reid, "an opulent Unitarian lady," he told his wife).²⁸

"How gay he is!" Martineau exclaimed to Maria Chapman after Garrison had called on *her*. Seeing him had brought her nearer to Chapman, to whose cause she now dreamed of devoting her life. Garrison's sitting in the gallery had done much for the "women question," she added. Asserting one's liberty was "hard work," but she and Chapman might "make it easier for some few to follow [than] it was for poor Mary Wollstonecraft to begin." Garrison had £2 from her for the "society," earned by fancy work.²⁹

Martineau had written to William Ware to announce "*No more Fludyer St.*" Houses were being "pulled down, to make room for new Gov^t Offices," and her mother would "remove to Liverpool, to live beside 3 of her children" (as Martineau recommended). Though Martineau's disease was destined to be "excessively painful," she had "not the slightest anxiety or fear about any thing to come." At Tynemouth she was free to work, away from the "letters, parcels, foreigners, public objects &c" of London, and she had an "exquisite view" overlooking the sea, "an old ruined Priory, & green down." A train of friends were expected, "stretching from May to Christmas" and coming 300 miles to see her. Anna Jameson might bring Lady Byron, "[t]hen the Carlyles, M^{rs} Reid . . . some . . . glorious Amer^{ns} . . . & my nurse of last year, Julia Smith, who offers herself for the winter."

Julia was attending the antislavery convention in London and writing to her daily. Julia had changed her poor opinion of Americans "from her brother having travelled hastily thro' the U.Ss," and she regarded the delegates as noble, especially the women. Haydon's painting of "the reception of Clarkson by the Convention" showed the white haired old man, almost blind . . . led by his dead son's beautiful wife [and on the other side] the black delegates from Hayti.

Meanwhile, she vaunted, "I am at work upon a picture, in my way . . . and I sh^d like your opinion of its central group."

Gossiping on to Ware, Martineau reported on a cheap edition of *Palmyra Letters* issued by Chambers of Edinburgh. Meanwhile, her ninety-year-old grandmother, avidly reading Ware's *Probus*, exclaimed when left alone to read: "Where is my Probus?" Yet "[w]hat a misfortune to live so long!" Sadly, Martineau's gentle little nephew Eddie (Lissey's son), "the original of Archie, in *Ella of Garveloch*," was "going off in a rapid decline." Martineau would not see "M^r Dewey" (in England for the convention?), "nor yet the Sedgwicks." Eliza Follen, by "great & good effort," had written that fifty copies of Follen's *Works* were ordered. And James had accepted the professorship of "Mental & Moral Phil^y" in the new Manchester College. He

gave a "beautiful" sermon on the loss of the *Lexington* -- though it was "not exactly fit for sending over."³⁰

Further petitioning Jameson to send something for *The Liberty Bell*, Martineau queried whether *Deerbrook* had been "done in German," tributes from Germany "for some years past" having quite surprised her. On another subject, hearing Caroline Norton's name made her "think of her all the day after," and she "w^d undergo much to fathom her mind." Lord Murray had wished Martineau to meet Norton, and though some people felt "certain of her *past* profligacy," *Martineau* was "strongly disposed to believe" all she said. Yet by "strenuously denying facts of her former life," Norton caused pain.³¹

In mid-July, Martineau asked the Quaker abolitionist Elizabeth Pease for help in identifying individuals for her new novel -- especially females like "the wife & daughters of Toussaint L'Ouverture." Her current effort comprised "the true, entire history of Toussaint . . . surrounded by pictures of the scenery, society, & history of his time." When they next met, Pease must ask for the story of Martineau's secret expedition "in search of evidence concerning him." Perversely, Martineau was suffering "*from failure of spirits*, with apprehensiveness, anxieties and self-contempt." As hoped-for consolation, James's *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home* was on its way to her.³²

In addition to Garrison, Lucretia Mott and other American delegates called on Martineau in Tynemouth after the June antislavery meeting. During the summer, she issued commissions to family members and friends: Richard was asked to procure the gold inkstand Lord Durham had given her from "*M^r Sam^l Smith's Chambers, 6 Whitehall*" to be directed to Julia Smith or herself; Capt. Beaufort was begged to store "Capⁿ Maconochie's mass of M.S.S." left at Fluyder Street; and another correspondent was reminded of the material concerning Toussaint and "the present state of Hayti" Martineau wished to insert in an appendix.³³

The Hour and the Man now provided a "resource" for Martineau over several months, ideas "springing up" as she wrote. On 10 October, she sent Moxon almost the last of her "M.S.," leaving it to him "to decide between 1000 & 1250 copies" and asking him to let Knight know the number and to "manage about the paper for the map." Knight "expressly said that he should present me with the engraving & *printing* of the map," she explained. Then after correcting the last proof sheet on 17 November, Martineau was disappointed when Moxon reported that under 500 copies had been subscribed for. His offer of "twenty-five copies more, both of it and *Deerbrook*," showed clearly that he did not expect to sell either work. "Yet as I sat at my work, my spirits rose," Martineau recorded in her autobiography. Toussaint had been chosen as her hero partly in loyalty to her new friends, the Boston abolitionists. Moreover, Toussaint as she had portrayed him was not just a virtuous leader duped by Napoleon, but an ideal Victorian husband and father.³⁴

Martineau's novel opens on a sultry August evening in Cap Français (now Cap Haitien) in 1791, where "festivities among the French and [white] Creole inhabitants" anticipate the first meeting of a new General Colonial Assembly. Voting has been limited to whites only -- in defiance of the French National Assembly at Paris which that year granted freedom and equality to all citizens, including mulattoes. After a succinct summary of the political background, Martineau shifts the scene to the humble cottage of the black slave family where Toussaint is reading Epictetus. Suddenly his young son cries that the sky is on fire, and Toussaint exclaims: "The whites have risen against their king; and now the blacks rise against

them, in turn . . . a great sin." Toussaint quickly determines to help his white master escape, and as he rides off his family hear the sound of his horse's hooves disappearing under the limes of the avenue.

In the next scene, white deputies are seated at a banquet singing the "Marseillaise" and dining on "delicate turtle . . . well-fattened land-crabs . . . rich pastries . . . cold wines . . . refreshing jellies . . . oranges, figs, and almonds, pomegranates, melons, and pine-apples." Sated, they try to patronize the black chef, Henri Christophe, the enigmatic future "emperor" of Haiti.

Narrating events of the civil war based on her sources, Martineau gives Toussaint noble thoughts: "We are free; and to be free requires a strong heart, in women as well as men." Even invented and sentimentalized minor characters do not detract from certain poetic descriptions: as Toussaint rides down a mountain ridge at daybreak "[s]till as sleep rose the mountain peaks to the night."

In the second volume, a young French Creole girl peeps through jalousies onto a dewy convent garden, then breaks off a flowery branch and coaxes hummingbirds to sip from it. Finally, in a scene on the east coast of Haiti, Toussaint and Christophe watch the approach of a vast fleet sent by Napoleon.

Not a word was spoken as the great ships-of-war bore majestically up towards their point . . . Nearer and nearer they closed in, till the waters seemed to be covered with the foe.

Toussaint is captured and taken to France, then conveyed to the Jura -- a "region . . . so wild, that none were likely to come hither in search of the captives." Outside, snow lies on the ground.

In silence they wound through the defile, till all egress seemed barred by a lofty crag. The road . . . disclosed a small basin among the mountains, in the midst of which rose . . . the fortress of Joux.

Told to alight, Toussaint springs up the rocky pathway, "with a sense of desperate pleasure," fixing in his memory "the leading points of the landscape towards the east." Within the fort, Toussaint's identity is kept secret from all except the commandant and his aide. He is led through a dark vault dripping with water, past a deep well. As they open his cell door, a large flake of ice falls on Toussaint's head, a portent of his doom.³⁵

Before the end of November, Martineau was busy giving away her twenty-five copies of *The Hour and the Man* and writing (rather formally) to Anne Horner that Moxon would send her one. By early December, Carlyle had his copy and reported to John Sterling that the novel contained "beautiful enthusiasm," along with "a half-enviable half-pitiable faith in Socinian Formulas." To Emerson he complained of Toussaint's "*black* Sansculottism" (Sterling had called Martineau's Toussaint a "black Wilberforce-Washington"). To Emerson's wife, Lydia, Carlyle elaborated that the "good Harriett" had made "a beautiful 'black Washington' (or 'Washington-Christ-Macready') . . . of a rough-handed, hardheaded, semi-articulate gabbling Negro; and of the horriblest phasis that 'Sansculottism' can exhibit." Nevertheless, he read Martineau's work with attention, perhaps weighing Toussaint as a "Hero" in *his* terms, as pencilled lines and comments in a copy with his bookplate show. Though at times scathing, Carlyle seemed to enjoy dramatic twists in the plot and finally to be moved to sympathy. In the margin beside the scene of Toussaint's death, he scribbled: "Why did he [Napoleon] not shoot poor Toussaint? It

was a frightful atrocity to cage him up there."³⁶

When Martineau's old friend Jeffrey received his copy, he deemed the work "not only beautiful and touching, but *noble*," even though he did not believe the characters "ever spoke or acted" as portrayed: Toussaint seemed "a combination of Scipio and Cato and Fénelon and Washington." Elizabeth Gaskell (yet to find her *métier* as a writer of fiction) thought Toussaint "a magnificent character . . . & the conversations . . . like those in *Deerbrook* very interesting." Fox's notice in the *Morning Chronicle* on 3 December referred to Martineau's "[p]sychological fiction" as the best form of history and biography; characterized by a "terse and vigorous" style, it was the "most powerful work" she had produced. The *Athenaeum* lauded the book as "of great moral interest," saying that Martineau had properly treated the subject *historically* and not romantically.

In sharp contrast, John Forster in the *Examiner* labeled the plot "defective" and lacking in sufficient historical background; Martineau's characters were not "interwoven" with the fable and Toussaint's family were not interesting -- though *Toussaint* was a masterpiece. *Tait's* approved of the work, which *might* supersede *Deerbrook*; the "hour" in the title seemed to signify the beginning of the "redemption" of the negro race -- yet the novel was best described as "a series of sketches."³⁷

To James, Martineau vaunted the novel's "remarkable success." She was relieved, from the notices in the U.S. and from the "Naval and Military," that she had "made no mistake in the war chapters." To validate her heightening of the Haitian tragedy, Sir Robert and Lady Inglis had seen the widow of Henri Christophe at Pisa, "alone, poor and desolate."³⁸

By late September, Martineau was looking ahead to a new project -- *The Playfellow*, "the light and easy work" for which she felt "now fit." Snow Wedgwood was asked to "make a list . . . of the stories and story-books that you and Bro like best" and least, just as her "nephews and nieces every where" were doing. Moreover, she had something to tell Snow. "I think there could hardly be a prettier story told than the true history of the little maid Jane, who waits upon me here." Jane's mother was dead, she had a "wicked father" and lived with her aunt in the cottage at the bottom of the garden. During the past month, a "woman in the house broke her leg," and in the confusion, young Jane calmly "got every thing ready for putting her to bed." Within a week, Jane's aunt "fell down too, and broke her arm and sprained her shoulder." Jane had kept in her tears all day, so as not to alarm Martineau, and from that time, she has kept the house, made the broth for the sick people, run out in the evenings to Shields for any thing that had to be bought [and was up] in a moment if her aunt stirred in the night.

Jane had such a sad life, Martineau liked "to make her laugh" and to watch her going for milk or to the post-office, when "she trips along, as if she felt merry." Would Snow not like to come next summer to see Jane?³⁹

(On 7 October, James gave his first lecture at Manchester New College in London: "Scope of Mental and Moral Philosophy." His mother had taken "a nice lodging next door [to Harriet]" at Tynemouth, James recorded, where her sister Margaret would "companionize her and read to her while Harriet [was] at her writing." Their "willing companion and general cheerer" Julia Smith was to be at Tynemouth through Christmas. Finally, Henry had "maintained his good conduct" in London, his meeting with the charismatic Garrison having kept him "steady").⁴⁰

In November, Martineau's loyalty to Garrison involved her in a new quarrel among American abolitionists. When Garrison's disciple John Anderson Collins requested her help in collecting funds, she reminded him that Garrison was the proper person to apply to "the Dutchess [sic] of Sutherland," and that she dared not ask her friends for further donations. "Such an appeal," she said tartly, "following on their late liberal charity, would . . . alienate them entirely from a cause w^h they regard already as degraded by quarrels." Collins had spoken of "calumnies" being circulated about him by members of the New York-based American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society ("the rump" of the original American Anti-Slavery Society now led by Garrison in Boston). Later Martineau asked Collins for "facts you or your friends can furnish of untrue statements made by Birney and Stanton about Garrison or his band." Collins must not expect any remarks from her on his pamphlet, as she was "quite overdone" with work. Nevertheless, she wrote again advising him "The briefer, the more forcible." If he would leave the manuscript of his pamphlet with her that evening, she would make "a few verbal alterations" and write a letter for publication. Now she was studying "Mill's India [a picture of Indian backwardness and depravity] with a sickening heart," she told Collins. To Elizabeth Pease, Martineau complained of the "prodigious breach of the plainest rules of Morals" by James Birney and Henry Stanton, "to write so of Collins without explaining what they mean!"⁴¹

¹ *Auto.* 2: 146, 1: 99 and 298-302 (Martineau and her mother seem to have achieved a modus vivendi, but Henry's backsliding (drinking?) must have added to household tension; for Martineau's early disgust at William Taylor's drinking, see chap. 1, note 3).

² *Auto.* 2: 152; Charles Knight to HM, 1 September 1839, BUL MS HM 1091; HM to Charles Hemans, 30 July 1839, *HM/FL* 44; Hemans must have sent the first of the seven volumes of his mother's phenomenally successful works republished as *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Felicia Hemans; with a Memoir of her Life, by her Sister* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons; London: Thomas Cadell, 1839); HM to JM, 30 July 1839, *HM/FL* 488.

³ HM to FW, 14 September 1839, *HM/FW* 15-18; see *Le Mie Prigioni; or, Memoirs of my Imprisonments. By Silvio Pellico of Saluzzo. With a Preliminary Notice and Notes. A New Translation by Miss Ann Walker* (Edinburgh: John Fletcher, 1838), the "mental and moral autobiography" of a "Christian sufferer" as a political prisoner in Milan; HM to Dr. James Kay [the future Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, secretary in 1839 to the committee of council on education], 28 August 1839, *CL* 2: 35-36; Martineau was to contribute six articles on "The Newcastle Improvements" to the *Penny Magazine* praising architect Richard Grainger, designer of classical brick buildings for his program of urban renewal: "The Newcastle Improvements," *Penny Magazine*, 7 March, 11, 18 and 25 April, 2 and 9 May 1840: 99, 137-38, 148-49, 157-58, 169-70 and 177-78; Thomas De Quincey, "Lake Reminiscences [on Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, etc.]," *Tait's* 10 and 6 (January, February, April, July and August 1839) 1-12, 90-103, 246-54, 453-64 and 513-17; Henry Fothergill Chorley, *The Lion; A Tale of the Coteries* (London: Henry Colburn, 1839); Carlyle sneered at *Deerbrook* as "very ligneous, very trivial-didactic, in fact very absurd for the most part" (TC to Dr. John A. Carlyle, [15] April 1839, *Carlyle Letters* 11: 82-89).

⁴ HM to FW, 27 October 1839, MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 18-21); TC,

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays (Boston: James Munroe, 1838).

⁵ Alfred de Vigny, *Cinq Mars* (a novel about the Marquis de Cinq Mars, late favorite of Louis XIII); [rev.] John Stuart Mill, "Poems and Romances of Alfred de Vigny," *L & WR*, 7 and 29 (April 1838): 1-44; after Brougham's carriage overturned on 21 October 1839 he was accused of testing *public reaction* to his death.

⁶ *The Dressmaker. The Guide to Trade* (London: Charles Knight, [10 parts] 1838-44); for Knight's *Pictorial Shakspeare*, see chap 18, note 8 and chap. 20, note 5 (recent publications like the new edition of William Hazlitt's *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* [originally published in 1817] and *The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare. With remarks on his life and writings by T[homas] Campbell* may have spurred Knight's publication); for *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home* see chap. 6, note 7.

⁷ HM to Louisa Jeffery, 2 November 1839, JRUL (for the Follens, see chap. 13 ff).

⁸ HM to JM, 30 November and 5 December 1839, *HM/FL* 485 and 485; W.J.C. Moens, *The Walloons and Their Church at Norwich* (Lymington: Huguenot Society of London, 1888) 110.

⁹ When Thomas Landseer tried the trumpet, "he heard at a distance of a yard from the speaker but complained of the vibration of the instrument": *Macready*, Toynbee 2: 33; HM to Ellen Needham [sister of Lucy Needham Martineau, Richard's wife], 8 December 1839, *CL* 2: 40-42.

¹⁰ HM to FW, 12 December 1839, *HM/FW* 22-25 (Fludyer Street was being demolished to make way for the new Foreign Office); Frederick Marryat (*A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions* [London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans; 1839]) quoted Clay on Martineau's "playing possum" on slavery: see 2: 198-99 and 3: 58-59; TC, *Chartism* (London: James Fraser, 1840 [1839]) railed at the government's failure to act on the "condition-of-England" question, i.e., the plight of the working classes.

¹¹ *Auto.* 3: 226 and 227.

¹² HM to William Macready, 16 December 1839, *CL* 2: 42-43.

¹³ *Auto.* 3: 227-31; TC to Milnes, 28 December 1839, *Carlyle Letters* 11: 234; see *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 . . . by the Newcastle on Tyne Emancipation and Aborigines Protection Society* (Newcastle on Tyne, 1840): Greenhow 12-14.

¹⁴ HM to FW, 17 January [1840], *HM/FW* 25-29; (Mary was the daughter of Nathan Appleton, banker, cotton cloth manufacturer and part-founder of the model factory community at Lowell, Massachusetts; Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., Catharine's eldest's brother).

¹⁵ HM to WJF, 19 February [1840], *CL* 2: 44-45; Guiseppe Mazzini, [rev. of Carlyle's *French Revolution*] *Monthly Chronicle* 5 (January 1840): 71-84 (for the Italian exile patriot Mazzini, see *Auto.* 1: 378-80); the original of Channing's likeness in *The Works of William Ellery Channing* (Glasgow: Richard Griffin, 1840) was by the Italian artist Gambardella, who went to the U.S. after Martineau had left (HM to Joseph Shaw, 14 March 1840, BANC [Box 4] 64).

¹⁶ TC to Margaret A. Carlyle, 24 February 1840, *Carlyle Letters* 12: 53-56.

¹⁷ HM to "Sir," 7 March [1840], [Newcastle County Council].

¹⁸ HM to FW, 8 March 1840, *HM/FW* 29-33 (Lissey's family evidently continued the Martineau custom of Valentine's day gift-giving); Guiseppe Mazzini, "Carlyle's Chartism," *Tait's* 7 (February 1840): 114-20 (lamenting Carlyle's inconclusive and unclear beliefs and ideas); George Fletcher, "Robin Hood," *WR* 33 (March 1840): 424-91; [rev.] "Chartism. By Thomas Carlyle. Fraser.,"

Athen., 11 January 1840: 27-29 (accusing Carlyle of "affectation" and "hasty generalization" but blaming the nation as a whole for a failure to enact reforms); for *Blackwood's*, see chap. 19, note 21; Richard Monckton Milnes, "Emerson," *WR* 33 (March 1840): 345-72.

¹⁹ *Auto.* 2: 153-54; *Life in the Sick-Room. Essays by an Invalid* (London: Edward Moxon, 1844).

²⁰ HM to Robert Browning, 8 April 1840, *CL* 2: 47-48; HM to Louisa Jeffery, 18 April 1840, JRUL.

²¹ HM to JM, 19 April 1840, *HM/FL* 486.

²² HM to MWC, 24 April 1840, *CL* 2: 51 (Martineau did not seem aware that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had chosen her as a delegate to the World Anti-Slavery Convention to be held in London in June).

²³ *Auto.* 2: 157; Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London: J. Cundee, 1805); Martineau's "authorities" probably included Bryan Edwards, *The History of the Island of St. Domingo* (Edinburgh: T. Brown and W. Laing, 1802) and Prince Sanders, *By Authority. Haytian Papers. A Collection of . . . Proclamations [etc.] . . . account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Kingdom of Hayti* (London: W. Reed, 1816).

²⁴ HM to TC and JWC, 26 April 1840, *CL* 2: 52-53 (Carlyle was helping to organize the London Library, founded in 1840; in his "annual despair" at preparing a new course of lectures, "On Heroes and Hero Worship," Carlyle described Jane Tuckerman [also recommended by Emerson] as "a young New England lady full of shadowy brainwebs" and "rose-pink dreams" who fell in love with Jane: RWE to JWC, 22 April 1840, *Emerson/Carlyle*, Slater 270-71); TC to John A. Carlyle, 3 June 1840; see TC to RWE, 2 July 1840; TC to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 6 May 1840 and TC to Margaret A. Carlyle, 1 May 1840, *Carlyle Letters* 12: 157-60, 182-86, 134-37 and 126-27).

²⁵ HM to FW, 30 May 1840 and Saturday night [?spring/summer 1840], *HM/FW* 33-34 and 35 (Fanny was to come with Erasmus in 1841); HM to Snow Wedgwood, 30 May 1840, *HM/FW* 34; Robertson's stint as editor of the *London & Westminster* continued until Mill withdrew as publisher.

²⁶ HM to JM, 2 June 1840, *HM/FL* 487.

²⁷ HM to Lucretia Mott, [June 1840], *CL* 2: 54; HM to Anna Jameson, 20 June [1840], *CL* 2: 55-56.

²⁸ WLG to Helen E. Garrison, 29 June and 3 July 1840, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison. A House Divided Against Itself 1836-1840*, ed. Louis Ruchames (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1971) 2: 656 and 660-61.

²⁹ HM to MWC, July 1840, *Auto.* 3: 232-33.

³⁰ HM to William Ware, 21 June 1840, *CL* 2: 56-57; Benjamin Robert Haydon's painting of Thomas Clarkson backed by antislavery men hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

³¹ HM to Anna Jameson, July, 2 July 1840, *CL* 2: 59, 59-60 (Jameson's *Characteristics of Women* and *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* had been translated into German in 1834 and 1839, but *Deerbrook* was apparently not among Martineau's seven or eight books so far translated into German); Martineau had evidently been asked to endorse a new "letter" from Caroline Norton who (after leaving her violent husband) published *A Plain Letter to the Lord Chancellor on the Infant Custody Bill*, by Pearce Stevenson, Esq. [pseudonym] (London: James Ridgway, 1839; her "letter" led to passage of an Infant Custody Bill, but Norton gained only limited access to her children).

³² HM to Elizabeth Pease, 13 July 1840 and 25 August 1841, *CL* 2: 62-63 and 95-96; HM to JM,

30 July 18[40], *HM/FL* 488; of Martineau's five hymns included in James's earlier gathering, *A Collection of Hymns for Christian Worship* (Dublin: [printed for the Congregation of Eustace-St.], 1831), he now included just one: No. 256, exhorting Lord Jesus to come "And never leave us more" [signed] in *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home Collected and Edited by James Martineau* (London: John Green [printer], 1840); see Carpenter, *James Martineau* 242-43; Martineau was to analyze her depression in *Life in the Sick-Room*.

³³ HM to Lucretia Mott, 19 August 1840, *CL* 2: 64; HM to Elizabeth Pease, Sunday [July-August], 28 September 1840, *CL* 2: 63-64, 66-67; HM to Richard Martineau, 5 September 1840, *CL* 2: 65; HM to Capt. Beaufort, 12 September [1840], *CL* 2: 65-66; HM to ? [asking for data on Haiti], 1 October 1840, *CL* 2: 68-69.

³⁴ *Auto.* 2: 157-59; HM to Moxon, 10 October [1841], *CL* 2: 97-98 (Martineau asked Moxon to "preserve the M.S." for a friend who had aided her--presumably Maria Chapman, who had lived in Haiti for the sake of her husband's health); *The Hour and the Man* included an end map in color; see John Tosh, *A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New York: Yale UP, 1999).

³⁵ "Waiting Supper," 1: 1; "The Exclusives," 1: 20-22; "Griefs of the Loyal," 1: 111; "A Night of Office," 1: 310; "An Old Man in New Days," 2: 2-5, "All Eye," 2: 269; "Meeting Winter," 3:189, 191-92 and 193, *The Hour and the Man*.

³⁶ HM to Anne Susan (Mrs. Leonard) Horner, 28 November [1840], *CL* 2: 70-71; TC to John Sterling, 7 December 1840; TC to RWE, 9 December 1840; TC to Lydia Emerson, 21 February 1841, *Carlyle Letters* 12: 347-48 and 353-56, 13: 40-43; Carlyle's presentation copy of *The Hour and the Man*: Houghton Library/Harvard; see Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle, "Carlyle Looks Askance at a Hero," *Carlyle Studies Annual* 19 (1999-2000): 23-31.

³⁷ Francis Jeffrey to William Empson, *Auto.* 3: 234; Elizabeth Gaskell to ?Anne Robson, [23 December 1841], *Gaskell Letters* 46-47; WJF, [rev.] *Morning Chronicle*, 3 December 1840: 3, col. 5; [rev.] *Athen.*, 5 December 1840: 958-59; John Forster, [rev.] *Examiner*, 6 December 1840: 774-75; "New Novels: *The Hour and the Man*," *Tait's*, 12 and 8 (January 1841): 9-26.

³⁸ HM to JM, 31 December 1840, *HM/FL* 489.

³⁹ HM to Snow Wedgwood, 30 September 1840, *HM/FW* 35-37; Jane Arrowsmith was "a sickly-looking, untidy little orphan girl of fourteen [whose] character was easily known [as] simple, upright, truthful [and] ingenuous": *Auto.* 2: 15 (Jane was to play a crucial role in Martineau's experiments with mesmerism [and clairvoyance] in 1844); Martineau soon acquired a personal maid, paid for by an "uncle and some cousins."

⁴⁰ HM to JM, October, 19 November 1840, *HM/FL* 488 and 488-89; *The Life and Letters of James Martineau* 1: 111.

⁴¹ *Auto.* 2: 157; HM to John Anderson Collins, 9 November 1840, [20 February 1841] and 20 February 1841, *CL* 2: 69-70, 78 and 78-79; John A. Collins, *Right and Wrong amongst the abolitionists of the United States. With an introductory letter by Harriet Martineau* (Glasgow: G. Gallie et al, 1841); James Mill, *The History of British India* (London: Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, 1817); Martineau's concern for British India lay in the future; HM to Elizabeth Pease, 27 February 1841, *CL* 2: 79-80; see also Howard Temperley, *British Antislavery 1830-1870* (London: Longman, 1972) and Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists. An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1974).