

Chapter 32

Carlyle on Martineau: "Life, Loquacity, Dogmatism, and Various 'gospels of the East-Wind'" (1847-1848)

Leaving Beirut for Alexandria, the party retraced their original route, traveling to England via Malta and (probably) Marseilles and across France, Ewart staying on in Malta. By Saturday June 12th, the Yates had evidently delivered their guest to the Richard Martineaus.

Martineau quickly dashed off notes to friends, asking Lady Grey, for example, about Lady Elgin, from whom she had heard "on the Nile" but had had "no news since Xmas." Might she call "any morning" on Lord Grey "on a matter on which his opinion would be of great value?" Lady Grey replied, and Martineau promised to call to have a "half an hour's" conversation on Thursday or Friday. "How bewildering London is after Petra & Baalbec!" she confessed: "But it is a place for obtaining one's objects, & I shall be relieved of some anxious thoughts after having seen you and Lord Grey."¹

Staying on with her cousins at 17 Westbourne St., Sussex Gardens, Martineau invited friends to a party the following Friday evening. Milnes - whose last note had reached her at Malta - was invited for an alternative dinner on Thursday at 6:30. The Wedgwoods must come *early*, she begged, that we may have a word before the others arrive." In Paris she had "looked for M^{rs} Rich's address at Galignani's" without success. Had Fanny's brother and his wife Molly "gone to S^t Kit's" as she saw at Cairo he was to do? To Jane Carlyle, Martineau announced gaily "Here I am, - safe & well."²

(Jane had claimed, while Martineau was away, "I drink a tumbler of cold water and take a short walk every morning before breakfast - a la Harriet Martineau - to strengthen my nerves for the worst!"³)

The Carlyles were invited for Friday, and Martineau warned:

Don't be shocked, if you see me as brown as my portmanteau, & having forgotten the usages of civilized life. During our many weeks in the desert, we felt as if we c^d never again remember how to behave ourselves in England.

(The day after the party, Carlyle told his mother that they had seen

Miss Martineau this very morning [who] can take *tobacco* in a mild form: perfectly well in health . . . but nearly turned in her head with several things, *self-conceit* above all . . . and wearies me very much with her talk!

To Browning, Carlyle declared Martineau proved "full of life, loquacity, dogmatism, and various 'gospels of the east-wind.'"⁴

Martineau continued writing notes, calling on and entertaining friends - and sent John Murray her book proposal. "I shall be very happy to publish any work of yours & to give you for an Edition 2/3^{ds} of the profits," Murray replied, "by notes at 8 months date from the day of publication." He also sent sheets of a new edition of Wilkinson to be called *Hand-Book for Travellers in Egypt* for Martineau to scrutinize. "Wilkinson . . . will have the benefit of your remarks," Murray wrote, he had purposely "left out in this Edition the passage relating to the Fellahs." Martineau, he hoped, would not confine her work "to serious dissertations but enliven it . . . with your own first impressions. . . . though these sh^d have been already published

in the Peoples Journal" [sic]. His terms, Martineau responded, were "those on w^h I have published for many years past." Murray's father had "repeatedly said . . . he wished to publish some work of mine, soon or later, - partly to obviate the notion that he was exclusively allied with any party or coterie." (Making a copy of her letter, Martineau suggestively mentioned her "excellent friend M^r Moxon.")

On June 19th, Murray agreed to publish her Eastern travels: three volumes would be easier to sell than two if the material was good. He would try to provide the books on her list - "a translation of Lepius Letters [being] noticed in todays Athenaeum" [sic]. If she did not object, he would announce her new work in the *Quarterly*.⁵

Three days later, Martineau left London for two weeks' stay in Norfolk. Back in town, she penned a letter from Elisabeth Reid's home in York Terrace to James's wife, Helen, thanking her and Basil (now eight) for their letters. Russell must let her know about the "Mummy cat w^h I brought him [delivered by the Yates]. It was clean & inoffensive when I got it: & I hope it will keep." Ellen must have given out the other "trifles," and if explanations were needed, she would give them when she passed "through L.pool on [her] way home, in the first week of Oct^r." Pouring out further news to Helen and thus James, she reported that Archdeacon Spooner had taken The Knoll for his daughter and her family, who Martineau now found were "tenants of M^{rs} Reid's at her Grenville Street house here [Dr. John Reid's former premises]."

Margaret Davy had claimed that Martineau's house at Ambleside was a favorite with dignitaries of the Church, and Martineau *hoped* they would read James's (Unitarian) works left for them in her library. Last evening at a "little party," she agreed to meet a group of Darbishes at the Egyptian Hall on Piccadilly to explain Brunetti's model of Jerusalem to the young people. Disraeli's just published *Tancred* seemed "a fantastic jumble," proving he had never been to the old city, so *he* should be there. (Chorley claimed Disraeli *had* visited Jerusalem in 1835 but had forgotten things, perhaps explaining his mistakes about the setting moon, and putting water into Bethesda and "Zion on the wrong side of the city &c &c.")⁶

Rather drily, Martineau said she was glad James and Helen knew Borrowdale so well. Russell and one sister must come to stay with *her* and walk over Sty Head or from Wastwater to Calder Abbey or - her favorite - Rotha Valley. Sad news at the lakes was of the Wordsworths' daughter, Dora, dying of tuberculosis, the poet not writing a line but tending his sister - pulling her in her chair, warming her feet and talking to her all day. Helen must "please let Ellen know of this letter, as I am *very* busy." Happily, Ellen's *promising* children were spending the "dangerous months . . . in the pure free air of Bracondale, with its good milk."

"We had the Bancrofts here last ev^g (Amerⁿ Minister.)," Martineau ended to Helen.

What a change in *him* since I was his guest in his beautiful Massa^{ts} village [Amherst], when he was full of his admirable his^y!

Bancroft had a second wife,

(a vast improvem^t over his first, - & a woman I much admired at Boston;) [while] *he* is a lowered man in every way [having left] the writing of a noble his^y for the work of annexing Texas & mak^g war on Mexico!

However, his coming last night was fortunate, as he and the editor of the *People's Journal* (John Saunders) arranged "about some capital subjects . . . tending to peace & good fellowship." She wished to remind Ellen of a charity commission [?] and sent love to her mother and Russell (but not James).⁷

Dora Wordsworth died early in the morning of July 9th, and Martineau expressed condolences to Mary, her mother, love to "Miss Fenwick" and "respectful & sympathizing regards" to Wordsworth. In an effort to be kind to Mary, she added [a bit ineptly] that "your years . . . ensure that your separation cannot be long."⁸

Still at York Terrace, Martineau dispatched a quick "letter" to the *People's Journal* in support of the penny subscription to purchase Shakespeare's house at Stratford on Avon: further information to be had from "C.H. Bracebridge, Esq., The Hall, Atherstone, Warwickshire."

Now poring over "authorities" to help with her eastern travels book, Martineau wrote eight descriptive pieces on "The Holy Land" for the *People's Journal*. Reminding unsophisticated readers of the Biblical significance of varied sites, she included details like the fields of buttercups surrounding ruined temples in Palestine, the travelers' resting on a Turkish tomb before departure, their watching a humble Arab fill his water skins where "proud Romans" once built siege towers and the blossoming orange trees in Jenin - a place unfriendly to strangers. Discounting tales told by the monks, Martineau was nevertheless thrilled to be walking through Nazareth on streets where Jesus must have stepped. The *People's Journal* articles (serving as drafts for her account of travel in the last half of *Eastern Life*) appeared over several months in 1848.⁹

Throughout the ten weeks on the Nile and her travels in the Sinai, Palestine and the Lebanon, Martineau had enjoyed leisurely periods to think about the implications of what she was experiencing. "All the historical hints I had gained from my school days onward now rose up amidst a wholly new light," she declared in her autobiography. The plan of a book had come suddenly on a day when she had the "face-ache," passing through "the dreariest part of the desert, between Petra and Hebron, - not far from the boundary of Judea." When the gentleman riding beside her (Ewart, or one of the clergymen?) heard of her inspiration, he responded with gentle scepticism that it might not be her *final* plan. She insisted, however, that she meant to "illustrate the genealogy . . . of the old faiths, - the Egyptian, the Hebrew, the Christian and the Mohammedan." She felt clear about "the historical nature and moral value of all theology whatever," and that a progression through these faiths was natural and necessary to men.¹⁰

In addition to her main authorities on Egypt, Wilkinson and Lane, Martineau consulted an astonishing range of works. As proved by her footnotes for "Part I. Egypt and Its Faith," she looked at Herodotus, Cudworth, Bacon, Abdallatif, Bunsen, Plutarch, Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Bayle, Larcher, Payne Knight, Champollion, Niebuhr, Milnes's poem on "the mosque," the *Pictorial History of Palestine*, *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, an article on the Coptic language in the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, a paper delivered by the Reverend Dr. Abeken before the Egyptian Society of Cairo, and the Bible. For "Part II. Sinai and Its Faith," she consulted *Origen against Celsus*, the Koran, Laborde, Burckhardt, Dr. Robinson, Bishop Warburton, Kitto, Hooker and Captain Mangles; for "Part III. Palestine and Its Faith," she added Salvador, Philo, Josephus, Eusebius, Taylor in Calmet's "Dictionary to the Bible" and *A History of the Hebrew Monarchy* (London: Chapman); and for "Part IV. Syria and Its Faith," she briefly quoted Carlyle, Sir Thomas Brown[e] and Sir James Mackintosh - altogether an impressive regimen of reading.

Through July and August, Martineau stayed with friends and family. On 1 September, she left a note with the Huttons of Putney Park for Emerson, who was coming to England. On the 12th from the Knights' at Walpole Lodge, St. John's Wood, she sent Murray three possible titles for her new work, now sure to reach three volumes: "Eastern Life, Present & Past. View & Retrospect of some Eastern Lands. The Nile, the Desert, & the Holy Hills."

In mid-September, she dashed off a letter to Eliza Fox about an engraving of her portrait to give Saunders "to replace the atrocious one by Miss Gillies in an early N^o of his [*People's*] journal" (although Saunders admired Eliza's drawing of Martineau, "as does almost every body," he complained mildly of "a variety of opinions about the likeness"). On a Friday, Martineau was "going into Kent for a week," then to Robert's at Birmingham for a fortnight, to Liverpool for two or three days, and home on 11 October. "If you should come again, dear Eliza," she urged, "it will give me great pleasure," as well as (to) other "Lakers" like Margaret Davy - recently "in great anxiety about her absent husband" recovering from "an alarming illness." Margaret's elder sister had married Sir John Richardson "of North Pole celebrity," Martineau went on, "a marriage which seems to please every body." Arnolds were well, and the Wordsworths recovering from their loss. *She* had received "the most charming present that any body c^d give," a sundial for her terrace.

A week later, Martineau wrote reassuringly to Eliza from Sevenoaks in Kent describing her "7 o'clock morning walks among the magnifi^t beeches, & in the park among the deer." These walks were delicious, but she hoped "for better still beside the Rotha" (at Ambleside).¹¹

From Birmingham, Martineau told the Yates she hoped to see them on her last Saturday evening in Liverpool. Ewart had been invited, but was hardly ever home, having travelled in Greece after their trip. Would Mr. Yates please have her trunk with key (containing her warm clothing, etc.) delivered to the Miss Humbles', Blackburn Terrace, to meet her when she came "in the middle of Friday?" She and her maid were to go home early Monday and had much to do. "With love to M^{rs} Yates" she ended.¹²

In early November, Martineau bid Emerson "welcome to Old England." Would he "do me & my neighbours the honour of coming to see us: - & if you will, when[?]" At The Knoll, he would have her sitting room for "thinking, writing or reading," and they might walk "& see the Wordsworths . . . or other good folk." The mountains were intimate friends of hers too, and she was *sure* he would like their acquaintance. "By railway from Liverpool to Windermere, you make the journey in 4 or 5 hours," she explained, and from the station "an omnibus waits which will bring you . . . to my very door, if you so tell the driver." She worked early in the day, then worked at training her strawberry bed or weeding her terrace. For mental leisure, it was good "to think of people as unlike as possible to the Pharaohs the latter part of the day," and she would be pleased to hear about Lidian and the little girls. She was pleased too that Emerson had met her "poor mother" and knew something of her "beloved & inestimable sister Ellen Higginson." (Catherine Turner having begged "a line of introduction" to Emerson, Martineau described her as a widow in comfortable circumstances leading "a noble life . . . as an Educator . . . taking nice little girls into her home & heart.")¹³

Immersed in the weighty reading for *Eastern Life*, Martineau turned to Atkinson for theological and philosophical advice. Suggestively, she described the mist around the mountain ridges or rising from the lake in the early mornings when she climbed the hill behind the church and saw "the morning star [and] the amber clouds of approaching sunrise." Those early walks

prepared her for "*very serious work*." She had been "struck with the diversity of men's views," yet how was one to learn "if those who have travelled "to the birth-places of the old world" do not report what they have found? Tomorrow she aimed to begin her sketch of the history of Egypt; today she was re-reading "Heeren and Warburton" but objected to their conclusions about Moses. "I am pretty confident that I am right in seeing the progression of ideas through thousands of years," she boasted. While feeling alone, she had faith enough for "self-government and support." Would Atkinson wish to come and meet Emerson?¹⁴

(Martineau's letter interested him "*extremely*," Atkinson replied. He supported her notion that man and "his opinions are evolved in due course" and that she would do good if she could trace "the origin and progress of opinion in Egypt." He had designed to do this himself in an introduction to a contemplated work (!). Knowing that a position of freethinking could be lonely, he declared a "noble path" lay before Martineau, "and stern necessity bids you accept unmoved what was 'designed' - for you from all time - that link of being in which you think and act." In a postscript, Atkinson added that what people thought his "pride" came from loneliness and "non-sympathy with the opinions of others," but he would *like* to meet Emerson. What was to be the motto on her sundial?¹⁵

Wordsworth approved the motto: "Come, light! visit me!" she boasted. Their thinking (hers and Atkinson's) was similar - recognition of the "good of the old superstitions in their day," their necessarianism, and the inadequacy of current religions. She found resignation under suffering, but she loved approbation. Emerson was "engaged (lecturing) deep at present," but she hoped to see them together.¹⁶

Working on *Eastern Life* through the end of the year and into 1848, Martineau alternated long sections taken from "authorities" with her travel narrative. In "Part I. Egypt and Its Faith," readers were swept from England to the second cataract of the Nile with details of Egyptian history, geography, sociology, economics, religion, architecture, dress, food, roads, furniture, interiors, human and animal behavior and social life. The two following chapters were "Historical Sketch, from Menes to the Roman Occupation of Egypt" (IX) and "Aboo-Simbil. - Egyptian Concepts of the Gods" (X). Readers were then taken down the Nile to Cairo, with a summary of contemporary Egyptian affairs. In "Part II. Sinai and Its Faith," Martineau alternated Biblical accounts of Moses with her own travels that followed in his footsteps; in "Part III. Palestine and Its Faith," she mingled Jewish and Christian history with her travel account; in "Part IV. Syria and Its Faith," she focused on the vicissitudes of the journey as well as on her enjoyment of the experience. Citing Wilkinson (and Lane, for the spelling of names) as well as classical writers on Egypt, she assured readers that hers was an authentic up-to-date account that might awaken others to the ideas that had become clearer to her. As an emotional possession, travel could bring satisfaction.¹⁷

Sending Murray the completed manuscript of probably her first two volumes (up to the arrival at Petra) on 7 February, she received next day a cordial note saying he had "dipped into" the work, which seemed "very promising." He and his wife would "have real pleasure" in coming to visit her. Murray's next letter, of 25 February, expressed his very *different* opinion of the work. At first, he had only had time "to discover how pleasing and attractive" the narrative was, "& I scarce know any journal w^h conveys a more graphic picture of the country described." But a careful reading had shown, to his very great sorrow, "that a large portion of the work is of such a nature that I cannot possibly publish it." He knew of his father's wish to publish a work

by her and her assurance that she "'had now one *entirely suited* to Albemarle St' [a statement Martineau later denied], but indeed my dear Lady you are entirely mistaken & I cannot publish this work." He never, he said, interfered with authors' opinions or proposed alterations or omissions, but he could not have considered publishing the work had he "anticipated these . . . insurmountable objections."

In her autobiography, Martineau claimed she had "made an agreement with Murray in the autumn" and "explained to him, in the presence of a witness [Lucy Martineau, her cousin], even with reiteration," the plan of the book. On the Monday after Murray's last letter, Martineau snapped that the matter could not rest there, but "I must put before you the case of your own honour <w^h you appear to be strangely in danger of forgetting>." His offer had been for "a certain share of the profits," without "any condition" about seeing the manuscript. Under a possible "different kind of agreement, for a sum down," he *would* have had to see the manuscript. When he attentively reviewed all these particulars, she exploded, he would see that having announced himself as the publisher, he had no "option whether to publish this book or not."

(Murray countered that she had given no hint "it was a work of infidel tendency, having the obvious aim of depreciating the authority & invalidating the veracity of the Bible," and he must "adhere to the resolution . . . of not being the publisher of such a work.")

Raging, Martineau answered that retreat from his "positive engage^{mt}" would bring more injury "than any one but yourself c^d do you." In a final blast, she declared: "I sh^d have taken steps to compel you to fulfil your positive engagement [sic]." She *regretted* his "presumptuous & immature decision on the character of the work," his beginning their negotiation "as a man of business, & breaking it off as a Censor of the press."¹⁸

(Emerson had been staying at The Knoll when Murray's letter of 25 February came and reported blandly to Carlyle that Martineau was "annoyed by the hesitations of Murray to publish her book;" to Margaret Fuller, he said he had found "Harriet Martineau loaded to the lips with her Eastern Travel" and intending to hold Murray to his bargain. "From her own account of it," Emerson thought the work should be "highly interesting & widely read").¹⁹

Just the week before Murray's bombshell, Martineau had avowed cheerfully to Fanny Wedgwood:

I am up at 6:00, and after cold bath and two tumblers of cold water, I walk two miles or so before my breakfast, - at 1/2 past 7. I am at my work by 1/2 past 8, - household business done, - and write till 2 or 3; then walk again, or garden; and write letters and read in the evenings, and am scarcely ever tired.

Now she wanted to hear about the Wedgwood circle, especially Snow (aged 15), Erasmus, and Charles and Emma Darwin. "I suppose you are all thinking a good deal of foreign politics at present; - now that Canning's 'War of Opinion' is clearly coming on" (i.e., a conflict between belief in freedom versus despotism). "Even we think much about it, - intent as we are on our little fat pigs, and young pullets . . . and crocuses coming into blow." Happily, Margaret Davy had planted a jessamine against her porch before she went away.

"Can you tell me about 'Jane Eyre,' - who wrote it?" Martineau went on. "I am told I wrote the 1st vol: and I don't know how to disbelieve it myself [and] cannot help feeling that the writer must know not only my books but myself very well . . . and the way in which the heroine comes out without conceit or egotism is . . . perfectly wonderful." Meanwhile, *her* book was to

be out before Easter. "If you see M^{rs} Jenny [Carlyle]," she ended snippily, "try and find out if she remembers that such a person as H.M. exists."²⁰

Within an hour of opening Murray's letter, Martineau explained candidly to Moxon why Murray was failing to honor their contract. The substance of her argument had come from Wilkinson, but Murray was hampered by his clerical connection and his publication of the (Tory) *Quarterly Review*. Murray *had* praised the book, but his *un*-travelled clergy would no doubt object to her Old Testament references (all he had so far seen). Other people (the Yateses?) felt no surprise at her attempting to trace the roots of Christianity back to the religion of ancient Egypt. Clergymen of the last century - Warburton and Cudworth (two of her authorities) - had written on the subject. If Moxon was interested, the book "can be got out, easily, before Easter;" of three volumes, she had "only half a vol: to write." For "domestic objects," however, she needed a sum down.

(In answer, Moxon specified that for an edition of 1,500, he could pay "£500 in bills this spring" and for an edition of 2,000, he could give £750. However, the number of recent books on the East in addition to works by Kinglake and Thackeray, like those by Sophia Poole [Edward Lane's sister] and Thomas Wilson, made it inadvisable "to strike off a large edition." He would print "1250 copies" at his own risk, he said, giving her "on the day of publication £250 [and] £50 for every 100 copies that we may sell above 750.")

In her autobiography, Martineau exulted that after further bargaining Moxon agreed to "take the risk, and give me two-thirds of the profits." By 27 March, Moxon had the rest of the manuscript "together with the Preface" to insure that the book might be "in the hands of all your friends in the Easter week."²¹

Martineau's preface to *Eastern Life*, dated 25 March 1848 (unusually) named the Yateses and Ewart as her companions. Suppressing names of other fellow travelers, she hoped her narrative would remind them pleasantly of "our five weeks' abode in the desert." Sir G. Wilkinson, "a daily benefactor to us in Egypt" for his "almost faultless correctness," was found to be wrong in "only about a half-a-dozen points," and the spelling of names and places in Egypt and Arabia came from Lane, who knew that study "better than any one."²²

Proofs of *Eastern Life* kept her busy for three to six hours a day, Martineau told Emerson in April, though she should love to have him at The Knoll again. Next week she and a friend planned a walking trip to Keswick and Borrowdale, perhaps coming home over the Langdale Pikes. Grousing over Murray, she scoffed that he published works on Egypt by Bunsen and Wilkinson, who had proven the (pre-Old Testament) age of the pharaohs, but gave *her* up rather than Creation. She thanked Emerson for inquiring of Wiley and Putnam (American publishers with a London branch). Harpers in America had shown interest in an American edition, but Moxon thought they would stand up for "Creation" too, so she might have to accept £20 from Carey and Lea of Philadelphia. Did he want his copy sent to him when it came out in two weeks, or would he call at Moxon's, 44 Dover Street, Piccadilly?

Today her mind was full of the Arnolds, she went on to Emerson. Unsettlingly, the "young afflicted M^{rs} Twining," whose husband had died just a year ago Sunday, was to be married again next Saturday. Emerson's visit had been a great pleasure: she had thought of him "in frequent alternation with thoughts of the noble Milanese & promising Germans," yet had "fears for the poor French."²³

(When Crabb Robinson saw Emerson for the first time in April his "dislike vanished." Emerson's countenance seemed "a combination of intelligence and sweetness" that disarmed him. In June he listened to Emerson's first lecture, "On the Laws of Thought," and was left with "a dreamy sense of pleasure." To his brother he quoted Martineau that Emerson, "'without convincing anybody's reason of any one thing, exalts their reason, and makes their minds worth more than they ever were before'"²⁴).

In London, Martineau wrote to Emerson's wife, Lidian, asking if she was not glad he could be in Europe "at a time so interesting" - though she supposed "the revolutions have prevented his going to Paris." When he came home, Lidian must make her husband lecture about "the Irish connexion." Whatever his views, he was "always mild" and would "put some philosophy (i.e., sense)" into people's minds, for Americans needed information. Just now *she* had been "called hither . . . summoned *to work* and then to carry work home "in about ten days."²⁵

"The same mail which brought back my MS. from Mr. Murray brought the news of the flight of Louis Philippe," Martineau recorded rather grandly in her autobiography, spurring "a terrible panic about . . . the threatened Chartist outbreak." Letters poured in, "appealing" to her for help. One letter from "the wife of a Cabinet Minister, an old acquaintance [Lady Grey]," wrote with her husband's sanction, "to ask me, to use my power over the working-classes, to bring them to reason." Flattered by Grey's request, Martineau at first temporized: she must send back the proofs for *Eastern Life* by the 14th, she had "two pieces of work engaged for" and was "fatigued with a winter of pretty close labour." Moreover, she felt out of touch with politics and with popular leaders and what working people were reading and thinking. Her writings had never penetrated to the "turbulent class," but she could see by "the improved knowledge & temper" of the operative classes that "such writings have influenced them through the classes immediately above them." When she came to London, she told Lady Grey, her business would be

to see M^r J^{as} G. Marshall (who wrote to me only a fortnight since, about some means of giving information on social matters to people who want it so much): M^r Cobden, & other popular leaders.

Yet money would be needed "to purchase a newspaper or other periodical, or to provide writers, paper, printing &c." Unlike Lady Grey, Martineau, did not "despise or feel horror at the Five Points of the Charter, or the principles of the Communists & Republicans. (The Repealers I cannot at all understand.)" Some of the Chartists' principles were sound, and her sympathy for them might be an advantage. "Lord Grey's opinion that I could be of use" would be a stimulus.

Warming to the subject of Lady Grey's blindness, she thought she "ought to add a spontaneous word or two" about what "members of a Government are sometimes the last to hear." There was more danger "in such a speech as Sir G. Grey's [home secretary] about the game laws . . . an old aristocratic privilege which encroaches on the welfare of the public," than in any meeting on Irish repeal. Another misstep was "L^d John Russell's rash refusal to attempt to equalize the Income tax," for the middle classes were "not disposed to endure its present mode of imposition." In fact, the "bitter exasperation of some of his best supporters" would alarm him, though she almost feared this would make Lady Grey laugh. By contrast, she ended on a lighter note:

I am delighted to read your account of Lady Elgin . . . dancing a Scotch reel. I wrote

to her a few days before the French Revolution [the overthrow of Louis Philippe]. I hope she will not think I had a hand in it.²⁶

Scribbling hurriedly to Fanny Wedgwood that she would be "in town on Monday night," Martineau explained "I am called; and I must come, - to plunge into work again, - arduous and anxious work." She would be staying at least a month "at a *home* house . . . M^r Knight's," her latest letters, she and Mary Arnold decided, had left her no choice - though "I hardly dare look at my young trees, bursting into leaf, and the flower beds brightening every day, and the delicious mountains." Margaret Davy and her party had returned, she added, but Margaret was too feeble to walk from her home to The Knoll.²⁷

(Lady Grey had not changed her mind: "I wish I had found that we agreed more than we do in our opinions," she answered Martineau. The Chartists' march to Kennington Common "of Monday last" proved how little they could be trusted with political power, while the government *tried* to be fair about taxes and game laws. Lady Grey almost felt the Irish should be allowed to try governing themselves to show they could not do it, and she ended: "I have written to you as freely as you did to me").²⁸

Undeterred, Martineau argued the need to give "a greater portion of the people" political power for the sake of order. The Commons was *far* from representative, and "a vast work of concession & rectification lies before us all." All parties had behaved well on the previous Monday, and W. J. Fox's speech in the Commons had proved him worthy of "his great namesake." In London, she hoped to learn what she ought to undertake in the national emergency.²⁹

Martineau's new commitment was to help Charles Knight with a projected weekly, *Voice of the People*. Her contributions may have been the two-part story, "A Small Farm on the Nile" (about Egyptian peasants responsible for communal taxes who steal from each other and are flogged by the tax collector) and "A Swedish Mine" (about children who live in a mine hut and their new church). Knight later testified that Martineau had assisted him "most ably and strenuously" and had provided comfort for his *trying* to do something for the nation.³⁰

(In 1833, *The Times* published two police reports of a "Harriet Martineau" being charged with indecency and causing disturbances. No doubt as a prank, *The Times* now reported a member of the Chartist convention having declared that the press was not inimical to them and reading out a letter from "Harriette Martineau" offering to make up for his being maligned in the newspapers by "giving your wife a day's washing every week!")³¹

In mid-May, Martineau confessed to Lady Grey that nothing could be done "by such means as we had proposed." In London she had "obtained more information in three weeks" than she could get in Ambleside "in as many months" and had tried to help Knight. The middle class, however, did not want to be "roused to political action by any thing in print; nor to be bored with Polit^l Economy at such a time, & the Lower (educated) class has its mind made up to obtain reform." The upper classes in London were unconscious of the "workings of society in the heart of the country," while the "best sort" of men in the midland counties were proceeding "towards the political objects which no existing statesman dreams of granting, but which will assuredly be granted nevertheless."

Martineau then reeled off the reform measures sure to come, as well as future reform conflicts. In a letter *to her*, Lord Grey had once prophesied similar changes and had denounced the "intense selfishness [i.e., the Corn Laws] in the ruling classes," which would "draw down

upon their heads an awful punishment." Although she thought the ruling classes had become less selfish than in 1844, they were wanting in knowledge "of their own case, & that of the whole people." And she asked Lady Grey to put this letter "into Lord Grey's hand, some time when he has leisure to read it."

(The government was not "*ignorant* of the opinions of the people," Lady Grey answered Martineau in early June, the newspapers, public meetings, petitions, deputations and letters [anonymous and signed] keeping them well informed. Moreover, the aristocracy was *closer* to the poor than the middle class, who often treated servants badly, and the game laws were *not* always seen as an abuse. "I trust your expectations are very exaggerated," she ended, hoping not to live to see the upheavals Martineau had outlined).

Martineau quickly assured Lord Grey (to correct Lady Grey's "mistake" concerning her last letter) that she had simply reported what she "found the state of public opinion to be, as affecting the project of a periodical" and was *not* giving her "own political views." As for *Voice of the People*: "The "Whig touch perished it at once," she sniffed, the "official Whigs" whom she had just interviewed, having been "spoiled by the possession of place and power."³²

Fanny Wedgwood, counting on Martineau's knowledge of her Ambleside neighbors (probably in spring 1848) had begged for help in finding holiday lodgings for the Wedgwoods. "I am truly sorry to say I fear your letter arrives too late," Martineau first responded, but then scribbled that Mrs. Anthony Rollinshaw (wife of the boot- and shoemaker) had "8 rooms to let from 1st of August . . . 2 sitting rooms and 6 chambers." Fanny must let her know "*directly*" if they should be "enquired after." In another note, Martineau wrote "Now, dear Fanny, please listen to me. - I have been down to Waterhead, - to my nice, clever, excellent, lady-minded landlady [who] has nine rooms to let . . . for £4 a week," and would also cook. "Only think - we see your bairns fishing from that grass plat, - and if I have you sitting on this sofa!" Erasmus (often one of the Wedgwood party) might smoke there, though *she* couldn't "bear him company." Of other local news, Margaret Davy, worrying about her absent husband, seemed "sadly languid and nervous," her complexion "*grey*, and every fibre of her face . . . always working!" About *Politics for the People* sponsored by the Christian Socialists, Martineau "left M^s Davy and the Arnolds to judge wholly for themselves." Margaret Davy was "shocked, - and the Arnolds *much* disappointed." How could the managers believe that "the coaxing tone, and the want of sense [was] the way to address any body?"³³

While Martineau had stayed with the Knights in April, Knight revealed that he wanted her "not mainly for my assistance in [the] new periodical, but to carry on an old enterprise which had been dropped." Certain "difficulties" two years earlier had stopped publication of a *History of the Peace*: "the illness of [Knight's] partner, and his consequent withdrawal from our business," made continuing the work impossible, though he himself had written "a portion . . . embracing the annals of 1816-17." Martineau was tempted, but didn't "know at all" whether she could write history. Moreover, she had two other commitments - to complete the original design for a *volume* to be called *Household Education* for John Saunders and a chapter on the Lake District for Knight's illustrated "coffee-table" volumes, *The Land We Live In*.³⁴

Other new schemes beckoned too. Over the past year, Martineau must have regaled her friends and neighbors with stories of the Eastern journey. To Margaret Davy, she recalled Lant Carpenter's using "Maundrell's travels to teach the geography of the Holy Land." Davy "seized upon the idea, and proposed that I should give familiar lectures to the monitors and

best scholars of the national school." As recounted in her autobiography, Martineau's first uncertain lecture to "two or three rows of children and their school-mistress" was summarily stopped by the "incumbent," who objected to a dissenter speaking in the (Church affiliated) schoolhouse. Davy was disgusted by the Church bigotry and "went straight to the authorities of the [Methodist] chapel which stands at the foot of my rock and quickly got permission in writing for Martineau "to lecture in their school-rooms."

Thereafter until she became ill in 1855, Martineau lectured her poorer neighbors on subjects she knew from her studies: Egypt and the Holy Land, health and sanitation (including temperance), the history of England, Australia (notably, opportunities open to English women emigrants), the history of America and Russia (and the Crimean War).³⁵

On her early morning walks Martineau noticed seasonal changes in nature as well as homely details of her neighbors' lives. In a district known for its beauty the numbers of rundown, poorly drained houses shocked her. Characteristically taking action, she asked Edwin Chadwick for a copy of the government sanitary reports, and on 15 June outlined a great new enterprise to Lord Morpeth. In spite of good wages paid at Ambleside, disease, crowding, poor sanitary conditions, immorality, and drinking were common. No new laborers' houses were being built, and proprietors used the paucity of houses as a means of civic and religious oppression. She must act prudently, behind the backs of the anti-Wesleyan, Puseyist, blind clergy. After the Wesleyans lent her their schoolhouse for lecturing, she went on, a number of adults petitioned for a course. Now she lectured every Monday evening in the chapel, with the outer doors locked against strangers and gentry. She might be asked to speak on America, and she had another plan. If interest held and the gentry didn't stop her, she would propose a sanitary course for the winter, and hope to convince builders to improve drainage, ventilation, and water supply and to get built new cottages "by the dozen." If she ever earned £500, she would build two perfect ones with gardens in her own field, while "2 or 3 capitalists from a distance" would help to carry out her plan for a building society - a good investment at Ambleside because people had money and were honest. Three collaborators (possibly Margaret Davy, Frances Ogden and an Arnold daughter) were making lists of the worst houses, unhealthy families, landlords and tenures. Everything had to be done by ladies, or the gentry would take alarm. By lecturing, she hoped to stop drunkenness, and she wanted the lectures to become permanent evening meetings, to which she and Margaret Davy would bring travel mementos and get to know their neighbors. In her last talk, she gloated, she compared the Nile crew - who derived their "faculties" from work and the surrounding beauty - with local drunks, thereby embarrassing the local poacher and drunk.³⁶

Inviting the Yates to come from 7 to 20 June, when her house would be at liberty, Martineau explained that she worked to 1:00 in her study, but they would "have possession of the whole premises [and] find good entertainment in a situation of "such beauty." *Eastern Life* had had a gratifying reception, she vaunted a trifle prematurely. Lane's family believed her mention of him would be helpful, and the Duke of Northumberland was pleased. Did the Yates remember *Mr. Kerr*, who sat at the head of the table-d'hôte at Cairo? She had seen him in London (not remembering him) and had some amusing things to tell the Yates of him.³⁷

In early June, Martineau advised Moxon that though "some ripe scholars & philosophers" thought *Eastern Life* to be "true & sound," abuse of the work was about to begin. Admittedly, she had made two mistakes. The first was her description of "the mummeries of

Easter Week in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem" in which "two English clergymen and a lady were carrying wax-candles." The (Protestant) Bishop of Jerusalem *had* in fact given the clergymen leave to "attend the ceremonies, but not to carry a candle," which they had not known about beforehand. Secondly, her slander of Mrs. Romer involved Moses's (supposed) dwelling place in Egypt. Martineau had mistaken the *site* but had "promised the wrathful lady to put the right name into the next edition." That Romer connived at her dragoman's "picking & stealing," made her "all the more angry" because of Martineau's "several corrections [of Romer's] gross mis-statements." From a notice in the (Roman Catholic) *Rambler*, it was evident that *she* would be blamed for facts taken from her authorities, such as Bunsen on the age of the Egyptian monarchy. *Eastern Life*, she fancied, would "fare like the 'Vestiges'" - individual parts would be proved wrong but the *whole* would make a strong impression. Ewart had called that day, and he and the Yateses were "much gratified with the book."³⁸

Crabb Robinson read *Eastern Life* at the Athenaeum Club - though Martineau complained the book was not being *read* except by the reviewer in the *Rambler*. *That* two-part review, in May and June, professed to feel pain at Martineau's "continued assault" on revelation and her blasphemous statements, no doubt caused by hallucinations on the desert. Still (the reviewer felt), the author had not quite lost the "sweetness and gentleness of her woman's nature" and spark of faith.

Both the *Athenaeum* and the *Spectator* reviewed the work on 29 April. The first commented bemusedly that Titmarsh (Thackeray) had not seen anything like *this* and praised Martineau's comprehensiveness. The work was *substantial* (not silly, like Countess Hahn-Hahn's), the reviewer felt, though tainted by rationalism. The *Spectator* commended Martineau's travel narrative but called her historical fancies vulgar, the whole smacking of "book-making," splicing her journal account with the weighty, questionable views of others. Martineau, he sneered, always acted as someone else's mouthpiece.³⁹

Mixed reviews followed. In June the *New Monthly Review* traced Martineau's Nile journey and commended her intellectual picture of the East; in July both the *Edinburgh* and the *Westminster Review* lauded the work's historical detail and picture of contemporary Egypt but paid scant attention to the chapters on the Holy Lands. By September and October, reviewers with more time to study the work began to deliver unfavorable verdicts. *Tait's* termed Martineau gullible, the *Dublin University Magazine* called her views on the Bible nonsense and the *British Quarterly Review*, unsurprisingly, accused her of grappling with a subject "too large for her resources." In November, the Unitarian-favored *Prospective Review* regretted her seeming disbelief but (inconsistently?) applauded the book and praised her "deep and healthful spirit of reverence." In December, *Fraser's* (where a lampoon "portrait" of her had appeared in 1833) burst forth with "Fuss in a Book-Club. As Related by a Copy of Miss Martineau's 'Eastern Life,'" a hilarious warning of the book's "danger" to Church believers.⁴⁰

In *The Pipe of Repose: or, Recollections of Eastern Travel* (1849), Robert Ferguson sparred playfully with Martineau over details such as crossing Gaza by "'the safe road,'" rather than by way of Petra, and preferring "*soft sand*" for sleeping to the "*round pebbles*" she recommended. He decried her scorn for the Protestant mission at Jerusalem as well as her inscription in the visitors' book on Mount Carmel equating the "Religion of Nature" with the "Religion of Christ." Ferguson sent Wordsworth a copy of his book and received a heated reply:

"All I have to say [is] that you treated Mademoiselle Martineau with much more respect than She deserves. She is above measure conceited and self-opinionated."

Somewhat less astringently the following year, Catharine Sedgwick recorded in her journal that she had been "running over Harriet Martineau's *Eastern Travel* [which was] full of wonderful scene painting" but lacking the "poetry" of Fanny Butler. While she admired Martineau's clarity of outline, mastery of her subject and "vivid touches that light up the distant and the unknown," she did not like the "perpetual intrusions of her vanity" nor her unsound and false speculations.⁴¹

Despite the doubts and complaints of reviewers, *Eastern Life* apparently did not alienate friends like Mrs. Sydney Smith, who sent Martineau a "Parable" that pleased her. "I am as brown as a farm housewife, & stouter than I ever was in my life," Martineau exulted, adding that "one chief charm" of her house and field was attracting her "desperately hard-working" family, who were there at present (possibly Robert and his wife, Jane). Years later, Edward Lane thanked Martineau *in print* for helping him to secure a grant for his Arabic-English lexicon.⁴²

Writing rather stiffly to *Helen* again (rather than to James) Martineau asked if "some one of your numerous household will send me frequent bulletins of my mother's health." Neither Ellen, "worn with the charge of her delicate child," nor Rachel could "possibly do it," and their mother should not make the exertion - though "my aunts say her letters are very cheerful." Martineau would continue to write to her mother but would "be very glad if she c^d be removed to Birmingham." If not, "how obliged sh^d we all be . . . if she w^d see Sir A. Knight!" At Newcastle "poor Aunt Mary" had ceased to go out, unable to "bear a drive in a fly," and Lissey, herself seriously unwell, thought their aunt's end "approaching, - very slowly, but surely."

Martineau *disapproved* of James's plan to take his family to Germany for a year. "Berlin," she warned, "seems now more surely doomed to massacres in the streets than almost any place." Saxony, too, was bad. The British government "apparently made a disastrous mistake about arresting [the] Chartist leaders," she had learned, "the evidence being altogether too weak to convict them upon." For the Lakers, troubles on the Continent would simply mean a "terrible rush of tourists," every room being "bespoken" and a "sad scramble for butcher meat in August & Sept^r." *She* was buying fowls in preparation.

Passing through Borrowdale lately, she "looked in at Grange [for their aunts?]. Nice, clean house, & charming situation, but too cold for elders or indolent folk." *She* was happy to stay home all summer with Elisabeth Reid and her maid coming as guests.⁴³

Three weeks later Martineau told Helen that Elizabeth was sinking but had been taken to Birmingham. "What a comfort it is that she is in Rob^t's house!" Yet Robert himself was ill with flu and depressed by the bad business times. Martineau wished he would come to Ambleside, where Rachel had recuperated. This week she had begun a "great, long, glorious task" put into her "favoured hands" by Knight: the "Hist^y of the Peace, - the publicⁿ of wh^h is to extend over 30 months from October next." With a cartload of Knight's books, she could write it in her own library over this summer and the next.

Feeling herself an experienced elder sister and traveller, Martineau poured out a stream of advice for James's and Helen's proposed year in Germany: they would see dreadful things and must stay close to a river (for escape) and must not carry much cash. If they went to

Tübingen, as James planned, or close to Switzerland, the diet would disagree with the children. They must take arrowroot, sago and spices and do their own cooking. Milk and flour would be good, meat might have "abominable acids & grease," and wines of the country were "pleasant but treacherous." Reverting to *her* plans, she confided rather slyly: "As for more 'Playfellows' . . . I did fully intend to write some," but the reception of *Eastern Life*, "& the opening up of new opportunities . . . seem to point to a different line of work for me in the future." Had James read Laing's *Notes of a Traveller* (a survey of the social economies of Holland, Belgium, France, Scotland, Prussia, Switzerland and Italy)? She liked it for her present writing.⁴⁴

In early summer, Martineau's long promised articles on "The Holy Land" began to appear in the *People's Journal*. In late July, she knew Elizabeth was dying. Occupying herself with writing to family and friends (probably from Birmingham), she seemed unusually confused. "I am not sure of Eras's address . . . or I would write to him," she informed Fanny Wedgwood hurriedly. "She [Elizabeth] is a shade or two worse in one way, and better in another. M^r Shepherd admits *no* hope, but still Ellen will not give up, - nor will the 2 brothers who are here" (probably Alfred Higginson, Ellen's husband, and Robert, James having left for Germany). They had "*some* hope of a trained nurse from L.pool tonight," but it was "sadly uncertain."

Elizabeth, aged 78, died on 26 August and was buried in the Old Cemetery at Birmingham. In her autobiography, Martineau expressed satisfaction in the reconciliation with Elizabeth when she returned from the east, yet she had wanted her mother to see The Knoll (undeniable *proof* of her difficult daughter's modest worldly success).

Elisabeth Reid now came to stay with Martineau and arranged "quiet drives" to keep her friend "from being overwhelmed with visits from strangers."⁴⁵

¹ HM to Lady Grey, 13 and [14] June [1847], *CL* 3: 76 and 77 (Lady Elgin was Martineau's old friend Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, daughter of Lord Durham); Grey was to become secretary for war and colonies under Russell, and Martineau may have wanted to report on what she had seen of British policies in Egypt and Palestine like support for Selim Pasha and the poorly maintained consulate at Jerusalem.

² HM to Milnes, [?13 June 1847], *CL* 3: 76; HM to FW, Monday [?14 June 1847], *HM/FW* 94 (Galignani's, the publishers' reading room at Paris); Robert Mackintosh was appointed deputy governor-general for all the Leeward Islands.

³ HM to JWC, Monday [?14 June 1847], in private hands (Martineau may be hinting at her new view of Western religion); JWC to Helen Walsh, 23 May 1847, *Carlyle Letters* 21: 218-19.

⁴ TC to Margaret A. Carlyle, 19 June 1847, and TC to Robert Browning, 23 June 1847, *Carlyle Letters* 21: 236-38 and 239-41.

⁵ Murray to HM, 17, [after the 17th] and 19 June [1847], BUL MS Harriet Martineau 1183, 1182 and 1185; "(Copy)" HM to Murray, 18 June [1847], *CL* 3: 77; Sir Gardner Wilkinson, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Egypt; Including Descriptions of the Course of the Nile to the Second Cataract, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, and Thebes, the Overland Transit to India, the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, the Oases, &c. Being a New Edition, corrected and condensed, of "Modern Egypt and Thebes"* (London: John Murray, 1847).

⁶ HM to Helen Martineau, [8 July 1847], *CL* 3: 78-79 (among Martineau's gifts were [no doubt tiny] "bottles of water from the Jordan and from the Nile," causing Aunt Margaret Rankin to quip: "I cannot expect you to purloin a step of four feet long from the great Pyramid" but was

grateful for "the story of wonders from your own lips" [*Auto.* 3: 259]); Archdeacon William Spooner of Coventry, an Evangelical; *The Times* had announced a lecture on events from biblical and modern sources connected to the localities of "Brunetti's Model of Jerusalem" (7 April 1847: 3, col. 6); Benjamin Disraeli, *Tancred: or, the New Crusade* (London: Henry Colburn, 1847; part of Disraeli's political trilogy in which his hero travels to the east for spiritual enlightenment).

⁷ Borrowdale: celebrated by Wordsworth in *The Excursion*; Martineau's *Guide* (1855: 79-81) claims the natives there to be out of touch with modern times; Wordsworth's tender treatment of his sister seems a slap at James's failure to be similarly attentive; no signed articles by George Bancroft appeared in the *People's Journal*.

⁸ HM to Mary Wordsworth, 17 July 1847, *CL* 3: 80.

⁹ "Shakspeare's House," *People's Journal* 4 (28 July 1847): 79-80; see chap. 30, note 22, and "II. Bethlehem-Zion-Jerusalem;" "III. Jerusalem. The Temple;" "IV. Jerusalem. A Morning's Walk;" "V. Bethany and the Plain of Jerico;" "VI. The Jordan and the Dead Sea;" "VII. Jacob's Well and the Samaritans;" "VIII. Nazareth and Mount Carmel;" *People's Journal* 4 (31 July, 21 August, 11 September, 25 September, 9 October 1847, n.d. and n.d.): 65-67, 105-7, 134-35, 165-67, 185-86, 300-302 and 361-63.

¹⁰ *Auto.* 2: 278 and 279.

¹¹ HM to RWE, 1 September 1847, *CL* 3: 80 (for Emerson's arrival at the end of October 1847, see *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York: Columbia UP, 1939) 3: 422); HM to Murray, 12 September [1847], *CL* 3: 81-82 (oddly, there is an exact copy of the letter to Murray in Martineau's hand, addressed to Charles Knight (Bath Library)); HM to Eliza Fox, 14 September [1847] and Wednesday [22 September 1847], *CL* 3: 82-83 and 83 (Eliza apparently did not later want her portrait of Martineau to be engraved, perhaps dissatisfied with its unlikeness and sensitive about Fox's opposition to her artistic career); see Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women. Victorian Women Artists* (London: Routledge, 1993).

¹² HM to Richard Vaughan Yates, Sunday [?3 October 1847], *HM/FL* 159 (Martineau may have been avoiding James [and Ellen] in Liverpool; for an "M.A. Humble" who may have acted as companion to Martineau's mother: see HM to Helen Martineau, 12 June [1848], *CL* 3: 113-14).

¹³ HM to RWE, 5, 13 and 20 November 1847, *CL* 3: 85, 85-86 and 86 (in the event, Emerson delayed his visit until February).

¹⁴ HM to HGA, 7 1847, *Auto.* 2: 282-84; Arnold Heeren's various works of ancient history included that of the Egyptians; (18th-century) Bishop William Warburton, "The Divine Legation of Moses."

¹⁵ HGA to HM, 13 November 1847, *Auto.* 2: 284-88; on the sundial motto, see *Auto.* 2: 265-66.

¹⁶ HM to HGA, 21 November 1847, *Auto.* 2: 288-92.

¹⁷ Martineau ignored recent accounts like Alexander William Kinglake's *Eothen, or, traces of travel, etc., brought home from the East* (London: J. Ollivier, 1844) and William Makepeace Thackeray's *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo, by way of Lisbon, Athens, Constantinople, and Jerusalem . . .* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846); preface, *EL* 1: vii and *passim*.

¹⁸ Murray to HM, 8, 25 and 29 February 1848, BUL MS Harriet Martineau 1186, 1187 and 1188; HM to Murray, 27 February [1848], 3 March [1848], *CL* 3: 87-88 and BUL MS Harriet Martineau

1191; *Auto.* 2: 294-95 (Murray had stated that if she required "the copyright to be purchased," he could not make an offer until he had seen the manuscript).

¹⁹ RWE to TC, 29 February 1848, *Emerson/Carlyle*, Slater 439; RWE to Margaret Fuller, 2 March 1848, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* 4: 25-28.

²⁰ HM to FW, 18 February 1848, *HM/FW* 95-96 (Robert Browning [in Florence] hearing of Martineau's early morning cold baths and walks, exclaimed in mock horror that he should "keep away from that particular tract of country as long as there was a possibility of seeing such a vision 'in puris naturalibus' in combination with the rest of the wild nature of the neighbourhood" (Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Arabella Barrett, [c. 10 February 1848], *The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Her Sister Arabella*, ed. Scott Lewis [Waco, TX: Wedgstone, 2002] 1: 150 and note 9); revolutions in Italy, France and Germany erupted in 1848.

²¹ HM to Moxon, 1 March [1848], *CL* 3: 88-89; Moxon to HM, 8, 13 and 27 March 1848, BUL MS Harriet Martineau 1145, 1146 and 1147; *Auto.* 2: 295; Sophia Poole, *The Englishwoman in Egypt: Letters from Cairo, Written during a Residence There in 1842*, 3 & 4 (London: Charles Knight, 1844) and Thomas Wilson, Presbyter in the Church of England at the Church of St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich, *Nozrāni in Egypt and Syria* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846).

²² Preface, *EL* 1: v-vii.

²³ HM to RWE, 5 April [1848], *CL* 3: 95-96; for Borrowdale, see note 7; Christian von Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History* (wrongly cited in *Eastern Life* 1: 151); for Wilkinson, see note 5; Carey, Lea and Blanchard of Philadelphia reprinted popular English writers like Marryat, Bulwer Lytton and Thackeray; Martineau's work duly appeared in one volume as *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848); the Arnolds' second eldest daughter, Mary Twining, had evidently carried part of the manuscript of *Eastern Life* to Moxon in Florence; see "Revolution in Milan," *The Times*, 14 January 1848: 4, col. 5; for the proclamation of a French Republic and rioting in Munich, see articles in *The Times*, January-March 1848.

²⁴ HCR to Thomas Robinson, 22 April and 9 June 1848, *Robinson*, Sadler 3: 317 and 319.

²⁵ HM to Lidian Emerson, 25 April 1848, *CL* 3: 102 (Emerson did visit Paris where he met Alexis de Tocqueville).

²⁶ *Auto.* 2: 297-301; HM to Lady Grey, 8 April [1848], *CL* 3: 96-99; Martineau's writing engagements in April may have included parts of "The Holy Land" for the *People's Journal* (see note 9).

²⁷ HM to FW, 13 April [1848], *HM/FW* 96-97.

²⁸ Lady Grey to HM, 12 April [1848], DUL Archives and Special Collections, Papers of Maria, 3rd Countess Grey.

²⁹ HM to Lady Grey, 13 April [1848], *CL* 3: 100-101.

³⁰ "A Small Farm on the Nile" and "A Small Farm on the Nile (Concluded from No. I)," *The Voice of the People: and the Rights of Industry*, 1 and 2 (22 and 29 April 1848): 8-9 and 18-20; "A Swedish Mine," 1 and 13 May 1848: *Rights of Industry*, No. 2: 21-23; see Webb 274-75; Knight scorned the "delusions of the Chartists [and] moderate and sensible Reformers [that] the non-capitalist portion of the industrious classes were exclusively the People" and published--with assistance from writers not politicians nor anti-reformers--two issues of *Voice of the People* (22

and 29 April 1848), plus two issues renamed *The Rights of Industry*, 1 and 13 May 1848, before the journal failed: Knight, *Passages* 3: 87-88.

³¹ "Police. Martineau, Miss Harriet, for Disturbance," *The Times*, 5 and 13 July 1833: 6, col. 3 and 6, col. 5; "The Chartist Convention," *The Times*, 17 April 1848: 7, col. 1.

³² HM to Lady Grey, 15 May [1848], *CL* 3: 103-106; Lady Grey to HM, 2 June [1848], (see note 28; Martineau's exchange of letters with Lady Grey ended their friendship); HM to Grey, 4 June [1848], *CL* 3: 110.

³³ HM to FW, 23 May [1848], Tuesday evening [?30 May 1848] and Thursday night [?1 June 1848], *HM/FW* 97-98, 98-99 and 99-100; *Politics for the People*, published weekly from 6 May to 29 July 1848, treated questions like the suffrage, capital and labor, and government responsibility for the poor.

³⁴ *Auto.* 2: 301; Knight, *Passages* 3: 74; for *Household Education* (London: Moxon, 1849), see chap 33, note 4, and Webb 269-72; *The Land We Live In. A Pictorial and Literary Sketch-Book of the British Empire* [based on themes and regions with advice for travellers] (London: Knight, 1847-50; Martineau probably contributed "Windermere," 1: 65-80).

³⁵ *Auto.* 2: 301-303; probably Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jersalem; at Easter, 1697* (London: J. White, 1810); Martineau may have been influenced by W.J. Fox's lectures to working people at Holborn from 1845 to 1846 on the "English Wars . . . political and economic subjects [and] ethical and literary topics": see Mineka 201-202 (printed in *People's Journal* 1 [fourteen lectures, 3 January-11 April 1846]).

³⁶ HM to Morpeth, 15 June [1848], *CL* 3: 114-17 (in October 1848 Morpeth became the seventh earl of Carlisle).

³⁷ HM to Anne Yates, 19 May [1848], *CL* 3: 106-107 (for Lord Prudhoe [later 4th Duke of Northumberland], Lane's friend and supporter of his work on an Arabic-English lexicon, see below).

³⁸ HM to Moxon, 1 June [1848], *CL* 3: 109-110; *EL* 3: 74 and 2: 38; *Eastern Life* generally followed the route of Romer's *Pilgrimage*.

³⁹ HM to HCR, 8 June 1848, *CL* 3: 111-12; *The Rambler* 2 (27 May and 3 June 1848): 78-81 and 106-9; *Athen.*, 29 April 1848: 429-31; "Miss Martineau's Eastern Life," *Spec.*, 29 April 1848: 419-20.

⁴⁰ *New Monthly Magazine* 83 (June 1848): 195-204; *ER* 88 (July 1848): 32-61; *WR* 49 (July 1848): 314-33; George Troup, *Tait's* 19 o.s., 15 n.s., (September 1848): 604-15; *Dublin University Magazine* 32 (October 1848): 371-88; *British Quarterly Review* 8 (November 1848): 432-72; J. J. Tayler, "Miss Martineau's Eastern Life," *Prospective Review* 4, No. XVI (4 November 1848): 524-38; "Fuss in a Book-Club. As Related by a Copy of Miss Martineau's 'Eastern Life,' etc., etc.," *Fraser's* 38 (December 1848): 628-34 (for William Maginn's "portrait" of Martineau in *Fraser's* in 1833, see chap. 7).

⁴¹ Robert Ferguson, *The Pipe of Repose: or, Recollections of Eastern Travel* (London: John Ollivier, 1849): *passim*; WW to Robert Ferguson, 12 December 1848, *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth. VII. A Supplement* . . . 261-62; Sedgwick, Stearns 541.

⁴² HM to Mrs. Sydney Smith, 27 June [1848], *CL* 3: 117-18; for a grant of 200£ to Lane for his Arabic lexicon, see "The 'Arabian Nights,'" *The Times*, 29 January 1849: 6, col. 4; Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon . . . Comprising a very large collection of words omitted in the Kámoos with supplements to its . . . explanations, ample grammatical and critical comments,*

and examples in prose and verse, etc. ([Book I] London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1863-); for Martineau's calls on the ladies of Lane's household, see [2nd] "Memoir. 1842-1849 . . ." xxxiii; see *Auto.* 3: 260; Martineau noted that the "King of Prussia" encouraged Lane's Arabic lexicon, while the English government remained indifferent.

⁴³ HM to Helen Martineau, 12 June [1848], *CL* 3: 113-14 (Mary Rankin, Elizabeth Martineau's next younger sister, died 15 September); in spite of threatened nationalist uprisings against the government of the German confederation, James and Russell hoped to attend the university in Berlin; for Borrowdale, see note **7**.

⁴⁴ HM to Helen Martineau, 5 July [1848], *CL* 3: 118-20; Samuel Laing, *Notes of a Traveller, on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and Other Parts of Europe, during the Present Century* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842 [Laing's *A Journal of Residence in Norway* had furnished the background for Martineau's third *Playfellow, Feats on the Fjord*]).

⁴⁵ *Auto.* 2: 316-18 (Martineau's account of this time is unclear); HM to FW, Wednesday [July-August 1848], *HM/FW* 100; the Martineau family tombstone lies in the renamed Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham.