

Chapter 5
The Monthly Repository: Martineau
Gains Confidence and Extends the Range of Her Writings
(1827-1832)

Martineau's emotional turmoil at Worthington's death may have spurred her to find further outlets for her writing (the *Repository* had printed nothing of hers after her contributions of 1822 to 1824). Determining to find appreciative readers, she turned to alternative small publishers. In 1827 she sent Houlston, "the solemn old Calvinistic publisher" from Shropshire who had published four of her stories, some "dull and doleful" prose items for which he paid a sovereign each and sold for a penny a copy. One of these may have been *Mary Campbell, or, the Affectionate Granddaughter*, a Sunday-school tale about virtuous acts and the deaths of loved ones (not published until 1837). In 1828 she corresponded with Alaric Alexander Watts, editor of the *Literary Magnet* who had earlier inserted pieces she sent him without acknowledgement.¹

Martineau's early apprenticeship in the *Repository* similarly began to bear fruit. To a second series of the journal initiated in January 1827, her contributions from May 1827 to October 1834 comprised nearly forty essays and reviews (some in several parts), fifteen poems, seven "parables," five tales and miscellaneous items (including an obituary of Philip Meadows Martineau), letters, and fifty or more "critical notices."² The skills Martineau learned from early teachers and from her own practice--speed and accuracy in reading, composing abstracts and aiming at a fair copy on a first draft--prepared her to write on demand for life. A number of the subjects of books she reviewed for the *Repository*, moreover, continued to feature in her writings like those on political economy, education, slavery (including the Colonization Society), Australia, India, Ireland, the Near East, prisons, evangelicalism, superstition, travels, the Waldenses, American memoirs and (probably) the duties of servants. Most significantly, under Fox's tutelage Martineau mastered a fluent and expressive prose style.

(Also in 1827, James was asked by Rev. John Kenrick [tutor in Greek, Latin, History and Literature at Manchester College] to take over Lant Carpenter's school at Bristol. Carpenter was suffering exhaustion and wished to go on leave to the continent, leaving his wife to stay

and manage housekeeping for the boys. James accepted the position and set out for Bristol in early August. At the school on Great George Street, he threw himself into his work, making a deep impression on the students. Remaining at Bristol until mid-summer 1828, with Helen's approval he then took up an offer to become assistant minister of the Eustace Street Presbyterian meeting house in Dublin.³⁾

As James was proceeding to Bristol, Martineau's "On the Dangers of Adversity" appeared in the *Repository*, her first piece in the new series. The essay hinted at a fear of self-indulgent grief and asserted that men should "look to *principles* [and] leave *feelings* to take care of themselves." Her next essay in the *Repository*, however, "On Dignity of Character," seemed wholly impersonal and drawn mostly from her readings on the Christian character.⁴

From Norwich, Martineau kept James *au courant* on family doings. She was tutoring Ellen in Latin (Rachel tutoring her in Italian and French) and writing her story *The Turnout* as well as prose pieces for Watts. For health's sake, she was experimenting with "galvanism" which helped her hearing, while oxide of bismuth proved better for indigestion caused by overwork.⁵ In September she and Rachel went to stay with their friends the Needhams at Diss. At Buckenham later she was "entranced" by Emily Taylor.

Other news from Martineau was painful. James Lee, "declining" (from tuberculosis), had resigned his position with their uncle, Philip Meadows Martineau. With his mother he had taken a cottage at Hastings, facing the sea. At Magdalen Street, Helen Martineau's engagement to Tagart was causing a scandal. Helen was sending angry messages of her intention to come to Norwich, and a Mrs. Bolingbroke asked whether Helen was invited to the Martineaus' and if not, she could stay with *her*. Tagart had preached "at the Martineaus" and then resigned his pulpit. Having left for Manchester to be married, he retracted his resignation when the Cross Street chapel (where Worthington had been) failed to elect him. A week later, he appeared at a party unmarried but "full of anger and jealousy and suspicion." When told he must decide whether or not he was resigning, he did. At the Octagon, Martineau sniffed, "the general feeling is not to commit again upon college boys, but to have a steady matured man."

At the end of 1827, James Lee was dying and his mother asked Elizabeth to come to Hastings. Rachel was warned to stay away, however, the "mental abatement and anxiety of

[James Lee's] presence" being judged too much for her. Otherwise, Rachel had been unusually well, Martineau told James--reading aloud, singing, laughing, playing battledore and skipping rope--but *she* was unwell and would not like being left alone with Henry in their mother's absence. Smugly, she noted just before Christmas that her account with Houlston stood at £25 and with Hunter at £24.⁶

Through early 1828, Martineau suffered stomach trouble, "medically mismanaged at Norwich." At the same time she may have been revising a long paper on Hartleian associationist psychology containing "allusions to and quotations from Wordsworth's 'Ode'," to be published in two parts in the *Repository*.⁷ In early August she journeyed to Newcastle with Lissey and her cook, where "by the unremitting care" of Lissey and husband, she was cured of her indigestion and rode a pony!

The brief weeks of emotional calm proved fortuitous for Martineau. In August Fox became the "one responsible Editor" of the *Repository*. In September he announced his need for "voluntary assistance" in the form of "literary compositions," hoping to turn the *Repository* into "a powerful organ for the promotion of knowledge, truth, liberality, and goodness."⁸

Martineau promptly wrote to Fox; he identified her past contributions from the *Repository* account books and sent so "cordial" a reply she was "animated to offer him extensive assistance." A convert to Unitarianism from orthodox Calvinism, Fox had a high reputation as a preacher. More significantly for Martineau, he was a talented and exacting critic and editor who would play a crucial role in her life. Taking the place briefly filled by her brother Tom, Fox became after James, "the steadiest friend and the best guide I have ever had in literature and in philosophy."⁹

Writing to James, Martineau reported her "easy and pleasant voyage" from Shields to Yarmouth and home by the river Wensum (flowing through Norwich), accompanied by their father's employee, Gittings. Rachel would go to Dublin to keep house for James until his marriage in December; she and Henry now spent time with their uncle, Philip Meadows, who was dying of gallstones. Henry, as executor of their father's estate and in charge of family finances, warned James not to commit himself about a house in Dublin.

(James was ordained at the Eustace Street meeting house in Dublin on 26 October in a ceremony conducted by his father's cousin, Rev. Philip Taylor, with long sermons offering him "condescending advice." Seemingly backed by his uncles, James rented a large house on Blessington Street. In addition to his ministerial duties he took on the tutoring of five young men and boys in physical sciences, literature and ancient history.)

By November, Henry had begun negotiations with his uncles to extend the loans made to Thomas and to approve his mother and sisters' leaving their money in the business (assets included the Magdalen Street house and furnishings). Henry had given up cards, Martineau now told James, making their mother "dreadfully thankful."

In December, Henry congratulated James on his marriage and reported a balance in his favor of £34. Yet pressure was growing on him to save the firm, while doling out money to creditors as well as to Elizabeth, James, and his three younger sisters.¹⁰

During these months Martineau began an intense, long-term exchange of letters with Fox. Though having promised her family to stop authorship for a year, her health having been injured "by many anxieties & sorrows," his invitation had decided her. If he liked the papers she sent, could he could point out the manner in which she could best serve the *Repository*? For reviewing she felt "Works on Metaphysics & the Belles Lettres" suited her best. As an admirer of Wordsworth, she offered to review all his works including his philosophical system.¹¹

James and Helen were married at Derby on 18 December 1828, but illness prevented Martineau from finishing her letter for their wedding day. If James approved her translation of the prose version of Schiller's "Partition of the Earth" he had sent her, she would submit it to the *Repository*. Over the winter and early spring, she then worked on a life of the 18th-century Dissenter and prison reformer, John Howard, to send to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) for publication. For Fox at the *Repository*, she nearly completed five essays on "The Art of Thinking" while reviewing "The Natural History of Enthusiasm" and a book of Unitarian sermons. Self-confidently, she told James of writing a tract for Houlston worth £3 in seven hours while other publications had brought her capital from the £230 left her by their father up to £640. Of family news, she reported their uncle Philip Meadows Martineau's having endured "great and prolonged suffering." Finally she noted that Robert was counseling Henry

to wind up the firm of Martineau and Son with enough to pay off £16,000 in borrowed capital as well as £2,446 to divide among Thomas's legatees.¹²

Under the signature "V", additional items by Martineau appeared in the *Repository*, including a two-part Hartleian essay on habits and feelings and two long poems, "Ode to Religious Liberty" celebrating the persecuted "high-souled" French Vaudois (ancient Protestants, the subject of Milton's Sonnet XVIII) and "The Last Tree of the Forest" on the transitoriness of even heroic things. In February the *Repository* published Martineau's respectful obituary of Philip Meadows Martineau.¹³

By spring, Martineau was enjoying both the talk and library of the new Octagon pastor, William Bakewell and had promised a story to a new publisher, "Magley, of Derby." She complained that James, in his new role as a Unitarian divine, had "never . . . referred to the Catholic emancipation question" now agitating all England, of which "Dublin is supposed to be the very focus."¹⁴

That Elizabeth's continuing demands on Martineau's time aroused her resentment was revealed in the Hartleian essays she was probably now revising. She argued that, [f]or those who have been accustomed to observe with attention the processes of their own minds during the passage from childhood to youth, and from youth to mature age, humans were not responsible for their feelings but only for their principles and actions. "Self-reproach is therefore misplaced, if our actions are right."¹⁵

Before Fox entered Martineau's life to guide her career as a writer, self-cure may have been beyond her strength. Outwardly, the impression she made was negative: the frown of those old days, the rigid face, the sulky mouth, the forbidding countenance, which looked as if it had never had a smile upon it, told a melancholy story. Now as a result of causes outside her control, Martineau was to emerge from her chrysalis.¹⁶

By June 1829 Henry could no longer stave off the collapse of the family business "due to the rapid depreciation of value of goods" held by the firm's retailers. Returning from a meeting of the Unitarian Association, Martineau heard the news "in the streets of Norwich on my way to our own house." She had "only a shilling" in her purse, she claimed dramatically in her

autobiography. Yet she described the pleasures of spring, along with that of a surprise gift from her cousin (possibly George Martineau) of £10 in consolation for the SDUK's failure to publish her Howard manuscript. To James, Martineau claimed she had been prepared for the news. Their mother would have enough for herself and Rachel as long as Aunt Lee lived with them, while *she* would provide for herself and Ellen. Yet she must "relinquish her gratis work for the Repository and perhaps make engagement with the Eclectic." (When Fox learned of her status, he offered £15 a year for "as much reviewing as [she] thought proper" and promptly sent a parcel of nine books.)

Unfortunately, the affairs of Martineau and Son were not to be settled so smoothly. At the first meeting of the creditors, Henry's plan to give fifteen shillings on the pound led to "complete and universal satisfaction." The Magdalen Street house and warehouse were to be sold immediately to realize their full value of £2,400. A week later the uncles, "alarmed by the decline of the sugar business," refused to pay fifteen shillings while another creditor threatened to have "my mother and Henry put in the Gazette." A hectic series of counter proposals followed, and at a third meeting of the creditors Henry was empowered "to conduct the winding up" by three payments each of five shillings on the pound.

Energetically, Martineau put out a circular "for the further and happier culture of educated girls," by correspondence, at twenty-five guineas "per annum." She complained "not a little" about James's failure to write, but he was busy, he asserted. Gratifyingly, his ordination sermon preached in October was translated into French and published at Paris.¹⁷

Reviewing books for the *Repository*, Martineau told James in July she was "trying her hand" at analyzing a work on the formation and publication of opinion: probably "Essays on the Pursuit of Truth" published in August and September.¹⁸ By August, she had sketched out plans for an innovative exposition of political economy--seemingly a first step towards the "series" that would skyrocket her to success and fame. At home, both Rachel and Ellen had come forward to help. Rachel, now "in perfect health," was negotiating for a position as governess at £80 to £100 a year to a family at Kidderminster. Ellen asked to go without salary as governess and nurse to Lissey's little children.¹⁹

In her latest *Repository* review, Martineau asserted the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity to be “previously fully proved.” In November, her poem in praise of a Pilgrim who served as an inspiration to others, “The Survivor,” seemed an idealized self-portrait. Finally she touched on a subject that would open out after her American journey, the abolition of slavery in British dominions.²⁰

Sending Fox a stream of reviews throughout the autumn, Martineau welcomed corrections and apologized for wanting to be paid. Her sisters had “excellent situations as governesses,” but she must look to “literary employment” owing to her “great and increasing deafness.” She would like her work to be “improving as well as profitable” but was afraid to try the *Edinburgh* or the *Quarterly* and would consider the *Westminster* only if her manuscript could be submitted anonymously. “Nothing could induce me to enter into a direct correspondence with Dr. Bowring,” she declared, and she doubted the *Eclectic* would now take Unitarian work. Unitarian readers were not buying the *Repository*, though pronouncing upon it as they did upon Wordsworth, “without having read a syllable.” At Norwich it was read by the Independents and Baptists.

The Turn-Out, a tale on small farming and the enclosing of commons, meant for ignorant farmers, now landed on Fox’s desk. However, its non-sale troubled her as she could not take risks. Formerly, she had sold her copyrights, and while Houlston had been “liberal,” he was “dilatatory” and spent too much time on “devices” and “frontispieces.” If Murray agreed to publish a series of similar stories, how quickly could they come out? “[A]s the field is boundless, & as they cost little time & no trouble, & are decidedly useful . . . I should like to issue a good many of them.”²¹

Fox responded by asking her “to send him two or three tales such as his ‘best readers’ would not pass by,” showing “the influences of a fervent *manly* piety on the mind of an active member of society.” Feeling confident, Martineau declared she aimed to leave an impression like that of *Religio Medici*. She would bring Fox two or three little sketches when she came to town in January and had more time for herself away from home. Friends had urged her to publish her essays on thinking separately at a good price, but she would need his permission.

She further enclosed original “parables” that, except for their serious range of topics, might be fit for juveniles.²²

In late January, Martineau wrote to Elizabeth from London where she was staying at Stamford Hill with “Uncle and Aunt John.” Her aunt agreed there was “not a shadow of a doubt” she must be there, Fox having said “there was no periodical work ever sent into the country.” Not having access to the British Museum and other libraries, she had had to decline “the three offers which have been made me, --the Westminster, the larger engagement for the M.R., and Mr. Hill’s assistance.”

Dishearteningly, her story “Pemberton” had been rejected, but Fox both encouraged and warned her that she might earn “£100 or £150 per year,” *if* she stayed in London. A few days later she told James she was spending hours daily in Fox’s study doing literary work, “controlled by his judgment.” Aunt Lee’s gift of an ear trumpet meant she could also enjoy conversation, including that of Southwood Smith (now physician to the London Fever Hospital and on the original committee of the SDUK), in spite of the “vile expression” on his face. Fox was pleading with her to come to live in London, which was “essential for a literary career.” She couldn’t yield without deserting home duties, but believed their mother would gladly provide for her spending three months of the year in town to keep her in touch with intellectual society. Fox would pay her properly if the trustees of the *Repository* could be got to “stir from their gratis usage,” and he advised her also to form “a connection” with the *Edinburgh Review*.

Despite encouraging signs, Martineau painted a grim picture of herself in the winter of 1829-1830, slaving over needlework during “the daylight hours” and writing “till two, or even three in the morning” (evidently *before* she went up to London). Even then, nervous exhaustion did not dampen her sense of progress and the “will to overcome my obstructions.” Her contributions to Fox’s new feature, “Critical Notices,” were especially valuable for her future writing. Slight works such as books for children and “cottage poetry” fell to her in the new section, and she appraised lengthy religious tomes, a “Cyclopedia,” Thomas Moore’s *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron* and sermons, travel works and a book on wills. Her new professionalism was evident in three long reviews Fox published after the turn of the year. In virtually every month from January 1830 through November 1832, Martineau’s contributions

filled a generous number of *Repository* pages. Her February story, “The Hope of the Hebrew” brought an overnight response that spurred her to write “in a fortnight” the balance of *Traditions of Palestine*.²³

Meanwhile in Norwich, acts of murder and vitriol throwing said to be carried out by discontented laborers had so far not affected the family firm. But Martineau worried that Henry was “too sanguine” to be allowed to manage their remaining dividends in spite of his being “among the people’s favorites.” In March she went to stay with her cousin George at Tulse Hill, Norwood, in Surrey.

George liked Fox’s preaching, and she wished Fox would “look for a lodging hereabouts” or come to dinner or “take a bed any day.” Martineau sent her love to the “blossoming” Flower girls Eliza and Sarah, former neighbors of Fox and his wife and now their wards. In a happy mood, she described London “[f]ields, lawns, flowers, St. Paul’s & the Abbey, dusky & grand, above the haze w^h hides all meaner things, & Orion & the moon to talk to at night.” There were “[p]lenty of babies [too] some cousins *far superior to their husbands*, & a chess player just a little superior to myself!”²⁴

Martineau’s *Traditions of Palestine* came out in April and by June sales seemed “promising.” She had been writing for ten hours a day for the past six weeks and would like to do so without interruption, she told James, though often wanting his advice (James noted wryly to himself: “If I do not become more accessible, Mr. Fox will step into my place”).

Martineau’s opinions seemed transformed by the “charm of London society.” She visited a phrenologist while enjoying the friendship of Fox and the Flower sisters. In May or June she hoped to visit her sister at Blakebrook near Kidderminster (southwest of Birmingham, where Rachel had a position as governess). Henry’s final dividend for the creditors, Martineau informed James, was less than he had hoped for. Bowring (denounced by Henry as a villain in connection with the failure of Martineau and Son) had turned pale when he saw her at Finsbury. Neither Madge at Essex Street, nor Tagart proved “very commendable,” she added.²⁵

Jocularly, Martineau enclosed a review for Fox’s *Critical Notices*. “Here is M^r Mardon, not smarting under censure; I hope, though not treated . . . ‘with large draughts of unqualified

praise.” Now she “must have a story about the pensioners, Hospital & Park,” and she wished he “& Miss Flower would go . . . & help me to find materials.”²⁶

In June, Martineau wrote to James from Birmingham to arrange for his meeting Fox at the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in Manchester. After the meeting, she would spend a week with the Flower sisters at Stratford-on-Avon and then return to Magdalen Street, her dream of living in London to pursue a literary career temporarily quashed.

(In addition to publishing Martineau’s articles and reviews, Fox had offered to find proof reading and “other literary drudgery” by which she felt she could scrape by. However, on the advice of “Aunt John” --who was convinced that no lady could make a living by writing-- Elizabeth had ordered her to return home to take Ellen’s place.²⁷)

Elizabeth may have had second thoughts about her preemptory orders, for she welcomed Martineau tenderly after the all-night journey by coach and listened sympathetically to her ambitious new scheme. In a contest set by the Unitarian Association for “three tracts” to introduce and promote Christian Unitarianism among Roman Catholics, Jews and Mohammedans, Martineau was determined to try for all three premiums of £10, £15 and £20. The first essay would be judged in October, the other two in the following April. Her next tasks, she told James in July, included the writing up of the “Annual Association Sermon” for the *Repository*. She had been “sadly tired” with her journey, she admitted to Fox. Norwich seemed “meaner” than ever and “in a state of petty bustle” among the chapel goers and a group of seceders from the Octagon. Though the Martineaus were holding up the Octagon, she did not want to be involved, Fox having lifted her out of all such disputes. Mentioning volumes she received and reviews sent to Fox, she asked James what book was best for current Catholic doctrine?

At the moment, she had “12 people” in mind for a story (probably *Life in the Wilds*, set in South Africa) to be written before the Norwich Festival. Elizabeth wanted Fox to stay at Magdalen Street when he came to fill in at the Octagon while the minister Bakewell went to Paris. Norwich elections were coming, Martineau alerted James, their parliamentary candidates being Grant and Gurney, the latter “a booby.” Did *he* have a vote? He could take

her to the market place (in Norwich) and philosophize on the “heads” of the thousands they’d see there.

Longing for a London life, Martineau also urged James that they move their mother there. Henry angered Elizabeth by his “late hours, card playing, personal bad health & manners.” More seriously, he was neglectful and talked against his uncles’ wish that his sisters’ dividends be invested instead of left in his hands.²⁸

By August, Martineau had written her essay on Catholics and canvased Fox’s vote as one of the readers. His “particularly beautiful” review of *Traditions of Palestine* in the *Repository* had pleased her. (Announcing a sixth edition of Lant Carpenter’s *Geography of the New Testament*, Fox then called *Traditions* “a new field of literary exertion,” with a style suitable to the matter, “slightly quaint, antique . . . stately.”) Gaily Martineau reported her current work schedule: writing for a half-day, then reading “Belsham’s Epistles & [Samuel] Richardson’s novels, --metaphysics and romances, -- must come for the Norfolk and Norwich Musical Festival.²⁹

At the end of August, Martineau and her mother and possibly Ellen spent a few days at Holkham, near Wells (on the North Sea). In September, she hurriedly welcomed Fox to Norwich, advising him that breakfast was at “1/4 before nine . . . to be early at the doors, [for] Malibran [the famed French-Spanish opera singer] is a Corinne”: in addition to preaching at the Octagon, Fox’s publications in the *Repository* had included tales, parables, poems and four articles on Lessing’s “Education of the Human Race” (originally translated by Henry Crabb Robinson). In September and October, the *Repository* published essays by Martineau and later her letter on the “prospective” and “retrospective” faculties.³⁰

Also in October, Martineau asked James to come to Norwich to escort her to Dublin for a visit. On the way, they might settle metaphysical and religious opinions, neither Catherine Turner nor Emily Taylor now being able to follow her. However, Ellen was negotiating for a governess’s position which would then keep Martineau at home. Elizabeth needed a daughter to wait up with her for Henry, who now got home at midnight, his “porter business with the publicans” (from which he expected a trade dividend soon) being transacted in the evening.³¹

Continuing to send Fox suggestions for the *Repository*, Martineau was reveling in Coleridge, Hazlitt and Godwin's *St. Leon*--though his French she thought bad. At Bracondale, she and Fox had talked of a "series," which she felt she could do every other month but was not sure she could then "turn them out so *frankly*" as she would like. She had received £20 from "Darton & Harvey . . . capital people," for *Five Years of Youth* and was pouring out tracts for Houlston--low brow but profitable. Near the end of October, she groaned to Fox that she had "copied, cooked?, mended" a piece on Sir Walter Scott on apparitions. Though she tried to encourage friends to write for the *Repository*, Emily Taylor refused because of "gulfs" between them, and clever Emily Rankin was too busy as a governess.

In November a small notice in the *Repository* reported that the "premium" for a tract to introduce and promote Unitarianism among Roman Catholics had been "unanimously awarded" by the judges to Miss H. Martineau. On the next day--using "Sale's Koran" -- Martineau set to work on Mohammedanism. Over November and December, she plied Fox with requests and queries. He sent the wrong book on Judaism--she wanted *The Religious World Displayed*. Would the Mohammedan and Jewish tracts "be seen by the same eyes?" She had a good copyist who could do both and was taking elaborate steps to hide her authorship of all three essays. For Judaism, she would use Lessing's "Hundred Thoughts on the Education of the Human Race."

When she began her essay on converting the Jews, Martineau had become "as thin as possible" and was dreaming of the burning of the temple at Jerusalem. (Bad economic times in Norwich had produced a "civil war," with fires burning "on all sides [and] factories . . . Gutted.") Henry served as a captain and had his coat torn and lost his hat. Then he was gone all night. Mobs pulled down paper mills and sawmills, laborers stirred up the weavers, haystacks were mysteriously fired and (drolly) "2 elderly ladies" complained they could not sleep for the noise of cavalry in the streets--but the glaziers were happy.

Despite the troubles, by the end of the month Henry was ready to pay the second dividend, though not the "home one," Martineau told James. His "invariable good nature" continued to be "very warming," and she and Rachel had interest-bearing bank accounts of £25

and £30. Besides writing, Martineau was studying Schiller, Jean Paul, Herder, Goethe, Lessing, Kant and Klopstock and garnering praise for her pronunciation of German.³²

In her autobiography, Martineau tallied nearly seventy stories, tracts, essays and articles published in the *Repository* in 1830. Several imaginative pieces turned revealingly on solitariness and loneliness: “The Flower of the Desert,” a poem, offered comfort for loneliness; another poem, “The Forsaken Nest,” acknowledged that as bird families separate, so must humans. Two prose pieces were titled “The Solitary: A Parable” and “Solitude and Society. A Tale.” Though restive under Elizabeth’s control, Martineau seemed severely anxious over the family’s approaching separation.³³

Other poems Martineau published from 1830 to 1834 expressed quite different sentiments. In “The Three Ages of the Soul” (published September 1830 but possibly written earlier) she confidently echoed Wordsworth’s “Ode.” “Tranquility” of May 1831 seemed partly a call to action, opening “Angels are with the brave.” “The Might of Song” of July 1831 was a stirring translation of a poem by Schiller; “Reform Song” and “Lion of Britain” in June and July 1832 lauded the cause of freedom during the Parliamentary debates on the Reform Bill. “Songs of the Months, August” in 1834 (part of a series) praised nature and took comfort in the belief that “all things hold their march” (a sheet inserted in that number of the *Repository* printed the first verse set to music for voice and pianoforte by Eliza Flower).³⁴

In addition to poems, Martineau’s imaginative contributions to the *Repository* from February 1830 to November 1832 included five tales and seven parables. Relying heavily on dialogue, the tales seemed to show conflicts of belief affecting action. After “The Hope of the Hebrew,” her most successful tale was “Liese; or the Progress of Worship” (a second try at historical fiction) about a nun who becomes Luther’s aide. In the tale, Martineau feelingly described the action, but tended to address readers rather than allow characters to advance the plot. Unsurprisingly, all five tales urged moral good. In her parables, Martineau used (later deplored) archaic language, personification (of sin, hope, faith, woe, peace and conscience) and simple characterizations of siblings, parents, children and so on. Though contrived, the parables ended with a sense of morality vindicated.

Martineau's early poetry evidently served as an emotional release in contrast to her fiction of the late 1820s and early 1830s which helped to sharpen her narrative skills. A growing confidence in blending believable characters and action with didactic theory was of crucial importance for the series she now proposed on the new specialist science of political economy: *Illustrations of Political Economy*. Fox's approving review of *Traditions of Palestine* must have buoyed her hopes that he could help find a publisher for her series.³⁵

¹ For Martineau's early contributions to the *Repository*, see chap. 2, notes 8 and 20; *Auto.* 1: 134; *Mary Campbell, or, the Affectionate Granddaughter* (London: Houlston, 1837) was set in Liverpool, where Mary is sent from the East Indies: cf. *My Servant Rachel: A Tale* (London: Houlston, 1838); HM to Alaric Alexander Watts, 29 November 1828, HM/FL 11 (Martineau offered to contribute to Watts's next "Souvenir" claiming her recent "literary attempts" had met with "much success"); *The Literary Magnet, or Monthly Journal of the Belles Lettres* contained essays, stories and from July to December 1827 poems by the Howitts, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Thomas Hood, Felicia Dorothea Hemans, Allan Cunningham, L.E.L., James Hogg, et al.

² See Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, 414-17; for "Female Writers on Practical Divinity" and "On Female Education," see chap. 2, note 8; Martineau's obituary of her uncle (*MR* 3 [February 1829]: 131-32) anticipated the nearly fifty obituaries on 19th-century figures she published in the London *Daily News*, 1852 to 1874, reprinted as *Biographical Sketches* (London: Macmillan, 1869; 4th ed. [enlarged], 1876).

³ Drummond and Upton, *The Life and Letters of James Martineau* 1: 44-53.

⁴ *MR* 1 (August 1827): 558-63 and *MR* 1 (November 1827): 785-91 [first article in the number].

⁵ HM to JM, 31 August 1827, HM/FL 437-38; Martineau claimed to have written *The Turnout; or Patience the Best Policy* (Wellington: Houlston, 1829) at the request of "some hosiers and lace-makers of Derby and Nottingham" (*Auto.* 1: 135); for her claim to have read "Mrs Marcet's Conversations" (on political economy) after both *The Rioters* and *The Turnout*, see HM to Jane Marcet, 11 October 1832, *CL* 1: 154-55 and *Auto.* 1: 138-39; Martineau may also have worked on *Principle and Practice* in autumn 1827.

⁶ HM to JM, 31 August, 27 September, 22, 30 October, 16 November and 22 December 1827, HM/FL 437-38, 438-39, 439, 439-40, 440 and 441; in December 1827, Tagart moved to York Street chapel, London, with plans to marry in January (in 1833, Tagart's London congregation moved to Little Portland Street, Regent Street, where Charles Dickens became a member of his congregation).

⁷ *Auto.* 1: 139: Elizabeth may have mismanaged Martineau's medical treatment; "On the Agency of Feelings in the Formation of Habits," *MR* 3 (February 1829): 102-106 and "On the Agency of Habits in the Regeneration of Feelings," *MR* 3 (March 1829): 159-62; this was possibly the long article rejected earlier by Aspland: HM to WJF, November 1828, *CL* 1: 48-49 (in her second essay, Martineau noted that duty could deaden the pleasure of service to others,

but that benevolence helped to regenerate feelings); William Wordsworth, "Ode. Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood;" for Martineau's debt to Wordsworth and Dugald Stewart, cf. Hunter 113-16; *Auto.* 1: 134; Martineau's next contributions to the *Repository* were "Address to the Avowed Arians of the Synod of Ulster" (a poem lauding Irish Dissenting ministers), "Wearied with play, and sighing for repose" (a sonnet affirming faith in God and Wordsworthian love of childhood--not one of the "mournful pieces" she claimed to have written in 1827 [*Auto.* 1: 134]) and "On Country Burial Grounds" (pointing to discrimination against Dissenters in the cities), *MR* 2 (February, March and April 1828): 79-80, 166 and 230-33.

⁸ *Auto.* 139; HM to JM, 6 August 1828, *HM/FL* 441-42; see *MR* 2 (September 1828): 584 and 656; for William Johnson Fox, see chap. 2.

⁹ *Auto.* 1: 139-40; "Some Autobiographical Particulars [letter to M.B. Maurice (translator into French of *Illustrations of Political Economy*), 3 June 1833]," *MR* 7 (September 1833): 612-15.

¹⁰ HM to JM, 12 October and 21 November 1828, *HM/FL* 442 and 443; James's uncles, approving of his ordination, offered security for the "considerable expenses" of his new household; "cards" seemed the first evidence of Henry's unhappy backsliding.

¹¹ HM to WJF, 13 November and 22 December 1828, *CL* 1: 48-49, 50 and 50-52; and see note 21.

¹² HM to JM, 21 November, 28 December 1828 and 2 January--6 May 1829 [summary], *HM/FL* 443, 443-44 and 444-45; for Martineau's disgust at shabby treatment by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) over her biography of Howard, see *Auto.* 1: 140-41; "Essays on the Art of Thinking," *MR* 3 (August, September, October, November and December 1829 [placed first in each number]): 521-26, 599-606, 707-12, 745-57 and 817-22 (for the rest of Martineau's original moral essays on acquiring "habits of accurate thought" with Bacon, Newton and Locke as primary guides, see "The Natural History of Enthusiasm," *MR* 3 [June and July 1829]: 417-25 and 473-83).

¹³ "Ode to Religious Liberty" and "The Last Tree in the Forest," *MR* 3 (January and February 1829): 41-44 and 80-81 (for the essays and the obituary, see notes 7 and 2); "Ode to Religious Liberty" anticipated Martineau's stirring accounts of the Vaudois (or Waldenses) in a letter to the London *Daily News*, 26 December 1853: 4, cols. 4-5.

¹⁴ James was known to be sympathetic to Catholic emancipation, and after suffering broken windows from a mob commented wryly that they were glaziers' boys rather than Orangemen (Carpenter 68).

¹⁵ For Martineau's articles, see note 7; in *Household Education*, Martineau recommended teaching children good habits by means of association.

¹⁶ *Auto.* 1: 148.

¹⁷ *Auto.* 1: 142-45 (cf. HM to Elizabeth Martineau, 5 July 1829, *CL* 1: 52); George Martineau was his father's partner in David Martineau and Sons, sugar refiners; HM to JM, 9 and 17 July 1829, *HM/FL* 445-46 and 446-47; the non-denominational, generally liberal *Eclectic* accepted reviews of contemporary works including those of the Romantic poets; to further her plan of a correspondence school, Martineau sent Fox circulars to distribute citing the "extraordinary

benefit" she received from correspondence with her brother while he was at college: HM to WJF, 19 July 1829, *CL* 1: 53.

¹⁸ "Essays on the Pursuit of Truth," rev. of *Essays on the Pursuit of Truth, and the Progress of Knowledge, and on the Fundamental Principle of all Evidence and Expectation*. By the Author of *Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions* (London: Hunter, 1829)], *MR* 3 (August and September 1829): 545-51 and 629-40; for Fox's new "Monthly Report of General Literature" in the *Repository* for November and December 1829, probably also by Martineau, see Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, 228 and 240; for Martineau's "Critical Notices," see Mineka 415.

¹⁹ HM to JM, 18 August 1829, *HM/FL* 447.

²⁰ See chap. 2, note 25; "The Survivor," *MR* 3 (November 1829): 782-84 and "Negro Slavery," *MR* 4 (January 1830): 4-9.

²¹ HM to WJF, 19 September, 7 October and 20 November 1829, *CL* 1: 54-57, 57-58 and 58-60; for Martineau's intense dislike of Bowring ("political" editor of the *Westminster*), see R.K. Webb, "John Bowring and Unitarianism," *Utilitas* 4 (May 1992): 43-79; the new political economy tale may have been *Brooke and Brooke Farm, Illustrations of Political Economy*, No. 3; for *The Rioters* and *The Turn-Out*, see chap. 3, note 2.

²² *Auto.* 1: 145; HM to WJF, 4 December 1829, *CL* 1: 60-61; Sir Thomas Browne (1605-82), author of *Religio Medici*, practiced medicine in Norwich and was buried in St. Peter Mancroft church, Norwich; according to Martineau, the "tales" were "The Hope of the Hebrew.--A Tale," "Solitude and Society. A Tale" and "The Early Sowing. A Tale," *MR* 4 (February, July 1830): 101-8 and 422-49, and *MR* 5 (November 1831): 733-40 [none signed]: Fox later published Martineau's "Faith and Hope. A Parable" and "The Solitary: A Parable," *MR* 4 (April and June 1830): 222-23 and 361-62 [both unsigned].

²³ HM to Elizabeth Martineau, 22 January 1830, *Auto.* 3: (partly pbd. *CL* 1: 62-63); John Martineau (Thomas's fourth eldest brother, a partner in Whitbread's Brewery and a sugar-refiner) and Marriott Margaret, née Bunney; "Pemberton" was to become "Brooke and Brooke Farm," No. 3, *Illus. Pol. Econ.*; *Auto.* 1: 145-47; HM to JM, 26 January 1830, *HM/FL* 448-49; [revs.] Thomas Moore, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of His Life* (London, John Murray, 1830); "Doddridge's Correspondence and Diary," *MR* 4 (January and June 1830): 15-26 and 385-89 and *MR* 5 (May 1831): 321-25; "Calamy's Life," *MR* 4 (February 1830): 89-100; and "Crombie's Natural Theology," *MR* 4 (February and March 1830): 145-54 and 223-30; *Traditions of Palestine*. Edited by Harriet Martineau (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830).

²⁴ HM to WJF, 29 March 1830, *CL* 1: 65-66; Eliza Fox, called Lizzie or Liese, was a year younger than Martineau and a special favorite.

²⁵ HM to JM, 12 April 1830, *HM/FL* 449 (James recorded his revulsion at the "free-thinking and free-living" Fox and Flowers clique, who told what they thought of one another).

²⁶ HM to WJF, [19 April 1830], *CL* 1: 66-67; Benjamin Mardon, *The Reasonableness of Religion in its Doctrines and Institutions, with a Particular Consideration of Believers' Baptism*. . . . (London: Hunter, 1830), [rev.] "Critical Notices," *MR*, May 1830: 329, col. 2--330, col. 1 (a

summary of positions on baptism); no story by Martineau about (Chelsea?) pensioners has been identified.

²⁷ HM to JM, 11 June and 15, *HM/FL* 450 and 450-51; Martineau both blamed and excused her mother's and aunt's failures to support her: *Auto.* 1: 149-50.

²⁸ For the notice about the essay contest, see *MR* 4 (April 1830): 288; Martineau's article on the Unitarian Association meeting was "Tayler's Sermon," *MR* 4 (August 1830): 529-34 and possibly the introductory and concluding paragraphs for "General Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association at Manchester," *MR* 4 (July and August 1830): 492-94 and 562-76; she also reviewed a sermon by Robert Aspland," *MR* 5 (January 1831): 20-23 [not signed; her claim [*Auto.* 1: 154] that she contributed fifty-two articles to the *Repository* between March 1829 and March 1830 must have included similar write-ups]; Martineau's other review was "Hull's Discourses," *MR* 4 (September 1830): 590-94; for the Unitarian Association essays and an additional one on baptism, see *Auto.* 1: 150-57; [see also, Fox's rev., "*Traditions of Palestine*," *MR* 4 (August 1830): 521-29]; HM to JM, 11 June and 14 July 1830, *HM/FL* 450 and 450-51.

²⁹ See Fox's rev., "*Traditions of Palestine*," *MR* 4 (August 1830): 521-29; HM to WJF, [early July 1830], 26 July, 18 August 1830 and Thursday [September 1830], *CL* 1: 67-68, 68-70, 70-72 and 72; Richard Hanbury Gurney became MP for Norfolk; "The Norfolk and Norwich Musical Festival" and "Norwich Musical Festival," *The Times*, 24 September 1830: 3, col. 2 and 27 September 1830: 6, col. 2; for Belsham, see chap. 2, note 20.

³⁰ "True Worshippers: a Tale," *MR* 4 (May 1830): 307-15 [not signed], "The Three Ages of the Soul," *MR* 4 (September 1830): 594-95 [poem, signed V]; "Education of the Human Race," *MR* 4 (May, June, July and August 1830): 300-306, 367-73, 453-58 and 511-17 [signed D.F.] (Martineau's explication of Lessing's ideas served as a trial run for her later translation and condensation, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* in 1853); "Essay on the Proper Use of the Retrospective Faculty" and "Essay on the Proper Use of the Prospective Faculty," *MR* 4 (September and October 1830): 616-20 and 669-73, and "On the Retrospective Faculty," *MR* 4 (December 1830): 858-59 [letter, signed V]; "Parable," *MR* 4 (October 1830): 691-92, may have been written earlier.

³¹ HM to JM, 21 October 1830, *HM/FL* 451-52.

³² HM to WJF, Monday [October 1830], Monday [October 1830], Saturday morning [October 1830], Tuesday morning [November 1830], 1 November 1830?, 1 December 1830, *CL* 1: 73-74, 74-75, 76, 76-77, 77-79, 79-81; *MR* 4 (November 1830): 800 (a longer notice recorded that the "two remaining premiums" for tracts to circulate among Mohammedans and Jews "have both been adjudged to Miss H. Martineau, of Norwich": *MR* 5 [June 1831]: 431); *Auto.* 1: 151-53; "Demonology and Witchcraft" [review of Sir Walter Scott], *MR* 4 (November 1830): 744-59 [not signed]; George Sale, trans., *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, tr. Into English immediately from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse* (London: J. Wilcox, 1734); Robert Adam, *The Religious World Displayed: or, a View of the Four Grand Systems of Religion, Judaism, Paganism, Christianity, and Mohmmedanism* (London: L. B. Seeley, 1823); HM to JM, 28 December 1830, *HM/FL* 452-53.

³³ See *Auto.* 1: 153-54; *MR* 4 (April and June 1830): 253 and 383-84; (June and July 1830): 361-62 and 442-49 [not signed] (see Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, 243-44).

³⁴ *MR* 4 (September 1830): 594-95 (for Wordsworth's "ode," see note 7); *MR* 5 (May 1831): 332; (July 1831): 444-45 [signed V] (Martineau also published "Translations from Herder" [short Bible stories] in *MR* 5 [June 1831]: 387-88 [not signed]; for Lessing, see note 30); *MR* 6 (June and July 1832): 371 and 492 [both signed H.M.] (cf. "Ode to Religious Liberty," note 13); *MR* 8 (August 1834): 533 (the last line of the poem, "On, on, for ever," seemed to fit Martineau's ebullience over events in her life since she had stopped contributing regularly to the *Repository* two years earlier).

³⁵ *Traditions of Palestine* arose from Fox's request she write a religious tale; "The Hope of the Hebrew" (see note 22) about humble people and events at the time of Christ--the model for four other stories in the volume and ultimately for her historical fiction like the "historiettes" of the 1860s; for Fox's review of *Traditions of Palestine*, see note 29; *Illustrations of Political Economy* were to be followed by *Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated*, 4 parts (London: Charles Fox, 1834) and *Illustrations of Taxation*, 5 parts (London: Charles Fox, 1834).