

## Chapter 17

### Popularity in London: Visits, Entertaining, Contemporaries, New Authorship (1837-1838)

Completed in mid-April, *Society* appeared on Monday, 11 May 1837. Rebutting critics like Empson's woman friend, Martineau informed Fox gleefully that an organization would be "put in motion" once her book had gained a circulation, "to obtain a revision in parliament of all laws regarding Woman." Hensleigh Wedgwood deemed *Society* "a most remarkable book;" Fanny, his wife, was "delighted [except for] a foolish little chapter about women's voting which does not signify;" and she was "much relieved at the marriage and divorce parts considering what we had expected." As an enlightened daughter of Sir James Mackintosh, Fanny added that it was "impossible not to catch some of [Martineau's] hopefulness on Slavery though for one's own taste I should have liked some harder word than anomaly for it."<sup>1</sup>

In her autobiography, Martineau told an amusing anecdote about Saunders's expecting her to request reviews of her work, insisting "all our authors do it."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, two days after publication at least three reviews of *Society* appeared in London. The *Athenaeum* called Martineau a "profound and original thinker" who concretely presented slavery, women's rights and the roles of dissenters and Unitarians--but who used an objectionable, abstract philosophical method. Partly by contrast, the *Spectator* labeled Martineau "our fair instructor," her book the most philosophical yet written on the United States though the materials in Part 3, "Civilization," seemed "indifferently handled." The light-weight women's magazine, *Literary Gazette*, described the work as "tough" and the title misleading as promising an account of social life. An author, the reviewer opined, should be "clever as Miss M. . . . but more feminine, -- less Malthusian."

Next Benjamin Disraeli (not yet involved in politics) praised Martineau's descriptions but faulted her overstrained expressions, wittily comparing her to a comic heroine in Molière (one of *Les Femmes savantes*?). The *Monthly Review* applauded Martineau's "masculine intellect" and independence but claimed she had judged too quickly and her method was weakened by a heavy and elaborate manner. In a short paragraph in June the *Monthly Repository* loyally called the book "a most excellent adaptation of fine materials, arranged in an original form." In similar vein *Chambers's* termed it "an honest, fearless . . . faithful book," graver than most on the United States.<sup>3</sup>

An article on prison reform in the July *London & Westminster* called *Society* "valuable" and urged that Martineau deserved the "highest encomiums for . . . boldness and freedom of thought." In *Tait's* Mrs. Christian Johnstone usefully compared *Society* to Grund's (proslavery) *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations* as the two best current works on the subject. The conservative Anglican *British Critic* attacked Martineau, however, for stepping out of her favorite realm of politics to write about religion, mocking her Unitarianism and objecting to her equating Christianity with democracy. The reviewer also condemned her notions of political rights for women and of marriage as a civil institution dissolvable by civil means -- issues of future contention with Martineau's critics.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, British reviewers of *Society* focused on the political implications of American democracy for reform in Britain -- as well as on literary qualities like organization, logic and style. The British travelers Frederick Marryat and George Combe later objected to Martineau's far-fetched stories, claiming Americans had deliberately misled her. Fanny Kemble generously summed up such complaints saying Martineau had "the misfortune to possess . . . that unsuspecting reliance upon the truth of others which they are apt to feel who themselves hold truth most sacred." American reviewers judged Martineau as a traveler in their country and tended to discuss the issues of democracy, slavery and religious freedom.

Major quarterlies like the *Edinburgh, Quarterly* and *London & Westminster*, failed to review *Society* until *Retrospect* came out in 1838 and then reviewed the two works together. A few lesser journals like the (American) *Methodist Quarterly Review* often delayed longer, waiting until 1846.<sup>5</sup>

On 5 June, Macready called and drove Martineau to his home at Elstree, "talking the whole way." After hearing his children's prayers, they walked in the garden and passed the evening talking. Next day he and his wife, Catherine, took Martineau to see Ascot, where young Robert Browning spent "the whole day . . . tête-à-tête" with her. Martineau, he told a friend excitedly, "is to give me advice about my worldly concerns, and not before I need it!"<sup>6</sup>

Martineau's attendance at the abolitionists' meeting in Boston deeply impressed Macready, and he named her a "fine-minded woman." Yet her "advocacy of the restoration of the rights of women," or what "she would have in point of political power [and] for what?" puzzled him. Martineau stayed with the Macreadys again on 3 July before going to Norwich and was back in London to meet James on the 8<sup>th</sup>. (William IV had died on 20 June, and James was to join a deputation of Presbyterian ministers to present an address to the new Queen on her accession).<sup>7</sup> Martineau, Elizabeth Barrett reported on 22 July, was writing that kings had ceased to be necessary evils, -- & above all when the beneficent King of Hanover [Victoria's uncle, the former Duke of Cumberland] is taking it into his 'royal consideration', whether his 'subjects servants & vassals' shall wear chains or not.

In her autobiography, however, Martineau described going with her mother and Aunt Lee to the little-known ceremony of "the [new] Queen presented to her people" on the morning of 20 June. "Scarcely half-a-dozen people" were standing in front of the window at St. James's Palace to see "the young creature, in the simplest mourning, with her sleek bands of brown hair as plain as her dress."

Before going to the Macreadys' at the beginning of July, Martineau had promised Fanny Wedgwood to come to Clapham to see her new baby, Ernest Hensleigh (later "Bro" or "Erny"). She would settle down, she vowed, after James left, "for a vision of a huge mass of work has risen up before me." Following the appearance of *Society*, Saunders and Otley had asked for "a second work" on America to "have more the character of travel, and be of a lighter quality to both writer and reader." Though "I should have liked to rest," she protested, "this was no sufficient reason for refusing." Saunders and Otley offered £600 plus free copies of the work, and she had "plenty of material" left over from *Society*. Notably, by 31 August she had completed the first volume of *Retrospect* and finished the whole on 1 December.<sup>8</sup>

(The indefatigable Macready continued to note meeting with celebrities, dining at Mrs. Buller's on 11 July with her son Charles, Dickens, Thackeray, John Stuart Mill, Miss Austin and

Harriet and James Martineau. Eleven days later, he recorded: "Sent a note to Miss Martineau, informing her of her box for Monday, inclosing her a book of the "Bridal", and mentioning our purpose of naming our little babe after her).<sup>9</sup>

From Stockbridge, Follen reported the poet James Greenleaf Whittier's liking *Society* -- especially the chapter on property in Part III, "Civilization" (under "Idea of Honor"), declaring the amassing of wealth to be inimical to democracy. Also in July, Martineau wrote to William Tait about reprinting a thousand copies of her "Letter to the Deaf" to be sold for "1d" or given away gratuitously. She would send copies through "Simpkin & Marshall [printers in Westminster], in case of your knowing any deaf persons to whom my hints may be of service." In addition, she and Saunders and Otley had been considering "printing the cheapest possible edition of my 'America'" when the present one sold out. She had *tried* to keep costs down, "but nobody here but Knight seems to see the true principle of bookselling." It would probably be printed in double columns, in a single volume. "As for the review in your Mag<sup>ne</sup>, I never suspected you of being in any way concerned in it," she added diplomatically.<sup>10</sup>

Martineau's own recent success had not helped her to find a publisher for William Ware's *Palmyra Letters*. The commercial crisis in Britain was "only less disastrous" than that in America (triggered by President Jackson's war against the Bank of the United States), she warned, the book trade being "always the first to suffer." No responsible publisher, she went on ingenuously, would bring out "any thing but Bulwer's & mine, & Lockhart's Scott," all certain to sell. Henry Ware, she knew, had written unsuccessfully to the London printer Kinder, but "if Rich<sup>d</sup> Kinder prints as finely as the recording angel, it is all no use when people are too poor or too much alarmed to buy."

Acting for Ware, she turned down an offer from the non-paying *Metropolitan Magazine* and advised him to wait until the next season, "Nov<sup>br</sup> till July." Publishers like Colburn and Bentley were "liberal *in promises*" but could prove unfaithful even to the "grandees of literature [and] cruel to novices." In her own case, the sale of *Society* had been "beyond that of any other book this season," and she recapitulated her profit of £1,000 in cash and copies and half the profits in America "(w<sup>h</sup> will be stolen from us)" and of all future editions in Britain. Saunders and Otley, in addition to their astonishing request for a second book on America, wanted "a novel in the spring." Now she was to "pour a flood of writing into our best Quarterly," the *London and Westminster*, "whose proprietors have been seized with a sudden desire that I sh<sup>d</sup> do all I can for them, since the appearance of my book has shown them that I am still a radical. As further proof of her eminence, a "Florentine artist" wanted to make a bust of her -- and there was "no use in putting it off." To escape lionizing over her book, she had been "rusticating" in the country for six weeks.

Suddenly modest, Martineau turned to that "wonderful personage, the Rev<sup>d</sup> James . . . wiser, serener, more religious & merry than ever . . . prosperous in every way." When Macready recently dined in Fludyer Street, she went on, "he brought the news of his wife having been confined in the morning" but was as unwilling to leave as Ware had been "that April eve on a similar occasion." Of other tidbits for Ware -- the romantic young Queen had shed tears over her "workhouse stories," but through Lord Durham, Martineau had "obviated the offer of a pension." Channing had sent "numerous & strong & exquisitely kind" letters --

and how were other mutual friends in Massachusetts?<sup>11</sup> Jane Carlyle reported to her husband in Scotland on the sale of *Sartor Resartus*:

Harriet Martineau has absolutely set up a thriving trade on that sole singular item! She has imported what Mr. Darwin calls a *houseful* of copies," which she is selling off at fifty per cent! the profits [I understand] being considered as pertaining to you. One copy I have received from her *in gift*!

Jane, though, lent her copy to Carlyle's admirer, the French revolutionary republican Eléonore Louis Godefroy Cavaignac, and did not expect to see it again).<sup>12</sup>

*Society* had come out in New York at the end of June. American reviewers judged Martineau as a traveler in their country and tended to discuss issues of democracy, slavery and religious freedom. The Liverpool correspondent of the Whiggish *New Yorker* warned that "On one question, slavery, the Authoress is rabid." Another reviewer mostly backed Martineau's analysis of American society and supported her stand against slavery. From Maine to Ohio and Kentucky, newspapers and journals had already tantalized readers with short excerpts from the work. Both Garrison's *Liberator* and the *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine* of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York hailed *Society*. Flash's Book Store in Cincinnati advertised the work for sale in July.

The *American Monthly Magazine* of New York pondered Europeans' habit of fussing over American morals, like parents over a grown child. Yet Martineau was right to censure Americans' lack of intellectual independence and the tyranny exercised by the majority, noticed by de Tocqueville, and her remarks would help to stir up American independence. She was "the most candid . . . profound and judicious tourist that has yet written upon our institutions" with the exception of La Trobe (who accompanied Washington Irving on a tour of the prairies). However, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Ladies' Companion* pointed to inaccuracies, the latter complaining that Martineau had been "abominably imposed upon by stories which never had an existence."<sup>13</sup>

(Carlyle read *Society in America* "for the good Authoress's sake." Emerson finished the first volume growling that the work did not equal Plutarch, but reading on, he came to admire Martineau's courage and rectitude, her genius for talking "copiously & elegantly" of familiar subjects and her frank womanliness "in the superfluous tenderness for the fine boy & the snug farmhouse & other privacies").<sup>14</sup>

When Catharine Sedgwick received her copy on 27 July, she soon had reason to feel offended. Under "Utterance," in Part III, Martineau had censured both American journals and American writers, claiming that the *American Quarterly Review* of Philadelphia showed a triteness of morals and a "dearth of thought." Sedgwick's novels had "moral beauty" but "great and irretrievable faults as works of art." Sedgwick, she charged, had sacrificed artistic integrity for social approval when she cut an episode showing a happy Sunday sailing trip. Under "Spirit of Religion" in Part IV, Martineau declared that asceticism such as refraining from pleasure on the Sabbath led to overreaction and licentiousness in large portions of America.<sup>15</sup>

With a review in the Congregationalist and Presbyterian *Literary and Theological Review* of New York, a tide of critical reaction against *Society* began to gather in America. Possibly written by the erudite editor, Leonard Woods, the review mocked Martineau's erroneous views of women's rights, slavery, political parties and religion and sneered at her style and "mental

and moral philosophy." A review in the *American Quarterly Review*, possibly by editor Robert Walsh, responded to Martineau's pointing to the "triteness" of his journal's morals as well as to its "dearth of thought amidst a good deal of cleverness." Martineau was the tool of "a nest of poisonous radicals," trying to infect America with "demoralizing Malthusian and agrarian principles," he charged. Misreading [on purpose?] her mild strictures on American prisons and asylums, he raged at her daring to lecture Americans.

In October the editor of the *North American Review*, Harvard professor and former Unitarian clergyman John Gorham Palfrey, attacked Martineau's reliability as a witness after she had ridiculed his journal's fawning book reviews. In November, the novelist William Gilmore Simms, nominally reviewing *Society* for the *Southern Literary Messenger* of Richmond, penned a lengthy justification of slavery quoting Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* on "order and degree." Africans, he argued, were better off than they had been in Africa and the institution was producing a superior race of mulattos. Caleb Stetson in the *Christian Examiner* of Boston, also in November, praised *Society* while defending the clergy for not taking a stand against slavery.

At last in December, Martineau's admirer James Freeman Clarke (who had travelled from Louisville to Lexington in 1835, partly to meet her) answered detractors in his *Western Messenger*. While admitting the work's weakness of organization he defended Martineau's strong opinions and called her descriptions the best he had read on America. Bostonians and Unitarians, he added, were only howling from injured vanity.<sup>16</sup>

The unfavorable reviews of *Society* rankled with Martineau. In her autobiography she attributed *Society's* unpopularity to the "metaphysical framework and the abstract treatment" of facts and impressions (essentially an innovative sociological method of generalization followed by anecdotal example). She had been naive, she claimed, to rely on American theory and on the "American method of dissertation or preaching." Moreover, she had been "full of Carlylism, like the friends I had left in the Western world."<sup>17</sup>

In late August, Martineau and her mother went to stay with the Bellenden Kers in their Swiss cottage, "the most beautiful that ever was built in England," she told the Wares; her bedroom opened into the garden from "a gallery w<sup>h</sup> had creepers & roses clustering round its pillars." Dining with Empson at Haileybury they gossiped about Lockhart's printing of letters that had "lowered Scott's fame." Surprisingly, in light of Martineau's future insistence on the privacy of letters, she argued that Lockhart was "right in giving us all if anything." Of Macaulay's essay on Bacon in the July *Edinburgh* Martineau opined that "Macaulay has no depth, but much glitter."<sup>18</sup>

Letters from Ware and the Follens reported "the whole newspaper press and public" to be out against her and that Sedgwick was hurt by her footnote in Part IV. Follen's news of American political parties roused Martineau's enthusiasm, but she was puzzled at feeling "less joyous than usual this summer," though the Kers and their friends took a lively interest in her work. Just as she finished the first volume of *Retrospect*, Col. Charles Richard Fox came to dinner with a "motto" for the final chapter from his father, Lord Holland (Fox was Holland's illegitimate son and MP for Stroud). The motto, to be prefixed to the chapter "Mount Vernon", was from the Duke of Buckingham on Lord Fairfax and read:

He might have been a king  
 But that he understood  
 How much it was a meaner thing  
 To be unjustly great than honorably good.

Over the next few days, Martineau put aside *Retrospect* to prepare her shipboard journal from the *Orpheus* for publication in the *Penny Magazine*. Working intensely every day, on 6 September she turned down an invitation to come out into the sunshine. Later she confessed to the Kers that she was "discouraged by ignorance and mistake at every turn" and began to cry uncontrollably. Next, dipping into Gibbon's autobiography she reacted with fury to his scheme for adopting a young woman, molding her like "a piece of soft wax" and marrying her off to a Swiss. Celibacy was bad, "especially for men," she wrote in her diary, and she dreaded "a single literary life, so selfish, so vain and blind."

"A Month at Sea" was finished on 7 September, she went "blackberrying" and closed her diary entry "I love a real field." Martineau's next task was writing an account of the Shakers, but she felt nervous and over-tired and determined to rest for a day or two. She and the Kers talked over changes of fashion in painting and "strong reasoners" like Samuel Johnson. On Sunday, she and her hostess and Lady Mary Fox discussed housemaids -- Elizabeth Ker oddly taking Martineau seriously about becoming her maid. On the drive back to London with the Kers on the 14th (Elizabeth had left earlier), Martineau relayed gossip about children heard from her titled friends. Finally, a letter from Channing awaiting her at Fluyder Street seemed "partly wise and partly mistaken." That evening she read her latest letters aloud to her mother and thought about herself: staying with the cosmopolitan Kers had made her feel "how small a space" her labors filled.<sup>19</sup>

Recovering her good spirits, Martineau trilled to Ware that she had been reading Chaucer "among the roses in the gallery" on the Sunday his letter came, "& what was all Chaucer to you at that moment?" Why had the Wares not received *Society* with their "dear names" on a fly leaf? Letters from other "Amer<sup>n</sup> intimates" satisfied her about the book, the "newspaper abuse" being "temporary [and] absurd." The last half of Ware's *Letters from Palmyra* delighted her mother, and Louisa Jeffery had notice "to send for her copy." However, English booksellers pirated by Americans were taking a dim view of "paying for Amer<sup>n</sup> books." She invited Charles Knight to tea to ask his advice about publishing Ware's work, but Ware must be warned "how our taxes enhance the cost & risk of getting books out here." Ironically, "every scrap" she wrote was "bid for." She was keeping "immensely busy" and was happy if a little frightened at what she had taken on. Her last book caused the proprietors of "the noble London & West<sup>t</sup> Review" to beg her "to make it the vehicle" of her moral philosophy to address "the great topics" of the day.

Her first was to be the Queen over which there had been "a great consultation . . . as a manifesto of the review as to the sovereign & the new reign." Hence "my article stands as I wrote it" (perhaps a fatal error on Martineau's part). Moreover, the proprietors were "so in love with Miss Sedgwick" from *Society*, they begged for a review that she would "begin tomorrow." She dared say she would "have two articles in every N<sup>o</sup>."<sup>20</sup>

One morning in the past week (she went on to Ware), she had earned Knight's "'Gallery of Portraits,' the 7 vols of w<sup>h</sup> are now glittering before my eyes." Next morning, she earned "the Cyclopedia"--the "only way" she could buy books, "by writing, not paying money." *Retrospect*, she explained, was being written "for England, not Amer<sup>a</sup>," but might well "be read there too." Now her publishers wanted a novel, "against May." Yet she had "been obliged to refuse some very nice & useful work" and would not kill herself in the pursuit of "fame or wealth." She remembered Waltham (in Massachusetts, where the Wares now lived) and had "spent a very pleasant day there," but she wished "they w<sup>d</sup> pay you better." Ware might still find a position "in literature & preaching" in England. James, for example, taught mathematics and other subjects to young people and earned "about £600 a year." Strangely, Ware hadn't mentioned the American commercial distress. In England *she* worried about "our poor little queen! [who was] as good as c<sup>d</sup> be expected," but people demanded too much of an eighteen-year old girl. Did he hear anything of the Furnesses? Or about Cambridge people? for "I love them so dearly."<sup>21</sup>

The next week -- as Martineau recorded in her diary -- she "bustled" about in her library to make room for the *Quarterly Review* (a run?), to study for the sake of its "exquisite literary articles." In the evening they entertained friends -- Carlyle making people laugh by calling scientific men "quacks." Yet she *wished* he had "more sympathy and less cynicism." During a call from American journalist David Lee Child she heard that Americans in Paris were "frantic" against her and *Society*, and he expected the South to rise on the question of the admission of Texas.

"Revelled in Lamb's letters," Martineau recorded in her diary one Sunday. "What an exquisite specimen is that man of our noble, wonderful, frail humanity!" In the evening Elizabeth listened to Martineau's article on Sedgwick. Monday brought high spirits over the "influx and variety" of her work. Asked to support a "Woman's Friend" scheme to depend mainly on *her*, she resolved she would, though it meant "entering new bondage" and "sacrificing my novel." Prudently, after a "private note of inquiry" about the scheme's organizer, she determined not to accept.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> free for a quarter-day, Martineau worked on *Retrospect* feeling she loved life in her study, all alone with her books and her thoughts. Meeting John Sterling at the Carlyles', she thought he seemed "so wise, so cheerful, so benignant!" though he was next door to death. When she quizzed Carlyle about *his* "deplorably dismal" views of happiness, he could only refer her to the New Testament's "Worship of Sorrow."

Madge of the Octagon chapel then came for tea bringing "*expensive* American letters from Liverpool" including hate mail over *Society* -- clippings of abuse from newspapers and "whole blank sheets of paper." Robert Sedgwick sent "a vindication of his sister" and antislavery documents including Angelina Grimké's account of the "intellectual achievements of the blacks." Reading Pascal's *Pensées* that evening made Martineau feel sins may justly stay hidden.

To see Macready in *The Bridal*, she took places for the 6<sup>th</sup> of October at Covent Garden (lavishly restored and reopened under his management). Working on the second volume of *Retrospect*, she relived the "delicious" Mississippi voyage. Then just as she was starting the chapter on Madison, a "glorious letter" from the Follens came with criticisms of *Society* that were "mostly just, . . . honest, pure and wise!" Reading news of the (American) national bank,

North-South friction and Channing's letter to Clay on Texas led her to write in her diary that "Americans may always be trusted to do right *in time*."

On the 6th, perhaps buoyed by the prospect of seeing Macready perform that night, she wrote to Robert Sedgwick to make a "public atonement to Catharine." In the *Spectator* after supper, she saw "a shameful article against the abolitionists" and next day wrote a reply. Printed the following week, the editor countered that slaves were essential to the growing of cotton, sugar and rice.<sup>22</sup>

Another envelope with insulting verses from America cost Martineau 3s.2d. but writing fourteen pages of "Country Life in the South" in one day gave her a flush of satisfaction. "Authorship," she told herself, was "better than any holiday." On the 10th, she was mildly pleased with the first proof of *Retrospect* and mulled over Channing's remark that *Society* was "a mere book of travels" though she knew she had influenced his crucial letter on Texas. The 12th was "a bustling day" of writing letters, but "not a line" of her book. Word from the *Westminster* that her article on Queen Victoria had been "postponed" surprised and angered her, and she unburdened herself to the Follens. After she had sent a "prospectus on the rights of unmarried women" to several friends, "E." and her children came to dinner. Writing again to the editor of the *Spectator* she challenged his mistakes regarding the Colonization Society and slavery. On the 19th Henry Crabb Robinson came to dinner, and they talked of authors and biography. Martineau liked his opinions of people, which agreed with hers. Repeating the sentiment she had expressed about Scott as shown in his letters, she maintained that it was better "to have truth than any particular kind of opinion of great people."<sup>23</sup>

Confirming Martineau's celebrity status, Turnbull (affiliated with the Haymarket theatre?) called on 23 October with an invitation from James Sheridan Knowles to accept "a stage-box for his new comedy at the Haymarket." After reading Whately's "not particularly striking" review of Jane Austen, Martineau *thought* she could write a novel, though "a thousand things" in Scott and Austen she could never do.<sup>24</sup>

Martineau must just have read over the *London & Westminster* when she wrote to James eleven days later. Identifying contributors, she pronounced Mill's article ("Parties and the Ministry") "glorious" though Harriet Grote called it "ungrateful to the radicals" and George Grote "weak and preposterous." Robertson, the editor, wanted James to write an article on the Catholics for the journal, and he was annoyed that *her* article on the Queen was "withheld." Thanks to Macready's kindness in allowing her to use the stage box, she and "Erasmus Darwin and Browning [?] and Mrs. Reid" went to see him as *Iago*, at Covent Garden.<sup>25</sup>

Determining next day to write her chapter on Channing for *Retrospect*, Martineau was stung by a note from Ware praising her "invention" at the expense of the "scientific." However, she was "moved, roused, soothed, and consoled" by Emerson's oration "The American Scholar." On 10 November, Crabb Robinson brought good news -- the American president had declared against the annexation of Texas. In her diary, Martineau asked rhetorically: "How much have Mr. Child and I and Dr. Channing, in succession, had to do with this?" That night going to the Carlyles' (probably with Erasmus Darwin), she saw "the aurora" in the sky and added to her diary: "Everyone should look at the sky in the middle of November. It is a shame to miss these sky-sights."<sup>26</sup>



Martineau's London life barely gave pause for catching a breath. As she worked to finish *Retrospect*, she sometimes missed a walk, then worried both about staying well and being "selfish about health." On November 24<sup>th</sup>, she went to see *Werner*, skillfully adapted by Macready from Byron's original. Afterwards, Macready came to her box door "all glittering under his cloak." Sickened by the melodramatic play, she slept badly and next morning was haunted by the lines: "Leave me" and "I would not have you go forth without protection." On the 25<sup>th</sup>, she resolutely corrected proof, escaped for a walk and met Charles Buller. Talking of politics, he termed Macready "a very great actor" but ridiculed authors who gave in to "aristocratic doings." At home she found letters about *Society* from Sir James Mackintosh and Thomas Noon Talfourd. Added letters from "co-operatives" thanked her for writing of the Shakers while sending more books and papers.

On Monday the 27<sup>th</sup>, Crabb Robinson confessed "he did not care if he never saw Carlyle again, [he] talked so against anti-slavery and philanthropic exertions." On that day Martineau went to Covent Garden with her brother Robert to see *Macbeth*.

Next day, she received "an immense letter" from Margaret Fuller, "sad about herself" but severe on *Society*. While seeing "much mistake" in Fuller's letter, Martineau was hurt. That evening when several Americans came to her party, she "talked a great deal," perhaps justifying her book. A shipment of books for the blind having arrived at Fluyder Street, Martineau pondered her current life -- a worthwhile task would be to get the books introduced, but why was she so driven to write her own book?<sup>27</sup>

On 1 December as she finished the writing and revising of *Retrospect*, Martineau felt relieved. The American condemnation of *Society* had surprised and hurt her. Now she had learned that the "misconduct" of Saunders's agent in New York would mean the loss of profit on *Retrospect*. Helping her gloom, Richard Martineau then brought her £1,020 in banknotes to be invested. Having recorded the serial numbers, she locked them away and hoped (drily) that the house would have no burglars that week. In a domestic mood, she mended linen "with gusto" while trying not to think about a paper she had promised to *The Christian Teacher*.

In early December, a Mr. Brewster, "one of the seven liberals of the kirk of Scotland" (i.e., a tiny minority) came to tell her of his opposition to church-rates. Browning, whom she liked, came to tea and sent "an original copy, very venerable," of *Robinson Crusoe* -- which she resolved to read again. Quaker Mrs. Opie called, showing a "spice of dandyism yet in the demure peculiarity of her dress." Letters from Lord Durham defended Czar Nicholas over persecution of the Poles (in July 1835 Durham had accepted an appointment to St. Petersburg). Saunders mooted a scheme to send the printed sheets of *Retrospect* (after Volume 1?) to America by packet to forestall piracy, but she did not know an American publisher she could ask.

At a "gay party" in early December, Martineau met a "tattooed, and gentlemanly looking" New Zealand chief in rooms "beautifully dressed with evergreen and flowers. "O, how tired I was!" she ended in her diary. Late on the 10<sup>th</sup> a note from Fanny Wedgwood arrived to say her husband was no longer able to "struggle against his conviction of the unlawfulness of oaths" and was resigning his post as a stipendiary magistrate. "Such a testimony to the supremacy of conscience ought to make one rejoice," Martineau noted in her diary. Next morning, she dashed off a note to Fanny, who was taking her children to stay with Hensleigh's father at Maer in Staffordshire. She would call alone on Tuesday, if Fanny preferred, or with

Erasmus, "that I may arrange for getting home at night." Just now her "head and heart" were too full to say more.<sup>28</sup>

One evening, Martineau read aloud Southey's article on British "Monachism" in the *Quarterly*. Southey's praise for Lady Isabella King's institution led her to dream of unmarried women living "in a sort of club-house, enjoying comfort and luxury, rather than dispersed in poverty among boarding-houses and schools," with no "distinction among rich and poor" and no royal patronage. Having vowed to write about it, she darned stockings and brushed her gown and cloak tails. Then Saunders appeared, asking "Did you not once say, ma'am, that you should like to edit a periodical?" The scheme could set all "women forward at once into the rank of men of business." Talking it over with her mother and aunt, she then consulted Richard Martineau and James.

Martineau later joined the Macreadys in their box at Covent Garden for a performance of a new opera, some of "the airs" soon to be sung all over England. *Joan of Arc* followed [suitably, about female heroism]. "Scenery splendid. [Yet] I had the thought of the periodical at my heart all the evening." Next day, having decided she *could* accept Saunders's offer, she made a list of queries -- not expecting his agreement about "money for contributors."

On 13 December, Martineau walked to Chelsea to dine with the Carlyles. Jane was "looking pretty, in a black velvet high dress and blond collar," and she and Jane gossiped for two hours about "divers [scandalous] domestic doings of literary people." The Carlyles were sensible and knew "what domestic life ought to be," she concluded. Carlyle wished to introduce her to Edward Sterling, editor of *The Times*, but (having been maligned by his newspaper), she pointedly declined. Leigh Hunt and Richard Hengist (formerly Henry) Horne came to tea at Fluyder Street.<sup>29</sup>

On the 14th, Martineau sat up until after ten at night pondering suitable subjects for the new periodical and producing "a sheet full" for Saunders. In the morning of the 16th, she reread her two-part story, *The Loom and the Luggar* (on silk-weavers and "protection") and felt sadly disappointed. Despite "capital material," the presentation was "not simple enough." At one o'clock, a Mr. Finlaison travelled with her into the City "about my annuity business," he, gossiping about the high incomes of Norfolk clergymen. Taking up her "schedule" from the national debt office, the two proceeded to the bank — Martineau's *first visit* there. "What a bewildering suite of large rooms, full of busy men!" she recorded in her diary. After Finlaison dealt with the clerk, he thrust nearly £1,000 worth of notes into her hand "as if they had been waste-paper," and she watched the weighing of the gold and the "shovelling into bags" carried off by the porter. Having a deferred annuity of £100 already, Martineau now bought for £906,1s 3d, a twelve years' annuity of £95, 7s 6d. "[P]aid over yearly to the national debt office," it would purchase an annuity of £100 to begin in April 1850. The prompt first payment to the national debt office pleased her.

In the afternoon at Fluyder Street, Martineau mended her satin gown for the Grotes' "pleasant" party of "mostly M.P.'s." Hearing that James *opposed* the plan for her to edit a journal, she accepted his advice almost with relief. "*Rest, reading, thinking*," she told herself, was what she really wanted, "and a new enterprise (a novel)." That evening she read through *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. To James on the 21st, she gossiped that "Robertson would not have relinquished the Glasgow moral philosophy professorship, had he known the influence

dominant in the editorship" of the *London & Westminster*, i.e., Harriet Taylor's. She had doubtless been at the bottom of the "queer treatment of Harriet's article on the Queen," James thought, but would not "care to meddle" with his Catholic article.

Before Christmas, Martineau pored over Knight's *Pictorial Bible*, sermons and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with its "abominable submission" of Katherine. Robert Owen called; he had had an audience with Metternich in Austria (one of Martineau's anti-heroes). "Wrote five long letters. Wrote too much and had a slight sick-headache at night" she recorded. On 23 December, Browning called to say he had decided not to add "preface and notes" to *Sordello*. Approvingly, she countered that he must choose between being an historian or a poet. Letters from Channing, Ellis Gray Loring and Lydia Maria Child brought disheartening news about antislavery efforts in America including the heroic death of antislavery printer Elijah P. Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois.<sup>30</sup>

On Christmas day the "Polish children" came to dinner. Martineau took them to her study to show "American views" (perhaps stereoscopic pictures) and coins and told them about Niagara. They tried to tell her about their school and their house in Warsaw, where they played in the park at the back and their mother let down a bottle of water for them on a piece of tape (intimate details like those in Martineau's stories). At the Kers' dinner party on 27 December, Martineau met "Colonel Fox, Captain Beaufort [later Rear-Admiral Sir Francis, hydrographer for the Admiralty, "an old friend" whom she was to eulogize for his contribution to nautical science], Eastlake [later Sir Charles, first director of the National Gallery] and a Mr. Pettit." The conversation turned to amusing remarks by children or socially critical servants. Martineau must have described her draft of "How to Observe" and next day Ker begged her to "write" it. He also urged her to read Smollett "for his *force*," but Smollett disgusted her utterly (a recent edition of Smollett's novels featured illustrations by George Cruikshank). Instead, she read Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* and was disappointed by its "matter-of-factness" as compared to *Robinson Crusoe*. Most of all, she wanted to rest and to "keep out of the public view" until her novel was ready. At night, she tallied her accounts for 1837: her income had come to just over £270 and her expenditure to just over £260. "Went to bed very tired," she ended.

On New Year's Eve, bright weather brought children into the park and water birds splashed in the ponds. Yet Martineau's second holiday season at home in England seemed subdued -- she missed American friends who made her a center of attention. "Surely, if we meet hereafter, we shall not be subject to these impracticable separations," she noted in her diary. She had survived censure for *Society* and nerved herself to go on without "longing or repining" as people with an "aged parent" needed to do. Indeed, Martineau's role as an interpreter and champion of the United States had just begun.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Society in America* was reprinted by Saunders and Otley at least three times in London up to 1839, three times in New York in 1837, and in Paris in 1837 and 1842: see Rivlin 136-39; HM to WJF, 13 May 1837, CL 1: 346-47; FW to Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood, 25 May 1837, UKL.

<sup>2</sup> *Auto*. 2: 101-102.

<sup>3</sup> *Athen.*, 13 May 1837: 337-39; "Miss Martineau's Society in America," *Spec.*, 13 May 1837: 447-49; [Jerdan] *Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, etc.*, 279 (13 May

1837): 297-98 (Macready had seen the article before going to Fludyer Street, where he "knew no one, but passed a cheerful evening": *Macready*, Toynbee 1: 393); Benjamin Disraeli, *The Times*, 30 May 1837: 5, col. 5; "Society in America. By H.M., Author of Illustrations of Political Economy," *Monthly Review* 2 (June 1837): 233-50; *MR* 11 (June 1837): 382; "Miss Martineau on America," *Chambers's*, 24 June 1837: 171-72.

<sup>4</sup> William Molesworth, "Life in the Penal Colonies," *L & WR* 5 and 27 (July 1837): 78-94; Christian Johnstone, "Miss Martineau's Society in America and Grund's American Society," *Tait's* 4 n.s. (July 1837): 404-24 [Francis Joseph Grund, *The Americans, in their Moral, Social and Political Relations* (London: Longman, 1837)]; *British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record* 22 (July 1837): 359-76.

<sup>5</sup> Frederick Marryat, Introduction, *A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1839) 4; for Combe, see chap. 22, note 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Macready*, Toynbee 398-99; Robert Browning to Euphrasia Fanny Howorth, [1 July 1837], *The Brownings' Correspondence*, ed. Philip Kelley and Ronald Hudson (Winfield, KS: Wedgestone, 1985) 3: 256.

<sup>7</sup> Drummond and Upton 1: 93-94.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Barrett [Browning] to Mary Russell Mitford, 22 July 1837, *Brownings' Correspondence* 3: 261 (Martineau's sentiments may have been expressed in a letter as well as in her unpublished article on the queen written for the *London & Westminster*); HM to FW, [early morning, 1] July 1837, *HM/FW* 2-3; *Auto.* 2: 119.

<sup>9</sup> *Macready*, Toynbee 1: 388; *Macready*, Pollock 423.

<sup>10</sup> Follen to HM, 10 July 1837, *The Works of Charles Follen* 1: 453 (see *SA* 3: 37-53); HM to William Tait, 10 and 16 July 1837, UCL, Ogden MS 101 and *CL* 2: 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> HM to William Ware, 14 July 1837, *CL* 2: 2-5; Richard Kinder, "master printer" in Great New Street, Shoe Lane, London (*SL* 240, note 46); (Ware's book was published by Bentley in 1837 and 1838 and by W. and R. Chambers in 1839 and 1851 as well as in numerous American editions).

<sup>12</sup> JWC to TC, [17 July 1837], *Carlyle Letters* 9: 246-52.

<sup>13</sup> *Society in America* (New York: Saunders and Otley, 1837); [revs.] *Maine Monthly Magazine* 1 (June 1837): 561-66; *New Yorker* 3 (24 June 1837): 212 and 221; Lexington (Kentucky) *Intelligencer*, 4 (27 June 1837); *Liberator*, 30 June and 14 July 1837: 108 and 116; *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, 2 (July 1837); *American Monthly Magazine* [vol. 1] 10 n.s. (July 1837): 88-94, [vols. 2-3] (August 1837): 190-93; *Monthly Review* 2 (June 1837): 233-50; Charles Joseph La Trobe, *The Rambler in North America: 1832-1833* (London: R.B. Seeley, W. Burnside, etc.; 1835); *Gentleman's Magazine* 1 (July 1837): 76; *Ladies' Companion* 7 (July 1837): 152; see also, Maumee City (Ohio) *Express*, 1 (15 July 1837).

<sup>14</sup> TC to RWE, 1 June 1837, *Carlyle Letters* 9: 218-21; RWE, 8 August 1837, *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Merton M. Sealts, Jr. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1965) 5: 354-55.

<sup>15</sup> In the second edition of *Society*, Martineau suppressed the footnote about Sedgwick's alteration of her text (3: 261), but after slighting Sedgwick in the October 1837 *London & Westminster* (see chap. 9, note 8), Martineau seemed surprised when Sedgwick broke off their correspondence.

<sup>16</sup> [Leonard Woods], *Literary and Theological Review* 4 (September 1837): 445-68; [Robert Walsh], *American Quarterly Review* 22 (September 1837): 21-53; John Gorham Palfrey, *North American Review* 45 (October 1837): 418-60; Caleb Stetson, *Christian Examiner* 23 (November 1837): 226-51; William Gilmore Simms, "Miss Martineau on Slavery," *Southern Literary Messenger* 3 (November 1837): 641-57 (reprinted as a pamphlet: *Slavery in America, Being a Brief Review of Miss Martineau on That Subject* [Richmond, 1838]; Simms often cited his review in letters); James Freeman Clarke, "Miss Martineau's Society in America," *Western Messenger* 4 (December 1837): 255-60; for Martineau's remarks on the *North American Review*, *American Quarterly*, *Southern Review* and *Knickerbocker*, see SA 3: 205-23; see Seat, 263-82.

<sup>17</sup> *Auto.* 2: 103-4.

<sup>18</sup> HM to Wares, 15 September 1837, *CL* 2: 6-8; *Auto.* 3: 188-223 [diary entries refer to 1837, misdated by Chapman 1839]; the Kers' cottage was at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire (the quiet retreat "17 miles off" from London may have prodded Martineau to begin keeping a diary of daily events, thoughts and sometimes conversations at dinners and tête-à-têtes that she kept up for five years); *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: Cadell; London: Murray and Whittaker) began to appear in 1837; T.B. Macaulay, "Lord Bacon," *ER* 65 (July 1837): 1-104.

<sup>19</sup> *Auto.* 3: 190-92; HM to William Ware, 15 September 1837, *CL* 2: 6-8; *RWT* 1: 311; despite having declared *Society* would "ruin" her, Martineau seemed surprised at the angry reviews which must have caused her tears; for "A Month at Sea," see chap. 14, note 21; *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Edward Gibbon, Esq. Composed by Himself, and Illustrated by and from his Letters and Journal*, ed. John Lord Sheffield (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1827) 1: 289; Martineau may have written an article on the Shakers for the *Penny Magazine*.

<sup>20</sup> HM to William Ware, 15 September 1837, *CL* 2: 6-8; Martineau's boast of her article on the Queen proved too sanguine; for the review of Sedgwick, cf. note 15.

<sup>21</sup> *The Gallery of Portraits with Memoirs* [Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge] 27 vols. (London: Charles Knight, 1833-43) meant to place good quality (engraved) portraits "within the reach of the public at large," printed in large type and comprised of authors, artists, musicians, scientists, philosophers and religious and political figures (Vol. 1 of twenty-four names began with Dante, Sir Humphry Davy and Kosciusko and included Milton, Moliere and Scottish philosopher George Buchanan ending with Nicholas Poussin, William Harvey and Sir Joseph Banks); *The Penny Cyclopædia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* 30 vols. (London: Charles Knight, 1833); both sets probably figured in Martineau's future writing.

<sup>22</sup> *Auto.* 3: 192-96 (a running selection from Martineau's diary for autumn 1837); Child was the author of a pamphlet, *The Texan Revolution*, and later editor with his wife, Lydia Maria Child, of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*; the *Quarterly* began publication in 1809; *The Letters of*

*Charles Lamb, with a Sketch of his Life*, by Thomas Noon Talfourd (London: Moxon, 1837); *The Bridal*, an adaptation by James Sheridan Knowles of *The Maid's Tragedy* by Beaumont and Fletcher; "White and Black in the United States" *Spec.*, 7 October 1837: 948-49; [HM?], "Condition and Prospects of the Negroes in the United States," *Spec.*, 14 October 1837: 971-73.

<sup>23</sup> *Auto.* 3: 196-99; "Country Life in the South," *RWT* 2: 36-62; William E. Channing, *A Letter to the Hon. Henry Clay on the Annexation of Texas to the United States* (Boston: J. Munroe, 1837) on the legal and moral inadmissibility of annexing Texas as a state; "E" is not identified; "White and Black in the United States," *Spec.*, 21 October 1837: 991; Martineau echoed these thoughts on truth in biography in her last signed published writing (see chap. 54, note 45).

<sup>24</sup> *Auto.* 3: 199; Richard Whately described modern novels as "copying from nature" ("*Emma*," *QR* 14 [October 1815]: 188-201, and "Modern Novels," 24 [January 1821]: 352-76), concluding primly that "on the whole, Miss Austin's [sic] works may be safely recommended."

<sup>25</sup> HM to JM, 3 November 1837, *HM/FL* 477-78; John Stuart Mill, "Parties and the Ministry," *L & WR* 28 [6 n.s.] (October 1837): 1-26; John Robertson, an enthusiastic Scot supported by John Stuart Mill, had become editor of the *London and Westminster* in April (both men left on the sale of the review in 1840, Martineau continuing to contribute until 1858); James had published "Catholic and Protestant Claims to Infallibility" (*L & WR* 25 [July 1836]: 425-49) and did not write for the journal again until 1847; Macready acted iago at various times and on 1 November 1837 reported "Browning came into my room" (*The Journal of William Charles Macready 1832-1851*, ed. J.C. Trewin [London: Longmans, 1967] 108).

<sup>26</sup> *Auto.* 3: 199-200; RWE, *An Oration, delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, 31 August 1837* (Boston: J. Munroe, 1838); Child's writings on the Texas controversy included the pamphlet republished as *The Taking of Naboth's Vineyard, or History of the Texas Conspiracy* (New York: S. W. Benedict & Company, 1845); Martineau was to remain permanently sensitive about her childish failure to see a comet.

<sup>27</sup> *Auto.* 3: 200-201; Macready, a perfectionist, recorded that he acted Werner "pretty well" (*Macready*, Toynbee [entry for 24 November 1837] 1: 427); Carlyle took violent exception to Martineau's statement in *Society* that the majority was always right but after two weeks complacently conveyed her messages to Emerson; the books must have come from the New England Institution for the Blind in Boston.

<sup>28</sup> *Auto.* 3: 201-203; "The Christian Seer. -- No. I [II, III and IV]," *The Christian Teacher, and Chronicle. Vol. III* (London: Charles Fox, 1837): 532-44, 576-82, 661-70 and 770-? [missing] (personal, moralizing essays citing Channing and quoting *Paracelsus*, *Sartor Resartus*, et al.); HM to FW [17 December 1837] and 19 December 1837, *HM/FW* xiv, 3 and 4 (earlier, Hensleigh resigned his fellowship at Christ's Church, Cambridge, over doubts about the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; the stipendiary magistrate's appointment was found for him when he wished to marry Fanny; like James's rejection of the Regium Donum at Dublin, Hensleigh's act seemed to impress Martineau deeply).

<sup>29</sup> *Auto.* 3: 203-205; [Robert Southey], "British Monachism," *QR*, 22 (November and March 1820): 59-102 (Lady Isabella King's Ladies Association established a home for gentlewomen of varying incomes at Bath, then Bristol, that closed in 1837); for Jane's *early* married miseries at

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Craigenputtoch, however, see K.J. Fielding, "The Cry from Craigenputtoch. A Newly Discovered Account of Jane Carlyle's Early Married Life," *TLS*, 13 August 1999: 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> *Auto.* 3: 205-207; for *The Loom and the Lugger*, nos. 17 and 18 of *Illus. Pol. Econ.*, see chap. 7; HM to JM, 21 December 1837, *HM/FL* 479 (Martineau later resented James's apparent blocking of her career); probably referring to James's "Catholic and Protestant Claims to Infallibility" (see note 25); *The Pictorial Bible . . . Illustrated with . . . Woodcuts . . . To Which Are Added Original Notes [by John Kitto], etc.* 3 vols. (London: Charles Knight, 1836-38); *Sordello* was termed impenetrable by the critics.

<sup>31</sup> *Auto.* 3: 207-209; Elizabeth managed contributions for Bojena and Czeslawa Szyrma (daughters of a refugee Polish doctor) whose mother had died of influenza: see HM to Crabb Robinson, 4 December 1837, and HM to Mrs. J.A. Murray, Monday evg. [Winter 1837-1838], *HM/FL*: 34 and 35; see also Adam Zamoyski, *Holy Madness. Romantics, Patriot and Revolutionaries 1776-1871* (London: Phoenix, 2001); "Rear Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, K.C.B.," *BS* 213-30; **Pettit** has not been identified; for *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, see chap. 9, note 4; Smollett's novels published in London in 1831 included *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, *The Adventures of Roderick Random* and *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*; *A Journal of the Plague Year* (a recent edition of the novels featured illustrations by George Cruikshank); for Chapman's unctuous summary of Martineau's state, see *Auto.* 3: 209-11.