

**Part III**  
**Books, Travel and Journalism**  
**(1844-1855)**

**Chapter 26**  
**Lingering Illness, Celebrity Revived, Mesmerism**  
**(1844)**

Crabb Robinson, staying in a cottage near the Wordsworths over Christmas, had fallen downstairs and was bedridden. To divert him, Martineau retold a story of Julia Smith's stepping out of an upstairs window holding a volume of Shakespeare and gazing at the moon, *expecting a balcony*. Julia's brother Octavius, hearing a shriek from his wife "confined" in the room and seeing "the heap of white lying on the hard ground below," shouted "'lie still till I come!'" (Poor Julia then spent six months in bed.)<sup>1</sup>

Robinson pronounced *Life in the Sick-Room* Martineau's best work, vindicating the "dignity of human nature in opposition to the common notion of human depravity" and quoting Wordsworth's praise of the work's "perfect honesty and freedom from cant." Denying rumors, Martineau said she had *not* addressed Elizabeth Barrett but was sure the person knew. While Bishop Stanley and his wife thought she relied too much on "human intellect & will," another reader, a lawyer writing anonymously from the Reform Club, wept, prayed, was unable to sleep and became sickened at his profession. A woman who recklessly borrowed money to live carefree for a month asked for £10. Others wanted advice, not money - charity cases being turned over to the Lambtons. Moreover, she had prevented a suicide, Martineau boasted to Robinson.<sup>2</sup>

"You will smile at my little enclosure" (an account of her expenses for 1843), she opened next to Fanny Wedgwood. Rooms with a view like hers were "not a cheap article," but her income was sufficient. Her indulgences also included wine "& many little luxuries that a healthy person would not think of," but which appeared without orders at her maid's behest. *Life in the Sick-Room* had shown her mother and Lissey that she had "suffered more than they were at all aware of." When her niece Fanny came over from Newcastle within "a few days of publication," she confessed to Fanny's "utter astonishment," that she was the author. The sole difficulty arose when her aunts Mary and Georgina, "on receiving a letter from Emily Taylor, took offense on being 'out of the secret'" and distressed her poor mother. But Fanny (Wedgwood) must not "tell a word of this story to E.T.," who would "in her benevolence . . . give it, for my credit, with variations, to all the eminent people she knows." Rachel and Ellen in Liverpool and Robert in Birmingham had found her out from the *Examiner*. Whether James knew yet, she had no idea, but Elizabeth Ker (her adviser on literary matters) had written "a most glorious letter." Moxon was pleased, and *she* had a new view of her life.<sup>3</sup>

(Though Martineau knew it would be "a perfectly abhorrent book to him," the Carlyles received their copy, and Jane's response was mostly approving. But she avowed wittily to her cousin that *she* never gave way to "dreadful qualms of conscience" like Martineau's, "on the ground that people 'overrate my physical sufferings and give me more sympathy than I am in

strict justice entitled to'!!")<sup>4</sup>

Next lecturing Fanny Wedgwood on the discomfort of pregnancy, Martineau noted unctuously: "You know how your own personal fatigues & sufferings are made holy & dear." She hoped Fanny's confinement would be as easy as Ellen's last, when "[h]er husband slept sound until two, & before four, their little daughter was washed & dressed, & had taken her place in civilized society." Alfred was getting on professionally, "& the dear people are happier than Carlyle w<sup>d</sup> believe." From London, she had a cheerful note from Mazzini, who suffered from a swelling in his face. Of articles in the latest *Edinburgh*, she much liked the first (on, Michelet's *History of France*) and another, on Ireland, "except the sad party stuff in the last 3 pp. . . . I suppose Senior wrote that art" (a correct guess). Lord Murray and Lady Mary Lambton wanted her to read the Marquis de Custine's account of travels in Russia, but "books about that wretched country & people make me sick at heart," she groaned. She was reading Walpole's correspondence, and her "pain & disgust" were growing - "What a horrid spirit it is!" People begging for help troubled her too, including the suicidal man who "twice dreamed that he saw me, & I was kind."<sup>5</sup>

Though the major quarterlies failed to review *Life in the Sick-Room*, the *Athenæum* termed it a "fascinating volume," of the loftiest character, essential reading for the sick and for the healthy to prepare for "seasons of trial." The *Spectator* regarded the subjects of the essays to be ones that "naturally suggest themselves to a reflective and well-conditioned mind in sickness." Martineau went beyond the Stoics, who were indifferent to pain, the reviewer said, by making pain -- in "The Transient and the Permanent in the Sick-room" -- a positive good. Among lesser journals, the *Dublin University Magazine* identified Martineau as author and called *Life in the Sick-Room* "a wise and thoughtful book -- the offspring of a lofty mind." Unsurprisingly, the just launched *Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany* made fun of Martineau's earnest suggestions.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps hoping to spur sales, Martineau asked Moxon to send Bulwer a copy of her work, for "I owe him a civility." Would he also send a copy to Mrs. S.C. Hall, Rosery, Old Brompton? Jeffrey's copy enclosing a private letter she feared had gone astray. Rehearsing the "suddenness . . . of her conception and execution" to James, she claimed that it had taken hold of "the Puseyites in particular, though with comments on its 'dangerous self-reliance.'" Just now she was sending their mother "a most touching letter from Lord and Lady Murray about it." Next copying out her yearly accounts for James to see, she pointed to her "expenditure for dress during the year being £2!"<sup>7</sup>

After the success of her book, a new call came for Martineau to help stop disgruntled coal miners of the northeast from going on strike. "I have just had a visit from M<sup>r</sup> *Tremenheere*," she wrote to Lord Howick. Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, commissioner for inquiring into the state of the population in mining districts (a follow-up of Lord Ashley's bill of 1842 for the protection of women and children working in mines) had stopped to see her on his way to Scotland and had made "*confidential* disclosures" about political feeling in the region that were "unspeakably fearful." She and Tremenheere agreed that their "aim must be the comfort of the mass of the people, & the education of the children." Newspapers like the *Northern Star* must be "neutralized" and a way found to teach the "truths of doctrine & of fact about *Wages*." Would Howick help them in trying "to meet the minds of the discontented?" If

the present danger could be averted, a "vast & energetic" population might surge up in "a new consciousness of needs & rights," at the same time opening "a noble field for future statesmen."

Martineau longed for "a conversation with any chief [Corn Law] Leaguer," for the miners believed that "Corn-law repeal [was meant] to reduce Wages." To her surprise, on 23 January "a handsome fraction of the 'Great Fact', in the shape of M<sup>r</sup> Cobden, M<sup>r</sup> Moore & Co<sup>l</sup> Thompson" called and promised to help if she saw she could spread "knowledge about Wages" in the region. Boasting to Tremenheere of the "[b]ribes & solicitations" pouring in, a "conspiracy ag<sup>st</sup> me, to get me to write," she wondered if such demands might make men like Henry Morton (the Lambton agent) -- "not literary, & looking up to that kind of service" -- feel awkward about payment to her. If anyone broached the matter to Tremenheere, he had permission to say she preferred "working for good will."<sup>8</sup>

Acknowledging information from Howick about "the corporate bodies of old," Martineau suggested that her old friend Henry Hallam might help them with sources. Homely details were sure to appeal to working men, "who can never have enough of the facts [of] their own order in old times or in other countries." She had studied Tremenheere's papers but was "quite lost among the details." Did Howick think the men "w<sup>d</sup> be entertained with a short series of Letters as from a Pennysl<sup>d</sup> Miner?" Having "traversed the State twice, & [seen] the Alleghany Miners," she could use details from her "Amer<sup>n</sup> journal" -- which she had with her. Whatever she produced, she would need men like Morton to correct facts "& even verbal style," but she would not agree to any "hardening & sharpening" of her words, for her sympathies lay with "the ignorant & misled." While the employers abominated expressions like "Union is strength," she would adopt and enforce them to show "that 'union' to set one element against another is truly 'division;'" she merely awaited the mines and collieries report. Her "Polit<sup>l</sup> Econ<sup>y</sup> library" was locked up in London, but she had doctrine enough in her head for her purpose.

Tremenheere made "three proposals -- three temptations to me to exert myself," she went on. First would be a fortnightly series modeled on the miners' own papers, which "M<sup>r</sup> Morton & others" could distribute by sending men into the pits, "who will do the thing cleverly, & are not likely to be suspected." She had been surprised to find the writers of the "bad [miners'] papers" familiar with Channing, Robert Hall (a famed Baptist preacher and admirer of Priestley) and her "brother James, most ingeniously detached, so as to minister to the readers' hatred of the clergy & 'easy classes.'" (The second proposal, for a cheap books club, was to absorb all Martineau's attention in the Spring). She dared "look forward to all manifestations of care for popular interests being cordially met by the Liberal party," but she deplored "the connexion of party feelings" with important measures--though not speaking of him or Lord Morpeth. Finally, she decried "the corruption of the Morning Chron: & the Examiner . . . during these last years."<sup>9</sup>

By February Martineau was apparently receiving lists of possible sponsors for the cheap books scheme and promising to forward the packets to Howick. "Our collier population," she said, "is in *no* distress . . . but they are in a dreadful temper, & the prey of the very worst so-called Chartist emissaries." Her correspondent's testimony in favour of fiction for the miners pleased Martineau, James Mill having wrongly assured her in the past that "they much preferred didactic writings." If Messrs. Chambers issued a "New Journal, in a most popular style

. . . enlivened by the stories I dream of doing," would the new journal be circulated, did her correspondent think? She enclosed a copy of her letter to Lady Mary and believed "the Mess<sup>rs</sup> Chambers" would take on secretarial details.<sup>10</sup>

Contemplating a battle against Chartist organizers, Martineau unexpectedly received a plea of another sort. The novelist Edward Bulwer, despondent at the death of his mother and evidently moved by *Life in the Sick-Room*, wanted Martineau's view of a reunion with loved ones after death. Carefully, Martineau explained that she believed in a future life where the first affections would endure but saw no evidence for "a general simultaneous resurrection." For such a woman as Elizabeth Follen, who trusted to meditation and the "expectation of reunion," she especially reckoned on the former. On "spiritual progress" by individuals, she cited the death of her eldest brother, whose friendship nearly twenty years ago she had "just become capable of enjoying and reciprocating." Now, she believed, he had "advanced intellectually and spiritually" far beyond her, yet she was sure he was still her friend -- and she felt the same about her "other lost brother . . . Dr. Follen, the greatest man I ever knew."

Bulwer evidently answered with praise for her book, and she praised his *Godolphin* -- which people thought *she* had written, *The Student* and *Ernest Maltravers*, the two last being her favorites. "How aristocratic you must be!" she then burst out. Bulwer did not seem to believe in reunion after death for "tradesmen," "savages," or "peasants," but perhaps she had mistaken him? In his grief, Bulwer had vowed to give up authorship -- and she compared *her* motivation to his. "Fame" was not an inducement; she simply could not help "utterance for utterance[']s sake." Encouragingly, she added that thanks were due for "the prospect of Schiller," his just-published translation which she hoped would include "Die Künstler," a girlish love of hers.<sup>11</sup>

Though groaning at the burden of her correspondence, Martineau's letters to her friends grew *longer*, but she warded off a woman who sent a parcel of unpublished poetry costing eight shillings' postage. A pretty "panorama of Lake Lemman" sent from Lausanne could have been *framed* for those eight shillings, she complained to Jane Carlyle. Thomas had sent her an atlas, and she wondered if he had read the *Memoirs of the Princess Daschkaw*, "a piteous book . . . but very striking." Some contemporary reputations -- of Byron, Mme. de Staël, even Joanna Baillie, whose plays she was reading for the first time -- seemed unaccountable. Milnes's failure to gain popularity surprised her. She particularly liked his Germanic, subjective turn, she told Jane, and she liked *him*.<sup>12</sup>

On a March day, three ships were wrecked off Tynemouth. "O! how the wind is roaring! -- my very table is vibrating!" Martineau exclaimed to Fanny Wedgwood. Apologizing for lateness in writing (Fanny's baby daughter, Hope Elizabeth, had been born in February), she explained that she "c<sup>d</sup> have no more use" of her dear niece Fanny while her mother was in Newcastle. Elizabeth was "extremely nervous and feeble," and Greenhow theorized that she could die suddenly "of some failure about the heart." Yet she took pleasure in Rachel's success with her school, "places therein bespoken up to August/45 [and] many more pleas for admission than [Rachel] can answer." Martineau's own satisfaction was less for her sister's "success & prosperity" than proof of "the appreciation of w<sup>h</sup> society is capable of a principle of education." Rachel was first laughed at and stared at until people saw "what noble & happy creatures her pupils turned out." Rachel was "the very opposite" of herself and "made for

power, prosperity & responsibility" (Rachel's continuing popularity with their *mother* still seemed to rankle with Martineau). Though ill, *she* had no anxiety over her new commitments. Emily Taylor's going had produced a tremendous sense of relief, in contrast with the horrors & worries of last winter, when our poor well-meaning E.T. was meddling & messing & muddling, putting everything & everybody out, -- a season never to be forgotten in Tynemouth! Instead of those 4 to 6 notes per day, all full of vexatious blunders, to lie quiet & know that all is peace in the house, has made this a delectable winter indeed.

After the excitement over *Life in the Sick-Room*, Martineau went on, "its going out of print so soon" and Moxon's "joy & gratitude," Tremenheere had arrived -- clearly sent to her. Now she was part of a band that included "Co<sup>l</sup> Grey & L<sup>y</sup> M Lambton, the Lambton agent, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Chambers of Edinbro' & D<sup>r</sup> Chalmers as approver," who had "got up a plan of action." Her faithful friends, Elisabeth Reid and Elizabeth Ker, had rescued her from taking on more than "the light work first proposed by the Commis<sup>r</sup>." Yet it was a trial that "the most important & useful idea" of her life must "stand over." Surprisingly, Greenhow encouraged her--to Lissey's and [her daughter] Fanny's dismay--"but *he* never was ill, & has not the remotest conception of the wear & tear of intellectual labour."

Elizabeth Follen was meanwhile "laying by the dollars" to come to Britain. Dewey had "committed himself to the Pro-slavery side" by his address at New York (on the annexation of Texas), and had "the effrontery to ask for M<sup>r</sup> Furness's church at Phil<sup>a</sup> [to which] only 200 people went" but not his "former admirer Fanny Butler." Martineau was glad he had "dished himself decisively." By comparison, "How glorious old Adams has been!" From New Orleans, Macready had sent a newspaper showing that *he* was "prospering everywhere." On the question of Ireland, Martineau justified her dislike of O'Connell by Dublin lawyers' dubbing him "the most unprincipled man at their Bar." The "Repeal cause was "virtually over," she insisted, "surrendered by O'C. himself."<sup>13</sup>

Breezily to Elizabeth Barrett in early March, Martineau admitted her regret at "the approaching completion of a very long piece of wool-work . . . for my abolitionist friends in Amer<sup>a</sup>." Another good cause -- promoting a testimonial for Rowland Hill -- also absorbed her. She had "got out a hand-bill, and had all Shields and Newcastle placarded therewith," trusting that "that wonderful man" might receive the reward he deserved. Poor neighbors, "sailors' wives and sisters [came] *with tears* to give their sixpences." Yet infuriatingly, "one lady complains that she heard R. Hill was a radical, -- another that he was a tory, -- while another is quite sure he has been dead many years." How could people be content to profit by such "a vast and toilsome discovery . . . without any gratitude to the author?" (On 18 April *The Times* reported that Sir Robert Peel had subscribed £10 10s to the testimonial for Rowland Hill).

Martineau's first Spring event, she boasted, would be a visit on Sunday from "such of the Counsel as I know who come the circuit, -- and the Judges, when they are of my acquaintance." Her nephews would come "in the Easter holidays," allowing her the "pleasure and instruction of a week's insight into their delicious young minds." In June would begin "the summer procession of friends," till November. Her life had been "full of disappointments and calamities w<sup>h</sup> have all issued in good to others." She still felt ill, but her "dear doctor . . . a perfect specimen of the sanguine man, -- beating the man in the Rambler all to nothing,"

opined that time might do much. To a "kind message" from Mary Russell Mitford (Barrett's friend and admirer), she had explained that they did have flowers at Tynemouth -- though "some folk" fancied they lived in houses built of "snow banks, with ice-roofs." Her "kind friend, M<sup>r</sup> Ker," provided her yearly with "a pretty show of hyacinths, narcissus &c." Unfortunately, the scent of flowers meant nothing to her, but she liked "the invariable pleased sniff" of visitors to her room. "How entirely I agree with you about severe pain!" she ended. *She* could not "lie still" and she marveled at the fortitude of people in hospitals. Opiates gave her "no fairy visions," like Barrett's, or "anything beyond *relief*, -- restoration to a comfortable condition of nerve, with [formerly], in the night, a particular set of horrors." Finally, she praised Barrett's tales of her dog Flush, but *she* did not crave a dog, cat, or bird -- each would be a bother.<sup>14</sup>

Martineau next busied herself on behalf of a deserving young man just going to London (the suicidal youth?) by asking Crabb Robinson to "notice" him. She wanted also to use part of Robinson's subscription to the Polish orphans (the elder sister having died) to help educate the daughter of an insane gentleman -- once Greenhow's fever patient -- whose wife was trying to set up as a milliner at Newcastle. Would not Robinson come for another visit? They could compare notes on William Taylor, who'd been censured in her childhood for "his reckless sayings, his utter disregard of any kind of truth, -- his inability to exist without constant flattery, & his consequent sinking down to be the idol of clever young school boys."

Yet she fondly remembered Taylor's mother's hoping to restore her sight by drying her pillow in a morning sun of midsummer night. "People little dream what the earliest influences are to children. What an infant was I!" Indeed, she had long benefitted by the example of Taylor's mother's suffering. The new memoir of Taylor (including his correspondence with Southey) raised him slightly in her esteem, but she judged the whole mere "book-manufacturing" for the sake of selling. Even her successful (and more deserving?) *Life in the Sick-Room* had gone out of print, and her inability to participate fully in Tremenheere's scheme depressed her. Moreover, her letter on education -- *written* for circulation or publication -- had been kept out of the newspapers by Milnes to prevent the "wrath of dissenters" against her.<sup>15</sup>

Rather crossly complaining to Moxon on 16 March that Americans were awaiting *Life in the Sick-Room* which Eliza Follen could have had reprinted, Martineau wanted to know who his agent was at New York. More graciously a few days later, Martineau said she longed for Milnes's *Memorials of Many Scenes* and asked him to put Bulwer's "Schiller" in with a box of books from Saunders and Otley coming to a neighbour. In May, she badgered Moxon to look at a work of "extreme interest" on "rearing & training infirm & deformed people." The author had written to her several times and wanted his identity kept secret: for a volume the size of hers, he asked £50.<sup>16</sup>

To Jane Carlyle, Martineau groaned over a woman who sent her poetry containing her "mind & soul [about] a severe domestic affliction (7 years ago now)!" Another grievance was a "horribly scrawled" note from Mary Shelley, who called Martineau "divinely benevolent" for sending her *Life in the Sick-Room*, which she *had not* done! Shelley's "conduct to old M<sup>rs</sup> Godwin, & about Godwin's Life, w<sup>h</sup> she promised *him* that she w<sup>d</sup> write . . . & then never did," was "cold & selfish, -- not to say cruel," Martineau decreed.

*Jane's* note had "dropped in . . . one darkish ev<sup>g</sup>," and she always kept letters from favourite friends till just before bedtime. "I stir the fire or thrust my feet deep into their muff,"

then "draw the little table & lamp to my elbow, -- rest my head on the cushion, & begin speech with you." (Jane had fallen into deep depression as Carlyle labored at his "Cromwell", imagining even Erasmus Darwin to be growing "cool" towards them). Soothingly, Martineau reminded Jane of Erasmus's uneasiness over Fanny after her confinement. Speaking plainly, she agreed that Thomas's "'withering' spirit" might put off others, but not Darwin who was *used* to it. "Pray thank him [for] Laing's Essay," she added. Laing was clever, but "apt to be sadly unsound." *She* was just starting "Wellington's Dispatches, (12 thick vols!)," and believed she would "like them much."

After three interruptions, Martineau added that Jane Marcet had sent "*all* her works for our soldiers' library here." Meant for children, they would doubtless also "engage the tall soldiers themselves." Finally, Martineau exclaimed "O! M<sup>rs</sup> Frazer! I am so glad you told me . . . [Jane had stood up for a (?) Mrs. William Fraser during her divorce trial]. "But what *is* to become of her?"<sup>17</sup>

The following week, Miss Carnegy of Edinburgh (friend of Lord and Lady Murray) sent Martineau Samuel Laing's translation of Snorri Sturluson's *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*. Martineau had just crept up to her sofa "after a worse bout than . . . for some time," when her maid appeared, "all smiles," with the parcel. Cutting and reading without delay, she felt "entirely carried back & abroad among the old Northmen." Then came the post with a note about the gift! If Miss Carnegy ever went to London, she might pass through Tynemouth and stay over at the "comfortable little hotel close by." For Carnegy to pass on to Lord and Lady Murray, Martineau reported on "a set of 'conspirators' against popular ignorance [i.e., the cheap books scheme for coal miners], of whom I am the mouth piece."<sup>18</sup>

The publication of Richard Henry Horne's *New Spirit of the Age*, including a portrait and sketch of Martineau's life, prompted Richard Webb of Dublin to forward a letter from a mutual friend in America. His "parcel [perhaps of abolitionist documents] had better go . . . to my brother at L.pool," Martineau answered, family members being expected in Tynemouth at midsummer. "O! if we had Rowland Hill's Parcel post, what a comfort it w<sup>d</sup> be!" She had not seen Horne's book, but was aware of an error: "the dedication of my late vol [*Life in the Sick-Room*] being supposed to be to Miss Barrett, -- who is much too young." Moreover, the portrait was taken from a miniature not approved by her friends. She had had "much letter writing to do in consequence of the stir among our Ministers in the winter, -- the address to the Amer<sup>n</sup> brethren . . . who c<sup>d</sup> before ill conceive of the real stringency of the case in Amer<sup>a</sup>" (i.e., taking a stand against slavery). Last week, she had a visit from Elizabeth Pease, "whose sympathy in these matters" was always dear to Martineau. Their box "for the Boston fair" would include her wool work tablecloth, "a great resource in sickness." Webb could hardly consider "Dan" (O'Connell) a repealer "now," she ended. Three weeks later she thanked him for "both" parcels and laughed at his "impetuosity," as it appeared in his letters, "so droll in a Friend who thinks himself impartial about Irish & other matters." She was "far from thinking Peel 'an angel of light,'" and their opinions of O'Connell were alike, though he thought "other politicians as bad." Cobden, on the other hand, was "truthful to a rare degree, simple & earnest as a child." She knew and watched many statesmen, which made her opinion of them "worth some little attention."<sup>19</sup>

(Martineau had been taking daily doses of laudanum along with the iodide of iron, "tonic" and other medications prescribed by Greenhow. On 2 April Greenhow noticed "a slight change in the condition of the uterus," though the ends of the tumor still protruded).<sup>20</sup>

Keeping "very busy in the great enterprize" of getting circulars out to likely sponsors of the cheap books plan, Martineau invited Charles Knight to come at Easter to discuss plans for publication (Knight later claimed that his own plans for a "'Weekly Volume' . . . were reaching maturity" when he traveled to Tynemouth). For two days, whenever Martineau was "free from pain and not prostrated by languor," Knight noted that she "could talk with animation and cheerfulness." Sitting by her sofa on bright mornings, he listened to her ideas on a better future through education of the children. Knight then called on the James Marshalls, who were drawn into the scheme along with Manchester manufacturers Martineau knew.<sup>21</sup>

"At last, here is your volume," Martineau wrote delightedly to Milnes in April. His "great burst of fame" would come, she insisted. People so far had failed to see the "*thought*" in his poetry -- so unlike Byron's or works such as the novels of G.P.R. James. Those she couldn't read any more than if "written in Chinese characters." Another "queer book" was *A New Spirit of the Age*. "It is clearly by M<sup>r</sup> Fox," she (wrongly) asserted, "who left his (very disagreeable) wife, & loves another openly, & can't forgive my belief in the remedialness, thro' the practice of duty, of a moral mistake." Did Milnes know Anna Jameson? Another emotional quirk was her inability to feel an intimacy with Jameson.

With *him*, she had a serious difference of opinion on the "Ten Hours question" (limiting the legal working day for men in factories -- the subject of intense Parliamentary debate to be defeated in favour of twelve hours -- passed on 31 May) and grieved at his "tone and temper" towards those who differed from him, especially towards Sir James Graham. Sternly lecturing Milnes on his ignorance of manufacturing when it was his "duty to surrender [the] food-monopoly" (the Corn Laws), she claimed that Graham was "supported by the majority of experienced & scientific & *benevolent* men in the country" (the utilitarians). The Tories must "cease to appropriate all the humanity" for their own side, for she "*knew* Lord A.[shley] to be misled." Ashley should "go himself into several factory districts, & *live* there," and "learn how the *Church* is hated by the rural population." He would see that "trade & food must be freed" before he deprived "hungry people of their only wealth -- their labour."

After haranguing Milnes on politics, she begged him to support the plan to make "*sound & elevated literature*" available to working people through the (proposed) weekly volume of 300 pages,

books being also wanted for Prisons, Ships, Barracks, Police & Coast Guard stations, work-houses, rail-road stations, palace & mansion libraries, pit & factory villages & c.

Names of buyers should be sent to her; "100 chieftains" would "do the thing at once," and humbler folk should "form book-clubs for their neighbours. . . . When L<sup>y</sup> Mary Lambton opened her first [book club] at the castle, 100 crowded in immediately." Martineau's own *Traditions of Palestine* went off fast -- but the report that Milnes would review it seemed "too good to be true."<sup>22</sup>

At the end of April, Bulwer's "delicious" Schiller kept Martineau up for two nights, "so that I was afraid to look at my watch; -- nor shall I tell my doctor today," she told him jubilantly.

Disqualified for serious criticism because her reading had been the "adoration of a few authors," she held Schiller "almost the supreme idol." Bulwer's translations made her long for her own, "[s]ome . . . printed [in the *Repository*] -- & a good many more . . . scattered about somewhere." Analyzing Bulwer's imagery and emotional effects, she wondered at his surprise in her "pleasure in Zanoni." Yet "no one within our four seas" was more "peculiarly disposed to relish the subject matter of [his] distinguishing tastes." His favourable comments on *Clarissa* surprised her -- and she restated her disgust at the heroine's weak character.

Did he know "Miss Barrett's 'Dead Pan,' -- originated by the 'Gods of Greece?'" What a wonderful woman, her genial & glowing morale so self-sustained, regulated, & cheerily sympathetic under the inspiration of her genius & learning, & the *very* hard pressure of her suffering life" (a heroine like Martineau?). Bulwer's failure to appreciate Milnes's poetry surprised her. *She* was charmed by "the full deep clear tide of *Thought*, brimming along amidst the beauties of his verse."

Her "Circular," sent to Bulwer through Knight, explained their plan to provide "literature for earnest-minded readers of scanty leisure." His *Last of the Barons*, "read to tatters in every popular library," was just what they wanted. She was "throbbing with the thought of a noble series of historical fictions," which he *could* do if she could not -- and which offered "the most splendid oppor<sup>y</sup> of national usefulness."<sup>23</sup>

Even slight acquaintances like Lord Morpeth were solicited to help with the cheap books scheme. As a friend of the "workies," she had been asked for "lists of books fit for popular libraries" and had found those "most in favour with the members of cheap book clubs . . . so few & so *odd*," she told Morpeth, that clearly the "requisite literature is . . . yet uncreated." Now she dreamt of a league of "a few large landed proprietors, colliery owners, & extensive manufactures" to guarantee publication of a supply of worthy and appealing books that commercial publishers could not take on, to work on minds "excited, without due intellectual employment." Her coadjutor Lady Mary Lambton thought the Duke of Sutherland and others would help, so Martineau had consulted "the author & publisher" Knight, "one of the greatest men I have ever had the honour of knowing," and Knight enlisted "the J<sup>as</sup> Marshalls at Leeds, & several gentlemen at Manchester." Besides bringing out all available literature that was suitable, Knight wished to create a "new body" of literature and to issue a weekly volume "of about 300 pages" at 1<sup>s</sup>. For the first project, they now planned 200 volumes. "We humble folk" could offer to open book-clubs, "20 members at 1<sup>s</sup>/ a quarter wd/ do it." Would Morpeth help to publicize the scheme? Circulars could be had at Knight's, 22 Ludgate Street.

*Sending* Morpeth a circular, she stressed that they would respect copyrights and keep "our hands from picking & stealing." Knight was excited at having bought the copyright of "Miss Lamb's Tales," while *she* had given others besides *Traditions of Palestine*.

Morpeth, she hoped, had the amusement in America "of hearing & *seeing* M<sup>r</sup> Calhoun theorize for half an hour by the fireside." It was the only "steam-theorizing" she had seen, Calhoun's mind being "about as inaccessible as poor Laura Bridgman's." Meanwhile, for herself, more "'physical ease'" was out of the question.<sup>24</sup>

"My dearest Jenny," Martineau began to Jane Carlyle in early May, enclosing a circular but groaning at the "nearly ten letters a day" for the last ten days to which she would *now* have to answer objections. Perhaps the Carlyles had heard from Knight's associate, George Lillie

Craik, of their "determined battle" against books for workies that gave only "dry facts." For Jane's sake, Martineau invited her to come to stay in one of her sitting rooms -- only another *woman* could be asked (probably owing to Martineau's daily opiate taken by enema). Or Jane could have a "'clean tidy attic'" that was at Martineau's disposal, and she would have hours to herself in her own sitting room "or on the rocks."

How "wonderfully beautiful" was "Janet Frazer's account of herself . . . . It makes me tingle to read it." Martineau cited her own early self-assertion as being thought conceited, which she *was not*. Even now, "one of the best women" she knew objected to her speaking out.

Jane knew Emily Taylor and could understand the trial of having "Emily's spirits to bear continuously for seven months!" Even Martineau's mild aunt, Georgina Rankin, remarked on the "incessant laugh<sup>8</sup> [and] giggle on the stairs, -- E.T. coming up behind the maid," constantly nibbling on cake and so on. Julia Smith called Emily's "enjoyment of life" beautiful to see -- to which Martineau agreed, but "with a feeling of something insane in such an unaccountable excess of it." Emily's reason for "not settling in a home somewhere," Martineau scoffed, was not being able "when eating alone" to take what quantity agreed with her!

Next, Elizabeth Rigby was "no cousin" and from an "unprincipled" family of women -- and she cautioned Jane "not to trust her." Martineau's heart wailed over "these literary women [who were] not true to their womanhood;" only "the precious & priceless Joanna Baillie" was blameless.<sup>25</sup>

("Harriet wrote the kindest of letters two or three weeks ago, inviting me to Tynemouth," Jane told her cousin. When Carlyle heard, he said smugly, "if you wish to go, you had better, -- *I will take you to----the Omnibus!*")<sup>26</sup>

Reporting to Crabb Robinson on "Cristina" in Newcastle, Martineau said the girl's father had returned from travelling with only the clothes he was wearing yet was not crazy enough to be confined. Money collected for the girl, almost enough for two years at school, was being kept in a savings bank unknown to the father. Because Robinson was not a landowner or factory or pit proprietor, she spared him a story he might hear at Elisabeth Reid's or elsewhere about the miners and Knight's decision "that the humblest readers sh<sup>d</sup> have the best books." Mary Anne Marshall (helping with the "Weekly Volume" project), "the butt of the Queen & Court when Maid of Honour" whom Martineau had thought "a mere sentimentalist" when she met her in London, was discovered to be "great, wise & generous."

Did Robinson know anything of Lady Georgiana Fullerton whose first novel Moxon had sent her? *Ellen Middleton* was full of "power & promise." Martineau next gossiped about friends trying to help the Irish gentleman who needed a "situation," John Quincy Adams's inconsistencies, Lord Ashley's being deceived over factory legislation and whether James was "an anti-supernaturalist." *She* had lately been "more ill than usual," and her mother had come over last week "for the first time since December."<sup>27</sup>

Despite slightly ruffled feathers, Martineau next wrote to thank Horne for his "kindness & thorough good intent" in *A New Spirit of the Age*. To set him straight about the *end* of her promising career as lamented in the article, she assured him her spirits were "naturally good" and that *Deerbrook* had *not* been a failure. *She* liked his chapters on Landor and Tennyson best, but calling Macaulay *sound* seemed strange -- Macaulay was always partly fallacious and lacked

the *heart* to be logical even when he wrote with brilliancy and execution.<sup>28</sup>

(Howick must have sent Martineau copies of his speeches in support of Ashley's ten-hours' bill proposing that regulations be worked out by representatives from both sides; he questioned what effect the law would have on wages and foreign trade and concluded that the loss to the workers could be made up by repeal of the Corn Laws).

Martineau berated Howick (as she had Milnes) for not regarding the burdens of manufacturers, but she extolled the Anti-Corn Law League's help for workers in teaching them the principles of political economy. Having recently seen a "letter from an M.P. [probably Milnes] about our Chapel Bill, in w<sup>h</sup> you were mentioned as likely to go against the Unit<sup>ns</sup>," she hoped *not* (Dissenters objected to property meant for Trinitarian worship being taken over for other purposes by Unitarians). Had Lady Howick read *Ellen Middleton*, the "very fine" new novel? Their "great plan" was flourishing -- as she hoped Lady Mary kept him informed.<sup>29</sup>

Though feeling "poorly," on 4 June Martineau penned her eighth note of the morning to Anne Horner to boast of the people's "avidity" for their "library." Knight believed he had entered on the grand work of his life and was getting a cheque from the privy purse. Copies of the *Weekly Volume* would go to the libraries established in all the palaces. The second issue, *Mind Amongst the Spindles*, promised to create a "great sensation." She was sending copies of a form "suggested by Lord Murray, & found useful for collecting orders." *Mind Amongst the Spindles: A Selection from The Lowell Offering, A Miscellany wholly composed by the Factory Girls of an American City. With an introduction by the English Editor* (possibly not issued until 1845) included a letter from Martineau of 20 May 1844 verifying that she had seen the girls "in their own Lyceum -- a large hall, wainscoted with mahogany," and had observed their morale.<sup>30</sup>

(Knight's introduction, dated 15 June 1844, gave a history of the mills and of the girls' writings. Abiding by his principles, he promised to forward a portion of any profits made on the volume).<sup>31</sup>

Answering another letter from Howick, Martineau cited the dangers of pampering workers. Noting the spirited women at Waltham, she avowed that it was not the *work* that made factory people in Britain sickly and unhappy, but "ignorance, bad dwellings & crowding &c." Her good friend Horner was provoking, not being able to see that some social evils lay "too deep to be cured by a single topical application." Meanwhile, half of the middle classes were not marrying while the "brutally ignorant & physically deteriorated poor" swelled in numbers from year to year. In future, *all* must work, women now finding themselves "possessed of new powers." Nor must any effort by his government to settle the quarrel between capital and labor "*extinguish the principle of Competition.*" Her brother Robert, "a *brass-cock Manufacturer . . .* employing above 100 men, -- the owner of several patents," was "terribly plagued with the chartism of his men" and could give testimony. On the Chapels Bill, some managers (of Unitarian properties) had asked her to write to Milnes, "lest he sh<sup>d</sup> give way under the 'bullying' of a party of his constituents" (i.e., other dissenters). Having gathered "information about the Middle age Guilds," she named her sources and listed "89 Companies of London somewhere about 1600" (including archaic crafts) and then queried whether men would "go on clumsily burning coal for 2,000 or 200 years, when we are clearly on the verge, both mechanically & chemically, of some great discovery for producing heat in a better way."<sup>32</sup>

Martineau must have sent Milnes a copy of *Mind Amongst the Spindles*: the

Massachusetts factory girls, she assured him, worked seventy hours a week. She felt grateful for the amendment to the Factory Act: Ashley was simply misguided, as Howick agreed. Cobden, whom she disliked at first, was *admirable*. Disraeli disgusted her, and she did not intend to read *Coningsby* (dedicated on "May-Day, 1844" and embodying Disraeli's political aims). Knowing of Milnes's right position on the Chapels Bill, she thought he would have enjoyed hearing her brother James preach on the subject in London. But why did Milnes object to their "library" scheme?<sup>33</sup>

(The "slight change" in Martineau's tumor noted by Greenhow in April had seemed unremarkable. "In the beginning of June, Miss M. suffered . . . from an attack of indigestion," he recorded, and to correct the "visceral derangement, a Plaster with Belladonna was applied to the sacral region").<sup>34</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the plaster gave Martineau only slight relief. In *Letters on Mesmerism*, she was to admit that her "dependence on opiates was desperate." Feeling at her most wretched, she evidently responded to friends (the Montagus?) who urged her to try mesmerism. Later she noted that when Bulwer first recommended it, she "could not move to seek a mesmerist." Now by good fortune an opportunity arose:

On Saturday, June 22nd, Mr. Spencer Hall and my medical friend came, as arranged, at my worst hour of the day, between the expiration of one opiate and the taking of another.

Hall made various passes, and within twenty minutes she had the strange sensation of a twilight-like effect over objects in the room, followed by an upset stomach, but finally "lightness and relief." When she was more ill next day, Hall repeated the passes with the same result. On the third day, Hall could not come, so she asked her maid, Margaret, to imitate his passes. Within two or three minutes, "a delicious sensation of ease spread through me," she recounted. "I became hungry, and ate with relish, for the first time in five years." Hall urging her to go on with the maid's help, she secured a copy of Deleuze's *Instruction Pratique sur le Magnetisme Animal*. Until 6 September, Martineau translated from the French to instruct Margaret while submitting to her ministrations. With a sly dig at Greenhow, she claimed that she "left off tonics" and the iodide of iron which the expert Clarke had tried "in an infinite number of cases, and never knew it of avail."<sup>35</sup>

(After Hall's visit, Greenhow recorded tersely "the Mesmeric treatment was commenced . . . . From this time she ceased to be properly under my care").<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> HM to HCR, 3 January 1844, *CL* 2: 219-23 (Robinson by custom spent Christmas holidays in the Lake District).

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, *Books/Writers*, Morley 2: 636 and 638; Martineau dedicated the book to an unmet, fellow sufferer of "older experience," with "hundreds of miles" between them, *LSR* vii-xv.

<sup>3</sup> HM to FW, 11 January 1844, Wedgwood Papers, **UKL** (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 69-74); John Forster, [rev. of *Life in the Sick-Room*] *Examiner*, 9 December 1843: 772-73 (Forster honored the purpose of the essays -- to combat morbidity in the ill).

<sup>4</sup> JWC to Jeannie Welsh, [15 February 1844], *Carlyle Letters* 17: 268-71.

<sup>5</sup> John Stuart Mill, "Recent French historians--Michelet's *History of France*" and Nassau William Senior, "Ireland," *ER* 79 (January 1844): 1-39 and 189-266; Marquis de Custine, *The Empire of*

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*the Czar; or, Observations on the social, political, and religious state and prospects of Russia, made during a journey through that Empire, translated from the French* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1843); Custine's commentary echoed Martineau's books on America as well as her later *Eastern Life, Present and Past* and *Letters from Ireland; Letters of Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Oxford, to Sir Horace Mann*, ed. Richard Bentley (London: R. Bentley, 1840).

<sup>6</sup> *Athen.* 17 (6 January 1844): 10-11; *Spec.*, 20 January 1844: 63-64; Samuel Hyman, "Essays. By an Invalid," *Dublin University Magazine* 23 (May 1844): 573-82; *Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany* 1 (January-June 1844): 58-65.

<sup>7</sup> HM to Moxon, 18 January 1844, BANC [Box 4] 3; Jane Carlyle quoted (at second hand) James's sly comment: "Well -- now the sick room has *PERFORMED ITS MISSION!* and I am curious to know what will come next" (JWC to TC [10 August 1845], *Carlyle Letters* 19: 137-40); HM to JM, 18 January 1844, *HM/FL* 504.

<sup>8</sup> HM to Howick, 19 January 1844, *CL* 2: 223-25; HM to Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, 25 January 1844, *CL* 2: 225-27.

<sup>9</sup> HM to Howick, 26 January 1844, *CL* 2: 227-30 (the third proposal, rejected at once, must have been for Martineau to write additional tales for cheap publication); Martineau praised Howick (later 3rd Earl Grey) for caring about the working classes (*HP* 2: 552), perhaps using information from his niece, Lady Mary Lambton); Lord Ashley (Anthony Ashley Cooper), 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, 1851.

<sup>10</sup> HM to "Anne," 23 February [1844], *CL* 2: 251-252 (Anne was possibly Lady Alice Anne Caroline Lambton, sister of Lady Mary [the first sheet featured an engraving of a view of Tynemouth Priory]).

<sup>11</sup> HM to Edward Bulwer, 26 January and 8 February 1844, *CL* 2: 230-35 and 238-40; [Edward Bulwer], "The Late Mrs. Bulwer Lytton," *New Monthly Magazine* [formerly edited by Bulwer] 70 (January 1844): 141; Martineau was soon to rethink her religious convictions: see "Experience and Progress," *Auto.* 2: 182-90; *Godolphin: A Novel* (London: Bentley, 1833); *The Student: A Series of Papers* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1842); *Ernest Maltravers* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837); *The Poems and Ballads of Schiller*, trans. (London: Blackwood, 1844).

<sup>12</sup> HM to JWC, Saturday night [2 March 1844], in private hands (partly pbd. *CL* 2: 258-59; the Princess Daschkaw was a "Lady of Honour" to Catherine II of Russia).

<sup>13</sup> HM to FW, Saturday [late February or March 1844], Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd., *HM/FW* 74-78); by 26 February, only 150 copies of *Life in the Sick-Room* were left: see Moxon to HM, 26 February 1843, BUL MS Harriet Martineau 1130; Orville Dewey, *A Discourse on Slavery and the Annexation of Texas* (New York: C. S. Francis and Company, 1844); former President John Quincy Adams, elected to the House of Representatives, helped the abolitionist cause by supporting the right of petition; for Macready's successes on the American stage, see *The Times*, 13 April 1844: 5, col. 5 [on Macready's performance in New Orleans, attended by Henry Clay], 30 May: 5, col. 1 and 15 June: 6, col. 6, 1844; O'Connell's trial for conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembly began on 15 January 1844 and on 12 February he was found guilty on eleven counts (a judgment later reversed by the Lords).

<sup>14</sup> HM to Elizabeth Barrett, 6 [postmarked 7] March 1844, *HM/FL* 73-75; for Martineau's "woolwork," see chap. 9, note 5]; Martineau called Hill the "most signal social benefactor of our

time" (Hill had been dismissed by Peel without reward at the change of government: *Auto.* 3: 246 and 2: 411-12); Barrett, lying ill at Torquay, also valued the penny post: see Forster, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* 96; see also, Webb 196; reports of the "amazing increase" in letters posted were widespread, and on 29 April a plan was reported for ten deliveries a day to be instituted in London: *The Times*, 29 April 1844: 7, col. 1.

<sup>15</sup> HM to HCR, 8 March 1844, *CL* 2: 260-61; for an American edition of *Life in the Sick-Room*, see next note; for Martineau's letter on education, see chap. 25, note 42.

<sup>16</sup> HM to Moxon, 16 March 1844, PML, James and Harriet Martineau Papers; *Life in the Sick-Room. Essays. By an Invalid. With an Introduction by Eliza L. Follen* [April 1844] (Boston: Leonard C. Bowles and William Crosby, 1844) xiii-xx (Follen's introduction to the new edition praised Martineau, quoting Milnes's poem about her and stating that as an example to other American publishers, the proprietor Bowles was setting apart a proportion of sales for Martineau's benefit); Milnes's "Christian Endurance," of eight quatrains, was published in the *Liberty Bell* of 1843; HM to Moxon, 21 March, [19 April 1844] and 4 May 1844, BANC [Box 4] 4 and *CL* 2: 279 and 293; Richard Monckton Milnes, *Memorials of Many Scenes* [adding poems on Italy to earlier ones on Greece] (London: Moxon, 1844).

<sup>17</sup> HM to JWC, 20 March 1844, in private hands (partly pbd. *CL* 2: 266-67); for Shelley's attempt to find and edit Godwin's letters, see *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley. Vol. 2. "Treading in unknown paths,"* ed. Betty T. Bennett (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1983); Carlyle must have sent Samuel Laing's *National Distress; its Causes and Remedies* (London: Longmans, 1844); see "MRS. MARCET. [obit.]," *DN*, 3 July 1858: 5, cols. 2-3 (rptd. *BS* 386-92): see JWC to Jeannie Walsh, [26 February 1844], *Carlyle Letters* 17: 281-84.

<sup>18</sup> HM to Miss Carnegy, 28 March [1844], *HM/FL* 76; *The Heimskringla; or, Chronicle of the Kings of Norway. Translated from the Icelandic of Snorri Sturleson* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844); the Bath Hotel, or the small one several doors down (now 61 Front Street).

<sup>19</sup> HM to [Richard Webb], 29 March and 21 April [1844], *CL* 2: 268 and TCD MS 4787/43; "Harriet Martineau and Mrs. Jameson," Richard Henry (Hengist) Horne, *A New Spirit of the Age* (London: Smith, Elder, 1844) 63-82 (slammed by Thackeray in the *Morning Chronicle*).

<sup>20</sup> Greenhow 17.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Knight, *Passages* 2: 315-17; Webb 222-25.

<sup>22</sup> HM to Milnes, 21 April 1844, *CL* 2: 280-84 (see note 16); George Payne Rainsford James wrote popular histories and romances; HM, *Traditions of Palestine*, Second Edition (London, Charles Fox, 1843); in "Harriet Martineau and Mrs. Jameson" (mostly on Martineau: see note 19), Horne gracefully summarized her life and works, quoting her "Song for August" from the *Repository* and including an engraving of the Gillies's portrait; but he deplored Martineau's "tampering with a great reality" in not giving *Deerbrook* a tragic end (2: 78-79, [on Martineau's other fiction, 79]); the *Weekly Volume* (later the *Monthly Volume*) published by Knight began 29 June 1844.

<sup>23</sup> HM to Bulwer, 27 April 1844, *CL* 2: 288-91; for the circulars, see below.

<sup>24</sup> HM to Morpeth, 19 and 26 April [1844], *CL* 2: 277-79 and 286-87.

<sup>25</sup> HM to JWC, 5 May 1844, in private hands (partly pbd. *CL* 2: 295-97); Martineau may mean Janet Douglas Fraser of Dumfriesshire who had defied the duke of Buccleuch by leaving a

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freehold to the Free Church of Scotland (see TC to JWC, 30 August 1843, *Carlyle Letters* 17: 100-103, note 7).

<sup>26</sup> JWC to Jeannie Welsh, Friday [31 May 1844], *Carlyle Letters* 18: 54-57.

<sup>27</sup> HM to HCR, 11 May 1844, *CL* 2: 297-301; Lady Georgiana Fullerton, *Ellen Middleton. A Tale*. (London: Edward Moxon, 1844), about orphans, property, self-sacrifice, jealousy, hopeless love and youthful death.

<sup>28</sup> HM to Horne, 20 May [1844], PML, James and Harriet Martineau Papers; "Walter Savage Landor," "Alfred Tennyson" and "T. B. Macaulay," *A New Spirit of the Age* 1: 151-76, 2: 1-32 and 33-50.

<sup>29</sup> HM to Howick, 30 May 1844, *CL* 2: 302-305.

<sup>30</sup> HM to Anne Horner, 4 June [1844], *CL* 2: 307-308; for the *Lowell Offering*, see chap. 13, note 34; see Webb 223-25 and Charles Knight, *Passages* 2: 318-21 (Knight claimed that commencing with his biography of William Caxton, one hundred and five volumes were issued regularly over two years); in 1844 *Knight's Weekly Volume* included *Feats on the Fiord*, George Dennis's *The Cid: A Short Chronicle, Founded on the Early Poetry of Spain*, two weighty works by Charles MacFarlane, *Our Indian Empire: its History and Present State, from the Earliest Settlement of the British in Hindostan, to the Close of the Year 1843* and *The French Revolution* [two volumes].

<sup>31</sup> Introduction, *The Lowell Offering* . . . (London: Charles Knight, 1845), xvii-xxiii.

<sup>32</sup> HM to Howick, 8 June [1844] *CL* 2: 315-19 (Waltham, Massachusetts).

<sup>33</sup> HM to Milnes, 12 June [1844], *CL* 2: 319-23; Benjamin Disraeli, *Coningsby; or, The New Generation* (London: Henry Colburn, 1844).

<sup>34</sup> Greenhow 18.

<sup>35</sup> "Miss Martineau on Mesmerism. Tynemouth, Nov. 12.," *Athen.*, 23 November 1844: 1070-72; rptd. as "Mesmeric Experience" [letter of 12 November 1844], *Letters on Mesmerism* (London: Edward Moxon, 1845): 1-18; HM to Bulwer, 27 November 1844, *CL* 2: 337-38; J.-P.-F. Deleuze, *Instruction Pratique sur le Magnétisme Animal* (Paris: J.-G. Dentu, 1825).

<sup>36</sup> See note 34.