

Chapter 25 Friends Organize a Testimonial Fund, Invalidism Eased (1842-1843)

In August, Madame Colmache responded further to *The Hour and the Man* with a "remarkable anecdote" about Napoleon and Josephine. Martineau vowed to include it in an appendix to a new edition. "Mérals" book would be helpful too, if Madame Colmache could find a copy and send it through Moxon, for which he would reimburse her. She should *also* like a lithograph of Joux, having only a sketch by the wife of the bishop of Norwich.¹

During the summer, Elisabeth Reid commissioned two portraits of Martineau by the Neapolitan painter Gambardella -- one apparently for herself and one for Elizabeth Follen. "[W]ith the help of a little additional opiate," Martineau managed to undergo the sittings, she told James.² To Helen, James's wife, she cooed that Milnes had brought her grapes when he came "on Sunday." (Martineau writes "nonsense" about Milnes, Jane Carlyle complained to Thomas: "It makes one sad to see anybod[y]'s judgement so misled by their affections . . . all this comes of his *verses to her*"). Of other friends, the Porters could not come to Tynemouth because he had hurt his leg, but Martineau expected the Kers. Mary Arnold had begun to take a "great interest" in her, "possibly through the influence of Wordsworth," while Hensleigh Wedgwood's high-minded resignation of his office of "Police Magistrate (at £800 a year)" impressed her. Finally, she relayed word that their mother's cataract was "giving hope of an early operation."³

(Erasmus had seen Martineau and found her not so well, he told Carlyle, her "main occupation [being] 'writing letters.'" Perhaps softened, Carlyle wrote to Milnes that "[t]he good Harriet Martineau seems to have been raised to the third heaven by your visit to her: that was well done").⁴

Reading *Edwin the Fair*, a new verse drama by Henry Taylor, Martineau questioned Taylor about examples of seeing one's life whole as death approached. "More than once, in dreaming of dying, I & others have dreamed of this experience." As her favorite of his plays, she still clung to *Philip Van Artevelde* and recalled that she had been "impertinent enough to argue" with him "nearly fifteen years ago," when he listened with patience.⁵

The exciting domestic changes Martineau had described to Jameson now absorbed her attention. Elisabeth Reid had "made a stir" about procuring "the best room out of the next house, & breaking down the wall . . . between that & this room," as Martineau explained the tricky negotiations to her advisor Richard. Through the influence of "M^r *Leadbitter of Newcastle*," of whom her troublesome landlord stood "in great awe," he had been prevailed upon to let her the room. Reid meant to pay for the annual rent of £15, while "Eras: Darwin [begged for] the pleasure of presenting me with the room, -- in w^h I willing accept" (each paying half). Yet they must not pay for the alteration, which "includ^s papering the room to match this," she believed could be done for £10, "& this I can manage myself, perfectly well." Reid had offered her "a spare carpet large enough for both rooms," and Elizabeth Ker (now staying in Tynemouth) would arrange to send "her pictures & busts . . . & the best part of my books, -- & also china, hardware & several other comforts." Yet what *should* she do this time "about M^r Sharpe & C. Fox?" she begged Richard. They made "[n]o settlement in Feb^y . . . nor in August!" Now she wanted "that money; & with the div^{ds} in October, the interest of my little capital in your hands." Her friend Fisher had offered to make her income tax payment to "the National Debt office," so Richard would not have that trouble. And would he mention whether Moxon had offered any payment?⁶

To Martineau's surprise, Louisa Jeffery announced that she was engaged to be married. With "regard & interest," Martineau hastened to explain what she must have said earlier. "Disapproval" was a strong word for her opinion of late marriages. "Generally speaking, I think them, on the woman's side, a pity." But she didn't presume to judge individual cases and had wished to see Louisa married. Having heard that the "nonsense about the Delirium tremens" (in reference to American women's drinking, as reported in *Society*) had touched Louisa, she countered that the "Amer^{ns} . . . now already see & own me to be right, in all the essentials of my books." As for Dickens, she had been "correspond^s on the subject of his forthcoming book," but his language and judgment worried her; he appeared to be an "inexperienced and prejudiced traveller, -- unable to judge of the Amer^{ns} from what he saw." By contrast, the Lyells wrote "in delight with Amer^a, -- in warm sympathy" with *her* views.

Chatting about Americans, Martineau hoped Louisa had seen Channing's "The Duty of the Free States." Hurrying on, she reported on the Furnesses, the Sedgwicks, Elizabeth Follen and Charley. The Ripleys' "community" was prospering, and Ephraim Peabody had written "a delectable letter" from New Bedford. Milnes, she claimed, believed America had produced nothing yet to compare with the "lofty & holy beauty" of Follen's Memoir. Now she must finish, for Anna Jameson was there, "& we are both tired, -- we have talked so much." Before Louisa's letter came, "Mr. Bellenden Ker" had been telling her of an invention by Louisa's cousin. Tonight, she had "a pretty present" from "M^{rs} Sartoris" (Adelaide Kemble) -- Ary Scheffer's *Christus Consolator*. From Charles Lock Eastlake, she had "a fine print of his "Byron's Dream," but most gratifying of all, "by the kindness of friends" she was to have "no less than double space to live in," joined to hers "by sliding doors." Her tumor had lately reappeared, but she had more hope of recovery, had gained appetite "& much comfort by nearly trebling the amount of opiates." Troops of friends had come to see her in the summer, and more were coming. Family news included Rachel's satisfaction with her school.⁷

(As Martineau was sending Adelaide Kemble Sartoris thanks for the painting, Queen Victoria recorded:

Lord Melbourne has read Deerbrook -- the Duchess of Sutherland lent him a copy & requested him to read it, which he did -- It is a very clever work, a very curious picture of middle-most [?] life, with all Miss Martineau's talent & little or none, as far as Lord Melbourne remembers, of her extreme opinions.

Melbourne thought Martineau's novel about "Toussaint & St Domingo" also extremely good, Victoria added, "at least the opening of it," which was all he had read).⁸

Martineau now heard from Eliza Follen of a proposal to invite James to succeed to "Dr. Dewey's pulpit at New York," and she begged James "to tell her what to say." Greenhow's "agreement with Sir Chas. Clarke" on her case "was only *negative*," she went on, that there was "no malignant disease." In answer to James's "words of sorrow for the last of such men [i.e., Channing]," she alleged dramatically that she mourned less because *her* work was done, and "the barriers between this life and the next" seemed almost effaced. Channing's funeral had been conducted, she complained, "by brother ministers who had (with the exception of Gannett) discounted and censored all his noble actions in the slavery conflict." Also troubling was the request by Channing's wife for his letters as material for a memoir. Martineau had consulted their fellow Unitarian Lucy Aiken to ask what she meant to do, for "Channing's letters to Miss Aiken contained a good deal that was painful (Martineau seemed surprised two weeks later when James sent back Channing's original letters).⁹

Boasting to Crabb Robinson of the "richness" of her life with its "rapid & constant succession of visitors" and the attention paid to her by Lady Byron and Adelaide Kemble, Martineau philosophized on what seemed important in her life. One spring night, in "too much pain to keep still," she had wandered into her sitting room to see the sun just rising and spotted details of the life outside: like "Mrs Turnbull's brisk walk down to her pig sty, looking complacently on her cabbages by the way." Recalling her childhood led Martineau to think of what Anna Jameson had told her of Lady Byron, who should not have let Thomas Campbell publish in the *New Monthly Magazine* the letter explaining her position with Lord Byron. Dickens's book on America seemed "superficial," she went on, noting too that Houlston had republished *The Rioters* "in an illegal act" using her name without notice to her. Moreover, she was innocent of the reprinting of her correspondence about refusing a pension.¹⁰

Writing to James ten days later, Martineau broke off importantly to write "to Lady Byron [who was promising to visit next summer] and the Nightingales." Meanwhile, [t]he correspondence regarding the offer of a pension having been published, Charles Buller and Lord Melbourne were pleased that their own share in it was made known.¹¹

(Reprinting letters about Martineau's proposed pension, *The Times* complimented her on refusing what she had "no title" to and laughed at a meeting of 500 of her "admirers" chaired by Colonel Perronet Thompson, who was *late*. Edward Quillinan commented skeptically that:

Miss Harriet Martineau must be considerably damaged in the upper story. Vide her letter dated Nov^{br} 11. 1842 . . . "What does the poor good woman mean? -- Every officer . . . of the crown . . . every paid magistrate, every soldier & sailor . . . is a thief who preys on the vitals of the poor").¹²

When Fox defended Martineau's refusal of a pension in the *Morning Chronicle*, she thanked him avowing that to be charged with "*ostentation*" did not affect her any more than the "ribaldry of the tory papers." Her refusal was thought impertinent owing to dislike of "any one who prys into the halo" surrounding the "Fountain of Honour & Emolument" among "our *conservative* middle & upper class." Like herself, Hensleigh Wedgwood was attacked for resigning his police magistracy but was doing good by his principled act. Eliza Follen had sent copies of the pension correspondence to the *Anti-Slavery Standard*.

Channing, Martineau's "kind, & ever kinder" friend, had died on the very day she sent him the longest letter she had ever written to him. His life had begun with winter and was "reaching summer warmth" when he died. For the sake of Channing's family, she had agreed to letting extracts from his letters be copied though *they* lamented his "latest & best deeds & sayings" (on slavery). Dickens's *American Notes* amused her, she went on, but caused regret. Astonishingly, he seemed unaware of *homes* in America and saw people only in taverns and highways, while *she* could have provided suitable introductions. *He* said Americans wanted humor, and *she* knew that, living in a republic, they were "grave & formal" in public -- but she had laughed more in private in two years there than in the thirty before.¹³

To Moxon in early November, Martineau boasted that friends were urging her to accept the offer of "a most respectable & popular publisher" (Routledge?) to publish *Deerbrook* and *The Hour and the Man* "in an extremely cheap form, for circulation among the lowest book-buying class." For the latter work, she was to have "valuable materials from Paris, very soon, relating to Toussaint & the Revolution of S^t Domingo." What were his wishes? She would wait for his answer but must try to keep her books in circulation (Moxon then offered to publish both *Deerbrook* and *The Hour and the Man*, each in one volume at six shillings).¹⁴

By mid-November, Martineau had vacated her sitting room while it was "repapered and temperaturized with a second window." Having made "an engagement for five years" she could now send for "her bookshelves, study table, couch, &c," she told James. *Two* booksellers were pressing her for cheap editions of *Deerbrook* and *The Hour and the Man*, but she would keep those copyrights and sell the copyright of *Playfellow* to Knight. Of other matters, she lamented John Sterling's "thin and poor" reviews in *Blackwood's*, and Carlyle, "busy with his 'Cromwell' [was] very unreasonable." Smugly, she noted that Brougham "on his way to Cannes," had taken *Deerbrook*, *Feats on the Fjord* and *Crofton Boys*. With Porter, she had had a troubling exchange in which he confessed to religious incredulity yet feared to declare himself openly.

Because their mother took a "deep interest" in nursing details, she would send an account by Emily Cooper of *her* father's death. If Elizabeth could "acquire the habit of dictating letters, &c.," it would be helpful to have one of James's children write for her, as Harry and Willie Greenhow had done. Bafflingly, Aunt Mary Rankin was giving anxiety "by publishing, without permission from the author, a book of extracts from recent copyright works."¹⁵

Martineau's delight at the prospect of a second room and the continuing sale of her books may have spurred her to take on another scheme for public benefit. The *well* in the garden having saved the maids from carrying water on their heads from two streets away, she now wanted to secure better drains for Front Street and its surroundings. When Edwin Chadwick forwarded his "*excessively* interesting . . . Sanitary Report," she reported the sufferings, owing to "ignorance or folly," of three families she could see from her window. Even her landlady, "a good-hearted but uncommonly silly woman," had moaned over the idea of a sink in the kitchen, "as if it were a horrible evil; & meantime, every pail of washings & boilings is thrown down in the garden, -- w^h *slopes* regularly to a cottage, in w^h from 9 to 14 persons live!"

Although the Duke of Northumberland (who received enormous wealth from the area) was "abominably apathetic," she had roused him to drain Front Street from the church to the bailiff's premises. To continue the runoff, Sir J. Walsham and others gave money, *her* landlord gave bricks, etc., etc., and a "centre drain" was "carried down fairly to the haven." She reserved her gift of £20 (her "charity purse" having been filled last year) for house drains, but all was now stopped partly "from ignorant objections of the tenants, & partly because the folk wait for the cheapest labour season, -- Feb^ry & March." Sanitary reform was a struggle! (When Chadwick sent his "Supplement" the following year, Martineau praised his efforts but complained about local work, including not getting full accounts. The drainage was better, however; and Greenhow was on three public health committees, the *smoke* in Newcastle being horrible).¹⁶

In December, Martineau told James she had been asked to find an article by Sydney Smith "in aid of the anti-slavery cause" but feared he did "not go with the liberals." Emily Taylor was there, unwell, but had run over to Newcastle to see Henry Reeve "on his way south with the new-born babe now motherless." For the Eldon Square lads -- Henry and Willie Greenhow -- Martineau had destined her "complete edition of Sir Walter Scott's tales; a Valentine of forty-eight volumes." From the Edinburgh chemist Samuel Brown (Carlyle's admirer and a future enthusiast for mesmerism) she had received a copy of his *Lay Sermons on the Theory of Christianity*.¹⁷

Believing she would like to *see* Martineau "in her new inner room," Emily Taylor wrote to Jane [whom she hoped to "have the happiness of seeing and knowing"] about the unveiling of Martineau's newly decorated quarters. With mock suspense, she began:

You go up the usual dingy passage -- You arrive at the dismal landing place [but] there ends your former lore . . . of locks that w^d not lock, of handles that w^d not turn, of vulgar paper, coarse kidderminster carpet, chimney piece too tall to be reached without a step ladder, &c.

Now all was altered:

The lock opens with a touch, shuts without noise, yet securely. [Oh! the blessing of such locks!] -- you enter -- the paper is a rich yet sober red -- the ground lighter than a soft rich flower pattern -- The carpet a good Brussels, drab, -- very suitable.

Finally, as to the occupant, "no such person to be found here." Then sliding doors "admit you into the Sanctum Sanctorum," and there she lies "upon the old sofa -- busy with her worsted work enjoying also the view from either window. Her two bookcases stand thus:"

[Emily's drawing of Martineau's new room showed her large bookcase against the far wall, a smaller bookcase and a bust of James on either side of the new window, sliding doors on the wall into to her old room, and a small closet and second small bookcase in front of a "fastened up" door to the hall.]

Martineau's old room now held the "inclined couch" and "flower basket," soon to be joined by her study table, "one more table & . . . an easy chair." Emily was dreading "the unpacking and arrangements wh will have to take place in two or three days," for there was "no keeping *her* out of the way;" she *would* get up "at her usual time, and . . . see all the arrangements." In the last few days, "a very nice & feeling note from Lady Mary Lambton" asked to "'be allowed the indulgence'" of coming to see Martineau. Mary Rich [Fanny Wedgwood's half-sister, a pious widow] was to come on 3 January.¹⁸

On New Year's Day, Martineau welcomed a parcel from Lizzie Flower containing *Hymns and Anthems*. "Now," she answered (abandoning her threat to cut Lizzie off), "how to get at the treasure [i.e., the music], -- having the casket." The only singing she heard at Tynemouth had been Adelaide Kemble's "on her way south after her marriage." Ironically, a fortnight ago a stranger offered to send her a piano, not knowing she was deaf.

Henry and Willie Greenhow had come over from Newcastle for the holidays. How wholly impossible it was "to understand one another's lives," she went on to Lizzie, seemingly overwhelmed by feelings of isolation on her third Christmas in the north. She had not "met numbers, nor shared any sensation or condition with more than one at a time" for several years and now felt she would "die on the spot of any strong social emotion." The "unsoundness of people's ideas" contrasted to the "clearness" of her "own view of events, prospects, -- realities --" and she was startled by others' blundering and "logical failures." As the result of solitary reading and thinking, she feared a "great gulf" had opened between herself and them. For ten years, she had been "plagued" by mad people: "Twice within these 3 weeks" and "the other ev^g, by 3 letters [in] one post from a crazy Chartist," almost making her wish "they would shoot at me as they do at the Queen."

"Mr. Fox may like to know," she went on to Lizzie, that sympathy about "the Pension matter" had been moving and "animating." Asked to stir up Sydney Smith "to write Letters to Somebody" about the Corn Laws, *he* responded with a witticism about "aged donkeys, dogs & clergymen" while having to feed "poor neighbours with broth & physic" and letting them alone "about the 39 articles." Yet he "reads what I send him," Martineau vaunted. But *how* could "M^f Fox let his beautiful articles appear side by side with L^d Palmerston's wicked ones?" She knew of no newspaper "even in Amer^a, more offensive than the fraud, falsehood & malice of the Chronicle and Examiner, within the last 15 months."¹⁹

(Sydney Smith may have declared whimsically that all who sent Martineau flowers and books would in his opinion go to heaven -- providing they regularly discharged "all their dues & payments to the Church of England!")

A week later, Martineau wrote buoyantly to Fanny Wedgwood: "O! the pleasure of writing to you, my dearest Fanny! A holiday pleasure it always is." Martineau's low spirits had been superseded by annoyance and frustration, Emily Taylor being "much altered," confused so "as to have her usefulness . . . spoiled by constant making of mistakes" and misquoting "other people's thoughts and sayings." Emily's "rambles in London last year [and] confinement nearly to the house," in Tynemouth, had damaged her mind, Martineau decreed. Of added gloomy import, she had just heard in "one of [Julia Smith's] charming long pictorial letters, -- setting us down in Genoa in a minute," that the travelling Nightingales were ill. A feverish attack had "reduced some of them to their beds." Indeed, Martineau regretted their dragging "a caravan of children about the continent" to the destruction of their health. Worthy of praise was the less flamboyant treatment of Julia's other nieces Bertha and Blanche (daughters of the Samuel Smiths), "who since the journey to Lausanne" had slept in the same bed "almost every night."

Martineau's real purpose in writing, however, was to ask Fanny to comply with her new request to destroy all her personal letters, for it would be a "clear perversion" of the freedom of "*written speech* . . . to make such letters serve as material for biography hereafter." She knew that Sydney Smith had answered Fanny's brother, when asked for letters from Fanny's father, Sir James Mackintosh, that he only kept letters on business. Channing had been ill-advised to allow early publication of some of his letters. She intended to leave "a copious autobiography," in case the world should wish to hear of her in future, but she meant to assert her legal rights that not a line of her letters should ever be printed. Would Fanny read this to all their coterie who "may chance to have any letters or notes of mine?"

After stating her new conditions, Martineau turned to gossip: "*Where* is M^{rs} Rich?" Henry and Willie, leaving tomorrow, had been outdoors "most of the sunshiny hours." She let them "sit in the new year" by her sofa, the first time anyone had been with her "since that night with the Follens, -- the new 1836." She had just had "a kind and pleasant" letter from Fanny's sister-in-law, Molly (née Appleton), and now wanted to hear more about Bro's going off to school. Cheering her, the new space "*and elegance*" at 12 Front Street made her feel more respectable to herself, "the vulgar lodging-house ugliness and discomfort" having given place "to nicer arrangements." In closing, Martineau cautioned Fanny that she did not trouble her "poor mother about the letter affair."²⁰

(Reactions to Martineau's demand to destroy her letters reverberated through the circle of her correspondents and beyond: Anna Jameson expressed "pain and astonishment" at being asked to "burn or surrender" her letters [Elizabeth Ker transcribed and sent Jameson Martineau's reasons, then said Martineau would yield in this "particular case" but did not accept the exception as a principle]. Did Martineau not realize the mischief that might arise at giving in to a "*morbid*" fear of others? Jameson thought it "the most detestable treachery to keep or show some kinds of letters [but] the extreme of weakness & cowardise to destroy others of a different character." To Jane Carlyle, Jameson protested that Martineau's wanting to apply the principle of letter burning, "not merely in her own case but universally," was quite contrary to *her* opinion and feelings. Predictably, Jane reacted with disgust, declaring that "Poor Harriet" had got into "a dreadful state of 'self-consciousness' of late," fancying the world

had nothing more important to do than to occupy itself with *her*, and *her* 'principles of action'! -- that affair of *the pension* having subsided -- and full time that it should! -- she has got up a new *excitement* for herself").²¹

Possibly agreeing to destroy Martineau's letters, Fox reported on his children. "So *very* old as I feel," she replied, "so clear as men's minds & doings seem before my eyes," surely *he* must feel himself "*intellectually* receding to a point of distant observation of life." Bishop Stanley of Norwich wondered how she could be "easy & unalarmed" about her "condition & prospects," while Amelia Opie and others tried to "dispose of the difficulty" by assuming she was "a church woman." *She* had always longed to make Stanley's "sensible & liberal" wife the Bishop, Martineau said whimsically: *he* had written "a little book about birds," and *she* would give him "a handful of salt to go after more little birds."

Milnes -- whose virtue and humanity seemed unmatched -- had written Martineau from Smyrna of his "surprize & pleasure in the Arianism of the Koran, & his clear preference of Mohamsm over the Greek Church, on account of the autocrat worship involved in the latter!" What would his Oxford friends think? Would Fox think it *very* strange if she told him a secret? "I expect to leave behind me perhaps the amplest account of a life ever written," she averred, "without much implicating my family." The effort was making her ill, and when she saw the amount "up to 8 years old," she wondered what the whole would come to.

Going on to Milnes, Martineau berated Russell for setting himself against "hearing about the Corn laws" after passing the "New Poor Law," the latter act *assuming* the abrogation of the Corn Laws. She wished Russell was in the Upper House, "out of our way." If "Lord & L^y Howick" looked in on her this week, "on their way to Parl'," she would "hear *his* notions of what the Opposition will do or attempt." Howick, she thought "clever & well read . . . earnest & hard-working, -- in w^h last, his wife helps him well."²²

Turning to literary matters, Martineau asked Fox about the "eyewitnesses from whom you knew the particulars of the death of Louis 16th?" The grim details she knew came from various sources, and she wanted to tell Sydney Smith of Fox's source. "Dickens mistakes about Bryant," she went on: Bryant was an excellent man "but with infirmities of temper, w^h got him into newspaper broils." Did not Dickens see "how *very* small a section of the nation the aristocracy of a republic must be?" She knew "nothing in Humanity so beautiful as the domestic classes of Amer^a, -- those good & serene & happy people," whom Dickens seemed "not to be in the least aware of."²³

In February, Martineau informed Moxon that Richard had confirmed payment of the balance of her account of "£136.16.7." No alterations were needed for *The Hour and the Man* except for two misprints he would find within, "till we come to the Appendix." She had been ill and would send the new matter in a few days or before the printer reached the 3rd volume. In a postscript, she made a proposal: "the lady of the Rev^d Archer Clive, Rector of Solihull, near Birmingham," a poetess (known as "V.") praised by the *Quarterly*, wanted to publish a novel. Moxon, she was sure, would give liberal terms, and if he didn't say no, she would send the novel in a week.²⁴

Feeling "so poorly as to prefer setting up on my desk one of your presents, -- a volume of Wordsworth" -- rather than writing, Martineau dashed off a note to Crabb Robinson justifying the destruction of her letters. Friends advised her to leave the matter to her executor, but she did not want people to see "private letters." Sydney Smith was quite of her mind, she repeated. "About Lady Byron," she went on to Robinson, her "informant [Anna Jameson] clearly forgot some dates & circumstances." Lady Byron had kept her life secret for the sake of her parents.

Nothing could be worse than *her* opinion of Lord Byron, and she rather regretted that Lady Byron did "not know quite the worst" -- Byron's hypocritical "Charity-ball verses." Martineau had increasing respect for Lady Byron's "simple & intrepid love of truth, & her remarkable candour." She is "coming to see me in June, if we both live so long."

On the matter of Daniel Webster's duplicity in the settlement of the Maine/New Brunswick boundary dispute in August 1842, her account of him in *Retrospect* was vindicated: "This bad side of the worship of talent, -- this vanity leading to hypocrisy, in regard to political & clerical men of talent" was the worst fault she knew in New Englanders. "Webster's polit^l failures," however, showed that the virtuous heart of the community did not adopt him. She wished Jared Sparks "had had the courage to publish what he knew, at the risk of being torn to pieces." But Sparks was "a quiet man of letters, with a very pretty wife, & a comfortable world lying round about him." Nor did she know of any worthy successor to Channing -- any more than she "c^d have found in Athens a second Socrates, the day after the hemlock-drinking." Yet she considered "D^r Follen incomparably the greater man."

Just now she *ought* to be "making some alterations in the Appendix" to *The Hour and the Man*, "w^h is reprinting." Finally, she reminded Robinson of his and a friend's "subscriptions to the fund for the education of the Polish girls" who were under her mother's care.²⁵

On the same day, Martineau declared to Fanny Wedgwood that she "hoped to see M^{rs} Rich before beginning another gossip," but she wished to *free* Fanny from having to answer her about destroying letters (by "the law of Epistol^y correspondence," she could not *demand* the destruction of her letters but had sole copyright "and power to prevent their being printed" both during her life and after). Only one or two people had not agreed to her injunction, but both happened "dear souls! to be rather spoiled children," and would no doubt agree when they "duly considered" her reasons. Emily, however, stood laughing at her arrangements "in their outward tokens of labels and red tape." At Tynemouth, Emily looked healthier and had "enjoyed laying out the garden . . . the three untidy ugly strips . . . laid into one" with "turf and flower beds" and gravel walks planned. Gravel from Devonshire was coming to a neighbor's garden, and they could have the little they wanted. "O my pretty rooms!" Martineau went on. Such "comfort and refreshment" she had not imagined, "not only of . . . air and space, but of having . . . books and no little elegance" about. She was able to sit in her new window seat "an hour or two before sunset, without turning away plants from the other" window.

But how did Bro like school? Was Snow anxious for him? "O! what I suffered for James when he went to grammar school at Norwich!" She hoped Snow would "not have to endure . . . the school boy shame at sisters." Of the Nightingales' travel woes, she conceded that "a multitude of valuable ideas, and a treasure of images to beautify their future years" might result. At Genoa, a Catholic priest friend had guessed Julia Smith "to be a little older than she is (her new hair being very grey), and . . . Isa Rankin (cured . . . by the Somnambulists) to be ten years younger!" Yet the party must be suffering "under the sad news of the Parker & Shore failure," the "Sam^l Smiths' loss" altering their expectations "to a grievous extent." Everyone grieved for "old Mr. Parker, and his four unmarried daughters." What would become of them, and of all English society "if the non-marrying of the middle and upper classes goes much further?" Our "*political* state will be much affected, in a generation or two," Martineau lamented, "by the practice of marriage going on, as before, among the lower classes." This portentous fact she doubted was sufficiently attended to "by moralists and politicians." And *was* it true "that Lockhart and Elizth Rigby were going to marry?" Rigby had treated her sisters unfairly in her

fiction, and she hoped the rumor of the marriage was true, for it would "save the rest of the world from the awful peril of marrying either of them."²⁶

(James recorded in February that "approving obedience to the desired destruction of all Harriet's letters to Dr. Channing" had come, and that Eliza Follen had given a "capital account" of Charley. "Harriet herself sadly sick and weak, exhausted by having to see the previous evening Mrs. Reid, Emily Taylor, and a nephew." Mary Rich told Martineau about Samuel Brown of Edinburgh, who had changed his views after his eccentric *Lay Sermons*, being now an assured believer in the transmutation of metals, and having experimentally proved his power of producing gold, and vexed that he cannot get attention from Faraday and Herschel.²⁷

Knowing of Martineau's precarious finances, a group of friends now launched a campaign to raise a testimonial fund for her. Letters signed jointly by "E. Darwin Esq., Rev^d W^m Harness, R. Hutton Esq., [J. ?] Robertson Esq., S. Smith Esq. and H. Wedgwood Esq." went out, saying they wished to show "their sympathy & esteem" from a sense of "the exalted motives which have uniformly influenced her conduct." Subscriptions would be received by Coutts bank and "handed over without delay to Miss Martineau," the disposition of the money to be entirely her own).²⁸

"My dearest Fanny," Martineau began her third letter to Fanny Wedgwood in February, "I feel moved to break through the absurd sort of hypocrisy under which I have been silent so long . . . You know very well that I am not ignorant of the doings of you and yours on my behalf." Despite heartfelt gratitude, she had "been uneasy, these 5 weeks past," at being told by Emily much that she ought not to know, Emily's "views and feelings and ways" being so unlike her own. In one instance, Emily had written to Lord Murray "to enquire about his objecting to the Circular," *he* assuming Martineau knew of the letter. Never had anything been clearer than "the honour and delightfulness" of what was intended for her, but after that she should "be glad to know nothing." Of late, Emily had been "so perfectly deaf" that Martineau had scarcely seen her, and last evening Emily had spoken "for the first time of leaving, -- of going in May to L.pool; -- thence to Dublin, for a visit to her cousins."

"And poor M^{rs} Reid," how ill she had been! But "dear J. Carlyle" was better, Martineau hurried on. For herself, a prospect had opened to have "two books out of three" she longed for: "Horner, of course, -- Macaulay's Essays, -- and Christopher North." The "good angel" of the district, "Miss Annie Clayton" came with "pencil and tablets, to ask what I had a fancy for," and last week sent a Camellia "in full flower" and a hamper of "slips, roots and plants" for the garden "so industriously" laid out by Emily.²⁹

The Lambtons had sent her the last *Edinburgh*, and she commented pithily on several articles, fancying George Borrow "laughing in his sleeve at the determination of these reviews to make him out a Saint." Yet his *Bible in Spain* seemed "redolent of hoax and humbug in every page" and his homely religious language laughable.³⁰ Mention of religion reminded her of Charles Buller's asking for her prayers "on the 6th till 8 or 9 o'clock, on occasion of his great Colonization Speech." Her friends the Archer Clives -- out of whose gift of an "elegant paper maché inkstand" she was now writing -- had taken "a great Scotch moor and house" to shoot "from July to Oct^{br}," and she hoped *he* would not shoot *her*. Had Fanny seen the "Memorial addressed to M^r Everett by the Amerⁿ claimants"? English people, in spite of all that had been written and explained, were "still incessantly blaming the Gen^l Gov^t about State Debts and Repudiation." Everett, as minister, had "no more to do with the State debts than with Portuguese State debts." She *wished* people could see, "that by refusing Amerⁿ natural produce" (owing to

the Corn Laws), the British had "compelled them to bring their Stocks to market." Of course, Fanny must let her know of "Molly's confinement;" and she lauded the beautiful "Mass^{ts} Anti-slavery Report for last year" by Edmund Quincy, showing the righteousness of the "*primary* abolitionists."³¹

In March, Martineau welcomed a gift of tamarinds from James, "a great jar from Lady Walsham being just empty." Hall's book on Ireland had delighted her, "with its justice and freedom from prejudice." Now she longed to read Theodore Parker's book on religion, disliking "the offensive word 'infidel'" still applied to Parker by Channing. Brown's *Lay Sermons* (lent to Mr. McAlister [?]) to her disgust came back "scribbled all over the margin by his assistant, Mr. Boucher, with insulting remarks, e.g., 'cant stuff! what a fool!', &c." Meanwhile the "Ladies Lambton" had written, "appointing to come and see her, and talk about Canada affairs."³²

When James's new "volume of discourses" came out in April, Martineau asked him to send copies from her to "Lady Byron, Miss Jeffery, and Mrs. Follen." *She* was pleased to have James's edition of Ogden's *Holy Songs*, "to lie before her with E. Flower's 'Anthems.'" Their mother, who was usually able to cope with "great occasions," would be attended by Lissey during her eye operation. In her own case, "the pressure of the tumour on the spine and other parts [was] making her liable to sickness." Happily, certain books she had longed for -- "Macaulay's three volumes" and "Sydney S.[mith]'s three volumes" -- had been sent her by Lord Durham and Erasmus Darwin. Earlier she informed James that the new copyright act would come into operation on 1 April 1843: she had submitted a list of all her copyrights to the Commissioner of Customs and advised James to do the same.³³

Groaning to Fanny Wedgwood that she had been "completely overdone with writing . . . to M.P.s and others" as well as writing to her brothers about future "solace and companionship" for their mother, she noted her "almost daily long scribble for Elizabeth's amusement," who was quite likely to be blind. The "oculist M' Hodgson had found he must remove the hard nucleus of the cataract [but then] was startled at her showing no sensibility to light." Another oculist, "B.W.G.," declared the case hopeless, with which Martineau agreed. Even more frustrating was Elizabeth's "repugnance to having any companion engaged to read and & walk with her." Martineau had never been hopeful about her mother and now trusted she would find "acquiescence" not much more difficult than *she* did.

A lighter note concerned the packet Martineau forwarded for her mother's amusement "from the boys of a charity school at Bristol" about *The Crofton Boys*. The "Croft Boys," as *they* were called, had the book read out by the schoolmaster and "begged to write . . . next exercise day." The master posted their letters "*uncorrected*" and told Martineau that when he had "*read* 'the first class stand out,' his own first class all jumped from their seats." The boys' letters had kept her "laughing & crying all the way through," one declaring "'I cannot believe but you are a boy yourself.'"

Of other current books, Carlyle's *Past and Present* was "very bad, insolent, one-sided, & full of weary repetitions . . . except about Samson & some few passages," and his "injustice to the aristocracy" was shameful. People were weary of "Burns [a meagerly awarded fellow Scot] & the Champion [a useless relic of past custom] &c!" Why did he not get "new types?" Emily had said that it would be "the best part of the copyright Bill" if it enabled people "to stop in time" (i.e., to live on earnings from *past* writings). But Carlyle would not stop, Martineau felt certain.³⁴

Crabb Robinson had evidently pleaded for an exemption to destroying Martineau's letters, and in late April she begged him not to deprive her of "the solace" of their

correspondence. On the basis of three legal opinions, she knew recipients lacked the right to print letters (in case he might sometime decide to do so) and she stressed the "*inviolability of private correspond^{ce}*." By December, however, she agreed that he could *tell* friends what she had written. Long letters on business exhausted her, she claimed (sending eleven closely written pages to Robinson), and the proposed "Society of Authors" made her ill. She and Robinson had agreed last summer on the benefits of "moderation & freedom from party spirit," and she viewed "party squabbles" as a waste of time. Feeling more and more satisfied at the move to Tynemouth, she noted that the only person possibly affected by her death would be her maid. Switching topics, she queried Robinson about the "business" of Robert Southey and "Mrs. Sigourney," Sigourney having "pursued" Martineau in letters and being "universally ridiculed . . . in America." Garrison was now optimistic on the "Cause;" Everett had shown "moral courage" - but Brougham proved untrustworthy, insulting Bulwer and lady novelists even though *he* was "a caricature of feminine faults, -- with some masculine ones to boot."³⁵

Contributions for Martineau did not all go into the testimonial fund. A "Mrs. Downward" sent "a handsome remittance" through James, and Martineau determined to use it "for a readier access to new books." If her proposed public testimonial should reach £1000, she told James, she would "relinquish the contribution at present sent her by the cousins." Uncle David's daughter Eliza, meanwhile, had given a "painful account" of her "weak sisters (particularly Sarah) and brother Charles." More alarming, according to "the united opinion of T.M.G. [Greenhow], of Mr. Travers, and Mr. Estlin," was Elizabeth's cataract's being "part of a double infection."³⁶

Promptly using the "handsome remittance," Martineau requested a year's subscription beginning 1 August from Saunders and Otley ("Public Library and booksellers") for more than thirty volumes to be sent in the order listed. Along with post office orders for 8 guineas she directed that the box be sent to "John Clayton, Esqre, Newcastle upon Tyne," the steamer running from London to Newcastle every Saturday and on Wednesday in fine months. (Martineau's list included a work titled *The Sick-Room* as well as the 5th number of the serialized *Martin Chuzzlewit* in which Dickens sends the hero to America).³⁷

At Tynemouth, Emily Taylor continued to infuriate Martineau by her "liability to mistake" and to confusing what she heard or failed to hear "often to the injury of persons about whom she speaks" and to her "extreme want of clearness about theological differences." Emily's "indiscretion and double-dealing," Martineau wrote later, forced her to ask her aunts ("lodging close by") to come to her room when Emily was present. Martineau also determined to take "no notice of prepaid applications" for autographs (a Victorian collecting mania).³⁸

In late May, Martineau received a request from the London Committee of the (non-Garrisonian) British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society concerning distribution of remaining copies of *The Martyr Age*. Cordially, she replied that "its diffusion must depend on the opinions of the parties you are going to meet" at the upcoming convention. Her accounts from America of "the condition & prospects of the Cause" had been cheering, and she hoped the proceedings of the convention would be "more honourable to the Cause & to its constituent members than the last time." A month later she sent regards to Mr. Walker and her friends in the Oberlin. Though retaining her interest in the "cause," she was grieved that it was "becoming more & more damaged."³⁹

Unburdening herself to Milnes on *British* politics, Martineau began with Home Secretary Sir James Graham's education bill. She would do "any thing whatever for these poor children; -- killing myself for them, if I only knew how to work." Letters to dissenter friends had proved "all

in vain," they only wishing "exemption from encroachment on the religious liberty of themselves & the people." They were often "hasty, prejudiced, violent, & violently mistaken as to the measure." In defense of the dissenters, however, she reminded Milnes that dissenting schoolmasters bore "a larger proportion" of the hardship than the Church. Though she objected to the proposed reading of the Bible in factory schools, the bill showed remarkable liberality on the part of the government. The town operatives -- among whom the dissenters were strongest -- would be the first affected, "leaving the rural class, w^h belong to the Church to be dealt with afterwards." Other members of her liberal family failed to understand the policy of the government (a slap at James?), and she was "shocked by the devastation [made by] prejudice & party spirit" on minds she used to think "candid & disinterested." Second, her ideas on political economy recorded in her "little books of 1833-34," were becoming those of all men but the "incurables," who could not live and learn. Indeed, "Sir R. Peel's life & health [were] more to be prayed for than any other man's." Though she respected Gladstone (President of the Board of Trade), she wished "he c^d live without language for a time, or in the use of a foreign one, -- or that he c^d by some means attain a greater precision of thought." Lord Stanley (secretary for war and colonies) she did not much admire, but she wished Peel

might remain in power long enough to repeal the Corn Laws, -- establish national Education, establish & increase a good Income tax [and] make sundry Currency reforms, -- & O! if he could cause a comprehensive Law reform, that w^d crown all.

Finally, Peel must carry out the "New Postage." She had been "writing (by desire) a letter to Sir Tho^s Wilde, on the social & domestic advantages of the new postage."⁴⁰

"But how far I am . . . from Smyrna & Egypt!" she burst out to Milnes. His letter had been "slashed for fumigation -- so oriental in the associations," and "a great treat." She felt a shiver go through her while looking at a daguerreotype of a pyramid "& stony foreground." Books of travel helped her from being "so dreadfully subjective." Yet she read and reread *his* subjective poetry with admiration for his wisdom--e.g., on the inexplicability of genius. Carlyle (a genius?) offered a sad example. There was "so little access to his mind!" *Past and Present* grieved her plus "after years of railing at polit^l economy," he had turned "polit^l economist himself." If Milnes called on her again, she would show him her "double space, pretty furniture, -- even pictures & flower vases, & two windows!"

Her books were selling well too, "*four* of them reprinted within a few weeks." Milnes, she knew, had met two of her Boston acquaintances--Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, director of the New England Asylum for the Blind at Boston, and the former Mary Tyler Peabody, "wife of Horace Mann." Mrs. Mann was the sister, she apprised Milnes, of "Elizth Peabody, -- the clever woman" who told her about Brook Farm and "whose keeping a circulating library had seemed strange & sad" to him.⁴¹

Enclosed to Milnes was a letter from Martineau addressed to "M^{rs} A.B.C." dated May 1843, for him to "make of any use whatever." In the letter, Martineau expressed disappointment that the 1833 factory bill had not provided for the education of factory children. People were "blind to the truth" that when the pressure for subsistence so deadens & alienates parents' hearts as that they regard their children as mere bread winners, no Act of Parliament . . . will protect the children against their natural guardians. She knew that in writing their bill "the Commiss^{rs}," had endeavored, through "kindly safeguards against overwork," to prepare the way for a system of national education. Although the present measure was distrusted "as the work of the Church & a tory Ministry," she saw it as "the further carrying out of the Whig measure." Nor did all dissenters object to the measure, for the "lot of the mass of poor children being compulsory at all

events," compulsory education was preferable to "compulsory perdition." If her correspondent had really "read & considered the bill, with the amendments," she must see that it contained no "traces of proselyting intentions," but was so liberal as to place Sir James Graham "between two fires in the prosecuting of *his* object." The fact of no education being provided for the poor haunted her. She saw "the image of an innumerable multitude of human beings . . . animal in all but their human capacity for vice & misery . . . herding together in brutal gregariousness" and turning to violence. Even Puseyism and "training in dishonest conformity" were preferable to "a privation of all spiritual truth!" Efforts should be directed to amend the offered measure, rather than oppose it. Personally, she could not live with the cruelty and absurdity of allowing sectarian quarrels to prevent saving the lambs "who have been too long driven forth from their pasture." And she signed herself, "your affectionate friend."⁴²

Receiving a copy of "the Bill" from Charles Buller, Martineau responded in terms similar to those she used to Milnes. The "Reformation battle" was just beginning, she said with disgust.

All our commotions seem to be about this Church-Church. I hear wonderful things from Scotland about the intense passion pervading the whole of society there. And then Ireland! I have been hoping that those good humoured people w^d merely bluster till they had a Gov^t w^h took *some* part.

She had never doubted that "the Factory bill commotion" was a part of the struggle in Ireland, but if the children of the poor were to be kept savage till the principle of the Reformation was fought out, "God help them!"⁴³

Further pronouncing on public issues to Milnes (no doubt identifying with his privileged position as a member of the Commons), Martineau acknowledged "the Education scheme must give way." Selfishly, she was thankful her letter had not been printed -- yet the establishment of a school at Newcastle was "unquestionably owing to the present dispute." Recently, she went on, her political letters" had been "*terrific*,"

the Reformation . . . at last, to be fought out . . . with Ireland for the field; -- the triple pope, -- the old man at Rome, Chalmers & Pusey -- strong & united on the old grounds, & the inconsistent & Mongrel low church, & the short-sighted & disunited dissenters on the other.

Would Milnes forward a note to Dr. Howe? She would *like* to recommend "Horner's Life" to Milnes, though it was unlikely to appeal to a Tory. It made her speculate on the "causes of the practical failure of all that set of brilliant young men [MPs in the early years of the century], from whom the world expected so much, but whose failure she ascribed to "Whiggism."⁴⁴

In July Martineau begged a personal favor of Milnes: the Furnesses' son had come to London and expected to hear from her, but she had no address for him and did not care to ask Everett. Gossiping, she noted that Everett's "mortification at this Oxford business must be intense," but if he had been honest, he need not have minded. That "kind hearted & accomplished man," she went on (a bit hypocritically), had "missed his happiness & true glory by his unfortunate yielding up of himself to an ambition unsustained by moral courage!" By contrast Emerson, according to Furness, had roused all Philadelphia by his winter lecturing. And she liked Milnes's "strong & animating words on the piety of the Irish" (in favor of an alliance with the Catholic clergy). A few days later, she confided a secret: "When the Queen was a girl," she had liked Martineau's political economy tales. Of late, she had been sorrowful "about the Factory children -- the Prince reading Chadwick's Reports to her." A person (she must not say who) told the Queen in conversation, "a month since, that I was full of thoughts and interest upon the subject of the children of the poor -- which thoughts it might be of use to her to know."

Martineau did not know the Queen's response but determined to send the Queen her views. Now she had had "a gracious answer" to forward her letters through Sir James Graham and "in defiance of a bad headache," was going to write her first letter. What she wanted from Milnes was that "Sir J.G. should be engaged to give every advantage he can to these letters." She was being discreet about them, not "blabbing," even to her family -- and she hoped the present ministry would stay in office.⁴⁵

(On 28 July, Sir James wrote to the Queen, begging to be permitted "to lay before your Majesty a letter, which was received at the Home Office addressed to your Majesty, and which Sir James might have hesitated to transmit, if it had not been accompanied by the enclosed Note, in which Miss Martineau declares, that the Letter is the first of a Series written in obedience to the commands of Your Majesty."

On 18 August, Sir James added that it appeared Miss Martineau had received from Sir Henry Wheatley the accustomed answer to an application for permission to write, that letters so addressed must be sent to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and Miss Martineau would seem to have interpreted this answer into a command to write.

Sir James then had "the honor of forwarding the additional letters," since he had learned from Sir Henry [Keeper of the Privy Purse] that the Queen desired to see them).⁴⁶

Later in August, Martineau busied herself with trying to help another (this time *foundering*) female writer: Would Moxon look at a work, full of typographical errors, the author hoped to republish (possibly *The Gladiator, a Tale of the Roman Empire* by Martha Macdonald Lamont, published in Bristol in 1840)? Martineau apologized for the volume, saying the author was "struggling for a subsistence by teaching in Liverpool," but her friends (Lamont knew the Carlyles -- and perhaps Rachel) would see her through the expenses, which Moxon might see fit to reduce.⁴⁷

(Earlier in the summer, Martineau learned that the testimonial fund had risen to £1,300. Beginning to consider the best disposition of the money and prompted by Elisabeth Reid, she determined to spend £100 on a silver plate service for herself. To their consternation, Erasmus Darwin and Hensleigh Wedgwood were asked to make the purchase for her.

On 17 July, Jane Carlyle told Thomas that Erasmus was

very much out of humour yesterday about Harriet Martineau! . . . She had Cox the great Jeweller's list sent her by Mrs. Reid; and had marked off various articles, silver teapot, £45, etc., etc.

Thomas Cox Savory, thinking Martineau's delay may have meant she did not like their patterns, sent from Ireland "a book of rich and rare designs." Jane continued:

Darwin thought at first she must be gone mad" [and] after some days deliberation, Mr Wedgwood and he who were required to do this thing in *their official capacity* peremptorily declined it -- if Miss Martineau chose to buy a hundred pounds worth of plate she must do it herself after she entered on possession of the money -- as they had expressly stated the *money* not *plate* was to be given to her . . . Harriet is going all to nonsense with her vanities -- now she will probably be quite angry at these men who have done so much for her -- because they refuse to comply with her whim.

Thomas avowed he was glad they had had nothing to do with the testimonial as Martineau seemed to be putting on airs).⁴⁸

Despite his outburst, Erasmus's kindly nature apparently won out. On a Sunday, probably 23 July, Martineau thanked him for the speed of his reply and noted that "an unrivalled opportunity" had arisen "for the plate to come safely." The Lambtons, leaving London "about

the beginning or the middle of next week," would carry parcels and come to visit her immediately. If the plate "*could* be ready," Savory should "send the package to Lord Durham's, Cleveland Row, S^t James." For a small cake basket, she suggested the inscription:

Memorial
of a
Testimonial
H. M
1843.

PICTURE of cake basket

Just then, Martineau went on, a small fête "prodigiously reckoned on" in honor of the testimonial was in doubt. "On Friday, 6 people came in, without notice, to lunch" giving "M^{rs} Reid and maid" a shake. "One of the 6 lunchers," Martineau added with amusement, the Unitarian Rev. Jerom Murch of Bath (formerly of Norfolk), had asked if she knew "a gentleman of the name of Darwin."

(To support his bachelor brother-in-law, Hensleigh Wedgwood agreed to help buy the plate, and on the 24th Martineau authorized Hensleigh "to execute the commission you so kindly undertake.")

Rather than "speaking thro' a newspaper to thank contributors," Martineau next envisioned a lithographed note, for which she might "engage some cousin, or friend not concerned." In appropriating "the rest of the fund" intended to improve "*present comfort*," she would look for "the largest amount of immediate advantage." Aware that her life was precarious and that "in 7 years" she would come into "the enjoyment of a life annuity of £100," she had lately invested whatever she could in the Long Annuities, "which yield 8 pr/ct, but expire in the end of 1859." Her income of £130 had for two years "been eked out" by presents from cousins and her uncle Peter Martineau, which she would now decline. She proposed

to invest the Testimonial money also in the Long Annuities, whereby I shall be sufficiently provided for till 1860, And, if I *should* live so long as that, which seems very improbable, I shall have saved during the preceding 9 years of abundance (after entering on my life annuity) enough to purchase a sufficient addition to that annuity.

Hensleigh was welcome to "impart this statement" wherever he might wish, as she made no secret of her affairs. She wished they "could all know" how cheering the thought was to her, night and day.

On the same day, a second letter to Hensleigh went out announcing that the silver tea service would be a memorial to be passed down "from one family to another" of her nephews (*not* to James), and that she had rather "this purchase be made by some one of the Managers." In addition to the tea service, she had "specified other articles, of the commonest use," and did not object if the cost went slightly over £100.⁴⁹

Martineau's explicit directions to Hensleigh were in dramatic contrast to her fanciful chat with Crabb Robinson a few days earlier pondering the immortality of Wordsworth's thoughts. Robinson could keep her "*former* letters," she now agreed, all others being securely destined for destruction. That certain friends had offered to help arrange her letters for publication shocked her as being only a step beyond what Southey had done. On the subject of New Englanders -- Ticknors and Sedgwicks -- she noted that "M^r K." [Ker?] had been writing insultingly of Americans; and she lauded Milnes's speeches in favor of an alliance with the Irish Catholic clergy. Finally, she reported that Elisabeth Reid, now staying nearby, had "overturned" in her carriage on the way to Tynemouth and was badly shaken⁵⁰

(*Reid* assured Robinson she had only a bruised knee and a slight cut on her hand from broken glass, though her leather glove was spoiled. Within five minutes' driving out of Darlington, the axletree had shaken and then severed, being rotten. The coachman suffered a broken collarbone and other passengers were injured; her poor maid, who was sitting on top, had a wound in her knee that laid her up for ten days. A gentleman who fell *on* her maid said the wheel had missed her feet by an inch -- and would have crushed them. Now the good woman "cries with pious joy," Reid went on, though *she* felt it morally wrong to welcome such suffering. At the human toll from negligence or covetousness by the proprietor of the coach, Reid was indignant.

Martineau seemed in a "happy state of mind" and to most visitors "really better" [the temporary effect of certain medicines]. Reid loved Martineau, especially for her child-like laugh. Last night she was delighted by a letter from Furness in Philadelphia, "overflowing with love to her & to the Abolition cause." As Martineau had predicted, he had become a convert. Finally, Reid was sorry not to see Robinson at Tynemouth this summer.⁵¹

"Here is our dear excellent Harry's letter," Martineau began to her sister-in-law Helen (*not* to James) in early August. Harry, she expected, would "show himself to the world, sooner or later, the man he really is." Elizabeth had gone to Newcastle after her operation, looking aged but keeping her spirit, while Lissey had become the "old anxious E.M." Indeed, both Lissey and Maria seemed "flat" in spirits when they came to Tynemouth. Elisabeth Reid, meanwhile, was delighted with Martineau's testimonial which now *exceeded* £1300. By adding £230 Martineau was able to "purchase Stock in the Long Annuities," she repeated, so her income would henceforth exceed £200. She asked her mother to divide any future inheritance "among my three sisters & Robert & James" but so far had received only a "hearty message from Rachel!" Her "old friend" Roebuck had spent all Tuesday with her: he was hopeful about public affairs and passed on gossip about Fanny Butler's hot temper and unhappy marriage. Now Queen's counsel, Roebuck promised to call on her twice a year on circuit. For James's sake she grieved at "the failure of the M[anchester]. College, & its inevitable removal to London." Did James know "that his (& all clever men's) oracle, Sir W^m Hamilton" backed mesmerism?⁵²

In September, Martineau snapped at Helen:

I have gained my object [to destroy her letters?]; & *you* may have gained something, if, the next time you are about to administer one of your severe censures . . . you remember how keenly you feel a very slight one.

Later in the month, Martineau noted that Brougham and Wordsworth both burnt their letters while Southey *immorally* supported the publication of his. Gossiping about her influential friends Lord Grey, Lady Mary Lambton, her sister and Lord Howick — as well as of her gifts of "pines, grapes, & game, -- from the Bells, Brandlings, Claytons & Lambtons," Martineau turned to admiration of her nieces -- Fanny Greenhow and Maria, Robert's daughter, who was "merry as a grig . . . O! If it were but she going to 'Rachel! She was 16 last Sunday.'" Robert's plans for his eldest son, Tom, also interested her.

Martin Chuzzlewit was a let-down, Martineau commented in her next letter, though Titmarsh had "sweetened her mind" (i.e., William Makepeace Thackeray, whose *Irish Sketches* she had ordered from Saunders). Other tidbits touched on Fonblanque, Fox and the *Morning Chronicle* as well as on Uncle Hodgett's "scrape." She had a sweet letter from Uncle Peter about refusing his gifts of money. After a "dear & welcome long letter" from Helen and a question from James about her plate, Martineau exclaimed: "O! how to give an idea of the elegance

thereof!" Items ordered included various spoons and forks, "egg & salt spoons, fish-knife & butter knife, -- soup ladle &c.

Coffee pot.

Tea pot.

Sugar basin, gilt inside.

Cream pot, do d^o.

Cake-basket, (exquisite) with inscription."

Now Elizabeth Follen warned that the radical Unitarian Theodore Parker was to land at Liverpool and would call on James to ask the way to see Martineau. Parker was welcome, she said, but must know her condition and that she could only offer him meals.⁵³

Correspondence over Martineau's testimonial included a formal letter of presentation dated 10 August 1843 and signed by the managers "R. Hutton, William Harness, John Robertson, Samuel Smith, H.W. Wedgwood, Joseph Hutton, W.E. Hickson and E. Darwin." Hensleigh wrote that he was glad she approved of the plate, "especially of the cake basket in whose ears I had so strong a personal interest." (The receipt of 9 August 1843 from T. Cox Savory listed seventeen items including sets of twelve of various sizes of forks and spoons, serving pieces, etc., totaling £104.12s. 8d.) Still depending on Hensleigh, Martineau wrote to him at the home of Dr. Robert Darwin in Shrewsbury, where the Wedgwoods were on holiday. Could Coutts's people, from the entries in their books, address copies of a letter "lithographed for the purpose" to all the contributors to the testimonial? If so, should she find somebody "to look after the lithographing and posting?" Or could Hensleigh, by means of money -- the "few odd pounds" still in his hands -- get it done for her? At Tynemouth, her small *fête* for the testimonial had gone off admirably, the "dear people gracefully adorning it with *full dress* . . . ball trim, -- in honour of you and me, -- produced and sang a song, written for the occasion, and were very merry." She served champagne, "among other good things," for the first time in her hostess career, and everyone drank the healths of the managers and of her nephew Tom, who was "to inherit the outward and tangible sign of the Testimonial." Among the guests helping to christen the new silver service were the Lambton ladies. For Hensleigh's information, she enclosed her "dear old uncle's (aged 88) note" acknowledging her refusal to accept further gifts of money. She still had "much to say" but was tired. Fanny Greenhow, who "arrived a few days since," claimed to have written "twenty three letters" to her aunt's dictation (probably including eight copies of the formal letter of thanks to the managers of the testimonial, dated 25 August 1843) and more were pressing).⁵⁴

Word that Martineau needed help with testimonial correspondence had evidently reached acquaintances like Lady Walsham, who had sent her grapes and tamarinds and had taken her out for drives. Thanking her, Martineau declared she had found "a scribe or two (none of the *genteelect*,) & I am following M^r Bradbury's suggestion, as fast as I can."⁵⁵

Nine days after her last directive to Hensleigh, Martineau pleaded she had known "the expediency of a second letter" to the subscribers but had been "too ill to write." Dating her letter 22 October 1843 she now assured subscribers of her comfort in the "honour and independence" conferred by the testimonial, which set her free for possible "future exertion." (Reprinted in the December *Westminster*, the letter offered congratulations to the managers and gave the total funds collected as £1,358 8s 10d.)

Next writing to Hensleigh, Martineau said she had been "thinking whether or not to say on paper what I should certainly have said here, if I had had the pleasure of seeing Fanny or you." She was "*dismayed* to find . . . that not only had Emily Taylor got acquainted herself with

Fanny, but was thrusting her sister's family upon you." Although "good-hearted," her family were "of the most ordinary sort," nor could gratitude for personal kindness reconcile Martineau "to the repugnant intrusion" Emily was making among her personal friends. "Please burn this, and do not think me ungrateful," she ended.⁵⁶

Fanny Greenhow's "twenty-three letters and more" may have included those to Martineau's American friends for Macready. In a letter of 22 August, she recommended him to Henry Ware as "scholar-like but gentlemanly . . . purely and heroically good . . . deeply religious" (unlike Americans' prejudiced view of actors). Could Ware introduce him at Cambridge? Macready carried further letters from Martineau to Judge Story -- whom he particularly wanted to meet -- Henry Clay, George Bancroft and Charles Sumner.⁵⁷

In late August, Martineau had apprised Milnes that "the review of your 'Tract' in the 'Christian Teacher' is . . . certainly not by James," but "almost certainly by the Rev^d Jerome Murch, of Bath;" she worried over what anyone might think of Manchester College "who c^d suppose its Professor of Mental & Moral Philos^y the writer of the review?" Over her wool work, she had meditated on an interesting book Milnes lent her. Unexpectedly, she was stopped until next day, "luckily" for him. A caller from York "about an ear trumpet" reported mistaking Milnes-- from whom he had heard an "excellent speech"--for "Prince George of Cambridge." Chatting on, she raved over Milnes's poems and reported on the fatigue of writing, on *hearing* the noise of thunder, and on Elizabeth Follen's being wakened by a dream of her husband speaking to her. Milnes's grapes had been "a great treat," she ended, "to me, as well as to my mother."⁵⁸

A new literary figure now entered Martineau's circle of correspondents: Elizabeth Barrett. Four years younger than Martineau and an "invalid" living in her father's house, Barrett admired *Illustrations of Political Economy* and may have contributed to the testimonial fund. Probably in mid-August, Martineau sent her "a little volume . . . written several years ago, but still in favour with the public." Even if it did not suit Barrett's "views or taste," Martineau owed *her* "many many moments of pleasure" and gratitude for permission to "my dear M^{rs} Reid to bring me your very noble poem, Pan Departed." Like Barrett, Martineau had lost her health "& become inured to the want of it," almost forgetting "to wish for ease & vigour."

(Martineau and Barrett, from closely-knit middle class dissenting families, both felt an attachment to slightly younger, intellectual brothers and practiced discipline in their studies and writing).

Martineau seemed enchanted with the new friendship. "Here I am again already!" she wrote within a few days, accepting Barrett's offer of *The Seraphim, and Other Poems*, which Lady Mary Lambton might bring. Two words in Barrett's "Pan Departed," on the exact times of Christ's crucifixion and death, bothered Martineau, however, and "one would have so . . . noble a poem quite without blemish." *She* had translated Schiller's "Gods of Greece" many years ago and had felt a "deep objection . . . against Schiller," in regard to religion and poetry--yet he was "adorable."⁵⁹

Possibly in September, Martineau returned certain "precious papers" from "M^r C" that praised Louisa Jeffery's "scrupulous integrity." Answering Louisa "straight out" about her offer to come, she made "a snatch at a choice friend [Louisa] to spend some months" in the lower rooms of the house as companion for Robert's sixteen-year-old daughter, Maria. Maria's weak eyes made her "rather backward," but she was thriving under Greenhow's care, the sea "& the change." If Louisa would share a sitting room with Maria, they could have morning tête-à-têtes, Louisa could walk with Maria and they could all spend evenings together. Would Louisa come,

wholly at Martineau's expense, about the 1st of October to stay a fortnight or a month? The quickest way was by "rail road from York to Darlington," by coach to Newcastle, by railway to Shields in ten minutes, "& an omnibus brings you another mile to our little inn." Louisa, she perceived, found "much to like in James's vol. . . . a rich treasury of thought, but very little like *Sermons*." His opinions had indeed changed. "*Entre nous*," she declared, "they fluctuate so incessantly, that really I find hardly any two of his lette[r]s compatible, how^r beautiful in other ways." Opinions were "not his forte," but "how noble & sweet" he was!⁶⁰

Louisa evidently failed to come, but on 15 September Martineau recorded that a "new imperative idea" occurred to her: "Essays from a Sick-Room." The "freedom from all obligation to earn money" made this possible, she later assured Fanny Wedgwood, for "I *could not* have sold *that* M.S." Moxon, when approached, vowed she should "be no loser by declining all negotiation," and their good deed (i.e., the testimonial) had permitted her to write what her mind was full of "*while* it [was] full, and in silence." She remembered "a wise sentence in a letter of M^{rs} Stanley's [Bishop Stanley's wife] about the 'Crofton Boys,'" lamenting that she did not write more, "because there were so many sick and weary people, whose experience would be most valuable if told." At once, Martineau felt she must do it, "snatched paper and pencil, and noted down subjects of Essays and their contents (in a few minutes) just as they now stand." When her niece Fanny came in, she asked her "if she believed in our having ideas which at once foretold and compelled their own fulfilment," as her book on Toussaint L'Ouverture had done. Fanny and Maria had gone home on the 18th, and the next evening she wrote "Becoming Inured."

The rest she supposed "wrote itself, for I remember little about it but the oozing away of a sense of oppression, and the rising glow of a warm sense of relief." Other essays in *Life in the Sick-Room. Essays by an Invalid* dealt with sympathy, nature, life, death and similar topics. The quotation on the title page: "For they breathe truth that breathe their words in pain," stated her claim to authority and suggested the book's somewhat lugubrious tone. Martineau seemed to attempt earnest self-examination as she offered advice to the "permanently ill" and scolded those who tendered the wrong kind of sympathy. To her fellow invalids she spoke of "our wakeful night sessions, when the happy are asleep," allowing our imagination free rein in hopes that angels might "bear our mutual greetings, and drop them on their rounds." From the "far shores of my childhood" (a Wordsworthian image), she claimed that "some sweet or triumphant hymn of submission or praise has floated to my spirit's ear." Like light seen over a rural scene, a brief instant of good could swallow up "long weary hours of pain."

The work was done "before October was out," she went on, "without pause, without waiting for a word, -- without altering a syllable." The manuscript she had preserved "for a legacy." Congratulating herself, she praised Moxon -- who had already urged her to write again -- for not using her name.⁶¹

Just after starting *Life in the Sick-Room*, Martineau returned a collection of prints (or stereoscopic pictures?) of "Alpine & other plants and foreign Views" to Harriet Grote, hoping Anna Jameson would tell her of the Grotes. Meanwhile, she had been delighted to see the Roebucks' baby "on the circuit" and next year wanted to "persuade his wife & little daughter to come on with him as far as York, & thence hither," where they could wait for him during the assizes at York, Durham and Newcastle (by next July 1st, the railroad would be open all the way from London, to insure an easy day's journey). That afternoon she had "a long talk on public affairs with Lord Howick," whom she "much respected & liked." The Lambtons thought "nothing of driving 14 miles" to see her, but she had no hope of the Grotes coming. She was feeling "rather more unwell than usual," but her complaint was "not to be reached." Perhaps

identifying herself with friends who pursued public careers like Milnes's, she imagined "Mr Grote busy & happy over his History, -- serving society still, -- if less conspicuously than before."⁶²

"At last I have the pleasure of writing your name," Martineau warbled to Elizabeth Barrett again in October. She had found "noble and beautiful thoughts and lines in The Seraphim" though her religious views differed from Barrett's. "Mrs Jameson, who was here last week, brought me 'Pan,' and was cruelly vexed that I knew it so well already." Referring to their exchange on Schiller, Martineau had lost track of her "girlish translation of 'the Gods of Greece.'" And she did not honestly admire Goethe, finding him too self-conscious and calculating, with little faith in human nature or respect for women. "Immortal he will be," she agreed, "but his empire will not be primarily over the *hearts* of men." Though she had not read widely, she had "*studied* a few subjects" and was now reading more. As to her illness, she had "scarcely . . . any severe pain" and was used to privation. Yet she agreed with Barrett's faith in God to "make truth beautiful enough for poetry."⁶³

Martineau's statement of devotion to truth and beauty notwithstanding, she kept a sharp eye on her finances. Sending Richard a memo of her "investments in Long Annuities" in October, she joked that she had "some expectation of changing my abode for jail if I don't get some money soon." Six payments totaling £233.14.1 were due from January 1841, and he could draw her interest. Did Richard not feel "every body in good spirits once more about trade?" In their "long talk, the other day," Lord Howick claimed to expect even more than she did of "*political* amelioration from this [i.e., trade]." To Moxon--who must have worried about soiled manuscript pages of *Life in the Sick-Room* -- she replied blandly: "My M.S.S. were not copied, & indeed their value, as a keepsake, is increased by their having been printed from."⁶⁴

Surprisingly later in November, Martineau sent James a commission and potpourri of news. First, for Elizabeth Ker who would pass through Liverpool with her husband "on their way to see the Temple-Myle school in Ireland," she wanted "a unique article of dress," which even Ker's exquisite taste would delight in. *She* had received "a beautiful cast of Joan of Arc," which would stand "on her oak end table, to match Hilary Carter's present." Did Rachel know George Sand's *Les maîtres mosaïstes*? If not, she had "a fresh, pure, charming treat to come." From Rome, Mary Somerville had written of not being allowed to view a comet because the only observatory stood in the Jesuit convent, from which women were excluded (Somerville had published a respected work on Laplace's *Le Mécanique céleste* in 1831). Finally, Martineau reported Anna Jameson's unhappy news from Greenhow about the "sole remedy" for her eyes (an operation for cataracts?) and that "Lady Byron may propose its application."⁶⁵

In "an easy hour of a comfortable evg," Martineau prattled to Crabb Robinson on 27 November that she had just sent away her tea things and "put aside a vol of *Clarissa Harlowe*" (borrowed from Lambton), which she was reading for the first time! Moral issues like the failure of American clergymen to take a stand on slavery troubled her. Rev. Orville Dewey, now a leader of the Unitarians after the deaths of Channing and Henry Ware, was in England again making contradictory statements wherever he went. She had been at work about two matters, "for liberty of worship, against the Duke of Sutherland, & about Ireland." She was about to write to Morpeth concerning the first, "when the happy news came of the Duke having changed his course." Robertson's temperate and "most interesting letter" in the *Chronicle* she hoped Robinson had seen. Second, she had been telling her American friends about O'Connell and why Repeal would be bad for Ireland, which *must* be "taken in hand, -- free trade *must* be granted." That the "ignorance & wretchedness of the poor" were completely exposed made her glad, and

she was confident the country was on the way to better times. Slyly, she added that she had a secret: Robinson would soon receive an anonymous work of hers known only to the publisher. No terms had been discussed, she feeling the comfort of being "independent in income." Her condition was "much improved, compared with former years;" she would be alone until June except for her nephews coming in the holidays. Yes, she knew "kind Miss Clarke very well" she ended to Robinson: "Many a year did she urge my visiting her at Paris."⁶⁶

"Must I suppose that you are all vehement followers of Carlyle's doctrine of Silence?" Martineau next teased Fanny Wedgwood. Aunt Kentish, Molly Mackintosh, "Jenny" Carlyle and Elisabeth Reid had occasionally passed along a "whiff of news" about the Wedgwoods, but she wished to notify "Mr W & Eras: [of] a bit of business." From Hutton, twice, from "Charnley of Newcastle [and] divers gentry at Newcastle & Gateshead," she had received "morceaux of Testimonial." The names and addresses were sent off to Elisabeth Reid, "that Circulars may reach them;" another well-wisher, "M^{rs} Archer-Clive," had written "in downright vexation" at not having been asked. You may be sure I intimated to her that *my* knowledge of it was mainly derived from advert^{ts} & the like: & that if people don't see newspapers, they have hardly a right to complain.

The Wedgwoods were getting only "the fag end of an ev^g," she explained, after she had dealt with an antislavery matter on which she had written "sheetsful lately, -- our Unitⁿ Ministers being roused to communicate with the brethren in Amer^a." Orville Dewey's earlier visit had set people wondering "at such stuff coming from a solemn leading minister." Once back in America he supported *her* sayings and was reported of as becoming an abolitionist, "to w^h those who know him & the cause say 'fudge!'" *She* was deeply concerned about the "Education question," and she groaned in spirit over "the worst insane deed ever done by the dissenters," who would cause the land "to be overstrewn with bad National Schools instead of the self-restraining mixed ones." Now her lamp was burning out, and she must move to her chamber fireside, to finish "the last 1/2 vol of 'Clarissa Harlowe'" -- a very bad book! She had expected "quite the contrary, tho' hating Grandison," but Clarissa herself was "odious, -- with her rash actions suiting so ill with her passionless, reasoning self-possessed character," and her lack of deference to her family, "amidst all her cant & preachments."⁶⁷

In December, Martineau begged Moxon to send copies of *Life in the Sick-Room* to "H. Bellenden Ker, Esq., M^{rs} Reid [and] M^{rs} Porter" (complimentary copies had gone to the Carlyles, Leigh Hunt, Bishop Stanley's wife, Adelaide Sartoris, Milnes, Lord Jeffrey and Erasmus Darwin). To Robinson, Martineau half-complained that the "hubbub" over the work had kept her from concentrating on a new batch of books from a London library, but she was satisfied to have fixed attention on a *condition* rather than on herself. Thanking him for Rydal Mount news, she claimed to value *his* opinion of her book more than Wordsworth's.⁶⁸

Next wishing Milnes "a happy Christmas," Martineau went on to praise "Town Missions," the "most Xⁿ . . . charity operating in our country" -- as she had learned from a report on Bristol -- and the "Gov^t *must* mend its ways about . . . the Postage." Putting Rowland Hill in again and insisting on "diligent service from their own servants," would gain "gratitude & attachment." Of another grievance, she had decided "*not* to print the Education letter" as efforts were now being made by some denominations, even if Church-sponsored "National" schools were poor. Complacent noblemen and the woefully inadequate schools run by the clergy let children "spend 5 years in spelling over Old Testament genealogies, -- leaving school without a single *idea* about any thing they are told they have learned." Had Milnes been surprised at her not alluding to her volume? The response was as rewarding as to her "Letter to the Deaf." Her

only trouble now was with her sanguine "good doctor," whose "vague language of encourag^{mnt} to enquirers" caused her trouble in refusing invitations. Yet for Christmas she "had the presumption to ask two boys, of 13 & 15, to spend a fortnight . . . from Tuesday next." They might "scramble about the rocks till dark;" and there were "prints & casts, & Macaulay's Lays & 'As you like it,' & we have arguments hours long on moral affairs." The younger one, Willy "says 'You know, aunt you & me are so *very* intimate!'"⁶⁹

On Christmas Eve, Martineau wrote gleefully to Hensleigh Wedgwood: "What a clever, original kind of fund, growing while you were paying expences!" The sum could be handed over to Richard Martineau, at "Mess^{rs} Whitbread & C^o, Chiswell S^t" or at his private residence, "Westbourne S^t, Hyde Park." She had never doubted Fanny's warm sympathy about *Life in the Sick-Room*, Fanny's mention of certain pages showing "how much our hearts are at one on the matter."

That evening at Tynemouth, she was "all in a bower of evergreens:" a great garland, sent her by a clergyman, hung between the rooms, and everything that would bear garlanding was covered.

And they flowered in the night! . . . with red, blue, yellow and white blossoms, -- cut in paper by the maids [not entirely to *her* taste] . . . tonight, here is a really exquisite Madonna from Jenny Carlyle.

Sadly, Jenny's engraving had arrived "creased & marked with the string [but] *not cut*;" and the Madonna's "face & figure . . . perfect, & O! how moving!"⁷⁰

Another London friend, elderly Basil Montagu, sent Martineau an offer of his service. Through the Procters (Montagu's wife's daughter and son-in-law) she knew of his doings, she answered, but her affairs in the city were managed. She *would* like to see his book of "Selections," and any "London parcels" for her could be deposited "at the house of my dear friend M^{rs} Reid," who forwarded them to Tynemouth. Sadly the old Fludyer Street house where the Montagus had come to her parties had never been cleaned and looked "horribly dismal."⁷¹

¹ HM to Madame Colmache, 10 August 1842, *CL* 2: 125-26; Martineau's two appendices, possibly intended for *The American Notes in The Hour and the Man. An Historical Romance* [one volume] (London: Routledge, 1855: 351 and 370-78) comprised 1) the story of a later prisoner in Toussaint's cell who was freed after Josephine placed a *model* of the cell on Napoleon's bureau and 2) a description of Haiti by Maria Weston Chapman, from *The Liberty Bell*; later Martineau told Moxon of proposals to remove Toussaint's bones to Haiti, though she knew the Haitians did not appreciate him; the reception of her book by free blacks in the United States, meanwhile, consoled her: HM to Moxon, 9 March 1845, *HM/FL* 130.

² HM to JM, August 1842, *HM/FL* 496 (as transcribed, James's account of two paintings seems confused); Spiridione Gambardella, originally an Italian operatic tenor, then a portrait painter in New York and Boston, groaned about his task to Carlyle (when Jane called on the artist, he insisted she read two letters from Reid, first beseeching him to come to Tynemouth and then reprimanding him for his high fees!); see TC to JWC, 31 August 1842 and JWC to Jeannie Welsh, [16 November 1842], *Carlyle Letters* 15: 50-52 and 186-92.

³ HM to Helen Martineau, Friday night [1842], *CL* 2: 131-32; JWC to TC, [25 August 1842], *Carlyle Letters* 15: 50-52; Mary Arnold, widow of Dr. Thomas Arnold, later Martineau's neighbour at Ambleside).

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- ⁴ TC to JWC, 31 August 1842; TC to Milnes, 6 October 1842, *Carlyle Letters* 15: 63, 117-18.
- ⁵ HM to Henry Taylor, 23 September 1842, *CL* 2: 130-31; Henry Taylor, *Edwin the Fair, An Historical Drama* (London: J. Murray, 1842) and *Philip van Artevelde, A Dramatic Romance* [a poetic drama set in 14th-century Flanders, contrasting lives of action and contemplation] (London: Moxon, 1834).
- ⁶ HM to Richard Martineau, 17 September [1842], LMU [2/004] (partly pbd. *CL* 2: 128-29); for Sharpe, see chap. 19, for the Fishers of Highbury, see *Auto.* 1: 240-41.
- ⁷ HM to Louisa Jeffery, Saturday night [October 1842?], JRUL; before sailing for America in January, Dickens read *Society* and *Retrospect* as well Trollope's and Marryat's books on the Americans; within a month of his return he resolved to write about his "American journies" (his title, *American Notes, for General Circulation* [London: Chapman and Hall, (October) 1842], hinted at worthless colonial money); Charles Dickens to Macvey Napier, 26 July 1842, *Letters of Charles Dickens* 3: 289; (Martineau may not have heard of Channing's death); Martineau termed Scheffer's popular Victorian painting "that talisman . . . that inspired epitome of suffering and solace!" (*Life in the Sick-Room* 158).
- ⁸ HM to Adelaide Kemble Sartoris, 10 October [1842], *CL* 2: 132-33; see Melbourne to Queen Victoria, 10 October 1842, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle RA A4/83 (though no longer prime minister, Melbourne continued to advise the young queen).
- ⁹ HM to JM, 5 October, 4 and 15 November 1842, *HM/FL* 491, 496-97 and 497-98 (James commented that his sister's details of Channing's death were more ample than those he knew, but "Harriet's judgment was greatly influenced by her habit of comparing Dr. Channing with Dr. Follen in relation to the single question of slavery abolition").
- ¹⁰ HM to HCR, 25 October 1842, HCR corr. 1842 191b-192a (partly pbd. *CL* 2: 133-36); see Thomas Campbell, "Notices of the Life of Lord Byron by Moore and Remarks on those notices by Lady Byron," *New Monthly Magazine*, 28 [March-April 1830: 33]; for Dickens's *American Notes*, see note 7; for correspondence about a pension, see next note; [rev.] "The Rioters; A Tale", *Morning Chronicle*, 12 November 1842: 3, col. 2 (review of a new edition [Houlston and Stoneman, 1842], expressing surprise at Martineau's name being prefixed to a story published many years before).
- ¹¹ HM to JM, 4 November 1842 [including comments on the offer of a pension], *HM/FL* 496-97.
- ¹² *The Times* [leading article], 22 October 1842: 5, cols. 4-5 (correspondence with Robert Hutton and Charles Buller, rptd. from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*: see Appen. C, *Auto.* 2: 501-507); *The Times* [leading article], 25 October 1842: 4, col. 3; and "Miss Martineau and Her Admirers," 2 November 1842: 5, cols. 3-4 (on the meeting); see *Auto.* 2: 177-79 and 3: 247-48; Edward Quillinan to HCR, 28 November 1842, *Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle (1808-1866)*, ed. Edith J. Morley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927) 1: 469-71.
- ¹³ "Miss Martineau," *Morning Chronicle*, 2 November 1842: 4, col. 3 (see also "Miss Martineau" [Tyne Pilot], *Morning Chronicle*, 5 November 1842, 3, col. 3); HM to WJF, 9 November 1842, BANC [Box 2] 74 (partly pbd. *CL* 2: 138-40).
- ¹⁴ HM to Moxon, 6 November [1842?], *CL* 2: 137-38 (Routledge appears as publisher of *Deerbrook* in one volume [1843] in the *London Catalogue of Books*, but for Moxon as publisher, see Rivlin 26); for *The Hour and the Man* (New York, 1842) see Rivlin.
- ¹⁵ HM to JM, 15 and 19 November 1842, *HM/FL* 497-98 and 498-99 (Martineau's hint about James's children seems officious).

¹⁶ HM to Edwin Chadwick, n.d. [November 1842], 27 November and 25 December [1842], *CL 2*: 137, 141-42 and 142-43.

¹⁷ HM to JM, 6 and 15 December 1842, *HM/FL* 499 and 499-500; Henry Reeve--their second cousin and future editor of the *Edinburgh Review*--lost his wife (née Hope Richardson) from childbirth after less than a year of marriage; Samuel Brown, *Lay Sermons on the Theory of Christianity. By a Company of Brethren. No. I--The Fidaism of Saint Paul . . .* (London: Smith, Elder, 1841); see Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle, "Dr. Samuel Brown of Edinburgh," *Carlyle Annual* No. 11 (1991): 77-86.

¹⁸ Emily Taylor to JWC, 17 December 1842, NLS, Acc. 8140. (part); for Mary Rich, see Barbara and Hensleigh Wedgwood, *The Wedgwood Circle*; Jane admitted having been neglectful of Martineau, who was conspiring to have her come in the spring: JWC to Jeannie Welsh, [25 December 1842], *Carlyle Letters* 15: 248-52.

¹⁹ HM to Lizzie Flower, 1 January 1843, *CL 2*: 144-46; Martineau seemed to forget visits from her family at Newcastle and from other pairs of friends; in June 1840, an insane youth had fired at the Queen as she rode in her carriage; Fox, now expelled from the Unitarian inner circle, kept his congregation at South Place chapel while lecturing and writing on ethical and social subjects for newspapers and the Anti-Corn Law League; Martineau's anger seemed directed at the newspapers' attacks on Peel, whose policies she permanently defended; see Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, 199-201.

²⁰ HM to FW, 7 January 1843, *HM/FW* 41-46 (Julia's brother, William Edward Nightingale [née Smith], father of Florence and Parthenope, had a specially-built travelling carriage made for his family).

²¹ Anna Jameson to HM, 17 January 1843, *Jameson: Letters and Friendships* 222-24; Anna Jameson to JWC, Saturday [1843], Jagiellonian U. Varnhagen Collection; JWC to Jeannie Welsh, [26 January 1843], *Carlyle Letters* 16: 33-36.

²² HM to WJF, 21 January 1843, *CL 2*: 146-48 (Fox, in *mid-career*, did not destroy Martineau's letters); Edward Stanley, *A Familiar History of Birds, their Nature, Habits, and Instincts* (London: John W. Parker, 183[5]); see "Period I. To Eight Years Old," *Auto*. I: 9-34.

²³ Fox's informants are unknown, but see "The Execution of Louis XVI, 1793," EyeWitness to History, www.eyewitness to history.com (1999); as joint-owner of the *New York Evening Post*, William Cullen Bryant challenged Dickens's blanket condemnation of the American press in *American Notes*: Charles Dickens to William Cullen Bryant, 14 February 1842, *The Letters of Charles Dickens* 3: 58-59, note 1.

²⁴ Moxon's statement for 1842 shows "Author's 2/3^{rds} profits" of £138.3.8 (minus commission?): BUL 1167; HM to Moxon, 11 February [1843], *HM/FL* 60 (Moxon did not "bite" and in 1855 Saunders and Otley published Caroline Clive's novel *Paul Ferroll*); for *The Hour and the Man*, see next note.

²⁵ HM to HCR, 11 February [1843], *CL 2*: 149-52; for appendices to *The Hour and the Man*, see note 1; in "The Charity Ball" Byron depicted a sinner (Byron himself) uncharitably *not* forgiven by a "saint" (Lady Byron); subscriptions for two "Polish girls" were being received by a Miss Skerrett.

²⁶ HM to FW, 11 February 1843, Saturday night [11 February 1843], *HM/FW* 46-49, 50; see, for example, "Stoppage of Parker and Co.'s Bank at Sheffield," *The Times*, 19 January 1843: 4, col.

5; Martineau had not forgiven John Gibson Lockhart, as editor of the *Quarterly*, for publishing the article on the "Garveloch" tales.

²⁷ HM to JM, 21 February 1843, *HM/FL* 500; probably Sir John Frederick William Herschel, best known as an astronomer and now involved in photochemistry; see Arbuckle, "Dr. Samuel Brown of Edinburgh."

²⁸ ED to HCR, 15 March 1843, *DWL*, HCR corr. 1843, 21a-b.

²⁹ HM to FW, Tuesday evening [21 or 28 February 1843], *HM/FW* 50-55; *Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner*, ed. Leonard Horner (London: Chambers, 1843); Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays, contributed to the Edinburgh Review* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans; 1843); John Wilson, *The Recreations of Christopher North* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1842); Annie Clayton—(?) sister or daughter of John Clayton, town clerk of Newcastle.

³⁰ George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain; or, the Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman, in an Attempt to Circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula* (London: John Murray, 1843; Borrow acted as agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society and his work went through many editions).

³¹ Buller, Radical MP and chief parliamentary spokesman for the colonial reformers, asked the government to support measures such as education and emigration to the colonies to help relieve unemployment in Britain (in 1838 Buller consulted Martineau before going to Canada as Lord Durham's assistant [see next note]); on repudiation, see Sydney Smith, *Letters on American Debts. By the Rev. Sydney Smith. First printed in the "Morning Chronicle"* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844).

³² HM to JM, March 1843, *HM/FL* 500-501; probably Samuel Carter Hall and Anna Maria (Fielding) Hall, *Ireland, its Scenery, Character, etc.* (London: A. Hall, 1841-43); Theodore Parker, *A Discourse on Matters Pertaining to Religion* (Boston: C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1842); for Brown's *Lay Sermons*, see note 17 (McAlister and Boucher have not been identified); the "Ladies Lambton" were Lord Durham's three daughters by his second wife, the former Lady Louisa Elizabeth Grey: Mary Louisa, who married Lord Elgin in 1846, Emily Augusta, who married Colonel William Frederick Cavendish in 1843, and Alice Anne Caroline, who married the 18th Earl of Morton in 1853; Lord Durham--sent to Canada as Governor-General in 1838--reported to Parliament recommending "responsible" (i.e., elected) government for the colony.

³³ HM to JM, 15 April and 21 February 1843, *HM/FL* 501 and 500-501; *Endeavours after the Christian Life. A Volume of Discourses by James Martineau* [presented in answer to "repeated solicitations from his friends and hearers"] (London: J. Green, 1843); JM to John Scott, 25 May 1843, *BANC* [Box 6] 90; probably J[ames] R. Ogden, *Holy Songs and Musical Prayers*, ed. James Martineau (London: Novello, 1842); for Macaulay, see note 29; *The Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, Second Edition (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840); the altered law, lobbied for by Gladstone, Peel, Talfourd, Wordsworth and others, better protected the rights of authors in Britain: see Juliet Barker, *Wordsworth. A Life* (London: Penguin Books, 2000).

³⁴ HM to FW, Wednesday [spring 1843], *UKL* (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 55-56); Martineau was frustrated by Dissenters' opposition to home secretary Sir James Graham's bill to set up schools for factory children under Church management; Mr. Hodgson was probably Joseph Hodgson, co-founder of the Birmingham Eye Infirmary; "acquiescence to suffering" figured strongly in

Martineau's *Life in the Sick-Room* later that year; *Past and Present* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843) appeared at the beginning of April.

³⁵ HM to HCR, 27 April 1843, CL 2: 155-58; the "Society of Authors" probably referred to editor of the *Literary Gazette* William Jerden's latest effort for their "mutual support and assistance" (William Jerden, *Illustrations of the Plan of a National Association for the Encouragement and Protection of Authors, and Men of Talent and Genius* [London: W. Stephenson, 1839]); Lydia Howard Sigourney, American writer of prose and poetry including juvenile literature and temperance tracts had urged Martineau to come to Hartford, Connecticut (see HM to Lydia Howard Sigourney, 13 October 1836, CL 1: 315-16); Southey died on 21 March and Sigourney published a private *altered* letter from Southey's wife ("News from Europe," *Brother Jonathan*, 22 April 1843: 464, col. 2-465, col. 1); see *The Times* [on stocks, quoting Everett], 27 April 1843: 6, cols. 3-4 (as American minister, Everett sympathized with disappointed British investors in state bonds but pointed out that the central government was not a party to contracts made by individual states); see Brougham, "Bulwer and the Lady Novelists," *British and Foreign Review*, 3 (December 1836): 477-510 (on defects of Bulwer's *Pelham* and on Lady Morgan, Lady Blessington, Lady Charlotte Bury, Mrs. Norton and Mrs. Gore).

³⁶ HM to JM, 7 May 1843, HM/FL 502; probably John Bishop Estlin, Bristol eye surgeon and Unitarian social reformer; Martineau added a slightly inappropriate anecdote about the Duke of Sussex waiting for an operation for cataracts and being visited by Persian princes who assumed the King had put out his eyes.

³⁷ HM to Mr. Saunders, n.d. [May 1843?], BANC [Box 4] 61; Martineau's list included Cunningham's *Life of Wilkie*, *The Sick-Room* by Mrs. Thompson [not identified but possibly like the pamphlet, *The Sick Room Attendant . . . By a Lady* [comprised of treatments, recipes and prayers] (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1844), Thierry's *Disc. Aus d'Etudes Historiques*, 4th & 5th vols. of *Consuelo* by George Sand, Thornton's *British India*, new *Edinburgh & Quarterly Reviews*, *Waldemar* (from Danish), Jerrold's *Cakes & Ale*, Mitford's *Norway & her Laplanders*, Irving's *Biography of Margaret Davidson*, C. Sedgwick's *Lucretia Davidson*, Arago's *Life of Watt*, Kohl's *Russia*, Hood's *Up the Rhine*, *Martin Chuzzlewit* (appearing in serial form from 1 January 1843), *Life & Remains of LEL*, Taylor's *The Statesman*, *Memoirs of the Princess Daschkaw*, *Handbook of Painting* by Eastlake, *Patchwork* by Basil Hall, *Irish Sketchbook* by Titmarsh, *Life of Beethoven* by Moscheles, Ashley Cooper's *The Doctor*, 2 or 3 first volumes of *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington . . . A new edition*. 13 vol. (London: John Murray, 1837-39).

³⁸ *Auto*. 2: 180.

³⁹ HM to ?, 26 May 1843, CL 2: 170; HM to Mr. Finlay, 28 June 1843, CL 2: 176; for dissension among British abolitionists after 1833, see Temperley, Introduction, xi-xvii.

⁴⁰ HM to Milnes, 28 May [1843], TLC Houghton 16²⁶ (partly pbd. CL 2: 171-74); for Graham's bill, see note 34; Rowland Hill's penny post bill was passed by the Whigs in January 1840, but he was now petitioning Parliament for an inquiry into the state of the post office: see HM to Sir Thomas Wilde, 15 May 1843, CL 2: 165-68 (in June, Wilde was to introduce a scheme for a select committee on the post office: see "Post-Office Arrangements," *The Times*, 28 June 1843: 2, cols. 3-6).

⁴¹ Martineau's "luxuries" included "drawings sent . . . by the Miss Nightingales, and an envelope-case, (in daily use) from the hands of the immortal Florence" (*Auto*. 2: 180); of new

editions of her works, Martineau may mean *Deerbrook* (London: Edward Moxon, 1843), *Traditions of Palestine* (London: Charles Fox, 1843) and two American editions of *Illustrations of Political Economy*, some with new explanatory titles for American readers like: *Hill and Valley, or Hand and Machinery; a tale for the people by Harriet Martineau* (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey; Hartford [Conn.]: S. Andrus and Son, 1843) and *Berkeley the Banker, or Bank notes and bullion; A tale for the times; The Charmed Sea; Life in the Wilds, or The South African settlement; a tale for young and old; Loom and Lugger, or Weavers and smugglers*, etc. (Hartford [Conn.]: S. Andrus and Son, 1843); see "Laura Bridgman [on Dr. Howe's establishment]," *Penny Magazine*, 7 June 1845: 222-24 and 230-32.

⁴² HM to M^{rs} A.B.C. [Milnes], May 1843, Houghton, TLC 16⁴⁰ (1); for a second letter, apparently to the Queen, see HM to Milnes, July [1843], *CL* 2: 176-77.

⁴³ HM to Charles Buller, 15 June [1843], *CL* 2: 175-76 (for Sir James Graham and the education bill, see *The Times*, 14 July 1843: 4, cols. 4-5).

⁴⁴ HM to Milnes, Saturday [8 July 1843?], July [1843] and 10 July [1843], TLC Houghton 16⁴² (2) and *CL* 2: 176-77 and 177-79.

⁴⁵ HM to Milnes, 10, Tuesday (mid-late July), 22 July 1843, *CL* 2: 177-79, 179-80, 182-84; as American minister, Everett had been given an honorary Doctor of Civil Laws by Oxford University in June 1843, but Puseyites objected because he was Unitarian and by December 1843 his degree had been pronounced "invalid and a nullity;" see Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett. Orator and Statesman* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1971); for Milnes's speech on repeal being "fatal" to Ireland, see *The Times*, 12 July 1843: 3, col. 3; Edwin Chadwick had reported in 1833 on the factory children; for Sir James Graham ("J.G.") and the education bill, see *The Times*, 14 July 1843: 4, cols. 4-5; for Sir Thomas Wilde, see "Post-Office Arrangements," *The Times*, 28 June 1843: 2, cols. 3-6.

⁴⁶ Sir James Graham to Queen Victoria, 28 July and 18 August 1843, Royal Archives B7/16 and 29.

⁴⁷ HM to Moxon, 24 August 1843, BANC [Box 4] 2; Moxon later published Lamont's *Impressions, Thoughts, and Sketches, during Two Years in France and Switzerland*: see [rev.] "Miss Lamont's Impressions of France and Switzerland," *Spec.*, 16 December 1843: 1192-93; JWC to [Martha Macdonald Lamont], [29 December 1843], *Carlyle Letters* 17: 222 [endnote].

⁴⁸ JWC to TC, 17 July 1843, TC to JWC, 19 July 1843, *Carlyle Letters* 16: 281-84 and 292-94 (Thomas may have been expressing sour grapes); Thomas Cox Savory, 47 and 54 Cornhill, London.

⁴⁹ HM to ED, Sunday evening [23 July 1843]; HM to Hensleigh Wedgwood, [24 July 1843] and 24 July [1843], *HM/FW* 57-58, 58-60 and 60-61; for the inscription, without a date, see *Auto.* 3: 271; Martineau's correspondence with Hensleigh over the testimonial lasted until at least September.

⁵⁰ HM to HCR, 20 July 1843, *CL* 2: 180-82 (Martineau may refer to Robert Southey, *Letters written during a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* [Bristol: J. Cottle, 1797]).

⁵¹ Elisabeth Reid to HCR, [July 1843], DWL, HCR corr. Bundle 2. I. d.

⁵² HM to Helen Martineau, 6 August [1843], *CL* 2: 184-86; "Harry" Greenhow, Martineau's nephew; Martineau must already have considered mesmerism, to James's disapproval (that

ignorant and/or working-class women typically served as mesmeric subjects may have bothered him: see Alison Winter, *Mesmerized. Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* [Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998]; Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at the University of Edinburgh.

⁵³ HM to Helen Martineau, 2 September and "Tuesday" [1843], *CL* 2: 190-93 and HMC f. 14.

⁵⁴ HM to Hensleigh Wedgwood, 25 August 1843, *HM/FW* 62-63; "To the Contributors to a Testimonial to H. Martineau," 22 October 1843, *HM/FW*, 65 (pbd. in "Critical and Miscellaneous Notices," *WR* 40 [December 1843]: 522 and in *Auto.* 2: 181); Coutt's declined the task of addressing the letters to contributors, BUL HM 1253 (see misc. testimonial correspondence, BUL HM 1245-60); for the fête, see *Auto.* 3: 271; Uncle Peter Martineau also expressed sorrow at Elizabeth's unsuccessful operation for cataracts.

⁵⁵ HM to Lady Walsham, Tuesday [1840-44], Friday evening [1841-42] and Friday night [1843], BANC [Box 5] 9, 10 and 11; as a contributor to *Household Words* (1850 to 1855) and *Once a Week* (1859-1865), Martineau was later associated with William Bradbury, whom she probably meant.

⁵⁶ HM to Hensleigh Wedgwood, Sunday [3? September 1843], *HM/FW*, 63-64 (was Martineau envious of Emily's success with *her* friends?).

⁵⁷ Macready sailed for America at the end of August and purposely took no letters from Dickens, having read in July "the number of Chuzzlewit's landing in America, *which I do not like*," and noting that Martineau was "angry at Dickens--and not unreasonably so": *Macready*, Toynebee 2: 215 and 217 [diary entries for 1 July and 14 August 1843] (see *The Letters of Charles Dickens* 3: 270, note 3); HM to [Henry] Ware, 22 August 1843, BPL MS Eng. 244 (16) [sadly, Henry Ware died on 22 September 1843]; HM to Joseph Story, 22 August 1843, *CL* 2: 186, HM to George Bancroft, 22 August 1843, *HM/FL* 66, HM to Charles Sumner, 22 August 1843, *HM/FL* 66-67.

⁵⁸ HM to Milnes, 28 August 1843, *CL* 2: 187-89 (no reference in the *Christian Teacher* has been identified); the book may have been by Hugues Félicité Robert de La Mennais, *The Words of a Believer: and Having Thus Spoken, He was Eternally Damned by the Pope of Rome, for Having Uttered Them* [trans.] (London: B. D. Cousins, n.d.).

⁵⁹ HM to Elizabeth Barrett, 1 and 17 August [1843], *FL* 64 and 65-66 (Martineau's "volume" might have been *Addresses; with Prayers and Original Hymns*, republished by Charles Fox in 1838); "The Dead Pan," a 39-stanza lament inspired "by Schiller's *Götter Griechenlands*" was published the following year; Elizabeth Barrett, *The Seraphim, and Other Poems* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838); see Margaret Forster, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning. A Biography* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1988).

⁶⁰ HM to Louisa Jeffery, Wednesday night [September 1843?], JRUL ("Mr. C." was surely Henry Clay, with whom Louisa corresponded); in 1855 Maria became Martineau's indispensable companion; "James's vol" must have been *Endeavours after the Christian Life* (see note 33).

⁶¹ *Auto.* 3: 242; HM to FW, 11 January 1844, *HM/FW* 69-74; *Life in the Sick-Room* comprised: "The Transient and the Permanent in the Sick-Room," 1-10, "Sympathy to the Invalid," 11-42, "Nature to the Invalid," 43-63, "Life to the Invalid," 64-103, "Death to the Invalid," 104-25, "Temper," 126-45, "Becoming Inured," 146-54, "Power of Ideas in the Sick-Room," 155-75,

"Some Perils and Pains of Invalidism," 176-96, and "Some Gains and Sweets of Invalidism," 197-221; though Martineau later dismissed the work as overly self-preoccupied, sickroom scenes served as crucial points of transition in Victorian fiction: in *Jane Eyre*, for example, the heroine's life changes radically after her illness in Chapter 29, and Dickens may have drawn on Martineau's images and ideas for the heroine Esther's sickroom narrative in *Bleak House*: see Miriam Bailin, *The Sickroom in Victorian Fiction. The Art of Being Ill* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) and Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle, "Dickens and Harriet Martineau: some New Letters and a Note on *Bleak House*," *Dickensian* 81 (Autumn 1985): 157-62.

⁶² HM to Harriet Grote, 21 September 1843, Jagiellonian U, Varnhagen Collection; partly to please his wife, George Grote served as a reforming MP for London, 1832-4; in mid-1843 he returned to work on his long postponed project: *A History of Greece*, 12 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1846-56); Martineau failed to mention nonstop work on her sickroom essays.

⁶³ HM to Elizabeth Barrett, [16] October 1843, *FL*, 67-69.

⁶⁴ HM to Richard Martineau, 4 October [1843], *CL* 2: 193; see HM to Moxon, 31 October and 5 November 1843, *CL* 2: 196 and BodLib MS Eng. lett. d. 2. ff. 101-102 (Martineau's manuscripts were now obviously of value).

⁶⁵ HM to JM, 23 November 1843, *HM/FL* 503-504; the "article of dress" is not specified; Hilary Bonham Carter, Julia Smith's niece; Martineau might have read Sand's historical romance about early Venetian artists [published in French in 1838] before her trip to Italy in 1839.

⁶⁶ HM to HCR, 27 November 1843, *CL* 2: 201-204; the Duke had granted sites to the Free Church of Scotland for his dissenting tenantry: see "Sites for Churches in Sunderlandshire," "The Duke of Sutherland and the Free Church" and "The Duke of Sutherland and the Free Church," *Morning Chronicle*, 11, 15 and 25 November 1843, 2, col. 5, 3, col. 1, and 3, col. 3; Robertson's letter has not been identified; the "hungry forties" in Ireland had begun; Robinson must have meant Mary Clarke, later Madame Mohl: see Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale. 1820-1910* (London: Constable, 1950) 20-24.

⁶⁷ HM to FW, Friday, 8th [November-December 1843], Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 65-68); Fanny was expecting her sixth child; Dewey, a conservative Unitarian, opposed both slavery and abolitionism: see *HM/FW* 67, note 5.

⁶⁸ HM to HCR, 14 December 1843, *CL* 2: 204-205; the London library was probably Saunders and Otley's; the Wordsworths at Rydal Mount (whom Robinson often visited) and their friend Isabella Fenwick admired the emotional and mental good of *Life in the Sick-Room*, Mary Wordsworth guessing Martineau was the author: see chap. 26, and cf. Barker, *Wordsworth* 766-68.

⁶⁹ HM to Milnes, 22 December [1843], *CL* 2: 206-10 (James had formerly carried out town missions, preaching in poor districts; her informant was probably Philip Carpenter); Martineau's guests were Henry (Harry) and William (Willy) Greenhow.

⁷⁰ HM to Hensleigh Wedgwood, Christmas Eve [1843], *HM/FW* 68-69 (the "fund" may have been from an interest-bearing savings account); see HM to JWC, Christmas Day [1843], (in private hands; partly pbd. *CL* 2: 210-12); JWC to Jeannie Welsh, [28 December 1843], *Carlyle Letters* 17: 218-22; a "felicitous carver & gilder" mended Martineau's Madonna: HM to JWC, [2 January 1844], (in private hands; partly pbd. *CL* 2: 219).

⁷¹ HM to Basil Montagu, 31 December [1843], *CL* 2: 213-14 (in May 1845 Montagu recommended that Martineau try mesmerism, mentioning the amateur phrenologist and mesmerist Henry George Atkinson); Montagu's book may have been *Essays and Selections* (London: W. Pickering, 1837); for Montagu's smuggling Martineau and Rachel into the trial of Canadian prisoners, see *Auto.* 1: 406-408.