

Chapter 6

Success in London: Martineau Creates a “Political Economy” Series and Becomes a Celebrity (1832-1833)

In January Martineau thanked Fox for a “head-filling parcel,” vowing she still hoped to make “a fair trial of a London life.” For economy’s sake, might she share the Flowers’ residence? On Fox’s going to Ireland: “Bravo!” Why not let *her* manage the *Repository* while he was gone? A “Byron article *must* take,” though she would rather read him with the Flowers (to James, she pronounced Moore’s Byron a book of beauty and interest but with “disgusting matter”). Meeting Fox at the Norwich Literary Institution, “whither I stole unlawfully to read Tennyson in the Westminster,” had been a pleasure. She ordered the Tennyson (reviewed by Fox) and here it was beside her, “going to be cut open.” The editors of the *Quarterly Musical Review* had been “surprised & charmed with Lizzie’s Melodies,” which she put in their hands.

Not hearing whether she was to join the Flowers, Martineau next asked Fox to “send down a dozen copies” of his sermons. Ellen had been “wavering about whether to accept a situation or not, --wanting courage” and was decided by his sermon of “Sunday week.” A vague letter from Fox (fearing to hurt Martineau?) led her to apologize and say she would not join the Flowers. Announcing she must come to London soon on her own business, she forwarded a “few scraps” for the *Repository*.¹

Seemingly secure of her niche, Martineau began a series of six rambling “Sabbath Musings” for the *Repository*. Speaking as a wise elder, she built on the association of ideas with topics like faith, nature, bereavement, melancholy, love and marriage. Her “best production,” she felt they would outlast her other work.²

Within a month of announcing she *would* come to London for an extended stay, Martineau wrested her mother’s approval to board with a cousin. From London, she told James briskly that Fox would soon be in Dublin; *she* was studying St. Simonism and the Unitarian committee had published her Catholic essay handsomely, though acting “niggardly on the other two.” Her essay on baptism took only third prize. Meanwhile, Ellen’s employer, Mrs. Nicholson, was not treating her well.³

Despite the heady atmosphere of London, Martineau kept to a program of self-improvement. An “admirable [German] master” agreed to teach her on “extremely low terms” in return for help with his English. At Maidstone in Kent for a few days to enjoy “scenery, fresh air, and pleasant drives with hospitable friends,” she took *Faust* to read at night. To Charles Knight--publisher for the SDUK whom she had met in 1830--she sent a “M.S., which is one of an intended series of tales illustrative of . . . Political Economy.” Knight seemed to approve, and she replied she would “be glad to have it published as a number of the Working Man’s Companion,” especially if it opened the way for “publishing more on kindred subjects.”⁴

In her autobiography, Martineau balanced an account of the calamities suffered by her family from 1819 with her stunning award at the May meeting of the Unitarian Association of all three first prizes in the essay contest. In a letter to Elizabeth after the first morning, she described the celebrated Rajah Rammohun Roy whose meek and melting face and “peculiarities of complexion and costume” thrilled her. Next day after being ushered to a “quiet pew,” she heard her name read out and was asked to explain to the assembled

Unitarians how she had dissimulated authorship of all three essays. Finally came the gratifying sound of clapping and shouts of "Hear! Hear!" Most rewarding, Ellen was waiting for her on a night's leave from her unhappy "governessing." Reveling in details of the two-day meeting, Martineau exulted: "How few women have had so extraordinary a stimulus!" In June 1831 the *Repository* duly recorded that the two remaining premiums had been "adjudged to Miss H. Martineau, of Norwich."⁵

With the aid of a "caoutchouc tube," Martineau was perfecting her German. When she wrote in May to school friends from Bristol, the Wanseys, she had "just been at Walthamstow" on holiday. From her cousin David's at Tulse Hill, she told Fox her "aching ears & a crazed head" kept her from seeing him or Rammohun Roy but would send "The Religion of Socrates" for the *Repository* from Dublin. Though "damps" lately caused her pain, she felt she could bear the "jolting stage." On 6 June, she detailed for Knight her whirlwind plans for new writing projects. Though fearing he would think her "very importunate," she would be glad for tidings of "'Pemberton &c.'"⁶

Martineau's coveted prize money allowed her to spend four months with James in Dublin. "What a paradise w^d life be to me if I c^d live forever with him & H!" she exclaimed to Fox. James was working hard in his new ministry--tutoring, writing, gardening and carpentering in their roomy house on the outskirts of the city and in his spare time running on the beach. Sadly, James and Helen had lost their first child, a little daughter, who was buried in the French Protestant cemetery at Dublin. Their son Russell, named for Lord John Russell whom James admired, had been born in January 1831 and christened by Fox. James now anticipated being offered the Regium Donum, a government grant to ministers of all sects except Catholics and Quakers, a policy of which James strongly disapproved.

Writing next to Fox in July, Martineau reported James's struggle over his principles and hoped he would be forced to make a stand. Could the *Repository* help? (The grant was formally offered to James in September 1831 after the death of Rev. Philip Taylor, whom he replaced). When was the proof of her essay on Mohammedans coming? She wanted the premium sent to her at Dublin. What did people think of her "Sabbath Musings?" She wanted to know before she began No. 6. The scene of the earlier "Musing" was Boxley Hill, Maidstone, the next to be on the subject he suggested--doubt. Others planned for August included "a baptism--infancy, --a wedding--love Christianized," but not a funeral, which would be too like No. 3. Politics would be next, and election booths would make a good scene.

In August, Martineau suffered from a bad wisdom tooth, and two visits to a dentist cost her dearly. "Leeching & blistering by day, & laudanum & colchicum by night," were the treatment, she told Fox. James's affairs were taking up much of her time; his colleague, Dr. Hutton, refused to preach for the city missions while people were starving in Mayo. James was getting out a collection of his hymns and hoped to "purify the people" in regard to the Regium Bonum. She wished Fox's committee would send James to Germany to inquire about religion there--he could take her, and she might pick up "some fine things for ourselves & the public." Admitting she felt proprietary, she thought James was wasted on Dubliners in preaching towards Necessarianism--but without enough time to prepare his sermons.

Next Martineau sent Fox two hymns she had written for James's collection--the one on love being partly from Schiller. Her jaw still seemed "injured," but she felt "abundantly happy

every hour [with] Russell *dressing my hair*, or his papa reading to me, I defy all the powers of evil." On 30 September, her last day in Dublin, Martineau attended the funeral of Rev. Philip Taylor. She and James continued to oppose the Regium Donum, she assured Fox (setting a precedent for her own later refusal of a government pension). Madge once expressed "extraordinary envy at Ja^{ss}'s position here . . . might he like to exchange [with Essex Street, London]?" But only think of her having to leave already! Ellen was "to take her place in M^{rs} R. Hutton's family," so Martineau was needed at home. First, however, she would go to Liverpool for a week and then Leicester to stay with the Worthingtons. Now that her plan for the political economy tales had "matured" she hoped also to see "Baldwin & Craddock, who jump at it, & ask me to go home by London & arrange about the publication." Moreover, she had "£25 to take up at Longman's, due since Midsummer." At Liverpool, she would stay with the Thomas Jevons; traveling alone, she planned to cross "by the Government packet," knowing they would "send some trusty person" to meet her.⁷

Martineau's "Critical Notices" in the *Repository* stopped during her stay in Dublin, but over the past year Fox had published at least twenty-five of her short reviews of a potpourri of works: on religion by American Unitarians, poems for children, German poetry, German and French grammars, a book of travel to Egypt and the Holy Land, and utilitarian manuals on business and the game laws. As in the "notices," Martineau's next three longer reviews for the *Repository* of American books looked forward to her future concerns: "Liberia" lauded the American Colonization Society's plan to settle emancipated slaves in Africa; "On the Formation of the Christian Character" praised the rules proposed by Henry Ware, Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care at Harvard University; while "On the Duty of Studying Political Economy" described a "South Carolinian's" admiration for the new science, not only as utility but beauty. Her sixth "Parable" appeared in January.⁸

Martineau had felt "immeasurably happy" with James at Dublin," she recorded, writing and "pondering the scheme of my Political Economy Series." James urged her to try for monthly rather than quarterly publication, and the plan was sketched out in "a very small blue book" afterwards given to a friend. The idea at first seemed "overwhelming [and] the strongest act of will" she had ever committed herself to, but she felt the work was "wanted . . . even craved by the popular mind." Two or three publishers she wrote to from Dublin informed her that excitement over the Reform Bill and fright at the continental cholera epidemic made political economy unseasonable.

Meanwhile, the Reform Bill passed the Commons and was to be presented to the House of Lords on 21 September only to be thrown out on 8 October 1831. Martineau scoffed that two-thirds of the bishops who did not abstain helped to reject it, thereby "uniting Catholics, Dissenters, and demagogues in a common opposition to the Establishment" (her belief that educated Englishmen yearned to understand the changes sweeping over the nation would prove a key to her future success).⁹

In October, Martineau went to see the publishers Messrs. Baldwin and Craddock and found the partners sitting "superb in their arm-chairs, in their brown wigs, looking as cautious as possible." The cousin who came with her admitted being impressed with Martineau's confidence, and even the two partners appeared mildly interested, but voiced a "long string of objections" to her plan. Following the meeting, Martineau must have cried on Fox's shoulder.

Thanking him for what he had done for her, she repented “the faults & follies by which I have exposed myself to you.”¹⁰

Back at Norwich after almost a year away, Martineau resumed her writing without missing a beat. Sending James a copy of her poem “Winter Song” meant for Lizzie Flower’s forthcoming volume, she added that she was working on her “Cape” story with fifty-four characters living in primitive economic conditions. To Lizzie, she described the new story of “wild honey, figs, monkeys, ostriches, reed-houses & expedients of every sort.” South Africa was chosen for the setting because she thought people had had “quite enough” of desert islands. Rachel was home, she went on, her employer having given her six weeks’ holiday in summer. For James, Martineau had good news: Henry’s wine and porter business was prospering, and he was paying the second family dividend in London.¹¹

After disputes the Octagon congregation was “improving” and the building soon would be lit with gas, Martineau gossiped to Fox. Henry had heard Fox speak in London as a member of the council of the National Political Union -- formed to agitate for passage of the Reform Bill. Did Madge mean to do anything about politics, she wondered? Franklin (Frank), Fox’s seven-year-old, had spent a day at Magdalen Street to be taught and entertained by Elizabeth. He “watched us in all our doings with a face as grave as a judge,” and they delighted in his responses. To James, Martineau joked that Fox expected to be sent to the Tower and would turn the editorship of the *Repository* over to her! Elizabeth, Aunt Lee and Henry liked her “Cape” story better than “Pemberton.” *Travels in Southern Africa* by Lichtenstein, taken out of the Norwich public library, had provided her with details of the geography. Her interest, she then told Fox, was to focus on a “*life of expedients* [and] the Natural Hist^y.” For “the clear-headed,” she would put a summary of principles at the end. “Character” was being reserved for the tales connected with manufacturing (her calculated planning provided a key to the future success of her tales). Baldwin and Cradock had already advertised her series through the SDUK, so she would use their suggestions for No. 2. Her review for the *Repository*, “On the Duty of Studying Political Economy,” would serve as tentative notice of the series.¹²

James’s career continued to absorb her. The manuscript of his hymnbook containing two hundred and seventy-three more lyrical hymns than those used by Priestleyans and including the one she had written -- but none by Wesley -- had been feared lost but was safe. James’s Eustace Street (Dublin) congregation knew of his intention to resign, and he was offered an independent church in Dublin. Meanwhile, *she* was negotiating with Fox for a London city mission for James.¹³

Martineau was barely to mention the cholera scare of 1831 in her autobiography, but the idea of sudden death may have given her a frisson of excitement. Probably through Lissey, she heard of the alarm at Sunderland, where cholera traditionally entered Britain on ships from cities like Hamburg. She made out a will and wondered to Fox if she and/or he would finish their long “schemes.” Her brother-in-law Greenhow, on the medical board at Newcastle, had told of the mayor’s having the castle filled with beds for an infirmary after a suspected carrier walked there from Sunderland. As she would do in the future when she felt in mortal danger, Martineau began an autobiography. By mid-November, she had “got some way” with the “melancholy & yet charming work.” If tempted to burn it, she would send it to Liese, whose letters had been “precious.”¹⁴

Another nibble for Martineau's tales came from Messrs. Whittaker of London offering to publish the series if she would share the risk. In the same post, a letter from Fox suggested a similar arrangement with a bookseller *he* knew. Fox's fatherly assurance must have sparked Martineau's courage, for she told Elizabeth she must go to London. In a consultation with Henry after dinner, he responded oracularly "Go!" Elizabeth accepted her defeat gracefully and quickly ordered Martineau's trunk to be aired. Sympathy for her enterprise by her mother and Aunt Lee made success in London "stringently necessary," Martineau now felt, Elizabeth having partly conceded her authority in the face of her daughter's determination to become a professional writer.

Hastily taking the coach in early December to a "foggy and sleety" London, Martineau went to stay at the "great brewery house" in Chiswell Street occupied by a cousin and his wife. After a welcome by the cousins, she was left alone with the servants for three weeks. On Monday morning, she began to call on various small publishers, "trudging many miles through the clay of the streets." At night she worked on readying for publication *Life in the Wilds* (where social ranks are leveled and all must work) and *The Hill and the Valley* (on the wrong of hoarding savings and the importance of capital for both owners and laborers).

Martineau was to highlight the emotional ups and downs of her probation, including (another?) tearful night at the Foxes, who sympathized with her frustrations. To her surprise next morning, Fox presented her with an offer from his younger brother, Charles, a recently established bookseller. Delaying the opening of the offer until after another disappointing interview (with Whittakers), Martineau saw she would need to find five hundred subscriptions before publication could even start. In desperation, she accepted the pragmatic terms and told James she would be sharing rights to the tales with the two Fox brothers. James was asked to distribute circulars for the series in Dublin, for "the great object now is to obtain subscriptions . . . paid down." Of happier note, Fox wanted James to come to preach at Finsbury on New Year's.

Just a week before Martineau went home for Christmas, she had an interview with Fox (dramatized in her autobiography) who revealed that James Mill disapproved of her scheme to teach political economy through fiction. Not flinching, Martineau asserted she knew her work was wanted. Fox then set new terms: she must sell a thousand copies in a fortnight, or his brother would quit after two numbers. Martineau felt dizzy as she walked the four-and-a-half miles back to the brewery. Dinner was placed on the table, but she could not eat. At eleven, she sent the servants to bed and began a preface to the *Illustrations of Political Economy*. Finishing at two, she sat by the fire exhausted but musing over the good the series would do for the "multitudes who needed it, -- and especially the poor, -- to assist them in managing their own welfare." Hope that the series would do good for *her* must have lain at the edge of her consciousness.¹⁵

In her preface to the first number, Martineau addressed unsophisticated but intelligent readers in noting that political economy was less studied than theology or medicine because less understood. The subject treated of "the Production, Distribution and Consumption of Wealth [or] whatever material objects contribute to the support and enjoyment of life." Now that domestic economy had spread comforts and benefits more equitably in society, such knowledge should be applied to the nation. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was "not fitted or designed" to teach the masses and had not been illustrated, yet: "[w]e cannot see why the

truth and its application should not go together," for all people must care that the "aggregate of human life is cheerful and virtuous." Because Great Britain did not offer an example of "Labour uncombined with Capital," she would begin her illustrations in a "distant land." Her next exemplum would be the "operation and increase of Capital [in a] more familiar scene," and she hoped the public would help her to proceed after that.¹⁶

As recorded in her autobiography, Martineau's trials with Charles Fox may have been magnified by hindsight, for the morning after she had written her preface her cousin host gave encouraging advice. The following Sunday her Uncle John praised her industry and presented her with "notes and gold" for fourteen subscriptions to the series for his family and himself, and other subscriptions followed. "You cannot think how our hearts are [in] this plan, for the sake of the public as well as our own," Martineau wrote to another potential subscriber. "I began my canvas yesterday, & the first 4 persons subscribed for 27 copies!" Her extended family-part of a network of Unitarian connections -- rallied round loyally to support her enterprise.¹⁷

On the Sunday she received the subscriptions from Uncle John, Martineau reported happily to James that on 1 February *Life in the Wilds* would appear as No. 1 of *Illustrations of Political Economy*. Two weeks later she felt sure of having five hundred subscribers by mid-summer, though Charles Fox was impatient. A parcel of copies of *Traditions of Palestine* from America, "with a long charming letter from M^r Gannett," had cheered her, as well as favorable reviews and a "sensational demand" for that book "caused by the reduction of price." She had been ill and had upset their mother when she arrived at home, by her cough and "liver-complaint," but Mr. Hull of Norwich promised to keep her well for two years if she put him in the last volume! The Messrs. Gurneys' confidence in her was heartening too: they had called Henry in to verify her commitment to the plan and vowed she should apply to them if other support failed. What were James's latest plans for settling, she begged to know.¹⁸

(In autumn 1831, Fox became sole owner of the *Repository* and from January [1832] aimed at making the journal less denominational. At the same time, he started the *Unitarian Chronicle, and Companion to the Monthly Repository*. Unsurprisingly, Martineau's contributions to the *Repository* tapered off and no more of her "Critical Notices" appeared. Until she sailed for America in August 1834, however, she continued to supply Fox with reviews, poems, a story and another parable. Her letters reveal a sometimes hectic search for evidence of the tenets of political economy she hoped to portray imaginatively. Yet she continued to be concerned for the *Repository* and made suggestions for the new *Chronicle*¹⁹).

"What a surprise was the announcement of Ja^s [having come] before I was out of bed this morning!" she wrote to Fox in early January. "He looks very well, & his London racket has agreed with him. -- But to business." Emily Taylor, excitedly reporting progress in getting subscriptions, was unreliable as a witness. Although Norwich people had received copies of *Life in the Wilds* only by 9 January, they were delighted. Dr. Lubbock, the physician she had met in Edinburgh now living in Norwich, commented it would "flourish like a green bay tree." He recommended sending a copy to *The Ballot*. Martineau, convinced now of Fox's "zeal & tenderness to the plan", had asked his brother to send her the names of gentlemen who had given *him* orders, so she would know how many were needed "to make up my 500." Two added names on her list were Mrs. Reeve (mother of Henry Reeve) and John Pitchford of

Bromley, Middlesex. “No. III, ‘Brooke & Brooke Farm’ is Pemberton,” she reminded Fox, “completely rewritten & extensively altered.”²⁰

Martineau’s business letters to Charles Fox remained cordial. By 14 January, she had an order for twenty-five copies of No. 1 from the Unitarian Thomas Hutton, “who has sent it to a liberal Oxford professor, who, *if he likes it*, will put his shoulder to the wheel.” The proprietor of the *Norwich Mercury*, Richard Mackenzie Bacon, “takes it up thoroughly” and offers “to notice it again whenever I please.” Twice she had told the printer Smallfield who apparently jeered at her untidy copy “that all our agreements are for the current No. only.”²¹

Reviews of *Life in the Wilds in the East Anglican* and in Fox’s *Chronicle* in mid-January boosted Martineau’s morale, along with another to come in the *Bury Post & Suffolk Chronicle*. She had had thirty orders in one day and thirty-four in a week, plus letters of praise and advice as well as “gripes” from people who did not understand the limits of political economy. The Leicester Political Union liked her prospectus, and James Cropper of Liverpool (a Quaker cotton manufacturer active in the Anti-Slavery Society) sent books and pamphlets on the political economy of slavery (before she did “Rent” Martineau thought she might linger over capital to do one on slavery). On the 20th, she wondered to Fox when “Liese’s” volume would come out. Last evening, she had tea with Lady Smith, who wanted to *know*. Lady Smith inquired indirectly whether Martineau might apply for agricultural information to “Mr. Blackie, the grand man, the Holkham [Workhouse] factotum.”²²

In February Martineau bustled over further subscribers while keeping a sharp eye on reviews. Thanking Fox for a good notice in the *Repository* she noted *The Pioneer’s* having also done well by the tale. She agreed about advertising *Traditions of Palestine* and No. 1 of the series with “opinions from reviews” in No. 2. Just now the “heart-work” of a slave story was troubling her, for “the horrors & iniquities of the system so weigh me down with woe that my pen is paralyzed.” At the same time, she promised to work on her “German tale” for the *Repository*--inspired by Lizzie Flower as “Liese” and Fox as “Luther.” Would there be a revolution over agitation for the Reform Bill? For how much might “3 sober ladies” live in his neighborhood? Was her chance with the *Westminster* in any way bettered?²³

Political events in Britain from last months of 1831 through the first half of 1832 formed an appropriate backdrop for Martineau’s scheme of enlightening the public on the “laws” of economics. When Parliament met after the Christmas recess, the third version of a Reform Bill passed the Commons and was taken to the Lords but delayed in final passage by debate and political maneuvering. Before the bill was signed into law by King William IV on 7 June 1832, middle-class political unions carried out intensive campaigns for its passage. As Martineau described events of that year in *History of the Peace*, “Monster meetings were held in all the large towns, and monster petitions sent to the King to yield to the necessity for creating more peers.” Staying at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh, the exiled Charles X of France witnessed an orderly assemblage of 60,000 “met to express their concord with their sovereign, and their determination to aid him in obtaining for them [their] rights.” Other efforts to force the passage of a reform bill included the movement led by Thomas Attwood, founder of the Birmingham political union, to refuse payment of taxes, and a mass run on the banks organized by Francis Place in London. At the same time the feared Asiatic cholera was spreading through England, and Edward Irving prophesied the approach of the millennium.²⁴

In her autobiography, Martineau recorded her disgust at Charles Fox's maddening silence for ten days after the first of the *Illustrations* had come out: she *knew* she had correctly estimated the public's thirst for improving literature. At last his letter revealing he had orders for five thousand copies gave her a sense of "immense relief." Walking "up and down the grassplatt in the garden" (the scene of vivid childhood memories) Martineau could not help feeling her cares were over. Soon "the entire periodical press" came out in her favor while a flood of applications to write on special topics poured in along with barrow-loads of blue books sent down by MPs.

Life in the Wilds may have been inspired by the recent economic trauma at Magdalen Street. Her simple tale, set in a mountain plain behind the Cape in South Africa, features a group of British settlers who have lost all their property in a raid by ferocious Bushmen whose hunting grounds they have taken. Martineau aimed to show that to survive in the wilds, individuals must cooperate. Social ranks are leveled, and all must perform physical tasks. The settlers summarize in dialogue the economic theory of what they are attempting and even the recalcitrant shopkeeper pitches in. Eventually a messenger travels to a distant town to bring back tools and other basic needs. *Money* is not yet suitable for the community, the leader reminds them, unlike machinery, books and newspapers which are all desired. Martineau's moral tale ends with a wedding party and holiday for all.

"I cannot send you your copy of my first N^o without a line to thank you for the zeal & kindness," she wrote to one supporter. Meanwhile on 4 February 1832, the *Spectator* began a two-year love affair with Martineau's "series" declaring the tale combined the interest of *Robinson Crusoe* with the wisdom of *The Wealth of Nations*. *Traditions of Palestine* had indicated "genius" of a "high order," but Martineau's turning to non-sacred subjects came as a surprise. Most scientists could not communicate ideas, the reviewer explained, for although the new science of political economy was of evident importance, James Mill and McCulloch had hitherto kept its "treasures" locked up in their strong boxes. A week later the *Athenaeum* began less enthusiastically to review the series, calling Martineau "a sensible woman" of a "sensible, though not very imaginative sect." The reviewer had not determined if the work was meant to instruct young people -- or even the value of such information -- yet he thought it likely to be popular.²⁵

Martineau's success with *Life in the Wilds* led the canny James to advise her to take Charles Fox's 500 copies monthly and supply her own subscribers, though the expense of carriage and the unpaid subscriptions worried her. For her tale on slavery, *Demerara*, No. 4, she would use James Cropper's statistics and Bryan Edwards's *West Indies*. Writing to Fox, she admitted she would be glad to be paid for her German tale *when* she finished it. Houlston was "dumb" to her inquiries, Hunter's payment not yet due and she didn't like to spend money collected for the series or touch her capital. For a city mission story, she had an idea that "almost burst my pulses." Through Fox, she thanked Francis Place for a book he had sent, adding that she expected to "trouble him with queries by & bye" as people seemed glad to help her. For "Rent," she next told Fox, she would use fisheries rather than soil or mines because the scenery would be better and "the novelty complete" (this was to be *Ella of Garveloch*, No. 5). "Currency" would be a challenge (to be treated in *Berkeley the Banker, Parts I and II*, Nos. 14 and 15). Martineau's ambition soared. For the *Westminster*, she would like to review

Southey's collected essays on topics like reform, Malthus, manufacturing, the poor, emigration and the Catholic question -- or any others -- should she propose it?²⁶

Despite long months of planning, Martineau suddenly saw she needed more facts to carry out her scheme for the fifth tale. Could Fox get help from people he knew in London? Could he or anybody send her books on fisheries "soon" -- not histories, but facts on extent, rent, productiveness, localities, etc.? She thought of using the Shannon or Highland lochs for the tale. A heartening note from the Manchester and Salford Cooperatives had reported that her series was to be used as a class book in their school. Fox could also advise what to do about a letter, "of very great consequence," from the radical MP Joseph Hume. Hume was offering to have the series stereotyped as part of his *Popular Cyclopaedia of Natural Science* published by the SDUK, but she doubted that her books were "fit for teaching science to the lower classes." However, if Hume would carry her tales through, she could give them to him on condition he give her 500 copies for subscribers or enable her to print 500. Whatever happened, she would be happy to finish the series with a little money over "& the glory of being stereotyped at such a rate." A letter of hers printed in a rural paper asserted her conviction of the "*Equality of Human Rights*" and that all she wrote was "with a view to the illustration of these great truths."²⁷

In the February *Repository*, Fox gave pride of place to Martineau's original essay complaining that the English did not study moral science: "Theology, Politics, and Literature." He also noticed *Life in the Wilds*. In March, Fox published the first installment of "Liese; or the Progress of Worship" as well as a notice of *The Hill and the Valley*, No. 2 of the series. Set in South Wales, the second tale opens with the life of an isolated, elderly Welshman and his housekeeper. Capitalists build an iron foundry (with description of a colorful smelting furnace) and dwellings for laborers in the valley. Thieves steal the old Welshman's savings, illustrating the value of putting capital to work rather than hoarding it. A discussion of ways of investing capital and the nature of labor follow -- but a reversal in the iron trade and the death of a boy cause the laborers to riot and the foundry closes. At the end of the tale, Martineau lists the principles illustrated, a practice she continued throughout the series, ending with a summary in No. 25.²⁸

There had been nothing like this story since "Miss Edgeworth," the *Spectator* raved. To Martineau's relief, Charles Fox was showing "great promptitude & attention on all occasions." She would not print fewer than 1,500 of No. 2, she told W.J. Fox while thanking him for setting her free from her "subsⁿ machinery!" Should she make a "*Woman* article out of F. Kemble's tragedy" for the *Repository*? She would like to do more for him but felt "the duty of getting enough ahead [with the *Illustrations*] to be safe," for with research it was taking "near 3 weeks to do a tale!" The Garveloch tales about humble tenants in the Hebrides would show the ruinous effect of success accompanied by a high birth rate. Obviously pleased, she reviewed her plans:

Next I plunge into the tumults of a Coventry strike, & then away to where there is no further dispute about Wages than who can be prevailed on to take them, -- Australia, I suppose &c &c &c. Please don't rail at III for its quietness It has the purpose of contrast with the storms of IV, & affords some preparation for the one on Profits whenever it comes.

Her imagination fired by reading, Martineau conjured up sights and sounds for tales that would have foreign settings with “steep rocky ledges” along the sea, “grassy plains [and] banana groves where humming birds flit & pigeons coo.” She believed, moreover, they would soon be doing second editions of Nos. 1 and 2.²⁹

Just before the end of March, Martineau sent Fox a plea for information she needed by the “10th or 12th of April” on operatives, including the terms of their “compact.” Would he ask Francis Place to help her “to give a graphic history of a strike?” Hume had sent the Parliamentary Reports she wanted. “Being willing to put the horse before the cart [sic],” she would do “Popⁿ before Wages,” and could “carry on the same characters [she had been] grieved to part with at the end of V.” They were “Ella” and her Garveloch friends, and she outlined the episodes she planned -- all “facts.”³⁰

Brooke and Brooke Farm, No 3 of the series, treats the historical enclosures of English commons as narrated by the daughter of a justice of the peace in the village of Brooke, with homey details of houses, lanes and a former bleak commons where villagers grazed their single cows. When the commons are enclosed, villagers are upset though many will prosper as laborers or farmers. Principles of land management and drainage are spelled out (favorite topics with Martineau when she moved to the Lake District), and a humble man with eight children demonstrates the wise use of labor. In preparation for future changes in the economy he sees that his children acquire different skills while the village and countryside are flourishing.

Probably in April, Martineau told Fox she was planning No. 9, “Ireland,” which would include emigration with an argument “as clear as the sun.” She had forwarded the advertisements for No. 4, *Demerara*, to Hume hoping he would read it as a *friend* of planters. Francis Wayland, “Owen’s disciple,” had sent her a letter with documents from Paternoster Row and “will get me all I want about Cooperation &c.” Wayland had invited her to the April festival, but being a bachelor, could not ask her to his house. Yet he “signs himself mine *affectionately*, & then apologizes for disregarding forms where *feelings* are concerned!” (An ability to negotiate her new status with tact and aplomb helped to ensure Martineau’s success with both sexes.)³¹

“On Nature and Providence to Communities,” a review by Martineau in the April *Repository*, seemed uncharacteristic except for the final “Dialogue, at the Gate of a Hebrew City, A.D. 50” spoken by a Samaritan, a Sadducee, a Pharisee and a Stranger. Two of Martineau’s poems appeared in the *Repository* in June and July: “Reform Song” and “Lion of Britain,” and two more reviews. “Van Diemen’s Land” traced its discovery and the history of convict labor and championed emigration to Tasmania, noting that working *women* were needed. “Romanism and Episcopacy” half-praised Broad-Church Rev. Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, for condemning the evils of the Roman Catholic establishment (ironically, High Churchmen, Evangelicals and Dissenters were currently protesting the proposed parliamentary reform of Irish Anglican bishoprics).³²

Despite hard work and occasional illness, Martineau continued to revel in socializing. In April she sent a note to Elizabeth Stevenson (to be married in August to Rev. William Gaskell) that she was “vexed” at having missed her and would call with pleasure, if “a *conditional* engagement at Clapham for May 3rd” could be changed. She wouldn’t be at Finsbury tomorrow

to hear Fox preach, but at Kilburn, "by appointment." And she would miss Mrs. Buller's party "on Wed^y," being "engaged."³³

Demerara, No. 4 of the series, came out in May. In the tale a brother and sister return to their father's sugar and coffee plantation in British Guiana after fourteen years in England and are shocked at the poor condition of both the estate and the slaves. Father and son discuss the idea of property in man and the treatment of slaves (the negative effect of government support for West Indian sugar comes in later). After the son demonstrates that task-work increases productivity by the slaves, a hurricane ruins the planter's crops. Added melodrama concerns two slave lovers unable to marry, the robbery of one slave by others, the planter family's terror at spending a night in the forest and a runaway slave killed by his master's bloodhound. A hopeful strand in the plot concerns a slave who buys his freedom to emigrate to Liberia -- a solution Martineau was to abominate as a ploy of American proslavery activists. In the preface Martineau acknowledges that the slave characters speak unrealistically in standard English but that their condition deserves great sympathy. *Demerara* was loved by the American abolitionists, who welcomed Martineau with open arms two years later.

To coincide with publication of *Demerara*, Martineau wrote a short piece for the *New Monthly Magazine* (now edited by Edward Buller and devoted to radical reform). "What shall we do with the West Indies" tentatively suggested dividing land among the slaves on Caribbean islands, the cruelty of slavery making it worse than other types of virtually un-free labor like that of English agricultural or factory workers.³⁴

When Martineau next wrote to Fox, she had half-finished *A Manchester Strike*, No. 7. But she could not fit in all the theory "without sacrificing much of the human interest & maiming my characters." Could the number be printed in smaller type or be of five sheets? Or should she combine "the remainder" with Poor Laws in the next number? It would grieve her to "injure two or three new characters," whom she had begun "to love very tenderly," but it would not do to raise the price. "What a comfort it is, to have you to go to, when I want decision!" she added to Fox. Positive reviews made her feel her "little drab-backed books" were unworthy, but she could not flag. For *Cousin Marshall*, No. 8, she needed facts on workhouses. She had heard that Islington was the best but wanted facts about a bad workhouse too. Gossiping, she scoffed at Emily Taylor's thinking *Life in the Wilds* "miserably dull": Julia Smith, their mutual friend, called Emily's latest book, *Tales of the Saxons* (written for children), *unreadable*. James was doing badly financially--he could not let his house owing to cholera in Dublin, and she would let him have £300 when her series was done.

Within days, Martineau was feeling unwell from a "bad liver" and admitted she needed to rest. If she didn't review for Fox, she could finish both Nos. 7 and 8 by the end of the month. For No. 9, on Ireland, she wanted Babbage's entertaining book on "Machinery and Manufactures" with information on the types of power used in manufacturing, the physical properties of materials, marketing and the motivation of labor. Though Babbage cheerfully prognosticated "increased intelligence amongst the working classes" -- improving the value of their labor -- Norwich was "a near desert" in these difficult times, and fears for the Reform Bill made her "sick at heart."

In May, Martineau painted a less pessimistic picture of Norwich when she was working on *A Manchester Strike*, using "bundles of documents" sent by Manchester operatives. At a

surprising moment, their minister's young boy (being tutored by Elizabeth) came in to announce solemnly that Grey's ministry had resigned. Afterwards, Martineau remembered "the people all in the streets, and the church bells muffled and tolling." A week later Grey was recalled, and on 7 June 1832 the Reform Bill gained royal assent.

Also in May, Martineau stayed at Cromer with a Mr. Bakewell and his sister and loved letting waves splash in her face while gazing and listening to the sea. She was resolutely trying to fit in all the materials organized by Francis Place for *A Manchester Strike*, but it was "like packing a trunk, & truly not a corner . . . left to hold a thimble," she groaned to Fox. For her next tale, *Cousin Marshall*, she hoped to "pack in . . . Poor Laws, Charities, Savings Banks & Friendly Societies."³⁵

Sending parcels of her published prize essays to her new American fan, Ezra Stiles Gannett, Martineau joshed that if her third tract did "not avail to teach Jews what Christianity is, it may do something towards informing Christians what Judaism is." She also enclosed "other little works," convinced "that the readiest way to remove by far the largest proportion of crime & misery in this country is to inform the nation on the science of Political Economy." Trusting her first four numbers would be reprinted in America, she appealed to any future publisher, through him, whether it would be fair that she receive no "acknowledgment for my share of the work." In the case of "Traditions," she had said nothing as the work was already out before she knew of it. The political economy tales were likely to be popular in America because they displayed "the manners of those . . . who have seldom or never been represented in books [to] counterbalance the desperate want of politico-economical knowledge." Would a second volume of "Traditions" be undertaken by his publisher of the first? Would he offer her terms for it?³⁶

Ella of Garveloch, No. 5 of the series, came out in June (Martineau had relied on John McCulloch's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* for background). Her strong-minded heroine, who farms and cares for her orphaned siblings (especially the youngest possibly autistic boy), seems a projection of Martineau's idealized self. Weak or malevolent characters cause most of the problems in the tale, rather than the harsh Hebridean elements. Unusually, Martineau gives Ella's story an upbeat ending in the marriage to her hard-working suitor. The tale beat all others in the series, the *Spectator* commented, especially in the character of "Archie the idiot" who was an "inspiration."³⁷

Martineau's sequel, *Weal and Woe in Garveloch*, No. 6, came out in July. Briskly summarizing the events of ten years in the lives of her characters, Martineau points to traditional patterns of behavior that bring the islands to ruin. In the first tale economic problems focus on the need to pay rent to the laird. In the second tale a commercial fishery has led to over-expansion and over-population and reversed the inhabitants' progress towards wealth. Martineau daringly shows Ella and her widowed friend discussing the wisdom of practicing celibacy to limit population. Reaction to the tale after almost universal high praise for the series was mixed. The *Spectator* loyally extolled the "pictures painted with power and quiet self-possession" in tales full of "practical wisdom." No one in England was doing more good than Martineau, the reviewer asserted, and he looked forward to *A Manchester Strike* (a "Cotton-spinner's Romance of Real Life") in the way people used to wait for Scott novels. The *Quarterly*, meanwhile, delayed its blast until the following April.³⁸

The small publisher Hunter had proposed a new edition of her “trumpery little book,” *Devotional Exercises*, Martineau reported to Fox, but she would be guided by his advice. William Tait, the Edinburgh bookseller who had just launched *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* as “an organ of *liberal* principles,” wanted a piece from her for every number -- which she *could not* do. Within two weeks, however, she sent Tait a parcel that probably contained the violent romance, “A Tale of Sheffield. The Story of Gryselle D” set at the time of the Young Pretender and concerning an implement-maker for slavers and his patricide daughter.

Oppressed with ideas of twelve “little affairs,” Martineau mulled over *Cousin Marshall* and *Ireland*, her next two tales for the series. She needed material “for the Currency investigation” and asked Francis Place to help get her parliamentary reports from 1826. Elliott Cresson of the American Colonization Society had called with a “touching errand” encouraging her to use Liberia for a tale -- an idea she now rejected. Among the supporters of her series she could count Aspland, Whig candidate for Norwich Charles Henry Bellenden Ker and the economist David Ricardo. Still, she felt the achievements of “glorious” Mrs. Somerville were superior to hers.³⁹

Martineau’s stark tale for the series in August, *A Manchester Strike*, No. 7, seemed far from the “romance” looked for by the *Spectator*. The tale featured a lame child-heroine, her improvident mother and her unlucky father--a weaver coerced to speak for his fellow weavers and then rejected by them. The villain is a union agitator like Dickens’s villain in *Hard Times*. (Satisfied with her creation, Martineau credited herself in her autobiography for serving “the leaders of the genuine Manchester operatives” in their controversies over “Machinery and Wages.”)⁴⁰

Signaling her future stand against spiritualism, Martineau reviewed the American Charles Wentworth Upham’s *Lectures on Witchcraft*, for the *Repository* in August.⁴¹ James’s leaving Dublin for Liverpool and the “house of moderate size” at 3 Mount Street being readied for him worried her. James would have to take pupils to supplement his income, though the octagon-shaped Paradise Street chapel in Liverpool may have seemed agreeably familiar.⁴²

Martineau’s own fortunes were thriving, and she urged James to take up offers she had from Tait and Fox. The series had already yielded £600, she boasted, to be divided with Charles Fox. To forestall piracy, Charles Fox had warned American publishers to share profits with him or he would send individual numbers beforehand to *one* publisher. Meanwhile the poet Campbell gushed extravagantly, offering his “heart and hand” in appreciation of her tales; for *Tait’s*, Martineau agreed to write on Sir Walter Scott. Fox now proposed an equal partnership for her on the *Repository* along with himself, James and J.J. Tayler -- she to take on political economy and fiction. Bellenden Ker, whom she feared was a “bit of a humbug,” had asked her for an interview on behalf of Lord Chancellor Henry Brougham about writing for the SDUK which now wished to buy her whole series, letting her continue on her own terms. Finally, a *third* edition of *Life in the Wilds*, No. 1, was coming out she told James.⁴³

The Polish Association in Norwich had begged Martineau to publicize their case. Since her first “Currency N^o” was to have mining for its scenery, “Why not Russian mines, with Polish heroes for miners?” she queried Fox. Meanwhile, in September, *Tait’s* featured Martineau’s moral tale, “The English in China,” about fair trading practices. The *Repository* also published two of her reviews: “Prison Discipline” on the advanced principles employed in France,

Germany and America that included education as a preventative for crime, classification of prisoners and speedy justice; and “Rajah Rammohun Roy on the Government and Religion of India” (anticipating Martineau’s later writing on India that totaled over a hundred leaders for the *Daily News*).⁴⁴

Cousin Marshall, No. 8 of the series, also came out in September. Set in a small cathedral town like Norwich, the opening scene features a doctor riding home at daybreak and observing a warehouse on fire with feckless paupers enjoying the spectacle. Among the working poor of the town are the widowed Cousin Marshall, her blind niece who later enters an asylum, a virtuous nephew who emigrates and an older niece corrupted by women in the workhouse -- a problem Martineau failed to address in her later Poor Law tales. In characteristic pedagogic manner, the doctor tells his sister that charity should be reserved for emergencies or for care of the blind, deaf and dumb who form too small a portion of the population to upset the “subsistence-fund.” Such a fund, Martineau states at the end, should be divided among those who are productively employed, but if the pauper population becomes too large to sustain the fund, the population should be checked.

Martineau was “a real painter of the poor” with the truth of Crabbe, the *Spectator* asserted; Joseph Hume deemed “Cousin Marshall” the best of the series so far. Even the *Athenaeum* called the tale “natural, lively, and dramatic.” The *Examiner* noticed the series for the first time and declared that *Demerara* rivaled Scott for description and the “character [of Cousin Marshall’s life] and judgements on it seem to us exquisitely imagined.”

The *Eclectic*, however, censured the Malthusian doctrine in Martineau’s last three tales. Citing McCulloch’s “law of population” Josiah Conder insisted population was the “mainspring of social improvement.” Challenging her arguments on food production in *Woe and Weal in Garveloch*, he complained that in *Cousin Marshall* Martineau seemed to regard paupers as felons, not eligible for the state’s protection. Certain recommendations of hers were so absurd as to suggest irony, he snorted, and the lame heroine who fell asleep at her work in *A Manchester Strike* in fact showed the need for laws regulating labor.⁴⁵

Soon Martineau would be writing her tales in London: she had materials for *Cousin Marshall* from “a brother who was a Guardian [Henry] and from a lady who took an interest in workhouse management.” For the following two tales, *Ireland* and *Homes Abroad*, people with “hobbies” sent useful blue books.⁴⁶

Ireland, No. 9 of the series, came out in October and like *Cousin Marshall* concerned poverty. In a preface Martineau noted that Ireland was continually misgoverned, and she aimed to expose abuses there. Using vivid details of the wild Irish coast, she suggests the isolation of tenants living on the contrasting estates of resident and absentee proprietors. The latter is mismanaged by an agent (an issue Martineau was to address in the *Daily News* and elsewhere) where a newly married heroine’s shiftless parents lose their farm and both her father and new husband turn to lawlessness. The heroine, able to write, becomes their unwitting accomplice. *She* is transported leaving her senile father to care for her baby. In a final scene, the resident (Protestant) proprietor and local Catholic priest voice hope for Irish tenants.

The *Spectator*, printing four columns of quotation, termed the tale another of Martineau’s “extraordinary productions.” With similar enthusiasm, the *Athenaeum* likened her

to Maria Edgeworth, who had pointed out the wrong of rack rents long ago, and to the “northern magician,” Scott, who had *failed* to portray the Irish. Martineau, on the other hand, combined a “powerful delineation of life” with “valuable and practical rules for its regulation.”⁴⁷

Martineau’s unstinting work for Fox while she dashed off articles for *Tait’s* and kept up the series was soon to end. Three of her final reviews in the *Repository* concerned partly familiar topics: “Secondary Punishments” on Bishop Whately’s objection to transportation to Australia, “National Education” on England’s failure to institute universal education and “The Main Principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews.” For the last review, she *had* begged Fox to get someone else, feeling the work was meant for Hebrew scholars and “worse than the Koran to read.”⁴⁸

On 11 October Martineau boasted happily to Fox that Ker had come the day before to read out Brougham’s letter “of four sheets . . . every syllable of w^h is about me”! Brougham had “fumed” at the SDUK committee for not securing her services and remarked that the public had “gulped down 74 vols: of Scott” and would devour “*any* number” of hers. Brougham wondered coyly if she was “handsome” and if she was the daughter of “the great surgeon,” Philip Meadows Martineau. Highly flattered, Martineau wrote to Brougham on the spot saying she would need to finish the present series as agreed with Charles Fox but would gladly write additional tales on “Population & the Poor Laws” for the SDUK. She had two conditions -- that she must be secure from the “somewhat mortifying treatment” she had twice received from his committee and that no alteration be made to her work without her consent.

A copy of Brougham’s note praising the tales and begging her to start writing for his committee without “*postponement*” went off to Fox two days later. Ker had warned her to settle terms “*beforehand*” (sound advice, as it turned out) and Fox urged her to be careful of involving herself with Whig politicians (Martineau was doggedly trying to juggle loyalty to Fox with excitement over her new patron, while Hume and Place also disapproved of the connection). The Chancellor was forwarding confidential materials, she went on to Fox, and she should “never again have such elements of power put into [her] hands,” and it seemed a sin “to reject *such* a public service out of respect to any *party* whatever.” A packet of papers from James Cropper of Liverpool was added proof of her growing reputation. Cropper had sent statistics on slavery for *Demerara* and now asked that she not write about Liberia before examining the facts he was sending about Elliott Cresson’s Colonization scheme.

James must hear about “the siege laid to [her] by Chancellor Brougham,” she gushed, along with his offer of free access to the materials of the Poor Law Commission. James could fill her place on *Tait’s* and do an edition of Paley on “Natural Theology” for the SDUK. *He* would be battling atheism, while *she* fought the Poor Laws. “Oh, how glorious!”⁴⁹

Towards the end of October, Martineau announced gaily to Fox, “if Liese loves me, let her spend *Wednesday* with me.” She had gained her point and was going to London. The Chancellor had begged her to come immediately, so she would come on “Tuesday” (probably the 23rd) by the coach from Norwich, arriving at 6:30 A. M. at the White Horse, Fetter Lane. Hume and Place *supported* her, she claimed, elaborating to Fox the good the “Diffⁿ Soc^y [had] done for the circulation & credit of the Series.” Elizabeth had wanted her to lodge with “married folk,” but she had engaged “a floor at 6, Conduit St. [off Regent Street, near Hanover Square] for 4 months -- 3 good rooms . . . nice, comfortable hostess . . . & perfect

independence.” The Chancellor wished her “to write as many tales as I have time for on the Poor Law system,” she informed Charles Fox carefully. He had furnished her with “MS Gov^t papers of the greatest importance . . . to be kept profoundly secret,” and she proposed that Fox should be involved when the present series was finished.⁵⁰

In her autobiography, Martineau claimed she arrived in London on “a dark foggy November morning” (Henry Crabb Robinson, however, recorded meeting her there for the first time on Saturday, 27 October. He thought her “agreeable” in person and dress, not plain as most people said. Robinson was skeptical that political economy could be taught through tales, but he quickly read *Brook Farm*, *Demerara* and *A Manchester Strike* and became an ardent fan.) Martineau soon felt comfortable in her dark lodgings. Within a few days she had seen Brougham, worked out the “periods of publication” and established that any new volume “need not be stiffened by a running commentary.”⁵¹

Her new status as writer for the SDUK no doubt affected the dictatorial terms Martineau sent to Charles Fox regarding her poor law tales: “I should think a tale of 5 or 6 sheets . . . once a quarter” for which he would of course “offer much more than the share I have of the present series . . . as the whole scheme hangs upon me.” Regarding payment, she advised him to remember the “influence of my name [and] the extraordinary value of the materials I hold.” When he forwarded his terms, she meant “to take advice from two quarters” on this “very important matter.” Fox’s terms then seeming “very fair,” she promptly posted a translation of a work by the Italian Count Pecchio done by a female acquaintance who would “assume a name for the occasion.” Finally, after receiving “a note from the Chan^m” she told Fox it would be “a pleasanter way” for her “to receive a fixed sum, & for the business part to be conducted by you & them” (the SDUK). She had engaged for “three this next year, & 12 the year after . . . all to be sold at a shilling, & to average not less than 5 sheets.”⁵² On 24 December, Martineau accepted “with pleasure the proposals of the [SDUK] to prepare . . . a series of works illustrative of the operation of the Poor Laws,” having every reason to believe she could furnish three volumes within the next year.⁵³

On the day she wrote to Charles Fox, Martineau announced excitedly to James that Lord Grey (Whig prime minister) had proposed her name for a pension and that Ker was urging her to accept. Surely thinking of James’s stand on the Regium Donum, she carefully explained the terms: the pension would come from private royal funds set aside by George IV and be awarded for “pure literary merit irrespective of political connections.” Boasting on, she reported being a guest at the Kers’ and at Sarah Austin’s and having met McCulloch, James [?] Mill, Sir Henry Parnell and Malthus.

Martineau next explained the proposed pension to W.J. Fox: she was touched by Lord Grey’s “kind care” and she would not be taking “the people’s money.” His brother, Charles, would receive a copy of the Chancellor’s “treaty” for her new commitment. Rather smugly, she added that “If he steers his way wisely, & offers the proper terms to me, his fortune is made.” In chatting with the Chancellor, she had been “struck by the gravity” of his “life of intellectual toil.” Yet he enjoyed fun and knew the characters in her tales. Altogether “it was a delightful day, & we are to have many more; for he means to see much of me . . .” and (she triumphed) the Chancellor had asked Ker if she would visit at Lansdowne House.⁵⁴

Martineau's tale for November, *Homes Abroad*, No. 10, concerns the vicissitudes of a Kentish farmer and his grown children who emigrate to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). A curate has recommended the step to the farmer's carpenter son and dairy maid daughter, rather than their joining a cooperative "People's Farm" promoted by a local squire and modeled on those in the Netherlands (on those farms impoverished men were given dwellings and employment but could not provide for descendants). Vividly depicting the new countryside, Martineau notes trees, birds, animals--and the ferocious aborigines. Various dangers follow the family, but the story ends happily with a wedding and the curate's arrival with his children to join the community. Martineau urges that penal colonization is ineffective, though voluntary colonization must be planned for different social levels and the suitability of the land assessed.⁵⁵

To Martineau's surprise, her mother and Aunt Lee *liked* her December tale, *For Each and All*, No. 11, in which "a lord marries an actress, & there is talk of the fine arts." In the silver-fork romance joined to a morality tale, the young lord explains political economy to his wife, and a brother-in-law speculates; others are a Jewish moneylender and homespun philosophers who deplore the bad effects of laws like those on moneylending and the Corn Laws. Speakers argue that neither a local Moravian cooperative nor the Owenite Socialists can provide answers to poverty, partly because population keeps growing. (Martineau was to modify this view after her travels in America). The heroine tutors her young French maid (possibly based on Ellen's being taught by Martineau) and a favorite object -- a sun dial -- appears at a crucial moment in the plot. No reviews appeared in journals like the *Spectator*.

Ignoring this momentary downturn, Martineau focused eagerly on the Chancellor. She had almost asked £50 for a volume when Brougham offered £100, she told Fox, and his brother would be treated in the same way as past SDUK publishers. The Chancellor alone would see her proofs, and it was "very pleasant" to have him "snug" beside her. After writing "1/2 a hundred letters . . . besides business" that day, she was "tired and much harassed over this election & other bad news" (Parliament was dissolved on 3 December after being prorogued on 16 October, Ker and Gurney both losing to Tory candidates from Norwich). Dr. Kentish of Bristol, "an uncle by marriage," had died of apoplexy -- a great loss to some, though *she* hardly knew him. As for her pension, Ker had told Henry that Grey was "bent upon it." Every year would not be like this past one for labor and rewards, she ended to Fox, and she would have to rest.⁵⁶

Acting as intermediary with Fox, Martineau sponsored James's three-part essay on Priestley beginning in the *Repository* in January 1833. Titillated by her new proximity to government and power, she asked Fox if he or his brother had written a piece in the *Examiner* about her being "courted by the Chancellor for the sake of M^r Ker's election." *Berkeley the Banker* (partly based on memories of her father's business failure) was done and she had "hopes for it."⁵⁷ James recorded his demur, perhaps with a hint of envy at his sister's startling success:

In writing to Harriet, I appear to have implied a dislike of the pension offer, on the ground of the plea for patronage in literature no longer holding good, the reading public being considerable enough to provide the author recompense; and she seems to share the same feeling.

Dutifully, he added "Harriet . . . thinks the comparison of her tales with [John] Wilson ["Christopher North"] and Scott's simply absurd." She was limiting her hours for callers to "two in a day, [liking] *solitary independence*" and relying on Rachel to "companionize" Elizabeth and Aunt Lee.

Beginning at Christmas, the Poor Law series would come out quarterly as planned, while "of the last number of the political economy [series] C. Fox sold 2500 in a day." Martineau had retracted her hasty opinion of Ker as a "humbug" which came from his habit of "rattling talk at the outset till he gets on a serious topic."⁵⁸

Perhaps inspired by three essays on genius in the *Repository* of August, September and October 1832, in December and January Martineau published two long essays in *Tait's*: "Characteristics of the Genius of Scott" and "The Achievements of the Genius of Scott." Describing Scott's education as she imagined it and the pure, modest, cheerful and practical nature of his genius, she then praised Scott's morality and his benevolent effect on the world in advocating "the rights of woman with a force all the greater for his being unaware of the import and tendency of what he was saying." Though Scott's fiction had served as "an agent of morals and philosophy," she now longed for modern political leaders as heroes.

"[A]ll but overwhelmed with the materials of useful labour," Martineau excused herself from further contributions to *Tait's*, for now she must preach to the Cabinet, as the "radicalism of a woman does not alarm them." In late December she told Tait she was giving up all minor engagements, though not her "Series," for the sake of the Poor Law tales.⁵⁹

¹ HM to WJF, 15, 25 January and [February] 1831, *CL* 1: 81-83, 83, and 83-84; *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with notices of his life* (London: John Murray, 1830): HM to JM, 23 November 1831, *HM/FL* 457; WJF, "Tennyson's Poems," *WR* 14 (January 1831): 210-24 [rev. *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* (London: E. Wilson, 1830)]; the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, edited by Richard Mackenzie Bacon, 1818-1828.

² "Sabbath Musings," *MR* 5 (February 1831): 73-77 [placed first in the number]; (April 1831): 235-39; (June 1831): 369-73; (September 1831): 601-7, (October 1831): 684-90, (November 1831): 763-70; twenty-five years later Martineau sniffed at her "Musings" as "morbid, fantastical, and therefore unphilosophical and untrue" (*Auto.* 1: 157).

³ HM to JM, 24 March 1831, *HM/FL* 454 (and see note 5).

⁴ In April Martineau noted that she was staying with John Martineau, City Road, East London; HM to Charles Knight, [April 1831] and Thursday [1831], *CL* 1: 84-85 and 85.

⁵ For the essay contest, see chap. 5; though evidently thrilled to be awarded *all three* prizes, Martineau later disparaged her essays on converting Catholics, Mohammedans and Jews (*Auto.* 1: 154-56); HM to Elizabeth Martineau, Wednesday morning and Wednesday night [May 1831], *CL* 1: 87-88 and 88-89 (for the committee's hesitation "to let a lady throw so many ministers into the shade" over the Catholic essay, see Elizabeth Martineau to JM, 1 March 1831, HMC MS J. Martineau 2, page 11); on the Unitarian convert Rammohun Roy, cf. *Auto.* 3: 47-50; for the award to Martineau of premiums for the last two prize essays, see *MR* 5 (June 1831): 431 (see also "Miss Martineau's Prize Essays," *MR* 6 [July 1832]: 475-84).

⁶ HM to Ellen and Margaret Wansey, 6 May 1831, *CL* 1: 90-91; see HM to WJF, [31 May 1831], *CL* 1: 86-87; "The Religion of Socrates," *MR* 5 (September 1831): 577-84 [unsigned, first article

in the number]; Martineau's unsigned reviews over the spring and early summer included "Physical Considerations Connected with Man's Ultimate Destination" [first article in the number], *MR* 5 (April 1831): 217-29; "Exposition of Professor Jacotot's System of Education" [disapproving], *MR* 5 (April 1831): 256-67; "City Missions" (as undertaken by James and his colleagues), *MR* 5 (May 1831): 315-21; and "Godwin's Thoughts on Man" [first article in the number], *MR* 5 (July 1831): 433-40; HM to Charles Knight, [6 June 1831], *CL* 1: 91; for "Pemberton," see chap. 5, note 23.

⁷ HM to WJF, July, 19 August, 28 September 1831 and Sunday morning [October 1831], *CL* 1: 92-95, 95-98, 99-101 and 101-102; in *Hymns for the Christian Church and Home Collected and Edited by James Martineau* (London: John Green [printer], 1840), James included just one hymn by Martineau, No. 256, exhorting Lord Jesus to come "And never leave us more" [signed]; HM to Mrs. Thomas Jevons, Monday [26 September 1831], *CL* 1: 98-99.

⁸ See Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent* 415; *MR* 5 (November and December 1831): 758-61 and 805-9 (the Wares were to be Martineau's hosts in 1835 on the night she attended a meeting of the Boston Ladies' Antislavery Society and thereby entered the arena of radical American politics); *MR* 6 (January 1832): 24-34 and 23-24 [no *MR* pieces were signed].

⁹ HM to JM, 3 October 1831, *HM/FL* 455; *Auto.* 1: 160; see Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century. III The Triumph of Reform 1830-1841*. Trans. E.I. Watkin (London: Ernest Benn, 1961) 42.

¹⁰ *Auto.* 1: 162-63; HM to WJF, Thursday [20 October 1831], *CL* 1: 102-103 (in her struggle to be free to earn her living as a writer, Martineau was to savor the memory of overcoming two early hurdles: Elizabeth's calling her back from London in spring 1830 and doubting she should try for all three prizes in the essay contest, and Charles Fox's reluctant agreement to publish her series, then finding it succeed beyond all expectation).

¹¹ HM to JM, 3 and 26 October 1831, *HM/FL* 455 and 455-56; Eliza Flower, *Songs of the Seasons, the Music . . . by the Author of the Musical Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (London: J. A. Novello, 1832) included "Winter Song," pp. 93-99; HM to Eliza Flower, [November 1831], *CL* 1: 103-105; the Cape story became *Life in the Wilds*, No. 1, *Illus. Pol. Econ.* (rptd. in *The Pickering Masters. Harriet Martineau's Writing on the British Empire. The Empire Question*, ed. Deborah Logan [London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004] 1); "My Servant Rachel," was avowedly based on the "rather remarkable" story of a family servant (*Auto* 1: 137-38), but to Martineau's sister Rachel may have seemed a thinly veiled put-down.

¹² HM to WJF, Sunday morning [23 October? 1831], Saturday night [5 November 1831], Friday [11 or 18 November 1831] and 19 November 1831, *CL* 1: 101-102, 105-107, 107-108 and 108-111; for No. 2 of *Illustrations of Political Economy, The Hill and the Valley*, see note 28; HM to JM, 23 November 1831, *HM/FL* 457.

¹³ James's hymnbook contained a total of 650 hymns.

¹⁴ HM to WJF, [11 November 1831?] and 19 November 1831, *CL* 1: 107-108 and 108-110; William Taylor of Norwich suggested "autobiography" as more correct than "self-biography" (quoted in James Treadwell, *Autobiographical Writing and British Literature, 1783-1834*

[Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005] 3; as leader writer for the London *Daily News* in the 1850s Martineau reported dramatically on cholera at Newcastle: see *HM/DN* 63-68.

¹⁵ *Auto.* 1: 163-64 and 166-72; Martineau's cousins were probably Joseph, eldest son of John Martineau and managing partner in Whitbread's Brewery and Master of the Brewers' Company in 1831, who was married to Catherine Bridget Parry of Bath; as with a number of the *Illustrations*, Martineau's plots in both tales underscored her current anxieties; *HM* to *JM*, 13 and 18 December 1831, *HM/FL* 457-58 and 458.

¹⁶ Preface, *Life in the Wilds*, *Illus. Pol. Econ.* 1: iii-xviii.

¹⁷ *Illus. Pol. Econ.* 1; *Auto.* 1: 172-74 and 176-77; *HM* to [?], [winter 1831-32], *CL* 1: 111.

¹⁸ *HM* to *JM*, 18 December 1831 and 4 January 1832, *HM/FL* 458 and 458-59; review copies of *Life in the Wilds* had come earlier (see below); Hull, the local doctor; for American publication of *Traditions of Palestine*, see note 36.

¹⁹ See Mineka, *Dissidence of Dissent* 168; Martineau's additional contributions included: "Theology, Politics, and Literature" (first article); [rev.] "On Nature and Providence to Communities"; [rev.] "Van Diemen's Land"; [rev.] "Romanism and Episcopacy"; "On Witchcraft" [rev. of Charles W. Upham, *Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem, in 1692*]; [rev.] "Prison Discipline" (first article; rptd. in *Miscellanies* 2: 281-96; see chap.18); [rev. (part)] "Rajah Rammohun Roy on the Government and Religion of India"; [rev.] "Secondary Punishments" (failure of transportation as reform); [rev.] "National Education"; [rev.] "The Main Principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews . . ."; "A Parable"; *MR* 6 (February, April, June [2 articles], August, September [2 articles] October [3 articles] and November 1832): 73-79, 248-57, 372-80, 381-92, 545-55, 577-86, 609-15, 667-69, 689-94, 717-18 and 766-67 [none signed].

²⁰ *HM* to *WJF*, [11 and 20 January 1832], *CL* 1: 113-14 and 116-18; *The Ballot*, a short-lived, radical periodical rivaling *The Cabinet* (see chap. 1); John Pitchford, Catholic doctor who had contributed to *The Cabinet* (or his son?): see Penelope J. Corfield, "The Case of *The Cabinet*. Did Mary Wollstonecraft join the Norwich radicals?" *TLS*, 21 March 1997: 11; for Henry Reeve, see chap. 33.

²¹ *HM* to Charles Fox, 14 January 1832, *CL* 1: 114-15 (Martineau complained later that Fox failed to get *any* subscribers: *Auto.* 1: 167).

²² For "No. 1 [*Life in the Wilds*]," see note 11; for James Cropper, see *Auto.* 1: 197-99; *HM* to *WJM*, Friday [20 January 1832], *CL* 1: 116-18; for Flower's second book, also see note 11; Lady Smith, wife of Sir James Edward Smith of Norwich, founder of the Linnaean Society.

²³ *HM* to *WJF*, [4 February 1832], *CL* 1: 118-20; [rev.] *Life in the Wilds*, *MR* 6 (February): 211; "The Pioneer" [of Liverpool?] has not been identified; for *Demerara*, see below; "Liese; or the Progress of Worship. A Tale," *MR* 6 (March, April and May 1832): 153-61, 239-48 and 324-33 [not signed] (Martineau's tale seemed to express a daughterly affection for Fox).

²⁴ *HP* 2: 57-58.

²⁵ *Auto.* 1: 178-79; *HM* to Horatio Bolingbroke, [February 1832], *CL* 1: 114-15; *Spec.*, 4 February 1832: 112-15; James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy* (London: [printed for] Baldwin,

Cradock, and Jay, 1821); John Ramsay McCulloch, *The Principles of Political Economy: with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science* (Edinburgh: W. and C. Tait, etc., 1825); *Athen.*, 11 February 1832: 95.

²⁶ HM to WJF, Sunday [12 February 1832], *CL* 1: 120-22; Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, Vols. 4 and 5 (London: G. and W. B. Whittaker, 1818-1819); Robert Southey, *Essays Moral and Political . . . Now First Collected* (London: John Murray, 1832).

²⁷ For the “fisheries” of the Garveloch tales, see note 37; HM to WJF [25 February 1832], *CL* 1: 122-23 (Martineau seemed reluctant to tell Fox openly she would like to be rid of troubles with his brother); HM to JM, 27 February 1832, *HM/FL* 460; HM to G. Mandley, [late February 1832], *CL* 1: 123-24 (printed in *Poor Man’s Guardian*, 5 May 1832, and *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, March-April 1833).

²⁸ *The Hill and the Valley* looks ahead to Martineau’s “industrial” articles for Dickens’s *Household Words* in 1851; for perceptive comments on *Illustrations of Political Economy*, cf. Valerie Sanders, *Reason over Passion. Harriet Martineau and the Victorian Novel* (Sussex: Harvester, 1986).

²⁹ *Spec.*, 3 March 1832: 210; HM to WJF, Friday night [2 March 1832], [March 1832] *CL* 1: 124-26, 126-27; Fanny Kemble, whom Martineau was to meet in Philadelphia, had just performed in her own five-act play in verse, *Francis the First. An Historical Drama*, at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden (published by John Murray, it went through eight editions in 1832).

³⁰ HM to [WJF, forwarded to Place?], 29 March 1832, *CL* 1: 129-30; HM to Francis Place, 7 April [1832], *CL* 1: 131.

³¹ HM to WJF, [April 1832], *CL* 1: 130-31; the 1834 edition of *Illus. Pol. Econ., Brooke and Brooke Farm*, No. 3 (first published 1 April 1832), quoted puffs for *Life in the Wilds* from the *Examiner*, the *Spectator*, the *Suffolk Chronicle*, the *Scots Times* and the *Tatler* and puffs for *The Hill and the Valley* from the *Spectator*, the *Repository*, the *Norwich Mercury*, the *Weekly Messenger* and the *Examiner*; Martineau was to show her love of bucolic minutiae in writing about her future Ambleside property in scores of letters and in about seventy leaders on agriculture for the *Daily News* (see Appen., *HM/DN*); HM to WJF, [April 1832], *CL* 1: 130-31.

³² *MR* 6 (April, June and July 1832): 248-57, 371 and 492 [signed “H. M.”]; *MR* 6 (June 1832): 372-80 (in 1852 Martineau lectured her “worky” neighbors at Ambleside on emigration to Australia and then contributed six “leaders” on the topic to the London *Daily News*; for her urging of middle-class women to emigrate to Australia to provide governesses for the colony’s future leaders while earning ample dowries, see “Australia,” *HM/DN* 3-9); *MR* 6 (June 1832): 381-92.

³³ HM to Elizabeth Gaskell, Saturday [28? April 1832], *HM/FL* 13-14; the Bullers were popular philosophical radicals.

³⁴ *Demerara*, rptd. Logan, *The Pickering Masters* 1 (the rather unfocused ideas contrasted dramatically with Martineau’s incisive writing on slavery once she had met the Garrisonian abolitionists); *New Monthly Magazine* 34 (May 1832): 408-13; see John Vint, “Harriet Martineau and the Political Economy of Slavery: Part 1,” *MSN*, 41 (February 2018): 29-34.

³⁵ HM to WJF, 3, 10 and [31] May 1832, *CL* 1: 134-36, 137-38 and 139-41; original numbers of the *Illus. Pol. Econ.* were in paperback; Julia Smith, youngest daughter of William Smith, Liberal MP for Norwich, and Martineau's lifelong friend; Emily Taylor's tales for children were published by Harvey and Darton, London; Charles Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (London: C. Knight, 1832); James was to leave Dublin for Liverpool at the end of June, he and his family first staying with the Misses Yates at the "substantial house of Farmfield, in the Dingle, on the outskirts of Liverpool" (Carpenter, *James Martineau* 141): see obit., Anna Maria Yates, *Inquirer*, 7 April 1866: 221, col. 3 and obit., Jane Ellen Yates, *Christian Life*, 29 December 1877: 33; *Auto.* 1: 215-16.

³⁶ HM to Ezra Stiles Gannett, 30 April 1832, *CL* 1: 132-34; Gannett was assistant to Dr. William Ellery Channing at the Unitarian Federal Street church in Boston (for a future embarrassing incident at Gannett's home, see chap. 13); *The Times of the Saviour: by Harriet Martineau. Reprinted, after revision, from the English edition* (Boston: Leonard C. Bowles, 1831, [1832]), cited as a first edition in *Traditions of Palestine edited by Harriet Martineau* (Boston: William Crosby, 1839).

³⁷ John McCulloch, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland . . . Comprising an Account of their Geological Structure; with Remarks on their Agriculture, Scenery, and Antiquities* (London: Constable, 1819); *Spec.*, 9 June 1832: 540-41.

³⁸ "Miss Martineau's Little Novels," *Spec.*, 7 July 1832: 639; for the *Quarterly*, see chap. 7, note 10.

³⁹ HM to WJF, 8, 20 July and 7 August 1832, *CL* 1: 143-44, 145-46 and 147-48; for *Devotional Exercises*, see chap. 2; HM to Tait, 17 June 1832, *CL* 1: 143 (Tait hoped to rival the Tory *Blackwood's*); *Tait's* 1 (July 1832): 482-93; for various requests, see HM to Francis Place, 12 May and 1 June 1832, *CL* 138-39 and 142 (Place misunderstood and sent the wrong material); for Martineau's earlier article on Liberia in the *Repository*, see above, note 8; Mary Somerville, acclaimed writer on the physical sciences.

⁴⁰ *Auto.* 1: 216.

⁴¹ For Upham, see note 19; in 1868 Martineau came out of retirement to review Upham's expanded *Salem Witchcraft; with an account of Salem village, and a history of opinions on witchcraft and kindred subjects*. 2 vols. [Boston: Wiggin and Lunt, 1867]: *ER* 128 [July 1868]: 1-47.

⁴² For James, see note 35 (in 1838 he moved his growing family to Mason Street, Edgehill, and in 1845 into a house he designed in Park Nook, Princess Park, on land acquired by Richard Yates).

⁴³ HM to Charles Fox, 19 and 22 August 1832, *CL* 1: 149 and 149; American publishers of *Illus. Pol. Econ.* so far included L. C. Bowles of Boston (18 numbers, 1832-33) and E. Littell and T. Holden of Philadelphia (10 numbers, 1832-33); see Joseph B. Rivlin, *Harriet Martineau. A Bibliography of Her Separately Printed Books* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1947) 71; for Scott, see note 59; HM to JM, 30 and 31 August 1832, *HM/FL* 464-65 and 465; see *Auto.* 1: 175; see also Rosemary Ashton, "A Machine for Progress. Henry Brougham and Radical Reform in Nineteenth-Century London," *TLS*, 23 January 2009: 14-15.

⁴⁴ HM to WJF, [after 7 August] and 11 September 1832, *CL* 1: 148 and 150; "The English in China. A Tale by Harriet Martineau," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* 1: 667-83; "Prison Discipline" (praising the silent system at Auburn, New York, that Martineau claimed had determined her to go to the U.S.) and "Rajah Rammohun Roy on the Government and Religion of India" (for both articles, see note 19); for Martineau's writings on India, see Appen., *HM/DN*.

⁴⁵ *Spec.*, 8 September 1832: 853-55; *Athen.*, 8 September 1832: 586; *Examiner*, 16 September 1832: 598-99; Josiah Conder, [rev.] *Eclectic* 8 (October 1832): 328-49 (for the *Eclectic's* usual liberal stance, see Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, 67-70).

⁴⁶ *Auto.* 1: 218; probably Lady Smith (see note 22); for *Ireland*, see next note.

⁴⁷ *Ireland* (partly rptd. Logan, *The Pickering Masters. The Irish Question* 4, Intro. vii-xi); *Spec.*, 13 October 1832: 971-73; *Athen.*, 27 October 1832: 693.

⁴⁸ For reviews, see note 19; HM to WJF, 11 September 1832, *CL* 1: 150.

⁴⁹ HM to WJF, 30 September, 11 and 13 October 1832, *CL* 1: 151-52, 155-57 and 158-59; HM to JM, 13 October and 14 November 1832, *HM/FL* 466 and 466-67; HM to Brougham, 10 October, Wednesday [7 November] and Saturday [November] 1832, *CL* 1: 153-54, 166-68 and 168 (cf. Garnett, *Fox* 85-88).

⁵⁰ HM to WJF, Saturday [20?] October and Saturday [4?] November 1832, *CL* 1: 159-60 and 164-66); (HM to Eliza Flower, 20 October 1832, *CL* 1: 160-62); Conduit Street, London: an evidently modest genteel address in Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1811); HM to Charles Fox, 1 November 1832, *CL* 1: 162-64.

⁵¹ *Auto.* 1: 183; *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers*, ed. Edith Morley (London: J. M. Dent, 1938) 1: 416-17 (for Robinson, former leader of the Norwich circuit court and fellow Unitarian now living in London, see Prologue).

⁵² HM to Charles Fox, 14 November, [December] and Monday evening [10 December] 1832, *CL* 1: 170-71, 172-73 and 174-75; the work was probably Guisepepe Pecchio, *Semi-Serious Observations of an Italian Exile, During His Residence in England* [trans.] (London: Effingham Wilson, 1833).

⁵³ HM to Brougham, Thursday [December] and 24 December 1832, *CL* 1: 173-74 and 177.

⁵⁴ *Auto.* 1: 183; HM to JM, 14 November 1832, *HM/FL* 466-67; HM to WJF, Wednesday [14 November 1832], *CL* 1: 171-72

⁵⁵ For Martineau's article on Australia in the *Repository*, see note 32.

⁵⁶ HM to WJF, Monday evening [10 December 1832] and [Thursday, 10 January 1833], *CL* 1: 175-76 and 184-85 (Martineau received only £75 for the Poor Law tales, Brougham failing to add his contribution); probably Dr. Edward Kentish; Martineau's "rest" was to be two-years of travel in the United States, 1834 to 1836.

⁵⁷ JM, "On the Life, Character, and Works of Dr. Priestley," *MR* 7 (1833): 19-30, 84-88 and 231-41; for *Berkeley the Banker*, see chap. 3, note 1.

⁵⁸ HM to JM, 3 December 1832, *HM/FL* 467.

⁵⁹ "Characteristics of the Genius of Scott" and "The Achievements of the Genius of Scott," *Tait's* 2 (December 1832): 301-14 and (January 1833): 445-60 (Martineau's last articles for *Tait's* until April 1834); ([John Stuart Mill?] *MR* 6 (August 1832): 556-64, (September 1832): 627-34 and (October 1832): 649-59, discussed genius as a Christian characteristic--pro and con); HM to William Tait, 10 November and 28 December 1832, *CL* 1: 168-69 and 177-78.