

Chapter 7

The Series Continues: The Poor Law Tales (1833-1834)

In early 1833, Martineau remade her will and asked James to be her executor. She wished her property to be equally divided among her sisters and her body given to Southwood Smith for dissection (perhaps recalling her elder brother Tom's last wish to have his body delivered to a doctor at Bordeaux). Fox and his Radical friends now doubted her loyalty, she admitted to James, but it was "one thing to enjoy the conversation of the first intellectual man in the world & another to approve his measures & have confidence in his principles." Brougham's aims she knew were good, although *she* had the advantage in "theoretical principle." Meanwhile, she was being fêted at dinners and driven home in the carriage of one notable politician or another.¹

Martineau's tale for the series in January, *French Wines and Politics*, No. 12, opens in July 1788 on the banks of the Garonne near Bordeaux (the area from where her great-great grandfather, Gaston I, had fled in 1685). Early events of the French Revolution are seen through the eyes of three men: an English wine merchant, a French wine grower and his wine merchant brother in Paris. The men cite details of viniculture and of wine and fruit trading, but an authorial voice soon begins a semi-historical account of the Revolution. As prices rise in France and shortages occur, common people who do not understand that the value of a commodity depends on its scarcity and the cost of labor to produce, carry out violent acts against individuals and storm the Bastille. Scenes of hunting parties riding through precious fields and vineyards and the insensitivity of the royal family to the people's woes help to account for the brutality. The tale ends on an optimistic note, however, with the festival of the Champs de Mars on 14 July 1790 and the English merchant anticipating a revival of his wine trade.

(Ripples of Martineau's fame had reached Thomas Carlyle at Edinburgh where he was reading in the Advocates Library. "Can you tell me what is this Miss Martineau?" he quizzed John Stuart Mill. "A Socinian Liberal? Young or old? I believe Fonblanque exaggerates her wonderfully yet she is evidently no common woman."²)

No. 13 of the series, *The Charmed Sea*, mooted in August, came out in February. Martineau had written to Fox from Norwich that she looked to him for guidance "as to what I am to do for Polish Assⁿ." Though her heart was in her choice of Polish heroes exiled to Siberia, she had only half finished the tale by the beginning of December when she began to plan the Poor Law tales. Her hurried tale focuses on the question of currency among the Polish exiles who settle near the mysterious Baikal Lake. Their invention of mammoth-bone money seems far-fetched even if based on fact. Despite vivid scene painting and narrative suspense, the plot falters over questions of sibling rivalry, misunderstandings and reconciliations among a family of grown children.³

Critical response to No. 13 varied. Carlyle (who met Martineau only after she returned from America) commented to Mill that her tales were "no good Artist pictures . . . but good Twopenny coloured prints" and *would* do good. Edward Bulwer noticed the whole series for

the first time in the February *New Monthly Magazine*. He thought less than highly of Martineau as a political economist and that she was inferior to Edgeworth as a writer of moral fiction. Her dialogues, for example, often seemed unbelievable, like those in *Weal and Woe in Garveloch* of “half-starved fishermen [expressing] astonishing views on the theory of population.” Yet her descriptions were “fresh, nervous, graphic,” Bulwer hoping that in future she would “put her imagination under less visible and cramped restraint.” The *Spectator* complained in January of hackneyed and inaccurate historical matter in *French Wine and Politics* and now charged that wrongs to Poland shown in *The Charmed Sea* merited *more* sympathy than as examples of the principles of exchange. Yet the tale was “another triumph of female genius.”⁴

Hurriedly advising Charles Knight she had “placed in M^r C. Fox’s hands the first half of the M.S. of my first tale for your Soc^y,” Martineau explained the lack of “margin &c” as “in the condition in w^h my works are always printed by Clowes.” To the SDUK, she laid out her plan based on “queries used by the Poor Law Commissioners as guides.” The first tale would exhibit those to whom parochial relief was given, the second the forms in which given, the third the persons by whom given and the fourth those at whose expense given. She could offer “references to indisputable authority for every such representation.” In mid-March she noted that though Charles Fox was “in a fright about the *length* of the [first] Poor Law tale,” the “Chancellor’s proposal” had been “*an average* of 5 sheets” and the matter of the first tale was “copious.” Indeed, the size of her earlier series varied “from 3 to 5 sheets.”⁵

To Martineau’s good fortune, Mrs. Stoker’s “handsome rooms” on the first floor (at 3 1/2 guineas a week) fell vacant at the beginning of February, and she moved downstairs. Diligently gathering information on banking and the Poor Laws over the Spring, she worried to Elizabeth that “between the scoffing of the ‘Quarterly’ and the scepticism of the ‘Edinburgh,’ the hungry people are ill fed.” Meanwhile her social life in London seemed delightful:

The Chancellor was there . . . I was placed between the Chief Justice and Malthus, both of whom were very talkative to me! What a fine face Denman’s is! We were eleven. Mr. Wishaw was going to Holland House, and offered to bring me home, calling by the way on Mrs. Marcet at the Edward Romilly’s.

Later she told Elizabeth of another memorable tête-à-tête:

O, but do you know Coleridge told me yesterday that he watches “*anxiously*” for my numbers from month to month? . . . He now never stirs from his Highgate abode. He is not sixty, and looks eighty . . . He is most neatly dressed in black; and has perfectly white hair; the under lip quivering with the touching expression of weakness . . . He read me (most exquisitely) some scraps of antique English [and] talked some of his transcendentalism, which I wanted to hear.⁶

Berkeley the Banker, Parts I and II, Nos. 15 and 16, came out in March and April. In her preface to Part I, Martineau assures readers she will show principles rather than offer opinions on a topic “not yet arrived at.” In the tale, two sisters (like Martineau and Ellen) are living in 1814 in an English town like Norwich. Wartime prosperity leads to high wages and prices, and the girls’ father becomes a partner in a bank. Paper money circulates freely, issued by private banks as well as the Bank of England. The townspeople, however, worry about the future value of their savings and about the scarcity of small denomination notes for the shops. A new bank opened by a swindler fails, and he disappears. The foolish governess of the swindler’s children serves as a foil to the two sisters, who now prepare themselves for governessing by studying

German and music. A deaf bookseller in the town at first refuses and then agrees to use an ear-trumpet. The father's bank fails, and the sisters become governesses. (A vignette of gold and silver coins piled in wooden bowls on the bank counter might come from Martineau's memory of a similar scene at Norwich.)

In Part II, four years have gone by, the father's creditors have been *overpaid* owing to changes in the value of money, and his remaining debt is excused. A subplot concerns a forger in league with the swindler who has married another young woman of the town: *he* is caught and sentenced to be executed. At the end of Part II, the younger sister marries a curate and the deaf bookseller marries a widowed shopkeeper, mother of the forger's young widow. Though relying heavily on dialogue, Martineau contrives to let principles -- the convenience of paper money when used with precaution and the application to money of the laws of supply and demand -- to arise quite naturally out of the story. The *Spectator*, brushing aside past doubts, warbled enthusiastically at Martineau's "power of telling the tale" and her "extraordinary knowledge of the details of life and business."⁷

Early in March, Martineau sent James two £100 bills as a loan to help in his moving, the same amount she had lent Robert. Brougham seemed eager for her Poor Law tales, she told James, though others on the SDUK committee perhaps less so. *Messrs. Vanderput and Snoek*, to be No. 16 of the series, was going forward, and she would alter the second part of "Berkeley" as James suggested. Fox was annoyed by Bulwer's review in the *New Monthly Magazine*, while her circle of friends was expanding. Lord Lansdowne, Whig financial expert in the Cabinet, approved of her work except for her admiration of the Benthamite John Arthur Roebuck (MP for Bath and a member of the SDUK committee). Francis Jeffrey, Lord Advocate for Scotland under the Whigs, called to become acquainted (Jeffrey described Martineau as conceited and "most excessively ugly," but by mid-March he and his young American wife were "becoming quite intimate" with her). Finally, Martineau told James that she and Rammohun Roy were studying phrenology.⁸

In contrast to these gratifying events, Martineau now learned that Elizabeth had made up her mind to remove to London. Urgently begging James to "interpose," she pled that she could not "undertake the undivided companionship" of her mother, for "literary work and social obligations would be impossible under such conditions." Until Aunt Lee agreed to join them, Elizabeth's "inquiries about a London house must not go on." Moreover, either Rachel or Ellen would "probably prove essential to a satisfactory arrangement."

Ellen came to London for a few days in April, when Martineau asked Mrs. [Charles] Knight if she might bring Ellen to a party, and then the whole household came down with influenza. Rachel was coming next, Martineau told their cousin Lucy Martineau, and Robert would accompany Ellen home. On the 24th, Martineau went to Kilburn for "factory" talk with a Mr. MacKintosh, a commissioner. To Lucy she crowed over the appointment, at her suggestion, of the "*precisely*" fitted Southwood Smith as physician to the central board of factory inspectors.⁹

While Martineau poured out her tales, admirers and critics continued to question the use of fiction to teach political economy. In the April *Edinburgh*, William Empson reviewed the first thirteen tales of the series, labeling Jane Marcet and Martineau "popular priestesses" of political economy. He faulted Martineau, however, for haste and artificiality in her last four tales. More damagingly, George Poulett Scrope (author of *The Principles of Political Economy*,

1833) attacked Martineau unmercifully in the April *Quarterly*. Labeling the tales “Malthus, M’Culloch, Senior, and Mill, dramatised by a clever female hand,” Scrope sneered at her improbable plots and “doleful dialogues.” Her political economy and her arithmetic were both wrong at times, he claimed. Yet of the first twelve tales, he liked *The Hill and the Valley* best and thought *Demerara* “powerfully written.” Political economy was “far more ingeniously as well as justly illustrated” in the tales of Maria Edgeworth, where “the moral [was] naturally suggested to the reader by the course of events of which he peruses the narrative.”¹⁰

To Fox, Martineau mourned that a party of “literary ladies & gents” were making a point of misinterpreting her. Having agreed to write for the SDUK she admitted she could hardly come to *him* for “comfort.” Yet her new tales were *needed* and should not hurt her series. Now John Potter (Unitarian writer on religion and moral education) had taken an interest in her writings.¹¹

To James, Martineau soberly characterized the latest reviews in the *New Monthly*, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* as simply “the inevitable outburst of critical reactions from the “lionizing” admiration lavished upon the “Norwich Girl” as a literary wonder.” Indeed Empson, who “purposely avoided all acquaintance” before publishing his estimate in the *Edinburgh*, had become a friend. She had now finished another Poor Law tale and been asked to sit for “a large oil one-half length” portrait by Evans, to be hung in the National Gallery. Taking further satisfaction at her influence with government men, she repeated her boast of having solicited Lord Melbourne, Home Secretary, for the appointment of Southwood Smith to the factory commission, “which will bring him £200 in six weeks.”¹²

Martineau’s tale for May, *Messrs. Vanderput and Snoek*, No. 16, aimed to show the nature and operation of bills of exchange among seventeenth-century Dutch merchants of Amsterdam. In contrast to the English, the Dutchmen prosper from the practice, dating from the twelfth century, of being allowed to import goods freely while exchanging debts with other countries. In the tale, a deceased merchant’s eldest son invests in a foolish turf digging and land-development scheme while the merchant’s widow takes the younger children on a visit to Saardam in a towing boat. Colorful details of port activity, the rural Dutch and the pastoral scenery enliven the tale. An invalid son suffering from pain, prays to angels in the chapel windows to take him away, as Martineau herself once did, but is comforted by the family’s Huguenot pastor. Peter the Great, studying shipbuilding at Saardam, makes a benign guest appearance -- not as the evil forebear of Czar Nicholas whom Martineau was later to portray. At the end, the family narrowly escape death in a flood caused by the turf digging and the consequent destruction of a dyke. In fact, the tale anticipates Martineau’s concern as a resident of the Lake District in her later *Daily News* leaders for water-management and drainage.¹³

The first of *Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated (The Parish)* also came out in May. Martineau claimed in her preface that “all that is most melancholy in my story is strictly true” as taken from the Reports of the Poor-Law Commissioners and from “testimony of others . . . occupied in the administration of parish affairs.” Aiming at working-class readers, she wished to let the characters and action show the bad results of mismanaged poor relief. In the tale, regular laborers of the parish are refused jobs in favor of various paupers, an honest widower is forced to live on savings while his friends swallow their pride and enter the workhouse. To the

surprise and discomfort of the paupers, a new overseer then treats them strictly and fairly. A barn burning provides a dramatic high point, but the tale ends blandly.

Fox reviewed the tale in the *Repository*, calling it “the most painfully interesting of all Miss Martineau’s productions,” not pure fiction but possessing a “dreariness” of nature and purpose that “seems to have pressed upon her mind.” Though government ministers were “concocting some measure of Poor Law Reform,” they were likely merely to “lop off the grosser abuses, and nibble at the principle.” He feared Martineau’s writing for the SDUK would detract from the good effects of her *Illustrations of Political Economy* and regretted the *Edinburgh’s* overestimate of her work. For in spite of “accurate observation and patient thought,” Martineau lacked “genius, inspiration, or imagination.” The *Spectator*, possibly taking its cue from the *Repository*, gave *The Parish* only cursory notice—as it did for all the Poor Law tales.¹⁴

Martineau must have guessed how Fox would review her first Poor Law tale. Unusually, no letters to him have been found for the weeks from mid-January to mid-April 1833. His estimate of the new tales echoed what she herself apparently felt: at the end of May she wrote to assure him he understood her better than anyone except James. Meanwhile *others* admired her. The Royal Jennerian Society, founded in 1803 “for the extermination of the smallpox by the extension of vaccination,” had awarded her a diploma, and she wondered how she could help “the Vaccination cause.” Writing to her mother about differences with Fox, she noted that his mission was “to lead a party,” while hers was to “keep aloof from party [to take a] stand upon SCIENCE and declare its truths.”¹⁵

In May, Martineau spent several days with Anne Caldwell Marsh (wife of Arthur Cuthbert Marsh) at Kilburn, north of St. John’s Wood, London. One evening, when they were to dine at the home of the Hensleigh Wedgwoods, her hostess (later Anne Caldwell Marsh) asked Martineau to listen to her story “The Admiral’s Daughter” and to judge if it was good enough to publish. Martineau was delighted. Both women wept over the reading, and Martineau promptly helped Marsh get her story to a publisher.¹⁶

By June, Martineau was seeing Empson almost daily, dining in his company on a Sunday and again at the Wedgwoods “when [Erasmus] Darwin brought out the *Examiner*,” which had defended her against Empson in the *Edinburgh*. They all, including the Thomas Malthuses, “read it together,” she later chuckled. In the cosy domestic scene after dinner, she held Fanny’s new baby daughter while Malthus the “population man,” sitting next to her, patted the baby’s cheeks.¹⁷

To Martineau’s amusement, newspapers reported erroneously in June that she was in Paris. On her birthday the twelfth, she worked on her “Corn-law story” set “in the picturesque part of Yorkshire, near Sheffield,” where she knew there were “hills” for her miller, “foundries” for her artisans, “meadows” for her farmers and “sheep-walks and farms” for her farmers. The third (two-part) tale of the series, *The Loom and the Luggie*, Nos. 17 and 18, appeared in June and July. The tale concerns an English silk manufacturer/merchant with two motherless daughters (like the Flower sisters) that begins and ends in Spitalfields, where Gaston I had probably first settled in England. The manufacturer sympathizes with the distressed local weavers while his shop-keeping neighbor buys smuggled French silks. New printed cottons cut further into the demand for English silks and help to depress the struggling silk weavers’ wages. Convincingly shown at their looms, they threaten to strike. When prices and wages both rise, the manufacturer loses out to smuggled French silks. Violence erupts in the story when a new

young revenue guard is murdered by gypsies. Speakers point to the levying of duty on foreign goods as the cause of the troubles.

In Part II, three years have passed. A French silk manufacturer from Lyons who employs English silk weavers in Spitalfields is threatened by a mob accusing him of importing French silks. Suspense builds as his house is surrounded and the mob burn him in effigy. Magistrates examine his books and interview his weavers before pronouncing him innocent. A scene of young French and English children at dancing school contrasts to the two manufacturers' restating the benefits of free trade. In spite of heavy-handed plotting *The Loom and the Luggier* seemed one of Martineau's best tales, probably owing to empathy with cloth manufacturers like her father.¹⁸

In July, Martineau took her landlady's thirteen-year-old son, William, to see the 12-foot-long model of a copper mine being exhibited in the Strand (a possible inspiration for the lively description of copper mining in her last Poor Law tale). At Conduit Street, a whiff of 18th-century society arrived in the form of an invitation from Mary Berry, friend of legendary "Gothic" Horace Walpole. At the Berrys' Martineau found "a charming little party" to meet her. Earlier, Lady Mary Shepherd had invited her to lunch where she met Lady Mary's nephew, Lord Henley. He strongly urged her to go to America to study their practice of philanthropy. Henley believed the Church "*in its present state*" was a dead weight on improvements, especially in cathedral towns. Indeed, *Cousin Marshall* had alerted him to the dangers of unwise charity.¹⁹

She was taking pains with the Corn Law tale, *Sowers Not Reapers*, Martineau told Fox, "with what effect, I know not yet." One number of the series would be written in Malthus's study at Haileybury where she was to stay in August.²⁰

Unexpectedly, in July an attack on Martineau's early works appeared in the Anglican *British Critic*, *Quarterly Theological Review*, and *Ecclesiastical Record*. Reviewing only *Devotional Exercises* (3rd edition, 1832), her three prize essays (separately published by the Unitarian Association and the British and Foreign Unitarian Association) and *Traditions of Palestine*, the writer sneered at her "oracular pomposity," inconsistency and ridiculous assertions, all characteristic of the "lowest kind of Unitarianism." Martineau, he claimed, was giving out falsehoods but could be excused because her opinions were simply those of "Messrs. Fox and Co."²¹

Martineau's tale *Sowers Not Reapers*, No. 19 in the series, came out in August. In a preface, she defended herself against a charge that writing for the SDUK damaged her effectiveness: she took her stand on *science* and claimed no party affiliation. The tale shows the Corn Laws acting ruinously on different levels of a Yorkshire community -- a working-class woman and her gin-tipping sister-in-law, her suitor (an intelligent brass-foundry worker) and her inquisitive nephew. The Laws lead to the smuggling of Sheffield steel objects, costly bread and (illegal) military drilling at night. The situation worsens after a drought, with no wind to turn a mill. A humble baker woman, afraid of being mobbed, gives away her scarce bread. At last an Order in Council reduces the duty on foreign grain, but the over-extended landowner and his farmer are ruined. Unlike past spokesmen in Martineau's tales who recommend birth control and emigration to solve the problem of British over-population, the intelligent foundry-man urges free trade in corn to feed the hungry, balanced by the exportation of English iron and industrial skills.²²

Doubts about *Sowers Not Reapers* were justified, even the *Spectator* failing to offer a review. This and Martineau's next two tales, *Cinnamon and Pearls* and *A Tale of the Tyne*, seem to show hastily worked out plots and a failure to develop her usual quirky and endearing characters. Still confident, however, she declared to James that the second Poor Law tale, *The Hamlets*, was in print (not quite true) and even "with plenty of recreation" she had "nearly done two numbers" of the series in July.

Now a significant change in Martineau's living arrangements approached: the family had met with Henry and Robert "to decide the question of [Elizabeth's] removal . . . to London; Aunt Lee consenting." A house in Fludyer Street was taken from mid-August, the landlord, Sir Samuel Fluyder, letting it "at £50 per annum, from Michaelmas, taxes £25; and the furniture purchased (only two years old) from the tenant . . . for £325." Martineau was to enter in a fortnight, her mother and Aunt Lee "at the quarter." Generously, she told James that if the two £100 bills she had sent him were really gone, the loss was *hers*. Ironically, she now destined for him the prized manuscript of *Sowers not Reapers*.²³

Responding to Charles Fox's half-yearly statement of accounts, Martineau asked him to reconsider the terms for "the last 6 N^{os} of the Series," that were to be added "to the 24 originally proposed." On the basis of her "labour & success," she wished to reserve the profits to herself, hoping he "would have no objection to publish them, for the usual p^r centage." Their original agreement had been dissoluble by either of them, she reminded him, "after the publication of every four N^{os}."²⁴

Confidence in her new status no doubt led Martineau to set terms for Elizabeth's sharing a home with her. "I am now as much a citizen of the world as any professional *son* of yours could be," she asserted. Her hours of solitary work and of visiting would leave Elizabeth much to herself, and there was another chance -- she might marry. Though having "no thoughts of it" at present, from "the devoted interest" of some of her friends she could not rule out that possibility. Martineau's reputation had indeed spread. On "Saturday" (3 August), she was to meet Archbishop Whately of Dublin at the home of Nassau Senior (a member of the Poor Law Commission) and had "engaged to meet the Chancellor and [James] Mill at Mr. Ker's." Lant Carpenter had called and sent her his works. She was sorry Robert disapproved of her "*supposed intention*" to refuse the pension, she told James, as the refusal might seem like ingratitude on her part, as well as "culpable rejection of a well-merited and desirable addition" to her income.²⁵

Anxiety over Elizabeth's coming to live with her may have contributed to Martineau's pique at others of the family. Except for James, she told Fox, they astonished her by their "unconsciousness" of her position. Henry, for example, said she would "never have been Quarterlied" if Elizabeth had been with her. Nor did he believe her opinions out of the *Illustrations* were of any significance. "What," she went on, "can he make of the things that are continually taking place?" She did not care how she "exposed" herself to her French translator, printed in "Autobiographical Particulars" in the September *Repository*, and she hoped even Miss Gillies's "undignified proceed^g" in copying (Martineau's) portrait would do *her* good. In fact, she joked, she had reached the acme of honor by having a racehorse named for her.

Friends craved manuscripts of her series, but she would reserve one for Fox if he wanted as they might become valuable. Up to *Messrs. Vanderput and Snoek* she destroyed them, but Fox should have "Knowledge taxes, if any." She was working on "domestic

monopolies,” including guilds, to be called *A Tale of the Tyne*. Still another monopoly to address was the exclusion of women from industry: “How it w^d startle!” Yet she might dare. Annoyingly, Clowes (also printing the new “series”) had failed for ten days to send her proofs of *The Hamlets*, though she never kept *him* waiting an hour. She could write two tales, take a house, ride three hours a day, dine out daily and entertain her mother all in one July. After staying at Haileybury, on 20 August she would move to Fludyer Street.²⁶

During the “terribly laborious” preparation of *A Tale of the Tyne* in August 1833, Martineau was to take a less sanguine view of her activities: “The weather was hot, and . . . I had to hire and initiate the servants; to receive and unpack the furniture; and to sit down at night . . . to write my number.” The crux of her frustrations came in a letter from Fox answering her proposal to his brother regarding five or six additional tales on taxation *after* their agreement expired. Fox contended that she was bound to continue the series under the same terms “to whatever length it might extend,” thus giving Charles Fox an unlimited right to re-issue the tales. Clearly taken aback, Martineau was “kept . . . awake at night by very painful feelings of indignation, grief and disappointment” at Fox’s seeming duplicity. In her autobiography, she added that friends

with whom I discussed the plan were of the opinion that I had already done more than enough for [Charles Fox] by continuing the original terms through the Series . . . he having never fulfilled . . . the original condition of obtaining subscribers.

Her friends comprised men like Thomas Drummond (private secretary since April to Lord Althorp, chancellor of the exchequer, who often called at Fludyer Street) and her patrons in the SDUK.

While seeming to try to placate Martineau, Fox avowed he never doubted his brother was “joint proprietor . . . of the *entire work* to be produced.” Heatedly, Martineau restated the terms of their original agreement. In her proposals for the series, issued in her handwriting under Charles Fox’s eye, she had announced that twenty-four volumes were intended, and there was a “perfect understanding between us that the number was to be 24,” she repeated. Though grateful to be enabled to publish her work and “then relieved from the burden of the subscription plan,” she now had the right to go to another publisher, for “if I c^d have foreseen what the success of the work w^d be, I sh^d, of course, have declined labouring so extensively to enrich a stranger.”

Some partly conciliatory closing words did not deter Charles Fox from threatening legal action. Martineau fired back at the end of August. If the letter of the law was against her, she would make the last numbers a separate work. Without her authority, Charles Fox had taken it upon himself to advertise the series in thirty numbers, but Ker advised her that her right was *clear*. Moreover, her Poor Law tales were “undertaken for a special & most important purpose” and not for the money. Now she needed to know within a week whether Charles Fox would publish her new tales under their old title or as *Illustrations of Taxation*, or whether she should immediately arrange with another publisher.

Her bid for fair treatment over, Martineau became her old cordial self. W.J. Fox’s last published sermons she had read with delight; they also pleased Malthus, “no less.” At Fludyer Street, she felt happy with “the house, situation &c,” the bargain seeming “a satisfactory one to all parties.” Her mother and aunt were expected next week.²⁷

Meanwhile Martineau had begun to lay plans for an extended absence from London. Remembering Lord Henley's advice, she wrote to Gannett to ask the cost for "two plain travellers, wishing to see everything [in America] *well*, but having no expensive fancies." Being untraveled, she considered herself "only half-educated." In return for the benefits society had offered her she owed it "the duty of the highest possible cultivation." Her probable itinerary would begin in New York next August, continuing to "the Springs & Niagara" in the autumn, spending the winter in Boston, New York, Philadelphia & Washington, getting to New Orleans by May, & making our summer tour up the Mississippi & Ohio, so as to be at New York again by August. The total cost, she thought, including the voyage both ways, would "come within £100."²⁸

Not letting the exciting plans slow her work, Martineau set about gathering material for the next group of tales, *Illustrations of Taxation*. William Tait had sent a newspaper with his position on a matter concerning the Scottish clergy, and she implored his help with "the very difficult subject of Taxation." In thinking of going to America, she aimed to explain "the *principles*" of their institutions, for "I am tired of being left floundering among the details wh^h are all that a Hall or a Trollope can bring away."²⁹

In her autobiography, Martineau recorded that *Cinnamon and Pearls*, No. 20 of the series published in September, came from information sent her anonymously that the East India Company "constituted a great monopoly." Sir Alexander Johnstone, a reformer "just returned from governing Ceylon," also brought her "books, prints and other illustrations," and invited her to meet other recent travellers. After this "auspicious beginning," the tale "went off pleasantly" and earned praise from Johnstone though it caused "much wrath" in Ceylon.

In the tale's suspenseful opening scene, a young Ceylonese dives for conch shells at night (illegally), a speculator having leased the sea banks. Caught trying to steal a pearl by swallowing, the youth is forbidden to dive for the rest of the season. The youth and his bride-to-be then flee to the cinnamon harvest in the south but find that the island's abundant natural resources cannot support them nor save their people from hunger and diseases like elephantiasis and leprosy. An East India Company agent explains that colonizers have seized the natural products of the island without sufficiently rewarding the natives. He argues that colonies of benefit to Europeans must allow the natives to prosper and govern themselves. (Martineau was to propose this solution for India in the 1850s.) Although the characters seem flat, details of the sea and the land hold the reader's attention. Indeed, despite the heroine's "charmer" (witch-doctor) father, she most resembles a Victorian ingénue. Taken by Martineau's exotic descriptions, the *Spectator* printed three columns of quotation and used the review to attack government support for criminal monopolies.³⁰

Charles Fox's demand for half the proceeds of the proposed tales on taxation caused Martineau to feel "deeply hurt," she told James. ("Be assured," she had blasted Fox, "that equity, honour & law have no more connexion with your claim than with your moiety of the first balloon or telegraph I may invent.") Now she was busy making plans for America, possibly to sail with Rev. Joseph Tuckerman of Boston, whom she had missed in London. She still hoped James might go: "she sighs for me constantly," he noted, "wants me to know *Whately*" and to share the affection she gets from all sides. Ker had begged her to ask James to write on Priestley for the SDUK's "Gallery of Portraits" (he could not), while both Ker and Fox continued to urge her to accept a pension. Evans was painting large pictures of her study and wanted her

to accept his portrait of her as a gift. Frightened at his kindness, she declined but accepted an admission to Robert Peel's gallery.³¹

"It will give me great pleasure to visit you on Monday next," Martineau wrote to her cousin Lucy, but "I ought not to sleep at your house, as my damsel w^d then be alone." Moreover, her mother and Aunt Lee were expected "before the end of next week."

After fussing to Coates of the SDUK about Clowes's slowness Martineau received a "present of copies" of the work. "The scheme for the second story" was in the Chancellor's hands, she next informed Coates. While trying to smooth over her difficulties with Charles Fox, she nevertheless told Coates that Fox "wished to be rid of his bargain."³²

Elizabeth and Aunt Lee seemed happy together at Fludyer Street and were respecting her independence, Martineau reported to James. Earlier she had sent him (as her executor) an estimate of her property. Meanwhile shocking news had come from Norwich. Twice in one week the Martineau and Son warehouse was broken into and "ransacked from end to end, in nights when Henry never came home." The iron safe with money was empty, "broken all to pieces," almost certainly by "people who knew where he was." In response, James urged that his sisters' property be paid off, "which may well be required of [Henry] when he is let off for the third divide."³³

A Tale of the Tyne, No. 21 of the series, came out in October (Martineau claimed not to remember writing it owing to the August troubles with the Fox brothers). The plot may have come from Rankin family lore at Newcastle from the time of the Napoleonic wars, in which a local coal mine with a railway employs women as well as men. Others work in shipping, rope making and market gardening. Events are jerkily told, and issues like long apprenticeships and the limiting of trades appear without preparation. Scorn is poured on a rector who opposes the development of a canal and harbor to make cheaper coal available in the south as well as on a surgeon concerned with his own advancement. A blind boy with an acute sense of hearing, a girl who carries a wild strawberry plant home under her apron and a boy who buries himself to see how death feels seem taken from Martineau's own childhood experiences. In a happy ending, the twice-impressed father, not paid until the war is over, returns.

The *Spectator* deemed the tale inferior, complaining that the action paused while the characters preached, the only good character being the blind boy, "who talks *no* political economy." John Stuart Mill in the *Examiner*, however, called the tale a "powerful enforcement through fictitious history" against the "odious tyranny" of impressment, that reforming ministers were refusing to abolish. Carlyle complained that "so much mere babbling pro and con has taken place about poor Miss M. that wherever I see her name I feel a kind of temptation to skip," but Mill assured him the tale was *about* impressment. Malthus, Martineau's stalwart fan, liked the "glory and beauty of love and the blessedness of domestic life" between the heroine and her market-gardener sweetheart.³⁴

The second Poor Law tale, *The Hamlets*, published in early October, continued to focus on the wrongs of old-fashioned and corrupt overseers. In the tale, an orphaned brother and sister are taken in by the wife of a feckless mackerel-fisherman and exemplify the proper working of parish charity. Paupers in the workhouse bully the overseer's wife until a new reforming overseer puts them to work while reserving charity for emergency cases. The orphans' shrimping in a cave show Martineau's proclivity to portray children threatened by violence or death. In the end the orphans care for the aging fisherman's family and the

workhouse is closed. Now villagers engaging in fishing, carpentry and pig-raising are kinder. The *Spectator* complained of “haste” in the “general flatness” of the tale, but Malthus, Ker, Empson and Brougham all thought *The Hamlets* a “gem.” Boasting to James, Martineau again urged him to accompany her to America at her expense, leaving February or March “twelvemonth.”³⁵

In October, Martineau begged Fox’s opinion about a request from Maria Callcott (Lady Callcott), a writer of small works, now “dying slowly.” Callcott wanted to excerpt stories of *children* from Martineau’s series, to be used in schools “under the patronage of Lady Mary Fox, & the whole Royal & Holland coteries.” *The Hamlets* could not be used because she had sold the copyright, but she would like to “humour the poor lady” to whom she owed something for her “pleasant works.”

Just now *The Three Ages* (No. 23) had cost a “world of pains.” Should she print summaries of all her principles in a last number, as he seemed to suggest? She had received no credit for that “extremely condensed body of Polit^l Econ^y . . . more worth notice than many a scrap . . . praised to the skies.” When Fox seemed to approve of the idea, she reminded him she was “now doing the 24th, -- the principle of Taxation, -- very important,” and (after her troubles with his brother) it would make one more volume than originally agreed upon.³⁶

(In an ironic twist, Fox’s popularity had led the Wedgwoods and Erasmus Darwin-- Martineau’s future *admirer*-- to travel “miles” to Finsbury in north London to hear him preach only to discover after half an hour they *weren’t* listening to Fox, who had lost his voice and called in a substitute!)

In addition to her male admirers, enlightened women offered Martineau books and ideas. Georgina Cavendish, 6th Countess of Carlisle, entertained Martineau and forwarded works by Mary Wollstonecraft. Martineau responded that Wollstonecraft had “undoubtedly got hold of some very fine truths, & had magnanimity enough to act upon them,” but was disappointing. Wollstonecraft’s “worst foes were *within*,” and Martineau grieved that “so noble a creature suffered herself to become the helpless victim of passion.”³⁷

Martineau’s November tale, *Briery Creek*, No. 22 of the series, concerns a Dissenting minister and amateur astronomer roughly based on Joseph Priestley’s exile in Pennsylvania. Priestley’s unmarried son and married daughter and her husband have all settled in the rural American community. Homely incidents showing life on the frontier comprise supplies being lost in a stream, the minister’s missing news of London and Paris, and local men going on a squirrel hunt and holding a bridge-building party. The minister resigns himself to life as a farmer but carries on astronomical observations at night when his timid grandson, unable to please his strict father, cannot *see* a planet (like Martineau’s not *seeing* Halley’s comet). Priestley’s son dies, the son-in-law attempts grandiose building schemes but proves to be a swindler. Martineau states the importance of reinvesting profits in newly developed land rather than spending on luxuries, and the tale ends in both sadness and hope.

The *Spectator* decried the political economy of “Briery Creek” to be muddled. The *Athenaeum*, after mild enthusiasm for the series in 1832, ignored Martineau until the end of December 1833 in favor of works by Scott, Edgeworth, Mrs. Trollope, Lady Blessington, Lady Morgan and the *Life and Works of Byron*. Grudgingly, the journal acknowledged the publication of *Cinnamon and Pearls, A Tale of the Tyne* and *Briery Creek*, ironically pairing Martineau with

George Poulett Scope, author of *Principles of Political Economy* and her (possible) misogynistic reviewer in the *Quarterly*.³⁸

At the beginning of November the “series” was selling well, Martineau had told James, “the demand being within 100 of the highest point” while “foes and doubters have disappeared.” Indeed, she had an offer from Philadelphia for their simultaneous publication. Her success, however, provoked another crude attack, by the Irish wit William Maginn. As editor of *Fraser’s Magazine*, Maginn portrayed her in the November issue as one of a “Gallery of Literary Characters.” She was a bluestocking, a Malthusian, “the idol of the *Westminster Review* and other oracles of that peculiar party.” Even “Mother Woolstonecraft” [sic] of “shameless books” appeared more palatable, and he pointed to Martineau’s “preventative” and “moral check.” Along with Maginn’s sketch, Daniel Maclise’s pen-and-ink drawing showed her making tea with her feet on the fender of her fireplace (a masculine pose), a cat rubbing his head on her cheek. Yet Martineau was in good company. Maginn’s “Gallery” had featured Samuel Rogers, Thomas Moore, Sir Walter Scott, Caroline Norton, John Wilson, Mary Russell Mitford, Washington Irving, James Hogg, Goethe, Bulwer, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lady Blessington, Carlyle, Cruikshank and (the previous month) Letitia Elizabeth Landon. Maginn’s extravagant style was exemplified by testimony that at Landon’s name, “ten thousand pens should leap out of their ink bottles to pay homage.”³⁹

Unfazed by Maginn’s flippancy, Martineau begged Brougham for an extra fortnight to finish her third Poor Law tale. She hadn’t been able to get “the necessary Evidence from the P.L. Commission Office,” but the tale would be delivered to Coates by Christmas Day.⁴⁰

Her series was “completely established” in France, Martineau crowed to Fox, the second volume being in translation. King Louis Philippe subscribed, and M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction, had ordered a hundred copies for provincial libraries. M. Maurice, her translator, had called on Rachel and sent “manifold questions about the ‘Strike’ [in *A Manchester Strike*], whose technicalities puzzle him strangely.” He thinks, she exclaimed, a handloom is a man or woman “who weaves.” Meanwhile, she could not make out Charles Fox’s answer about a volume of summaries, which “must be settled directly,” for she had “no time to come over this week.”⁴¹

James, now installed as co-pastor at the Paradise Street chapel, Liverpool, had found pupils to supplement his income and repaid the £200 Martineau had loaned him. On “Saturday” she would take the mail coach to Newcastle, she informed him, call on Lord Durham at Lambton Castle, do the third Poor Law tale and see Lissey and their grandmother Rankin before she travelled to America. Rachel was to spend Christmas day at Fludyer Street, and Henry was keeping regular hours at Norwich. Gittings, Thomas’s old associate, had told Elizabeth plainly that “men cannot bear to be ruled by women.” That evening, Martineau was going to the Hollands’ and tomorrow to Lady Mary Shepherd’s. James mustn’t “decide hastily against going to America,” she pled, though she had a “very nice” companion in mind and would travel incognito as “Miss Lee.”⁴²

Martineau’s invitation to Lambton Castle may have come through Lord Grey whose son-in-law, coal-mine owner Lord Durham, wanted her help in forestalling a union among his miners. On Sunday, 1 December, Martineau called at Lambton Castle with Lissey and her husband and his relatives, the Headlams. After “many hours’ conversation” with Durham discussing “every important public question,” Martineau came to admire and trust him

completely, she told James, but no longer Brougham -- especially not on "*national education*." Durham ("radical Jack") had seemed open and calm and had confessed that before long he expected passage of such measures as the ballot, the reform of the Poor Law, the abolition of the Corn Laws and the modification of tithes. On a later visit to Lambton Castle, Martineau met Grey's son Viscount Howick and his wife -- with whom she was to correspond. Durham later sent Martineau a gold inkstand as a thank-you gift for the pamphlet she produced for him, but she was shocked that Lady Durham did not know who Priestley was, or of the Birmingham riots against Dissenters in 1791.⁴³

While Martineau was at Lambton Castle, she wrote to her Bristol uncle Thomas Rankin to discourage him from trying to republish a study of burns by his wife's brother, Dr. Edward Kentish. Scarcely a book was now selling, Martineau warned him, booksellers were buying no copyrights, and a "new method of treating Burns" had come into vogue. If he did go ahead, Highly in Fleet Street was considered the best medical bookseller, but she feared that her uncle over-rated "the value of the property of us literary folks." For herself, it was "quite true" she meant to spend part of her "remuneration" in America, passing "upwards as far as Quebec, & downwards as far as New Orleans." She had found "no lack of people" who wanted to go with her. Even Durham seemed disposed to go but was wanted at home. Lord Howick, another earnest worker "for the people's sake," was at Lambton Castle, and with Durham she was going to "begrim" herself among the "pitmen, & perhaps to go down a pit!" She planned to return to Newcastle on Saturday the 14th and to London a week after.⁴⁴

The Three Ages, No. 23 of the series, appeared during Martineau's stay with Lord and Lady Durham. The tale first attacks corruption and extravagance in the court of Henry VIII, appearing with a richly dressed Cardinal Wolsey, the "butcher's dog." While he indulges in luxuries, Henry distributes Church property and wants the Commons to pay for his wars in France. Meditating on the king, Thomas Moore serves as a voice of sound political economy. In the second "Age" the frivolous and extravagant Charles II, when told of the English defeat by the Dutch, comments lamely that it is "a wonder." Meanwhile, Christopher Wren is rebuilding St. Paul's cathedral while a Presbyterian clergyman objects to the new book of Common Prayer. As Charles and his courtiers travel by royal barge up to the City of London their vessel sinks the clergyman and his family, moving house with all their possessions. The third "Age" offers vignettes of a nineteenth-century barrister journeying to London, finding copies of local newspapers in the window pockets of the coach and reading of social ills the government could prevent. An authorial voice deplores the waste of money on pomp and tax collecting. On reaching London, the enlightened barrister walks thoughtfully through Westminster Abbey.

Martineau later censured *The Three Ages* as a youthful imitation of Scott. Yet her consistently ironic point of view in the three stories anticipates numerous ironic and effective passages in *History of the Peace* and in her *Daily News* leaders. Empson, in fact, remonstrated with her for the "dangerous opinions" shown in the tale.⁴⁵

The Farrers of Budge Row, No. 24 of the series, came out in January. To illustrate the evils of the income tax and of restraint on trade, Martineau presents a small shopkeeper and his grown children during the Napoleonic wars. The characters were inspired by a shop-keeping family "in the neighbourhood of Fludyer Street" where she had noticed the old father's pride in his cheeses and his love of money. Believably conveying the father's worries about duties and the new income tax, Martineau describes the selling of small commodities. A son

down from university refuses to help the father in the shop and secretly marries a French political refugee's daughter. The son and father-in-law write for radical publications agitating for graduated income and property taxes and protesting the war debt. At the shopkeeper's death the daughter resolves to carry his money chest to France to evade English income taxes. Approaching the Thames in a dark fog, she and her younger brother hear the yells of smugglers (including their elder brother, who has broken his neck). Boarding a ship for France, the daughter drowns while trying to save the money chest.

The *Spectator* awarded the grim tale high praise, commenting on the plot, Martineau's delineation of character and her presentation of "moral" and economic doctrine. The tale was considered "the best of the Series," and Martineau was "repeatedly exhorted" to write a novel about the unmarried daughter.⁴⁶

Jolting over rural roads on her way north in late November, Martineau had managed to write "the chief part" of *The Moral of Many Fables*. For the first time, however, the publication of a tale in the series was late. Back at Fludyer Street by the first of the year, she was bedridden for ten days,

the heats and draughts of the [coal] pit, combined with the fatigue of an unbroken journey by mail coach from Newcastle to London, in December [caused] a severe inflammation of the liver,

followed by a sore throat, and Southwood Smith was called in. Though Fox sympathized with her inability to work, Coates protested that "sixteen guineas' worth of paper had been wetted" and would be spoiled if she did not correct two proofs. Then propped up on pillows with Elizabeth or the maid beside her to administer sal volatile "lest she should faint," Martineau set to work with "dizzy eyes, and a quivering brain." Afterwards, she heard to her amusement that it was her practice "to work in this delightful style."⁴⁷

For her tract on unions, Martineau asked Manchester philanthropist Benjamin Heywood to procure for her "one plain case" of a strike being "inevitably, -- or at least very frequently, -- followed by improvements in machinery which supersede human labour," as suggested by Brougham. A lively exchange of letters with Durham followed: she had derived much from her visit to Lambton Castle and now believed that people might be "sooner & more effectively aided in their efforts after social improvement" than she had hoped. Yet what form should the topic take, "an Address or a very familiar essay?" The Evangelicals had made "tracts & addresses very unpopular," but she could cite "a capital case from Manchester, -- of a strike having originated the Self-acting Mule, & freed the children of the factories from the compulsion to turn out with the Spinners." Detailing matters of "Friendly Societies," she listed the seeming objections and recommendations connected to a petition and offered to "obtain the very best tables [on] the averages of life & health" of working people.

While praising the rules of Durham's association for his miners, she begged to add a few words about Dr Tuckerman, who wished to obtain "Parliamentary Reports [on] the condition of our working people." He was a "highly interesting . . . specimen of a New England divine," with "traces of Puritanism [as well as] practical sagacity."

In early February, Martineau was to inform Durham that the MP for Wigan had brought her "a pamphlet on Wages . . . by a working man, Tho^s Hopkins," which she was glad to circulate "among the watchers of the signs of the times." Durham had mentioned searching for an overseer for poor relief in "our three great parishes of Chester, Houghton, and Gateshead."

She knew of “one person precisely fitted” who might not be induced to leave his small but flourishing wine business, Martineau replied. He had long been active in parish reform, while “his steadiness, joined with his invincible good humour has made him both useful & popular . . . in his office of Guardian.” He was “between 35 & 40, & has experience, judgment, health & temper.” (Martineau’s nominee was probably Henry, and her kind statement was one of the last about her brother.)⁴⁸

While still in bed after the first of the year, Martineau had broached a delicate topic to James: “the deplorable state of the relations of the Clapton house [home of W.J. Fox, his children and Eliza Flower], which is rapidly tending to a miserable crisis.” The *Repository* had just published the first of several articles (three by Fox) referring to the subject of divorce. The first piece called the divorce bill an “anomaly,” under a “mistaken religious principle” easily violated by the aristocracy and those who can pay. (Fourteen years earlier, Fox had married Eliza Florance, a barrister’s daughter, and soon realized he had made a “blunder.” Over the past year, the Foxes had been nominally “separated” but lived in the same house for the sake of economy and for appearances before Fox’s congregation.)

Indignantly, Martineau went on to James: “Mr. F.’s alienation from his wife, and widening dependence on E.F. [Eliza Flower], ruinous to her position as it is selfish and inconsiderate in him, having at last a scandalous excess,” was now compounded by the behavior of another member of his congregation, Harriet Taylor, with John Stuart Mill. When Fox’s congregation, at the instigation of his wife, had begun to pry into his personal affairs, Mill urged Fox to take a public stand against their accusations. The coincidence of Fox’s behavior with Harriet Taylor’s “abandonment of her husband to live in Paris,” Martineau snorted to James, “gives it a serious character and dangerous publicity which bodes nothing but evil.” (Martineau’s outrage *may* have come chiefly from the shock and hurt of her beloved “Liese’s” choice of “Luther,” i.e., Fox, over herself.) To Fox a few days later, she expressed no disapproval but begged him to negotiate a month’s delay in her series’ number. For what month would Liese like her to write a song?

By the end of January, Martineau had become her old self. She was spending her mornings at the House of Commons, she vaunted to James, where she had “every facility for reading and making notes” before the M.P.s arrived. For the first of her *Illustrations of Taxation, The Park and the Paddock*, she felt she had mastered the game laws. After she completed No. 25 of the series, she would write the third Poor Law tale (intended earlier) and then be “free for Taxation.” Dropping names, she told James briskly she could see her way clear through the taxation numbers. Howick’s doubts had made her “more intent,” while Lord Durham had written “affectionately” and would call on Sunday. Gannett had forwarded “a parcel of books” as well as “an extraordinary letter” of advice she planned to “follow implicitly.” £600 would likely see her “through 1 ½ years of travelling.” On Monday, 3 February, there was to be a party at Fludyer Street for the Jeffreys and the Empsons to meet the excellent Dr. Tuckerman. Yet James’s sentiments on the “growing power of sympathizing with joy and sorrow” proved that *he* was still her “nearest and dearest friend.”⁴⁹

To Gannett, Martineau now declared she hoped to sail at the beginning of August. Yet *that* might be affected by “the critical state of our political circumstances” that rendered her responsibilities her “first consideration.” Gannett’s zealous efforts “about the copyright affair” had failed, so she would simply make the most of her opportunities and be content. Still, she

approved of cheap (American) reprints of her Essays and of *Life in the Wilds*, and she accepted that literature should be “brought down to the lowest point of cheapness which is consistent with justice to the author.”⁵⁰

“I send you a very odd paper,” Martineau next wrote to William Tait. “I wish it to appear in your Mag^{ne}, because of the wide circulation.” In April, Tait then published Martineau’s “Letter to the Deaf,” a frank avowal of personal disability describing the “intolerable grievance” of not hearing, caused by false shame. She urged others to ask physicians for the truth of their condition, to speak objectively about it and not delay making provision for it. Giving up society would be unhealthy. *She* had given up music for the sake of others and had gradually stopped hearing different birdsongs. Having tried Galvanism in autumn 1827, she did not recommend it. The treatment nearly restored her hearing for a few weeks, but she lived “in a sort of nervous fear [and was] more deaf ever afterwards.” Instead, she recommended the use of a trumpet.⁵¹

Busily gathering information for her tales, Martineau implored Henry David Inglis to “desire Mess^{rs} Whittaker [publishers] to let me have an advance copy . . . *without any delay*” of (his) new work, *The Channel Islands*. She was preparing “one of her monthly No^s of ‘Illustrations of Taxation’” with the scene laid in Jersey. Discussing with Coates suggestions for the Poor Law series, she was thankful “to be set right by M^r Senior, as to Overseers being *appointed*.” Coates had evidently objected to her ball scene in *The Loom and the Lugger*, Part II, but she protested that “two-thirds of that scene have a direct bearing on the story.” It was “necessary to leave [in] *some* of the lighter parts [and] the murder *must* stand, if the story is to have any force at all.” It was singular that “the incidents & expressions” marked by her critics as questionable, were “precisely those which are taken without alteration from the Poor Law Evidence.” Her friend Captain Beaufort, by his criticisms on “the first and present No^s,” must “not have read the Reports, nor the Evidence, nor fully possessed himself of the purpose” of the tales.

Next Martineau sent Francis Place a copy of the tract “which I wrote lately for L^d Durham & his Lambton men,” defending her fictional sketches against attacks from all parties including the radicals. She *was* a radical, she assured Place, and known to be so. Next week she was to meet with “the Chancellor . . . when we shall doubtless talk over Poor Law matters.”⁵²

No. 25 of the series, *The Moral of Many Fables*, out in March, provided a finale to Martineau’s two-year stretch of startling achievement. Restating her categories of “Production, Distribution, Exchange and Consumption” plus subdivisions such as “Large farms” and “Slavery” (under Production), she acknowledged Adam Smith, Malthus, et al, as her mentors. Not having fully achieved her aims, she said she would continue with further numbers on taxation. Though her fables may have seemed melancholy, people learned from their errors as they did in a household. Using the history of the English cloth industry as an example, she noted the progress under the policies of Edward III, who had brought Flemish weavers to England (including to Norwich) to teach the use of the spinning wheel. She cited the suffering under the policies of Henry VII and Henry VIII, who wrongly tried to regulate the industry. At last the relaxation of wool-trade restrictions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to worldwide English trade. Yet she regretted that more labor-saving devices had not been invented and chattily noted examples from other countries.

John Stuart Mill reviewed *The Moral of Many Fables* respectfully in the *Repository*. He pointed to weaknesses in the new “science” of political economy, which failed to acknowledge the elements of change, or the blurring of distinctions, or the non-existence of three distinct classes of owners, capitalists, and laborers in societies like that of the West Indies, India, France, Ireland and elsewhere. Mill listed his own liberal recommendations: to abolish monopolies, pay off the national debt by taxing all property and controlling population growth. Martineau’s work, he felt, possessed considerable merit as an exposition of principles. In spite of some obscurities and inaccuracies, she was not more vulnerable to criticism than the political economists themselves.⁵³

Printing a column of quotation from Martineau’s summary of principles, the *Spectator* said there was no time (or perhaps inclination) to review her political economy. Another (cynical) critic whom Martineau could *never* have anticipated, Karl Marx, cited the weaknesses of British political economists like Bentham and Martineau. In their works, political economy--in the guise of an old maid--puts into the mouth of her “beau ideal” of a capitalist the following words addressed to those supernumeraries thrown on the streets by their own creation of additional capital: “We manufacturers do what we can for you, whilst we are increasing the capital on which you must subsist, and you must do the rest by accommodating your numbers to the means of subsistence.”⁵⁴

James came to London in the third week of March to preach on the Regium Donum, throwing the Fludyer Street household into a state of pleasurable excitement. Elizabeth pressed Helen to come too, “for at least a week,” leaving “the bairns” to be cared for by kind friends. Coincidentally, *five* works by Martineau appeared in late March and April. Her polemical pamphlet aimed at Durham’s miners, *Strikes and Sticks*, drew a warning from Fox in the *Repository* that to teach effectively she must show herself the people’s friend (Fox likened her attempt to convince the miners to cooperate with the owners to *The Times*’s abuse of Derby strikers who were the victims of a lock-out). The *Athenaeum* agreed with Martineau’s purpose, to show the “labouring classes” that “combinations are demonstrably pernicious to those by whom they are supported,” but complained that she had “been spoiled by praise or was over-writing herself” and produced “mere dogmatizing on pompous nothings.” Surprisingly, Francis Place (who had helped with materials for *A Manchester Strike*) liked the work.⁵⁵

When Richard Bentley [?] hinted at reissuing Martineau’s *Illustrations of Political Economy* as part of his “Standard Novels” series, she responded bluntly that “We wish to reserve the liberty of issuing an edition for the working classes as cheap as we can make it.”⁵⁶

Martineau’s third Poor Law tale, *The Town*, came out in April. Showing “mismanagement” of paupers by magistrates and vestries, the tale focuses on children, tradesmen and other denizens of a small town including insouciant ribbon-weavers, a saucy cooper’s daughter and a “peeping” old pauper woman secretly purveying gin. An almost clinical profile of a nineteenth-century community, the tradesmen comprise a cooper, tinman, porter seller, publicans, butcher, chandler, tailor, brewer’s clerk and rat-catcher. Chief villains are shopkeepers who profit from relief given to paupers. Living in alleys and along the quay, the poor become victims of a cholera epidemic, and after a succession of confusing incidents the tale ends with the town’s charity in disarray. Unexpectedly, the *Repository* praised the tale’s “delicacy, skill, and power,” calling it one of the “most complete and conclusive”

Martineau had written. The *Spectator* was *not* enthusiastic but conceded that Martineau seemed less awkward than usual at presenting the points of political economy.⁵⁷

In her autobiography, Martineau recorded that Thomas Barnes, editor of *The Times*, sent her a message vowing to support her efforts for the new Poor Law. On 17 April, the day after Lord Althorp's "earnest and deeply impressive" introduction of the bill in the Commons, *The Times* suddenly reversed its position. The wife of an MP then approached Martineau asking her to write leaders in favor of the bill for the Whig-backed *Morning Chronicle*. Elizabeth, however, stepped in and discouraged her daughter from assuming another writing task.⁵⁸

The first of Martineau's *Illustrations of Taxation, The Park and the Paddock*, published by Charles Fox, also came out in April. Mixing comedy with silver-fork romance, the tale highlights inconsistent property taxes, unjust game laws and abuses like the tax on dogs endured by the citizens and gentry of a prosperous town. A callow parson serves as a lampoon on the Church of England, but his indolent brother finally lectures on the justice of house taxes, which the rich dislike. The *Spectator* (in one of the few notices of the work) complained of superficial treatment of the tax laws and deemed it not one of her best.⁵⁹

¹ HM to JM, 6 and 18 January 1833, *HM/FL* 468 and 469; HM to WJF, [16 January 1833], *CL* 1: 185.

² TC to John Stuart Mill, 12 January and 22 February 1833, *The Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, ed. Charles Richard Sanders, Kenneth J. Fielding, et al (Durham, North Carolina: Duke UP, 1970--) [henceforth *Carlyle Letters*] 6: 300-305 and 328-33.

³ HM to WJF, [after 7 August 1832], *CL* 1: 148.

⁴ TC to John Stuart Mill, 22 February 1833, *Carlyle Letters* 6: 328-33; Edward Bulwer, "On Moral Fictions. Miss Martineau's Illustrations of Political Economy," *New Monthly Magazine* 37 (February 1833): 146-51; *Spec.*, 5 January and 2 February 1833: 18 and 107.

⁵ HM to Charles Knight, [25 February 1833], *CL* 1: 186; William Clowes of Duke Street, Lambeth, printer; HM to the SDUK, [Thomas Coates, secretary to the SDUK], March and 17 March 1833, *CL* 1: 187-188 and 188.

⁶ HM to Elizabeth Martineau, *Tuesday*, Wednesday night, Thursday night and Monday [c. *Spring* 1833], *CL*: 180-81, 181, 181-82 and 182-83; for reviews in the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*, see note 10; Thomas Denman, lord chief justice; John Wishaw, London solicitor; Henry Vassall Fox Holland, 3rd Baron, Whig politician; Romillys, a prominent Huguenot family.

⁷ *Berkeley the Banker*, *Spec.*, 2 March, 6 July and 5 October 1833: 191, 502 and 933-34; [rev., part 2] *Berkeley the Banker*, 29 March and 2 August 1834: 300-301 and 737.

⁸ HM to JM, 2 March 1833, *HM/FL* 469; JWC to Eliza Stodart, 9 March 1833, *Carlyle Letters* 6: 340-42; TC, *Reminiscences*, ed. K.J. Fielding and Ian Campbell (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997) 79; the phrenologist was probably John Diederick Holm of High Street, Highgate.

⁹ HM to JM, 14 March 1833, *HM/FL* 469-470; HM to Mrs. [Charles?] Knight, 16 April 1833, *CL* 1: 190; HM to Lucy Martineau (née Needham), 23 April 1833, NLS, 845, f. 78; for Southwood Smith's appointment, see HM to Brougham, Friday [April 1833] and Thursday [April 1833], *CL* 1:189-90 and 190.

¹⁰ William Empson, [rev.] *ER* 57 (April 1833): 1-39; George Poulett Scrope, "Miss Martineau's Monthly Novels," *QR* 49 (April 1833): 136-52 (Scrope later insisted that scurrilous

passages on the Garveloch tales excoriating Martineau's Malthusian principles as unsuitable for a female author [using italics and exclamation points] were not *his*; for an answer to Scrope, see "On the Review Entitled, 'Miss Martineau's Monthly Novels,' in the Last Quarterly," *MR* 7 [May 1833]: 314-23).

¹¹ HM to WJF, Tuesday [23 April 1833] and Friday [31 May 1833], *CL* 1: 191-92 and 195-96; see WJF, [rev.] "Poor Laws and Paupers," *MR* 7 (June 1833): 361-81.

¹² HM to JM, 25 April 1833, *HM/FL* 470; Richard Evans, "the friend and assistant of Sir Thomas Lawrence"; for a reprint of the *Spec.* 6 July 1833 portrait of a woman in a bulky dark dress with net scarf and fur boa (National Portrait Gallery), see cover illustration, *Harriet Martineau. Authorship, Society and Empire*, eds. Ella Dzelzainis and Cora Kaplan (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2010).

¹³ See "Drainage" and "Czars," 113-20 and 141-47, *HM/DN* (and Appen. *HM/DN*).

¹⁴ Preface, *Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated. I. The Parish. A Tale [Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge]* (London: Charles Fox, 1833) iv; WJF, *MR* 7 (May 1833): 361-81; "The Parish," *Spec.*, 1 June 1833: 502, cols. 1-2.

¹⁵ HM to WJF, [31 May 1833], *CL* 1: 195-96; HM to Elizabeth Martineau, Wednesday [*June 1833*], *Auto.* 3, 88-89 (partly pbd. *CL* 1: 196-97).

¹⁶ Anne Caldwell Marsh, *The Two Old Men's Tales* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1834).

¹⁷ This was possibly Martineau's first meeting with Fanny Wedgwood, her long-time correspondent and friend; for the friendship with Erasmus Darwin, see *HM/FW; Examiner*, 16 June 1833: 373, col. 1 (for Empson's review, see note 10); Frances Julia (called "Snow"), the Wedgwoods' first child.

¹⁸ Revs. *The Loom and the Luggar, Spec.*, 6 July 1833: 622-23 and *The Hamlets, Spec.*, 5 October 1833: 933; the coastal smugglers' plot may have been inspired by Dr. Batty's home at Hastings, formerly called Lantern House and known as a beacon for smugglers (for Dr. Batty, see chap. 4).

¹⁹ HM to WJF, [18 June 1832], *CL* 1: 200-201; HM to Elizabeth Martineau, 17 June [1833], *Auto.* 3: 88 [partly pbd. *CL* 1: 200].

²⁰ HM to WJF, [18 June 1833], *CL* 1: 200-201.

²¹ *British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review, and Ecclesiastical Record* 19 (July 1833): 153-99.

²² For Martineau's preface, see HM to Miss Bayley, 1 August 1833, *CL* 1: 204-205.

²³ HM to JM, 1 August 1833, *HM/FL* 471.

²⁴ HM to Charles Fox, 8 August 1833, *CL* 1: 205-206 (Martineau no longer wished to divide the profits fifty-fifty).

²⁵ HM to Elizabeth Martineau, 8 July 1833, *CL* 1: 202-203); for Martineau's popularity and possibly lingering doubts over her refusal of a pension, see HM to JM, 1 August 1833, *HM/FL* 471.

²⁶ HM to WJF, Friday [9 August 1833], *CL* 1: 206-208; in *The Scholars of Arneside, Illustrations of Taxation*, No. 5, Martineau was to attack the hated "taxes on knowledge" (the stamp duty on newspapers of a certain size, one of the Six Acts passed after "Peterloo," 1819).

²⁷ *Auto.* 1: 251-53; for Drummond, cf. Webb 126-27; WJF to HM, 17 August 1833, BANC [Box 5] 66; HM to WJF, 22 August 1833, [30 August 1833], *CL* 1: 210-12, 214-15; for the publishing history of *Illustrations of Political Economy*, see Rivlin; probably WJF, *Christian Morality*.

Sermons on the principles of morality inculcated in the Holy Scriptures, and their application to the present condition of Society (London: Charles Fox, 1833).

²⁸ HM to Ezra Stiles Gannett, 21 August 1833, *CL* 1: 208-210 (Martineau fulfilled her plans, with additions, in her two-year stay in America).

²⁹ HM to William Tait, 29 August and 14 September 1833, *CL* 1: 213-14 and 217-18; Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1829* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1829) and Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Whittaker [and] Treacher, 1832), both acerbic.

³⁰ *Cinnamon and Pearls*, rptd. Logan, *The Pickering Masters* 1: 143-207 (Martineau later mounted a vigorous defense of the company as a guide to governing India); *Auto.* 1: 245-47; *Spec.*, 7 September 1833: 834-36 (to Fox, Martineau conceded that her characters--some practicing only "stealthy knavery" -- wanted interest).

³¹ HM to Charles Fox, 6 September 1833, *CL* 1: 216-17.

³² HM to JM, 15 and 20 September 1833, *HM/FL* 472 and 472-73; HM to SDUK [Coates] Saturday [c. *September* 1833]; HM to Charles Fox, 6 September 1833, *CL* 1: 216-17; Tuckerman, a Unitarian minister and social reformer, helped to found the Manchester Domestic Home Mission in 1833; Robert Peel's home at 4 Whitehall, designed by Robert Smirke, included a specially commissioned long gallery for his collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings purchased with the advice of David Wilkie.

³³ HM to JM, 15 and 20 September 1833, *HM/FL* 472 and 472-73 (no record exists of Martineau's correspondence with James for the next seven weeks).

³⁴ *Auto.* 1: 253-54; *Spec.*, 28 September 1833: 912; *Examiner*, 27 October 1833: 677-78; John Stuart Mill to TC, 12 January 1834, *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. Francis E. Mineka (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1963) 12: 209; TC to John Stuart Mill, 24 December 1833, *Carlyle Letters* 7: 65-67.

³⁵ *Spec.*, 5 Oct. 1833: 933; HM to JM, 1 November 1833, *HM/FL* 473.

³⁶ HM to WJF, [October and 5 November 1833], *CL* 1: 219-20 and 221-22 (Charles Fox was to publish twenty-five parts of the series including *The Moral of Many Fables*, No. 25 [1834]: see Rivlin 69-70); Lady Mary Fox, née FitzClarence (daughter of King William IV).

³⁷ Erasmus's father, Dr. Robert Darwin, seemed slightly alarmed at his son's attentions to Martineau (see *HM/FW* xvii-xviii); HM to Georgina Cavendish, 6th Countess of Carlisle, 16 October 1833 and [c. *21 December 1833*], *CL* 1: 220-21 and 228.

³⁸ See *Spec.*, 9 November 1833: 1050-51; *Athen.*, 28 December 1833: 884-85.

³⁹ HM to JM, 1 November 1833, *HM/FL* 473; for publication of No's. 1-10 by E. Littell and T. Holden of Philadelphia, 1832-1834, see Rivlin 98-99; William Maginn, "Gallery of Literary Characters. No. XLII. Miss Harriet Martineau," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 8 (November 1833): 576; see also, *Fraser's* 8 (October 1833): 433.

40 HM to Brougham, Saturday [late November 1833], *CL* 1: 223; "*The Town. A Tale by Harriet Martineau.* 1s.," [rev.] *MR* 9 (April 1 1834): 307; (Louis Philippe was to ban the series after *French Wine and Politics*).

⁴¹ HM to WJF, Tuesday night [5 November 1833], *CL* 1: 221-22; *Contes de miss Harriet Martineau sur l'économie politique*. Traduit de l'anglais par M.B. Maurice (Paris: Gosselinm 1833-1839).

⁴² HM to JM, 21 November 1833, *HM/FL* 473-74; see HM to Mrs. Vincent Thompson, [21 November 1833], *CL* 1: 222-23; for "Hollands'," see note 6; a "Miss Byerly" (whose sisters could not "spare her") failed to be the "very nice companion; for Martineau's companion, Louisa Jeffery, see //martineausociety.co.uk/miss-j-who-accompanied-hm-to-america-1834-36/.

⁴³ Lissey's husband's relatives included the Rt. Hon. T.E. Headlam, MP, and his father, Dr. Headlam, MD; for Durham's project, cf. Webb 130-33 and note 47; HM to JM, 3 December 1833, *HM/FL* 474; Howick, later 3rd Earl Grey; see *Auto.* 1: 256 and 254 (*Briery Creek* had come out on 1 November; in the Birmingham riots of July 1791 (against possible repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts) Joseph Priestley's house and library were burned: see Harbottle, 37-40).

⁴⁴ HM to Thomas Rankin, 12 December 1833, *CL* 1: 224-26; Edward Kentish, *An Essay on burns, principally upon those which happen to workmen in mines from the explosions of inflammable air (or hydrogen gas)* (Newcastle upon Tyne [printed]: J. Bell, 1797 and 1800; London [Bristol printed]: Longman, 1817); (Martineau did go down a coal mine "to see some things" she wanted to know, and she also visited the coal-shipping port of Sunderland).

⁴⁵ *Auto.* 1: 254-55; see HM to JM, 2 January 1834, *HM/FL* 474-75.

⁴⁶ "The Farrers of Budge Row," *Spec.*, 4 January 1834, 13-14 (the *Spectator* continued to dismiss the Poor Law and Taxation tales as weaker productions); *Auto.* 1: 255-56.

⁴⁷ *Auto.* 1: 256-57 (Martineau often pictured the London household revolving around her); one proof must have been of *The Moral of Many Fables*, the second probably the tract for Durham, *The Tendency of strikes and sticks to produce low wages, and of union between masters and men to ensure good wages* (Durham: J. H. Veitch, 1834) [henceforth *Strikes and Sticks*].

⁴⁸ HM to Benjamin Heywood, 11 December 1833, *CL* 1: 224 (Heywood was a banker and principal founder and president of the local mechanics institute); HM to Lord Durham, 18, 18 and 26 December 1833, Thursday [January 1834], 20, 29 January, 6 February and 12 April 1834, *CL* 1: 226-27, 227-28, 228-29, 229-31, 232-33, 233-34, 234-35 and 242; for a "paper" sent to Durham before 1 January 1834, see Lord Durham to HM, 1 January 1834, *Auto.* 3: 96; for Tuckerman, see note 32.

⁴⁹ *Auto.* 1: 254-55; see HM to JM, 2 January 1834, *HM/FL* 474-75 (Harriet Taylor had gone to Paris alone; Mill followed but returned in November or December).

⁵⁰ HM to Ezra Stiles Gannett, 10 February 1834, *CL* 1: 235-36.

⁵¹ HM to William Tait, February 1834, *CL* 1: 237; "Letter to the Deaf. By Harriet Martineau" [to "My Dear Companions" (signed) "Your affectionate sister," 16 March 1834], *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 5 o.s. (April 1834): 174-79, rptd., *Miscellanies* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1836) 1: 248-65.

⁵² HM to Henry David Inglis, [c. March 1834], *CL* 1: 238-39; Henry David Inglis's, *The Channel Islands: Jersey, Guernsey, etc.* (London: Whittaker, 1834) came out officially in 1835; HM to Thomas Coates, 5 March 1834, *CL* 1: 239-40; HM to Francis Place, 28 March [1834], *CL* 1: 240-41.

⁵³ “The Farrers of Budge Row,” *Spec.*, 4 January 1834, 13-14 (the *Spectator* continued to dismiss the Poor Law and Taxation tales as weaker productions); *Auto.* 1: 255-56.

⁵⁴ *Spec.*, 1 March 1834: 206; Karl Marx in *Das Kapital* quoted by Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany, Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (London: Oxford UP, 1954, rptd. 1977) 135-36.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Martineau to JM, 21 March 1834, *FL* 477; “Strikes and Sticks. By Harriet Martineau,” *MR* 8 (April 1834): 307 and 308-9 (Martineau’s additional works were “Letter to the Deaf,” “The Moral of Many Fables,” “The Town” and “The Park and the Paddock”; *Athen.*, 10 May 1834: 347; HM to Francis Place, 28 [?] March [1834], *CL* 1: 240-41.

⁵⁶ HM to [Richard Bentley?], 1 April 1834, *CL* 1: 241 (Bentley’s interest apparently cooled).

⁵⁷ [WJF], “*The Town. A Tale by Harriet Martineau, 1s;*” *MR* 8 (April 1834): 307; *Spec.*, 29 March 1834: 300-301; (the poor in Norwich lived in such localities).

⁵⁸ *Auto.* 1: 222-27 (Martineau’s stunning success as a newspaper journalist was thereby delayed for nearly twenty years); see Oliver Woods and James Bishop, *The Story of the Times. Bicentenary Edition 1785-1985* (London: Michael Joseph, 1985) 54-55.

⁵⁹ *Spec.*, 12 April 1834: 350 (Martineau no longer summarized the principles illustrated).