

## Chapter 28

### New Friendships (1845)

"I had no sooner left [Tynemouth] than the evil spirit broke out," Martineau recorded in her autobiography, "in the medical profession and in the discontented part of the family." From The Craig (the Gregs' home at Windermere, below Wansfell) she thanked Moxon for sending Greenhow's "reply." *Greenhow* may have received daily letters from doctors, but she never dreamed of being made responsible for such a report.<sup>1</sup>

(On 16 January, Crabb Robinson noted in his diary that the Davys had given "a handsome dinner" including "the Gregs and Miss Martineau, the Fletchers and Mr. Graves." Conversation "by tacit consent" was on indifferent matters: Wordsworth, Dr. Davy and Eliza Fletcher being "decided disbelievers" in mesmerism. Wordsworth chatted to Martineau and Margaret Davy, while Robinson tried to be as "pretty-behaved as the poet" towards Greg's wife, "a very sweet woman indeed" he thought. A "shyness" seemed to exist between Greg and Wordsworth, but Robinson arranged for Martineau to call next day at the Wordsworths' though doubting she would become "cordial" with them).<sup>2</sup>

"I find your friends the Wordsworths very well, though M<sup>r</sup> W. appears to me very old," Martineau wrote to Moxon -- thanking him for his "zealous kindness about that vexatious affair" concerning Greenhow. Everything at Ambleside was "so beautiful & so quiet," she intended to yield to the "reasonings & wishes" of her knot of friends and indulge herself in "half a year's residence." To her "mesmeric" maid Margaret in early February, Martineau reported that Jane was pleasing them at Wansfell by "her attention & goodness." She would tell Mrs. Halliday she was leaving Tynemouth and send directions by Jane for packing and sending her things -- some to her and some to Birmingham, where Margaret could join her. Letters and newspapers for Martineau should be addressed to "S. Greg, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Bollington near Macclesfield" till the 18th.

Martineau left for Birmingham on 19 February (no doubt reluctant to return to living with her mother) and resolving to visit "those of my family who had approved my proceedings." Margaret was instructed to send *Robert's* address to W.R. Greg, where the Shields postmaster kept sending her letters. Greenhow knew no one who wanted her "Prone couch," so it must stay with her other furniture.<sup>3</sup>

Writing to Graves, Martineau defended Jane's honesty against the gossip "of a young man meeting M<sup>rs</sup> Wynyard's maid & Jane on the Banks" -- the report of Jane's knowing the outcome of the shipwreck having spread "from Edinburgh to the south coast." Martineau would "send an explanation to L<sup>d</sup> Morpeth" and all who inquired. "[W]hat holy satisfaction there is in work" she vaunted next to Tremenheere, having received his "Orders" for their new project. Robert and she had called on Wordsworth to try to persuade him to help, causing him to blush "up to the roots of his white hair." That evening she was invited to Fox How (home of Mary Arnold), where she had already met "Lonsdales & Miss Whately [and found] the Arnolds well & merry."<sup>4</sup>

To Milnes, Martineau announced happily that friends had made a plan for her which she could not resist, "to take rooms at Waterhead . . . for the whole summer & autumn." At Tynemouth, she said, she had been dreadfully worried "from a blunder of my well-meaning but

stupid bro: Greenhow." Meanwhile, after the month of "unalloyed pleasure" at Wansfell, she had gone to stay with the Samuel Gregs and the Davenports in Cheshire where she "took leave of M<sup>rs</sup> Wynyard." Finally at Robert's, a "sort of family festival" was in progress among "his six lads & lasses & two of the Greenhows," the older boys all being pupils at the Birmingham proprietary school. She planned to stay for the Easter holidays, to become reacquainted with her nieces and nephews; "& meantime we stretch far out on the frozen roads, & dance the Polka in the ev<sup>g</sup>s."

W.R. Greg had proved "more powerful than M<sup>rs</sup> Wynyard" as a mesmerizer, she went on to Milnes, convincing her to try a "double mesmerizing, -- himself and Mrs W.," from which she retained remarkable memories. At the second trial she "spoke, -- so remarkably that we continued the practice till the day of my departure." During one séance, she "saw the march of the whole human race, past present & to come . . . & their finding the Source of Life." During another, she "saw all the Idolatries of the earth coming up to worship at the ascending series of Life-fountains . . . all the worshipers . . . verily adoring the Source" (a hint of Martineau's future stance in comparative religion). Although Greg praised her descriptions as "precise & finished," she spoke so quickly that the notes taken of them were "sadly meagre & fragmentary." At the Davenports', she was twice mesmerized by "M<sup>r</sup> Wood." If Milnes would come to see her at Windermere, she would tell him "some curious facts" she did not wish to write. For despite Greg's caution and scruples, *she* supported "the enthusiastic Mesmerists" to temper the notion of "the vast spread, for years past, of the practice of Mesm<sup>m</sup> [only] among the ignorant & poor." On another topic, knowing Milnes was "fresh from Berlin:" could he "throw any light on M<sup>r</sup> Mohl's suicide?" And how popular Peel had "made himself by his Budget! Every body pleased except the country squires."<sup>5</sup>

In late February, Martineau answered a Miss Parrott on whether mesmerism could cure deafness, recommending "other processes" like washing the ears with alum water or dropping oil in them. *Her* case had caused "a great sensation," she boasted to Maria Chapman: she now had a "very unusual degree of strength," took long walks daily and stood up to "much odious persecution from the doctors." The destination of "the table-cover, 'the four seasons,' of Berlin wool wrought into fruits and flowers" holding so many of her "deepest thoughts and feelings" delighted and surprised her (bought by subscription, it was given to Eliza Follen). Next, she meant to write a tale for the National Anti-Corn Law League bazaar, a "true alliance" for the Garrisonians owing to the disgraced British and Foreign Antislavery Society -- seemingly in league with the "West India interest." Chapman's countrymen, she solemnly believed, would finally "give up their idolatry of the existing form of the Union." Yet promoting the abolitionists' cause in Britain was proving difficult.<sup>6</sup>

"I have this moment tied up, for Manchester, my contribution to the League Bazaar," Martineau advised Elizabeth Pease in March, "the last authorship I shall undertake for some time to come." Pease had kindly taken "care & trouble" over Martineau's presents from America, so she asked Lissey to send the parcel on to "Capesthorpe St., Birmingham."<sup>7</sup>

"Your silence had been so very long!" Martineau exclaimed to Fanny Wedgwood next day. The "felt blessing" of her recovery grew daily while observers and old friends noticed her calmness. Indeed, "[w]ho *should* be "calm" but people restored to health from a condition of trembling misery?" People might believe her "under a sort of spell," but mesmerism did banish

pain and extirpate disease. Fanny, she felt, could not "be malicious or evasive of truth, or even in the slightest degree uncandid: and all I care for is that nobody should *sin* on the occasion." Yet the "apathy, cowardice or mercenary spirit of the Medical Profes<sup>s</sup>" was throwing the practice of mesmerism "into the hands of the ignorant and reckless" (Fanny stayed in touch with skeptics, like Jane Carlyle). In Birmingham, she went on, "the best people" had become believers and practitioners. "M<sup>r</sup> Partridge, the surgeon here, (who is curing several 'hopeless' patients by it) or my maid, give me a little almost every day." Plus, in addition to "dances and dinners . . . and music at home," excursions to Kenilworth and elsewhere were planned. "A pretty life, is it not?" Her tale *Dawn Island* (featuring European sea captains who teach South Sea islanders the rules of trading) had gone off to the League, and she would stay at Robert's "till the 1st of May, -- except a few days at the Archer Clives' and at the Baches!"

For the increasing deafness of Fanny's aunt, Mme. Sismondi, Martineau had suggested trying mesmerism in Paris, and despite her answer to Miss Parrott she told of the remarkable effect of "any very long or favourable séance" on *her* hearing. However, she expected "no further improvement than took place up to Feb<sup>ry</sup>, -- the form of the ears being changed by long disuse of the one and an artificial use of the other."

Why, she wondered to Fanny (a bit inconsistently), should her letter to Snow about Jane be burnt? She trusted it had been favorable to that "excellent girl" for whom she had "unmingled respect." One of Jane's major detractors, Headlam Greenhow (a nephew of T.M. Greenhow) showed "malice and shabby dealing" in the last *Athenaeum*, by disparaging Jane's prediction of the outcome of the shipwreck. "Poor M<sup>rs</sup> Arrowsmith" had been bullied and frightened . . . made to feel we were all to go to jail" after going back on her dates and "her true story." How could Dilke show his face after ridiculing both Jane's clairvoyance and her cure by mesmerism? Now Mrs. Arrowsmith would not let Jane go to work for the Hon. Mrs. Liddell. Yet Martineau had "applications for Jane, as Mesmeric nurse, for which she is capitally qualified," and would encourage her to leave Tynemouth if necessary. Lately Martineau had "thought briefly of running up to town, for a day or two, *very quietly*," to see a few friends, but "it could not be a secret an hour," and she would be "torn to pieces."<sup>8</sup>

When the chairman of the council of the Anti-Corn Law League offered Martineau copies of *Dawn Island*, she thanked him but said she would take only one to be sent to her mother at 113 Stanhope St., Liverpool, preferring that her friends bought copies at the bazaar.<sup>9</sup>

From Birmingham, Martineau sent freshly gathered violets to Elizabeth Barrett, fuming about the *Athenaeum*: "having assaulted our character Dilke refuses to admit a main part of our defence [and delayed] the assault till we were absent from T[ynemouth]." Now she had been happily out walking with "3 dear nieces, -- & coming home to dinner with 5 good & clever nephews (2 of them Greenhows)." Mesmerism was "in full play" wherever she had been, and she knew of "3 clairvoyants." Next quoting Eliza Pollen's ecstasies over Barrett's poetry, Martineau noted that of her own tales, "only the stereotyped edition" had been reissued. She was not "thinking of another romance . . . except (*entre nous*) finishing the story of my life w<sup>h</sup> I did at Tyne<sup>th</sup> as far as the age of 13."

Readers liked her non-fiction best--though the "chief demand seems to be for more 'Playfellows,'" which she might return to when she felt "the need of that sort of utterance." Wordsworth had been "of infinite value" to her, for she responded more to "the echoes of old

raptures than from new disclosures." Friends now bid her read Hans Christian Andersen's *Improvvisatore: or Life in Italy* (the adventures of an Italian orphan, translated by Mary Howitt). "Here comes Dr Ryall [headmaster of the local proprietary school]," Martineau broke off, "to talk over the curriculum of two great schools, for some friends of mine."<sup>10</sup>

In Birmingham till May Day, Martineau then went to stay briefly with Selina and Charles Holte Bracebridge of Atherstone Hall near Coventry. They were devotees of mesmerism, and she there met Marian Evans. While there, she also received a letter forwarded by William Howitt with the promise of a "Tale" by the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer. Mesmerism was "in full operation every where," she told Howitt, "M<sup>rs</sup> Wynyard [is] a true Sister of Charity." Headlam Greenhow had known from Martineau, "3 times over," that Wynyard refused all payment, yet he called "her services 'professional' in italics."<sup>11</sup>

Again, with Robert and Jane in Birmingham, Martineau wrote to the Bromley Davenports that thanks to them, the house was "gay with . . . beautiful flowers; & we are gay in the sight of them." She was writing in haste, having to "indoctrinate a lawyer friend . . . starting for Tynemouth, to settle the business between these poor women [Jane and her aunt] & the dishonest doctors." She *hoped* Davenport understood that "Mr Headlam Greenhow" was not her brother-in-law, but a nephew of his.<sup>12</sup>

Boasting to James of the "industry and intelligence" of Robert's boys and the "cheerfulness and brightness" of the girls and their mother, Martineau next gossiped that Emily Bache (James's sister-in-law married to Samuel Bache) appeared happy "at the head of a large establishment, more at ease than she seemed to be with her former two little boy pupils." Finally, at the Arnolds in June she hoped to meet Arthur Stanley.<sup>13</sup>

Longing for spring "verdure and foliage," on 2 May Martineau left Birmingham for Lenton. In her autobiography, she noted that years of dragging out her life in suffering now seemed selfish and a "needless infliction on myself and others." Robert and Jane showed an open-mindedness towards mesmerism, and a source of amusement was the pity for doctors who reasoned that "as my disease was an incurable one, I could not possibly be radically better." At times her family heard "or saw in the newspapers, that I *was* as ill as ever . . . though I was walking five or seven miles at a time." At Lenton where "the clear shoaly [Trent] runs between wide expanses of meadow [and] crocuses almost hide the grass for a few weeks of the year," she and no doubt Catherine Turner rambled "for miles, to Clifton woods, or to Woollaton, drinking in the sunshine in the fields, and the cool shade under the green avenues." An excursion to Newstead Abbey may have planted the idea of a future retreat to escape tourists at Ambleside.<sup>14</sup>

"My dearest Jenny," Martineau burst out to Jane Carlyle in early May: "Where in the world are you, & what are you about?" Wonderingly, she had heard that Jane was "engaged in a close & mighty friendship with . . . M<sup>rs</sup> Josh Darbyshire [Darbishes being philanthropic Manchester Unitarians]!!! Of course, I don't believe that a taste for treacle will grow upon you at your time of life." Passing through Manchester, she had seen "poor Miss Jewsbury" (the object of John Robertson's romantic pursuit), who with Mrs. Darbyshire had played "a shameful trick" on her by sending a surgeon friend to call and putting her "to an expence of 1/6d" for being "made game of." *She* was "witnessing & aiding the practice of Mesmerism" wherever she stopped. Jenny could not conceive the delight of relieving the "'hopelessly' sick" and other sufferers, "to say nothing of the beautiful revelations of somnambulances on every hand."

From 1 June, she added, her address would be "Ambleside, Westmoreland," where she would be "within an easy walk of Wordsworths and Arnolds, & very near some dearer friends still."

Another letter to Jane conveyed astonishing gossip about Robertson -- he had called "to beg me to assist them [Robertson and Jewsbury] to elope!" When she appealed to his reason, he seemed shocked by her speaking "*too much like an experienced person!*" forcing her to explain (and enlightening Jane) that she "never had any thing but an *embryo* experience! which Mama who happened to be [there] watched till she saw signs of life, & then knock<sup>d</sup> it on the head & put an end to it at once."

Afterwards, Martineau complained to Geraldine of "what an indigestion R . . . caused me all last week" (at the bottom of her letter Martineau sketched an amusing caricature of Robertson in search of truth, looking into a distorting mirror).<sup>15</sup>

Oddly, the contretemps with Robertson may have come shortly before a critical meeting. On 24 May, Martineau recorded in her autobiography, "I first saw Mr. Atkinson, whose friendship has been the great privilege of the concluding part of my life." Unsurprisingly, she had not heard of him until the Basil Montagus mentioned having invited "an intimate friend" to their home to meet him and discuss her case. Martineau recalled "the first sight of him," as he turned the corner into the lane "talking with the gardener who was conveying his carpet-bag," and she thought he looked older than expected, his "perfect gentlemanliness" being his "most immediately striking and uncontested attribute." Despite his demeanor, Atkinson's conversation showed "a certain dryness," for he was "no sentimentalist."

"[A]midst the stream of talk I poured out upon him," she continued, "I really did desire to hear his views and opinions." On her part, she had "been astray among the metaphysicians" whose views she proffered, "for which he politely thanked me." Atkinson's pragmatic Baconian approach at first stymied communication, his nonchalance astonishing her. As they "walked up and down a green alley in the garden" at Lenton, he told her "how great he thought the mistake of thinking so much . . . about death and about living again." Hearing this sentiment, Catherine was "exceedingly shocked, and put away the subject."<sup>16</sup>

Just the day before she met Atkinson, Martineau confessed to Milnes that she often wished for *him* at her elbow to relate her "most singular mesmeric experience" as he "w<sup>d</sup> not laugh at feelings & thoughts . . . better becoming the age of 20." Could he not come to Ambleside to see her "& the Arnolds, & Wordsworth & others?" A note from him had reached her just as she was setting out for Newstead. While not strong on Byron, she went on, "the shock of seeing that Monument to Boatswain [Byron's dog] w<sup>d</sup> nearly have extinguished the strongest admiration I c<sup>d</sup> have carried." Chatting on, she asked Milnes for circulars about helping Thomas Hood's children. From Ambleside, she sent "a poor trifle . . . £3..1..0" (later thinking she might get more from Lady le Fleming at the Wordsworths'). No, she hadn't read *Sybil* yet, only a French novel or two, but the subject of famine in Ireland was simply "too big for a letter."

In June, Martineau boasted to Milnes of a four-day trip to Furness on horseback and of falling in love with the Lake District. Having received his tract, she noted that she often read history differently from him, but he had enlarged her views and ameliorated her notions "to a very animated degree." The *richness* of his thought and style gave her vast pleasure.<sup>17</sup>

When the Wordsworths' friend Isabella Fenwick asked about Jane's case, Martineau assured her *she* held papers proving Jane's truthfulness. Martineau was just then departing from her summer residence at Waterhead "on a walking trip of 3 days with M<sup>rs</sup> Turner." In July, she told *Morpeth* she had evidence in Jane's favor, but "did not choose to go into the proof . . . with adversaries capable of perversion & fibbing." Berating Headlam Greenhow, she defended Jane against having lied to *her* about the shipwreck. To *Atkinson*, Martineau reported that a "kind young lady of this place is just gone to Shields, & she will see Jane, & tell me how ill she thinks her."<sup>18</sup>

Forwarding to James "a portion of Lord Murray's last letter" concerning *him*, Martineau announced smugly that "'Vestiges,'" was by Hewlitt C. Watson, a bachelor "above 40 . . . living retired in a cottage . . . beloved by his personal friends." Atkinson had vouched for the authorship. "I never believed it was Robert [Chambers], as the Carpenters declared," she sniffed (mistakenly).

The Greenhows "deny intercourse with me" Martineau noted to Crabb Robinson. Meanwhile, Archbishop Richard Whately of Dublin, who had visited Elliotson as a "witness" to mesmerism, was coming to Ambleside. *She* wanted to talk to Whately about Blanco White, whose life by Thom she "regretted."

On local doings, a party was to have gathered last evening in Wordsworth's hayfield-- but it rained. Having met Isabella Fenwick several times she hoped they'd be friends. Dr. John Davy, meanwhile, had gone off to Barbados. As *she* walked "over hill & dale" from Ambleside, she carried Robinson's gift copy of Wordsworth's poems.<sup>19</sup>

Extolling her new friends at Ambleside, Martineau had told Fox she never went to town. That day she was "off to the Arnolds' early dinner, -- in order to climb Loughrigg, & range thereon till night. Tomorrow at Wordsworth's, next day, all alone for the whole day above Troutbeck." Evenings on the lake trolling for pike were "delicious." William Howitt had sent Martineau a copy of his book on "priestcraft," but "engagements consequent on my brothers being with us this week deprive me of all hope of reading it for some days to come."<sup>20</sup>

Settled on Lake Windermere, Martineau wrote of being haunted almost painfully, all Spring [by the] mossy walls with their fringes of ferns; the black pines reflected in the waters: amethyst mountains at sunset, and the groves and white beaches beside the lake. She had rooms in the house of Mrs. Jackson Thompson, "precisely at the head of the lake, whose grassplat is washed by its waters." Margaret had been "unable to leave her mother's neighbourhood," and a new maid from Dublin had come. Finally, Martineau feigned delight at "the morality of lakers, -- the first principle [being] never to work except in bad weather."<sup>21</sup>

"Poor Robertson!" Martineau groaned to Jane Carlyle. "Can't he be somehow labelled, so as to guard young ladies from him [?]." Yet there was "something morally interest<sup>g</sup> -- enticing -- in him at first, -- even in his very egotism & other faults." Wordsworth, on the other hand, truly aroused her sympathy because at 76 he would be sorry "to leave his heaven here for any sort of one elsewhere." The sight of "*an auction* in the road, -- featherbeds selling, &c &c," made him melancholy. "I love his old wife," she added. "And he smiles so delightedly upon me on hearing of my wish to live here!" Now she must carry her letters to Greg's post bag, "& hear whether we are to fish, ride, roam or what." Jane might like to know that she was "as good a horsewoman as ever" and that Greg and Henry Romilly "pantingly beseech my mercy in walking up the mountain roads."<sup>22</sup>

In addition to pleasurable outings, Martineau was mesmerizing a youth named John, brought to her by a "gentleman." For "I had not been settled many days in my lodging at Waterhead before I was appealed to by my landlady and others, on behalf of sick neighbours, to know whether mesmerism would serve them." Soon there were as many as "seven patients asleep at one time" in her sitting room, including John, "doomed to lose both arms, from scrofulous disease in the elbows." To mesmerize him twice a day for ten weeks, she gave up "all engagements which could interfere with the work," and he slept and recovered "appetite, strength, and (the decisive circumstance) flesh." He became her errand boy, and "walked many miles in a day."<sup>23</sup>

In addition -- probably urged by Greg -- Martineau began to look for a cottage for herself. For £20 a year, she found one at Clappergate "at the head of Lake Windermere." Now a friend (Greg?) cautioned that "£20 was the interest of £500" and for £500 she could build a cottage of her own. On 27 June, Martineau's "house-viewing friend" showed her the plan of a field bought by a dissenting minister to build cottages for laborers (perhaps planting the seed of her own later scheme for low-cost cottages for "workies"). One lot on the plan comprised a "rocky knoll, commanding a charming view," with another lot "at the foot of the rise." Martineau inquired next day of the minister's wife, and she was assured that a supply of water could be had. Agreeing "on the spot," Martineau bought both lots (to be rounded out by a small triangle first taken by an excise man to graze his pony). For the two-acres, she paid something over £95.<sup>24</sup>

On 2 July, Martineau wrote elatedly to Emerson that she was buying a field opposite Fox How, "a knoll & slope, rocky & grassy, with a bit of oak copse upon it." A mile from the Wordsworths', it was a half-mile from the Arnolds', commanded "superb views south & west, & [was] sheltered from the north." Still marveling at her recovery, she thought mesmerism might help Margaret Fuller. *She* now rode "like a Borderer," walked "like a pedlar" and climbed "like a mountaineer." Meeting Wordsworth in the road the day before -- his old face looking "wild & cheerful," she told him William Cullen Bryant was coming to see her. Now she intended to write to Fredrika Bremer at Stockholm: "What a heart -- what a domestic spirit she has!" Carlyle remained unpredictable, however, while Anna Jameson complained of his admiration for Cromwell -- but of course *she* was Irish. Today Martineau was off for a ride to Yewdale, five miles southwest of Ambleside.<sup>25</sup>

(Word of Martineau's hunt for property had reached one local landowner too late to offer "Randy Pikes." Martineau knew of the house, but had heard the chimneys smoked, and told the agent it was too far from her friends and for easily getting "supplies").<sup>26</sup>

"My field was blessed by Wordsworth & a goodly party of friends yes'," Martineau vaunted to Atkinson in August. All approved of her plan. Meanwhile, Atkinson *must* come as an honored guest at her present ideal cottage. Later, Martineau justified her move to Ambleside by avowing that her mother was "suited [at Liverpool] with a companion better adapted to aid her in her nearly blind condition than any deaf person could be," while to live in a provincial town (Liverpool) would have been a "serious and injurious sacrifice for me." Hallam was to tell her that "he and others of my friends had considered my retreat [from London], after having known the delights of its society, 'a most doubtful and serious experiment.'" Yet, she declared:

No true woman . . . *can* be happy without some sort of domestic life . . . having somebody's happiness dependent on her [her own ideal being] a house of my own among poor improvable neighbours, with young servants whom I might train and attach to myself.<sup>27</sup>

Visiting new friends absorbed a substantial share of Martineau's time. On a Thursday, she hoped to call on the Wordsworths but instead went to Ullswater (site of the "host, of golden daffodils" in Wordsworth's poem). At ten minutes to midnight, a note from Mary Wordsworth inviting her to tea was put in her hands, but she knew Mary was to be away on Friday. On Saturday, she welcomed a *fourth* aunt and the *ninth* cousin to visit her that July. No "retirement" or "seclusion" was to be had there! When William Cullen Bryant came on a Friday, she took him to Fox How, noticing how ten years had altered him, taking his "fine hair, & [making] his face thin & hollow, [and] I fear, careworn."<sup>28</sup>

Continuing the story of her house building, Martineau eulogized "the lustrous days of that summer" when she would "meditate in my field at eventide, and anticipate the healthful and genial life before me." Richard (her cousin and executor) approved of the builder's estimate, and to save trouble told her to send the bills to him, as they came in, and he would advance any needed funds and charge her interest.

Then came the amusement of planning my house, which I did all myself. It was the newest of enterprises to me; and seriously did I ponder all the requisites, -- how to plan the bedrooms so that the beds should not be in a draught, nor face the window nor the fireplace, &c.

In fact, Martineau's two-story grey stone house incorporated traditional with "modern" features. The double walls, for instance, were filled with rubble to provide dryness, and a modish flush toilet was installed at the top of the stairs. John Newton, her builder, proved to be a "man of genius"; there was not "a single blunder or nuisance in my pretty house," she boasted.

(Wordsworth took a keen interest in her building, planting and farming enterprises: when her house was finished, he amused her by beginning what she expected to be words of high sentiment on the undertaking. It had been "the wisest step in her life," he opined, "for the value of the property will be doubled in ten years").<sup>29</sup>

On 1 October, Seymour Tremenheere (staying in lodgings Martineau found for him and Mr. Tufnell, the "comrade in his Educational Commissionship") turned the first sod, witnessed by her brother Robert. The pleasure of planning the garden came in the Spring, and friends were invited to plant trees. After expertly planting a commemorative stone pine on the slope under the terrace wall, Wordsworth "washed his hands in the watering-pot, took my hands in both his, and wished me many happy years in my new abode." Martineau demurred at promising to make her guests pay for board, though, as he wanted her to: "the mixture of odd economies and neighbourly generosity" she deemed "one of the most striking things in the old poet."

Local tradesmen were stunned by Martineau's paying in ready money for materials like stone and wood, as was the contractor by her tendering £100 every alternate month on condition he pay his workpeople weekly (as an illustration of the locals' attitude towards labour, when Eliza Fletcher bought a small farm at Easedale in 1840 and returned the following



year "to expedite the proceedings of the dilatory workmen of the valley," they were highly amused at her "expecting them to be at work at seven A.M.")<sup>30</sup>

Beginning in August, a flurry of correspondence with Frances Ogden of Sawrey disclosed Martineau's mesmerizing and caring for sick neighbors: John, "little Jane" and a poor young lady with look of hopeless misery (the young nursemaid staying in ground floor lodgings and cured of sick headaches [migraines?], recorded in Martineau's autobiography, or another case). At first John "went off" in 25 minutes, then in 15 and heard nothing afterwards. Later he told Martineau a white light from her fingers made his face hot just before he fell asleep. She hoped he would *describe* his malady and prescribe for it: Greg was coming next day while John slept, to help with the case. Could not Mr. Bolton and the Ogdens come to Waterhead to tea and Martineau defer her visit to them? She must be punctual for her patient's hours, 10:00 am and 4:00 pm. If the Ogdens could not come, she could catch a later boat on Lake Windermere to come to them, leaving about 5:00.

Next day, John was coughing from cold when he came, Martineau told Ogden, but she put him to sleep and mesmerized his elbows, which "started a good deal." He again saw light coming out of her fingers, and her hands "stunk" both days when she left him. Within a week, she was washing and wrapping a clean rag around John's arm every morning before putting him to sleep. Mrs. Turner (a local woman with whom John stayed during the treatment) agreed that his cough was gone: if he had to lose an arm Martineau hoped mesmerism would save his lungs. He would be lost if sent to the Liverpool infirmary, she predicted, but she intended to consult Atkinson for help. Little Jane now slept within 2 minutes, promising to become a somnambule to guide them in John's treatment.

Mary Arnold and Elizabeth Whately -- the archbishop's wife staying with the Arnolds -- came for "ease" under Martineau's ministrations too. When Lady Goldsmith (Lady Goldsmid?) came, she urged Martineau to get helpers like Frances Ogden, though she lived too far from Waterhead as Martineau knew. In her autobiography, Martineau recorded certain

members of the medical world [i.e., Forbes and two doctors sent to question Jane Arrowsmith] demonstrating to me what my duty was in regard to poor Jane, at

Tynemouth, -- usually called my maid, but not yet so, nor to be so till the spring of 1846. Jane's eyes had become "as bad as ever," and Forbes and his friends were now threatening Jane's aunts. Through an Ambleside friend, "a benevolent druggist" from South Shields was induced to mesmerize Jane while Martineau got her two Rankin aunts to "go over from Newcastle" and arrange for Jane to come to *her*. The grateful girl was due in early Autumn, Martineau told Ogden, and she was looking out for a place for her to stay, with or without wages, until she was strong.

By the end of September or early October, Miss Coombs (a visitor?) had arranged for Jane to board with respectable cottagers and to help care for their eleven children, but Ogden's offer to take Jane at Lakefield would serve as a backup, Martineau declared. John was well except for his elbow, and she would send him home when her niece and nephew came on Thursday. She needed Atkinson to show her how to bring out somnambulism in John -- her deafness hindering her, and she didn't get him to speak enough. Moreover, if she were *not* deaf, she'd have gone to help Ellen and Alfred with their illnesses. Possibly by mid-October, John's arm worsened. Martineau, blaming the new salve her maid had applied for three days, resolved to send him to "M' Lodge" for an opinion. She wrote to Ogden "in haste" so John could catch the boat.<sup>31</sup>

Once she began mesmerizing local sufferers, leisure for Martineau to contemplate her new home lasted only briefly. Possibly in midsummer, "some landowners, (*not Leaguers*)" entreated her to write about unjust English game laws, currently under investigation by a parliamentary committee headed by John Bright. Writing to Bright for "materials of your Blue Book," she explained that her tales would *not* be fiction, nor must the league (often abominated by landowners) appear to have anything to do with her work. On 16 August, she proposed to Moxon,

a series of stories wherein the whole malignant operation of the Game Laws shall be shown, -- on the landowners, -- farmers, -- labourers -- & social morals generally. These would not, she added, be "a set of highspiced tales about destitute cottagers, rick-burners &c [to] trade in griefs for the profit of literature." She appealed to Moxon first, as her own publisher, "because it w<sup>d</sup> obviate all idea of League connexion."

On 28 August, a parcel from Bright duly arrived containing a "bewildering" quantity of evidence that the game laws were "more detrimental to the farming class, and more injurious to the production of food than any of the grievances put forth by the complaining 'agricultural interest.'" On that day, the builders were "putting their hands to my new house," she recorded, and it *was* a pleasure "to be beginning to pull down a bad thing & build up a good one." Collecting materials as she wrote, Martineau produced a total of eight *Forest and Game-Law Tales* (published in three volumes) in the autumn of 1845.<sup>32</sup>

Merrily to Jane Carlyle, Martineau returned the caricatures of John Robertson sketched by Elizabeth Paulet (Geraldine Jewsbury's friend at Liverpool) that had inspired *hers*. Referring to Helen and James, Martineau smiled at what Jane had said "of Kadajah & her Mohammed [for] since I was first mesmerized, they have hardly said a word to me that they c<sup>d</sup> help." She hadn't "seen *him* for betw<sup>n</sup> 5 & 6 years, nor *her* for 8," and they wouldn't come within her atmosphere "till every particle of mesmeric influence ha[d] evaporated." Yet she was "hastening the time by giving it out daily, to several patients, who may be seen lying about in the trance, here in my parlour; every morning at ten."

Opinions were not "the forte of either of [that] clever couple," she went on about James and Helen; *he* had "a mind of great & singularly varied powers . . . but so unstable, -- so subject to bias," that she never thought "of forming any judgment by his." To her delight her cottage walls were "up to the bow window" in the ground floor study, and she urged Jane to come "& coze & doze" there.<sup>33</sup>

"How glad I am to hear again from you is more than I can tell," Martineau next hailed Fanny Wedgwood. The household were going to bed, her day's work was done, and her "tea-drinking cousins dismissed." She was writing "a book in 3 vols, which must be out before Parl<sup>t</sup> meets." It was "*not* about Mesmerism," though she had been besieged by sick neighbors and had mesmerized one poor youth "twice every day since Aug<sup>st</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> . . . condemned to lose both arms, from diseased elbows." Although the doctors despaired of his case, the youth now *always* slept "in 2 minutes or less; and another patient . . . in 7 seconds!" Fanny would wonder to see her "after breakfast, with 3 patients at a time lying about in the sleep." Even the Arnolds had "come home very full of the subject from their visit at the Archb<sup>p</sup>'s."

Martineau enclosed in her letter a copy of her plan for the cottage, "not doubting your liking to cast your eye over it [and] the walls are rising daily." That day the upper story was begun, "to be covered in by the middle of Nov<sup>br</sup>, and finished by April next." Good Jane

Arrowsmith from Tynemouth, a "capital friend," was to be her cook and housemaid. Meantime, "cousins & friends, -- & some 50,000 acquaintances" were descending on her -- including a niece and nephew from Birmingham and soon, she hoped, Julia Smith. "One sad affliction" was scarlet fever in Ellen's family -- both parents ill and their "precious Fanny . . . 3 years & 1/2 . . . carried off by it." Martineau would "joyfully and thankfully" stay in Fanny Wedgwood's little guest-chamber when she next came to London, wishing to get to know the Wedgwood children again. Yet she didn't despair of seeing Fanny "and M<sup>r</sup> W. and one bairn at least" that summer at Ambleside. *Had* Fanny seen "Emerson's 1<sup>st</sup> of Aug<sup>st</sup> speech (this year.)? And Margaret Fuller's 'Woman in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century?' Beautiful!"<sup>34</sup>

Despite her promise to Bright, Martineau's penchant for devising fictional presentations of historical data had been reawakened. "The Evidence is most rich," she wrote in October. She would try to get out one volume a month beginning 1 December; to avoid the appearance of party spirit she had gone back to the earliest laws on record, King Canute's. Now she was writing a story set in medieval Winchester on the "horrid aggravation of laws" after the Conquest. Her third tale would probably be about the operation of laws after the Magna Carta, the next perhaps to be during the Commonwealth after Charles I's attempt to revise the laws, and finally the interval up to the "change in 1831" and the present. Could she keep the material until January? Her disclosure was "in some part, confidential," as she did not want to alert readers until she was ready (amusingly, she thought, two originals of the portraits in her stories might not recognize themselves). If he and Cobden approved of the tales, she could arrange to supply the League "as cheaply as possible."

Within a few days Martineau posted a promised "list" to Moxon to be followed by "a packet of M.S." Though she liked this one better than the first, she feared the times were against them. If Moxon came to Ambleside, she might shake hands with him and with "Miss M., if she comes too."<sup>35</sup>

Martineau sent her second volume to Moxon on 9 December -- piecemeal publication helping to avoid a sense of "sameness" in the three volumes, she hoped -- though the work could not then be adequately reviewed. As practical men would see, she reached the *point* in the middle of volume 2. The Arnolds and Isabella Fenwick had heard a reading of the first story and urged that it be got into the great schools -- Arnolds vowing to send it to Rugby and Miss Fenwick to Eton through Henry Coleridge. Meanwhile, she felt a forthcoming scientific work by Professor Gregory on mesmerism, on one side, and the Archbishop of Dublin on another, would do great things.<sup>36</sup>

In her preface to Volume 1 of *Forest and Game-Law Tales*, dated 6 November 1845, Martineau proposed to sketch the operation of the old laws up to the first session of the Long Parliament; Volume 2 would cover the period "between the Revolution of 1688 and . . . 1831" and Volumes 3 and 4, "the system at the present time." In addition to "the oldest lore obtainable," her information had come from a parliamentary committee of the last session. In the preface to Volume 2 (dated 8 December 1845) she affirmed that her tales were based on true incidents like a murder in April 1816.<sup>37</sup>

Trusting to "an improved circulation when our 3<sup>rd</sup> vol is out," Martineau asked Moxon to send the whole to Sir James Graham labelled "With Miss Martineau's Comp<sup>ts</sup>," and to "my good trumpet-maker 'M<sup>rs</sup> Harrowin, Ironmonger, Kingsland." The *Spectator*, reviewing Volume I, praised Martineau's plots and called her unrivalled in "embodying and animating the views of

other people." Even abstruse arguments were brought alive under the effect of her "magic pen" -- whether or not the characters would have understood them (Crabb Robinson deemed the first tale a "well-conceived picture of England under the Danish oppression"). Yet excellent as she was at showing the "philosophies" of her authorities such as "Friend Bright," the *Spectator* went on, she seemed to lack one of her own other than the "commonplace ethics of the party to which she belongs." More damaging in reviewing Volumes 2 and 3, the *Spectator* made a snide reference to mesmerism and complained that Martineau had not shown the evils of the *laws* but of individual failings. Nor were the actions of her characters logical or accurate according to the existing Game Laws.<sup>38</sup>

Only 2,000 of the three volumes were sold, Martineau later lamented. Excitement over repeal of the corn laws stymied current book sales, and at the time it seemed "a total failure; -- my first failure." Though read by young future legislators and "a few young lords and gentry," she had wanted the work to reach "farmers, [to put] strength into their hearts to assert their rights." Counting on a large sale, moreover, Moxon had the work stereotyped. From the nearly 1,000 first sold, she "never received a shilling," at last setting down her "gratuitous labour" as a contribution to repeal of the corn laws.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Auto.* 2: 203; HM to Moxon, [January 1845], *CL* 3: 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Robinson on Books/Writers*, Morley 2: 650-51; Dr. John and Margaret Davy lived at Lesketh How on the road from Ambleside to Rydal; Rev. Robert Perceval Graves, curate at Bowness; Crabb Robinson soon dined with Tennyson (who failed to ask about Wordsworth) and had tea with Mary Sturch, Elisabeth Reid's sister, where he chatted with Anna Jameson and heard that Sydney Smith had dreamed of being in a madhouse, "shut up with . . . Martineau and the Bishop of Exeter" (a mistake for Macaulay?).

<sup>3</sup> HM to Moxon, Wednesday [January 1845], *CL* 3: 2; HM to Margaret Bell, 7, 19 February 1845, *CL* 3: 3-4, *HM/FL* 125-26; S[amuel] Greg, Jr., W.R. Greg's next elder brother.

<sup>4</sup> HM to Graves, Monday [late February 1845], *HM/FL* 141-42; HM to Tremenheere, [February 1845], *CL* 3: 3 (for Martineau's new writing project, see below); Mary Arnold, widow of Rev. Thomas Arnold.

<sup>5</sup> HM to Milnes, 22 February [1845], *SL* 106-109 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 5-6); Samuel Greg's wife, Mary (née Needham) was the sister of Lucy, Richard Martineau's wife; Caroline and Edward Davies Davenport of Capesthorpe Hall, Cheshire; "Life-fountains," or the "Theisms of the world, rising in sequence" (HM to Morpeth, 4 July [1845], *CH* J19/1/39/70; partly pbd. *CL* 3: 20); Greg called the experiment one "'of imperfect extase'" (trance?); Messrs. Wood and Mohl are not identified; a reference to the use of charity patients by mesmeric practitioners such as Dr. John Elliotson, cf. Winter.

<sup>6</sup> HM to Miss Parrott, 24 February [1845], *HM/FL* 127-28; HM to MWC, 15 March 1845, *Auto.* 3: 243-46.

<sup>7</sup> HM to Elizabeth Pease, 18 March [1845], *CL* 3: 6-7 (for Martineau's tale, *Dawn Island*, see note 9); Martineau must still have been staying with Davenports.

<sup>8</sup> HM to FW, 19 March [1845], *HM/FW* 78-81; Rev. Archer Clive, Prebendary of Hereford, and Caroline, née Meysey-Wigley, writer of verse and the first "sensation" novel, *Paul Ferroll* (1855); Rev. Samuel Bache (Unitarian) of New Meeting, Birmingham, married to the sister of James's wife, Helen, and later James's doctrinal opponent.

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<sup>9</sup> HM to "Sir," 16 April 1845, *HM/FL* 135; *Dawn Island. A Tale* (Manchester: J. Gadsby, Newall's-Buildings, 1845; rptd. Logan, *Pickering Masters* 1).

<sup>10</sup> HM to Elizabeth Barrett, 14 and 18 April 1845, *HM/FL* 134-35 and *SL* 109-110; only *Deerbrook* and *The Rioters* had been recently issued (by Moxon and Houlston in 1842); in her autobiography Martineau covered roughly the first thirteen years of her life in "First Period. To Eight Years Old," Section I, and "Second Period. To the Age of Seventeen," Sections I and (part of) II, *Auto.* 1: 9-34 and 35-69 when her formal schooling ended with the departure of Mr. Perry; Hans Christian Andersen, *Improvisatore: or Life in Italy* (London: Richard Bentley, 1845); John Ryall, headmaster of the Birmingham and Edgbaston Proprietary School, a new joint-stock school teaching science, mathematics and modern languages.

<sup>11</sup> HM to William Howitt, 21 April [1845], *CL* 3: 8; Bremer's works were translated by Mary Howitt.

<sup>12</sup> HM to Bromley Davenport, 30 March and [late April 1845], *CL* 3: 7 and 9.

<sup>13</sup> HM to JM, 24 April 1845, *HM/FL* 508.

<sup>14</sup> *Auto.* 2: 207-12; "tourist" was a newish term given a slightly satiric spin by Sydney Smith and others.

<sup>15</sup> HM to JWC, [6 May 1845] and Monday morning [March-July 1845], in private hands (first partly pbd. *CL* 3: 9-10); Martineau labeled the Manchester surgeon, Mr. Noble, a "very conceited and shallow person;" Martineau seems to hint at Elizabeth's refusing to let her go to the dying Worthington in 1827; for John Robertson's pursuit of Geraldine Jewsbury, see JWC to Jeannie Welsh, [26 February, 11 March and 5 April 1845], *Carlyle Letters* 19: 39-41, 42-43 and 48-50.

<sup>16</sup> *Auto.* 2: 213-19 (like his bachelor friends of similar tastes, Atkinson was almost certainly homosexual; sexually unthreatening, he evidently allowed Martineau to plunge into a romantic older-woman/younger-man relationship without hesitation); Martineau claimed that his was "not a logical mind," but "free & noble" [HM to Morpeth, 4 July (1845), *CL* 3: 20-21].

<sup>17</sup> HM to Milnes, 23 May, 18, 29 June and 7 July [1845], *CL* 3: 10-12, 13, 18 and 21; Newstead, Byron's ancestral home; Lady Ann le Fleming, owner of Rydal Mount; Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil; or, the Two Nations* (London: H. Colburn, 1845); see [?] Richard Monkton Milnes, *The Real Union of England and Ireland* (London: J. Ollivier, 1845).

<sup>18</sup> HM to Isabella Fenwick, [summer 1845], *CL* 3: 12; HM to Morpeth, 29 June, 4 July and 1 August [1845], *HM/FL* 140, *CL* 3: 20-21 and *HM/FL* 142-43; see HM to Atkinson, [August 1845], *CL* 3: 21-22.

<sup>19</sup> HM to JM, 13 June 1845, *HM/FL* 508 (Hewlitt C. Watson, editor of the *Phrenological Journal*); HM to Mary Carpenter, 11 June [1845], BUL MS Harriet Martineau add. 59; HM to HCR, 24 June 1845, *CL* 3: 15-17; Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841), Spanish priest and theological writer who became an Anglican clergyman and accompanied Whately to Dublin before becoming a Unitarian.

<sup>20</sup> HM to WJF, 18 June [1845], *CL* 3: 13-14 (Loughrigg was above the Arnolds' home, Fox How); HM to William Howitt, 21 June [1845], *CL* 3: 14-15 (William Howitt, *A Popular History of Priestcraft in all Ages and Nations*, 8th ed. [London: Effingham Wilson, 1845]).

<sup>21</sup> *Auto.* 2: 214-21; see "A Year at Ambleside. January[-June].," *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art* 6 (January-June 1850), 38-41, 139-42, 291-94, 294-98, 355-58, 381-84; 7 (July-December) 28-32, 88-91, 150-53, 227-30, 268-71, 344-47 (rptd., Barbara Todd, *Harriet*

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*Martineau at Ambleside with 'A Year at Ambleside' by Harriet Martineau* [Carlisle: Bookcase, 2002] 48); nine months later Martineau moved to a "low cottage under the massy sycamores."

<sup>22</sup> HM to JWC, 27 June [1845], in private hands (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 17-18.

<sup>23</sup> *Auto.* 2: 246-47.

<sup>24</sup> *Auto.* 2: 225-27.

<sup>25</sup> HM to RWE [at home in Concord, Massachusetts], 2 July [1845], Houghton Library bMS AM 1280 2076 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 18-19); Fuller suffered from headaches and depression partly owing to her work as literary editor of the *New York Daily Tribune*; see TC, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1845); for Yewdale Crags, the site of one of Wordsworth's youthful escapades, cf. Barker, *Wordsworth. A Life*.

<sup>26</sup> HM to "Sir," 7 August [1845], *HM/FL* 143-44.

<sup>27</sup> HM to HGA, [August 1845], *CL* 3: 21-22; *Auto.* 2: 224-25.

<sup>28</sup> HM to M[ary] Wordsworth, [July 1845], *CL* 3: 20; as editor of the *New York Evening Post* and a staunch Democrat, Bryant had taken stands against slavery and the annexation of Texas.

<sup>29</sup> *Auto.* 2: 227-29 ("I did not then know the importance of placing beds north and south, in case of illness," she admitted [228], but was later to back Florence Nightingale on the "correct" placing of beds).

<sup>30</sup> *Auto.* 2: 232-36, 241; *Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher with Letters and Other Family Memorials* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1876) 249-50; Eliza Fletcher of Edinburgh, friend of poets and statesmen: Margaret Davy (see note 2) and Mary (later third wife of Sir John Richardson) were her daughters; the Romillys were old Unitarian friends.

<sup>31</sup> HM to [Frances] Ogden (née Bolton), Wednesday night [c. mid-August 1845], Wednesday night [?August-September 1845], Wednesday [?24 September 1845], Friday morning [1845], Wednesday night [mid-October 1845?], *HM/FL* 144-45, Armitt Trust, Ambleside ALMS, 367/19 (partly pub. *CL* 3: 25-26), *HM/FL* 145-46, 148-49 and 149-50; Martineau's 1854 guidebook lists Jonathan R. Ogden, Esq., Lake Field [or Lakefield], Sawrey, which "commands perhaps the best view in the valley" (*Guide to Windermere, with Tours to the Neighbouring Lakes and Other Interesting Places*, etc. [Windermere: John Garnett; London: Whittaker, 1854; rptd. Gigglesworth, North Yorkshire: Castleberg, 1995] 25 and 93); the Ogdens knew the Martineaus of Liverpool: James had edited J.R. Ogden's *Holy Songs and Musical Prayers* (London: Novello, 1842); Martineau's *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (Windermere: John Garnett, 1855) lists several Turners; Martineau's *Guide* of 1854 lists an Edmund Lodge, Esq., Keen Ground, Hawkshead; Sir Isaac and Lady (Isabel) Goldsmid were Isabella Rankin's employers who sent her to a somnambulist; *Auto.* 2: 246-48 and 253-54; for Forbes, see chap. 27, note 31.

<sup>32</sup> HM to John Bright, 7 and 28 August [1845], *CL* 3: 22-23 and 24; HM to Moxon, 16 August [1845], *CL* 3: 23-24; *Auto.* 2: 257-58; *Forest and Game-Law Tales* (London: Moxon, 1845-46) comprised [vol. 1] "Merddin," "The Manor and the Eyrie," "The Staunch and Their Work" and "Old Landmarks and Old Laws"; [vol. 2] "The Bishop's Flock and the Bishop's Herd," "Heathendom in Christendom" and "Four Years at Maude-Chapel Farm"; [vol. 3] "Gentle and Simple."

<sup>33</sup> HM to JWC, [c. September 1845], *CL* 3: 26-27; Elizabeth Paulet lived at Seaforth House, Seaforth, near Liverpool; Jane laughingly referred to Helen (whom she saw at Liverpool) as

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Khadija--Mohammed's first wife and according to the Koran one of the four perfect woman (JWC to TC, [10 August 1845], *Carlyle Letters* 19: 137-40).

<sup>34</sup> HM to FW, 29 September [1845], Wedgwood Papers, UKL, partly pbd., *HM/FW* 83-85 (cf. *Auto.* 2: 247); for Martineau's "book," see note 32; Martineau may refer to Emerson's address at Middlebury College, Vermont, on 23 July (repeated at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, on 6 August 1845) to commemorate the anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies, but see *HM/FW* 85, note 4; Sarah Margaret Fuller, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Condition and Duties of Women* (New York: Greeley and McElrath, 1845), based on her essay "The Great Lawsuit: Man *versus* Men. Woman *versus* Women" in *The Dial* 4 (July 1843), 1-48.

<sup>35</sup> HM to John Bright, 11 October [1845], *CL* 3: 28-29; *Auto.* 2: 257-59; for vols. 1 and 2 of *Forest and Game-Law Tales*, see note 32; HM to Moxon, Friday [?21 November 1845], *HM/FL* 147.

<sup>36</sup> HM to Moxon, 9 December 1845, *HM/FL* 147-48; Henry Nelson Coleridge, an old Etonian married to Sara Coleridge, the poet's daughter; probably William Gregory [professor of chemistry at the University of Edinburgh], *Abstract of "Researches on Magnetism and on Certain Allied Subjects," Including A Supposed New Imponderable. By Baron von Reichenbach,* translated and abridged (London: Taylor and Walton, 1846; an electrical explanation for mesmerism); see Winter.

<sup>37</sup> *Forest and Game-Law Tales* 1: iv and 2: iii.

<sup>38</sup> HM to Moxon, Friday and Wednesday [1845], Bod Lib MS Eng. lett. d. 2. ff. 119-20; "Miss Martineau's *Forest and Game Law Tales*," *Spec.*, 6 December 1845: 1168-69 [rev. of Vol. 1] and 14 February 1846: 161-62 [rev. of "concluding volumes"]; *Robinson on Books/Writers*, Morley 2: 654.

<sup>39</sup> *Auto.* 2: 257-58

