

Chapter 29: Mesmerism, Writings, Martineau's New "Cottage", Surprise Invitation to Travel (1845)

"How strangely poor is this new paper!" Martineau exclaimed to Moxon, probably in mid-December. "Few know what very high & *peculiar* ability is required for newspaper writing" (a prescient hint of her future work on the London *Daily News*?). But "How very finely Peel has begun!"¹

Next thanking Moxon for a cheque for £50, Martineau noted that though the chief instigator of her tales was from Manchester, nobody there had heard of them owing to the present state of political confusion. Nevertheless, she felt the "Game Law subject" would "come up more fiercely than ever when Agriculture Protection" was over with. Moxon should wait for three volumes to be out before making an expensive effort to sell them. Other books were being bought -- Crabb Robinson had told her of Wordsworth's being "full of pleasure at the success of his new edition."

When proofs from Moxon came three days later, they were too late to go back on the same day. But she made brisk progress and would send a half-volume of manuscript "in a few days" before [?] the printers had finished their month (i.e., December), for it was "Index season," she remembered.²

On a Thursday (Christmas day?), Martineau answered a plea from Frances Ogden who had watched her make mesmeric "passes" but could not put the youth John to sleep. John's case now appeared "so bad -- so desperate," that Martineau doubted "whether, *after a discontinuance*, your mesmeriz^g would do him much good." John's "scrofulous arm" was a problem. *She* would persevere if he were her "next door neighbour . . . (& the more because I am without the sense of smell)," but she did not think Ogden should make herself "uncomfortable, & perhaps unwell." To help Ogden survive insults "to her face" in regard to mesmerism, she would send a quotation from "the Archb^p of Dublin [Whately] show^g the distinction between Mesm^m & miracles" (copied out by his daughter Jane for the Pembroke College gent^m), Prof. Gregory's translation of Reichenbach and "something much more valuable . . . his views of the nature & *morale* of Mesm^m." She would send this evidence "to L.pool, -- i.e., to Ellen," believing James would not look at it. The archbishop had told Mary Arnold of "hav^g with his own hands mesmerized a person in extreme pain, with complete success."

Possibly that evening, Martineau urged Ogden not to be discouraged with John. Patience was the key, with "very small *apparent* results," for what Ogden had seen *her* do was "quite above the average of apparent result." Now she must write letters concerning the marriage of one cousin and death of another, while her sweet Ellen's baby had "whooping cough, or worse!"³

Sending Moxon the last manuscript of *Forest and Game-Law Tales*, Martineau felt pleased at having kept to her time. Tired with the work, though not *of* it, she hoped its quality had not deteriorated. Certain notices of the first volume seemed amusing -- *John Bull's*, "so delectably grudging" -- but mesmerism was to blame for poor sales. Since Moxon had been there, the Wordsworths seemed "aghast" at cures by mesmerism. Meanwhile, a longed-for

treasure (probably sent by Moxon) had come in, Thomas Hood's poems. For years, she had felt that the "extraordinary high quality" of Hood's mind was not appreciated.⁴

For Crabb Robinson, Martineau copied out the observations of Wordsworth written for Elizabeth Barrett in early February: the poet seemed able to lose himself in thought; his face had been "all gloom" (no doubt from worry over the illness of his daughter, Dora), then "all animation" at hearing of Martineau's extraordinary discourse in the mesmeric sleep. His mind must always have been "especially liberal" but was now *more* so. Yet he was unaware of the state of the poor and did not notice flagrant "sensual vice," while JPs and clergymen despaired at the local drunkenness, the quarrelling and extreme female licentiousness. His life with his angelic wife was happy and serene, though everything must be punctual for him, the fire bright and so on. Calling daily on Isabella Fenwick, he gave her a "smacking kiss" before sitting down to talk -- she being "the worthiest possible," who did Martineau the honor to be fond of *her*. Seeing him at the "Mount" and hearing him only if he spoke directly *to* her and thus missing a lot, Martineau felt "a growing love & tenderness for him." Yet she could not yet entirely connect him with his works or feel him to be so great as *they* were.⁵

On Parliamentary matters, Martineau had *inside* knowledge, she intimated to Fanny Wedgwood. A report of Cobden's "'sinking health and fortunes'" was "all nonsense." Having predicted Grey's refusal to sit in the same cabinet with Palmerston under John Russell, she had run with her letter "to M^r Greg's postbag, -- *then* took up a newspaper, and saw that *just* that had happened." The "blind imbecility" of members of Parliament (in not repealing the corn laws) made her blush, and she dreaded "apoplexy or paralysis for Peel," who had "long passed the average lease of Premiers' brains." Meanwhile she had not forgotten her promise to come to the Wedgwoods'. But besides her "insatiable thirst for natural beauty" and her inability to leave the "woods and streams, and starry skies overhanging the lake," she could not be absent from her house and maids in the spring. Fires were being burnt to speed the drying of the plaster, the terrace would be finished next day (6 February), the drive was made, the planting begun, the necessary earthenware ordered from Staffordshire, the metalware from Birm^m, -- and the wardrobes &c of our clever Ambleside joiners. Today she had bought garden tools; next week, when her "pretty little quarry" had "yielded all the stones wanted for the terrace wall and the porch" and the wet field was rolled "to smooth over the cart ruts," she would begin to garden.

M^{rs} Davy and Archy [her son] and I are to go into the woods, with trowel and frail basket, to get wood anemones for my copse, primroses and periwinkle for my little slopes, and ferns, ivy, pansies and yellow tulips for my terrace wall.

More than ever, she felt the "comfort and moral good of the little independence" friends had secured for her by the testimonial fund; and she hoped "to realize the "house and its furniture" without touching her income or future annuity -- the field being paid for. Keeping two maids would not prove an extravagance, "one being a clever creature" who saved time and expense by her skill with the needle and the other, "Jane from Tynemth," who was "in excellent health again, and so happy!"

Martineau was "just about to begin on a second set of 'the Playfellow,'" having refused "a tempting editorship". Though work was "abundantly offered," she wanted "to pick and choose" what she began. The weather had lately been "bad beyond all precedent," but she dreamed of the Wedgwoods coming to stay in her cottage, where "it will be beautiful even to

stand at the window and see it rain, -- the valley is so beautiful!" Except for her grey hair, Fanny would think her younger than she had ever seen her, and *she* felt "just a year old, -- born into a new world last winter." Erasmus, she hoped, would let her mesmerize him when she came to London.⁶

In *History of the Peace* Martineau was to recount the dramatic events leading to repeal of the corn laws. Though restored to power, Peel did not immediately succeed in carrying out full repeal owing greatly (she claimed in her autobiography) to personal enmity between himself and Cobden backed by the Anti-Corn Law League. When Cobden had called at Tynemouth, he asked her to write to him, "if at any time I had any thing to criticise or suggest in regard to League affairs." Confidently stepping into the political arena, on 27 December Martineau reminded Cobden of his recent speech to constituents at Stockport "in which he spoke in terms of insult of Peel" (before her letter reached him, he "had spoken in yet more outrageous terms of Peel . . . in Covent Garden"). Martineau opened her letter to Cobden with sympathy for his feelings, but pled little known facts of Peel's personal and public life to explain his outbursts:

Well; this man, ill, sleepless, harassed, deprived of his secretary by assassⁿ, & surrounded by boding men, crying women, & a starving people, had his mind morbidly full of the idea of his being a mark for assassⁿ [and] was exactly in a condition to misapprehend the words "personal responsibility,"

-causing him to attack Cobden. Good-naturedly, Cobden confirmed that he had a grudge against Peel dating from 1843. Accordingly, on 31 December, Martineau again tried her skill as negotiator, assuring Cobden that Peel's insult was not excusable but that she had written as "a piece of League business."⁷

Begging Milnes on the same day to ask for help in getting Peel to understand Cobden's position as "the representative in Parliament of the bread-eaters," she chatted about being invited to dinner at the Wordsworths' to meet Moxon and show him her cottage -- from which she had just seen smoke coming out of the chimneys.⁸

Milnes declined to intervene with Peel, and on 22 February Martineau took matters into her own hands. Assuring Peel that she wrote without alerting anyone else, she explained Cobden's delicate position: his vituperation of Peel at Covent Garden and Stockport being expected by his party in response to Peel's charge of February 1843. Cobden, she felt sure, would generously respond to an apology from Peel -- though he knew *nothing* of her attempt to mediate. A *woman*, she pled, could offer this peacemaking advice better than a man. *She* and the nation (except those of the Treasury benches) were *grateful* for Peel's measures: all admired and sympathized with him. "By return of post came a long letter from Sir R. Peel which moved me deeply," Martineau recorded in her autobiography. "It was as I suspected. He had not the remotest idea that what he had said . . . by way of *amende* . . . had not been considered satisfactory."

Hastening to write Cobden "the most artful letter I ever penned," she included an extract from Peel's letter and urged that there had been "a grand mistake somewhere." On 24 February, she told Peel she had heard from Cobden, who admitted he had spoken under pressure. Peel then sent her a copy of *The Times*, confirming that "union of effort" had been achieved "under which the immediate repeal of the Corn-laws was certain."⁹

Touting her activism, Martineau took Milnes to task for not "stirring" in the Cobden-Peel affair -- or had he done so without telling her? -- but "it was inconceivable that you w^d leave me to grope, & perhaps blunder, in the dark." She was "*pledged*" not to tell of writing to Peel. Cobden, especially, didn't know. "What cowards men are made by the duelling system!" And "tho' my contempt is great for the Whigs," she went on to Milnes, Parliament's delay in passing the repeal was lamentable. Of personal news, Martineau *hoped* to sleep in her cottage on 6 April, "if indeed sleep sh^d be possible on the first night under a roof of one's own."¹⁰

The debate on a preliminary measure to reduce the tariff on food (the Corn Laws) had passed a first reading of the Commons when Martineau wrote to Cobden again, continuing her pretence of innocence. "I must just wish you joy of your release from that galling weight upon your mind," she crowed. Ten days later, a "kind & confiding letter" from Cobden filled her with "feelings of pain & pleasure." She was sorry about his poor health (Cobden suffered from asthma) and failing fortunes, but perhaps what he thought "very moderate fortunes, w^d appear very grand to little me who have not yet earned £6000." Though she wished to see him in office, she did not believe anyone fulfilling his high function could possibly continue to hold the place he presently held in men's eyes. If he travelled, he could only escape people's "admiration & dread" in some spot like St. Helena or Patagonia. So why not take his family for a voyage of several months to be "out of sight of land, -- out of reach of letters?" Or bring his wife to come to stay in her cottage?¹¹

Pleasurably "discharging a commission" from Lady Mary Lambton, Martineau sent Carlyle a copy of a "'Summons &c' written by Cromwell," copied by one of the Grey family. Though long since she and he had "any thing to say to each other," she trusted he would soon find her "not only well, but sane" -- a thing she believed he discredited "in the case of all believers in that branch of electricity vulgarly called Mesmerism." Do please, she begged, give Erasmus Darwin the name of Gregory's pamphlet (probably the "abstract" of Reichenbach) which promised that sufferers of Carlyle's sort might "regain the blessings of healthy digestion, quiet sleep, & even & cheerful spirits." That morning on the mountainside with her maid Jane, "filling 3 baskets with plants & roots for my rocks & little copse," she thought of the two of them, "so sunk in wretched & hopeless illness" while she was now astonishingly restored. Carlyle must tell dear Jenny that she now walked a mile and a half to have breakfast at her cottage, "the Knoll," having established herself there for the daylight hours -- a number of which she wasted "just staring & dawdling about in bewilderment at the beauty from my window & terrace."¹²

Isabella Fenwick had left a sovereign to spend for the youth John, Martineau informed Frances Ogden on 10 March. In addition to writing, Martineau had returned to her favourite pursuit -- the "mighty subject" of mesmerism. Gregory had imparted "the discovery of a New Imponderable, -- a feat of Reichenbach's," and the investigation would now proceed "from the chemical side." The Gregorys would give up their trip to Paris and she "the Birm^m Festival; & we assemble two or three more practical Mesm^{ts}, & hold a little congress here for study & interchange of experience." A complete change in "medical science & practice" was to come and a "flood of new light thrown into the philos^y of mind, -- operating . . . extensively on education." Martineau happened to be a "singularly sensitive" subject, as was one of her maids "in a different direction." The Knoll now kept her busy. When her pots and pans came, she vowed to eat dinner, stay till dark and then sleep in her house "the day after taxing day, --

viz, the 6th of April." Of her family, James felt "poor little Herbert [was] sinking," though quinine helped. Happily, Ellen's baby was "thriving again."¹³

Two weeks later the mildly solipsistic Macready arrived from Edinburgh -- where he deemed he had performed *Hamlet* in a "forcible" and "refined" manner. At Ambleside he noticed a "brown-faced looking woman" watching for the coach and then realized it was Martineau. After a poor dinner at his inn and going by mistake to Martineau's old Waterhead lodgings, he found her "newly-built, or building" house. The two old friends then walked to Fox How and Rydal Mount -- where Wordsworth was "ill in bed." Over tea at Margaret Davy's with Martineau and Greg, Macready heard "some curious facts mentioned by Miss Martineau," which gave him pause over the "hitherto inscrutable and mysterious power" of mesmerism. While relishing the spring air at The Knoll and the hills and streams with their "gentle noise," he planted two oaks for Martineau, though straining his back with her "small spade." They walked companionably back to his inn, looking at Lake Windermere and "talking hard the whole way."¹⁴

William Howitt now featured Martineau in his "People's Portrait Gallery" in the *People's Journal* for March 1846. Praising her "masculine intellect in a female form," he likened her to Mme. de Stael and Mme. Roland in France, Mary Wollstonecraft and Mrs. Somerville in England and Mme. Palzow in Germany. But he professed amusement at her choice of the troublesome profession of writing. Howitt's piece, or perhaps Martineau's reputation as a supporter of socially improving schemes, led the inventor of a "marine glue" named Jeffery to beg that she remind Lord Grey of the saving of lives and other benefits his invention could provide!¹⁵

Coaxingly to Grey, Martineau wrote that visitors to The Knoll could view Fox How from her study window, and "your eye w^d follow the hill side road where D^r Arnold used to wander without his hat, -- at the end of a section of his History." She would like to introduce Grey and Lady Grey to Mary Arnold, a person of "exalted reason & an ingenuous heart."¹⁶

Martineau's garden planning for the Knoll brought offers of plants; Lady Matilda Pasley's promise of "more clothing for my destitute rocks" being welcomed. She had lately been leading "a mendicant's life without shame" as she and Margaret Davy encouraged "each other in carrying about basket & trowel wherever we go." And she *would* like Lady Pasley's cotoneaster (resembling a hawthorn) "& any thing else [that would] grow on rocks, & on a somewhat shallow but good soil, -- sloping from my terrace wall down to the little quarry." A Scotch fir and perhaps the spruce sounded too mature to survive, though she must "break the ugly line" of her neighbour's new fence. Should she send, or come, and bring back the gift by steamer? "In a week, one sitting room will be finished, & in another, furnished, -- or enough so to give you a seat & luncheon . . . any day." Before Professor Gregory and his family came on 25 April, she hoped to clear away "all traces of rubbish."¹⁷

From Waterhead, Martineau forwarded a note from Anne Marsh to Wordsworth begging permission to dedicate her new novel, *Emilia Wyndham*, to him. "I had the pleasure of getting out her first novel," Martineau boasted, though "we differ as widely as possible in our opinions." Her handwriting, she feared, was *almost* as illegible as Marsh's, after "having been out foraging in the woods today, -- digging out some pretty tough roots."¹⁸

On April 7th, the first night in the new house, Jane Arrowsmith and (probably) Martineau's maid from Waterhead stayed with her. Having made their beds, they "stirred up the fires, and locked the doors, and had some serious talk, as members of a new household --

an event Martineau was sure they would never forget "for its sweetness and solemnity." Furnishing her house and planting the garden absorbed Martineau only partly over the next fifteen days. When Grey wrote to ask for facts about the "marine glue," she described her "already golden" oaks and sycamores "in full leaf for nearly a fortnight." More intriguingly, she now had with her "a little congress of three philosophers, met for research into Mesmerism, -- led by Professor Gregory." Among the five subjects, her state of trance remained "the most interesting & remarkable," quite carrying away Gregory "from his chemical track." Meanwhile, Dr. Esdraile had written from Calcutta "of the success of his 76th painless operation," which she knew would interest Lady Grey.

A new "connexion" for her was the *People's Journal*, she told Grey, which had "an immense circulation [but] must be improved in quality" though she was not sure she understood the present "temper" of its popular audience. However, she would do her best to help "the sincere good purposes of the Editors." If Grey had any view "of popular welfare to be carried widely abroad," he could communicate it through *her*. First, she meant to supply a "Monthly Commentary on passing events . . . about social Morals & arrangements." The editors wanted fiction too, and she would yield to "their opinion of the popular desire for it." The journal now reached "200,000 people of the working class," and was rising "from week to week." If Lord and Lady Grey came to her valley, they might together "lay out some useful work," she being always thankful to be employed.¹⁹

(In a first series for the *People's Journal*, "Survey from the Mountain," April to October 1846, Martineau discussed current events, customs, education, and human behavior and praised public benefactors like Rowland Hill and Thomas Clarkson; in "Ara Force," January 1847, she retold a tragic love tale from Wordsworth. In her second series, "Household Education," July to February 1847, she focused on psychology and human development; her last five essays probably being sent off to Saunders before she left for the east in late 1846).²⁰

In May, Martineau thanked George Combe for an "address" on phrenology, which the earnest and unassuming Atkinson had shown her to be true -- and which she promised to discuss with Combe when next in Edinburgh. Meanwhile, she complained to Crabb Robinson that her family all wished her well except James and the Greenhows. At Ambleside, workmen were busy inside her house while she gardened with Jane and her new friend Frederika Meyer of Holbeck Cottage, Windermere. Rachel had offered seeds, AND earlier in the spring a mysterious gift of a "heap of the finest sods" had been left for her. Prof. Gregory was to return in August for further study of mesmerism, particularly to record her words. Though James rejected mesmerism and Wordsworth despised Whately's sympathy for the practice, Atkinson merited all praise.²¹

Robinson had told Mary Wordsworth of Martineau's "rapturous description of her beautiful residence," and he wanted to give her a present. If Mary played "spy" and visited The Knoll, she should be sure "to find out what in the form of Engraving or ornamental furniture of her house or garden" would be acceptable. Two weeks later, Martineau learned of Robinson's gift -- a marble-mounted sideboard sure to be "a great ornament" to her sitting room, "a thing really wanted" that would last a lifetime. The two of them would meet before she came to town around the beginning of September, she said. Robinson was invited to stay at The Knoll if Aunt Martineau and Fanny -- coming for three weeks after the holidays -- were not there.²²

In mid-June, Martineau arranged a surprising treat for her neighbors. Mary Howitt had written about the singing Hutchinsons from New England who were coming to Kendal, and Martineau determined they must perform at Ambleside. "The large room at the White Lion was engaged and filled with benches so as to hold the greatest possible number — 200," she recorded; and the group was advised to come "by Newby Bridge from Lancaster, so as to finish their day's journey from Liverpool by the Windermere steamer." Waiting for the group at Waterhead, Martineau reveled in the

soft ruddy evening light on Wansfell, the purple hollows of Loughrigg . . . the white gables of the houses at Clappergate . . . and the little grey church on its knoll in the centre of the Brathay valley.

(Suspense when the quartet failed to appear on the steamer formed part of her charming account in the *People's Journal*.) Returning to The Knoll, "I saw from my terrace a barouche coming rapidly along the road, with one bonnet and several grey caps in it." After entering her gate, the barouche drove up to the porch -- and Martineau found herself "among hearty American friends once more." Making their way to the White Lion to try out the acoustics, the Hutchinsons attracted a knot of passersby and then thrilled Martineau with their voice harmony, which she *heard*. Next day, Wednesday, 17 June, "seventeen persons, aged somewhere between seventy-six and twelve years" made a country excursion. After meeting on the shore of Grasmere Lake, they rowed in three boats to a "shady, shingly spot" opposite the village for a picnic and walk. On their return, they had tea in a rose-covered cottage garden at Easedale where the "venerable hostess" (probably Eliza Fletcher) sat "in her beauty, under a shady tree." That evening at The Knoll, two Hutchinson brothers helped pump and carry water for Martineau's dahlias and fruit trees. Reminding her they were farmers, next morning they scythed the grass around her pear trees (some had stayed at The Knoll, others at the White Lion). On Thursday evening, owing to the June heat the concert was held on a neighboring gentleman's lawn. Indeed, the expanded audience formed "row behind row of the tradespeople, servants and labourers" as well as the parish clerk, who had been "zealous in . . . promoting our concert." During the singing, "not exactly resembling either the part-songs of the Germans or . . . English glees," plus poems, Martineau noticed that Jane Arrowsmith, "who went all in high spirits," wept unrestrainedly.

After supper, as the remarkable Americans departed by the night stage for Patterdale, they stopped on Martineau's terrace to sing a "happy and sad" musical farewell. That night, unwilling to let her "glass-door be closed," Martineau went outside again and again to watch the summer lightning -- and to look for "more stars" to light her new friends over the mountain pass.²³

Opening the new volume of Sydney Smith's sermons (sent in April but kept at her publisher in London while her study dried), Martineau thanked Smith's wife and recalled his "droll disparagement" of the sermons. *She* valued them "more than perhaps any of his writings," particularly the preface to his sermon at Bristol on religious toleration. Now feeling in "robust health" while "mowing, rowing, hoeing" in her little plantation "or climbing mountains," she would soon go "to London, she reported, "after an absence of 7 1/2 years."²⁴

In July, Martineau assured Cobden she would burn his last letter as she had the two before, boasting that more than one "interesting piece of secret history" would die with her, for "honour & kindness to individuals must ever come before instruction to the mass." Would not

Egypt suit him for a holiday, she having had "a tempting account of a voyage up & down the Nile" from Milnes? "I am so tired I can hardly write [she groaned]. I went to bed so late, & got up at 6, & have been writing ever since till now (3) except an hour's mesmeriz^g of a sick patient!" Presently, she and a nephew and niece from Birmingham staying with her were to shoulder their knapsacks, "& march up Kirkstone pass" on the way to Patterdale, having already walked "over the whole country, -- for days together, crowned with lightning on the mountain tops, & astonishing the natives in the valleys".²⁵

Also in July, Martineau may have taken Mary Carpenter to meet Wordsworth. And just then, a daughter of the Manchester silk merchant Henry Winkworth arrived in Ambleside with a letter of introduction from James. Catherine Winkworth had been taught by both James and William Gaskell and had spent a year at Dresden studying German language and literature. Her eldest sister, Susanna, remembered coming to the Knoll and meeting a number of

interesting people; none, however, so interesting as Miss Martineau herself . . . one of the most delightful persons imaginable, pouring forth a stream of information, anecdote, and brilliant, witty comment on her tales, in a genial, kindly tone, yet willing to listen also with sympathy and interest to what others had to bring forward.²⁶

In early August, Martineau was delighted to see Fanny Wedgwood's "pretty handwriting come out of the rough hand of our postman." When would the Wedgwoods like a visit from her? "I go to L.pool the last day of this month [and will] be in town about Sep^r 20th," she wrote. If the Kers went abroad, she would pay other visits first "and go to them for Nov^{br}." Until then she had a full calendar: Gregory and his family tomorrow, and soon Atkinson; on Friday, "my old aunt Martineau and her daughter out of Norfolk," then Margaret Fuller from America, Robert and his wife. "[F]inally, M^r Dawson and his bride, to whom I have let my house for Sep^r, and who will spend a couple of days with me before I start."

Fanny, she was sure, would scarcely recognize "her miserably sick friend of Tynemouth memory." Local friends were coming that week to hear a final reading of her new *Playfellow*. The *People's Journal* occupied her too. "I corrected the proof of my Wastwater trip, and sent it off only yesterday [one of the "Lake and Mountain Holidays" of which "2 more" were done] and 3 of 'Household Education.'" She *liked* "writing for that Journal, -- the host of readers are so earnest!"

If she remembered to bring it, she might show Fanny Cobden's last letter. Yet the Whigs were "mere stopgaps [while] the feeling of financial safety when Peel's government came in was a substantial and perpetual comfort" as she lay ill at Tynemouth. Fanny's brother, Robert Mackintosh, she thought must enjoy his temporary post under Lord Morpeth (newly appointed chief commissioner of woods and forests). Of mesmerism, Esdraile's book would "cure any sane persons" who still doubted its truth. Though it was "terribly surgical," Fanny must read it. Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (the religious writer who had died on 12 July) published a pamphlet denouncing Martineau's mesmerism as being of Satanic origin. "How amazed she will be yonder," Martineau snorted, "at finding that she could be mistaken; and that there were things visible to others beyond what she saw!" Soon Martineau would see Snow -- now often sent love "under her decorous name of Julia." At that moment, Martineau could see "her childish face, -- her little hands fumbling for the button in the white fur trimming of her grey cloth pelisse," her eyes open wide at her aunt's story "of the munching cow in the middle of the night!"²⁷

Martineau's heightened anticipation of being mesmerized by Gregory may have helped her fall asleep (not her usual response) and to "discourse" remarkably again. In her autobiography, she described the powerful effect of being mesmerized by two people (Gregory and Atkinson?) and remembering "some of the wonderful things I had seen and thought, if questioned immediately on my waking; but the impressions were presently gone." Her replies, taken down in shorthand, were "wholly unlike any thing I have ever said under any other circumstances." All of which proved that an "experienced and philosophical mesmeriser" was needed for imaginative patients, for she felt herself close to being clairvoyant.

Unluckily, Margaret Fuller--who "in spite of certain mutual repulsions," had been "an intimate acquaintance" in America -- came while the mesmeric experiments were going on. "I gave her, and the excellent friends with whom she was travelling, the best welcome I could," Martineau explained in her autobiography. "I got lodgings for them, made them welcome as guests, and planned excursions for them." While Fuller's companions enjoyed themselves, she as evidently did not, except when she could harangue the drawing-room party, without the interruption of any other voice within its precincts. Indeed, during an excursion to Langdale, Fuller "scarcely spoke to any body" and not at all to *Martineau*. When the two met in London in the autumn (probably at dinner at the Wedgwoods'), Fuller treated her "with the contemptuous benevolence which it was her wont to bestow on common-place people." The transcendentalist visitor had been disappointed, Martineau learned later, at a failure to "enjoy the exaltation and spiritual development . . . she concluded I must have derived from my excursions in the spiritual world."²⁸

Martineau left for Liverpool to stay with Ellen on Sunday, 31 August; partly reconciled with James, she was taken to his grand new home, Park Nook. At Rachel's school, she reported to Fanny, she saw Snow during the dancing lesson, "very desperately solemn when going through her evolutions." Again, seeing Snow when dining at the school, she said she hoped to take her for a walk "to have some talk with her," as she had done with Julia's nieces, Blanch and Bertha Smith. Although the "rush of invitations and appointments" in London for October was "almost ludicrous," Martineau would reserve "the 25th [and] on for a week" for the Wedgwoods.²⁹

(Visiting in Liverpool, Jane Carlyle gossiped to Thomas: "Oh Harriet Martineau! . . . the picture of rude weather-beaten health . . . all in a bustle . . . not a word about animal magnetism, her eloquence being "chiefly directed against the Lion hunters who torment her existence at the Lakes," where a friend advised her to "'hang a basket of *autographs* outside the Garden-gate"'! Martineau had not received her copy of Carlyle's *Cromwell*, and Jane advised her to write to Edward Chapman [of publishers Chapman and Hall]. On 1 September, Jane went to hear James preach, but the sermon was "'no go' . . . I felt quite *wae* for him," she told Thomas, adding rather blasphemously:

he looked such a picture of conscientious anguish while he was overlaying his *Christ* with similes and metaphors, that people might not see what a wooden puppet he had made of him to himself, -- in great need of getting *flung overboard* after the Virgin Mary).³⁰

Jane evidently did not hear of Martineau's latest plans. While she stayed with the Yates sisters, their wealthy philanthropic elder brother, Richard Vaughan Yates, called. Seating himself next to Martineau's "good ear," he asked her how far up the Nile she thought it desirable to go on a tour of Egypt, his wife Anne having heard from her of the "dangers and disagreeables" of that journey. Then, following a few more questions, Yates invited Martineau to come as his guest on a seven months' tour of Egypt and the holy lands.

"I could not go," was her first thought: Knight expected further *Playfellows*, and she wanted to begin housekeeping at The Knoll. Her family, however (including James?), urged her to accept an opportunity "too fine ever to recur." At last, the charm of seeing the Bible lands that had fascinated her from childhood, with Lant Carpenter's teaching of the geography of the east and her writing of the prize essays as well of the tales in *Traditions of Palestine*, made Yates's offer irresistible.³¹

Dashing off a note to Crabb Robinson from Liverpool on 16 September, Martineau thanked him again for his "beautiful & very useful present" while teasing him about her mysterious plans. "Next Thurs^y ev^g," she hoped to arrive "at M^r Wedgwood's, (42. Chester Terrace, Regent's Park) for a week" before going to her relatives. "Sail? Yes. I hope to spend Xmas day at the first Cataract of the Nile, & probably to see Jerusalem before I see Westmorland." In town, she wanted to see the explorer of Asia Minor Sir Charles Fellows for information. "I am quite well," she added to Robinson, "in spite of a summer w^h w^d have knocked up most people."

Martineau next told Moxon she would be at the Wedgwoods' from *Friday* evening for a week, then at Richard Martineau's on 15 October for a few days before sailing. A "rush" of appointments awaited, but she might find time to call on him. On a Saturday, she scribbled hastily to Eliza, W.J. Fox's daughter, that she had "every hour engaged," with no time for a sitting. But *could* Eliza come there early on Wednesday or Thursday?³²

(Thomas Carlyle -- invited with Jane to the Wedgwoods' for dinner -- expressed relief that Martineau was taking away her "Magnetic effluxes . . . for some time." Next day she called at Cheyne Row, and Carlyle exploded: "Miss Martineau . . . [b]roken into utter wearisomeness: a mind reduced to these three elements, Imbecility, Dogmatism and unlimited Hope. I never in my life was more bored with any creature." Calling the Yates "very rich, benevolent, and very stupid Liverpool people," Carlyle almost certainly felt *his* work merited a similar reward).³³

If Martineau sensed Carlyle's impatience, she might have taken comfort from one of her "heroes." In Britain on a speaking tour, William Lloyd Garrison aimed "not to miss an interview" with Martineau but regretted that she "had left for Egypt" a few days before he sailed.³⁴

¹ HM to Moxon, Wednesday [1845], Bod Lib MS Eng. lett. d. 2. ff. 119-20 (Moxon had evidently sent the paper); for Peel's determination to stave off famine in Ireland, see Norman Gash: "from the end of October to the first week of December Peel tried to convince his colleagues that a drastic modification of the corn laws was unavoidable On 5 December the cabinet concluded that . . . it [was] impossible to carry Peel's bill and the prime minister announced that in those circumstances he felt it his duty to resign" (*Aristocracy and People. Britain 1815-1865* [London: Edward Arnold, 1979]) 237.

² HM to Moxon, 20 and 23 December 1845, *CL* 3: 32-33 and BANC [Box 4] 11; *The Poems of William Wordsworth, D. C. L., Poet Laureate, etc., etc. A New Edition* (London: Edward Moxon, 1845) included pictures of an engraving of the bust of Wordsworth by Francis Chantrey as frontispiece and of an engraving of Rydal Mount on the title page: see Juliet Barker, *Wordsworth. A Life*, 769.

³ HM to Frances Ogden, Thursday [25? December 1845] and Thursday night [25? December 1845], Armitt Trust ALMS 367/25 and *FL* 150 (for Martineau's earlier reports and instructions to Ogden on mesmerizing [late 1845], see *HM/FL* 148-49 and 149-50); John did not long survive after a return to his father's cottage, but contrary to Martineau's statement that he died in February he must have been alive on 10 March: *Auto.* 2: 247 and HM to Frances Ogden, 10 March [1846], *CL* 3: 51-52; for Reichenbach, see chap. 28, note 36.

⁴ HM to Moxon, Tuesday [13? January 1846], *CL* 3: 41-42 (Bright was offered 75-100 copies for the "League": HM to John Bright, 30 January [1846], *HM/FL* 152); *John Bull*, 27 December 1845: 835 (the reviewer scoffed at Martineau's "theories [to which] ridicule, or even disgust may attach," but admitted her imparting "life, vigour, and interest" to "dry, antiquated, materials"); Thomas Hood, *Poems* (London: Moxon, 1846).

⁵ HM to Elizabeth Barrett, 8 February [1846], [extract to HCR], DWL MS HCR 1846 4b (partly pbd. *HM/FL* 152-56 and Barker, *Wordsworth. A Life* 772); (perhaps Martineau saw what she wished to see in Wordsworth).

⁶ HM to FW, 5 February [1846], *HM/FW* 86-89 (in July 1846, however, Grey [3rd Earl] became Secretary for War and Colonies under Russell and Palmerston became Foreign Secretary; for a political estimate by Martineau, see [n.d.] BUL 1406; Jane had found the coach at Keswick full and walked the last sixteen miles to Waterhead arriving "tearful, nervous, in sordid clothes . . . and her eyes like those of a blind person," but she now came three times a week to have Martineau mesmerize her while *she* mesmerized the sick baby she cared for and taught the mother how to do it: *Auto.* 2: 255; the "tempting editorship" was probably from John Saunders, co-editor of *The People's Journal* (meant for unsophisticated readers): see Webb 266-69.

⁷ Martineau recorded the Commons' Repeal of the Corn Laws on 16 May, becoming law on 26 June 1846 (*HP* 2: 605-15, 667-80 and 682-86); *Auto.* 2: 258-64; [see chap. 28]; HM to Richard Cobden, 27 and 31 December 1845, *CL* 3: 33-34 and 37.

⁸ HM to Milnes, 31 December [1845], *CL* 3: 35-37 (Crabb Robinson, also at the Wordsworths' for dinner, reported Martineau as "very communicative on Mesmerism;" the Monday before, he had taken her to meet Eliza Fletcher thinking the two ladies, both Whigs, ought to be good friends -- but Martineau swore by Lord Grey and Fletcher was an "out and out admirer" of Lord John: HCR to Thomas Robinson, 2 January 1846 [*Robinson*, Sadler 3: 274-75]).

⁹ HM to Robert Peel, 22 and 24 February 1846, *CL* 3: 43-45 and 45-46; Robert Peel to HM, c. February 1843 [extract in Martineau's hand], *CL* 3: 47; HM to Richard Cobden, 24 February [1846], *CL* 3: 46-47.

¹⁰ HM to Milnes, 2 March [1846], *CL* 3: 48-49.

¹¹ HM to Cobden, Sunday night [1-2] and 11 March [1846], *CL* 3: 49 and Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cobden 17 (partly pbd., *CL* 3: 52-53).

¹² HM to TC, 5 March [1846], in private hands (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 49-50).

¹³ HM to Frances Ogden, 10 March [1846], *CL* 3: 51-52.

¹⁴ *Macready*, Toynbee [diary entry: "Ambleside, March 25th (1846)"] 2: 330-31 (Macready stopped first at Abbotsford, terming it a "disagreeable exhibition . . . of Scott's vanity").

¹⁵ William Howitt, "The People's Portrait Gallery. Harriet Martineau," *People's Journal* 1 (14 March 1846): 141-43 (Howitt's other "Portraits" were of men: Dickens, Wordsworth, Dr. Southwood Smith and Leigh Hunt, with engravings by Margaret Gillies who "improved" Martineau's face with plumper cheeks and a smile); for Jeffery/Howick, see HM to Grey, 29 March [1846], *CL* 3: 53-54.

¹⁶ HM to Grey [3rd Earl, formerly Lord Howick], 29 March [1846], *CL* 3: 53-54; Lady Grey, née Mary Elizabeth Ponsonby.

¹⁷ HM to Lady Pasley, 1 April [1846], BANC [Box 4] 28 (Martineau's 1855 directory [but not of 1854] lists a Vice Admiral Sir Thomas Sabine Pasley of Craig Foot, Windermere).

¹⁸ HM to WW, n.d., Dora Wordsworth's Autograph Album 44b, Dove Cottage Museum Library; WW to Anne Marsh, 3 May 1846, *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth. VII. A Supplement of New Letters*, ed. Alan G. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993): 254.

¹⁹ *Auto.* 2: 256; HM to Grey, 1 May [1846], *CL* 3: 54-55 (the "philosophers" were Gregory, Atkinson and Greg, the "subjects" included Martineau and Jane: see HM to Ogden, 10 March [1846], note 3); James Esdraile, *Mesmerism in India and Its Practical Applications in Surgery and Medicine* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman's, 1846).

²⁰ For HM to Grey, see last note; "Survey from the Mountain," "A Thought About Old and New Times," and "Survey from the Mountain, No. II," *People's Journal* 1 (April-May 1846): 303-305, 331-33 and 351-53; "Survey from the Mountain, No. III" [and No's. IV-VII], *People's Journal* 2 (May-June 1846): 19-20, (June-July 1846): 49-52 and 58, (July-August 1846): 120-22, (August-September 1846): 172-75, (September-October 1846): 247-49, "Ara Force" [a tale], *People's Journal* 3 (2 January 1847): 7; Martineau's essays on "Household Education" formed part of a larger series, "Homes for the People" [see Mary Leman Gillies, "Homes for the People. Introductory Chapter," *People's Journal* 1: 67-68]; "Household Education. No. I. Old and Young in School," *People's Journal* 2 (18 July 1846): 36-38, "--- ---. No. II. What the Schooling is For" (1 August 1846): 65-67, "--- ---. No. III. The Natural Possessions of Man" (5 September 1846): 128-30, "Homes for the People. --- ---. No. IV. How to Expect" (10 October 1846): 205-207, "--- ---. No. V. The Golden Mean" (14 November 1846): 274-76, "--- ---. No. VI. The New Comer" (19 December 1846): 345-47, "--- ---. No. VII. "Care of the Frame," *People's Journal* 3 (9 January 1847): 23-25, "--- ---. No. VIII. "Care of the Powers: Will" (13 February 1847): 90-92 (for Martineau's further contributions, see below).

²¹ HM to George Combe, 14 May 1846, *CL* 3: 58-59; possibly Combe's impressionistic: *An Address delivered at the Anniversary Celebration of the Birth of Spurzheim, and the Organization of the Boston Phrenological Society. December 31, 1839* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon and Webb, 1840); HM to HCR, 21 May 1846, *CL* 3: 60-61; in her autobiography, Martineau told of seeing that sods had been cut from Loughrigg terrace above Waterhead and asking Wordsworth if she might "get sods from the mountain" to cover the base of the Knoll where carts bringing stone and wood for her house had destroyed the grass, but Wordsworth warned that the fells belonged to the dalesmen and that it required "100 years to replace turf so cut;" then on four successive nights, sods were left under her "boundary wall," the last accompanied by a "dirty, wafered note," from "two poachers," professing to be grateful for her *Forest and Game Law Tales*. Written and spelled as if by an ignorant person, the note was "instantly

pronounced" by Whately (staying at Fox How) to be written by an educated person, judging by "the evenness of the lines," Wordsworth having perhaps instigated the gift himself (*Auto. 2*: 233-34).

²² HCR to Mary Wordsworth, 2 June 1846, DWL, HCR corr. 1846 28a-b; HM to HCR, 16 June [1846], *HM/FL* 158; Martineau's aunt (née Ann Dorothy Clarke), widow of Philip Meadows Martineau, lived with her daughter Fanny at Bracondale.

²³ Mary Howitt, "Public Exhibitions. The Hutchinson Family," *People's Journal* 1 (25 April 1846): 225-29 (with an illustration by Margaret Gillespie); "Lake and Mountain Holidays . . . No. I. The Hutchinson Family in Grasmere," *People's Journal* 2 (4 July 1846): 1-3 (a postscript quoted Hartley Coleridge's sonnet on the Hutchinsons' singing of Tennyson's "May Queen"); see HM to Mary Carpenter, 11 June [1846], *HM/FL* 156-57.

²⁴ HM to Mrs. Sydney Smith, 27 June [1846], *CL* 3: 62; Sydney Smith, *Sermons Preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, the Foundling Hospital, and Several Churches in London; together with Others Addressed to a Country Congregation* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846); see Sydney Smith, *A Sermon on Those Rules of Christian Charity, by which Our Opinions of Other Sects Should be Formed, Preached before the Mayor and Corporation, in the Cathedral Church of Bristol, On Wednesday, November 5, 1828* (London: T.J. Manchee, n.y.).

²⁵ HM to Richard Cobden, 12 July [1846], *CL* 3: 68 (Martineau in fact showed Cobden's letter to friends [see below] and boasted of her act); in two "Lake and Mountain Holidays" she described a three-day walking tour with "Miss S." and "Master Bob" (Susan and Robert, Robert's children), from the Swan Inn in Grasmere by way of Calder Abbey and Wast Water and back -- showing her new familiarity with places and describing odd habits of locals (see note 27).

²⁶ Through Martineau, Wordsworth thanked Carpenter for "her beautiful drawing of Rydal Lake;" WW to HM, 24 July [1846; source not identified]; Catherine Winkworth was a noted translator of German hymns and Susanna of German biographical and theological works.

²⁷ HM to FW, 3 August [1846], *HM/FW* 89-93 (a James Dawson, JP, is listed at Wray Castle, Ambleside, in R. Grigg, *Harriet Martineau's Directory of the Lake District 1855* [Culcheth, Warrington: Beewood Coldell, 1989]); *The Billow and the Rock. A Tale* (an historical romance set in Scotland at the time of the young Pretender, published as *Knight's Monthly Volume* [London: Charles Knight, 1846]); "Lake and Mountain Holidays . . . No. II." and "Lake and Mountain Holidays . . . No. III." [on the walking tour to Wastwater], *People's Journal* 1 (8 August 1846): 72-74 and (12 September 1846): 149-50; for Martineau's essays on "Household Education," see Hoecker-Drysdale 104-7; Charlotte Tonna, *Mesmerism: A Letter to Miss Martineau* (London: Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1844).

²⁸ *Auto. 2*: 249-53; Fuller was travelling with the liberal Quakers Marcus and Rebecca Spring, formerly of Brook Farm; for their stay, Martineau arranged a cottage near The Knoll, "cheerfully calling on them every morning to tell them of her plans for them that day" (Capper, 284).

²⁹ HM to FW, 8 September [1846], *HM/FW* 92-93.

³⁰ JWC to TC, [7 September], and 31 August 1846 *Carlyle Letters* 21: 44-46 and 34-35; TC, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches. With Elucidations* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1845).

³¹ *Auto. 2*: 270-72 (Martineau's calling the Yates sisters "my old friends" perhaps affirmed that James's devoted parishioners could also be loyal to *her*; Yates had developed Prince's Park, where James's house stood, and gave £50,000 for public parks in Liverpool; his wife was Anne Yates, née Simpson); the Yates party had planned to meet Joseph Christopher Ewart (an old

Etonian, later MP for Liverpool) at Malta (for the Yates sisters, see chap. 6, note 35 and Webb 287-88); Ewart's father, William, was a Liverpool merchant; his elder brother, William Ewart, was MP for Liverpool.

³² HM to HCR, 18 September 1846, *CL* 3: 69; *Auto.* 3: 265-66; HM to Moxon, 19 September [1846], *CL* 3: 70 (Moxon was to play a crucial role in publishing Martineau's account of her journey, *Eastern Life, Present and Past* [henceforth *EL*]: London: Edward Moxon, 1848], partly rptd. Logan, *The Pickering Masters. The Middle Eastern Question* 2 and 3); HM to Eliza Fox, Saturday noon [October 1846], *CL* 3: 71 (but see chap. 32, note 11).

³³ TC to John A. Carlyle, 25 September and 8 October 1846, TC to Margaret A. Carlyle, 16 November 1846, *Carlyle Letters* 21: 55-57, 71-74 and 92-93.

³⁴ WLG to Helen E. Garrison, 10 September 1846 and WLG to Samuel J. May, 19 December 1846, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison* 3: 407 and 462 (Garrison succeeded in forming the [radical] Anti-Slavery League in Britain).