

Chapter 16

Reporting on America (1837)

In her autobiography, Martineau asserted that John Murray of London and one of the Harper brothers of New York had asked before she left about a book on America. Despite possible reservations at the time, her new friendships with Americans like the William Wares and the Follens must have helped convince her to report her findings on America. On 2 September, a "scribble" to be carried by Captain Bursley went off to the Wares, along with a "parcel" (no doubt her shipboard journal). Would not "M^r Sedgwick" get it to the Follens—still at Stockbridge she supposed? That morning she had been busy answering "the applications of the London booksellers," an "affectionate" announcement of her arrival having appeared in the papers. To Saunders and Otley, whom she preferred, she had written "with a due mixture of caution & candour" stipulating that the book be sold "unaltered" in New York, at a price to "preclude . . . being undersold by those who w^d mutilate for the purpose," and that it be sold at a low price in Britain. She asked also about her own "pecuniary interest," though her "man of business" (Richard Martineau) assured her she was now "worth about £600 in cash." At the table with her, she noted fondly, sat James, "absorbed in heavenly contemplation, -- planning his sermon for the Scotch Unitⁿ Assocⁿ. A bust of James ordered by a wealthy friend had "just come home," while *she* enjoyed the praise of James's book.¹

Writing to the Wares again from Birmingham, she extolled "the value of love in absence." People's senseless questions about America made her long to begin her book, but Elizabeth insisted they complete the rounds of the family. Meanwhile, she was "revelling in nephews & nieces" and had become their playmate. "I wish you c^d see the little fellow beside me, very like the Shakespeare between Tragedy & Comedy . . . Look!" (Martineau sketched a boy in long gown flourishing peacock feathers from America). At Newcastle she had asked Greenhow's opinion of little Mary Ware's poor health, and he recommended rather grim medical procedures. Ware's future worried her too. At Leeds she heard that Orville Dewey, whose "miserable book" had just come out, was drawing away Ware's New York congregation, Catherine Sedgwick being just one who would miss him if he left. For William's brother, Henry Ware, she was sending "a hymn & tune book" got up by Robert and others in Birmingham. "Bronson's [sic] discourse" could be sent *her* through Captain Bursley. Finally, everybody wanted to know about Fanny Butler, who had left "loving hearts behind her."

Martineau reached Fluyder Street late in the evening of 14 October where she finished her letter to the Wares and where Aunt Lee, "a most wonderful woman of 80," had awaited them. "My study," she admitted, "is smaller than I thought, but warm & snug; & my chamber as neat as a state-room." Having put her clothes in drawers, she felt quite settled. Tomorrow she would unpack her books, work looking "delectable in prospect." The copies of Bryant's *Evening Post* had come, which she liked "exceedingly." Would *Ware* do her "the favor of sending by Captain Bursley any numbers [with] leaders or stories on the Bank or Slavery or other great questions?" Nobody yet knew of her arrival, "& we keep close for a week."²

As letters and messages from the booksellers Bentley, Colburn, Murray and Saunders and Otley poured in, Martineau saw she must settle plans. On 24 October (not November, as

stated in her autobiography), an item in the London *Morning Chronicle* announced that Miss Harriet Martineau had

arrived in town after a two years' sojourn in the United States, and it is said that the result of her observation on the character and manners of the Americans will soon be given to the public.

That day, she declared, an electric impulse ran through the offices of the publishers vying for her book and "such a day as that I never passed." Bentley arrived first and was shown to her study, then Colburn came and was asked to wait in the drawing room. In "a few minutes arrived Mr. [William] Saunders," who was deftly taken into Elizabeth's parlor (the three were on bad terms with each other). Bentley claimed (in a letter) that she had promised him a book on America before she left when they met at Miss Berry's, though she knew she had agreed only to let him republish *Illustrations of Political Economy* in his Standard Novels series. Now he offered "extravagant terms for a book on America" as well as "a thousand pounds" for her first novel (later in the day, Bentley sent "amended proposals"). Meanwhile Colburn had gone but left a sentimental and even "ridiculous" letter of introduction from the poet Thomas Campbell. When Saunders's turn came, Martineau gave up all pretense of indecision about a book on America, telling him "it would be the principle of the book to regard everything American from the American point of view," for which she feared the "total condemnation of my book and myself." When Saunders asked, without hesitating, what she expected to receive for the copyright of the first edition,

I sat strenuously looking into the fire, -- Mr. Saunders no less strenuously looking at me, till it was all I could do to keep my countenance . . . when he at last opened his lips [to offer] £900 for the first edition [including] twenty-five copies of the work, and all proceeds of the sale in America, over and above expenses.

Though Saunders's terms seemed satisfactory, Martineau asked for "a day or two for consideration." As *he* went down the stairs, Colburn was mounting, who then pestered her off and on until ten that night with "absurdly high" offers of \$2,000 for a book on America and \$1,000 for her first novel. Even Bentley sent in "amended proposals" before the day was over. In her autobiography, Martineau claimed to give this account to expose "speculating publishers" who tempted writers "to convert the serious function of authorship into a gambling match." Indeed, Colburn was later sued over his publication of Jared Spark's *Washington* and of other works; and even Saunders and Otley's American agent failed to prevent the piracy of *her* American books. Otherwise, her choice of Saunders and Otley proved to be sound, for transactions with them "were always very satisfactory." Martineau had gained experience the hard way to choose a publisher she could trust and to make clear exactly what she intended to write. For a modest respectable house like Saunders and Otley, her newly fledged reputation seemed a good risk.³

Rumors of Martineau's intentions abounded. On 29 October (weeks before news could have crossed the Atlantic), the *New Yorker* reported that she was arranging for publication of her travels in "two large volumes" and that slavery would be "severely handled." When Macready then called in early November to hear news of his "many friends" in the United States, Martineau told him she liked Clay "the best of the American statesmen" (she must have told about her stay in Kentucky). "She is a very zealous abolitionist," Macready reported, but "I think, has got some illusive notions on . . . that perplexing question."⁴

Follen responded to Martineau's "loving letter" saying he had been asked by the church committee to preach for Ware at the First Unitarian Church in New York over the winter and would be ordained by Channing in Boston. The salary of \$2,000, however, was not enough for his family's living and moving expenses -- and he was urged to give up abolitionism. In early November, Gannett appeared in London feeling miserably homesick and waiting for his wife.⁵

While she pondered her book, Martineau supported and then became a prime mover in a cause she had spoken of in America -- an international copyright law. Dashing off letters to writers and public men in England and America, she told Lord Brougham on 5 November that Saunders and Otley would soon send him the "Memorial to be addressed by the Authors of England to both Houses of Congress." His signature was wanted "at the head: to be followed by every eminent living writer in this country." Edgeworth's name she hoped would follow his, then Wordsworth's. The memorial was to be taken to Washington by Captain Wilkes. If Brougham could see how Americans had taken over and mangled British works, he would not hesitate. Perhaps sensing failure, she ended by thanking him for letters of introduction to Madison and Sir Charles Vaughan. Brougham not having signed the original "Petition," *his* "mode" would take a year and a half, she warned, while the excitement in America was now "great & favourable."⁶

"Rouse all Boston & New York," Martineau urged Follen tersely on 8 November. She then protested to Bryant at "the recent aggressions of Mess^{rs} Harpers upon English literary property." After describing her efforts, she added "Never, I suppose, was petition more illustriously signed." Furthermore:

The Amer^{ns} in London urge that you Amerⁿ Authors sh^d petition Congress to the same effect, & at the same time with ourselves Think what a service you can render! -- I am writing to the Sedgwicks, M^r Sparks, M^r Nott, Judge Hall, D^{rs} Rush & Bird, Gov^r Everett, &c.⁷

Martineau next sent a copy of the altered address to an unknown "Dear Madam" affirming that "Miss Aikin has signed; and everybody is signing. Among others, M^{rs} Somerville, & Miss Mitford. We hope for Miss Edgeworth's in a post or two."

One morning, Martineau recorded in her autobiography, "about forty authors" came to Fludyer Street to sign the petition. Meanwhile in the middle of her efforts, she went to Covent Garden to see Macready act Brutus in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. (Possibly later) she begged George Porter to come "*tomorrow, from 12 till 4*, to sign the "Authors' Petition to the House in favor of M^r Poulett Thomson's International Copyright Bill." She also hoped he would bring "M^{rs} Porter's authority to sign for her." Would he not "go to Coriolanus tomorrow?" She had one place left; and would the Porters go to Macready's benefit "on the 7th?"⁸

In January, Martineau recorded that although "M^r Bulwer promised to draw up the Address," he had put it upon her to do so. Frederick Saunders, William Saunders's son who managed a branch of the firm in New York, helped with the repeated petitions there, as did Charles Dickens. "I have taken measures to have it presented to Congress by the President elect [Martin Van Buren]," she assured a friend.⁹

Martineau's petition "produced an unparalleled impression on the House of Representatives," Crabb Robinson was to declare, a bill being "passed by acclamation unanimously, just as the similar measure of Serjeant Talfourd was received here." Neither Wordsworth nor Mary Shelley signed -- Wordsworth because he didn't know whether the

allegations about American publishers contained in the petition sent him by Serjeant Talfourd were true and because he thought the language "harsh and injudicious," and Mary Shelley "because she had never asked a favour of any one, and never would."

"The Address of Certain Authors to the Senate of the United States in Congress assembled" spoke of "injury in . . . reputation and property" to the petitioners, whose works "are liable to be mutilated and altered" at the pleasure of the [American] Booksellers," citing "the case of Walter Scott," whose works "were read from Maine to Georgia, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi," without remuneration from the American public, when "an equitable remuneration might have saved his Life, and would, at least, have relieved its closing years from the burden of Debts and destructive toils."¹⁰

Martineau's plan to write a book about America was not an original one. While staying in Cincinnati she might have read the review in a local newspaper of *A Tour Through North America . . . As Adapted for Agricultural Emigration* that decried the "malice" of such productions by English travelers. The author had made excursions similar to hers to the south, west and north as well as into Canada, but his vaunted honesty produced snide remarks: Dr. Hosack's garden at Hyde Park featured "stiff, formal, naked walks" and garden temples "resembling meat-safes;" American weather was freezing and American flowers inferior to English ones. Yet he urged farmers who wished to buy land to emigrate.

Indeed, dozens of travelers who spread out through America in the first three decades of the nineteenth century found that publishing a sensational account of life in the new country neatly paid for the expenses of the trip. The *Quarterly* of September 1835 described recent examples of the genre and censured Trollope and Hall for "harsh, contemptuous . . . arrogant language about the petty circumstances which may happen to strike an English eye." By contrast, Washington Irving's *A Tour on the Prairies* stood as a model of civilized travel writing.¹¹

As she stated in her autobiography, Martineau wished to call her book *Theory and Practice of Society in America* while Saunders and Otley's choice of *Society in America* led to mistaken expectations of the work. Her intention had been to judge American society in its spirit and methods, by the American tests -- the Declaration of Independence, and the [national and state] constitutions based upon its principles and thus, to avoid the usual comparisons with Europe. Unfortunately, her praise excited the Americans' vanity and made them resent her censure if "the same evils existed in England."

In the introduction, along with a useful itinerary, she carefully laid out her method. She would "make use of opinions and facts offered in fire-side confidence" but would not name informants unless they were "public characters" — and she begged her former hosts to remember that they met here "as writer and readers."¹²

Martineau's earlier studies in political economy and history may have helped determine the structure of her book. The whole was divided into Parts I-IV: "Politics," "Economy," "Civilization" and "Religion" along with irregular chapters and sections under varied headings. Part I, for example, included separate chapters on "Parties," "Apparatus of Government" and "Morals of Politics," the last being divided into seven sections: "Office," "Newspapers," "Apathy in Citizenship," "Allegiance to Law," "Sectional Prejudice," "Citizenship of People of Colour" and "Political non-Existence of Women."

Despite her formal outline, Martineau's tone was at times disarmingly personal.

Chapter 1, for instance, began with a firsthand report: "Mr. Madison remarked to me, that the United States had been 'useful in proving things before held impossible'" (i.e., the inductive method of forming a constitution). She then defined the principles and values on which government and politics (and later, the economy, social institutions and religion) were based. Relying for authority on the books and documents she collected, she used personal experiences, either remembered or recorded in her journal, to illustrate confident assertions. Though aware that American feathers could be ruffled, she felt assured her enterprise would ultimately be appreciated. A problem arose when certain examples she wished to include did not quite fit into her outline, and Part II "Economy," began with eight short accounts of people and places that had particularly intrigued her: "Solitaires," "Springs of Virginia," "New England Farm-house," "West Country Life," "Township of Gloucester," "South Country Life," "Picture of Michigan" and "The Northern Lakes." Like other vignettes scattered throughout the work, they showed Martineau's keen eye for the unusual and droll while demonstrating her narrative skills (such passages appealed to readers like Carlyle, who dismissed her theory as arid and dismal).¹³

Working on her book through the winter, Martineau heard from the devoted Follens that they had gone aboard the *Orpheus* in November and that Captain Bursley showed Charley Martineau's berth in case he might find something of hers. "He was only seeking without what he unconsciously bears in his little heart," his sentimental father explained. Follen was attending antislavery meetings and thought the cause to be gaining ground in the democratic party, except in cities.¹⁴

Along with her new writing commitment, Martineau stepped back into the social whirl she enjoyed after *Illustrations of Political Economy*. "Nobody has better parties than I, in my little rooms, in this little street," she boasted to Ware the following April. The circle of London acquaintances surrounding Fox, the Finsbury chapel and the *Repository* now embraced reforming members of Parliament and their wives, other public men, writers living in London and wealthy liberal families like the Wedgwoods. Samuel Rogers, poet and literary gadfly, was one of several friends who offered to take her in their carriages to evening affairs. Quizzed about the Americans' reaction to Trollope, at one of Rogers's literary breakfasts, she answered tartly "Mrs. Trollope had no opportunity of knowing what good society was in America." This upset the sensitive Henry Hart Milman (then canon of Westminster and best known as a poet), who tried to intercede for Trollope. Decidedly, Martineau assured him she "would not dirty [her] pages" with Trollope's stories.¹⁵

At last, on 17 or 18 November, Martineau met Thomas Carlyle, the writer on German literature so esteemed by Americans like Emerson and Ripley. Emerson had encouraged friends to read the installments in *Fraser's Magazine* of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. After Boston publisher James Munroe published the work in book form, Emerson told Carlyle that "the 500 copies of *Sartor* are all sold in America." Of these, Martineau had carried back twenty-five to offer for sale from her home on Fludyer Street. A London admirer of Carlyle's, Jane Wilson, may first have accompanied Martineau to call at the Carlyles' home on Cheyne Walk. (Erasmus Darwin, the cultured, well-off elder brother of Charles Darwin, was often to take Martineau to the Carlyles' in his carriage.)

To his mother Carlyle reported that "a Miss Martineau, whom you have perhaps heard of in the *Examiner*," called; "a hideous Portrait of her was given in *Fraser*, one month," yet she was "a notable Literary Woman of her day." To Carlyle's evident surprise he liked Martineau

and pronounced her "very intelligent-looking, really of pleasant countenance [and] full of talk, tho' unhappily deaf as a post." She was, he guessed, "some five-and-thirty." Carlyle expanded to his brother on "Miss Martineau the Poetess Political Economist!" who seemed a rather interesting woman: very shrewd, and very good; of the Unitarian friend-of-humanity species . . . She has been to America . . . and is now winnowing out the fruit of her harvest there. I have been to see her . . . and mean to go back: a mouthful of talk even approaching to rational is not to be des[pis]ed in this city and time. For the rest I calculate on going to almost no Parties

Despite that declaration, by 29 December Thomas and Jane had gone to a party at "the Literary Lady's who writes on Political Economy." Carlyle told his sister that "great multitudes were there . . . a certain Mrs. Butler [being] the heroine of the evening . . . but a dingy kind of heroine."

(Carlyle seemed slightly prudish about Fanny Butler, but she soon called on *him* wearing a riding habit, carrying a whip and bringing an American book as a gift. Carlyle also told his sister that "some people here," wanted him to deliver "Lectures . . . on *German Literature*." Soon he began to enquire about rooms -- though the first lecture was to be delayed until 1 May).

In her autobiography, Martineau claimed "It was our doing, -- that friend's and mine, -- that [Carlyle] gave lectures for three or four seasons" until 1840.¹⁶

Christmas may have been celebrated at Fludyer Street with Ellen, Rachel and Henry and perhaps with Robert and James and their families. Yet Martineau felt sad about her American friends, believing she would not see them again. Cecelia Brooks, her hostess at Hingham the Christmas before, had passed away, and she would miss Charley's capering around the Christmas tree. To Mary Anne Bacon, the daughter of Richard Mackenzie Bacon (proprietor of the *Norwich Mercury*), a friend of her cousin Fanny Martineau, she vouched she had "suffered nothing from home sickness" in America, having felt so "much at home, in every city & farm house in Amer^a," among those

speaking my language, all loving England, all knowing me & mine, & I being so thoroughly democratic in my politics, that I was as happy as the day is long; always excepting when in the presence of slavery

When she came to see Fanny at Bracondale in the summer she would show them her travels on a map and "tell long stories . . . about some of the greatest & most lovable people that walk the earth." Her book was to be out on 1 May, "if the USs Congress will be pleased to grant the copyright law we have been requesting them to give us." Today she had given up a ticket to hear proceedings at the Whig "Reformers'" banquet being held at the Drury Lane theatre "& an order for a seat near the chairman." This was for the sake of "the stage box at Covent Garden," presented to her by Macready for Monday evenings to hear "his most glorious Shakespeare characters." Now she learned that Macready was ill with influenza (raging in London), "so I lose both!" Miss Bacon, she begged, must not believe "any of the nonsense, talked in Norwich . . . about my having £5000 or £8000 for my book."¹⁷

In late January or February, Gannet called and found Martineau "in her little parlor surrounded by all her comforts, with her pile of American books in the corner." Her own book, which she called "easy and delightful employment," was half done, and nothing had been written "so favorable to the Americans" as her book would be.¹⁸

As she wrote, Martineau must have tried out her ideas on friends. William Empson (who praised *Illustrations of Political Economy* in the *Edinburgh*) advised her at the instigation of a woman acquaintance to omit a section on the position of women in America. Flaring up at the "clear impertinence . . . of questioning an author as to what is to be in his book," Martineau retorted that she should address any subject she chose. In Chapter 2 of "Civilisation" she then commented on the disappointing status of women in America -- their restricted lives, poor health and political "non-existence." Marriage was their only occupation, she claimed, and religion their only interest. However, she praised laws that made divorce easier for the poor in some states and in certain cases. Though Americans prided themselves on being purer than Europeans, they still married for property, leading to lapses in fidelity. Moreover, she deplored the habit of married couples in cities living in boarding houses. While it solved the problem of domestic service, children did not get proper food (English residents, demanding too much of independent-minded American domestic servants, were reduced to "the tender mercies of the low Irish"). American women, owing to their failure to read or think, often became victims of emotional preachers. And there were regional differences in women's physical health, especially from the lack of exercise and fresh air in cities. To improve the American diet, she recommended they banish hot breads and cakes, pickles and preserves.¹⁹

(An amused Jane Carlyle commented, at the beginning of February, on "my Husband's lady-admirers" among whom Miss Martineau "presents him her ear-trumpet with a pretty blushing air of coquetry which would almost convince one out of belief in her identity!" Carlyle himself described Hensleigh Wedgwood and Erasmus wittily as being both "of Martineaudom" and identified Jane Wilson as "the main Agent" for arranging his talks, that might be "off for this season." Inviting Leigh Hunt for tea, Carlyle added "Two violets are coming [in a voluntary manner]; great friends of yours: Miss Martineau and Mrs. Marsh." Next telling his brother of "an American Review of Teufelsdröckh" in the *Christian Examiner* he quoted Martineau that it had "great vogue in Yankeeland.")

Thanking Carlyle for a copy of *The Diamond Necklace* (written in 1833 but just published in *Fraser's*), Martineau hoped he and Jane were better and that they would all meet when the weather improved.²⁰

Follen had written on 7 February that he was preaching abolition in Ware's pulpit -- to Dewey's disapproval -- and that the "memorial" on a copyright law was in the hands of a Senate committee made up of Clay, Preston, Webster, Buchanan, and Thomas Ewing of Ohio. James's book was "doing much good," but Follen wanted to start a periodical to be called *All Sides* "such as we thought of" and he would count on her cooperation. On 25 March, Follen wrote again to report progress with the antislavery cause in Massachusetts.²¹

Conscious of interest in American democracy that reflected British hopes and fears for parliamentary reform, Martineau worked feverishly on her "Amerⁿ book." On 14 March, she gave a party where Macready "passed an agreeable evening" with "Mr. Smith of Norwich" (probably Samuel Smith), John Robertson of the *London & Westminster*, Agnes and Mary Berry, Browning, the painter Charles Lock Eastlake, Elisabeth Jesser Reid (Martineau's Unitarian philanthropist friend) and Lady Charlotte Lindsay -- daughter of Lord North and the Berrys' inseparable friend. On the 28th, Macready sent Martineau a box for his performance as Othello at Covent Garden; on 4 April, she and Elisabeth Reid went to dinner at the Macreadys' with a *different* set of London friends (most of whom would figure in Martineau's future journalism).²²

To the Wares (now living in the Boston suburb of Brookline), Martineau boasted she had heard her book constituted "the greatest single advantage" any publisher could have at present "from the certainty of the circulation being absolutely universal." Having launched "a bolt" she knew might ruin her, she felt calm at honestly stating her convictions. What would Ware do next? *She* had submitted his name to the committee of the Bristol (Unitarian) congregation for a six months' appointment and was keeping her eyes open "for any chance that may present itself" for them. The Wares might yet knock on her door at Fludyer Street "& see our picture galleries, & hear our Catholic music at the Bavarian chapel, & revel in such a party as I am going to have on the 15th." They might enjoy the London theatre too. After an "absence of years from the large theatres" -- supposing she could hear nothing -- she was tempted by Macready's Brutus to go to Covent Garden and had been "haunted . . . for a month."

Soon after calling on her in November, Macready was "so benevolently & artistically delighted" he sent her an order for the stage box "when he has acted his best Shakespeare characters," his Hamlet being "supreme." What his "studies can have been" *she* couldn't conceive but seemed "the whole of every department of Art, & the total especially of life."²³

No more of Ware's *Palmyra Letters* had arrived, but Martineau thought he could copyright the work in Britain, as Campbell, "the Editor of the grand book on the Indian tribes," had taken out a copyright "in Phil^a & here both." If Ware would give her full authority in writing to negotiate with Saunders and Otley, she would see if she could get a larger amount than from Harpers -- whom he need not inform -- and "may thus secure both copyrights." First, she must have the whole in her hands, having "kept the first six a profound secret hitherto." Saunders's response, when she hinted she might show him "a beautiful Amerⁿ work," had been "a very pretty bow." In the past she had introduced other clients to Saunders and Otley: "M^s Butler," whose new play was coming out tomorrow, and "& M^s Thomson, & perhaps Carlyle" (in March, Saunders and Otley began handling ticket sales for Carlyle's lecture series on German literature; in 1838 they published the first English edition of *Sartor Resartus*).

She and Fanny Butler often met, "& and enjoy each other's parties. Hers are on Monday ev^{gs}: mine usually on Saturdays." Saunders and Otley now

favor me with their Amerⁿ newspapers, lend me new publications, & give me the run of their fine circulating library, w^h saves me four guineas a year.

At present, she meant to write only for Beard's "humble periodical" (the *Christian Teacher*), and she looked forward to studying

chiefly the Old Testament, with a view to more Traditions (do tell your brother.) . . . German philosophy & literature, & some French, & much English literature.

After reading "for an immediate object" over the last nine years, she was going to ponder "the Pensées de Pascal," having lately read Sir James Mackintosh's "exquisite . . . speculations & analyses!" On Ware's part, he must not "put off writing," but go straight to his desk before he folded this up. "We *must* meet in this life again. I have a prevalent idea of coming over again."

Martineau's precious little sister Ellen was going to marry "(some time or other)" James's brother-in-law, Alfred Higginson, "a young surgeon at Liverpool." Ware didn't "care about Carlyle," she believed, but "[h]e & his wife are among my best interests here." Nevertheless, she said nothing about them, nor about her "glorious, laborious brother James!"²⁴

(Macready recorded another party at Fludyer Street on 15 April when he was introduced to "a Mrs. Gaskell, a Mrs. Reade--a very pretty Boston girl--U.S.—and to Hallam." Rogers, Fanny Butler and William Harness [curate of Regent Square Chapel, Shakespearean editor and *Quarterly* reviewer who had anonymously attacked Macready] were there, the last behaving oddly. On the 28th, Macready sent Martineau a note [for a?] "private box.")²⁵

Martineau and Jane Wilson meanwhile "confidently proceeded" with "the management of the arrangements" for Carlyle's lecture series, "leaving Carlyle nothing to do but meet his audience." (Carlyle was further to credit *Mr. Wilson*, Henry Taylor -- writer of poetic dramas -- and [Thomas] Frederick Elliot). Martineau must have been one of the "very good audience" in Willis's Rooms on 1 May when Carlyle gave the first of seven lectures on German literature. Fanny Wedgwood described the scene to her aunt, expressing surprise that the room was "very decently full." Hallam, Rogers, Dr. John Davy (younger brother of Sir Humphrey Davy), the Milmans, Empson and Lady Lansdowne were present, "& the audience looked altogether fashionable." Erasmus Darwin later reported "M^r C. talks of making 150£" for the series.

To Martineau, Carlyle looked "Yellow as a guinea, with downcast eyes, broken speech at the beginning, and fingers which nervously picked at the desk."

(Carlyle labeled the occasion a "Detestable mixture of Prophecy and Play actorism;" it was "not a *break-down*," he told his publisher, "this is all that can be said of it.")²⁶

¹ *Auto.* 2: 93-94; HM to William Ware, 2 September 1836, *CL* 1: 310-11; Richard Martineau, Martineau's cousin, a partner and then managing director of Whitbread's Brewery; the bust of James has not been identified.

² HM to William Ware, 11 and 14 October 1836, *CL* 1: 312-15; Orville Dewey published various works in 1836; "Robert's" hymn book has not been identified; Orestes Augustus Brownson, *A Discourse on the Wants of the Times* (Boston, 1836); Brownson, a Unitarian minister, had belonged to various sects and took an interest in socialism.

³ *Auto.* 2: 93-101 and 3: 186; see HM to Richard Bentley, 2 September 1836, *CL* 1: 310 (Martineau evidently savored the memory of standing up to a publisher).

⁴ *New Yorker* 2 (29 October 1836): 93, and see also *Niles' Weekly Register* 51 (29 October 1836): 144; Macready, Toynbee (diary entry for 3 November 1836) 1: 356.

⁵ Charles Follen to HM, 17 October 1836, *The Works of Charles Follen* 1: 419-20; *Ezra Stiles Gannett* 160.

⁶ HM to Mary Somerville, 1 November and Tuesday [?2 November] 1836, *CL* 1: 317 and 318; HM to Brougham, [3 November 1836], 5 November [1836] and Friday [late 1836], *CL* 1: 318, 318-19 and 330; (Henry Crabb Robinson snickered to Wordsworth that Brougham refused partly "because he was 'so insignificant a writer,' which many will believe to be more true than the speaker himself seriously thinks": HCR to WW, 11 December 1837, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. Thomas Sadler (London: Macmillan, 1869) 3: 144).

⁷ HM to Charles Follen, 8 November 1836, *HM/FL* 28; HM to William Cullen Bryant, 8 November 1836, *CL* 1: 320-21 (including a printed copy of "The Humble Address and Petition . . . to the Senate and House of 1 of the United States": BANC [Box 1] 32): and see note 10.

⁸ HM to "Dear Madam," n.d., H.B. Collection IV (1) No. 134, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London; see *Auto.* 1: 351; HM to George Porter, Wednesday, n.y. [? November 1836], *CL* 1: 316 (Martineau

may be mistaken: Macready recorded playing Coriolanus on 12 March 1838 [*Macready*, Toynbee 1: 447]; see HM to Robert M. Bird [of Philadelphia], 8 November 1836, *CL* 1: 320; HM to Edward Everett, 8 November 1836, *CL* 1: 322; HM to MWC, 8 November 1836, *CL* 1: 321; HM to Mary Russell Mitford, 9 November 1836, partly pbd. *HM/FL* 28; HM to Maria Graham Callcott, 9 November 1836, *CL* 1: 322-23; HM to Joanna Baillie, [late 1836], *CL* 1: 330; and HM to [John Stuart Mill] 28 March [1838], *CL* 2: 21.

⁹ HM to Mary Anne Bacon, 23 January [1837], *CL* 1: 336-37.

¹⁰ HCR to WW, 11 December 1837 and WW to HCR, 15 December 1837, Robinson, Sadler, 3: 144 and 145-46; HM to WW, 11 December 1837, [Dove Cottage Museum Library]; "The Address of Certain Authors to the Senate of the United States in Congress assembled" (MS HL HM 11234; Martineau's was the seventh signature; the petition was presented to Congress on 2 February 1838); Charles Dickens took steps to bring about an international copyright bill when he travelled to America in 1842, but a bill did not pass until 1891: see *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, eds. Madeline House, Graham Storey and Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974) 3: xii.

¹¹ [Rev.] *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 8 (27 June 1835) of Patrick Shirreff, "Farmer," *A Tour through North America . . . Canadas and United States. As Adapted for Agricultural Emigration* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd [et al], 1835); "Tours in America, by Latrobe, Abdy, Etc.," *QR* 54 (September 1835): 392-413.

¹² *Auto.* 2: 102-6; for summaries of *Society in America*, cf. Pichanick and Hoecker-Drysdale.

¹³ *SA* 1: 1-207; on Madison see *SA* 1: xii, 1 and *RWT* 2: 1-18.

¹⁴ Charles Follen to HM, 26 November and December 1836, *The Works of Charles Follen* 1: 423-24 and 383-85.

¹⁵ Martineau was to lampoon the London scene in "Literary Lionism" (*L & WR* 32 [April 1839]: 261-81 [partly rptd. *Auto.* 1: 271-97]); HM to William Ware, 6 April 1837, *CL* 1: 342-45; for Martineau's dining at the Hensleigh Wedgwoods' in March 1833 with her Unitarian friend Anne Marsh, see *Emma Darwin: A Century of Family Letters 1792-1896*, ed. Henrietta Litchfield (London: John Murray, 1915) 1: 257; in 1839 Hensleigh Wedgwood's sister Emma married their cousin Charles Darwin; *Auto.* 1: 317-19.

¹⁶ *Emerson/Carlyle*, Slater 16-29 (Furness and Ellis Gray Loring were already Carlyle fans); TC to Margaret A. Carlyle, 20 November 1836, TC to John A. Carlyle, 2 December 1836, TC to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 29 December 1836, JWC to John Sterling, 1 February 1837 and TC to Jane Wilson, 15 January and [3 February?] 1837, TC to RWE, 13 February 1837 and TC to John A. Carlyle, 17 February and 21 March 1837, *Carlyle Letters* 9: xv, 85-90, 98-105, 107-112, 132-36, 114-15, 137-38, 138-41, 142-50 and 171-77; Erasmus had first called on Carlyle in June 1835 and soon became a loyal friend to both Jane and Thomas; *Auto.* 1: 381-84.

¹⁷ HM to Mary Anne Bacon, 23 January [1837], *CL* 1: 336-37 (the Bacons lived at "Cossey," so pronounced, now spelled Costessey, a few miles east of Norwich).

¹⁸ *Ezra Stiles Gannett* 176.

¹⁹ HM to [William Empson], 5 March 1837, *CL* 1: 339-40 (in the *Daily News* Martineau was to recommend easier divorce from wife-beaters); *SA* 3: 105-78.

²⁰ JWC to John Sterling, 1 February [1837], TC to Hensleigh Wedgwood, 11 December 1836, TC to John A. Carlyle, 17 February and 21 March 1837 and TC to Leigh Hunt, February-March 1837,

Carlyle Letters 9: 132-36, 106-107, 142-50, 171-77 and 158; for others who helped convince Carlyle to lecture, see Edwin W. Marris, Jr., ed. *The Letters of Thomas Carlyle to His Brother Alexander* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1968) 420, note 2; Carlyle was alluding to Hunt's comic poem in three cantos, "Blue-Stocking Revels; or, the Feast of the Violets Inscribed to A.M.D., which included the lines:

Ah! welcome home, Martineau, turning statistics
To stories, and puzzling your philogamystics!
I own I can't see, any more than dame Nature,
Why love should await dear good Harriet's dictature!
But great is earth's want of some love-legislature.

(*MR E.S.*, 1 [July 1837]: 33-57; Hunt now edited the *Repository*); HM to TC, n.d., BANC [Box 1] 38; TC, "The Diamond Necklace," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 15 (January and February 1837): 1-18 and 172-89 [Carlyle's presentation copy to Maria Edgeworth is in the Library of Congress].

²¹ Charles Follen to HM, 7 February and 25 March 1837, *The Works of Charles Follen* 1: 423-24 and 441-42 (Martineau would have received Follen's letters at the end of March and in early May).

²² *Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from his Diaries and Letters*, ed. Sir Frederick Pollock (London: Macmillan, 1875) 2: 104 and 106; *Macready*, Toynbee [entry 28 March 1837] 1: 382 (when Macready performed in *Hamlet* on Monday, 16 January, he pitched his voice in an unusually high key "for the sake of overmastering the coughs" and did not appear at Covent Garden for several weeks; by the 22nd he had "a very torturing pain" in his heart and feared he was dying ("The Theatres," *Spec.*, 4 February 1837: 108, col. 1); Samuel Smith, son of William Smith, MP for Norwich.

²³ HM to William Ware, 6 April 1837, *CL* 1: 342-45.

²⁴ ?Thomas Campbell, the sculptor; Mrs. F. Butler (Fanny Kemble), *Star of Seville, a Drama* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837); (probably) Katherine Thomson, *The Lady Annabetta. A Novel. By the Authoress of "Constance" & "Rosabel"* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837); *Sartor Resartus; the Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838).

²⁵ *Macready*, Toynbee [entries for 15 and 28 April 1837] 1: 388 and 390-91.

²⁶ *Auto.* 1: 382-83; FW to Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood, 3 May 1837, UKL; TC to James Fraser, [1 May 1837], *Carlyle Letters* 9: 201-202; *Reminiscences* 97; Carlyle recorded in a note that "the Wilsons," Martineau and "various hon^{ble} women" were responsible for the lectures, *Carlyle Letters* 9: 318.