

## Chapter 33

### A Consummate Historian and the "Atkinson Letters" (1848-1852)

In her autobiography, Martineau admitted being dismayed on first opening the books Knight had been "collecting and forwarding" at "the quantity and variety of details." Reid had never seen her friend like this and became frightened. Yet, as she was to predict, writing *History of the Peace* prepared Martineau to take firm political stands in her career as a journalist. Indeed, her newly awakened self confidence caused the conservative Charles MacFarlane, one of the history's original authors, to condemn her influence on Knight's "impressionable, changeable, volatile mind."<sup>1</sup>

Among several projects currently weighing on Martineau were plans for lectures to neighbours that may have alarmed the trustees of the Free Grammar School at Ambleside, on health and sanitation. On 19 July in answer to their unsigned note, she acknowledged their establishment of free reading rooms and baths. She was leaving tomorrow for two months, she said, but the Mechanics of Ambleside must decide whether they would choose "to be under restrictions, in regard to the subjects of the lectures." She *knew no one* in Ambleside competent to lecture on mesmerism and clairvoyance or to study it, nor had she "ever heard it referred to in Ambleside in any such connexion."<sup>2</sup>

(In support of Martineau's plans for *practical* health measures and later a "draft report on the subject of suburban town drainage & one on house drainage," Edwin Chadwick [largely responsible for the Public Health Act of 1848] sent "sanitary" reports she should read. Reports on "absorbent walls, & the most economical means of prevention," fireplaces, chimneys, cesspools" and the "superior economy of the water closet, as well as comfort," were to follow. Would she let him know, Chadwick asked, how useful they would be in her neighbourhood?<sup>3</sup>)

Also pending was the volume of "Household Education" pieces requested by John Saunders, who had left the *People's Journal* after a quarrel with William Howitt. In September, Martineau begged Moxon to suggest a publisher for the pieces, saying she wanted the book to be well produced but cheap. She would let it go for £100, "reserving the copyright, and she sent all the existing articles--two-thirds of the whole, she thought, to be included with a number of those on "Intellectual Training," yet to be done, and all those on "Care of the Habits." Intended for all households, "from the Queen's, if she pleases, to the artisan's," they had brought her cheering letters showing their immediate results. But she had been so long out of London she did not know who was who in publishing and had (rather pointedly) asked his advice. The *Chronicle's* review of *Eastern Life* seemed silly, she added, except for its amusing contrast "of Cleopatra wafted down the Nile, & H.M. sailing up, - clear starching." She supposed there would be £50 for her by Christmas, "as I have to build a cottage for my farm gardener, - so great is the deficiency of cottages here." (By November, Martineau had received £50 to pay for the "cow & her shed." Proof-correcting for a reprint of *Eastern Life* could pleasantly be done on winter evenings, she hinted broadly to Moxon.)<sup>4</sup>

Addressing a letter to *Helen* again (at Dresden) in October, Martineau described her "sanitary conspiracy" to regenerate Ambleside - lecturing and organizing a building society, with advice from an experienced Birmingham man and a promise from Elisabeth Reid to buy them a field. Their powerful local landowners were "stupid," but the Arnolds, Davys and Claudes

approved of what she was doing. Informing Helen of family health matters, she said weak Lissey should spend the winter away from Eldon Square with its "roaring fires;" Fanny (Lissey's daughter, married to Francis Lupton of Leeds in 1847) could not nurse her baby after the doctor mismanaged her confinement; Robert and Jane were fine except for fatigue and anxiety; and Ellen had just been going home (from The Knoll?) when Alfred warned of "raging scarlet fever" in Liverpool.

Of other news, Martineau was amused by the kind and conscientious Misses Yates, who did not see why she should keep a cow, while Mrs. Ashton Yates worried that in Germany James would be contaminated by Strauss. Just that day, she had sent off the closing pages of the first book of her portion of *History of the Peace* (Book II, covering 1820-1830).

She was planning to grow vegetables and fruit in her field using manure from a pig and cow and leaving three-fourths of an acre in pasture. "Jane makes good butter," Martineau chatted on, "& we shall thus have butter & cream, hams & 4 flitches, & plenty of pork," vegetables, fruit, eggs "& plenty of fowls & ducks." She had written to the Union master in Norfolk about getting a farmhand, and the "fine fellow out of Norwich" who was coming (a brother of Martha Fulcher, her maid) could also wash windows, clean shoes and knives, garden and carry coal. Fulcher and his wife had even saved enough to get them to Ambleside. With Aunt Mary's "little legacy," she had built a model cottage for them under her copse, with cow house and fowl yard.

Happily, Martineau named her guests: Mrs. Reid had stayed for eleven weeks and now Mrs. Edwin Chadwick was there - he being detained in London by the cholera epidemic. Others coming were Miss Duckworth and her niece and C. Coltman. She had had the chimneys cleaned by itinerant sweeps, managed a house cleaning and the putting up of winter curtains.

Helen and James's doings made her glad she knew German cities, for "I like the Sunday ev<sup>g</sup> in them, the neat girls, with their fine hair, show<sup>b</sup> their innocent faces in the open air; & the children at their games in the highway." Basil and even Edith, the youngest, would remember this year - *she* had forgotten nothing of her visit to Newcastle at seven. Had they seen fine modern paintings? Martineau named a painting of a Madonna by Schnoor, "a print of w<sup>h</sup> adorns my walls . . . introduced by M<sup>r</sup> Fred Robinson" who called on her. "If you go to Frankfurt & Stuttgart I must get you to look at other pictures for me," she ended.<sup>5</sup>

Martineau's brief preface to *Household Education*, dated 16 November 1848, cited Lant Carpenter as her inspiration. In January, the *Athenaeum* pronounced the work consistent with *Life in the Sick-Room* in showing Martineau's "well known aspirations after perfection and progress" even if her "indefatigable energy and enthusiasm" depressed some people - like her advice in *Eastern Life* to walk on the desert rather than ride a camel. More generously in May, the *British Quarterly Review* called the book an "admirable volume, skillful in analysis of character, rich in wise suggestions."

Charlotte Brontë was to declare "the fears and miseries there described the same as her own." An American edition published by Lea and Blanchard in Philadelphia was reviewed in June by a former fellow guest (with Martineau) at a dinner party given by Governor Robert Hayne of South Carolina. He began with a slightly sardonic account of the "literary wonder of the day [Martineau]" during her visit to America in 1834-36; he remembered her animated face and the reaction to her support for abolitionists like Channing and Follen. Seemingly surprised

by her new work, he termed the book unusual in "supplying . . . something better" for misjudged methods of education.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, through (Anglican) Margaret Davy, Graves asked Martineau for information about building societies. "You must be wealthy capitalists at Bowness if your people can support a society there alone," she fired back. At Ambleside, they reckoned "50 shareholders of £60 shares" to be the smallest safe number, but "why sh<sup>d</sup> not your neighbours & mine join, - with only one set of officers to pay, - one set of rules, & one certificate to obtain? They can build where they please, you know." At Ambleside, they had "23 names down immediately; & I dare say more since I heard." If Graves came over soon, he must let her know his day and hour "& come to lunch, or dinner." Two weeks later sending Graves a sample prospectus copied from a successful building society, she added "When our Come<sup>e</sup> is founded, we shall see whether these terms will be adopted."<sup>7</sup>

Martineau's reputation as a community benefactor had spread. In December, Frances Ogden asked the name of her ear-trumpet maker, which Martineau was pleased to provide, "both for the good woman's sake, & because it is a sign some deaf person is going to have the benefit of one." The Harrowins, trumpet-makers, would never let her pay, so she sent them her books, "now & then; & we don't know each others' prices!" Weiss, Strand, London, made them too but charged "30s/," while she thought "18s/" was the price of hers. Ogden's deaf neighbours mustn't be discouraged if at first they could "make nothing of the trumpet." It took ten days, she explained, to get "any good out of mine; & then it came, all in a minute, - as I am told sliding sometimes does to a boy." That kind of particularly powerful trumpet was known as "Miss Martineau's trumpet."

Her last reports from Berlin "on the 10th" were of James and Helen's eldest daughter, Isabella, suffering from a dangerous fever. "We have said all we can to induce them to bring all the children away," she went on, "from that pestilential sand plain w<sup>h</sup> has caused the death of so many English children." Her neighbour, Louisa Claude, "brought her daughter away, on a mattress by railway, when even the doctors said that moving w<sup>d</sup> kill her." As a native of Berlin, Claude knew that her daughter "cd never get well there, - 'on that bad sand.'" It had been a "fatal mistake" by James to take the children there: "I wish they w<sup>d</sup> finish . . . their 'great year', as they called it, poor things!" Helen must be uncomfortable in a foreign country, while the children were "too young for much advantage [contrary to Martineau's earlier suggestion to Helen]. And poor James must be suffering grievously."

At home, in a tragic outbreak of fever at Ambleside, Martineau had lost her "best friend & helper." Her house builder John Newton "had trained himself under the information with w<sup>h</sup> I am furnished by the Sanitary Board," and he seemed irreplaceable. "We go on with our Build<sup>g</sup> soc<sup>y</sup>; & I with my lectures: but it is with heavy hearts." Only "through ignorance & sin" did they have fever in their valley. If she lived, she hoped "to root it out." That day, Mary Arnold and her daughter Jane had come to see Martineau's new farm servants' cottage. She enjoyed her cow and meant to "have a second in April . . . to maintain both & two pigs, on my acre & half of land." The sale of milk would pay the farm servant, and she would have "milk & butter" [she repeated], "vegetables, fruit, hams, bacon, fowls & eggs, & many conveniences for next to nothing."<sup>8</sup>

In late December, Martineau advised Moxon she had finished "the reigns of the Georges" and would take a holiday by writing letters. Rehearsing the history of miserable

cottages ("pigstyes") at Ambleside, she revealed plans for the building society. "A young lady is going to take a share (£120) at once: & her cottage will bring in from £8 to £8.15.0 rent & will be eagerly bid for," she tempted him. Meanwhile, copies of *Household Education* should be sent to (among others) Atkinson, Knight, Alfred Higginson and "Miss Rankin. 2. Ravensworth Terrace. Westgate Hill. Newcastle upon Tyne."<sup>9</sup>

(Crabb Robinson, again spending Christmas amid the "high church & tory" circle at Grasmere, found it "a relief to join with M<sup>rs</sup> Arnold M<sup>rs</sup> Fletcher or Miss Martineau." After seeing Martineau at the Arnolds' on 29 December, he told Isabella Fenwick what an object of envy she made herself "by the success of her domestic arrangements," now including a cottage and "Norfolk dairy maid," poultry-yard, piggery and cow-shed. Having walked home with Martineau from the Wordsworths' on the last day of the year, Robinson reported that she was also "full of the prospect of forming here building-societies for the benefit of the poor in imitation of the Birmingham societies." Hearing of her lectures, her "management of land" and her plans to sell butter and milk from her cow, he found her elated "with the prospect of setting a salutary example to the young women." In February, Mary Wordsworth added praise for Martineau's household economy: she made her servants happy and set "an example of activity to her neighbours." After seeing her at Eliza Fletcher's, Mary noted Martineau's "unfailing good spirits, talking of her Farm building schemes &c &c").<sup>10</sup>

In similar buoyant mood just after New Year's, Martineau had begun a letter to Fanny Wedgwood. She was sorry about "the death of D<sup>r</sup> Darwin," she said, "whose age, I imagine, did not act . . . in deadening his own powers, or altering the attachment of those about him." At Ambleside, "the ravages of the fever" had taken their toll. "My own share of the loss [I] shall never cease to feel," Newton having been "cut off, at little more than 40, leaving nine children" (Martineau's house carpenter, Thomas Cousins, was to die in January). It was "only from ignorance and guilt that there can be fever in a place so fitted for health as this," she raged. For the building society, "Dear M<sup>rs</sup> Reid" now authorized her to buy land, and that day she had seen "a glorious field." Hinting, she asked Fanny if she knew of "any benevolent person" who might invest "*small savings* . . . for a share (£120)," at a good return. What a nice thing it would be for Martineau's "two maids who have a share between them to be possessed, at 36, of each a substantial cottage of four rooms!" The gentry were "grinding their teeth" at her, she knew. Meanwhile, "the putrid church-yard and deficient drainage every where" led "the doctors and the Kendal Union" to take action and "tomorrow they must, as required, form a Board of Health."<sup>11</sup>

"You know that poor Hartley Coleridge is extremely ill, - I suppose dying . . . but that is, in fact, drink," Martineau went on. Margaret Davy was well, "and became so, even before the D<sup>r</sup>'s return. O, dear! that return! . . . what shall I say? He is the extremist of bores," though Margaret seemed oddly unembarrassed. *Archy* Davy had grown, she found by her "measuring post," as had "his short sister Eliz<sup>th</sup>."

The last edition of *Eastern Life* was nearly gone, in spite of abuse, "a book which was wanted by a large class of persons;" and her farming was "so pleasant." The Wedgwoods must come, not forgetting to "give a timely order for lodgings." She was to be at home "till quite the autumn," until her history was finished. Shockingly, James and his family had suffered at Berlin even more than she had foreboded, having nearly lost "their sweet eldest daughter . . . and all their plans of study &c were broken up." Ending, Martineau passed along a snip of gossip about

Fanny Kemble Butler (now divorced) reappearing on the English stage as Julia in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*.<sup>12</sup>

(Charles Knight, staying at The Knoll, met a man he had felt to be a "household presence" for years. "Early on a bright morning, a tall man, not bowed by age but having the deep furrows of many winters on his massive face, entered the house." At once Knight recognized Wordsworth, with his "stout staff and his clouted shoon" and a countenance, "remarkable in its majestic dignity." Chatting with Martineau [who relished her role as literary hostess], Wordsworth invited Knight to walk with him to Rydal Mount. The old poet spoke sadly of Hartley Coleridge, but took little interest in recent poets and none in the novelists, Knight noted).<sup>13</sup>

The prospectus of The Windermere Permanent Land, Building and Investment Association having been issued in December, rules and regulations were agreed to on 3 February 1849. The trustees were Dr. John Davy (surprisingly), John Crosfield, Esq., with local chemist Thomas Bell to serve as chairman of trustees. Members each paid a shilling a week. In "A Year at Ambleside," the series published in 1850 in *Sartain's Union Magazine* of Philadelphia, Martineau described the founding of the Society and her hope for "a hamlet of thirty or forty wholesome dwellings adjoining the hillside."

Her lectures to the "workies" sitting "immovable for an hour and a half at a time" in the Methodist chapel were on topics like "the plague-visitations of former centuries, and the ravages of cholera in our own time." Martineau explained in her autobiography that "I placed one of my servants at the far end of the room, and relied on her to take out her handkerchief if she failed to hear me . . . I made notes on a half-a-sheet of paper, of dates . . . or of facts which might slip my memory." Otherwise she trusted to her "power at the time" for matter and words. "Workies" filled the room, the gentry not being admitted, though her own friends were welcome. In the "last two lectures of the Sanitary course" Martineau determined to deal with the "great curse of the place, - its intemperance." Drawing an outline of the stomach "on a large expanse of paper, which was fixed in front of the desk," she then passed around "coloured prints, used in Temperance Societies, of the appearances of progressive disease in the drunkard's stomach" (Mary Arnold forbade her daughters to attend such talks on the human body). Without Martineau's realizing it, the lecture "spread out to an hour and twenty minutes," the diagram causing one young man to stagger out and faint at the door.<sup>14</sup>

The title of Martineau's *History of England During the Thirty Years' Peace, 1816-1846* posed "a pleasing antithesis to Schiller's *Thirty Years' War*," John Forster was to comment. Nominally an objective chronicle history, the work nevertheless showed Martineau's radical sympathies (the *Spectator* called it a "commentary" rather than a history). In her preface dated 31 January 1849, Martineau praised Knight's efforts to raise "popular intelligence," explaining the goals of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and citing additional works published by Knight such as the *Penny Cyclopaedia*. Volume 1 of the history appeared in March 1849, Volume 2 in February 1850. In a two-part review of Volume 1, the *Athenaeum* admired the work's clear statement of principles and conceded that probable errors came from imperfect evidence - not from prejudice or negligence. In the *Examiner*, John Forster lauded Martineau's "concentration and deep reflection" but charged that she was sometimes led away "by ephemeral novelties" and prevented by her sex from understanding practical politics. Rather inconsistently, he added that the work was "full of political knowledge, and sound

philosophical reflection [while] every page teems with incident or character." (The *Spectator*, declining to review the first volume, waited for the publication of Martineau's *Introduction to the History of the Peace* to review all three volumes).<sup>15</sup>

The heavy task of writing history seemed to limit Martineau's leisure to write letters. In March, however, she abruptly refused a request to "send some communication to be read" at a meeting on women's rights because she did not like the tone used by "some of the public advocates" of such rights. Moreover, because her refusal of a public pension was to be mentioned, she felt it would involve a compliment to herself.<sup>16</sup>

After sending the last proof-sheet of *Household Education* to Moxon on 9 April, Martineau "forthwith celebrated the event by walking off to Coniston," returning next day "by Yew-dale. Glorious!" The twenty-five recipients of complimentary copies of the work included Erasmus Darwin and probably Isabella Rankin - whose address Martineau had to learn. If Moxon got any money "from Carey & Lea's agent" (American publishers of *Eastern Life* and *Household Education*), she wanted it sent to her, but Richard Martineau should receive *his* payment as usual. Next, she had "*a bit of confidence*:" one of the Cabinet Ministers (presumably Carlisle) was urging her "to use the power attributed to me of enlightening the restless & malcontent among the people, about the true character of the French Revolution." Could he point to "any channel through w<sup>h</sup> these classes may be reached?"<sup>17</sup>

Martineau's reputation must have inspired a John Weale of High Holborn, London, to propose a new project. He forwarded a list of "Rudimentary little volumes for beginners" he wished to publish - histories for "popular reading, & for Schools." Asking Martineau to name her terms he sent a sample volume and hinted that "with respect to Rome, Niebhur would be a good guide," plus other German writers and "Would Oliver Goldsmith with respect to England be of service?" Evidently interested, Martineau consulted Richard who learned from the printer Richard Kinder of Old Bailey that Weale's publishing "amongst Engineers, Architects and scientific people" was satisfactory. She then sent Weale her terms:

15 Vols of 168 to 192 pp.

(360 words p<sup>r</sup> page print:--352 M.S)

(Say 170 to 200 pp. M. S.)

H.M. proposes to deliver M.S. of a vol: every two months; & to have £100 p<sup>r</sup> vol.

To be free, & secure from meddling.

Will be careful to avoid all objectionable matter.

(Apparently taken aback, Weale reconsidered. Though the payment named, "£100 each," was not unreasonable, *his* writers - a lady and several gentlemen - had previously "taken into account" the good that would be effected by providing good works for the public, and he offered "£800 for the 15 Vol<sup>s</sup>, to be paid in cash, the proportion to be paid in the completion of each Volume." If he did not hear within the next four days, he would consider their negotiation "terminated." No more was heard from Weale).<sup>18</sup>

After dismissing Weale's tightfistedness, Martineau evidently hoped to persuade the Ogdens, living at Sawrey, to join the Building Society. In April, she reported that Tidd Pratt (of Birmingham?) was busy with "Irish Savings Banks" so the rules had not been certified, and the lawyers' delay made her fear a difficulty about the title to the field. Meanwhile, the Ogdens' apples had been a treat; she "feasted on one a day, - quite ashamed to enjoy them so much." When she managed to rival the Americans in apple growing, she would send *them* apples. Of

her family, she added that "sister Greenhow" had been diagnosed with "a disease of the heart" and James's family were "now travelling about, - to Salzburg & the mountain region." She would like to come for a night to the Ogdens, "reckoning not a little on M<sup>r</sup> Ogden's music," but Charles Knight and Douglass Jerrold were expected - "men too good to be called 'Mister,'" then Ewart, then her "dear old aunts, - & then M<sup>rs</sup> Follen and Charley, - & perhaps . . . M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Richd Yates in June."<sup>19</sup>

Three weeks later, Martineau wrote soberly to Milnes to introduce an Italian gentleman "to confer with you about Italian affairs, on which your Letter to Lord Lansdowne shows you to be a high authority." Milnes must make her house his resting place, if he came "that way."

Within another three weeks, Martineau was begging the Ogdens to come for early dinner or tea "any day after Tuesday next," as she could not leave her aunts. The "pressure of business" was increasing as summer came on, this being her tenth letter since breakfast. She hoped to go to London on 1 October for three months and to rent her house, including two maids "& all my comforts . . . plate, linen, books &c" at perhaps "4 guineas p<sup>r</sup> week for Oct<sup>br</sup>, - less afterwards." She had received "a nice comfortable letter from Helen," James's family at last enjoying their travels; but *his* mind was "always in too much tension for true ease & heath."<sup>20</sup>

*Household Education*, based on Hartley and notions of perfectibility applied to child-raising, family life and personal development attracted readers in both England and America. Martineau's commonsense psychology failed to placate Macready, however, just returned from an American tour where he had been terrorized by a New York mob stirred up by a rival actor. When Martineau declared his fright "all nonsense," Macready wrote heatedly in his diary that when Americans laughed at *her* for fearing a lynch mob, she "did not think *that* nonsense, but this touches another, and reflects upon the conduct of the American people! Ergo - nonsense!"<sup>21</sup>

In mid-June, Martineau sent Helen (and James?) at Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, another exhaustive account of family doings: Aunt Margaret Rankin was "the most wonderful woman of 69 ever seen." She had left within the hour; she and "Aunt G.A." (Georgina Rankin) had stayed with Martineau for a month. Lissey's heart condition was stable, though serious; Martineau herself - in defiance of Greenhow - *liked* being stout. Aunt Margaret's "parting caution . . . against so much walking while so hard at work over my History" made Martineau smile, but Aunt Margaret didn't know that the maids usually went on the "hot errands to the post &c." The "amiable, cheerful old ladies" *revelled* in her farming and went to see the cows milked, - called them Meggie & Ailsie, after themselves, - watched the cabbages & peas & beans, almost as if they were babies, & thought every thing as charming as my vain heart c<sup>d</sup> desire." Yesterday was Martineau's birthday, and they had their first dish of fresh peas. She had caused "much amusement in this first enterprise of Flemish farming ever known in the district." Neighbours "laughed scornfully" at her high-priced milk, but now, the great cow-master, Ja<sup>s</sup> Fleming [no relation to the Le Fleming family, Wordsworth's unpleasant landlords], gives out that my man Fulcher is the best cow keeper in the district; & they see about 5000 enormous cabbages, - such as they never saw before, - growing, with Swedes & beets between the rows, - & they become respectful, & come & inquire. As she had planned, the sale of her milk and butter would about pay Fulcher's wages. Furthermore, *she* got good food without expense "while maintaining a most respectable couple." Fulcher's clownish, dead "Norfolk look," was

gone; he was "bright, intelligent & *gentlemanly*." Her small field would give her "nearly 2 tons of hay," and winter vegetables for the cows, "white turnips, Swedes, Belgian carrots, beets &c." By next New Year's Day, the money from *History of the Peace* would let her "pay off the last farthing, - for land, house, furniture, cottage, cowhouse, hay & hen house, piggery, fence, implements & every thing."

Knight reported that sale of that work had doubled and was "daily on the increase," people having fancied her "a violent politician," which she never was. One result was an offer "from a respectable & substantial publisher, of work of a historical bearing w<sup>h</sup> would have taken me about 2 years from New Year's day, - bring<sup>g</sup> me in £1000." But the present task was "so laborious," she had let it go, having agreed to "some light & agreeable work" of a few days each month for next year for £200 and "some more for Amer<sup>a</sup>" (for *Sartain's*?). She must "lay by against 1860" when her annuity would expire, if she lived so long. Catherine Turner was coming in a fortnight, then the Cobdens and in August the Follens; then "two of the R. Huttons, as boarders, for a month while the Wedgwoods are lodging near." When her history was done, about the "1<sup>st</sup> of October," she was going to London "for 3 months, - spend X<sup>s</sup> day at Robert's, & home for work with the new year,--peeping in at A. & E. [Alfred and Ellen] on the way home, and hoping to "hear much of Germany from you & yours" (presumably to include James?).

At present, however, she had a complaint: "Two ladies, - if ladies they are) are . . . haunting my premises most perseveringly, - saying they live at L.pool, & hear Ja<sup>s</sup> preach." Besides staring up at her window "at 1/2 past 6 a. m," they send "Fulcher for my maid, - ask my servants 100 questions, waylay me in the fields." That morning trying to meet her in the fields, "seeing me crossing the meadow, they hurried back to the little bridge, & planted themselves there! whereupon, I struck down a meadow path, & baulked them." Tomorrow if they came on the porch, she would leave "by the piggery"!

Someone she *wanted* to see was Francis Newman, she continued to Helen, both she and Greg having invited him to come. Newman had replied that "my wife & I never like the same people." Yet here were "Plymouth Brethren . . . & Quakers, & some most charming Swedenborgians." Newman had sent her his "Soul book," which she felt would "do a world of good by its indication of the evils of 'Bibliolatry,' & its admirable example of plain speaking." The work, however, showed "the anxious Newman's unsoundness" and intolerance for those who did not agree. Jane Arnold and Margaret Davy *pitied* him for "regarding N.T. as a record & not an oracle."

Poor Greg, she went on, could not invite anybody now. His wife had been "confined 5 weeks since," the child dying immediately, and she became "suddenly insane, as formerly." Now Martineau must write to congratulate Lady Elgin. Her sister, Lady Alice, reported that she "had a son & heir in Canada." And Frances Ogden's brother Bolton was coming to lodge nearby. What route would Helen and James follow home, she wondered?<sup>22</sup>

Robert's eldest daughter, Susan, and his second-eldest son, Frank, must have stayed at The Knoll over the long summer and allowed Martineau to show them over the district and to incorporate their adventures in "A Year at Ambleside." In mid-July, she thanked Fox for his praise of *History of the Peace* and for pointing to an error "about those Radley's Hotel meetings" (of Irish nationalists in Dublin). She wanted to hear all mistakes of fact; a friend "exploring in Ireland" had confirmed her claim that O'Connell was now "universally despised [there] & believed by all but the priests to have set back Ireland half a century." Though she



had not seen Forster's review of her work in the *Examiner*, it did not surprise her. In spite of bluster, he lacked courage from having "no basis of ascertained principle" and feeling about women as "of the dubious & restless sort w<sup>h</sup> is the plague of the man of the world." When she came up to London, she must talk to Fox about "the state of the religious world," a subject "above all interesting." Froude was to spend the afternoon and had "a world of things to tell." Just now at Ambleside, she was "in the midst of the F. Newman friends . . . & at L.pool there is James's splendid *church* [in Hope Street], - & J<sup>as</sup> himself is coming home conservative, & full of religiosity."

Doctrinal disputes among these men shocked her, such as listening "at Fox How, to M<sup>r</sup> [Bonamy] Price of Rugby, congratulating the world" on Francis Newman's "clear psychological basis" for faith. Though she was aware that the Arnolds were staunch Anglicans, she had protested at Newman's assumption that "Panteists & Atheists" lacked psychological bases. Moreover, the Arnold sons were

wandering away, - to New Zealand & elsewhere . . . & they (at least, the two eldest) give up revelation altogether . . . So poor M<sup>rs</sup> A. & Jane declined the loan of Froude's books, & they try to nestle closer together under the priestly wing, & plaintively grieve openly for Newman, while feeling in reality for Mat & Tom [Matthew and Thomas, eldest and second Arnold sons]. The third, - a very poor creature, - is in orders [Edward Penrose Arnold was a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford]. They have *that* comfort.

Meanwhile, she watched eagerly for Fox's speeches in the Commons on the "Ballot" and "Representation." Price had told them of "Whig wickedness . . . cankering our whole polit<sup>l</sup> life." She had worried that Knight would not let her portraits of Whig Ministers be published, so had "put him on the sofa, & read him sundry portraits, & he did not wish me to alter one word." She had, she said sarcastically, seen "that Wellington letter, & the sweet comment." And didn't he admire Croker's words about her: "'false, foul & - unfeminine!'"<sup>23</sup>

(Martineau's popularity remained uncertain even at Ambleside. Though slightly ill when Edward Quillinan saw her, he thought she "looked as well as usual." Her energies seemed amazing and

Her manner, so pleasing, & so friendly, that if I disliked some portions of her writings ten times more than I do I could not help liking *her*. She told us the other evening when Jemima [his daughter] & I were at her house to meet M<sup>rs</sup> Wedgewood [sic] . . . that D<sup>r</sup> Davy had *cut* her for her observations on his brother Sir Humph's character, or rather his personal bearing in her book (30 years peace) . . . I am sorry for it; for Davy, with all his nervous weakness of manner &c, is a very friendly neighbour & I believe a good & honourable man.<sup>24</sup>)

To finish her history, Martineau was invited to spend a month with the Knights at St. Leonard's (near Hastings in Sussex) before going with them to London. Still doubtful whether Knight would like "the concluding portion," she recorded in her autobiography that the "Sunday when I put the last batch of MS. into Mr. Knight's hands was a memorable day." After breakfast, she had gone for "a long walk" with Atkinson to Primrose Hill, where she had never been, and to Regent's Park. "My heart fluttered all the way," she went on, and she could not eat lunch. Knight's "expression of countenance" puzzled her, but at last he beckoned her into the drawing room to congratulate her warmly. In "What remains; The Labour Question," Martineau had treated the failure of the working poor, with *large* families, to earn living wages while the

middle-classes married late and had *few* children - a situation leading to sexual immorality and underscoring the need for birth control - a subject she may have feared Knight would refuse to touch.<sup>25</sup>

While she was in London, Martineau heard from John Crosfield of the Building Society, who was continuing to look out for a good piece of land. Bell the ironmonger at Ambleside had bought a field of "three acres for £172," Crosfield wrote, with "a fine view and well watered & fenced," close to the chapel. Donaldson (owner of the Salutation Hotel?) had one adjoining the bobbin mill that "he might be induced to part with." Crosfield and Fell the Surgeon, whom he had consulted, agreed in thinking Elisabeth Reid's offer "most kind and liberal." "Thy servant delivered thy message," Crosfield (a Quaker) went on to Martineau. As to letting The Knoll, it seemed this year that a number of places were to let. A week and a half later, Crosfield confirmed that the Building Society members had accepted Reid's offer as "too good a one not to be embraced" (Reid was to pay for the field at Ellerigg in February 1850.) He had noticed a report in the *Morning Chronicle* of "the superiority (of the occupiers) of a group of cottages at Liskeard" in Cornwall, "built by the daughter of John Allen, one of our Society."<sup>26</sup>

In December, Martha Fulcher sent Martineau a report (in uncertain orthography) with "as near an account as Jane & Rob<sup>t</sup> can give," of farming at The Knoll. They had received her box, the land had been measured and bulbs planted. "Would you like," asked Martha, "to have a small flour stand [sic] to set the Pots on in the drawing room as the Pots are likely to spoil the tables?" They had already "taken the Paper of [sic] Behind the study shutters" because of dampness. "Shall the Post Man have his present at Christmas?"

Robert Fulcher's information was given under several headings: "In Cultivating the Ground," "The Produce of the Land last year," "The Produce of the Meadow" including the two cows, "Summer Management of Cows" and "Winter Management." Martineau then repeated Fulcher's details almost verbatim in two letters to the Assistant Poor-Law Commissioner, "who was earnest in his endeavours to get workhouses supplied with milk and vegetables, by the labour of the inmates on the land." To her amazement while she stayed at Bolton Abbey the following summer, her letters appeared in a newspaper.<sup>27</sup>

In the midst of Martineau's stint in London, a misunderstanding with Jane Carlyle arose over statements supposedly made to Geraldine Jewsbury. "Here is a capital, sensible note from M<sup>rs</sup> C. to M<sup>r</sup> Knight," Martineau wrote to Fanny Wedgwood from the Knights' in London. The Carlyles were asked "to dine at 5. on Monday." Afterwards, Jane commented wryly that Martineau had hoped to call on Captain Anthony Sterling [brother of John Sterling and friend of the Carlyles] to see her cousin Isabella Rankin, his "very lackadaisical governess."<sup>28</sup>

Jane Carlyle's often mixed reactions to Martineau contrasted dramatically with those of another so far unknown female contemporary. On the evening before Martineau was to leave the Knights', a parcel arrived for her containing a book and a note written in a "cramped and nervous" hand, declaring

Currer Bell offers a copy of 'Shirley' to Miss Martineau's acceptance, in acknowledgement of the pleasure and profit s/he [sic] has derived from her works. When C.B. first read "Deerbrook" he tasted new and keen pleasure and experienced a genuine benefit. In his mind, 'Deerbrook' ranks with the writings that have really done him good, added to his stock of ideas, and rectified his views of life.

The surprise note was "examined as few notes ever are," Martineau avowed later, the "erased 'she'" - *possibly* owing to a change of wording - left the sender a mystery. Martineau thought she had detected a woman's hand in *Jane Eyre* and shrewdly addressed an envelope to "Currer Bell, Esq." beginning her reply inside to "Madam."

Having left Miss Duckworth's in Hyde Park Street "for a dinner party" at the sociable Richard Martineaus' in Westbourne Street, Martineau received a second note from Currer Bell, who was staying in London and wished to call on her. Lucy and Richard concurred in asking "the favour of C.B.'s company the next day [for] tea at six," all agreeing that the answer was "a woman's" note. Then at five past six on 9 December, a carriage stopped, and the footman *roared* "'Miss Brogden'" so Martineau could catch the name, and she found herself staring at "the smallest creature I had ever seen (except at a fair) and her eyes blazed, as it seemed to me."

In her autobiography, Martineau generously portrayed what seemed a momentous meeting with the young writer whose novels were being reviewed by major journals now ignoring Martineau's fiction. More pertinently, Brontë's worshipful attitude during their two-hour tête-a-tête and her asking "about the strictures of the reviewers she did not understand" seemed to flatter Martineau's sense of herself as a moral teacher. For the moment, the new friendship proved a delight.

Lucy, Richard's wife, wrote to their son the following day to confirm their suspense at "what sort of being this same Currer Bell w<sup>d</sup> turn out to be; whether a tall moustached man six feet high, or an aged female, or a girl, or - altogether a ghost, a hoax or a swindler!" News of the two writers' meeting quickly spread through the Unitarian network. Elizabeth Gaskell - who knew the Richard Martineaus only slightly - repeated Martineau's account almost verbatim and claimed that "Harriet Martineau has sworn an eternal friendship with the authoress of Shirley."<sup>29</sup>

On Christmas Eve, Catherine Turner joined a family party at Robert's in Birmingham, where Martineau was staying on her way north to Ambleside. "I have waited a post to see how I could manage a little visit to you," Martineau replied to Helen's "kind invitation" several days later. She *had* planned to return by 19 January for business that would not "bear delay" (perhaps concerning the building society), while a visit to Ellen had "been a promise since the summer." First she was going to the Darbishes' (in Manchester). Ellen could fix the day for her to leave from Manchester, whether on Saturday the 12th or Monday or Tuesday, but not on a Sunday, though (aiming dryly at James) she was not a "chapel-goer," as Helen knew. "It is a great sorrow to me, dear sister, that I shall not find you all well," she seemed to sympathize: "Gertrude's progress must be slow, at the best." Happily, Martineau had seen Russell several times in London and heard his beautiful playing, while "I dare say he told you of the singular scene of my drinking tea with nine young men, - I the only lady. It was uncommonly pleasant, I assure you."<sup>30</sup>

Still in Liverpool on 19 January, caught by a "rainy thaw," Martineau reported to Fanny Wedgwood on herself and on the latest gossip of friends. At Manchester, she had seen "a great deal of Miss Jewsbury," who was a "wonderfully susceptible" mesmeric patient and "spoke much and confidingly of poor dear Jenny [Carlyle], with a good sense and clear-sightedness," but without mentioning "M<sup>rs</sup> Paulet." Through the Darbishes, Martineau saw the Froudes, who were coming to stay with her, "by and by." She doubted whether Froude could make clear

what he believed, as his "cast of mind" seemed "any thing but affirmative." His wife (the former Charlotte Maria Grenfell) had been "dreadfully afraid" of Martineau beforehand, but proved amiable and was soon at ease. Yet something much more important and "wholly unaccountable" had taken place: Robert had encouraged her to accept the surprise invitation from Helen and James, and "I am wholly perplexed," she confessed to Fanny. Their children behaved lovingly, the eldest daughter (Isabella), now eighteen, seemed "really exquisite," and Helen "volunteered domestic confidences of every kind." Nevertheless, she and James differed "too widely on every subject that interests us most," to be more than superficially cordial. More satisfactorily, she had learned that "the Rich<sup>d</sup> Yateses and M<sup>r</sup> Ewart" were pleased at a second edition of *Eastern Life*. "Think of me," she ended to Fanny, "on Monday evening about 6, getting home to a meat tea, and being busy with my dear maids." Her former works were "rising, - especially 'Household Education,'" and Margaret Davy had written "charmingly."<sup>31</sup>

For the new edition of *Eastern Life*, Martineau sent Moxon corrections of misprints such as "'two' for 'twelve' feet as the breadth of the great obelisk," groaning at letters "from engineers & others, calculating the weight all wrong." And if the book "ever had the luck to come to a 3<sup>d</sup> edition," she could use the researches of an Oxford scholar on the Essenes.<sup>32</sup> In addition, soon after she had come home, Knight pressed her to extend her history "from the opening of the century to the Peace, to be followed by the four years to 1850, if [she] should live to see the close of that year."

The *Athenaeum's* two-part review of Volume 2 of the work in February praised Martineau's thorough preparation and "conscientious judgment" but lamented her isolation from real knowledge of political drama: the Reform Bill excitement, for example, was coldly shown. In the second notice the reviewer cited the paucity of "striking incidents to illustrate the manners of the age," the lack of an index and mistakes - yet admitted the author was to be congratulated on her "mental energy" and (contradictorily) on producing the "fullest history" of the period.<sup>33</sup>

(Martineau's former *subjective* effusion, *Life in the Sick-Room*, kept its appeal for a few of her friends. Macready - who expressed disgust with *Letters on Mesmerism* - had recently lost a beloved daughter and noted in April that he read "that precious book of Martineau's, *The Strength of the Lonely* [*Life in the Sick-Room?*], which was a comfort to me."<sup>34</sup>

Martineau now sent *Sartain's* the last of her sketches for "A Year at Ambleside," proceeds to be donated to the abolitionist cause. Starting with "January," she described "a piece of old English life," hedged in by the mountains, where "the Druids were still collecting . . . wild Britons under the foresty shades [while] the Romans were . . . building walls around the towns, and stretching roads from point to point of the island." Remains of the Normans, who followed, included Furness and Calder Abbeys, their feudal retainers becoming the present dalesmen, now nominal owners of the land (yet Martineau paid nine pence a year to Lord Lonsdale for her field). During "February" morning walks, she noted the names of the mountains, valleys and streams as well as the houses of well-known residents like Christopher North and the Arnolds. Also in the "February" sketch, she began to worry about the "health and morals" of her neighbours owing to the scarcity of houses and their frequent proximity to churchyards. Naming the hotels in Ambleside, she told of the various shops and small clusters of houses and described seeing newly installed windows in her house glittering in the sunset. In "March," she retailed the planting of trees including Wordsworth's ceremonial putting in of the

stone pine, her gathering of plants in the woods with her maid Jane, and fishing on Lake Windermere with her German friend Frederika [Bremer].

In "April," Martineau described moving into her house, then trudging with Jane to Troutbeck to attend a sale of household goods by a family who had lost their land. Socio-economic changes had brought about such ruin, she pointed out and told of the auctioneer walking "to and fro, to collect the bids, restless as a beast in a cage."

There - goes the old carved chair - the straight, highbacked, black chair, so curiously carved, with its date, 1607 . . . bought at once, evidently for some moneyed person - probably some London gentleman, or West End cabinet maker. . . . Ah! now the old cabinet is going; and this, at last, is too much for the humbled owner. Why, even I cannot bear it.

Martineau's walks and gardening continued in "May" and "June." Added excitement arises with the swarming of a neighbour's bees - she having paid £1 to obtain a swarm for her own new hive. In "July," Martineau and her niece and nephew Susan and Frank witness Rushbearing day at Grasmere, have tea at Rydal Mount and make an excursion to Calder Abbey. By "August," tourists have filled "[e]very bed in the town" and Martineau promises the butcher "to think of keeping [her own] pigs and fowls" in future. After a long trek with Susan and Frank, she comments on the "blank ignorance and apathy" of the dalesmen who live far up on the fells. In "September," they all go nutting and come home by way of a ridge, "the scene of Wordsworth's 'Excursion.'" Invited to "a harvest supper," Frank is balked from "asking some of the local lasses to dance" by the wild fiddling and drumming of the musicians. By "October," swallows are gathering, and Martineau describes her lectures on sanitary matters and hopes for a building society. In "November" she tells of the sad death from fever of her builder and the (anti-Catholic and distasteful) Guy Fawkes Day bonfire. By "December," however, she enjoys walking over the icy roads and coming "home to breakfast by a bright fireside." Ending with tales of past "heroes" of the district, she recounts the sad death of Hartley Coleridge.<sup>35</sup>

On the day of Wordsworth's funeral, 27 April 1850, Martineau had gone to stay for a fortnight with "high Swedenborgian" friends Dr. and Mrs. Stolterforth at Armathwaite, "a beautiful place between Penrith and Carlisle." While walking in the fields, she had a painful accident she described rather frankly to Atkinson. Crossing a stile of "friable sandstone," she fell "heavily & helplessly, in an awkward attitude, & instantly felt myself hurt within," supposing "the bladder ruptured." For two days, she could not stand upright, and when she stood on either foot, "it was like a wedge driven in." The pain disappeared only when she treated herself with laudanum. Meanwhile, she began to *lightly* edit Atkinson's "philosophical" letters and had just finished the second, which she *liked*. Thick snow had fallen that day, she broke in. *Had* he seen "the assertion of the truth (partial) of Mesmerism, in the last Edinburgh? Who'd have thought it!" Somebody, she laughed, "must have mesmerized poor old Empson, to give him courage to put such matter into his review." Surely the article was by "some friend of Elliotson's [and was] small & superficial," but encouraging. Their own book must "bring out Bacon's atheism, on every account, supposing, of course, that we make sure of it," perhaps by verifying Lemaistre's statements. "That done, I think it will be a great public benefit, & no little security to ourselves to adduce his views."

Next Martineau confided to Atkinson that "the life of a literary woman" continued to bring on "love-making by strangers," some no doubt mercenary or from "the spirit of hero-

worship," but others odd! "When Miss Meyer came last to see me, I had just got one from a German; & I read it to her [in confidence]. She laughed as if she w<sup>d</sup> kill herself: but I was more inclined to cry" - and sent a note of brief and quiet rebuke. "Men can be just as romantic & silly as any schoolgirls. - And some join the pelf with it, oddly enough."<sup>36</sup>

In early May, Martineau promised to go to the Ogdens, having come back from "a little journey," but she would not stay the night if Jerrold was with her. "Mrs. Grundy," she explained to Frances, was "a personage in a farce," but who in the world was "Blenkinsop?"<sup>37</sup>

With her houseguests Knight, Atkinson and Jerrold, Martineau spent four days "making that circuit of the district which forms the ground-plan of my 'Complete Guide.'" She also worked on the portion of her history "from 1800 to the Peace," as well as on *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development*. "The publication of those letters was my doing," she asserted, having found Atkinson's "knowledge of Man, general and particular, physical, intellectual and moral, theoretical and practical, greater than I ever met with elsewhere." At her urging, he had agreed to publish the series of their letters. Martineau's sense of professionalism, however, led her to insist on copying out *his* letters: solely, she claimed because of his bad handwriting, for his style seemed "beautiful" and "remarkable." Her patient copying was now in progress - and Knight, she went on, took Jerrold for a walk "on the last day of their visit, to leave Mr. Atkinson and me at liberty to read our manuscript."<sup>38</sup>

In addition to her ever-growing list of writing chores, Martineau took time to ask Fanny Wedgwood in late May if she should query "M<sup>s</sup> Thompson . . . about those Waterhead lodgings which you missed last year." *She* was "going into hiding, at the end of July till the 1<sup>st</sup> of October," being "immersed in work, up to Oct<sup>br</sup> 1851. Having done her opening sketch for the "His<sup>y</sup> of the Half Century," she was "so deep in Pitt politics that the Palmerston have less effect on my temper than they otherwise might," she quipped (William Pitt the Younger and Palmerston were both accused of sycophancy with Continental despots). "After writing up to 1815, I am to rewrite the *dull* chapters of Craik and McFarlane" and finish the whole by Christmas. In a new commitment, she went on, "Dickens has also in his hands M.S. of mine for 7 weeks" for his newly-founded *Household Words*, and there was "more in prospect."

(Martineau's first stories for Dickens, "The Sickness and Health of the People of Bleaburn" [on the life of the early public health nurse, Mary Pickard Ware], in four parts, and "The Home of Woodruffe the Gardener" [on village sanitation], in three parts, began to appear in late May).<sup>39</sup>

"For a quiet place to work" Martineau's neighbour W. E. Forster recommended "the Steward's house at Bolton Abbey," she told Fanny. Accordingly, she had taken rooms "for 8 or 10 weeks from the end of July," with "one maid at a time, to utter stillness," the Knoll being let for August and September. Until then, she would have "a series of guests."

That day the thunder crashed so loud she thought "the chimney was down" or "the great oak" struck. Sadly, Wordsworth knew "nothing of these things, - lying under the sod, - vacating his place among these shows of nature." When the news spread that he was gone, everyone on the road "looked grave, and the blinds were down in his cottage, and the place itself would have looked dead in the midst of the sunshine but for the little column of smoke going up straight from the chimney." Now a greater local tragedy seemed imminent, which Martineau could "hardly speak of . . . in a letter." She had thought "that engagement of Jane A's the best piece of news in private life" she had ever heard, and for "one short week," was

"almost too happy to sleep." Yet now Jane, the eldest Arnold daughter who was to be married on May day, seemed "between the altar and the grave," and the doctor had "no opinion as to the cause of the dropsy."<sup>40</sup>

Of other deaths, Martineau thought "M<sup>rs</sup> Jeffrey's . . . must be very affecting" to Fanny, and she pitied "that cherished daughter, losing both her parents thus near together, [and with] her poor old failing husband." Martineau's sister Lissey's death had been "easy, & even cheerful," and she "left messages and little gifts for us all." And "how such a spirit as this of M<sup>r</sup> Newman's book cheers one!" The Froudes, leaving Manchester (which they had come to hate), had written to her "about getting a house for them hereabouts." Yet she had the impression they would never be "quiet and settled." Had Fanny seen James's "masterly" article, "The Church of England," in the *Westminster Review*?" She felt *herself* growing old "at a quicker rate," and must "let myself down gently." In closing, she asked especially about Erasmus, Charles, and Snow.<sup>41</sup>

(In Paris in mid-June, Crabb Robinson met "some of the most agreeable Americans" he had ever seen: Eliza Follen and Maria Chapman. The latter was an anti-slavery "enthusiast," he recorded in his diary, and the drawback to their society was their seldom allowing themselves "to talk on any other subject" while demanding full agreement with their views).<sup>42</sup>

Martineau partly disagreed. "Ah! What a woman that is! - M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman." Follen was "vivacious, & impulsive & sweet," but Chapman had reasoning powers that could not be baffled, "learning and literary *fulness* . . . knowledge of the world [and] the noblest martyr spirit . . . of our time." With Chapman, too, she agreed "about the non-voting matter" (probably concerning female delegates at antislavery conventions) as a concession to gaining their object. Had Susan Cabot made any impression on Robinson? Follen's sister, "one of the plain, humble old maids whom nobody notices," *was* clever.

*Phases of Faith*, Martineau went on to Robinson, seemed "curious." Though noble, it lowered Newman's admirers' opinion of his intellect. *She* had lately taken him to task for censuring higher opinions than his own - his mind being "thoroughly logical & conscientious at once," *not* speculative. But she could not write letters as she pleased, acting as "a hostess" plus working five or six hours in the morning and dealing with a "constant flow of business." And just as she had been "in the act of writing the death of Pitt" for *Introduction to History of the Peace*, "the news of Peel's departure" reached her (Peel had died on 2 July after a fall from his horse), causing her such pain she could not write or sleep or think of anything else all day. "Among the living benefactors to whom I paid my tribute at the close of my Hist<sup>y</sup> . . . Jeffrey, Wordsworth & Peel are gone," she noted sorrowfully.

She herself was "growing old," and she did not often get to the Wordsworths' in the "summer heats." However, a trip was planned for Monday, possibly with her two aunts "aged 79 & 75" and a cousin staying in Ambleside. A source of "heartfelt pleasure" was the intended marriage of Jane Arnold, now "much better," to serve as "a new tie between the Arnolds & me." Margaret Davy's husband, meanwhile, was "a hopeless obstacle in the way of all comfort with her," *Margaret's* friends being "rarely invited to the house now (I, *never*)," yet "*she* comes here when I invite them all; - she, & her mother & the children" while Dr. Davy "neither answers my invitations, nor comes, nor apologizes for staying away."<sup>43</sup>

While Martineau had remained with friends in Yorkshire, she gained "a clear preparatory view" of the writing of Auguste Comte (she had heard of Comte "for many years,"

she noted in her autobiography, but had always been too busy to begin reading him). At Armathwaite, she had not been disposed to "do any work that would bear postponement," but at Bolton Abbey, "the History got on very well in the mornings, and the transcribing of the [Atkinson] Letters in the evening." Pleasure excursions with a "dear, faithful old friend" included "Ilkley and Benrhydding, and some of the finest parts of the West of Yorkshire."

(In late August, Crabb Robinson found Martineau "as happy and full of zeal as ever . . . full of work and full of confidence both in the utility of what she does and of her capacity to do it." She was writing for "Knight's *History of England*, and by way of change . . . Sanitary Tales for Dickens's *Household Words*.")

For Dickens, Martineau wrote "The Marsh Fog and the Sea Breeze" a tale about the children of a smuggler during the Napoleonic years. She also "engaged to make my subscription to the new weekly journal, 'the Leader' (which has lagged terribly instead of leading [she later scoffed]) in the form of twelve [in fact, thirteen] 'Sketches from Life' which I began before the Atkinson Letters were well off my hands." By 4 October, she was back at The Knoll.<sup>44</sup>

"Another small piece of authorship . . . was really no fault of mine," Martineau continued in her autobiography. Her experiment in small farming had begun to be known, and on 25 January 1850 she had written to "Mr. Bowyer," assistant poor-law commissioner, with a follow-up letter dated 5 October 1850.<sup>45</sup>

Surprisingly, Martineau next featured in a *Times* article citing Elliotson in the *Zoist* on cases of animals being mesmerized. With praise for Martineau's courage in telling the story, Elliotson had quoted her account of Ailsie's illness, bleeding by a cow-doctor and recovery only after being mesmerized. A second article quoted Martineau on the "prodigious rage" of the cow-doctor, who came all the way from Rydal to abuse her. Elliotson cited the *Athenaeum's* scepticism of Ailsie's cure and charged the editor (Dilke) with ordering mesmerism to "be scouted as another quackery." In the *Reasoner* Elliotson next asserted that Martineau was a good agricultural improver who showed farmers their "great and unsuspected power over some of the diseases of their live stock." Following Elliotson's first article, Martineau evidently sent him a note from the wife of a Birmingham surgeon, Partridge, "both of them hearty and patient mesmerizers," and she added "Capital news of Mesmeric Wonders, & new discoveries, today from Prof<sup>r</sup> Gregory, who has just returned from abroad."<sup>46</sup>

"I am happy to find from M<sup>r</sup> Forster that you will reprint my farming letter," Martineau had written earlier to Charles Gilpin from Rawdon in late September. She promised to "reckon up my crops, & survey my stock, & report progress" when she reached home. Oddly, on Wednesday 2 October Martineau returned a proof of the first letter on "cowkeeping" to John Chapman saying she hoped to write a second letter on Saturday, if she arrived home by daylight on Friday to see "the ground, & make out the state of our affairs."<sup>47</sup>

Inquiries about farming at The Knoll included ones from the Carlyles and possibly Dr. Samuel Brown of Edinburgh, now a public lecturer and writer on the philosophy and history of the sciences. "Look here!" she wrote playfully to Brown on her new stationery showing The Knoll in a bower of trees with decorative plants and birds down the right hand side. "Do you like the look of us? Won't you come?" With her two spare rooms, she could put up Brown and his wife, even if "a brother or sister or other friend sh<sup>d</sup> be here." She had hastened home, she repeated, in order "to get out, without any delay, the reprint of my farming Letter, with a



Second letter, reporting progress up to the present time" - after almost throwing out the official missive asking for publication of her original cow-keeping one. Gilpin of London was to publish the pamphlet at no profit to herself, at "6/". Would Brown help to make it known? Her neighbours were "vicious in temper" towards her man, not liking "new ways, - nor his delight in hard work, - nor his being a water-drinker." The gentry, however, were impressed with the size of her turnips and cabbages, "& that the milk, butter & eggs have, during my long absence, just paid Fulcher's wages." The "worthy couple" were in fine health and spirits, and "their cottage beautiful, with climbing roses &c, - & actually, a sovereign sent to the old father in Norfolk."

For Brown's perusal she sent letters relating to "the land question" by Thornton Hunt of the *Leader*. "You don't say how long you stay with M<sup>rs</sup> Crowe," she ended graciously. "I want . . . to learn many things from you, & consult about some; & I have long wished to know you."<sup>48</sup>

William Lloyd Garrison's forwarding the *Liberator* made Martineau long to "throw my mite into your treasury" and that of "the 'Standard.'" If her American publisher paid up (of which she wasn't certain) she would donate £10 through Ellis Gray Loring.<sup>49</sup>

Playfully, Martineau sent Jane Carlyle her "very prestigious publication." If it did not set the two of them "cowkeeping in Cheyne Row," it would give some idea of *her* "proceedings & recreations." From the engraving on her stationery, "a present from two artist friends . . . & no dandyism of my own," Jane could obtain a notion of the home she had "earned, built, furnished, & got to love." Perhaps trying to cheer the gloomy Carlyles, she added that observing "W.E. Forster & wife in their home, you w<sup>d</sup> think you never saw two such blissful beings."<sup>50</sup>

Gossiping about public men, Martineau next told the Wedgwoods her "History" would occupy her "three or four months longer." Did Fanny [?] know "the Kingsleys?" *He* had lately "begun a correspondence" with her, and she hoped they would pay her a visit "in the spring or early next summer." But she had not had time to read *Alton Locke* - could Fanny "fancy such a thing?" Other topics - the Froudes, "the Pope," and "the *fall* of John Russell and certain other unfaithful professors of religious liberty doctrine [a dig at Russell's 'Durham letter' protesting the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England] must wait till we meet." But she wanted to get back to their "*confidence* of this time twelvemonth:" she had sent Jenny Carlyle "the Cow pamphlet" and received "an extraordinary letter" pouring out "a quantity of woe," sickening to think of. Jane's wretchedness, she felt, "must be real enough to make her thus confess herself to *me*," and she had asked Jane "to come and rest here."

Margaret Davy was looking "old and ill, and anxious" and was suffering from rheumatism. "The D<sup>r</sup> - as usual. What can one say more?" On a cheerful note, Martineau had paid "a pleasant and *thoroughly* comfortable" visit when in Yorkshire to her niece, "Fanny Greenhow that was."<sup>51</sup>

On 5 November, Martineau began an "arduous" course of "twenty lectures on the History of England," the third series for earnest working-class neighbours and her friends. Soon afterwards, Atkinson arrived to put the finishing touches on their joint publication. Querying Moxon "whether or not" he wished to publish their "daring book," Martineau did not advise - understanding his "last year's reason for not doing it." She thought the work "very striking & extremely valuable [though] the public w<sup>h</sup> certainly *is* ready for such works, may not be *your* public" (Moxon *failed* to publish *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development*, and John Chapman agreed to accept responsibility).<sup>52</sup>

After Jane Carlyle had confessed to "inveterate malheur" and failed to say whether or not she would come to The Knoll, Martineau lectured her firmly. *She* was an example of overcoming "sickness & suffering, all my childhood & youth; & much of my womanhood," and of the blessings of her present life and *work*. Jane had "a rare intellect," she knew, and loved "taking in hand" the comfort of husband and guests, but she fancied "some other parts of your nature . . . want employment." At Ambleside, Jane could enjoy the pleasant neighbours, her farm and weekly lectures, "books & sofas . . . & a warm room." Atkinson was leaving tomorrow. After she had written the title page of their book, he wrote "finis," and they were now "just going to scud through the rain to the post for exercise." The "real Nov<sup>br</sup> down pour" she hoped would clear before tonight's lecture.<sup>53</sup>

While she corrected the troublesome proofs of the new book, Edward Quillinan called to invite Martineau to dine next day with a physician and his party who had agreed to meet her. Martineau, however, had no interest in meeting *them*, she vaunted in her autobiography. Moreover, she was pressed for time because Charlotte Brontë was coming the following Monday to stay for two weeks.<sup>54</sup>

The *Leader* had begun to publish Martineau's "Sketches from Life," and she told G.H. Lewes of an earlier article, "Associated Homes for Poor Ladies," where she declared that "emancipations & reforms" should be carried out "by the sufferers themselves." Later she asked Lewes for two or three copies as she had given a London clergyman leave to reprint it. Moreover, she had half a mind to send Hunt (Lewes's partner) a "curious letter" from the "Master of the Union Workhouse" to whom her "Cow-letters" were addressed. An "extraordinary demand for Norfolk labourers" (skilled in stall-feeding livestock) had arisen, "nearly 100 persons, M<sup>r</sup> R[ockham] says," had been placed out at triple wages. Yet she could not let him print the facts "about labourers and their wages" which might make mischief in the Norfolk district.

"About Currer Bell's letter & the Catholics," she went on, "I don't exactly understand." Even as an "impartial spectator of theological fights," she felt "much ashamed of the Protestant bigotry at present," the "mocking street processions, & effigy burnings, w<sup>h</sup> nobody seems even to rebuke." She congratulated the *Leader*, along with the "'Northern Whig' . . . & the Unitarians at Cheltenham" for protesting. "Currer Bell's" letters usually pleased her. "I wish we may have such sunshine as this for her tomorrow," she could not help boasting. "All this December . . . we have had this yellow glow the whole day long." In her starlight walks the rushing Rotha seemed to "carry down gushes of stars to the lake; & there they come up to the surface, & float quietly till the dawn melts them." Lewes would get another "'Sketch'" from her "in two or three posts."<sup>55</sup>

(Charlotte Brontë confessed to William Williams, her publisher's reader, that the fact of Martineau's presence when they first met seemed visionary. Since then, Anne [her last living sibling] had died, and "a heavy burden of depression" was "sinking [her] to the earth." To her friend Ellen Nussey, Brontë reported that she had come to "Miss Martineau's for a week" and that the house was pleasantly "arranged at all points with admirable neatness and comfort." Owing to Martineau's work schedule, Brontë spent the mornings alone "in the drawing room - she in her study." At two in the afternoon, they met to "work, talk and walk together till 5 - her dinner hour - [and] spend the evening together - when she converses fluently." Martineau, Brontë went on, seemed "both hard and warm-hearted, abrupt and affectionate - liberal and

despotic. I believe she rules Ambleside." Kay-Shuttleworth [whom Brontë had hoped to avoid] came for her in his carriage almost every day and Martineau took her to see other distinguished lakers. On 21 December, for example, the two ladies dined at Quillinan's with Matthew Arnold, who spoke to Brontë "of her curates [targets of irony in *Shirley*], of French novels, and her education in a school at Brussels." Arnold, perhaps uneasy at Brontë's seeming naiveté, later described her to a woman friend as "past thirty and plain, with expressive grey eyes though." Brontë on the other hand noticed Arnold's "seeming foppery" but concluded that it was an "assumed conceit.")

Later that night, Martineau recorded in her autobiography, "there were proof-sheets lying; and I read her Mr. Atkinson's three letters about the distribution of the brain." She "was exceedingly impressed by what she called 'the tone of calm power in all he wrote'" and "insisted on having the whole book, when it came out." On their last evening together, Brontë coaxed Martineau to mesmerize her. When Martineau saw the ease with which her guest seemed to respond, however, she felt frightened and stopped - telling Brontë simply that she might prove an excellent subject in time.<sup>56</sup>

"'Curren Bell' spent a nice week here," Martineau told Louisa Jeffery McKee's husband, "ie, she grew fat & cheered up, & I enjoyed it, & every body liked her." Today Martineau was dining "at the Shuttleworths' with Forsters & Matt: Arnold" - and she wished Louisa joy on the birth of her son.<sup>57</sup>

In her autobiography, Martineau was to admit feeling that "the plain-speaking of the Atkinson Letters" would result in her "excommunication from the world of literature." In her preface to *Letters on Laws* dated "Ambleside, [19] November, 1850," she explained that the work consisted of letters between two friends, while *she* was responsible for its publication. Having for some years taken a deep interest in Atkinson's views on subjects of lifelong interest to her, she now felt it her duty to impart what the two inquirers after truth had learned. In his painstaking answers to Martineau's "letters" Atkinson declared the origin of all philosophies and religions to be material conditions and causes, the human brain being the sole source of "mind." Distinguishing the role of the cerebrum from that of the cerebellum - shown by means of mesmerism - he located the sites of various human characteristics. Referring to Bacon's views on matter and causation, Atkinson weighed phenomena such as inferences and dreams, the association of ideas, the results of knowledge and notions, the natural history of superstition, theology and science, the nature of *light*, the sense of identity and truth-seekers. Twenty-seven appendices, A to AA (a fourth of the work) included references to the life of Joan of Arc, experiments involving spontaneous life, instances from the *Life of Mackintosh* and Carlyle's *Cromwell* and "The Preaching Epidemic of Sweden," by Mary Howitt. When printing began, Martineau "highly enjoyed the proof-correcting," except for the "shameful mess" by the printers of the appendix, partly copied out by "the sickly retired clerk" living close to her gate. He declined accepting payment, she noted in her autobiography, but afterwards had the loan of her daily newspaper.<sup>58</sup>

(Martineau's friends seemed to react to her new book with a mixture of sadness and dislike. Hearing of the work, Macready wrote in his diary: "alas! alas! . . . a direct and positive declaration and avowal of atheistical opinions!" No reasoning being could "*really* entertain such a belief," and if there were any, *what right* had they "to promulgate such opinions?" Crabb Robinson noted drily:

I devoted all the day to the reading of Atkinson's and Miss Martineau's letters on the Formation of Man, and went over half the volume with no pleasure and yet with less disgust than I expected. I have not fallen in with any atheistical sentiments, but the arrogant tone is offensive . . . I shall make no *sacrifice* if I break with her entirely.

George Eliot recorded Eliza Follen's reacting "in extreme horror" at the book. Like Follen, Charlotte Brontë felt horror at the authors' cheerful "disbelief in the existence of God or a Future Life." Shrewdly, Fanny Wedgwood told Julia Smith she was sure "Miss M would like the éclat of noise and reprobation, and crowds of anonymous letters," sure to follow).<sup>59</sup>

From February to May almost all the reviewers of *Letters on Laws* censured the authors' want of understanding and logic. Francis Espinasse in *The Critic* noted [without mentioning Martineau] that while "[a]n honest truth-seeker is the rarest character humanity produces," Atkinson had failed to demonstrate organic laws, claiming phrenology to be the "true science of mind" without seeing that mesmerism had *disproved* materialism, i.e., that brain *was* mind. The *Athenaeum* reviewer accused Martineau of credulity, dogmatism, bigotry, inability to conduct an argument on the basis of reasoning or evidence and unquestioning faith in Atkinson's intellect. George Eliot commented privately: "Whatever else one may think of the book it certainly is the boldest I have seen in the English language;" in the *Leader*, she protested that religious faith was above logic and that Martineau's "faith" in clairvoyance and Atkinson's "evidence" of his phrenological theories were illogical [William Empson had declined John Chapman's offer on behalf of the then unknown Marian Evans to review the work for the *Edinburgh Review*].<sup>60</sup>

In *Fraser's*, James Anthony Froude called Atkinson's letters "deplorable" and his reasoning sophistical. Indignant at the authors' failure to account for "inner instinct" about the existence of God and their use of Bacon as mentor, he scorned the fuzziness of the question and answer form and noted that Lucretius had expressed Atkinson's ideas, of which Atkinson seemed ignorant. The *Eclectic* saw *no* meaning in "such a jumble of words:" Atkinson's denial of other systems was unphilosophical, the authors failing to consider man's spiritual element. By contrast, the secularist *Reasoner and Theological Examiner* referred approvingly to the work three times, the *Westminster* taking the tack of first lauding Martineau's service to the community. In an age abounding in female writers, the [unidentified] reviewer said, she had aided progress with her *Illustrations of Political Economy* and had left the best record of the times in *History of the Peace*. Her readers thus hoped for much from her "literary matrimony" with Atkinson. Yet the book proved "unphilosophical," the ideas confused and the observations lacking in scientific accuracy. He admired the authors' honesty and boldness, but found their metaphysics and theology fallacious. W.E. Hickson, reviewing the work for the second time in the *Westminster* in October, declared his respect for Atkinson's "moral courage" but objected that such works were self-contradictory. Finally James entered the lists to attack the work mercilessly in the *Prospective Review*, calling Atkinson "a man not without intelligence of a certain order" who had studied Bacon and was acquainted with physiology and especially phrenology and mesmerism. Yet he was *not* an "unappreciated genius" and was hardly known except through Martineau, his superior. The master-disciple letters between them showed a "crude and superficial handling of man's deepest and dearest faiths." Atkinson was simply a charlatan, and both authors displayed "flimsy logic and shallow sophistry." (James's review of the work ended Martineau's budding rapprochement with her younger brother).<sup>61</sup>

In the midst of published reactions to *Letters on the Laws*, Martineau sternly scolded Eliza Fletcher for her *letter* decrying the work. While they differed about many things, she thought "the rectitude of the disinterested pursuit & avowal of truth" was the one point on which they would agree. While *some* unexpectedly *sympathized* with the book, Fletcher was condemning it "without having made yourself acquainted with the state of the case," which bore no relation to "'Socialism'" but exalted "'conscience.'" It was "not atheistical" nor "a work of 'proselytism', but a philosophical work, grounded on & supported by Bacon's principles & methods." Ending her sermon, Martineau cited homilies and (more obligingly) asked Fletcher for "any recent printed statements of the destitution in the Highlands of which you spoke yesterday" that might be "of use in my paper for 'Household Words', which I must write this week." Soon Fletcher would receive, from Mary Arnold, a long letter from the Crafts that Martineau must send on "to Lady Byron."<sup>62</sup>

(A droll scene may have taken place shortly afterwards. Passing with her mother in a carriage, Margaret Davy "stopped . . . and detained me with questions, - I fancy in hopes of giving M<sup>rs</sup> F. a fair opportunity of being civil. . . . But she looked straight before her, and smelled away, with all her might, at a bouquet she held." Carrying on earlier gossip with the Wedgwood circle, Martineau could not help adding: "D<sup>r</sup> D. is abundantly hated, I find").<sup>63</sup>

Earlier in April, Eliza Fletcher had evidently come to tea at The Knoll on two separate occasions, first with the "large party of neighbours, - Arnolds, M<sup>r</sup> Greg & some quakers," to meet William and Ellen Craft - escaped American slaves sent by Boston abolitionist friends of Martineau's on a lecture and fund-raising tour of Britain. To Lucy (probably cousin Richard's wife), Martineau reported the excitement caused at Ambleside by the arrival of the young black couple and another man. The evening before they came, she had given "an anti-slavery lecture to my neighbours," and next night invited the visitors for "a quiet talk" at home. They seemed "sensible, full of information . . . simple & upright [and] longing for education." On the following day (29 March), she and her visitors walked in the valley and dined at home, and "Sir J.K. Shuttleworth sent his barouche, to take us a fine drive by High Close & Grasmere," before the tea party. "On Sunday," Martineau continued, "one went with my quaker friends, to Hawkshead; another climbed a mountain, & third stayed at home, for the serious work of writing a letter. (They can *just* read & write)." Margaret Davy and her mother had come to tea on that day, "to discuss what c<sup>d</sup> be done about getting the Crafts educated."

Martineau then wrote to Lady Byron, and "the good creatures" were "to be received into [Lady Byron's] school at Ockham, & be under the direct care of D<sup>r</sup> Lushington & his family." Next week, they would stay "with the [John Bishop] Estlins at Bristol." The "hubbub" over the Crafts" was a sign of "the greatest cause now moving in the world," protest over passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.<sup>64</sup>

Just then Maria and Jane (Robert's younger daughters) were staying at the Knoll. "How clever [Maria] is!" Martineau exclaimed to Lucy, and "a thinker, - & so benevolent, & - true, & earnest!" Jane was, rather, "a sweet little creature." Soon Martineau would go to Edgbaston on her way "to & from the sea." Last week, she had an application to let The Knoll "for six months from the 1<sup>st</sup> of May," though she "grudged being away during the whole leafy season." To her relief, the prospective tenant backed out. Had Lucy seen "Mme. Pulszky's last book, - of legends"? *Her* next guests would be "D<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Brown, wife & baby . . . then probably Lady Byron, & perhaps M<sup>rs</sup> Ker & others," depending on whether the house was let.<sup>65</sup>

Frances Ogden must have dropped off a "capital" review of *Letters on the Laws*, and Martineau responded that she thought "one c<sup>d</sup> make a game of ninepins of the article, & make one part knock down the other." The "opening about Comte" was the most unfortunate, for "interest in theology must exist till we have a *Positive Science of Human Nature*." Positive science had "exorcised the outward frame of Nature, got rid of Apollo & Neptune, & Iris & the Naiads &c" - the relation of the supernatural and metaphysical systems being now to the human mind. Mesmerism was proven, and she believed in the eventual "overthrow of the dogmatic theology [of the English Church] altogether, - not stopping at the extinction of the Sacerdotal principle." (Ogden had called while Martineau and her nieces were on a short excursion). Yesterday they opened "a bottle of Elder flower wine (M<sup>r</sup> Greg being here) & found it delectable. I shall take care & have some every summer." Among her family, she hoped Russell would obtain a tutorship, James having "worked very hard till past middle age." Her nieces were out sketching, and she was going to the building field at Ellerrigg where she had had "a meeting yesterday for M<sup>rs</sup> Twining to choose her lot." Would not "M<sup>r</sup> Ogden do a very good deed by taking a share or two in our Society?" It was a good investment "& a method of doing as much good as by any use of money whatever." Meantime, she would return the review to the Ogdens by way of the butcher on Saturday.<sup>66</sup>

When a reader named Cowper pointed out a mistake in *History of the Peace* regarding Faraday's countenance of the *Acarus Crosii* (i.e., spontaneous generation of insects under electrical stimuli), Martineau hurriedly wrote to Faraday that she was "anxious to be informed of every error of statement . . . as there will be a new edition next year," but it had never occurred to her to doubt the *Annual Register*. Within days, she learned that there was to be a *delay* in a new edition of the history, owing, she assured John Chapman, to the illness of Knight's foreman and not to Knight's reluctance after publication of the Atkinson letters. Knight had sent kind letters to her and to Atkinson, and now their book was being discussed among scientific men and at the clubs, with a growing respect for Atkinson's "curious ability." Martineau did not understand, she went on to Chapman, why Comte was so misunderstood in England. Even James had made errors about Comte's philosophy "at the outset of his magnificent article, 'The Battle of the Churches,'" in the January *Westminster*. Friends of Grote and Mill and her friends who did not *publish* were the only ones to see the grand effect Comte must work in Great Britain. The *Westminster* she had thought would discuss him, the *Edinburgh* being too feeble, and the temptation was strong "to bring him and the English mind into contact."

If William Hickson was still proprietor of the *Westminster*, Edward Lombe - a philanthropic "Norfolk country gentleman . . . residing in Florence" - must still support him. Taking Martineau's hint, Chapman wrote to Lombe about subsidizing a translation of Auguste Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive*.<sup>67</sup>

In her autobiography, Martineau explained that she delayed a year in reading Comte owing to work on "the 'Atkinson Letters' . . . and the History," but that "meantime [she had] looked at Lewes's chapter on Comte in Mr. Knight's Weekly [Monthly] Volume, and at Littré's epitome" in French, which gave her a notion of the whole. Her lectures ended on the first of April, and on the eighth,

I sent off the last proof-sheet of my history. On the fourteenth, my nieces left me; and there was an interval before my spring visits which I employed in a close study of

Comte's work. On the twenty-fourth, the book arrived from London; and I am amazed . . . to see by my Diary, that on the twenty-sixth, I began to "dream" of translating it.<sup>68</sup> Martineau's sensitivity about her public image after the Atkinson letters may have caused her to fuss over a new engraving of Richmond's portrait. Copies "ordered by M<sup>rs</sup> Claude" had not been ready for her Ambleside friend to bring from London, she complained to the engraver. He should send them with the weekly parcel from "Whitaker & C<sup>o</sup>" in care of Ambleside's "postmistress, book & printseller, M<sup>rs</sup> Nicholson," who would also be pleased to have a few copies to sell to tourists - Martineau having sent orders for all *she* wanted to printsellers in Liverpool and Birmingham. However, she cautioned, "there must be no 'Miss' at the bottom of the print:" on matters of public interest, her letters were addressed to "'Harriet Martineau,'" and she had no doubt that was "the best designation." More approvingly, she had heard "but one opinion . . . that it is a *true* likeness, - a pleasant likeness, - beautiful as a work of art."<sup>69</sup>

By mid-May, Martineau must have seen James's "Mesmeric Atheism." To Fanny Wedgwood, however, she admitted only that the book had been "as you said it would [be], abundantly 'misunderstood and abused.'" She and Atkinson had had *some sympathy* and agreement, and now knew who their friends and comrades were. She was gratified, moreover, "to find a way fairly opened to M<sup>r</sup> A, to say what more he has to say . . . without the trammels of a partnership." *She* had been advised "to collect the reviews into a volume, - with their lies, tricks, arrogance, spite, railing &c, - as a body of Christian morality."

The low state of "pauper and rural morals" next drew Martineau's censure: "the stir among the 'workies' every where, - the quarrels and horrible hatreds in the religious world, - with nincompoops for bishops, and paralytic Whigs for rulers." Armathwaite, though outwardly a perfect paradise, - where L<sup>d</sup> Carlisle, when he comes, glides in a boat under his woods, in the sweetest piece of scenery he knows; - his mind being full of sweet sentiment and fine sensibilities," on the other side of the bridge abounded in "hoggish sensuality," malice, trickery and "reckless crime." She was trying "to *change* the state of things" at Ambleside, as Fanny knew, her lectures having "gone on capitally to the end, - though the course [on the History of England] extended to 20" - but "the grandest thing" was the building society:

It was only in February that M<sup>rs</sup> Reid bought the field for us: and now every yard of it is sold, - and all to members of the Society. I am beginning to build M<sup>rs</sup> Reid's own two cottages; and within the half year, she will be wholly repaid, and the entire site be drained, fenced, allotted, and traversed with roads, - and every conveyance completed, and every bill paid.

There remained the "delight of seeing 16 or 18 cottage dwellings, rising on that healthy and beautiful spot, - to the saving of more life and health than any one will dare compute." Reid's first tenant was to be "a good man," who had lost three children in a bad dwelling.

Meanwhile, Martineau enjoyed "merry meetings on the ground" with eager locals:

We all cry out for M<sup>rs</sup> Reid. The land will cease to be hers before she sees it. But I have reserved for her and myself the pretty sheltered knoll at the furthest end of the field; and there our 3 cottages will be; with M<sup>rs</sup> Twining's and M<sup>rs</sup> Arnold's close at hand.

While poorer owners preferred lots nearer the main road, there would be "a sprinkling of good houses, - the druggist's and the post-mistress's," and with the parsonage close by she hoped it would save them "from the rising up of any pot house."<sup>70</sup>

Despite having looked forward to her holiday, she was returning home in a week, being "as weak as ever about resisting solicitations to work" and having "two new engagements." Dr. Stolterfoth had been called to Belgium, so their intended trip to Naworth Castle (where Mary, Queen of Scots was held captive) had to be put off. Tomorrow, she went on playfully, she hoped to take Martha (her maid) to Carlisle to "look for Fergus Mclvor's bones [leader of the Highlanders in Scott's *Waverley*] and other antiquities." If her house let, she would go to Robert's for a few weeks, before going "to the Norfolk coast" to see Ellen and her children and to comfort her "bereaved cousin Fanny" whose mother had died in March. Though she had not meant to see "the Exhibition," friends near London felt she must. "How is Snow?" she went on. Martineau's "two nieces and a nephew" had stayed for a month, "the last promising, and the sisters, older, really glorious girls." Finally, she gossiped about

Jenny Carlyle's outpouring to me, more than half a year ago, and of my immediate answer, - wherein I invited her to come to me . . . . Do you know - she has never taken the least notice of that letter! What a queer little body she is!<sup>71</sup>

"[O]ne of the best-informed men . . . in the kingdom" (probably George Jacob Holyoake, a self-styled "secularist") had advised Martineau to try to make an abstract of Comte's philosophy using illustrations of her own. After beginning an "analysis" of Comte's work, she spent evenings reading about "the lives and the history of . . . eminent mathematicians, and other scientific men." In April, she wrote to John Chapman about making a translation and abridgment and sent him a further "interesting account of M<sup>r</sup> Lombe."<sup>72</sup>

(Chapman later recorded that Martineau and Atkinson appeared at his office in London in July to inquire whether "I should be disposed to publish at my own risk 'dividing the profits' an abridgment [of Comte] in one or two vols." Chapman thought Martineau looked "exceedingly well" and was "a perfect zealot in her new Negative faith").<sup>73</sup>

In the meantime, Holyoake evidently asked Martineau to contribute to his *Reasoner* (begun in 1846). Although she "always read every line" and admired the temper of the journal, she replied that besides Comte she had engagements allowing her "to speak to so very large a multitude" she dared not decline "any part of that duty for new work whatever." The Atkinson book had not ruined her, as both friends and enemies predicted. Indeed, she was "more prosperous . . . than at any time since the first uproar of success" over her political economy tales, "nearly 20 years ago."<sup>74</sup>

Coyly confiding "a little bit of a secret" to Fanny Wedgwood in June, Martineau announced she was coming to London to visit "Chapmans, Follens, Reid & Knights," and would spend "Friday & Sat<sup>y</sup> [27 and 28 June] with the Chapmans, at '39 Devonshire St<sup>t</sup>, Portland Place.'" Maria Chapman and her daughters had come to see the Exhibition, as had Eliza Follen and her sister, Susan Copley Cabot, and Eliza's son "Charley," just graduated from Harvard. Fanny mustn't "heat & worry" herself with coming after her, for she was wholly "at the disposal of the Cs," and should probably be out. So much business had arisen with "publishers, editors & the like" that she must stay longer than she had hoped, though her house was let "capitally - for August & Sep<sup>r</sup> (not yet for July)." For London she had refused invitations to two houses "because I shall be so hot & tired as to need the independence of a lodging." However, she heard none were to be had for less than a month and might "go to a hotel . . . for 3 days or so." Her inclination was "to avoid Hyde Park altogether," but good Martha longed to go. Then she was to sleep at a "Workhouse! - the famous Guiltcross one, in Norfolk," where she would be



the guest of "good M<sup>r</sup> Rockham, who sent Fulcher to me." While there, she would "inspect the farm & schools." Next she would go to Bracondale to collect "Ellen & her bairns; & take them to Cromer for a few weeks. Then I drop Martha with her family, & go to the Kers' & my brother Robert's, & return about the 1<sup>st</sup> of October." Just now she had "a bit of authorship to finish" and was scribbling fast. No one but Erasmus must know she was coming. In London she meant to see the latest spectacles - "the Nile & North Pole, & Wyld's world" - and she had "an absurd fancy for the opera, "the Prodigue, - for the sake of its orientalism," but she wouldn't attempt it.<sup>75</sup>

Telling Frances Ogden of her London plans, Martineau added that she meant to show her Richmond's crayon portrait (of herself), "hanging up here." The engraving by Francis Holl seemed "beautiful as a work of art" and the portrait "a perfect likeness." In London she would treat herself to "the Ordnance maps of our district." Plans for a book club were also underway, Greg recommending Mudie's as "being liberal, punctual, & supplying the best books." Were the Dawsons willing?<sup>76</sup>

After the twenty-sixth of June, Martineau recorded in her autobiography, she went to the Exhibition with "beloved American friends [Maria Chapman's party]," heard "the last of Mr. Thackeray's lectures of that season and paid evening visits." (Once meeting Thackeray at a dinner party - after feeling skeptical of his sincerity regarding "the Bullers [then all dead]" - she mentioned "Dobbin's admirable turning the tables on Amelia." Suddenly Thackeray showed a "most genuine change of tone, - of voice, face, and feeling," thereby winning her "trust and regard more than [by] any thing he had said yet.")<sup>77</sup>

After calling on John Chapman with Atkinson, Martineau assured Frances Ogden she took "no notice" of idle tales that publishers avoided her after *Letters on the Laws*. Chapman, she insisted, allowed authors freedom to write what they wished and was intent on republishing her history in cheap form as *History of the Half Century* - so much "for the small gossip of the Unitarian world, w<sup>h</sup> can't bear to lose a member from the body."<sup>78</sup>

Staying at Cromer with Ellen and her children, Martineau read Thackeray's *Pendennis* for the first time. Seized with "a strange impulse" to try to write another novel, she nevertheless feared that "the methods and habits of historical composition" had spoiled her ability to write fiction. Cannily, she sent an appeal for help to Charlotte Brontë (perhaps believing a reputable publisher would not touch a novel by *herself* after *Letters on the Laws*). Brontë then sent Martineau a packet of envelopes addressed to her own publisher, George Smith.<sup>79</sup>

After Cromer, on Martineau's last day of a week in London "with a cousin [possibly Isabella Rankin] in a lodging," John Chapman tracked her down "with a wonderful piece of news." Lombe, "for many years a disciple of Comte," who "had wished to translate the 'Positive Philosophy,' but had been prevented by ill health," had sent Chapman "a draft on his bankers for 500£." Chapman had tea with Martineau and her cousin and "staid until 12 o'clock." He proposed that "she should appropriate £150 as remuneration [and] devote the remainder [?] to its publication," to which she assented. She asked Chapman further about publishing *Deerbrook* "in the Cheap Series," but he "did not encourage the idea." Following Richard's advice on "how to act, in regard to so important a trust [as the Comte]," she "immediately invested the whole amount [500£] in the Three per Cents."<sup>80</sup>

While she stayed with Robert's family in Birmingham for five weeks, Martineau was struck with the notion "that a clear, picturesque account of manufacturers might suit

'Household Words.'" Dickens "jumped at the offer," she later told Fanny Wedgwood; "and before I left Birm<sup>m</sup>, I did three . . . and since my return, I have done Kendal carpets, and Ambleside Bobbins."<sup>81</sup>

A letter from Holyoake reached Martineau at Birmingham, she answering that Hickson had sent her the last *Westminster* with his review of *Letters on Laws* and Holyoake's *The Logic of Death*, but before even *reading* the review, she spotted "sad quibbling & confusion."

For her Comte "enterprise," she confirmed that she would take only the £150, but needed a year and a half, or perhaps two; interest on the money would then aid "diffusion." Only yesterday she learned that Mill was *not* translating it and that another translation, "*not in popular form*," caused the author to offer her the use of his manuscript, seeing he could not compete. The work would come to "2 8<sup>vo</sup> vols," yet she was *trying* to make it cheap and had an American translation to use for the first part. Could Holyoake recommend aid for the "Mathematical & Astronomical" portions? If he came that way, he must stay at The Knoll, just giving her a day's notice.<sup>82</sup>

Probably in October, Martineau welcomed Samuel Brown and his wife, Helen, at The Knoll. Brown was "worn out and chilled in London," she told Fanny Wedgwood, but "I think it settles my going to Portobello next summer." In her autobiography, Martineau recorded having invited to dinner a friend of "an eminent philosopher from Scotland," who was staying with her, and being insulted by the friend as the translator of Comte. Realizing the man had never seen the work, she told him to look around at the "six volumes in green paper" on her bookshelf. "Now," she sniffed, "you can say that you have *seen* the book."<sup>83</sup>

Rumors about the disposition of Lombe's gift bothered Martineau. When the Browns left, she explained the matter to Frances Ogden. "Dear Friend, I dare say there is no need, but yet it may be well, - to say . . . that I am not going to pocket the £500 sent me for Comte [but] only the smallest sum I can name to him; - probably £150." The translator whom she had "innocently stopped in the midst" would get something, if his work merged with hers. Of local news, she had renewed friendships with Mrs. Green and Miss Morse and yesterday saw "M<sup>rs</sup> Wordsworth . . . fastened to her chair by rheumatism, & so small!"<sup>84</sup>

Keeping an eye on the sale of her books, Martineau noted to Holyoake (whose shop sold advanced literature) the want of books on education without theology. *Household Education*, written on a "philosophical basis," might be useful to the "workies," and she had asked the publisher to send him a copy. If he approved, they could arrange to sell a large number cheaper. The great point was ignoring *rank* in the development of human beings, her work being written for both Buckingham Palace and the "humblest cottage." A German translation, she had learned (mistakenly, as it turned out), was about to appear at Stuttgart.<sup>85</sup>

Fanny Wedgwood, perhaps curious about the response to Martineau's notions of child-rearing and family relations, asked to see the reviews of *Household Education*. Martineau responded a bit defensively that the notices had been "cursory, because the vol. was regarded as a reprint, (w<sup>h</sup> it was not, - for the most part)." Of Fanny's other queries, Martineau had *not* seen Carlyle's (idiosyncratic, anti-Church) biography of his friend and disciple John Sterling and sadly feared she would not: "M<sup>r</sup> Greg can't now afford book buying, any more than myself. M<sup>rs</sup> Arnold w<sup>d</sup> expect the ignition of Fox How, if the book was under its roof, (& we have no fire brigade here)"; furthermore, Margaret Davy would keep it a "profound secret," if she had seen it. The Forsters might lend it to her "quietly," but they were "not expected till after I have to go

south for a month." Atkinson, she chortled, "read it through" at a sitting, and in his next letter outdid Carlyle himself on the "'chopped straw' of the church &c."

On another subject, she thought Macaulay a "Whig of the cold-blooded sort." Next, she retailed an account from her nieces and nephews of the recent visit to Birmingham by the Hungarian exile Kossuth: "whereas the weather felt cold (at near 4)," while they were waiting for the procession, "it was hot & positively suffocating when the hero passed." Yet she had "small confidence in refugee patriots," for circumstances always proved too strong for individual "conviction, conscience, capacity, - every thing." Lately, young Edward Baring of Norfolk had been staying with her and claimed that Henry Reeve, her second cousin, was responsible for the "the pro-Austrian & anti-Hungarian" leaders in *The Times* calling Kossuth a political opportunist. Reeve's anti-liberalism disgusted her, and she repeated the five-year-old Henry's impudence to her mother at a family gathering.

"I wish I could give you a true impression of how sweet & fresh all is with me," she went on to Fanny. Her "good maids," Jane and Martha, were "well & merry" and came "for an hour in the ev<sup>g</sup>s . . . to write from dictation. One spells ill & writes well; & the other the converse: & they improve very fast." Meanwhile, Dickens had engaged her "to send him 8 or 10 more" articles on manufacturing from Birmingham and neighbourhood, and she was going there for a month with her maid Jane, "to do the exploring with me." The work would be fatiguing and require independence, so she was going to a lodging - her nieces being busy, one in Genoa with the Peter Taylors. She would go before "the holidays" if Rugby friends of Mary Arnold's wanted The Knoll, otherwise the first week in January. Dickens was "so taken with the plan" and had "so *many* readers . . . & the proceeds build such a nice additional cottage," she was willing to leave her "Paradise." On her recent return, she found her experiment with a passion flower had produced "37 blossoms peeping in at the study window." She was planting arbutus, had bought "no vegetables" and built "a nice root-house for the cow-food." Among her friends, Elisabeth Reid had been taking the waters at Malvern while Martineau was there to research a piece for *Household Words*. But Eliza Follen - staying on in England - seemed "(entre nous) to go off . . . to become so aristocratic, - so weak, - so querulous. And S. Cabot too!"<sup>86</sup>

Having "stipulated for a year & a half, or two years, if necessary" before producing her "Epitome or Analysis" of Comte, Martineau turned aside to work on her novel. At Christmas she "sent the first volume to Charlotte Brontë," who "wrote gloriously about it." Then to Martineau's evident surprise and chagrin, George Smith (Brontë's publisher) wrote that he dared not publish the novel because of its "favourable representations and auguries on behalf of the Catholics." Smith said that as a child he had heard *Illustrations of Political Economy* read aloud to him by his father, and he urged Martineau to write another novel like *Deerbrook*.

(As summarized by Smith, who smiled at the idea of Martineau's keeping a secret, "Oliver Weld" was set in an England of 100 years in the future and featured "idle and desolate fields, spotted over with crowded and strongly fortified cities," a countryside inhabited by wild men *hunted* by the townspeople and a romance between a town-maiden and a handsome wild man). Martineau put aside and later burned the manuscript, but "when the scheme was at an end," she told Atkinson and her cousin Richard about it.<sup>87</sup>

Her "Xmas kitchen" festivity would keep her at home until the first, to put "the Snapdragons on fire myself, & read the fairy tale myself, round the kitchen fire," Martineau reported. Yet rumblings of war on the continent seemed troubling. "Our Xmas ghosts this year

are Napoleon & Canning, - the one foretelling, - the other foreshowing what the world is now to enter upon. I have been familiar with the idea for 1/4 of a century" (i.e., Canning's "war of opinion"). Two of her great anxieties were "the want of a Ministry, & P. Albert's tendencies." She had means of knowing that only his youth and "the Ministers being elderly men" had kept him "in any order at all since Feb<sup>y</sup> 1848: & when he is middleaged, & the Ministers a set of younger men, matters will not be so easy." *Had* she loaned the Ogdens her copy of *Mansfield Park*, missing from her shelves? Today she was busy "with an odd correspondence" about who was to have her ears after her death. "An eminent surgeon" begged for them, but she did not know whether his having them was compatible with her legacy of her "skull & brain to another."<sup>88</sup>

Possibly in late December 1851, Martineau wrote to George Combe [?] about an experiment to test her hearing. When the Arnolds had let her try their new piano, she reported, she struck it first with a piece of wood, then metal - which was truer and pleasanter. Over her left (worse) ear, she heard distinctly; over her right, perfectly; and by her teeth, "loud & drumming." Though Ker believed Martineau could recover her hearing, she compared the idea to reducing a hump back. If Combe would say whether he thought anything could be done for her hearing, she could satisfy Ker, and she hoped Combe and Atkinson might meet. After Tuesday's post, she added, she would be in Birmingham at Highfield Road, Edgbaston.<sup>89</sup>

A small piece by Martineau, "What Christmas Is in Country Places," appeared in *Household Words* in December. The Atkinson book had not hurt her reputation, she wrote in her diary, adding "this remarkable year [has been] an improving and happy one . . . full of blessings." On 31 December, she would travel to Birmingham to research and write up the manufacturing papers for Dickens.<sup>90</sup>

In January, Martineau tried once again to interest Holyoake in getting *Household Education* into the hands of common readers. The book now seemed cheap at six shillings, but anyone buying a *number* could have them at three shillings. She believed there were "about 300 or 400 copies left [and] once sold off, we might put forth a *very* cheap edition, - merely paying paper & print of a cheap kind." People would be glad to have it at "a very low price," and if he judged half-a-crown better than three shillings, he should *say so*.<sup>91</sup>

Still concerned about her income after disappointment and anger at George Smith's rejection, Martineau's spirits seemed to revive with the cosseting she received from Robert's family in Birmingham. She had warned that business "would occupy all the daylight hours," she must dine late and "preferred going to a lodging" - but she would take tea in the evenings and spend Sundays with the family. Seeming to agree to her stipulations, the family warned of "highway robberies . . . taking place at Edgbaston almost every evening." A nephew then wrote that rooms had been found with a woman who had left her old home "'for a better situation'" and Martineau would not have far to walk to their tea-table. Not *wholly* taken in, Martineau was still surprised and delighted at "the preparation they had made for me and my work." They arranged "one of the prettiest rooms in the house" with writing table, sofa, lamp, "and all possible conveniences," she declared in her autobiography. Moreover, Jane or one of Martineau's nieces insisted on going along to help her "listen" and to make notes.<sup>92</sup>

On the "Shortest Day" of 1851, Martineau apparently wrote to *Jonathan Ogden* with advice from her nephew Frank about ordering a gun from Birmingham for his son. Nothing made "Birmingham manufacturers more angry than hearing of cheap guns," she avowed. Her

"brother & nephews" not only understood the matter thoroughly, but their standing in the town made them "sure to be well served." After a week, Martineau reported to Frances Ogden that her nephews had sent the gun, which might seem slow in coming - but that armorers there had a government order for 6,000 double rifles, while heavy guns were to be sent to seaports. To confirm the war scare, 10,000 infantry were being levied, also to be armed, and there was a great increase in the need for artillery. A French officer had shown a friend little strips of paper smuggled to him and revealing Louis Napoleon's war plans.

Martineau had now visited her first "manufacture" and tomorrow morning would go to Coventry for three days to stay in the homes of two hearty families she did not know. On Monday, she would travel to London on Toynbee business and would call on William Henry Wills, sub-editor of *Household Words*. Staying with Elisabeth Reid, she would see just two or three friends - her time being short and her errand odd - before she returned to Birmingham.<sup>93</sup>

Clearly pleased at Dickens's taking up her idea, Martineau carefully listed in her autobiography the "ten more papers" spun out for *Household Words*:

'The Miller and his Men,' - The Birmingham Flour mills.

'Account of some treatment of Gold and Gems,[]' - Gold refining, Gold Chains and Jewellery.

'Rainbow-Making,' - Coventry Ribbons.

'Needles,' - the Redditch Manufacture.

'Time and the Hour,' - Coventry Watches.

'Guns and Pistols,' - Birmingham Gun-manufacture.

'Birmingham Glass-works,' - Messrs. Chances and Messrs. Oslers.

'What there is in a Button,' - Birmingham buttons.

'Tubal Cain,' - Brass-founding.

'New School for Wives,' - Evening School for Women.<sup>94</sup>

Back at Ambleside in late February, Martineau wrote to Emerson to thank him for his *Representative Men*, which she had "highly" enjoyed. The third volume of Margaret Fuller's memoirs (partly edited by Emerson) she was sending to Margaret Davy, to "get rid of the bad odour cast about the subject by the vile Athenaeum." Fuller's escape into mysticism horrified Martineau, but she felt marriage had sobered her. Fuller's sufferings arose from the "obvious transgressions of the laws of our nature, - by herself & others" (in the language of *Letters on the Laws*). Her death came as a shock, her husband only able to pray - though people *could not* know the details. Emerson's part of the memoirs was dear because sincere, but Channing's part was "dreadful." A sad person, Fuller revealed women's needs - though her judgment of Atkinson as not being a "thinker" amused Martineau. "An old sage of 80 [Basil Montagu?] said last year that he had known all the greatest thinkers in Europe for the last 60 years; & he knew no mind to compare with Henry Atkinson's."

Samuel Brown had sent a bad report of Emerson's eyesight (Emerson stayed with Brown in Edinburgh), but how were Lidian and the "little girls?" In London, she met the Carlyles, "just saw them & O! dear! felt them too." They had put her between them at Thackeray's last lecture, "& both got the fidgets." After the first half hour, Carlyle looked at his watch, "& held it across me, about once every two minutes; & he filled up the intervals with shaking himself, & drumming his elbows into my side. Such was the interview!" They asked her to Chelsea afterwards, but her time in London had been too short. His life of Sterling was beautiful,

however, more worthy than the Papal aggression issue to unite the nation. "As for myself . . . . It is curious that one so solemn in youth sh<sup>d</sup> be growing merry in her 50<sup>th</sup> year," while "M. Fuller w<sup>d</sup> have thought me more commonplace than ever." Her work on Comte was enough - plus work for Dickens, her farm, her lectures "(by request)," the building society and all her nephews, nieces and friends who came to stay. She was feeling again the "constitutional *contentedness*" with which she had been born [?], "& w<sup>h</sup> was obscured in a thick environment of cares."

Martineau's servants remembered *him*, she told Emerson. Jane Arnold had married, and Greg had "gone some miles off, - his wife hopelessly insane at last." Though Quillinan and Wordsworth were both dead and three other families gone, "I don't try to fill their places with new acquaintances," she ended; "I have enough to keep myself awake: & plenty of family & friends to visit or to welcome."<sup>95</sup>

Thanking Holyoake for sending her a notice of *Household Education* (being sold by Watson?), Martineau explained that Chapman would soon take stock and send her an account for *Letters on the Laws* and then let her know about *Household Education*. Though certain she and Chapman could agree on terms with Watson, she feared she'd been too hasty (probably about making the work cheaper), but rejoiced over its present circulation among the "workies." Moxon's not agreeing to his former price surprised her: he used to be liberal, but he had lawyer brothers "growing sharp in their dealings."<sup>96</sup>

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Auto.* 2: 301 and 318-19; Charles MacFarlane, *Reminiscences of a Literary Life* (London: John Murray, 1917) 94.

<sup>2</sup> Acknowledgement to the Trustees of the Free Grammar School at Ambleside, 19 July [1848?], BUL 1228.

<sup>3</sup> Edwin Chadwick to HM, 7 September 1848, BUL 1303.

<sup>4</sup> HM to Moxon, 15, 24 September and 18 November 1848, *CL* 3: 125-26, 127 and *HM/FL* 163-64; to the earlier articles on "Household Education," Martineau added "No. VII. Care of the Frame," on infant care, "No. VIII. Care of the Powers," on growing children (to the latter, she was to add "Conscientiousness" [one], "Intellectual Training" [five], XVII-XXVI, "Care of the Habits" [three] and a conclusion) 172-86, 262-74, 275-97, 298-319 and 320-26; [rev.] *Household Education* *Morning Chronicle*, 13 September 1848: 6, cols. 5-6--7, cols. 1-2 (lighthearted but disparaging of Martineau's "theories and views of sacred themes and characters"); see also [rev.] "*Household Education*," *Sartain's Union Magazine* 4 (May 1849): 350; for the cowshed, see below.

<sup>5</sup> HM to Helen Martineau, 15 October [1848], *CL* 3: 128-31; Louisa Augusta Claude lived with her daughter Jane at Broadlands, Ambleside; David Friedrich Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* treated Christ as an exceptional, but *human* being; Martineau's writing began with Book 2: see Preface, *HP* 1: iii; Robert Fulcher and his wife were to inspire one of Martineau's "Sketches from Life" (*Household Education* v [not included in the edition of 1861 published by Smith, Elder]: see note 44.

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<sup>6</sup> See Lant Carpenter, *Principles of Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820); *Athen.*, 27 January 1849: 89; *British Quarterly Review* 9 (May 1849): 568-69; *Auto.* 2: 324; *Household Education* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1849).

<sup>7</sup> HM to Graves, 30 November and 15 December [1848], *CL* 3: 133-34 and *HM/FL* 164.

<sup>8</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, Saturday evening [?December 1848], Armitt Library MS 367.22 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 135-36); Mrs. Ann Harrowin, ironmonger, Kingsland high street, London; after Dresden, James moved briefly to Switzerland and then for the winter term to Berlin, where Isabella "was seized with a nervous fever, and hovered for weeks between life and death," Carpenter, *James Martineau* 315.

<sup>9</sup> HM to Moxon, 21 December 1848, *CL* 3: 134 (the book must have been for Aunt Margaret Rankin).

<sup>10</sup> HCR to Thomas Robinson, 28 December 1848; HCR to Isabella Fenwick, 15 January 1849; Mary Wordsworth to HCR, [24 February 1849], *Robinson/Wordsworth Circle*, Morley 2: 680, 684-87 and 687-91; *The Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. Derek Hudson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1967) [entry for 1 December 1848] 250.

<sup>11</sup> HM to FW, 2 January [1849], *HM/FW*101-105; Dr. Robert Darwin's dominating personality in fact seemed to cause all six of his children to become ill at the time of his funeral (see *The Wedgwood Circle* 249-50); the field was at Ellerrigg, a steep climb from the Ambleside market cross; under the Public Health Act of 1848 planned by Chadwick, local boards of health became compulsory when mortality rose above a specified level.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge's eldest son, Hartley, lived at Nab Cottage, Grasmere (at times passing Martineau on the road he execrated her no doubt disapproving looks); Hartley died on 6 January of bronchitis caught from lying outside while drunk; contrary to Martineau's claim, James's studies led him to "a new intellectual birth": Carpenter 315.

<sup>13</sup> Knight, *Passages* 3: 27-29.

<sup>14</sup> John Crosfield, Rothay Bank, Ambleside (*A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* vi); Thomas Bell, chemist and druggist (*Guide to Windermere* 95); Todd, *Harriet Martineau at Ambleside* 168; *Auto.* 2: 301-10.

<sup>15</sup> John Forster, *Examiner*, 14 July 1849: 436-37; in an "Advertisement" of January 1846, Knight declared *The History of England During the Thirty Years' Peace, 1816-1846* to be an account of the progress of society and humanity, resulting from the people, private capital and industry; Preface, 1: iii-iv; *Athen.*, 31 March and 7 April 1849: 317-19 and 353-55; "Publications Received," *Spec.*, 24 March 1849: 279; "Miss Martineau's Introduction to the History of the Peace," *Spec.*, 31 May 1851: 520-21.

<sup>16</sup> HM to "Madam," 20 March [1849], *CL* 3: 141; see (?) "League of Fidelity for Women," *The Times*, 7 August 1849: 2, col. 6.

<sup>17</sup> HM to Moxon, 10 April [1849], *SL* 116-17; Isabella must have taken up a new governess post; *EL* [complete in one volume] (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848); from 1833, the firm of Lea and Carey was usually termed Carey, Lea and Blanchard.

<sup>18</sup> John Weale to HM, 13, 17 and 21 April 1849; notes of terms in Martineau's hand; R. Kinder to Richard Martineau, 23 April 1849; Richard Martineau to HM, 23 April 1849: BUL 1213, 1214, 1217, 1218, 1215 and 1216.

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- <sup>19</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, 18 April [1849], *CL* 3: 142-43; Tidd Pratt, a solicitor?; Knight and Jerrold stayed with Martineau the *following* year: see note 38.
- <sup>20</sup> HM to Milnes, 10 May [1849?], *HM/FL* 166; Richard Monckton Milnes, *The Events of 1848, Especially in their Relation to Great Britain. A Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne* (London: John Ollivier, 1849), pleading support for Italy against Austrian aggression; HM to Frances Ogden, 28 May [1849], *CL* 3: 143.
- <sup>21</sup> *Macready*, Toynbee [entry for 9 June (1849)] 2: 429; see *The Times* for "Theatricals in the United States" (24 May 1849: 8, col. 4), "The Riots at New York" (29 May 1849: 5, col. 4-6 and 6, col. 1) and [riots mentioned] 6 June 1849: 6, col. 5.
- <sup>22</sup> HM to Helen Martineau, 13 June 1849, HMC MS H. Martineau 1 fols. 26-27 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 145-46); Fulcher's "rise" at last caused a blowup with Martineau; a note in *Sartain's* (5 [December 1849]: 386) stated that Martineau was engaged to write exclusively for that journal (she was working on *History of the Peace*, vol. 2); Francis William Newman (brother of John Henry Newman), professor of Latin at University College, London, and his wife, Maria, a Plymouth Brother; for Newman's "soul" book, see next note; Lord Elgin served as Governor of Canada from 1846 to 1854 (see *CL* 3: 146, note 2).
- <sup>23</sup> "A Year at Ambleside. July [and August]," *Sartain's* (see note 35; in 1852, Susan was to accompany Martineau on her Irish journey); HM to WJF, 18 July [1849], *CL* 3: 147-49; for Forster's review of *History of the Peace*, see note 15; for Fox's speeches in favor of constitutional representation, but not "extreme democracy," see *The Times*, 25 May 1849: 3, col. 6 and 4 July 1849: 3, col. 6-4, col. 1; Martineau may have begun the exchange of letters with Atkinson to be published in *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development* (London: John Chapman, 1851); Francis William Newman, *The Soul, Her Sorrows and Her Aspirations: An Essay Towards the Natural History of the Soul, as the True Basis of Theology* (London: John Chapman, 1849); Croker called Martineau unfeminine and her stories unnatural.
- <sup>24</sup> Edward Quillinan to HCR, 17 August 1849, *Correspondence . . . with the Wordsworth Circle* 2: 702-704.
- <sup>25</sup> *Auto.* 2: 320; *HP* 2, book 6, chap. 17.
- <sup>26</sup> John Crosfield to HM, 11 and 20 November 1849, BUL MS Harriet Martineau 1281 and 1282; Martineau's *Guide to Windermere* lists R.F. Bell, Ironmonger, William Fell, Esq., Surgeon, and Peter Donaldson, Salutation Hotel, of Ambleside; by 1851, slum landlords had become the butt of even unsophisticated satire: see Henry Moreley, "Mr. Bendigo Buster on the Model Cottages," *HW* 3 (5 July 1851): 337-41.
- <sup>27</sup> [Martha Fulcher] to HM, 7 December 1849, BUL 1244.
- <sup>28</sup> HM to FW, [?October/November 1849], *HM/FW* 105-6; JWC to John A. Carlyle, Saturday [10 November 1849], *Carlyle Letters* 24: 283-85.
- <sup>29</sup> *Auto.* 2: 323-28; Charlotte Brontë to HM, [?17 November 1849], *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë with a Selection of Letters by Family and Friends*, ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 2: 287-88; Lucy Martineau to "Jack," 10 December 1849, *LMU* (see Juliet Barker, *The Brontës: A Life in Letters* [Woodstock and New York: Overlook, 1998] 255-56); Elizabeth Gaskell to Anne Shaen, [?20 December 1849], *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, ed. J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1966) 96-97.
- <sup>30</sup> HM to Helen Martineau, 29 December 1849, *CL* 3: 151-52 (Helen and James and Ellen lived in Liverpool; after the opening of James's new church in Liverpool on 4 October 1849, Russell



played the organ before nine hundred listeners in "the adjacent Hall of the Philharmonic Society" (Drummond and Upton 1: 195).

<sup>31</sup> HM to FW, 19 January [1850], *HM/FW* 106-8; Elizabeth Newton Paulet of Seaforth (near Liverpool) had aroused Jewsbury's jealousy over her friendship with Jane Carlyle; James Anthony Froude, having attacked the Tractarians in his novel, *Nemesis of Faith* (London: John Chapman, 1849), resigned his fellowship at Exeter College, Oxford, and took a position as tutor in the family of Manchester solicitor Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire; *Eastern Life. A New Edition* (London: E. Moxon, 1850).

<sup>32</sup> HM to Moxon, [2] February 1850, *HM/FL* 185-86; *Eastern Life, Present and Past. A New Edition* (London: Moxon, 1850) and [3rd edition] *Eastern Life, Present and Past. A New Edition, with Illustrations* (London: E. Moxon, Son, and Co. [1875]).

<sup>33</sup> *Athen.* 9 and 16 February 1850: 149-51 and 177-79.

<sup>34</sup> Macready, Toynbee [entry for 16 April 1850] 2: 464.

<sup>35</sup> "A Year at Ambleside. January [-December]," *Sartain's* (Todd 41, 79, 112, 113, 116, 125, 127, 128 and 148).

<sup>36</sup> HM to HGA, 5 May 1850, BANC [Box 1] 3 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 159-60); Nassau William Senior, [rev. of George Cornwall Lewis, *An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion* (London: [orig.] J. Murray, 1841; J. W. Parker, 1849)] *ER* 91 (April 1850): 508-58, Senior reluctantly accepting testimonies from Elliotson and Esdraile [in India] on the truth of mesmerism.

<sup>37</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, 11 May [1850], *HM/FL* 187; Mrs. Grundy, an archtypical prude in T. Morton's *Speed the Plough* (1798); Ogden may allude to the civil case concerning unpaid alimony between Blenkinsopps (see *The Times*, 11 February 1850: 7, col. 1).

<sup>38</sup> *Auto.* 2: 329-39; "Jerrol and Charles Knight . . . visited Harriet Martineau" after the opening of Jerrol's play *A Man Made of Money* on 9 May 1850: Michael Slater, *Douglas Jerrol. 1803-1857* (London: Duckworth, 2002) 242; James, in his review of their book, sneered at Atkinson's grammar.

<sup>39</sup> HM to FW, 23 May [1850], Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd., *HM/FW* 108-111); William Pitt the Younger, prime minister 1783-1802 and 1804-1806; Palmerston, foreign secretary, 1830-1834, 1835-1841 and 1846-1851 (Book I of *History of the Peace* was by George Lillie Craik and Charles McFarlane); "The Sickness and Health of the People of Bleaburn," *HW* 1 (25 May, 1, 8 and 15 June 1850): 193-99, 230-38, 256-61 and 283-88 (see HM to Annie Bent Ware, *CL* 3: 165-66), "The Home of Woodruffe the Gardener," *HW* 1 (24, 31 August and 7 September 1850): 518-24, 540-47 and 569-74 (Martineau also contributed "The Ghost That Appeared to Mrs. Wharton," *HW* 2 (2 November 1850): 139-42).

<sup>40</sup> Forster (engaged to Jane Arnold) lived at Fox Ghyll; Martineau offered The Knoll to an acquaintance of Margaret Davy's at five guineas a week including "one maid in the house, & the gardener in his cottage, plate, linen & all comforts" (HM to Mr. Selfe, 14 May [1850], *HM/FL* 188).

<sup>41</sup> The Francis Jeffreys were friends of Fanny's family from early days in London; Martineau's estrangement from Lissey seemed forgiven; Francis William Newman, *Phases of Faith; or, Passages from the History of My Creed* (London: John Chapman, 1850), a rejection of traditional creeds ending with belief in simple morality and truth and the law of "progress;" JM, "The Church of England," *WR* 53 (April 1850): 165-218 (terming the Church reactionary, James

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recommended opening positions in the universities, the Church and Parliament to Englishmen of all religious persuasions).

<sup>42</sup> *Robinson*, Sadler [diary entry for 13 June 1850] 3: 364-65.

<sup>43</sup> HM to HCR, 6 July 1850, DWL HCR corr. 1850 50b-51 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 162-64).

<sup>44</sup> *Auto.* 2: 371, 339-40 (for Armathwaite, see above); *Robinson*, Hudson [entry for 25 August 1850] 263; "The Marsh Fog and the Sea Breeze," *HW* 3 (12 and 19 April 1851): 53-58 and 88-94; the *Leader* (launched on 30 March 1850 by G.H. Lewes and Thorton Hunt) reviewed two of Martineau's works: "Martineau's History of 1800-1815" (calling her "thoughtful and impartial") and "Letters on Man's Nature and Development" followed by "Martineau's Letters on Man," *Leader*, 31 May, 1 and 8 March 1851: 515-17, 201-3 and 227-28; Martineau claimed her short "Sketches from Life" were mostly based on true incidents: "The Old Governess," 9 November 1850: 788-89, "The Collegian [on bank failure]," 23 November 1850: 836-37, "The Maid-Servant," 7 and 14 December 1850: 883-84 and 907-908, "The Navvie," 21 December 1850: 931-32, "The Convert," 28 December 1850: 955-56, "The Factory Boy," 11 January 1851: 42-43, "The Farm Labourer--the Father," 15 February 1851: 155-56, "The Farm Labourer--the Son (a fictionalized account of Fulcher's coming to Ambleside, his wife, his farming methods and prosperity)," 1 March 1851: 205-6, "The Convict," 15 March 1851: 252-53, "A Specimen of an Inferior Race [an American slave]," 5 April 1851: 324-25, "The Despised Woman [a humble wife]," 19 April 1851: 372, "The Shopman," 17 May 1851: 468-69, "The Stock Farmer," 5 and 12 July 1851: 637-38 and 661-62.

<sup>45</sup> See *Auto.* 2: 340-42; *Two Letters on Cow-Keeping. Addressed to the Governor of the Guiltcross Union Workhouse* (London: Charles Gilpin and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, n.d.); Gilpin, London publisher and bookseller in Bishopsgate Street to 1853 (see "Our Farm of Two Acres" [chap. 45, note 5]); for John Chapman's evident agreement to publish Martineau's pamphlet, see HM to Chapman, 2 October [1850], *HM/FL* 192).

<sup>46</sup> "Harriet Martineau and Mesmerism," *The Times*, 18 October 1850: 5, col. 6 (from the *Eastern Counties Herald*); John Elliotson, "Mesmeric Cure of a Cow, by Miss Harriet Martineau," *Zoist* 8 (1850): 300-303 [including HM to John Elliotson, 19 August 1850, 301-302]; and "Distressing effects produced in a Doctor upon the removal of a Disease from a Cow with Mesmerism. By Miss Harriet Martineau. Communicated by Dr. Elliotson," *Zoist* 8 (1850): 333-35 [including HM to John Elliotson, 23 October 1850, 333-34]; "Our Weekly Gossip," *Athen.*, 26 October 1850: 1119, cols. 2-3; "Dr. Elliotson's Estimate of Miss Martineau," *Reasoner* 10, no. 4: 37.

<sup>47</sup> HM to [Charles Gilpin], 28 September [1850], *HM/FL* 191-92; HM to Chapman, 2 October [1850], *HM/FL* 192; for Martineau's "farming letter," see note 45.

<sup>48</sup> For Carlyles, see note 50; HM to Samuel Brown, 8 October [1850], *CL* 3: 170-71 (Brown graduated M.D. at the University of Edinburgh in spring 1839 and by 1842 was living at Rose Bank, Portobello [outside Edinburgh], where he carried out chemical experiments in an eccentric laboratory; in 1843 he failed to obtain the chemistry chair at the University of Edinburgh, choosing to be judged on the basis of his atomic theory [including the transmutation of base metal into gold, at which he failed to satisfy the referees], and Professor William Gregory of King's College, Aberdeen, got the chair; Brown continued his chemical experiments and in 1849 married his cousin Helen Littlejohn who became Martineau's lifelong friend: see Arbuckle, "Dr. Samuel Brown of Edinburgh"); for Martineau's "farming Letter," see note 45; Thornton Hunt, "SOCIAL REFORM. . . . No. VI.--The Land: its Slavery. To David Masson. [and]

No. VII - The Land: Its Bondage. To David Masson., " *Leader*, 7 and 14 September 1850: 563, cols. 2-3--564, cols. 1-2 and 589 [letters dated September 5 and 12, 1850] (on the importance of owning land and the hardship of not having access to it).

<sup>49</sup> HM to WLG, 23 October 1850, *CL* 3: 173; the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, published in New York 1840-1872 by the American Anti-Slavery Society; for Martineau's skepticism about American publishers' paying up, see HM to Ellis Gray Loring, 23 October 1850, *CL* 3: 171-73.

<sup>50</sup> HM to JWC, 3 November [1850] (in private hands).

<sup>51</sup> HM to ? [fragment, probably to Fanny Wedgwood], [?November 1850], *HM/FW* 111-13; Jane was depressed over Carlyle's flirtation with Lady Ashburton, but Martineau's friendship with the Carlyles had cooled; Fanny Lupton lived at Paternewton Hall, Leeds.

<sup>52</sup> *Auto*. 2: 343; HM to Moxon, 6 November [1850], *CL* 3: 174-75.

<sup>53</sup> HM to JWC, 19 November [1850], *CL* 3: 177.

<sup>54</sup> *Auto*. 2: 349-50.

<sup>55</sup> HM to George Henry Lewes, Sunday [*December 1850*] and 10 December [1850], *CL* 3: 180 and 181-82; "Associated Homes for Poor Ladies" [on female lodging houses], *Leader*, 19 October 1850: 708, col. 3--709, col. 1; for Martineau's "Sketches from Life," see note 44; for Charlotte Brontë's literary anti-Catholicism, see Janet Butler, "Brontë's VILLETTE," *Explicator* 17 [Spring 1989]: 22-25, citing Charlotte Brontë to Thornton Hunt and George Lewes, 23 November 1850, on establishing a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England.

<sup>56</sup> Charlotte Brontë to William Smith Williams, 19 December 1849, quoted in Barker, *The Brontës: A Life in Letters* 257; Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, 18 December 1850, HL MS HM 24477; Charlotte Brontë to Patrick Brontë, 21 December 1850, Brontë Parsonage Museum MS BS 90.5; Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994) 663-65 (during her stay, Brontë was taken to Fox How to see the oil portrait of Thomas Arnold "in full doctoral regalia with open book and penetrating expression:" see Valerie Sanders, *The Tragi-Comedy of Victorian Fatherhood* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009] 113); *Auto*. 2: 350.

<sup>57</sup> HM to James McKee, Saturday [late December 1850], JRUL.

<sup>58</sup> *Auto*. 2: 343-70 (Martineau may partly have anticipated an outcry at Atkinson's shaky qualifications); Crabb Robinson, calling in at John Chapman's, heard Mary Ann Evans pronounce the book "studiously offensive . . . absolutely atheistic!" *Robinson*, Hudson [entry for 8 February 1851] 265; Preface, *LLMND*: v-vi, and Appen., 293-390.

<sup>59</sup> *Macready*, Toynebee [diary entry for 2 February 1851] 2: 491; *Robinson*, Hudson [entry for 4 March 1851] 265; George Eliot to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bray, [15 February 1851], *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (New Haven: Yale UP, 1954-55; London: Oxford UP, 1955-56) 1: 346; FW to Julia Smith, 31 March 1851, Wedgwood Papers, UKL; Charlotte Brontë to James Taylor, 11 February 1851, p. 1, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, U of Texas at Austin.

<sup>60</sup> For a summary of the work, probably by Martineau, see *An Analytic Catalogue of Mr. Chapman's Publications* (London: John Chapman, 1852) 57-60; Francis Espinasse (under "Philosophy"), *The Critic; London Literary Journal*, 10 (15 February 1851): 78-79; *Athen.*, 1 March 1851: 244 (see also, J. Stevson Bushnan, M.D., "Miss Martineau and her Master," *Athen.*, 27 December 1851: 1374); [George Eliot], *Leader*, 1 and 8 March 1851: 201-3 and 227-28 [see John Chapman diary entry, 18 April 1851, and George Eliot to Charles Bray, 4 October 1851, *The George Eliot Letters* 1: 349 and 364].

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<sup>61</sup> James Anthony Froude, "Materialism: Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson," *Fraser's* 43 (April 1851): 418-34; *Eclectic* 2 n.s. (July-December 1851): 318-31; the reviewer in the *Reasoner and Theological Examiner*, vol. 10, cited the "coarse notice in the *Athenaeum*," the "brutal critique in the *Daily News*" and the "unexpected rudeness of the *Nonconformist*," adding that the work had not yet been examined (363), letters of support having come from H.B. and Arthur Trevelyan (428-29 and 429-30) and from G.J. Holyoake in "The Martineau and Atkinson Letters on Man. Why Miss Martineau Is not an Atheist" (471-72), [the reviewer] then rather confusedly defended Martineau - but not Atkinson - from the last charge and compared *Letters on the Laws* to Robert Chambers's *Vestiges* and "Mr. Holyoake's Lecture on the Martineau and Atkinson Letters" (477-78), [the reviewer] finally declaring that his lecture on the book would be written out when opportunity offered; "Martineau and Atkinson," *WR* 55 (April 1851): 83-92; William Edward Hickson, "Life and Immortality," *WR* 56 (October 1851): 168-228; JM, "Mesmeric Atheism," *Prospective Review* 7 (3 May 1851): 229-62; for Atkinson's publications, see xxx

<sup>62</sup> HM to Eliza Fletcher, Wednesday [23 or 30 April 1851], JRUL, MS Cupboard [Packet] B 124 (for the Crafts, see below); for Fletcher's earlier letter to Martineau on the rescue of two young slaves by Granville Sharp, see *Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher with Letters and Other Family Memorials* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1875) 285-87; see "A New Plea for a New Food," *HW*, 3 (3 May 1851): 138-40, urging wider distribution of the new, better preserved American-grown maize to the Irish and the emaciated Highlanders (Martineau next contributed three stories: "A Real Sister of Charity," "The Highest House in Wathendale," and "The Fortunes of the Rev. Caleb Ellison," *HW* 3 [21 June, 19 July and 30 August 1851]: 291-98, 389-96 and 533-90).

<sup>63</sup> HM to [?], [?spring 1851], *HM/FW* 113-14 (for a sympathetic portrait of John Davy, younger brother of Sir Humphrey Davy, see Richard Holmes, *The Age of Wonder. How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror of Science* (London: HarperPress, 2008).

<sup>64</sup> HM to Lucy [Martineau], 5 April [1851], *CL* 3: 195-97; the Crafts had disguised themselves as a deaf and infirm white man and his black servant to reach Boston, where they worked until passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill (1850) and were then hidden by abolitionists like Ellis Gray Loring; see *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison* 3: 210, note 3, and William Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles from Slavery* (London: W. Tweedie, 1860); the Crafts came with William Wells Brown (see chap. 35, note 7); Lady Byron's son-in-law had set up an agricultural school at Ockham in Surrey.

<sup>65</sup> Terézia (Walder) and Ferencz Aurelius Pulszky, *Tales and Traditions of Hungary* (London: H. Colburn, 1851); Otto Wenckstern, [rev.] *ER* 91 (April 1851): 503-8; the Browns came to stay with Martineau after her return in the autumn; visits by Lady Byron and Elizabeth Ker are not recorded.

<sup>66</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, Thursday [March-April 1851], Armitt Library MS 367/24; Russell Martineau, James's son, attended University College, London, and had studied at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen.

<sup>67</sup> HM to Michael Faraday, 13 April [1851?], *CL* 3: 158-59; "Acarus Crossii," *HP* 2, chap. 17, book 5; HM to Chapman, 18 April [1851], *CL* 3: 197-98; Maria Weston Chapman quoted Martineau on Knight's objection to *Introduction to the History of the Peace* as owing to her attack on the Whigs and his fear of losing the printing "of the poor-law matter, &c., worth £800 to him" and

that Knight's last payment for the history followed publication of *Letters on the Laws: Auto. 3*: 336; JM, "The Battle of the Churches," *WR* 54 (January 1851): 441-96 (James does not name Comte in his review of two books on contemporary religious belief published by Chapman); William Edward Hickson bought the *Westminster* from John Stuart Mill in 1840: see Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* ([New York]: Archon, 1969) 29; *Auto. 2*: 384.

<sup>68</sup> *Auto. 2*: 371; George Henry Lewes, "Auguste Comte," *A Biographical History of Philosophy. Series II.--from Bacon to the Present Day* (a *Knight's Monthly Volume* [London: Charles Knight, 1846]) 4: 245-62; E. Littré, *De la Philosophie Positive* (Paris: Libraire Philosophique de Ladrangé, 1845); for Comte and Littré, see *Auto. 3*: 307-12 and 312 (see also Rosemary Ashton, *George Henry Lewes. A Life* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1991] and Introduction, *Versatile Victorian. Selected Writings of George Henry Lewes*, ed. Rosemary Ashton [London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992]).

<sup>69</sup> HM to ?, 11 May [1851], Dove Cottage Museum Library 1988:124 WLMS A/Martineau, 4/1a; Louisa Augusta Claude lived at Broadlands, Ambleside, with her daughter Jane and at times Jeannetta Claude, "the South American girl."

<sup>70</sup> HM to FW, 15 May [1851], *HM/FW* 114-18 (Martineau may have displaced anger at her reviewers on to the government's ineptitude - as in Lord John Russell's "Durham letter" to the Bishop of Durham [24 September 1850] referring to High Churchmen and Roman Catholics in insulting terms.

<sup>71</sup> Fanny Anne Martineau's mother, née Ann Dorothy Elwin, died on 14 March 1851; one new engagement was the translation of Comte; the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace, opened by the Queen on 1 May; Martineau must mean Susan, Maria and possibly "Frank," Robert's children.

<sup>72</sup> *Auto. 2*: 372-77.

<sup>73</sup> John Chapman [diary entries], 19, 24 April and 4 July 1851 (Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* 156, 159 and 189).

<sup>74</sup> HM to Holyoake, 31 May 1851, *CL* 3: 200.

<sup>75</sup> HM to FW, 22 June [1851], MS Wedgwood Papers, UKL (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 118-19); for Martineau's visit to the Guiltcross workhouse and to Harling with Martha, see *Auto. 2*: 379-80; Martineau's "authorship" may have been "The Highest House in Wathendale," *HW*, 19 July 1851: 389-96 (on the drunkenness and death of a Westmorland farmer); "The Nile" must mean the moving panorama in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly; "the North Pole" must be Gompertz's Polar Regions, a panorama at the Parthenon Assembly Rooms; "Wyld's World" probably refers to James Wilde's inside-out relief map of the world displayed in a brick rotunda in Leicester Square; "the Prodiq" was a production of Scribe and Auber's grand opera *Il Prodiq* at Her Majesty's Theatre.

<sup>76</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, 21 June [1851], *CL* 3: 201-202.

<sup>77</sup> *Auto. 2*: 374-75; in his last lecture on "English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century," 3 July 1851, Thackeray contentiously upheld the "dignity of literature" (see JWC to Helen Walsh, [4 July 1851], *Carlyle Letters* 26: 98-100 and note 2); Charles Buller died in 1848; Martineau disliked *Vanity Fair* "from the moral disgust it occasions" (*Auto. 2*: 376).

<sup>78</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, 9 July [1851], *CL* 3: 202-203; Chapman had heard of Knight's fears but did not record an interest in publishing Martineau's *History of the Peace* (see note 73); Knight sold the whole work to William S. Orr, "a London publisher [of Paternoster Row] associated with Chambers of Edinburgh" (Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* 151, note 97) and

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William S. Orr to HM, 1 and 5 January 185[2], sUL 1192a-d and 1193 (reminded by Martineau that others had written parts of the *Introduction to the History of the Peace*, Orr responded: "we did not know that any third party had a hand in it [but] you appear as the sole Author"); Orr also seemed to take credit for the words "Half Century," for "brevity & Euphony"; the "Prospectus" and new title page read: [*Part I. - Price Four Shillings. To Be Completed in Ten Monthly Parts.*] *A History of the British Empire During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century being An Introductory Narrative of Events from 1800 to 1815, and the History of the Peace, from 1815 to the Present Time. By Harriet Martineau. Embellished with Portraits.* (London and Liverpool: William S. Orr; Dublin: James M'Glashan; Edinburgh: J. Menzies, and Fraser, January 1852.), BUL 1194.

<sup>79</sup> *Auto.* 2: 380-85; Martineau began her novel at The Knoll but had trouble keeping the plan a secret from Atkinson, in "almost daily correspondence" with her, as well as from Chapman, who did not understand "what was delaying the philosophical half" of her translation of Comte: see Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* 55-56 and (Chapman's diary entries of 9 and 28 August 1851) 199-200 and 206.

<sup>80</sup> Lombe meant for Chapman to recompense Martineau for her translation, she choosing to pay "the expenses of paper, print, and publication . . . taking £200 for my own remuneration" (*Auto.* 2: 384); on Lombe's death the following winter, Martineau added a codicil to her will appointing two trustees of the money in case she did not live to finish the work.

<sup>81</sup> HM to FW, 13 November [1851], *HM/FW* 119-23; "Flower Shows in a Birmingham Hot-House," "The Magic Troughs at Birmingham," "Wonders of Nails and Screws," "Kendal Weavers and Weaving" and "The Bobbin Mill at Ambleside," *HW* 4 (18, 25 October, 1, 15 and 29 November 1851): 82-85, 113-17, 138-42, 183-89 and 224-28; in addition to stories, Martineau's total contributions to *Household Words* included more than thirty further articles on manufacturing, specialized vocations and educational methods (for a partial list, see *Auto.* 2: 385-88, and see note 90): see Anne Lorhli, *Household Words. A Weekly Journal 1850-1859. Conducted by Charles Dickens* (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1973).

<sup>82</sup> HM to Holyoake, 6 October [1851], *CL* 3: 212-14; W.E. Hickson, "Life and Immortality," *WR* 56 (October 1851): 168-228; G.J. Holyoake, *The Logic of Death, or, Why Should the Atheist Fear to Die?* (London: J. Watson, 1851); the other translator must have been Wathen Mark Wilks Call who wrote to Chapman to say *he* had translated one-half of Comte, planned to make two volumes and hoped Martineau would give up, Martineau then asserting she did "not like to relinquish the task" (Haight, *George Eliot and John Chapman* [Chapman's diary entries, 13 and 16 September 1851] 209-10 and 211); Martineau may have seen Richard Congreve's manuscript of *The Catechism of Positive Religion* (London: John Chapman, 1858).

<sup>83</sup> HM to FW, 13 November [1851], *HM/FW* 119-23; in addition to Brown's scientific endeavors, he wrote a poetic drama, *The Tragedy of Galileo Galilei* (Edinburgh: James Hogg, 1850) about (a fellow) unappreciated genius, dabbled in mesmerism and phrenology and planned a work on "the entire mutual relation of God, Man, and Nature"; George Combe later asked Brown for advice, saying he had heard him declare there were no laws in nature, "only facts, facts, facts" while Harriet Martineau said there was "nothing in nature but law" (George Combe to Samuel Brown, 27 March 1852, NLS MS. 1889 [108-9]).

<sup>84</sup> HM to Frances Ogden, 26 October [1851], *CL* 3: 214; Mrs. Green and Miss Morse, of Gale cottage and Gale Lodge, Ambleside (*Guide to Windermere*).

<sup>85</sup> HM to Holyoake, 13 November [1851?], *CL* 3: 215 (Holyoake later became a bookseller and publisher at 147 Fleet Street); Moxon reissued *Household Education* at least twice, in 1849? and 1852, while Smith, Elder published new editions of the work in 1861 and 1867; later editions of *Household Education* included those in Boston and New York to 1886; see Rivlin 66-68.

<sup>86</sup> HM to FW, 13 November [1851], UKL, MS Wedgwood Papers (partly pbd. *HM/FW* 119-23); HM to Dr. Samuel Brown, 27 March 1852, NLS MS 1889 [108-9]; Edward Baring of Cromer Hall, Norfolk, later a senior partner in Baring Bros. & Co., bankers; Reeve became editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1855 and in 1858 accepted Martineau as a contributor; Peter Taylor, Radical MP and follower of John Stuart Mill; "Malvern Water," *HW* 4 (11 October 1851): 67-71.

<sup>87</sup> (Martineau's plot may have caused Smith to worry about lingering anti-Catholic sentiment in England following the "Durham letter"); George Smith, "The Recollections of a Long and Busy Life," NLS, George Smith Papers Acc. 6713, 5/4-5, vol. 2: 1-4; "Memoir of George Smith by Sidney Lee," *George Smith. A Memoir with Some Pages of Autobiography (For Private Circulation)* (London, 1902) 27.

<sup>88</sup> Canning's "war of opinion" concerned European powers like Russia, France and Austria (see note 93); for Martineau's admiration of Canning, see *HM/DN*; for Russell's weak ministry, see K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 147.

<sup>89</sup> HM to George Combe?, 27 December [1849] 1851?, *HM/FL* 172.

<sup>90</sup> "What Christmas Is in Country Places," *HW* 4 (20 December 1851): 8-11; diary entry of 30 December 1851, *Auto.* 2: 389.

<sup>91</sup> HM to Holyoake, 2 January [1852], *CL* 3: 217 (see note 4).

<sup>92</sup> *Auto.* 2: 385-88.

<sup>93</sup> HM to [Jonathan Ogden], Shortest day [1851], Armitt Library MS 367/11; HM to [Frances] Ogden, [January 1852], Armitt Library MS 367/13 (the gun may have been for hunting); by a *coup d'état* in December 1851 President Louis Napoleon of France became Emperor Napoleon III, causing a war scare; Dr. Joseph Toynbee, the "aurist" to whom Martineau willed her ears (see HM to [Dr. Joseph] Toynbee, [Autumn 1851], *CL* 3: 210).

<sup>94</sup> Martineau's ten articles appeared over five months: *HW* 4 (24, 31 January, 14, 28 February and 6, 13 March 1852): 415-20, 449-55, 485-90, 540-46, 555-59 and 580-85, and *HW* 5 (27 March, 17 April, 15 May and 10 April, 1852): 32-38, 106-12, 192-97 and 84-89; see *Auto.* 2: 387-88; for Martineau's later contributions, see chap. 34.

<sup>95</sup> HM to RWE, 25 February [1852], *CL* 3: 221-23; Emerson may have sent the English edition of *Representative Men. Lectures. Chapman's Library for the People. No. III* (London: John Chapman, 1851); *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, ed. Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and William Henry Channing (London: Richard Bentley, 1852) 1: 267 [Emerson's sections were "Concord" (1: 265-314, 2: 1-118) and "Boston" (2: 119-68) beginning with Martineau's visit to him "during a week in the winter of 1835-36" when she had "returned again and again to the topic of Margaret's excelling genius and conversation;" Channing edited most other sections]; [rev.], *Athen.*, 7 February 1852: 159-61 (faulting Channing's "inflated and entangled style" and scoffing at Fuller's failure to reach her potential); Fuller said of Atkinson that "he does not think, but perceives and acts" 3: 79]; for Carlyle's impatience with Thackeray's "rigmarole about the dignity of the Literary Profession" (in Jane Carlyle's version of the evening), see JWC to Helen Welsh, [4 July 1851], *Carlyle Letters* 26: 98-100.

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<sup>96</sup> HM to Holyoake, 7 April [1852], *HM/FL* 203-204; Moxon's statement of 28 January 1852 seemed to show modest profits on *Household Education* but a statement of 25 February 1852 signed by both Edward and Alfred Moxon showed that the work had been "delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Watson" (Edward Moxon: accounts of Harriet Martineau [1851-1852]: BUL 1170-73); the recipient was probably William Finlay Watson of Edinburgh (see chap. 35).