

Chapter 13

Staying on in America: New England Scenes, Harvard Notables, the White Mountains, American Abolitionists (1835-1836)

Martineau now began to make plans for a second year in America. From the final week in July, she and Louisa were to stay with Catharine Sedgwick at Stockbridge and to visit "some of the pretty New England villages" before returning to New York "about the 14th of August."

At Stockbridge, Martineau liked strolling along the Housatonic with Sedgwick. A year's observation of American traits, however, now led to her finding fault with Sedgwick's extravagant and seemingly insincere compliments. Moreover, Sedgwick's declaration that the "Union" was sacred and must be preserved even with slaveholders shocked Martineau. Sedgwick's enthusiasm had also cooled. Her brother Theodore reported that in Washington Martineau preferred the company of Whigs like Webster, Clay and Preston, while the Sedgwicks were staunch Democrats. Nonetheless, Sedgwick praised her guest's "single eye to the general good;" and though Martineau was not conceited, she *was* aware of her superiority and "perhaps a little too frank on this point."¹

From Stockbridge, Martineau and Louisa travelled by stage to the home of historian George Bancroft in Northampton, Massachusetts. Merrily welcomed on 7 August by the Bancroft ladies, they were charmed by the hilltop house with its "spacious rooms [and] cool arrangements." At the mid-day dinner, Martineau tried corn on the cob for the first time. After a walk in the garden and meeting with callers, they were taken on a drive to Amherst. Bancroft had finished the first volume of his *History of the United States* and had "stored his memory with all the traditions of the valley, of the State, and . . . of the whole of New England," Martineau marveled. As they drove, he explained the construction of a wooden bridge, narrated the histories of different villages and the early Indian wars and "threw light on the philosophy of society in the United States." At Amherst College, established just ten years earlier by Presbyterians, Martineau was pleased to listen to a lecture on geology along with the *girls* from a neighboring school. Bancroft showed them prehistoric "Turkey Tracks" imbedded in stone, "the great curiosity of the place," and Martineau climbed to the observatory to view the countryside. Next day, a Bancroft party of three carriages traveled to Mount Holyoke, allowing Martineau to admire the valley, the river and "the spires of village churches . . . clustered at intervals along its banks." The whole area was imbued with history, and Martineau noted the rich agricultural lands. Coming home just as the sun was setting, a "splendid meteor" burst and showered "green fire": another "Wordsworthian" moment. At the Bancrofts' nightly parties, Martineau observed "an over proportion of ladies, almost all . . . pretty, and all well dressed," and "a good deal of party spirit among the gentlemen." Local religious bigotry and village manners and credulity, seemed hard to understand.²

Bancroft showed Martineau a local graveyard of original settlers in the region. She was to comment in *Retrospect* on the conspicuous family graveyards in the American countryside including in "the valley of the Mohawk, on the heights of the Alleghanies [*sic*], in the centre of the northwestern prairie, wherever there is a solitary dwelling."

The most beautiful in the world, she thought, was the model cemetery at Mount Auburn founded in 1831, partly under the auspices of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. On a

warm August afternoon, Justice Story drove her out to Mount Auburn, "four miles from Boston." He had spoken at the opening of the cemetery, and five of his own children lay buried there. Martineau was intrigued by the Egyptian-style gate and white obelisks, which she thought looked well "in a place so thickly wooded," as well as by the reddish "Egyptian fronts" of Connecticut freestone on vaults "hollowed out of the hillsides." She noted the varieties of trees and flowers and the view from the summit of Boston, of "Fresh Pond," of the "University" and of "the green country, studded with dwellings."³

To continue her survey of "society" in America, Martineau evidently used a letter of introduction from Mary Somerville to Prof. and Mrs. John Farrar of Cambridge. Farrar was Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard; his wife, the former Eliza Ware Rotch, wrote improving books for young people. Invited to attend that year's Harvard commencement activities, the lady travellers arrived at the Farrars' on 24 August. Martineau was delighted with their "apartment" with its complete set of bedroom furniture "of the English kind," pretty view and table full of books, flowers and "programme of the engagements of the week." After drinking lemonade, the group walked to the Botanic Garden where Martineau exclaimed over the red water lilies and "splendid South American plants." Jared Sparks (then editing the writings of George Washington) met them and took Martineau into his study. There the "parchment-bound collection of Washington's papers, so fearful in amount," made her wonder at Sparks's intrepidity. In touring the rest of the college, they heard of the danger to library books from fires -- a calamity Martineau was soon to witness. Unitarian Biblical scholar Professor Andrews Norton, who had "no superior among the American divines," now waited to meet them.⁴

One Tuesday, Emerson called on Martineau. Though they had met in London in August 1833, he seemed not to remember. Her ear trumpet annoyed him, "making Siameses of the two interlocutors," and he thought her tired and facile in her judgments of books and people. Yet she intrigued him. That day Martineau was taken to see the Lunatic Asylum at Charlestown and to dine at the home of a professor whose guests included eleven children with their parents. As they sat in the "piazza" in the evening, a frightful event occurred. Noting smoke and hearing the sound of "fire—Bells" they saw from the garrets whole streets burning and "stack after stack of chimneys falling into the flames." Sixty houses were destroyed that night, Martineau recorded, in "the great Charlestown fire." America could often be a dangerous land.

On commencement day, Wednesday 26 August, the weather had turned dull and rainy, but friends "popped in, shook hands, and popped out again" before they left for the church. Sitting in the gallery, Martineau could see and hear the students and dignitaries crowding in, including Webster and Judge Story. She approved of most recitations' and speeches' reprobating of "mob-law," while music helped to break the monotony of the long ceremony (she spied a professor *doodling* on his program however). After the ceremony, the gentlemen dined at the College Hall and Eliza Farrar entertained "a company of ladies more or less distinguished in literature." That evening at the president's levee Martineau was presented with flowers. Although calling the event a "tremendous squeeze," she enjoyed herself in the midst of "almost every eminent person in the State, for . . . rank, or scientific and literary accomplishment." That night, before falling asleep, she read through a history of the university left on her table. The pamphlet claimed Harvard's reputation had fallen owing to its high cost, "pride of antiquity" and the competition from new colleges springing up. Harvard chairs were

vacant, professors absent or ill and salaries inadequate. (Martineau was to comment in *Retrospect* that soon only aristocratic Unitarian or Episcopalian students would be able to afford Harvard.)

Next day, Sparks came for breakfast with documents proving Benedict Arnold (whose life he had written) had betrayed West Point to the British. After breakfast, they all left for the Phi Beta Kappa Society lecture, "Duties of Educated Men in a Republic" by Boston lawyer Theophilus Parsons. His talk seemed elitist, though Martineau was moved by the reading of Ephraim Peabody's poem on his illness. At dinner in the home of President Josiah Quincy, the astronomer and mathematician Nathaniel Bowditch sat next to Martineau. Another party that night followed and over the next two days Martineau and Louisa saw other sights of Boston. At Bunker Hill, an old man spread out a tattered map to retell his experience of fighting in the battle with the British.⁵

Margaret Fuller came to see Martineau at the Farrars' several times, possibly encouraged by James Freeman Clarke. At twenty-four, Fuller was living unhappily with her family at Groton, longing for an "intellectual guide." Emotionally volatile, Fuller felt "bound" to Martineau, and the Farrars invited her to travel to England with them. Sadly, the death of her father that autumn meant she must find paying work.⁶

On Saturday, 29 August, Martineau called on Everett -- soon to be elected governor of Massachusetts. Everett may have invited her to the September ceremony at Deerfield, Massachusetts, where he was to speak. For now, she was asked to the summer home of Dr. William Ellery Channing at Oakland, six miles from Newport, Rhode Island. Of "all the public characters of the United States," Channing was the one "in whom the English feel the most interest," Martineau declared. In *Retrospect*, she felt obliged to defend him against a charge of "spiritual pride" as well as against his apathy so far on slavery. On the evening of Martineau's expected arrival, Channing told his nephew William Henry Channing that the abolitionists had kindled a "flame" of resentment among Southerners and hurt the cause, despite their principles.

(Perhaps hoping to disarm Channing's critics, Martineau later wrote of his slight build, youthful face and "the great charm" of his voice. His leaning towards mysticism, she argued, could be explained by his fear that American Unitarians were too cold and might become *colder* by following Priestley.)

Channing's humility and truthfulness were evident, his casual habits of composition surprising Martineau. Unlike her laborious long hours over her work, he often got up from his desk to go outside. While Martineau and Louisa stayed with him, Channing met them in his garden every morning to walk in the countryside or drive to the coast in his gig. He explained geological formations and pointed out the house of the philosopher and friend of eighteenth-century poets, Bishop George Berkeley, who had lived in Newport for three years. (Almost intuitively in telling of her stay with Channing, Martineau noted the dashing waves along the shore and the birds and spiders that had "thought fit to make their homes amidst all the noise and commotion.")⁷

From Rhode Island, Martineau and Louisa returned to Boston. On a sunny 16 September, they then set out to explore the White Mountains of New Hampshire with two American companions met at Eliza Farrar's evening soirée. In *Retrospect*, Martineau recounted the delights of the brilliant weather, the hedges starred with asters, goldenrod and briar roses

and the children and adults gathering apples in orchards along the way. After crossing Lake Winnepisaukee they hired a wagon for part of the ascent to Red Mountain. Bouncing up the rough track, at one point they all rolled out except Martineau! The last mile required climbing on foot to the mountain farm of a settler named Crawford (one of Martineau's "Solitaires" described in *Society*). A Revolutionary War veteran, Crawford had brought his bride to this remote spot where their three deaf daughters were born. One girl, who had never been away from her home, was helping her mother bake when the party arrived. Crawford's talkative wife welcomed them and later insisted they carry a string of dried apples to an earlier guest from Boston. The party then met another remarkable Crawford and his family who provided food and beds for tourists in summer and for traders using sleighs in winter.

From the summit of Red Mountain, Martineau spied Ossipee Lake, a "dark blue expanse, slightly ruffled, with pine fringing all its ledges" like "the wildest parts of Norway." From Conway farther north, they crossed the Notch (now Crawford's Notch) through Alpine-like scenery, but a tempest of wind and snow kept them from climbing 6,000 ft. high Mount Washington. At Littleton they stayed at Gibb's house where the serving girl amused them by lecturing Louisa when she asked for coffee before the others were down. En route to the Franconia Defile ("the noblest mountain pass I saw in the United States" Martineau declared in *Retrospect*), they suffered a breakdown. Moreover, they had forgotten their umbrellas and were soaked with rain, but the Lafayette Hotel had a blazing fire and served a good dinner of "hot bread and butter, broiled ham, custards, and good tea." They next sallied out to watch mists driving up "the tremendous peaks," and Martineau sheltered under a rock ledge beside a whirlpool formed by a mountain stream. Watching "the busy whirl," she *listened* (!) to its "splash and hiss."

Briskly summarizing the rest of their journey in *Retrospect*, Martineau recorded passing through Montpelier, Vermont, and "along the White River [to] the Connecticut, along whose banks we travelled to Brattleborough, Deerfield and Northampton."⁸

At Deerfield, Martineau and Louisa visited the scene of an Indian ambush during King Philip's War, the Bloody Brook massacre of 1675. For Everett's oration at the commemorative ceremony next day, 30 September, they hurried out to find seats. Villagers and the smiling soldiers who kept benches free for a band amused Martineau, but Everett's patriotic bombast disgusted her. (In *Society* she described a politician who grimaced "like a mountebank" and offered "shreds of tawdry sentiment" that were an insult to the intelligent audience and "a degradation of himself.") Despite her disapproval, she accepted Everett's escort back to Boston, he thinking she had *liked* his address. Everett further offended her, however, by failing to respond to her hint that they would like to stay with him.⁹

Next Martineau was taken to Nahant, where the "stupendous" hotel seemed a man-of-war "riding in one of the lovely Massachusetts ponds." As they galloped over the sands connecting the hotel to the mainland she thought "the dashing of the sea . . . seemed likely to take us off our feet." Rambling about, they came to the hamlet of Swampscot, "the place where novel-readers go to look for Mucklebucket's cottage." Other homely sights included the fishermen's tiny flat-bottomed boats drawn up on the shore, children playing and women "coming homewards with their milk-pans or taking their linen from the lines."¹⁰

In early October, Martineau and Louisa stayed with Stephen C. Phillips, now mayor of Salem. There they viewed exotic souvenirs like shells from Ceylon (as featured in Martineau's

Cinnamon and Pearls?) confirming that Salem merchants traded all over the world. Phillips may have commissioned Charles Osgood to paint Martineau's portrait in oils. In Salem, she apparently also met Dr. Timothy Flint, a missionary and traveler in the Mississippi Valley, author of a biographical memoir of Daniel Boone and later editor in Cincinnati of the *Western Monthly Review*. Flint liked Martineau and produced "Dr. Flint's Sonnet to Miss H. Martineau's Ear-Trumpet."¹¹

Martineau's enthusiasm for the Salem community produced another keepsake. For children in the Barton Square Sunday School, on 18 October she read her original tale *The Children Who Lived by the Jordan*. Like her tales in *Traditions of Palestine* about humble people at the time of Christ, the story pled that children be taken seriously.

Next, she and Louisa accepted an invitation from William Ware, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, New York. However, they did "not contemplate arriving there before Febr^y, & I think it exceedingly Martineau accepted an invitation from William Ware, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, New York. However likely that we may be killed with kindness by Christmas."¹²

On a foggy 19 October, the two visitors made an excursion to Cape Ann, Massachusetts. Their party passed through Beverley (where the Yankee population was said to be "quiet, economical, sober, and whig" and to have the largest sums in the Boston savings banks), prosperous Manchester (supplier of furniture even to southern cities) and finally Gloucester. The last town intrigued Martineau with seemingly "no individual . . . whose parentage may not be tied to a particular set of people, at a particular date in English history," and where the buildings were composed entirely of granite blasted out of the rocks. "[A]lmost its only visitors," she quipped, "are fish." At Sandy Bay, on the other side of Cape Ann, she noted the mackerel fishing vessels, granite quarry and shipping installations. Having feasted on chowder, they had tea and were presented with a bouquet of "rich dahlias." In addition to a clergyman and his wife, "a long succession of the hospitable inhabitants" welcomed them.¹³

The day they were to leave Salem, 21 October, Martineau wrote to a new acquaintance, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, then a teacher at Bronson Alcott's school on Tremont Street, Boston. Wishing to know more about Peabody, Martineau explained her own "unbounded faith in man." Just now she was going to Providence to the home of President Francis Wayland of Brown University, and she added: "The first fortnight in Nov^{br}, we shall be at Judge Story's; then at the H^y Ware's; then at M^r Walker's . . . then at D^r Tuckerman's, &c."¹⁴

Martineau's "faith in man" was now to be tested. Passing through Boston, they spotted an unruly group of men outside the post office, other passengers in the coach seeming to know nothing of the commotion. The brief incident was to loom large in Martineau's perception of America however, for the men were protesting an announced talk by British abolitionist George Thompson. Martineau now learned that his presence in New York had caused the disturbances of summer 1834. On this occasion, William Lloyd Garrison had brought his wife to the meeting of the Boston Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society where Thompson was to speak, and as Garrison tried to leave he was surrounded by the mob. Barely rescued by a "stout truckman," Garrison was lodged in jail for his own safety, while the mayor allowed the men in the mob to take down the Anti-Slavery Office sign. Later, Martineau scoffed at being told it was nothing as the mob was

"entirely composed of gentlemen!" Even Henry Ware urged her not to worry about the event, and Judge Story opposed the idea of special protection for Garrison.¹⁵

Martineau and Louisa duly spent the first weeks of November at Cambridge with two Harvard professors--Judge Story, now a popular professor of Law, and Henry Ware of the Divinity School. Dr. Charles Follen called on Martineau at the Wares' and asked if she would be willing to attend an abolition meeting. Her assent quickly led to an invitation from the president and secretary of the Boston ladies' society for a meeting the following Wednesday, 18 November, at the home of merchant Francis Jackson. A covering note from Ellis Gray Loring offered to call for her and Louisa (who had bravely agreed to go), but Ware insisted *he* would drive them to Loring's, warning they would be "mobbed."¹⁶

Martineau had not forgotten the Gilmans, her affectionate hosts in South Carolina. "I received your kind letter & Eliza's some time before your father's arrived," she wrote to Louisa (composer of the "Martineau Cotillion"). Characteristically identifying herself with the young girl, Martineau envied her time as a scholar. Thinking of what *she* had done with herself "from 16 to 20," she couldn't remember "the exact number of pies & custards" she had made. She would "get up at 5, first to make my sister's linen when she was going to be married, & then to try whether I c^d not write stories & scraps of verse." Her studies included translating Tacitus into prose and Petrarch into verse and reading in English to her mother from French books, "trying to prevent her from finding out that it was not printed English." Besides "Wordsworth by heart by the bushel, & all Moore almost," she took to Hartley, "as to a new gospel. . . . Baxter & Doddridge & Priestley" being for Sundays. But she hadn't yet learned "the other half of the Chapter of John in Greek that your father began to teach me, & I suppose I never shall."¹⁷

On the night of 17 November, Martineau saw another unforgettable heavenly sight. Walker and his son returned from a lecture to announce that it was "nearly as light as day, though there was no moon." After singing around the piano until 11:00, they donned cloaks and shawls and went outside where a "beautiful rose-coloured flush" was spread across the heavens. As they watched, the aurora brightened, contracted in length and dilated in breadth; the colors deepened and "streams of greenish white light" radiated from a "blood-red dome," while the opaque canopy of the sky seemed "inlaid with constellations."¹⁸

Martineau's fellow guests at the Lorings' early dinner before the abolitionist meeting included staunch Garrisonians Rev. Samuel May and Maria Weston Chapman. During dinner Martineau urged the helplessness of Southern slaveholders, but as she was putting on her shawl upstairs Maria Chapman entered to say they had been threatened again. In her autobiography Martineau was to dramatize that moment, revealing the power Chapman could exert over her. "I hear now," she recalled, "the clear silvery tones of her "who was to be the friend of the rest of my life." Chapman's "exquisite beauty" had taken Martineau by surprise:

the slender, graceful form,--the golden hair, . . . brilliant complexion, noble profile, and deep blue eyes . . . meant by nature to be soft and winning [but] so vivified by courage . . . as to appear the very embodiment of heroism.

Chapman threw "her golden hair under her bonnet" and announced that her hopes were stronger than her fears.¹⁹

(Chapman thought the slightly older English celebrity "a presence one did not speedily tire of looking on,--most attractive and impressive." In her "memorials" volume added to Martineau's autobiography in 1876, Chapman claimed she had tried to call on Martineau while she was a guest at Sarah Tuckerman's but was told Martineau could see no more visitors until she returned from the south. She had earlier seen Martineau at Channing's church and recalled her features as "plain, and only saved from seeming heavily moulded by her thinness." Though Martineau was "taller and more strongly made than most American women," her complexion "had the hue of one severely tasked." She had "rich, brown, abundant hair, folded away in shining waves . . . low over the eyes [which were] light and full, of a grayish greenish blue . . . steadily and quietly alert."²⁰)

At the meeting of one-hundred and thirty ladies, Martineau spoke briefly to say she fully agreed with the "*principles*" of their society.²¹ Although her attitude to slavery was well known through *Demerara*, her declaration in favor of unconditional abolition as sought by the Garrisonians shocked many Americans she had met. The moment of "bonding" with the glamorous Chapman evidently determined her crucial political statement. By aligning herself with radical abolitionism she could become the martyr she had dreamed of being as a child, and the decision moved her closer to her admired new friend, Charles Follen. In addition to statements in her books on America, Martineau was to publish hundreds of articles arguing for the unconditional abolition of slavery in America.

When Martineau had arrived in America six months earlier, the Unitarian *Christian Register* of Boston welcomed her as the person correctly "to enter into our character and feelings, and to look at . . . our manners and institutions from the right point of view." Boston newspapers and magazines followed her as she travelled through the country. In July, the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* printed a long poem about her. For several days in November, not much notice seemed to have been taken of her words at the abolitionist meeting. She and Louisa may have gone to stay with a Mr. Wallner and then with the Tuckermans. Garrison quickly recognized Martineau's value to the cause and reported her pronouncement at the ladies' meeting in his *Liberator*, arousing a storm of protest. The *Mercury* of Charleston, South Carolina, and the *American* of Baltimore condemned her immodesty. The *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* attacked her without scruple: Martineau had written on political economy "very well *for a girl*," the reporter jeered, but women should stick to domestic economy. Next day, an editorial in the same paper accused her of attempting to defame and interfere with American institutions and of favoring the practice of "amalgamating with strapping negroes, submitting to their embraces, and becoming the mothers of mulattoes."²²

This last scurrilous article was reprinted in full by the prestigious Boston *Daily Advertiser*, which expressed regret that a "lady who has been everywhere . . . received with respect and kindness" had committed "an act of indiscretion" and had thus forfeited the good opinion of Americans in a place where no slavery existed--i.e., Boston.

When the *Advertiser* story came out on 30 November, Martineau was staying with Walker. He and Elizabeth Peabody (also staying with him) quickly burned the copy of the *Advertiser* before Martineau could see it. Then Tuckerman's sister called and revealed the

slander. Next day, Martineau convinced E.G. Loring to let her see his copy of the guilty paper. Five days later, editor of the *Advertiser* Nathan Hale (Everett's brother-in-law) made a half-hearted *amende* by printing a letter from a Boston merchant defending Martineau's right to her own opinions. Follen, however, cancelled his subscription to the *Advertiser* and accused Hale of printing an article that was "lame in logic . . . indecent in sentiment [and] ungentlemanly in . . . application." Charles Loring, Furness and others deplored Martineau's act and begged her to be more careful.

Additional newspapers reported the ruin of Martineau's reputation, and even Channing became troubled. Among reactions by the liberal-minded, Emerson deemed Americans' treatment of Martineau "clownish" and invited her to visit him, while his brother Charles backed her wholeheartedly. Follen and his wife (the former Eliza Lee Cabot) wrote to their new soulmate, "Harriet," expressing their support in elaborate terms. Noted abolitionists James Birney and Lewis Tappan congratulated each other on Martineau's conversion to their cause. Garrison sneered at the *Advertiser* for its "vulgar and malignant" quoting of "the vile slang of the *Courier and Enquirer*:" if the Boston authorities had foreseen the "thunderbolt" Martineau's few words to the ladies would provoke, they might have allowed even George Thompson to speak at the meeting! When Garrison's fellow abolitionist Samuel May sent Martineau six copies of the report on the meeting, she answered mildly that they might be of service if distributed properly--she would do her best "in that way." In London, meanwhile, Martineau's friends were puzzled by newspaper accounts of her "attending the Abolⁿ meeting."²³

Everett had not forgotten Martineau and now sent her a copy of his Amherst address, for which she thanked him. At the same time writing to Caroline Gilman in Charleston, South Carolina, Martineau declared sternly that the *Rosebud* had become "a decided Pro-Slavery paper" and that her principles would not allow her in any way to support it. The *Rosebud* had published an article she objected to *next* to two of her parables, "with my name, & without the date of prior publication, -- looking exactly as if I had just written them for your paper," Martineau objected. Half apologizing "Duty first & Pleasure afterwards," she then asked to hear all about the family. In Charlestown, *Massachusetts*, they were "surrounded by deep snow." The Gilmans could write to her care of E.G. Loring, for "we go there in Jan^{ry}." Yesterday, she added, they dined at Webster's in a party of twenty "& I had some tranquil talk with the great [brassy?] man."²⁴

On 3 December, Thanksgiving (celebrated on the first Thursday of December), Martineau and Louisa met at the Charles Lorings' and attended Channing's service. He invited them to the studio of popular sculptor Persico, who had just made busts of Channing and of Everett. Channing then presented Martineau with an early copy of his monograph, *Slavery*. "[T]hat night and two succeeding ones I read it completely through before I slept," she recorded in *Retrospect*, and it "was in my head all the rest of the day." In the monograph Channing declared his opposition to slavery but disapproved of immediate abolition and regretted that well-intentioned abolitionists could be guilty of intolerance, exaggeration and fanaticism (Channing was to soften his stand against the abolitionists after Martineau stayed with him in the spring, for the second time).

At the Lorings' Thanksgiving, "a family party of about thirty were assembled round two well-spread tables" (five *additional* children being ill with measles!). After dinner came a game

of "hunt-the-slipper . . . while the gentlemen were at their wine." Martineau and Louisa spent an hour amusing a sick boy and then "introduced a set of games new to the company" -- "Dumb Crambo" and "Old Coach." More visitors came, then music and supper ended the evening.

Next day Follen called, later assuring Martineau she had been misinformed about the complaints of her by other abolitionists. Of Tuckerman's sister he was to comment:

Miss ___'s tone of reasoning has been, from the first, about half a note below the right pitch; her mind is, indeed, a noble instrument, but defective in this, that the strings are so easily affected by the atmosphere to which it happens to be exposed, that it is difficult to keep it in tune.

(In addition to his intelligence and old-world manners, Follen's wit surely helped to place him on Martineau's list of heroes.)

Martineau's new friend Ephraim Peabody now wrote from New Orleans to say that her act had converted him, especially if *Channing* was now an abolitionist. Although her commitment to Garrison brought insults and threats from *some* recent acquaintances, Martineau blithely continued to pay visits and to enjoy excursions. On Sunday, 13 December, she attended the Seamen's Bethel in North Square, Boston, to hear the colorful "seamen's apostle," Rev. Edward T. Taylor. Praying for (spiritual) "water, water!" he almost anticipated the great New York fire three days later, she was to comment wittily in *Society*. In *Retrospect*, Martineau devoted several pages to Taylor's rise from illiteracy at age 20, his original and homely use of language and his charitable work as agent of the Methodist Boston Port Society. The society, she noted, sponsored self-help schemes like "a Reading-room, and a Nautical School; a Temperance Society, and the Bethel Union [to help settle seamen's disputes], a Clothing Society . . . and a Savings Bank." His religion was "'orthodox' (Presbyterian)," she went on, but "he opens his pulpit to ministers of any Protestant denomination." During his sermons, he would weep or perspire profusely, and allude to "mythology, politics, housewifery, or anything else" that occurred to him. "'Opinion,'" he told listeners, was "'sometimes an easy trade-wind, and sometimes a contrary hurricane,'" while "'God's chronometer loses no time'" for those who fail to act. In interviewing him, Martineau learned that he worried over the image American seamen carried abroad, his only fault, in her judgment, being the separate gallery in his chapel for blacks.

Despite a childhood spent in damp and chilly Norfolk, Martineau suffered during her second winter in America. "I believe no one attempts to praise the climate of New-England," she exclaimed in *Retrospect*. Though an "anthracite fire" might burn in the room all night and one is awakened by "the domestic scraping at your hearth," the renewed blaze failed to keep "everything you touch [from blistering] your fingers with cold." Outside, she watched boys coasting on Boston Common "all the winter day through" (to coast, she informed English readers, was "to ride on a board down a frozen slope" -- sitting, squatting or lying on the stomach -- "an attitude whose comfort I never could enter into"). Americans loved sleighing too, but she guessed that came from early associations of pleasure. On a school holiday, she saw children carried in "a long procession of sleighs," showing "happy faces, though pinched with cold." To Martineau, the "rough motion" and the "incessant jangle" of the bells seemed unpleasant.²⁵

Shortly before Christmas day, Martineau and Louisa went to stay with their shipboard companions Charles and Cecilia Brooks. Martineau had meanwhile agreed to prepare for

publication a selection of her essays, poems, tales, parables and reviews from the *Repository*, 1827 to 1833, and from *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1832 to 1834, to be brought out in two volumes of *Miscellanies* by Hilliard, Gray of Boston in 1836. From the Brooks' home at Hingham, south of Boston, she wrote to tell John Gorham Palfrey, new owner of the *North American Review*, that she was too busy to send him a piece on Felicia Dorothea Hemans (Hemans had died in May, and her poems were loved in America). When she returned to England, Martineau then assured Palfrey, she hoped to occupy "some position in [American] periodical literature" that would "help to make . . . European experience useful to your new world," to save Americans from copying European "legislative & philosophical errors."²⁶

For Forefathers' Day on 22 December, the Brooks and their guests traveled to Plymouth a day early to visit the spot where the Pilgrims landed on Massachusetts Bay and to look at early records of the colony in the Registry Office. In the morning, they heard a patriotic oration by Peleg Sprague -- a former senator from Maine whom Martineau had met in Washington. Sprague seated her where she could hear him well, then fixing his eye on her, began to spout "absurd abuse of England." During the gentlemen's dinner which followed, the President of the Sons of the Pilgrims proposed Martineau's health, urging that as a guest to whose writings they were indebted they should forgive her "mischievous opinions" on slavery. Brooks (whose permissiveness towards slavery she was to deplore in her autobiography) responded to the toast but would not tell her what excuses he had made in her name.²⁷

Christmas day at Hingham was cold and blustery. Few ventured out to church, though it had been dressed "with taste" in a great quantity of evergreens. After dinner, Martineau taught the little girls English Christmas games. Then typical New Englanders from Brooks' parish came in, to exchange greetings and have cake and lemonade while they spoke about themselves. "Farmer B." was an amateur genealogist who hoped to trace his roots in Hingham, Norfolk (England), and "Captain L.," who looked too old to be the father of five young daughters, had once been stranded by pirates but rescued by a Scottish freemason among them. A "benefactress of the village" had introduced Italian, French and English literature to the daughters of "fishermen, bucket and netmakers, and farmers." Indeed, the girls were "dressed in silk gowns of the latest make" with "rich French pelerines" and colored ribbons in their hair. Martineau especially liked the hostess, Cecilia Brooks, who was ill with consumption.²⁸

Early in December, Ellis Grey Loring had written to Garrison that Martineau was "clear and strong" about their "corner-stone principles" and that she adhered to "*immediate* emancipation." Knowing she wanted to meet him, on 30 December the great abolitionist called on her at the home of Ezra Gannett and his new wife, Anna.

(Perhaps slightly intimidated by Martineau, Garrison wrote to his wife that night to say only that his interview with her had been "very agreeable and satisfactory" and that she was "a fine woman.")

Martineau had been put off at first by Garrison's Quaker-like demeanor, thinking his "excessive agitation" showed a "want of manliness." Soon, however, his "countenance glowing with health" and expressing "purity, animation, and gentleness" won her over. Garrison spoke mostly of "peace principles," and Martineau thought his conversation sagacious, in contrast to the exaggerations and "bad taste of his writing."²⁹

The effect of Garrison's charm on Martineau must have upset her emotional host, Gannett. The following night when he and Martineau were up late working, he came in to confess his unhappiness in his work and his recent marriage and ended by declaring that she was his "true mate." Next morning, she went straight to Gannett's senior pastor, Channing, who was incredulous of her story. Just then, a note came from Gannett expressing his "love & grief, & repentance for the scene of the last night." There was no doubt what had happened, and Martineau must have begged the Follens to let her come early for the New Year's Eve party at their home in Watertown, Boston. (Gannett was to have a nervous breakdown in March and after some weeks was sent to Europe to rest).³⁰

In *Retrospect*, Martineau boasted of witnessing "the introduction into the new country of the spectacle of the German Christmas-tree. . . a New Year's tree, however; for I could not go on Christmas-eve." Six-year old Charley Follen (who had begun to feature in Martineau's account of her American journey) and his friends had "gilded and coloured very prettily" a collection of half-egg shells. "We were sent for before dinner," she went on, "and took up two round-faced boys by the way." Almost too busy to "spare a respectful attention to our plum-pudding," they decorated the young fir "planted in a tub . . . ornamented with moss" with "seven dozen wax tapers." Then they filled "gilt egg cups, and gay cornucopiæ with comfits, lozenges, and barley-sugar. Smart dolls, and other whimsies glittered in the evergreen." Soon came the sound of wheels, and "tribes of children" and their parents poured in. While guests were served hot drinks in the back-drawing room, Charley was observed "now and then twisting himself about in an unaccountable fit of giggling." Hurriedly, Eliza Follen and the maids lighted the tapers while Martineau led the crowd in Old Coach. "The grand fun of all," she laughed later, "was to make the clergyman and an aunt or two get up and spin round." The tree ready at last, the children poured in with hushed voices, their faces "upturned to the blaze, all eyes wide open, all lips parted, all steps arrested." Soon "a quick pair of eyes" discovered the sweets, and the babble started again as they all scrambled to help themselves. Dancing followed, and by 11:00 the two English ladies were left with the Follens to wait in the New Year.³¹

From the Follens, Martineau and Louisa must have gone to stay with Nathan Bowditch, whom they had met during the Harvard graduation festivities in August (Bowditch's recorded shyness would surely have been welcome after the episode with Gannett).³²

Martineau had briefly met the young lawyer Charles Sumner, who now gratified her "by writing as you do about my precious brother & his pretty sermon." A flurry of engagements were to follow: in the first week of February the two ladies spent "24 hours" with the Henry Wares in Cambridge. To entertain them Ware sang Mother Goose songs that made Martineau fear she "might expire of laughing before the night was out."

Martineau now wrote to William Ware, Henry's brother to report that "Miss Jeffery sails for Liverpool on 1st of April. I remain . . . till August." She wished Catharine Sedgwick would go with her to "Lakes George & Champlain;" afterwards, Follens and other friends would take her "to the Falls & Canada." Were not those pretty plans? She planned to send another copy of James's "Comet sermon" to Rev. Orville Dewey (Ware's assistant at the First Unitarian Church in New York, another of James's admirers). In a fortnight, she was to go to Lowell, Massachusetts, and to Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut.

Martineau next asked the Brooks if the two of them could meet her party "at Albany on June 1st, go to the Falls, & up to Quebec, & down thro' Maine, so as to be back in Boston in 5 weeks?" Brooks might reach her "within 10 days, 'care of Ellis Gray Loring Es^{qe}, Boston," as after that she would be "wandering thro' Connecticut towards New York."³³

On 23 February, Martineau and Louisa made a one-day journey to Lowell by train, meeting with Emerson on his way to lecture the Lowell factory workers in their "Lyceum." The sprightly factory girls appealed to Martineau's imagination, and she was to laud their "trooping to the mill [with] healthy countenances . . . neat dress and quiet manners" like those of the tradesman class in England. The girls worked twelve-hour days (seventy hours a week), enjoyed "improving" activities in leisure hours, wore silk dresses on Sunday, played the piano and wrote articles for their magazine. "I saw no sign of weariness among any of them," she declared, for they had "command of themselves and of their lot in life," which was controlled "by mind" and not by "outward circumstances."³⁴

Continuing her survey of Americans' treatment of the disabled, Martineau next inspected the New England Institution for the Blind in Boston, where pupils were treated "like human beings who came to be educated." Quoting statistics in *Retrospect* on the incidence of blindness in various countries, she listed the steps taken in Massachusetts to set up a school -- a mansion on Pearl Street for the pupils' residence having been donated by a "wealthy citizen of Boston." To her approval the school taught Braille.³⁵

Besides manufacturing, Martineau reported on American agriculture. In *Society*, she listed crops growing on farms and in orchards and gardens and named tasks she saw performed by rural people. For English readers she explained land ownership in America, notably in the south and west. The "most remarkable order of land-owners," she thought, were the Shakers, founded in Manchester, England, in the eighteenth century, and the Rappites. "I visited two Shaker communities in Massachusetts," she explained, "at Hancock, consisting of three hundred persons, [and] at Lebanon, consisting of seven hundred persons." The Shakers' rich farms, fine woodworking and the small goods made to sell in their stores caught her eye. Served a light lunch, she joked that if "happiness lay in bread and butter" the Shakers had attained the "*summum bonum*." Yet observers must distinguish between the Shakers' "moral and economical principles," for they were obsessed with celibacy, and their "spiritual pride [and] intellectual torpor [were] melancholy to witness." Virtually pursing her lips, she termed the women's drab gowns "disgusting," owing to their "tightness and scantiness," while the dancing of men and women during their service was "shocking."

By contrast, she was taken to Canton (near Boston) one Sunday to hear the young Unitarian preacher from Vermont, Orestes A. Brownson. She enjoyed his letting of fresh air into the Boston "headquarters of Cant." His "Discourse on the Wants of the Times" was to feature as appendix to *Society*.³⁶

At a moment of high excitement during the winter in Boston, Martineau and Louisa returned to stay with the Channings. In response to southern demands that abolitionists be stopped as a menace, Garrison and May were to testify on behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society before a five-man committee of the Massachusetts legislature. Though only a meager attendance was expected for discussion of "such 'a low subject,'" Martineau was to witness a scene on Friday, 4 March, when the numbers of abolitionists and interested citizens

forced a move to the Hall of Representatives. Channing (still a moderate abolitionist) was there. He had balked at having tea with Garrison at the Chapmans' the evening before, but Martineau saw with pleasure that he was handing notes to the pleaders when the committee twisted the meaning of their answers. Ellis Gray Loring and Follen both spoke, but Follen was stopped when the chairman declared that he was being heard only as a matter of favor. At that, the abolitionists "refused to proceed, and broke up the conference." On the following Sunday evening a group "gathered by special invitation at Mr. Loring's house" included Martineau and Louisa, the Chapmans, May and Garrison. Garrison declared to his wife that Martineau was "plain and frank in her manners" and would never "print anything . . . inimical to us, or in favor of the Colonization Society."

Before the second hearing in front of the legislature, set for Tuesday, 8 March, it was suggested that only the most "gentlemanly of the abolitionists" should speak, rather than Garrison, but that was righteously put down. During the testimony, Follen was again "desired [by the committee] to hold his tongue," but "fought his ground inch by inch" Martineau noted admiringly. The abolitionists had won a moral victory. After the next election, she recorded, the Massachusetts legislature "passed a series of anti-slavery resolutions by a majority of 378 to 16," proving that "the body of the people were sound."³⁷

In her autobiography, Martineau dedicated a lengthy passage to the abuse of herself that "ran through almost every paper in the Union," incited by slave traders who "haunted the Ohio at the time when I was about to descend the river with a party of friends." As part of a three-month excursion with the Follens and the Ellis Grey Loring, she hoped to meet James Birney at Cincinnati (the former slave-owner who had freed his slaves and become an abolitionist) and Follen's brother, who had a farm in Missouri.

Staying with the Channings, Martineau found Loring waiting until 11:00 in the evening to see her and to say that a merchant had warned him of pro-slavery men in Cincinnati who intended to prosecute her, while "worse things were contemplated in the slave-holding city of Louisville." As Martineau was tying up her papers for safe keeping next morning, Channing came in, "more moved than I had ever seen him." Wiping away the tears "that rolled down under his spectacles," he apologized for Americans' treatment of one who had done much for them. He begged her not to endanger others of her party, as well as herself, by going down the Ohio. Reluctantly, Martineau gave up the newly conceived plans.³⁸

¹ For Sedgwick see chap. 9, note 8; accusing *Martineau* of insincerity, Sedgwick snorted "With all Miss Martineau's ascetic disclaimer about flattery, no one ever seemed better to relish the clouds of incense while they were floating about her nor did she ever imply a doubt of her divine right to them" (Catharine Sedgwick to Louisa Minot, 14 February 1838, [Stearns 540]).

² "Villages," *RWT* 3: 1-24; George Bancroft, *A History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent to the Present Time* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1834-75); for Martineau's later disgust with Bancroft, see *HM/FW* 267.

³ "Cemeteries," *RWT* 3: 272-93; see *HM/FW* 267; Martineau's friendship with Story survived his objections to *Society*, and they corresponded until his death in 1845.

⁴ "Cambridge Commencement," *RWT* 3: 25-55; for the Farrars as Martineau's fellow passengers going to England in 1836, see "A Month at Sea," Appendix B, *Auto.* 2: 466-500; see Eliza's memoir, *My Life's Romance; or, Recollections of Seventy Years' Experience in Various*

Parts of the World, by Mrs. John Farrar (Philadelphia: Edgewood, c. 1865; Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866; etc.) describing Martineau's activities on the ship.

⁵ Martineau's friendship with Emerson endured, not erratically as that with his philosophical counterpart, Carlyle (Emerson had recently invited Carlyle to lecture in America on "any subject": see *The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, ed. Joseph Slater (New York: Columbia UP, 1964) 16-29); the "history" of Harvard has not been identified, but for student rioting, see *Proceedings of the Overseers of Harvard University* . . . [signed by Josiah Quincy] (Boston: Press of James Loring, NY.) and *Remarks occasioned by* . . . [the same] (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, Printers, 1834); Jared Sparks, *The Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray; 1835); Unitarian minister Ephraim Peabody (see chap. 12, note 8) died in 1856.

⁶ For Fuller's teaching at Bronson Alcott's Temple school, see Susan Cheever, *American Bloomsbury. Louisa May Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry David Thoreau: Their Lives, Their Loves, Their Work* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006).

⁷ William Ellery Channing to William Henry Channing, 6 Sept 1835, PML MS James and Harriet Martineau; "Channing," *RWT* 3: 72-91 (Martineau stayed with the Channings again at the end of winter 1836).

⁸ "The White Mountains," *RWT* 3: 56-71; "Economy. Solitaires," *SA* 1: 220-27 (one companion was "Mr. D."); Martineau used Scandinavian scenery effectively in her children's story *Feats on the Fiord* (1841); as in the Mammoth Caves, Martineau claimed "listening" to various sounds.

⁹ "Politics. Morals of Politics. Office," *SA* 1: 113-46; for Everett's claim that he could not invite Martineau and Louisa to stay because he had only one guest chamber, see Edward Everett to Rev. W.B.O. Peabody, 19 and 27 June 1837, Massachusetts Historical Society Library (Seat 278-80).

¹⁰ "Nahant," *RWT* 3: 140-47; Mucklebucket, a character in Scott's *The Antiquary* (Martineau was later drawn to humble characters outside her sickroom window at Tynemouth).

¹¹ For the portrait of Martineau painted in Salem, Massachusetts, see Seat 172-74; Frederic Alan Sharf, "Charles Osgood: The Life and Times of A Salem Portrait Painter," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, July 1966: 203-12; Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone, the First Settler of Kentucky: Interspersed with Incidents in the Early Annals of the Country* (Cincinnati: N. & G. Guildford, 1833; Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone, the First Settler of Kentucky: Interspersed with Incidents in the Early Annals of the Country* (Cincinnati: N. & G. Guildford, 1833); Flint also commented memorably on Frances Trollope, as "a short, plump figure . . . singularly unladylike . . . with a ruddy, round, Saxon face of bright complexion;" "Dr. Flint's Sonnet to Miss H. Martineau's Ear-Trumpet," *Auto.* 3: 138.

¹² *The Children Who Lived by the Jordan* [pamphlet] (Salem, 1835; London: John Green, 1842; and Boston: Wm. Crosby and H.P. Nichols [printed for the American Unitarian Association], n.d.); HM to William Ware, 15 October 1835, *CL* 1: 277.

¹³ "Township of Gloucester," *SA* 1: 279-84.

¹⁴ HM to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 21 October [1835], *CL* 1: 277-78; Dr. James Walker, Harvard professor and Unitarian minister in Charlestown (part of Boston), editor of the *Unitarian Christian Examiner*.

¹⁵ Martineau described Garrison's ordeal in her three major works on America in "Allegiance to Law," *SA* 1: 163, "Signs of the Time in Massachusetts," *RWT* 3: 148-65 and "The Martyr Age of the United States," *WR* 32 [December 1838]: 1-59; Rev. Henry Ware, now professor in the Harvard Divinity School was at first active in the antislavery movement but later repelled by the extreme abolitionists; see Seat 183.

¹⁶ "Meeting of Abolitionists," *Auto.* 2: 25-32 and see below; as a result of his work for the abolitionist cause, in August 1835 Follen had been released from his position as Professor of German Literature at Harvard.

¹⁷ HM to Louisa Gilman, 10 November 1835, *CL* 1: 278-79.

¹⁸ See "Hot and Cold Weather," *RWT* 3: 166-96; Martineau reported that similar night shows had occurred in "all the Novembers of the last four years," while the "falling stars" of 14 November 1833 caused country people to fear the end of the world had come (for the great Leonid meteor storms of 13 November 1833, cf. Mark Littman, *The Heavens on Fire: the Great Meteor Storms* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999]).

¹⁹ *Auto.* 2: 28; four years younger than Martineau, Chapman had married Boston merchant Henry Chapman, a supporter of the abolition cause, in 1830; in 1834 she joined the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society and having been at school in France, she served as the society's foreign corresponding secretary (Martineau surely felt a deeply homoerotic attraction to Chapman).

²⁰ *Auto.* 3: 135.

²¹ *Auto.* 3: 157.

²² *Christian Register*, 14 (14 February 1835): 106; *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, 1 (July 1835): 470; *Liberator*, 5 (21 November 1835): 187, cols. 5-6; *American*, 18 December 1835 (reprinted from the *Mercury*); *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, 26 and 27 November 1835: 2 and 2; Wallner is not reliably identified.

²³ *Daily Advertiser*, 42: 30 November 1835 and letter from (?) George Richards Minot, 5 December 1835 (see Seat 189 and 190-91); WLJ to Samuel Joseph May, 5 December 1835, William Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894) 2: 56-57; Charles Follen to Nathan Hale, n.d., Charles Follen to HM, 30 November 1835 and December 1836 [1835?] *The Works of Charles Follen, with a Memoir of His Life* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray and Company, 1841) 1: 380-81, 381-83 and 383-85; William Ellery Channing, *Slavery* (Boston: J. Munroe and Company, 1835); see Seat 176-205; HM to Samuel May [winter 1835-1836], *CL* 1: 284-85.

²⁴ HM to Edward Everett, 25 November 1835, *CL* 1: 280; five months later, Everett sent Martineau another "parcel" of his works (HM to Edward Everett, 1 May 1836, *CL* 1: 292); HM to Caroline Gilman, 25 November 1835, *CL* 1: 280-81.

²⁵ See "Hot and Cold Weather" (note 18) and "Originals" *RWT* 3: 240-552; Charles Follen to Nathan Hale, n.d., *The Works of Charles Follen* 1: 380-81; for Peabody see note 5.

²⁶ See Seat 209-13; HM to John Gorham Palfrey, 20 December 1835, *CL* 1: 282-83 (Martineau's offer was to be taken up by the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*); new abolitionist friends were especially pleased with Martineau's poems condemning slavery; James Walker's *Christian Examiner* lauded the collection and called her visit "an era in the growth of [the] minds and characters" of Americans who met her (20 [May 1836]: 251-64); the *American Quarterly Review*

declared she was no poet but that her real "genius" was for fiction, which might equal Scott's for beauty and interest while based "on a more universal condition of humanity than the feudal system" (20 [September 1836]: 216-27); for Martineau's delight at an initial payment of \$300 from Hilliard, Gray, see HM to Ezra Stiles Gannett, [3 March 1836], *CL* 1: 289-90.

²⁷ *Auto.* 2: 44-45.

²⁸ See "Hot and Cold Weather;" a year after she reached home Martineau learned of Cecilia's approaching death.

²⁹ Ellis Grey Loring to WLG, 5 December 1835 and WLG to Helen Eliza Garrison, 30 December 1835, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879. The Story of His Life Told by His Children* (New York: Century and London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889) 2: 6, 68-69; for Garrison, see "Originals," *RWT* 3.

³⁰ See Webb 149-51 and William C. Gannett, *Ezra Stiles Gannett. Unitarian Minister in Boston, 1824-1871. A Memoir* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877) 154-55; Chapman left a summary of the episode out of her memorials, but noted that after Gannett had gone down his knees, Martineau hurried into her room and locked the door, afraid he had gone mad (Weston Papers, BPL 6, no. 4); as a Unitarian Gannett was to have a distinguished career and died as the result of a train wreck in 1871.

³¹ See "Hot and Cold Weather" (Martineau was to treasure the memory of the evening partly owing to the tragedy that later befell Follen--but perhaps also from relief at her escape from an embarrassing sexual encounter with Gannett).

³² HM to Catherine E. Norton, [December 1835], *CL* 1: 282; Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes recorded an anecdote about Martineau's stay with Bowditch in *Holmes-Pollack Letters*, ed. Mark Dewolfe Howe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1944) 2: 169.

³³ HM to Charles Sumner, 3 February 1836, *CL* 1: 285-86 (James's sermon, *Views of the World from Halley's Comet: A Discourse, delivered in Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool, September 27th 1835* [London: R. Hunter, et al, 1835], was "preached before an Association of ministers in London,--not an ordinary congregation;" HM to William Ware, 8 February 1836, *CL* 1: 286-87; HM to Charles (and Cecelia) Brooks, 17 February 1836, *CL* 1: 287-88.

³⁴ The Boston to Lowell line was "the best-constructed rail-road in the States," Martineau claimed in "Economy. Transport and Markets. Internal Improvements" (*SA* 2: 186); for Martineau's account of the factory girls, see HM to Charles Knight, 20 May 1844 (*Mind Amongst the Spindles: A Selection from the Lowell Offering, A Miscellany Wholly Composed by the Factory Girls of an American City* (London: Charles Knight, 1844): v-xxii); the two English women also visited the cotton mills at Waltham and the shoe industry at Lynn.

³⁵ "Mutes and Blind," *RWT* 3: 92-139; Martineau took away sets of books in Braille to show as examples at home.

³⁶ *SA* 2: 29-93; "Discourse on the Wants of the Times" [from *Aladdin's Lamp*, New York, 1833], Appen. E, *SA* 3: 342-59.

³⁷ See "Signs of the Times in Massachusetts;" WLG to Helen E. Garrison, 7 March 1836, *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison* 2: 59 (Garrison's words proved a vast understatement of Martineau's future labors on behalf of his cause).

³⁸ "Warnings," *Auto.* 2: 46-50.