

The Martineau Society

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Martineau Society Subscription Information:

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Editor's Note

After the political, indeed constitutional, confusion of the last few months in the UK, it is pleasant to return to more settled lives, even if the British are to lose quickly many of the close connections we have had for 45 years with our friends in continental Europe.

One of the light reliefs is that we should not lose the European flag nor the emblem on the number plates of our cars. The flag is, of course, that of the Council of Europe which the European Union uses with the Council's permission. The UK is not leaving the Council of Europe.

The young Harriet and James Martineau grew up in times of political confusion. Not only was it the times of the Napoleonic wars but Norwich had the reputation as a gathering place for dissenters and radicals of all kinds. During their young lives in Norwich did they meet the Member of Parliament for Norwich, William Smith (1756 – 1835)? Smith was another Unitarian and known to attend the Octagon Chapel when in Norwich. He was the Member of Parliament for Norwich from 1802 for more than 30 years apart from one short break. He was at the heart of many controversies including support for the early French revolution, the abolition of slavery, the release of the religious restrictions for Unitarians by “Mr. William Smith's Bill” in 1814, the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and, not least, the Great Reform Acts of the 1830s. They must have been very exciting times!

This issue of the *Society Newsletter* contains lovely memories of our two past Presidents, Sophia Hankinson and Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle. Reading the contributions from Shu-Fang Lai and Valerie Doulton will remind us all of the great respect and affection we held for them both. Your editor was recruited into the Society personally by Sophia from among her Unitarian friends. Your editor grew to

know Elisabeth through our Society conferences and her unending support for the Newsletter. No matter where she was in the world, Elisabeth could always be relied upon to respond with an article or a note of interest.

Our thanks to Shu-Fang and Valerie and also to Beth Torgerson for her report on the 2019 Conference, Bob Gamble for an entertaining article on the missing Miss Mitchell and to Gaby Weiner for her review about another mysterious figure in the life of Harriet Martineau and her friends. The mistakes are, without any doubt, those of the editor.

Do enjoy your reading of this *Martineau Society Newsletter*.



Harriet Martineau by S.S. Osgood – J. Martineau

The Martineau Society Conference 2019 at Manchester, United Kingdom

by Beth Torgerson

The Martineau Society Conference was held in Manchester, United Kingdom, from Tuesday, July 23, to Friday, July 26, 2019, at the Chancellors Hotel, a Grade II listed Victorian mansion that was the former residence of Sir Joseph Whitworth. After John Vint, the Chair of the Society welcomed the twenty-three attendees, Alan Fowler gave the opening keynote lecture on Tuesday evening entitled “Manchester: The First Industrial City.” As an economic social historian, Alan offered insights into Manchester’s nineteenth-century history, including information about the causes and consequences of the 1819 Peterloo Massacre, which, with its bicentennial, has been a focus for many Manchester cultural events this summer. Alan clarified how the gathering of 60,000 workers was a peaceful gathering, but the fears of working class rebellion led to the reading of the Riot Act and, ultimately, to the massacre.

Alan emphasized that Manchester’s access to both water and coal helped make it into the world’s first industrial city, and he discussed the immigration of workers from the local villages and the shifting labor force as female hand spinners were replaced by men working the looms and as more children were needed in the factories. He discussed the importance of Marx and Engels’ now famous writings about the situation in Manchester. He talked about how the 1830 opening of the Manchester-Liverpool Railway, the first railroad system, helped the Lancashire textile industries, while noting that the 1882 decision to open the shipping canals was, in part, based on an economic desire to cut out Liverpool. Alan noted, in reality, that the two cities were and are still economically tied, even as an increasing rivalry has emerged as seen through today’s rival football teams.

For 20th century history, Alan included information about the suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst demonstrating originally in front of Manchester’s Free Trade Hall, the first World War and the resultant loss of trade, Gandhi’s visit to Lancashire, the post-war boom, and the current status of the textile industry. Alan recommended two books for further reading: Alan Kidd and Terry Wyke’s *Manchester: Making the Modern City* (Liverpool UP, 2016) and Terry Wyke, Brian Robson, and Martin Dodge’s *Manchester: Mapping the City* (Birlinn, 2018). Dinner followed.

Ten forty-five minute presentations were spread over the course of the next three days, with guided tours, meals, and other events adding variety to the conference. The morning of Wednesday, July 24th, started with an organized tour of the Elizabeth Gaskell House, 84 Plymouth Grove, where we were divided into two groups to accommodate the space. Each group toured the Morning Room, the Drawing Room, the Dining Room, William Gaskell’s Study, and the Exhibition Room. Conference goers appreciated viewing the smaller table facing the windows in the dining room that Elizabeth Gaskell is known to have used as her writing desk. Following the tour, we had a lovely tea at the Gaskell House.

Upon our return to the Chancellors Hotel, Iain Crawford presented on “The Sickness and Health of the People of Bleaburn’: Harriet Martineau’s Forgotten Contribution to *Household Words*.” This story was Martineau’s first contribution to *Household Words*, published in 1850, the year in which Dickens asked numerous women writers to contribute, including both Elizabeth Gaskell and Harriet Martineau. Iain noted that Dickens did not particularly like the fictional story of Mary Pickard, which Martineau based on the real-life activism of Mary Lovell Ware, an American Unitarian abolitionist, and that, whereas the first part was offered as the lead piece, the later parts were “buried” much deeper within the periodical. Iain contextualized Martineau and Dickens by discussing how each helped shape early Victorian journalism and the press, how each had a role to play in the shaping of liberal society with their respective liberal ideologies, and how this particular story, viewed in its larger context, shows how each contributed to the transatlantic conversation on the topic of women’s activism. To develop this latter point, Iain demonstrated how the three-way correspondence among Anne Bent Ware (Mary’s daughter), Dickens, and Martineau shows their differing responses to the issue of fictionalizing historic figures for their own purposes. Iain made the well-received announcement that this paper as well as an earlier Martineau Society conference presentation will appear within his forthcoming book publication: *Contested Liberalisms: Martineau, Dickens, and the Victorian Press* (Edinburgh UP, 2019).

After lunch, Gaby Weiner and I presented. Gaby offered an in-depth review of G. Peter Winnington’s *Harriet Martineau, Miss J, and Ellen McKee* (Letterworth Press, 2019). “Miss J” refers to Miss Louisa Caroline Jeffery, the woman who traveled with Martineau to America, and the titular Ellen McKee is Louisa Jeffery’s daughter. Since little is written about Martineau’s traveling companion, this book fills a gap. Louisa Jeffery was born in 1806 to Caroline (née Taylor) and John Jeffery. Winnington’s research covers the interconnections of three families - the Jeffreys, Taylors, and Courtaulds - across several generations. In using the eight volumes of the Courtauld family letters as a source, Winnington is able to go beyond the only known description of Louisa as “dark, short, lively, and loquacious,” which appears in an 1835 letter from Louisa Perina to her younger sisters, to fill in that Louisa Jeffery was orphaned by the age of 10, that she stayed with her grandparents the Taylors or with the extended Courtauld family, that she served as governess to the Lambert children, and that she married in her late 30s and had two children. Winnington argues that Louisa was influenced by Martineau’s politics, since Louisa Jeffery, too, was more progressive around issues such as education and rights for women. Gaby concluded that Winnington offers new and important details of the life of Louisa Jeffery, gives an affectionate portrayal of the Martineau - Jeffery relationship, and shows Martineau’s shaping of following generations with her influence extending from Louisa to her daughter Ellen McKee, thereby highlighting feminist networks that already existed in the nineteenth-century world of progressive politics.

I situated Martineau’s interest in mesmerism within its larger cultural and historical context, specifically looking at how mesmerism was seen by many Victorians as an

alternative healthcare practice, often in spite of overt medical opposition coming from the medical community, especially since as a new profession, it felt threatened by such practices. I first looked at Victorian publications that openly promoted mesmerism as an alternative medical practice. Even though these Victorian writers ranged from medical men to experienced mesmeric practitioners, from itinerant mesmeric practitioners to educated people experimenting with mesmerism in the privacy of their own homes, all of them, without exception, addressed the healing or curative aspects of mesmerism. To explain what we understand as an issue of plausibility, I used the Victorian medical understanding of the body as a closed energy system, showing how such an understanding of the body allowed Victorians, whether they promoted or argued against mesmerism, to see mesmeric phenomena as plausible.

After a short break for tea and coffee, Josie McQuail gave Wednesday's final paper presentation, which was entitled "Eyes of the World: Martineau's *Eastern Life*." Josie situated *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848), both in terms of Martineau's life and in terms of recent scholarship on travel narratives to the Middle East. Josie noted that it was Martineau's favorite work and that the trip itself shapes the rest of Martineau's life. She included that Martineau was invited on the trip by her friends Mr. and Mrs. Richard Yates and that the book covers her insights from their travels to Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria. Although John Murray had originally planned to publish it, once the manuscript was finished, he refused, and Martineau turned to a different publisher, Edward Moxon, to publish it. For recent scholarship, Josie included Geoffrey Nash's edited anthology *Travellers to the Middle East from Burckhardt to Thesiger* (Anthem, 2009) and Andrew Wilcox's *Orientalism and Imperialism: From Nineteenth-Century Missionary Imaginings to the Contemporary Middle East* (Bloomsbury, 2018). Given Martineau's revolutionary ideas about the developmental role of religion in human civilization, Josie speculated whether Martineau's *Eastern Life* influenced Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* (1939). After a lovely dinner, it was quiz night, full of fun questions and good laughs.

Thursday, July 25th, was a full day with two paper presentations, the annual general meeting, a guided tour of Chetham's Library, a tour of Cross Street Chapel, the official conference dinner, and a fund-raising auction after dinner. Sue Brown's presentation entitled "James Martineau's Impact on Bright Young Ladies" was inspired by last year's exhibition of James' portraits at Dr. Williams's Library in London, in particular the pastel and the sketch both done by his daughter-in-law Clara Martineau (née Fell), which made Sue wonder about his influence as a teacher on his students, especially his female students, for, as she noted, in addition to being known for his great intellect, James was handsome, charismatic, and a fine sportsman.

In analyzing James' multiple roles of being a preacher, teacher, and writer, Sue felt that his most sustained role was that of a teacher. Sue argued that perhaps James provided more inspiration on the next generation of young women rather than Harriet since Harriet's life as a professional woman of letters was not an easy model to

follow. Sue looked at James' teaching at Rachel Martineau's boarding school in Liverpool and his public lectures on "Mental and Moral Philosophy for Women" in Liverpool in 1838, which, at Reverend Gaskell's request, were repeated in Manchester in 1846. She also looked at his time in London at Little Portland Street Chapel and then at Manchester College. Sue used memories shared by Frances Julia "Snow" Wedgwood, Meta Gaskell, Anna Swanwick, and other female students to develop how James Martineau taught them to enjoy learning and to think for themselves, noting that many of his former students attended Bedford College once it opened. She also argued that his influence extended beyond the classroom, giving Frances Power Cobbe, who attended his sermons in London, as an example. She also included Harriet's own acknowledged debt to James in her *Autobiography* (1877) for his encouragement of her independence of thought.

Keiko Funaki gave the second Thursday presentation, which was entitled "Harriet Martineau and Ireland: *Letters from Ireland* (1852)." Keiko analyzed Martineau's *Letters from Ireland*, emphasizing Martineau's rhetorical use of dualities, which allows her to shift her authorial voice, making the text fluid in its movement from being a travelogue to being a political science treatise, from her use of sympathy to her reliance on rationality, from her emotional tone to her scientific objectivity. Keiko worked with many of the individual letters, often focusing on issues of women's labor in Ireland, which she argues helped Martineau to understand more fully the nature of women's work, ultimately leading to Martineau's insights and use of statistics when she writes her well-known essay "Female Industry" seven years later in 1859. Looking at Letter #9, Keiko explained that Martineau showed how the industry of women in Ireland, whether it was in the flax fields, the potato fields, the bogs, etc. was underpaid, yet through this underpaid work the women were economically sustaining the country. Martineau realized that in every situation, the female laborers were doing the same occupation as the male laborers, yet they were being paid less. Keiko also showed how Martineau develops the issue of absentee British landlords, which Martineau argues has led to the devastation of the Irish landscape, giving the Bog of Allen with its unnatural "moonscape" as an example. Keiko argued that *Letters from Ireland* was Martineau's proposal for Ireland's economy, showing her desire to resolve the misery of the Irish people. To deepen the complexity of representation, Keiko briefly addressed the issue of how British writers, such as Martineau in *Letters from Ireland* and Elizabeth Gaskell in *North and South* (1854), portray Irish characters during the Victorian era.

After the Annual General Meeting and lunch, we departed for Manchester's City Center to visit Chetham's Library, the oldest public library in the English-speaking world. Located in Manchester's Medieval Quarter, Chetham's Library was founded in 1653 by Humphrey Chetham and opened in 1655. The building itself is even older, dating from the early 15th century. The guided tour included our seeing the dining room, the courtyard, the original library with its stacks filled with old parchment manuscripts and with several of the original wooden seats for readers (who were required to take the wooden stools to the books since the books were chained in place), and the reading room with the table at which Marx and Engels did some of

their research. Also on display in the reading room was one of the five “traveling” libraries commissioned for local churches by Chetham, filled with religious texts translated from the Latin into English. Its date of 1655 carved into the wood and its chained books with their thumbed pages made it a truly remarkable historical artifact. Chetham’s Library was magnificent, simultaneously a museum and a living functioning library.

Following the visit to Chetham’s Library, many conference goers were up for a stop at Manchester’s Cross Street Chapel, in spite of the blazing afternoon heat. Ann Peart, who attends chapel there, was our guide. Ann gave us some background information about the history and the rebuilding of the chapel, pointed out the memorial tablet for Elizabeth Gaskell, showed us the virtually sound-proof circular chapel, took us upstairs to the Gaskell Reading Room where she presented an overview of Reverend William Gaskell’s ministry at the chapel from his appointment in 1828 to his death in 1884, showed us many items from the chapel’s archives as well as several portraits of Reverend Gaskell and Elizabeth Gaskell, and organized a spontaneous tea downstairs for us to enjoy more of Cross Street Chapel’s comfortable ambience. The coolness and quietness of the chapel were quite inspirational.

Thursday evening’s events included both another wonderful dinner and our annual fundraiser - the auction. Gaby Weiner and Carol Chilton were aided this year in their auctioneer abilities by Nikki Steinauer, the youngest conference attendee (age 10), who helped to display the auction items to the crowd and, following the top bids, took each item to its new owner. The funds from the auction will be used for bursaries for students attending the conference.

Friday morning was jam-packed with four presentations back-to-back with our last morning tea dividing them in two sessions. The first session included Ann Peart’s paper entitled “Cross Street Chapel’s Martineau Connections” and Bob Gamble’s paper entitled “Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Gaskell... and Miss Mitchell.” Ann reported the Cross Street Chapel congregation dates from 1662, when its first minister was barred from serving at the local Anglican Church, and after some years of clandestine meetings, the first Unitarian Chapel was built after the Toleration Act of 1689. Ann noted that Reverend John Gooch Roberts, who first served as a minister at the Octagon Chapel in Norwich, moved to Manchester in 1811, where he encouraged a more tolerant approach to a variety of beliefs.

After this historical background of the Unitarians in Manchester, Ann developed two interesting Martineau connections. First, she discussed how Helen Martineau (née Bourn), the widow of Thomas Martineau, grew up in Manchester, noting Helen’s home chapel was that led by Roberts. Although Helen and Thomas Martineau were married in Manchester, they were married in an Anglican Church to fulfil the official requirement of the state. After Thomas died of consumption in Madeira in 1824, Helen returned to Manchester, her family of origin, and the Chapel. According to the chapel’s archival records, Helen’s father Joseph Bourn paid two separate pew rents,

one for the family and one for their servants. Later, Helen remarried, marrying the Reverend Edward Tagart.

Ann's second Martineau connection focused on John Hugh Worthington, who, after graduating as a ministry student in York, became the co-minister at the Cross Street Chapel at the age of 21. In 1825, Worthington replaced the Reverend John Grundy who had left in 1824, moving to Liverpool. Worthington was briefly engaged to Harriet Martineau before he had a serious illness that resulted in his death. Because there had not been a formal announcement of the engagement, no formal mourning period for Harriet or her family followed his death. Ann discussed the mystery surrounding Worthington's illness and death, noting that in a letter dated November 28, 1826, from Helen Martineau (née Higginson), the wife of James Martineau, she called the illness "worse than death" and that Harriet herself wrote, "I think of him as if the grave had already closed over him." Ann speculated, following other Martineau biographers, that Worthington might have suffered from a brain hemorrhage or from the onset of a severe mental illness that claimed his sanity. Because James Martineau was Worthington's friend and the person who introduced him to his sister, Ann addressed the fact that James never visited Worthington during his final illness. She discovered James's draft of a letter to Worthington located in the Bancroft Library in California that contains his reasons why he chose not to visit. For her archival research, Ann also relied upon the archives in the John Rylands Library in Manchester and in Dr. Williams's Library in London.

In his presentation "Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Gaskell... and Miss Mitchell," Bob Gamble offered insights into the identity of a "Miss Mitchell" who appears repeatedly in J[ohn] A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard's edited collection of *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell* (Manchester UP, 1966) and Deborah A. Logan's five volume set of *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau* (Pickering and Chatto, 2007). Bob indicated that letters addressed to or mentioning "my dear Bishop" are also relevant since her full name is Janetta Bishop Mitchell. Originally from Newcastle, Miss Mitchell spent part of her life in Norwich, where she attended the Octagon Chapel and maintained a close friendship with Harriet and her mother, even visiting Harriet in London after her trip to America. Through his focused research on Miss Mitchell, Bob developed two larger points: first, the reality of how unmarried women such as Miss Mitchell, who appear to be culturally "invisible" did, in fact, live and survive during the Victorian era, and, secondly, how interrelated the Unitarian communities were throughout England, with Unitarian families in Norwich, Nottingham, Newcastle, London, and elsewhere being interconnected by family, faith, or both.

After a break for coffee and tea, there remained our final two papers of the conference. Julie Donovan presented first on the topic of "The Response of Irish Writers to Harriet Martineau's Works on Ireland." Julie's paper complemented Keiko Funaki's earlier presentation on Martineau's *Letters from Ireland*, by adding the range of Irish responses to it, including its contemporary reception in Ireland as well as its current reception by critics. Julie stressed that Martineau saw Ireland's issues as societal and economical rather than as political, a fact that led to Martineau's

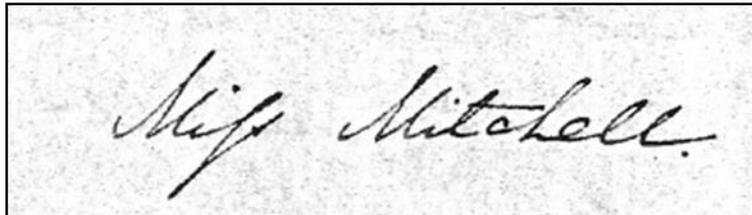
being unaware of how the Irish themselves felt that no progress was possible while Ireland remained under England's rule. Julie's argument extended beyond *Letters from Ireland* to look at Martineau's fictional representations of Irish characters, such as the Irish couple Dan and Noreen O'Rory in *Weal and Woe in Garveloch* (1832). Julie noted that many of the Irish writers attacked Martineau based on issues of nationalism but also on her gender and unmarried status, with the latter comments often being quite misogynistic in nature.

Lyn Holt gave the final presentation of the conference. Her paper was entitled "Infamous Childhoods and Famous Writers." Lyn focused on Harriet Martineau and four of her contemporaries: Charles Dickens, Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Barrett, and Rudyard Kipling. Lyn grounded her paper in biographical details from all five Victorian writers, starting with Harriet's exploration of her own childhood unhappiness expressed in her *Autobiography* before looking at the other writers' childhoods. Lyn contextualized the position of children in society in the nineteenth century, noting the lack of contraception, the high rate of mortality, and societal views towards children. Lyn also discussed the issues of education, pointing out that even with children lucky enough to have the resources to receive schooling, situations within educational institutions, whether public or private, were not always ideal, and she gave the biographical example of Kipling's being bullied at school and the fictional example of Helen Burns being caned on the neck in *Jane Eyre* (1847). Nevertheless, Lyn concluded that education and access to books offered her selected Victorian writers multiple things - escapism from the suffering of their own lives, new information that fed their individual quests for knowledge, models of writing topics and styles, and the opportunity to ignite their own imaginations - all of which led to their own desires to write.

The 2019 Martineau Society Conference was a great conference, with a large range of well-researched and thought-provoking papers. As David Hamilton noted, in addition to papers on Harriet or James Martineau, this year's papers extended the focus to include several "subsidiary characters," such as Louisa Jeffery, John Hugh Worthington, and Miss Mitchell. Thanks to a new appreciation of these lesser-known historical people, we were given an enriched, more complex understanding of the Victorian era as well as a better understanding of specific relationships. Several papers also pushed past the geographical boundaries of England to help us understand Martineau's travels in the Middle East and her desire to help reform in Ireland, while also pointing out the limits of Martineau's vision. Throughout the 2019 Martineau Conference, many tributes - some in passing, some extended - were made to our two newest missing Martineau Society members. The recent deaths of Sophia Hankinson and Elizabeth Sanders Arbuckle, both founding members of the Martineau Society, left a gap in the conference that was palpable. Each woman's dedication to the Martineau Society and their lively personalities made their loss something we grieved collectively at our conference, even though we knew both would be delighted at the many successes of this year's conference and be thrilled at our making plans for upcoming conferences in new and exciting locales.

Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Gaskell ... and Miss Mitchell

Bob Gamble

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Miss Mitchell." The ink is dark and the background is light and slightly textured.

Signature of Janetta Mitchell – Bob Gamble

This paper will introduce you to Miss Mitchell, a long-forgotten character in the Martineau and Gaskell chronicles. In her collected letters Elizabeth Gaskell mentions Miss Mitchell on no fewer than forty-six occasions. To date, she's been labelled as something of a cipher, a visiting governess to the Gaskells' daughters at Plymouth Grove, but someone who played little part in Elizabeth's development, either as a person or as a writer. I became curious and, whilst researching, I found that Harriet Martineau's early letters also refer, sometimes obliquely, to the mysterious Miss Mitchell. Adding other evidence, a very different picture began to emerge - I hope to demonstrate that this shadowy figure was in fact an important mentor to both Harriet and Elizabeth.

Miss Mitchell lived among a number of the most vibrant Unitarian communities in England – she spent time in Newcastle upon Tyne, in Nottingham and in Norwich, before moving to Knutsford in Cheshire and passing her final years in Greenheys in south Manchester. We'll now follow Miss Mitchell through each of these different phases in her life.

Her story begins in Georgian Newcastle upon Tyne at the end of the eighteenth century. Wholesale linen draper Thomas Mitchell and his wife Mary Welbank had thirteen children, all of whom were christened by the Reverend William Turner at his Hanover Square Chapel, where the Mitchells were members of Turner's congregation. Our focus will be on their second oldest child, Janetta Bishop Mitchell, the Miss Mitchell mentioned so often by Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Gaskell. Janetta was born in 1791 and was given her singular name in honour of her paternal grandmother. The Mitchell children would have known the Turner family from an early age and would have also been aware of Harriet and the Martineaus through their Newcastle grandparents, the Rankins. We won't dwell upon Janetta's early life, other than to note the bankruptcy suffered by her father Thomas in 1807, which

resulted in greater reliance upon Janetta's mother's family, the Welbanks. In spite of their straitened circumstances, the Mitchells were cultured and of gentle status - Janetta and her several siblings all received a good education and set out to find work to support themselves.

In 1817 William Turner's son Henry became minister at Nottingham's High Pavement Chapel. Henry Turner's arrival in Nottingham seems to have been the catalyst for Janetta's appointment, at the age of 26, as governess to the children of Matthew Needham, a wealthy member of the influential High Pavement congregation. The Needhams lived at Lenton House, to the west of the town and Henry Turner regularly visited Lenton to give lessons in Latin to Janetta's pupils. Henry has been described as 'the real charmer' of the Turner family and in 1819 he married Harriet Martineau's Newcastle cousin Catherine Rankin.¹ For a time, Janetta was able to enjoy being part of Henry and Catherine's flock and James Martineau, while apprenticed to an engineer in Derby, also loved to visit this lively Nottingham Unitarian community.

Matthew Needham was married to an heiress, Mary Manning, whose father William owned properties in Norwich and at Little Ormesby near the Norfolk coast. The Nottingham Needhams took their eight children on annual extended trips to visit their grandfather and governess Janetta, known to the family as Bishop, would accompany them. William Manning worshipped at Norwich's Octagon Chapel, where the Needhams mixed with the Martineaus. In Harriet's estimation the Needhams were 'almost unequalled people' and she formed a great friendship with young Caroline Needham, who had the courage to speak loudly enough for Harriet to hear (CL1: 35, 7). The Needhams of Lenton would become lifelong friends to both Janetta and Harriet.

In 1821 Janetta's role at Lenton House changed when her employer Mrs Needham fell ill and Janetta took over as carer to the Needhams' severely disabled daughter Hester - one of the very earliest of Harriet's surviving letters, dated June 1821, refers to Miss Mitchell looking after Hester (CL1:2). After Mrs Needham recovered, Janetta took on great responsibility by agreeing to move to Norwich to look after Mrs Needham's father, the elderly William Manning, at his Surrey Street home. Harriet noted that 'Old Mr Manning' had become 'fatally ill with mortification in the foot advancing slowly but decidedly' (FL: 388,390). However, Janetta had no sooner left Nottingham than news came that Henry Turner had died suddenly from pneumonia. High Pavement Chapel went into mourning and James Martineau took his momentous decision to abandon engineering and train for the Unitarian ministry.

Janetta tended old Mr Manning's foot in Norwich's Surrey Street for the next four years, during which time her relationship developed strongly with both Harriet and Harriet's mother Elizabeth. The congregation at the Octagon Chapel was described by the Unitarian scholar John Kenrick as 'perhaps the most intellectual in our denomination'.² Mrs Martineau was a Newcastle Rankin and also a Hanover Square veteran, so Janetta would have been her natural ally among the cerebral Norwich Unitarians.

Janetta's growing influence upon Harriet was revealed when Harriet's eldest brother Tom was forced to visit Madeira for the sake of his rapidly declining health. Tom had sailed to Funchal with his wife Helen and their new baby, Philip. In January 1824 Harriet wrote to Tom and Helen, sending 'kind remembrance' from the Needhams and 'Miss Mitchell too' (CL1:8). However, news of baby Philip's death arrived soon afterwards. Many years later, when James Martineau was summarising Harriet's letters, he made two references relating to this period - in the first he noted that Harriet's 'friend Janetta' had made copies of the beautiful letter which had communicated the baby's death, and in the second he reported that Harriet had been consoled by taking long walks with Miss Mitchell (FL:403,409). The cultivated Janetta, some eleven years older than Harriet, was the 'only friend who could pair with her' and was clearly becoming a very important companion at this difficult time. Meanwhile, Tom's health continued to decline and he died at sea in June 1824.

There were other corollaries of Harriet and Janetta's growing friendship. In the wake of the loss of their older brother, Harriet and James decided to take a walking tour in Scotland and by August they had arrived in Edinburgh, where they stayed in Albany Street. Their lodgings were run by Janetta's aunt Jane, who was known as Mrs Welbank and provided accommodation for Unitarian students at Edinburgh University. Although unmarried, Jane Welbank was always referred to by the archaic form Mrs, a term of respect often bestowed upon single women of elevated social status. Later in life, Harriet also understood the benefits of being known as Mrs rather than Miss Martineau.³

After their Scottish tour James dropped Harriet off in Newcastle, before returning to college in York. Harriet was now able to spend extended time with Janetta's old pastor, the Reverend William Turner, who impressed Harriet greatly by sharing letters he had received from his daughter-in-law Catherine. Bravely running a girls' school in Nottingham after the early loss of her husband Henry, Catherine Turner was considered a paradigm of saintly widowhood. Before long Harriet would have further reason to follow Catherine's stoical model.

'Old William Manning' finally died, aged 93, in June 1825 and Janetta's care at Surrey Street in Norwich was no longer needed. Janetta returned to Lenton and to the Needhams, who were now boosted by the Manning inheritance and at the height of their prosperity. In 1826 Janetta and the youngest Needham girls, Mary and Ellen, spent a joyous summer together at Lenton House, while the rest of the family were in Mayfair for the London season. The Needhams' fortunes contrasted hugely with those of the Martineaus, who at the same time were experiencing business failure and the death of patriarch Thomas at Magdalen Street. Harriet's own personal crisis ended in July 1827 with the death of John Hugh Worthington. When John died Harriet was staying among her Nottingham friends and emulating her cousin Catherine Turner's quietude. Harriet's emotional bonds with Catherine, with Lenton, and with Janetta, were now established.

Having drawn the background of Janetta's early career in Newcastle, Nottingham and Norwich and described her importance to the Turner, Needham and Martineau families, we may now begin to investigate the origins of Janetta's relationship with Elizabeth Gaskell, or Elizabeth Stevenson as she was before her marriage. In 1854 Elizabeth was staying at Florence Nightingale's family home near Matlock attempting to finish her novel *North and South*. In writing to her friend Emily Shaen, Elizabeth made a most extraordinary statement: 'You have done me so much good...more than any one else in my life ... except my own darling Aunt Lumb, and Miss Mitchell'.⁴ Aunt Lumb was Elizabeth's surrogate mother who had raised her from infancy in Knutsford, but what was the great good which Miss Mitchell had done to elevate her alongside Aunt Lumb in Elizabeth's personal pantheon? Elizabeth's letter hints at an early and intimate bond - when, where and how could this have occurred?

From 1828 onwards there is a smattering of evidence to suggest that Janetta had moved to Knutsford in Cheshire, Elizabeth's home town. Elizabeth, who had only recently left school, fondly remembered picnics on Tabley Mere, west of Knutsford, at which both Mary and Ellen Needham, Janetta's now former pupils, were present.⁵ Moreover, a book of sermons produced in 1829 by the Reverend John Rely Beard listed Miss Mitchell as a Knutsford subscriber alongside Elizabeth's Holland relations.⁶ It was Harriet who wrote the review of Beard's *Sermons* for William Johnson Fox's *Monthly Repository*. Beard's colleague the Reverend Henry Green had recently become Unitarian minister at Brook Street Chapel in Knutsford and would henceforth maintain a close relationship with both Janetta and Elizabeth. If Janetta was indeed in Knutsford at this time, she had the opportunity to form a meaningful rapport with the young Elizabeth Stevenson.

It was then that Elizabeth was also channelled towards Newcastle and her distant relative, the Reverend William Turner. There were parallels with Harriet's earlier Newcastle experience. This was a critical juncture in Elizabeth's early life, following the deaths of her own father and older brother John, who was lost travelling in India. Janetta, with her counselling skills and capacity to connect at Elizabeth's intellectual level, would have been able to advocate sanctuary with her old minister and his friendly congregation, and could cite the positive effects of Harriet's stay with Turner in 1824. Little is known with certainty of Elizabeth Stevenson's time in Newcastle, other than that she studied with Turner during the winters of 1829 and 1830. An early letter from Elizabeth to Turner dated October 1832 reveals her Newcastle friendships with 'the Rankins, the Eldonites [that is, the Greenhows, Harriet's sister and her physician husband] and Mrs Welbank [Janetta's Aunt Jane, by then returned from Edinburgh]'.⁷

Meanwhile, the Needham family had made a highly speculative but fashionable investment in Welsh ironworks at The Varteg, which sat in a remote district of Monmouthshire. The plant was managed by Matthew Needham's son William, a great friend of Harriet's cousin Richard Martineau, and it was at The Varteg in 1825 that Richard had proposed to William's sister Lucy Needham. Initially the

Needhams' business went well, but overcapacity in the industry caused the price of iron bar to collapse and by 1831 the works was in deep financial trouble. The workforce was laid off and, with their fortune all but consumed, the Needhams were forced to economise.

It was also in 1831 that Harriet won her essay prizes from the Unitarian Association and utilised the proceeds by spending the summer with brother James in Dublin. Harriet broke up her return journey, first by a stay in Liverpool and then by arranging a rendezvous in Manchester with old friend Janetta. Janetta took the trouble of travelling, presumably from Knutsford, to link up with Harriet on 8 October for their brief encounter. A fragment of a hurried note expresses Harriet and her mother's gratitude to Janetta for her kindness - it had been a highly perilous moment to be moving around the country, as on the very same day the House of Lords had brought down the Second Reform Bill (FL:11).⁸ Lenton House had been looted in the Nottingham riots three days later - coupled with the troubles at their Welsh ironworks, 1831 proved to be an *annus horribilis* for the Needhams.

While in Dublin Harriet had been planning her magnum opus, the monthly *Illustrations of Political Economy*. The first tale, *Life in the Wilds*, was published at the start of 1832 through William Johnson Fox's brother Charles. It was closely followed by a second tale, *The Hill and the Valley*, the saga of a Welsh ironworks which falls on hard times, showing Harriet's understanding of, and sympathy for, the Needhams' plight. Her fictional ironworks went to the wall, in a demonstration to workers of the futility of machine breaking. The Varteg avoided the same fate until 1839, when it was closed in the wake of the Newport Rising.

Throughout the adulation which followed Harriet's publishing success, she and Janetta remained in touch. By June 1833 Harriet had moved to lodgings in London's Conduit Street to continue work on her monthly series. On Harriet's 31st birthday she wrote to her mother in Norwich to say that 'Good Janetta writes her congratulations and wonder at my not being altered.'⁹ Harriet went on to stress how she would now have 'more need than ever' for the support of old friends. We know that the loyal Janetta had recently started a boarding school. In another of her earliest preserved letters dated December 1833, the now married Elizabeth Gaskell was keen to 'Recommend Miss Mitchell's school through thick and thin'.¹⁰

Harriet moved to Fludyer Street in Westminster and after completing the *Illustrations* series she departed on her American odyssey. After their hurried Manchester meeting in the autumn of 1831, it would be January 1838 before Harriet and Janetta met again. Harriet's diary recorded the occasion at Fludyer Street when 'Count Krazinski called and dear Miss Mitchell, whom I had not seen for above six years. She is unchanged'.¹¹ On the same day, writer Thomas Carlyle came by and they marvelled at his gentlemanly entry into a room full of company. Having re-connected, Janetta was invited for a sleepover - Harriet noted that 'Miss Mitchell dined and slept here. She and I had a nice talk over our fire at night. She told me how people insist that I am helped with my books. A bad compliment enough to the

sex.¹² It's fascinating to hear of Janetta's presence at the modest Fludyer Street salon. Clearly Janetta had encountered the upper echelons of literary society long before Elizabeth Gaskell came to prominence. When Janetta stayed at Fludyer Street Harriet was already contemplating writing a three-decker novel and *Deerbrook* duly appeared in March 1839.

Of course, by the middle of 1839 Harriet's illness had forced her retreat to the Greenhows at Eldon Square in Newcastle. Soon afterwards Harriet moved to convalesce at Front Street in Tynemouth, where physician and brother-in-law Thomas Greenhow could monitor her progress. Aside from looking after Harriet, Greenhow was also heavily involved in preparations for the eighty-year-old William Turner's retirement from Hanover Square. With help from James Martineau in Liverpool, Greenhow recruited a replacement minister and Turner finally left Newcastle in October 1841. Turner's new home was to be in lodgings near to the Gaskells in south Manchester, and his landlady was to be none other than Janetta Mitchell, who had also recently moved to the growing town. Harriet, Thomas Greenhow's special patient in Tynemouth, would have been only too delighted to endorse Turner's removal into Janetta's care in Greenheys.

Janetta, now in her 50th year, had arrived in Manchester in December 1840 and was living in Coupland Street, Greenheys, in close proximity to Elizabeth Gaskell and her young family in countrified Dover Street, which was then on the southern limits of the town. Janetta had continued in education and was now working at the Dover Street Academy, a mixed school for boys and girls run by a German émigré, Dr Philip Merz.¹³ Janetta had made close connections with the considerable German community in south Manchester, many of whom were friends of the Gaskells and worshipped with them at the Cross Street and Upper Brook Street Unitarian Chapels. We are reminded of Maria Young in Harriet's *Deerbrook* - a superior and wise governess whose passion is German literature. In what was a carefully pre-planned arrangement, William Turner and his daughter Ann were welcomed into Janetta's Coupland Street home and experienced carer Janetta would now remain in Manchester to look after William Turner for the rest of her days.

Janetta's arrival had coincided with the return to the town of Manchester New College, from its previous base in York. By 1845 Janetta was no longer working for Philip Merz and had moved with the Turners from Coupland Street to Lloyd Street, where she now took in students from the College as lodgers, much as her aunt Mrs Welbank had once done in Edinburgh. The Lloyd Street lodgers, who included John Dendy and Alfred Steinthal, described Janetta as a 'very cultivated lady'.¹⁴ James Martineau and William Gaskell, as teaching Professors, and William Turner, as Visitor, were all closely involved in the College's affairs and the Gaskells, by then living in Upper Rumford Street, joined Janetta and her student lodgers on long country walks and for worship at the newly built Upper Brook Street Chapel. In June 1850 the Gaskells moved even further from town, to their splendid new house in Plymouth Grove.

By 1850 Elizabeth had achieved recognition following the 1848 publication of *Mary Barton*. In the midst of her success she remained a watchful daughter to Janetta in Lloyd Street, and Miss Mitchell now began to be mentioned much more regularly in Elizabeth's letters. We have to be careful though, as there was now more than one Mitchell sister living in Manchester. Janetta's youngest sister Rosa Mitchell worked as a teacher in Greenheys before being employed as visiting governess to the Gaskells' younger daughters Flossy and Julia. Rosa, who also lodged at Lloyd Street, worked for the Gaskells until the end of 1852 and later ran a school in Victoria Park which was attended by Julia Gaskell. It is the presence of Rosa Mitchell in Elizabeth's letters which has resulted in confusion, concealing the real Miss Mitchell, so to speak, from biographers.

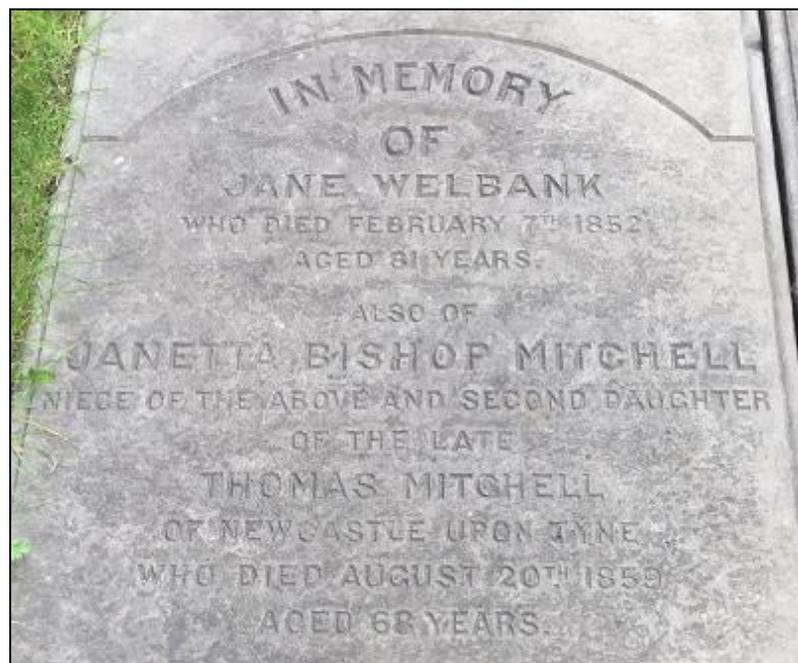
Rosa Mitchell left Plymouth Grove shortly before the 1853 publication of Elizabeth's controversial novel *Ruth*, which had its genesis by the fireside in Lloyd Street. Janetta, Rosa and the Turners had been joined there by Janetta's elderly aunt, Mrs Welbank, who had now left Newcastle to spend her last days in the company of her nieces in Manchester. Elizabeth was a regular visitor to Lloyd Street and, marinating in the company of her old Newcastle friends, began to write what she called her 'Newcastle novel'.¹⁵ After its release, Janetta expressed 'deep regret' that the seduction of a young seamstress had been taken as the subject for a work of fiction.¹⁶ Elizabeth, who had agonised over the book's content, was deeply affected by Janetta's reactions and used favourable reviews to try and win her round. Harriet herself found the book weak, branding the Reverend Thurstan Benson a 'nincompoop', while presumably being aware that he was modelled on William Turner.¹⁷

Such differences aside, the identification of Janetta Mitchell has implications for our understanding of the dynamics in Elizabeth and Harriet's relationship. Their interaction has been characterised as somewhat distant and cold, but Janetta may be seen as common ground between the two writers, available to both as a conduit whenever access was needed. The circumstances of Harriet's emergence from her sickroom in Tynemouth had alienated family and friends and Harriet makes little mention of 'dear Miss Mitchell' after moving to The Knoll in 1846. Minister's wife Elizabeth held Janetta to be 'As good and as Christian a woman as ever was' - as such, Janetta would have been saddened by Harriet's cooperation with Henry George Atkinson and by the intra-familial warfare which broke out among the Martineaus.¹⁸ Despite all this, perhaps Janetta's reactions would have been much like those of the saintly Catherine Turner of Lenton, who retained her strong Christian faith but also remained devoted to Harriet in later life.

Manchester New College departed for London in 1853 and Miss Mitchell's Lloyd Street lodgings gradually transformed from a hive of student activity into a sanatorium. First William Turner's daughter Ann passed away and then Mrs Welbank - both were buried at Upper Brook Street Chapel. Janetta developed a heart complaint and Mrs Gaskell personally led an appeal to the Unitarian community which secured Janetta a modest pension. The Reverend William Turner,

active to the last, finally died in Lloyd Street at the age of 97 on Easter Sunday in 1859, and by August of the same year Janetta had also been claimed, by pneumonia, at the age of 68. Janetta and her elderly tenant joined Ann Turner and Mrs Welbank in the vaults at Upper Brook Street. Turner was interred by William Gaskell, but the Reverend Henry Green travelled especially from Knutsford to conduct Janetta's burial service, giving us more evidence of her earlier connections to the Cheshire town.

Janetta still had one last journey to make. Built in 1839 to the designs of Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin, the architecturally important Upper Brook Street Chapel fell into serious disrepair during the twentieth century. However, in 2017 a seven-million-pound restoration was completed and the Chapel is now, rather appropriately, dedicated to student accommodation. As part of the rebuild, the Chapel's burial vaults were cleared and the remains from 144 Victorian interments, including those of Janetta Mitchell, Jane Welbank, William Turner and his daughter Ann, were moved to a natural burial site in Loughborough under a Ministry of Justice licence. We can still see their original memorial stones, which have been cleaned and reinstated as paving around the restored Chapel. Beneath the stones, instead of burial vaults, there's now a gym, a cinema and a coffee bar.



Memorial stone including Janetta Mitchell
at Upper Brook Street Chapel, Manchester

I'd like to share one final distant echo of Miss Mitchell. Harriet always remained very close to her cousin Richard Martineau and his wife Lucy, one of the several Needham sisters of Lenton House. Richard became a kind of informal business manager to Harriet, and it was at their home in London, in late 1849, that Harriet was one of the first in literary society to meet Charlotte Brontë, then tentatively emerging

from the shadow of her pseudonym 'Currer Bell'. Lucy made a detailed report of the historic meeting, confirming that Charlotte's 'voice and way of speaking, somehow in the upper part of her nose, is extremely like the Miss Mitchells ...'.¹⁹ Our new understanding of the Mitchells' background brings Lucy's statement to life. The details soon reached Elizabeth Gaskell, who could fully appreciate the comparison. Here was the wellspring of Elizabeth's fascination with Charlotte, which came to fruition in her groundbreaking biography of 1857.

Mrs Gaskell may have had Charlotte Brontë in mind when she wrote to her American correspondent Charles Eliot Norton - 'My dearest friends, all through my life, have been governesses, - either past, present or future'.²⁰ Janetta Mitchell built a long career as a governess, carer, teacher and landlady, spending her formative years in dynamic Newcastle upon Tyne during the prime of William Turner's ministry at Hanover Square. 'As good and as Christian a woman as ever was', her piety and reputation were honed in the Nottingham High Pavement, Norwich Octagon, Knutsford Brook Street and Manchester Upper Brook Street Unitarian chapels. A learned and cultivated woman, she could rightfully claim to have mentored both Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Gaskell. By Elizabeth's own admission, Janetta stood alongside Aunt Lumb as the two people who did her most good in life - if Elizabeth's dearest friends were governesses, the most dear amongst them was Janetta Bishop Mitchell. Harriet Martineau would have happily endorsed the sentiment.

There's much more I'd like to tell you about, from the fate of the Needham family, to details of the careers of Janetta and Rosa's Mitchell siblings. Everything's set out in a book I hope soon to have published - it's entitled *My Dear Bishop* and is structured in the form of thirty short stories, in honour of Harriet's *Illustrations*. Suffice to say that, after a hundred and sixty years, the real Miss Mitchell has re-emerged and is most worthy of further study.

Notes:

¹ Stephen Harbottle, *The Reverend William Turner: Dissent and Reform in Georgian Newcastle upon Tyne*, W.S. Maney & Son Ltd for Northern Universities Press, Leeds, 1997, p.44.

² The Reverend William James, *Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Madge*, Longmans, Green & Co, London, 1871, p42.

³ By the 1850s Harriet was so beset by entreaties from young admirers that she began to ask her correspondents to use the archaic 'Mrs' - 'They all so evidently think I am of their own age! I must try to show them their mistake, and be to them even as I am. Wasn't there Mrs. Hannah More and Mrs. Edgeworth? I see there were reasons for it: I will be Mrs. Harriet Martineau ...' (*Harriet Martineau's Autobiography; with memorials by Maria Weston Chapman*, 3rd edition, vol. III, p. 273).

⁴ Elizabeth Gaskell letter to Emily Shaen dated 27 October 1854, *Further Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, edited by John Chapple and Alan Shelston, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2003, p.113.

⁵ Elizabeth Gaskell letter to William and Mary Howitt dated May 1838, *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, edited by J.A.V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard, Mandolin, Manchester University Press, 1997, letter 8, p.14.

⁶ *Sermons, Designed To Be Used In Families*, edited by the Rev. J. R. Beard, R. Hunter, St Paul's Churchyard, London, 1829.

- ⁷ Elizabeth Gaskell letter to William Turner dated October 6th 1832, *Further Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, p.21.
- ⁸ Fragment of Harriet Martineau letter to Miss Mitchell, not dated, Harriet Martineau Papers 1800-1994, BANC MSS 92/754 z, Outgoing Letters 1821-1875, Box 3, Folder 78, held at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- ⁹ *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, p. 84.
- ¹⁰ Elizabeth Gaskell letter to Lizzie Gaskell dated 16 December 1833, *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, letter 3, p.3.
- ¹¹ *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, p. 213.
- ¹² *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, p. 216.
- ¹³ 1841 Census, Chorlton upon Medlock, District 20, p.16.
- ¹⁴ Herbert McLachlan, *Records of a Family 1800-1932: Pioneers in Education, Social Service and Liberal Religion*, Manchester University Press, 1935, p.119. John Dendy married John Relly Beard's daughter Sarah, while Alfred Steinthal, later minister at Cross Street Chapel, married Sarah Howorth, whose aunt (also Sarah) became an additional companion to the very elderly William Turner at Lloyd Street in the 1850s.
- ¹⁵ Jenny Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Habit of Stories*, Faber & Faber, London, 1999, p.58.
- ¹⁶ Elizabeth Gaskell letter to Anne Robson dated before 27 January 1853, *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, letter 148, p.230.
- ¹⁷ Harriet Martineau letter to Fanny Wedgwood not dated [March 1853], Uglow p.341).
- ¹⁸ Elizabeth Gaskell letter to (Unknown) dated 9 February 1856, *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, letter 280, p.383.
- ¹⁹ Lucy Martineau's letter to Jack Martineau dated 10 December 1849, reproduced in full in 'Innocent and Un-Londony': Impressions of Charlotte Brontë, *Brontë Society Transactions*, Vol. 19:1-2, 1986, pp.44-49. The original letter is held in private hands by descendants of Richard and Lucy Martineau.
- ²⁰ Elizabeth Gaskell letter to Charles Eliot Norton dated 7 December 1857, *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, letter 384, p.487.

Twelve occasions when Miss Mitchell is mentioned by Harriet Martineau

1) Harriet Martineau letter to Helen Bourn dated 28 June 1821, *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*, Vol. 1, p.2. In the vast collection, filling five volumes, and its companion (*Harriet Martineau: Further Letters*, edited by Deborah Anna Logan, Lehigh University Press, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, USA, 2012) there is only one earlier letter.

We have been reading our last year's Bout's rimes to James who is both surprised and pleased with them. I think it not impossible that we may have some more when the Needhams are all assembled in Norwich again. Oh! How we shall wish for you then. Mrs [Mr?] Needham, Anne and Lucy will be here we hope some time this week. Mrs Needham has been very ill and this has delayed their coming and I am sorry to hear she does not recover as fast as they expected. Mrs Needham and the remainder of her family except Hester will follow in about two months if all things go [well]. Miss Mitchell will be with this poor invalid [who] is no better I fear than she was last summer. I have no hopes that she will ever be better.

Bouts-rimés was a French parlour game involving the creation of poetry from a list of rhyming words.

2) Harriet Martineau letter to Thomas and Helen Bourn Martineau dated 3 January 1824, *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*, vol. 1, p.8.

The Needhams send their kind remembrance and hearty good wishes; Miss Mitchell too. Mr Madge will tell his own story; there are innumerable "minor reminiscences".

3) *Harriet Martineau: Further Letters*, edited by Deborah Anna Logan, pp.403-4. The quotation is taken from James Martineau's notes paraphrasing a letter he received in York from Harriet in Norwich dated 2 February 1824.

Their last beautiful letter communicating the baby's death has been copied by Harriet's "friend Janetta" (the Polish girl, I think daughter of the exiled Colonel), who wished to impress it deeply on her mind; the copies being sent to me and others of the family.

James's failure to correctly identify 'friend Janetta' is odd, as the same letter of 2 February 1824 also discussed the planned Edinburgh trip to Mrs Welbank, Janetta's aunt. James may have only known Janetta as Miss Mitchell or 'Bishop'. It should also be said that James was summarising Harriet's letters at some distance removed in time and may simply have forgotten who 'Janetta' was.

4) *Harriet Martineau: Further Letters*, edited by Deborah Anna Logan, p.409. The quotation is taken from James Martineau's notes paraphrasing a letter he received in York from Harriet in Norwich dated 28 May 1824.

Harriet is herself at her best in point of strength and takes long walks with Miss Mitchell, the only friend who can "pair" with her ...

5) Harriet Martineau letter to Tom and Helen Martineau dated 17 March 1824, *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*, vol. 1, p.16. After leaving Manchester New College in 1827 James Martineau worked briefly in May as a supply preacher for William Turner in Newcastle and then taught for a year at his alma mater, the Reverend Lant Carpenter's school in Bristol. In December 1828 James married Helen Higginson at St Werburgh's Church in Derby, by which time he had been appointed co-pastor at Eustace Street Chapel in Dublin. James had lodged with Helen's father, the (Unitarian) Reverend Edward Higginson, during his engineering apprenticeship in Derby in the early 1820s, and Harriet was pleased when his relationship with Helen developed ...

I have heard of them through the Needhams, Miss Mitchell &c, and the more I hear the more I am convinced that James has made a wise choice.

James and Harriet's younger sister Ellen married Helen's younger brother Alfred Higginson (a surgeon in Liverpool) in Norwich in 1841.

6) Fragment of Harriet Martineau letter to an unknown correspondent dated 20 September 1831, *Harriet Martineau: Further Letters*, edited by Deborah Anna Logan, p.13 ...

... I must say farewell. Let me hear at all events; and if - but I will not suppose the possibility, just to be once more disappointed. Farewell, my old, dear friend. Ever yours affectionately, Harriet Martineau. P.S. If you should be in Manchester, I would make it two nights instead of one.

This fragment is connected to the next ...

7) Fragment of Harriet Martineau letter to Miss Mitchell not dated [late 1831?], *Harriet Martineau Papers 1800-1994*, BANC MSS 92/754 z, Outgoing Letters 1821-1875, Box 3, Folder 78, held at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. See also *Harriet Martineau: Further Letters*, edited by Deborah Anna Logan, p.11.

How have you been since that strange morn.g when we parted at Manch.r? Not all the great kindness I met with on that journey gratified me so much as your coming over to meet me. My mother was so delighted at it: & so I shall long continue to be, for I truly enjoyed it, though too sensible of the shortness of the time.

Rich.d M. left us this morn.g - I never saw him looking better. What a comfort! He gives nice acct.s. of Lucy & baby. Farewell, dear friend. Ever yours very affec.ly H. Martineau

Richard and Lucy Martineau's baby, Mary Constance, was born on October 16th 1830 and would by then have just been a year old.

8) Harriet Martineau letter to Elizabeth Martineau dated 12 June 1833 - *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography; with memorials by Maria Weston Chapman*, 3rd edition, vol.III, p. 84 ...

Good Janetta writes her congratulations and wonder at my not being altered. If she was here she would see that there is that in my office which forbids levity as much as it commands cheerfulness, and that I have more need than ever of old friends and their supporting love, as gazers and admirers of my efforts crowd round me. When my efforts relax, these last will retreat; and then what would become of me if I was "altered," or had lost my old friends?

Using James Martineau's questionable 1824 evidence (see above), Deborah A. Logan alternatively identifies 'Good Janetta' as the daughter of a Polish exile (*Memorials of Harriet Martineau by Maria Weston Chapman*, edited by Deborah A. Logan, p.107, note 49).

9) *Harriet Martineau: Further Letters*, edited by Deborah Anna Logan, p.405. The quotation is taken from James Martineau's notes paraphrasing a letter he received in York from Harriet in Norwich dated 29 November 1824. This is an example of James Martineau referring to Janetta by the archaic form Mrs Mitchell.

...Harriet, supported by Mrs Mitchell's experience, proposes a highland walking tour with me, exactly on the lines which we actually took ...

10) Harriet's Diary - Tuesday 2 January 1838 - *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography; with memorials by Maria Weston Chapman*, 3rd edition, vol.III, p. 213 ...

... Count Krazinski called, and dear Miss Mitchell, whom I had not seen for above six years. She is unchanged. Carlyle called; says he has peace of mind now he has no writing to do. Very kind. Looks finely, and it is worth while watching his entrance into a room full of company. So modest, so gentlemanly !

Harriet's statement that she had not seen Janetta for 'above six years' is consistent with the dating of the 'Manchester fragment' (7 above) to late 1831. Thomas Carlyle's *The French Revolution: A History* had appeared in 1837 (he was later a great admirer of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton*). Count Valerian Krazinski (1795-1855) came to England as a Polish exile following the November Uprising of 1830 - in January 1838 he was mustering subscribers for his forthcoming book, *Historical sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*, the first volume of which appeared in September. Both books were reviewed by W. M. Thackeray in *The Times*, Carlyle's on 3 August 1837 and the Count's on 27 November 1838. In her notes to this diary entry Deborah A. Logan alternatively identifies 'Count Krazinski' as Count Wincenty Krazinski (1782-1858), a military leader who refused to join the 1830 Uprising, later acting as General-Adjutant to Czar Nicholas I (*Memorials of Harriet Martineau by Maria Weston Chapman*, edited by Deborah A. Logan, p.212) - it is unlikely that Wincenty Krazinski was in London in January 1838.

11) Harriet's Diary - Saturday 13 January 1838 - *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography; with memorials by Maria Weston Chapman*, 3rd edition, vol.III, p. 216.

... Miss Mitchell dined and slept here. She and I had a nice talk over our fire at night. She told me how people insist that I am helped with my books. A bad compliment enough to the sex.

12) Undated letter to unknown recipient [the Gaskells?], The Knoll, Ambleside Monday (pre 1855) [?] ... *Harriet Martineau: Further Letters*, edited by Deborah Anna Logan, p.379 (John Rylands University Library / MS733 / 106). The letter demonstrates that Janetta was still in touch with Harriet after her move to The Knoll.

'Dear friends, Only think of your being so near me without telling me you were coming ! I never knew it till Miss Mitchell told me on Friday. – And yet you re so far off that I have been wondering how I should get at you. And I don't know your address. But Miss Mitchell will give you this note: & my kind friend, Mrs Arnold, will give me a cast [?seat] in her pony gig on Thursday (if the weather is fair) so that I can see you for a few minutes, if I find you at home, about ½ past three.

Then I must see whether you wd like to come to Ambleside & will take tea here, or come in & rest, - any time after 2 o'clock, any day. It will be such a great pleasure to shake hands with you again !

Till Thursday, good bye. Believe me most truly yours, H. Martineau

'Mrs. Gaskell's Personal Pantheon *Illuminating Mrs. Gaskell's Inner Circle'* Bob Gamble's new book is now being advertised by the publishers, Edward Everett Root Publishers Limited, albeit not yet released. Janetta Bishop Mitchell is presented as a mentor for both Elizabeth Gaskell and Harriet Martineau. May we ask a Society member to prepare a review for the Society Newsletter? Editor



Elizabeth Gaskell (1810 – 65)
Wiki Commons

Harriet Martineau, Miss J and Ellen McKee: G. Peter Winnington

Review by Gaby Weiner

Little up to now was known about 'Miss J', Harriet Martineau's travelling companion on her memorable visit to North America (1834-6). But thanks to Peter Winnington's recent slim volume which draws on a new source (at least to me) - eight volumes of the Courtauld Family letters¹ - we know more: for instance, that her name was

Louisa Caroline Jeffery, that she was orphaned before she was 10, although much cared for by extended families; that she was a governess and carer to the families prior to her voyage with Harriet Martineau; that she married in her late 30s and had two children, Ellen and Samuel, and that she, her husband and children held progressive political views throughout their lives, in particular on education and the rights of women.

I found Peter Winnington's book difficult to follow on first reading, mainly concerning the family trees and close and interwoven family relationships of the Jeffery, Taylor and Courtauld clans. However a closer, second reading led me to appreciate the research undertaken for the book and has enabled me to know Louisa Jeffery a little better, the 'Miss J' of Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography*.

The book opens with a short overview of Harriet's life which offers little new to members of the Martineau Society except perhaps the intimation of a two-year romantic relationship in the 1830s between Harriet and Erasmus Darwin (Charles' brother). In the early 1830s, exhausted after the success of the *Illustrations* and her 'lionisation' in London, Harriet decided to take a break, and get away for a year or two to visit the new, American democracy. She aimed to be an impartial, sociological investigator, to observe 'things' and 'the discourse of persons' from the president downwards, and was particularly interested in the condition of women and slaves.

She sought a woman travelling companion, and so, came into contact with Miss J. From then onwards, throughout the trip and afterwards, Harriet spoke highly of her companion, retaining a close link with her family until Harriet's death in 1876. Harriet wrote in the *Autobiography*, thus:

Happily for me a lady of very superior qualifications, who was eager to travel, but not rich enough to indulge her desire, offered to go with me, as companion and helper, if I would bear her expenses. She paid her own voyages, and I the rest; and most capitally she fulfilled the share of the compact. Not only well educated but remarkably clever and, above all, supremely rational, and with a faultless temper, she was an extraordinary boon as a companion. She was as conscientious as able and amiable. She toiled incessantly to spare my time, strength and faculties. She managed the business of travel, and was for ever on the watch to supply my want of ears, - and, I may add, my defects of memory (Winnington, pp7-8).

Who was Miss J – Louisa Jeffery?

It was not until 1935 that the identity of Miss J became known, first through the work of Herbert McLachlan who was writing a book about a Unitarian theologian, John Rely Beard. This was confirmed in Vera Wheatley's biography of Harriet Martineau but misidentified by Linda H. Peterson, editor of the 2007 re-publication of the *Autobiography*, and misspelt at various times by Deborah Logan, most recent biographer of Harriet.²

Louisa Caroline Jeffery was born in 1806, the only child of Rev. John Jeffery (b. 1779), pastor of Baptist chapel at Billingham, later of Unitarian denomination. He

had one brother Richard and four sisters. John trained for two years in the Baptist ministry but became a brewer instead. In 1805 he married Caroline Taylor (b. 1783), whose father started out in the silk industry alongside Samuel Courtauld, but who left to become a tinsmith and ironmonger. Samuel's son, another Samuel, made Courtauld into a household name in the early 1800s and by the second half of the century, it was one of the most successful British textile manufacturers and innovator in synthetic fibres such as viscose and rayon.

There were many marriages between the Taylor and Courtauld families which generated complicated networks and family relationships. Like the Martineaus, the Courtaulds were originally Huguenots who turned to Unitarianism. They too were politically radical.

Louisa's mother died of consumption when she was two. From then on it is probable that she stayed mostly with her mother's parents whose youngest child was only eight at the time of Caroline's death. Louisa's contact with the wider Courtauld family increased after her father's brewery failed, and when he was seeking pupils for a school, to which the Courtauld family responded by sending its sons.

Louisa's father died in 1815 and at nine, she was left orphaned, penniless, and homeless. But her two large extended families— the Courtaulds and the Taylors - took her in. One of her father's sisters, Ruth Jeffery, set up a school near Horsham which Louisa attended, and where she met her life-long friend Mary Barnes.

In 1822 Louisa's circumstances changed, this time for the better, when she inherited a trust fund of £1000 from a great uncle Henry Taylor, which provided a regular if modest annual income of £40. At least she was now no longer penniless.

As Louisa grew into adulthood, and because she did not marry, she was encouraged to look after older and younger member of her extended families. For example, in 1827 aged 22, she took over the job of governess to the Lamberts, composed of nine children, eight boys and a girl - part of the extended Taylor family. Family correspondence suggests a favourable and positive assessment of Louisa's virtues as a carer; her sunny disposition was especially valued.

By the early 1830s, Louisa grew restless. The family expressed concern about her welfare, possibly, Winnington surmises, due to her rejection of a favoured suitor. An opportunity to travel with Harriet, it seems, came at just the right time. It is not clear how Harriet and Louisa met, or whether in fact they met at all prior to leaving for America. Winnington identifies a possible link between the two through Louisa's close friend, Mary Barnes, whose husband, John Rely Beard had studied alongside James Martineau with whom he retained a long friendship. John Rely Beard wrote for the *Monthly Repository* at the same time as Harriet, so they clearly knew of each other. Moreover, a letter written by Harriet in 1835 offered support to a failing journal edited by Beard, and both wrote books about the Haitian slave leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Louisa and Harriet probably came to an agreement by letter and therefore did not know much about each other before setting out. It seemed a risky business for both of them. Harriet had asked two other (anonymous) women with whom she had

travelled before, to make up the party, but they had declined. Harriet and Louisa both took letters of introduction; Harriet to prominent citizens such as President Jackson, ex-President James Madison, and renowned statesman Henry Clay, and Louisa, to members of her family who had emigrated some decades before.

Harriet was well pleased with Louisa as an early letter (previously unnoticed and uncollected) to fellow outward passengers Rev and Mrs Charles Brooks reveals:

First let me discharge my duty as well as give myself and you pleasure by reporting of my companion Louisa Jeffery. I am really delighted with her, and my esteem and regard for her grow every day. Our popularity so far I consider to be much owing to the cheerfulness and pleasantness of her manner. No difficulty or fatigue seems to have any effect upon her. She is as careful of me as my mother herself could be, and as a companion she is all I could wish, so great is her good sense joined with much cultivation of mind. I believe that she is much liked wherever we have been and am sure ought to be (Winnington, p. 35).

From the moment they arrived in America, they were together 24 hours a day, seven days a week for 20 months. They travelled as far north as Niagara Falls and briefly into Canada, as far south as New Orleans and as far west as Chicago and Michigan, sometimes in difficult circumstances. As Winnington says,

.... over land and water by every means of transportation available at the time, with unreliable drivers, uncertain companions and unknown accommodation at the end of the day.....horses bolt, carriages get stuck in the mud, floods sweep bridges away, riverboat hulls are pierced by underwater snags, and steam locomotives invariably burst their boilers in the middle of a trestle bridge crossing a swamp (Winnington, p.36).

They sometimes slept in the same bed, and often endured quite basic accommodation. After Harriet's public support for abolition and inter-racial marriage, they often faced a hostile reception, for example, receiving death threats in Boston and avoiding Louisville because of a threatened lynching. Louisa became the 'ears' of Harriet and in effect, her bodyguard. However, it was also clearly a great adventure for both of them with Harriet reporting that Miss J had been in excellent spirits right to the end of her stay. Louisa started home on 1st April 1836, taking 20 days for the sea crossing. She left four months earlier than Harriet who had been invited to join a party visiting the Great Lakes, which had no space for Louisa.

Louisa returned to her former life as a carer, joining the household of an aunt in Islington who had five children. The family reported that she seemed much more confident than before her American adventure. As a thank-you, Harriet gave her the 'terribly soiled and crumpled' original manuscript of *Society in America* (noted exclusively by Winnington, p.44). In 1837, Louisa was caring for her elderly aunt Christina, and two years later she was living in Banstead with the Lamberts. However her life was to change once again following the establishment of a successful school by her friend Mary Barnes's husband, John Rely Beard, based on the 'modern' methods of Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Rousseau. The school was so

successful that he needed both to extend the accommodation and appoint an assistant, the Rev. James Riddell McKee (born 1805) from Drumbo in County Down. In 1842 Louisa accepted a marriage proposal from him. For once Harriet greatly approved, and in 1843 invited Louisa to visit (Tynemouth one supposes). Louisa and James were married in January 1844 in Newington Green, North London, and Ellen was born late in 1844 and Samuel Jeffery, in 1850. The family moved to Tavistock, Devon, in 1844 when James took the position of headteacher, then to Pendleton in Greater Manchester in 1850, and finally to Shrewsbury in 1854 this time more permanently. James died in 1883, and Louisa in 1888.

Louisa continued contact with Harriet, and they were clearly fond of each other. For example, Louisa offered to send some slippers to Harriet when she was first taken ill in 1839 and also to come and look after her. Subsequently the McKee family spent times in the Martineau household (in Ambleside) and Harriet visited Louisa in Shrewsbury.

Louisa's daughter, Ellen McKee, provides an interesting footnote to her mother's story. Born in 1844, Ellen (or Nelly to Harriet) was educated with the Courtauld daughters, and took up correspondence with Harriet when still a child. For example, in 1853 aged nine, she included a bookmark in a letter to Harriet. In adulthood, Ellen and her mother were closely involved in politics on the rights of women. For instance, John Stuart Mill's 1866 Women's Suffrage petition contained the signatures of Louisa and Ellen as well as Harriet, and in 1871 Louisa and Ellen were respectively President and Secretary of the Shrewsbury Women's Suffrage Committee. Ellen was also active in a number of organisations in the 1890s and early 1900s, for example: member of the Ladies London Emancipation Society to which Harriet belonged, member of National Society for Women's Suffrage, member of the Women as Poor Law Guardians, elected Poor Law Guardian for Marylebone, member of the Women's Local Government Society, chair of managers of the Kentish Town Group of Board Schools, elected member of London School Board and honorary treasurer of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage. As such, she was a stalwart of what has come to be known as first-wave feminism. Throughout, she shared a home with her brother Samuel, who was a London solicitor and advisor to suffrage societies. Both siblings remained single.

Ellen, like Louisa, had regular contact with Harriet right up to the end. Indeed, she stayed in Ambleside for a month in 1874, two years before Harriet's death, to help with correspondence and to assist in managing the household. Samuel died in 1917 and Ellen in 1929, leaving half of her estate valued at £28,000 to Mary Dendy, member of the Manchester School Board and granddaughter of John Rely Beard.

To conclude.

This is a rewarding and interesting book if not the easiest read, mainly due to the complicated sets of family relationships that framed the context of Louisa's life. Notwithstanding, the author provides for the first time an account of Louisa Jeffery's life, offers an affectionate portrayal of the relationship between Harriet and Miss J, and also draws attention to the pivotal and persuasive role of Harriet in shaping the personal and social attitudes of several generations of women, such as Louisa, friend Mary Barnes, and daughter Ellen. He also highlights the centrality of women's

(and first-wave feminist) networks in late nineteenth and early twentieth century progressive politics.

¹ *Courtauld Family Letters 1782-1900*. 8 vols. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1916. The only complete set of the Courtauld letters is in the British Library.

² McLachlan, Herbert. *Records of a Family. Pioneers in Education, Social Service and Liberal religion*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933; Wheatley, Vera. *The Life and Work of Harriet Martineau*: London: Secker and Warburg, 1957; Peterson, Linda H. (ed.) *Autobiography*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2007 (note 2); Logan, Deborah Anna, *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*. 5 vols. London, Pickering and Chatto, 2007.



John Rely Beard 1800 - 1876

“Our First Proper Snow” and “A Flash of Light” - Memories of Sophia Hankinson and Elisabeth Arbuckle

Shu-Fang Lai at National Sun Yat-Sen University, Taiwan

On 18 December 2011, I received the following email message from Sophia:

Today we have had our first proper snow - just a sprinkling - but we have been very lucky in this little corner of Norfolk, only one hard frost so far, and the sunshine has soon cleared it. According to the forecast it will be a 'green' Christmas, making travel a lot easier and safer, we hope. (I am only going as far as Mary's!)

I wonder what you are doing and whether you will have time to go off to Japan or somewhere picturesque for a good break, or whether you are working too hard?

Wherever it is, I hope you both have a very Happy Christmas, and that we shall meet again in 2012! With love from Sophia

It was a hard winter. It proved to be the last winter of my own mother's life for she was fighting cancer and left in August of the following year. Then, during our society's meeting in 2012, I remember the moments when Sophia and I were sitting alone outside the hotel in Oxford, under the sky so blue and fair. I remember the glorious sunshine and fresh air. She ordered a bottle of pineapple juice for me. She always treated me to a drink or something just like my granny used to spoil me. A huge hawk was soaring overhead and hovering. Sophia told me about something special she had given for the auction after dinner. She said she would like me to bid for it.

“No, thanks. I am afraid I am not interested in owning anything anymore,” I said sadly. I then confessed to her it seemed that I no longer cared for most things as I used to. For the first time, I went to London, but instead of visiting the British Library, Royal Academy and even my favourite Fortnum and Mason, I just wandered the streets with Wei-Po (my husband); we were like children lost. What's the meaning of life? Tenure, promotion, new flat, funding? Not really. The old dream of becoming a writer is fading away. “What am I to do next?” Sophia must have seen I was being filled to the brim with distress.

“Tell me, what do you like to do most?” she asked.

“Reading. Reading novels,” I replied.

She gave it some serious thought, and asked again,

“Would you consider the job of professional reader at a publisher's? You know there is such a kind of job.” Dear Sophia must have forgotten I am a foreigner.

“But you see, I am a non-native speaker and have my limits,” said I.

“Well, you are trained in English literature.” It also meant leaving home. I would prefer not to.

Then she shared with me the story about a family member of hers, who had a job and high position in the government, a good family, and so on. One day, he had a

similar kind of feeling or “midlife crisis” and decided to give up everything to work in Australia. But in the end he decided that he loved the UK so much, and so came home to start all over again.



Sophia Hankinson by David Hamilton

I later learnt from Mary (Professor Fielding’s sister who went to the same school with Sophia) that Sophia was really concerned about my condition that day. This was so like Sophia — she took friends seriously, quick to respond to their hearts, and ready to think and care for them nobly.

I first heard about Sophia through Professor Fielding. She was one of the “Martineau ladies” who visited him, and “the daughter of a famous novelist” who went to Oxford university and later kept a museum. We first met in our society’s annual meeting in 2003 at Harris Manchester College, Oxford organized by Alan Middleton, then the society’s secretary. Afterwards, she came to Edinburgh to visit her brother. We met up in the bookstore on Princes Street, and then lunched in the tearoom run by the National Trust of Scotland in a grand Georgian house at Charlotte Square. I was immediately charmed by her delightful chat, witty remarks, profound knowledge, and somewhat “Queeny” way. She told me so much about her father, the famous

war writer Ralph Hale Mottram, and I was amazed by how he could write a novel so successfully that he was able to send his two children to study at Oxford. We talked about so many things and got on really well.

Once I visited Norwich and stayed with Mary. Sophia came to take us to lunch and drove me to see her father's favorite view of Norwich from the crest of St James' Hill on Mousehold (now the Mottram Memorial). He was underread, I felt; so I researched and wrote a book chapter on his most famous war novel *The Spanish Farm Trilogy* (1927).¹

Sophia was exceptional. According to Mary, she was the Head Girl in their school, always stood out. She was curious about new things. Once she asked me to show her how to write some Chinese words such as 愛 ("love"). I accordingly demonstrated the writing with water on my fingertip on the table and she said so admiringly "Extraordinary! How could you do it?" Well, it really is not difficult at all to anyone, including school children from my country! Or when I was working on Charles Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth*² for research into *Once a Week*, I found she had read such a "dry" and obsolete novel set in the 15th century without any complaint (you see, I tend to think that only students studying English literature were compelled to pick it up).

In one of our society's meetings, she told me about her fantastic trip on a boat (or ferry) down a river that reminded me of excitement of the little fellows in *The Wind in the Willows*. Once I presented her a floral bag made of crêpe textile from Kyoto as a gift; she received it joyfully and said: "Just like my old swimsuit!" How come I never thought of that! Whenever I read about the New Women on their bicycles, I thought of Sophia and her anecdote about studying in Oxford and saving money to buy ice cream once a week in the boiling hot summer time. Another example of her being advanced is that she was quick to have a Roombot (room cleaning robot) of the earliest generation at her service. Hence my greetings to her always included how "it" was doing, till one day she said it was out of work, "had to be sent back to the shop," and eventually it expired. She obviously enjoyed having conversations with Wei-Po (a robotics expert) who asked mischievous questions such as "is it a He or She?" and got her reply with laughter: "Don't be silly!" Sophia reminded me of my own grandma who once brought home a huge ostrich egg from South Africa and told me (at the age of ten) about those "pickled people" (mummies) in the British Museum she had visited. People like them could always discover the precious and unusual things in life to beat the mediocre.

I wonder if any members still remember the last time when we were in our society's meeting in Norwich, at the dinner table, when Sophia was inviting some of us to her "funeral." "Don't be daft!" I said, feeling a sting in my heart. Last year I stopped at Norwich and wished to visit her, but was told she would not recognize me -- just like her old lament about things always getting in the way. She must have known I shall always remember the sparkle in her eyes and her sweet smiles, and cherish the love

and care which she showed in every encounter and dialogue. If she were to read this account, she probably would be peeping out from the clouds, saying:

“Hear! Hear!”

¹ “Emotions in R. H. Mottram’s *The Spanish Farm Trilogy*,” *Emotion in Literature* (Seoul UP, 2010), 217-40.

² Serialized in *Once a Week* under the title, “A Good Fight.”

It was Professor Fielding who first told me about Elisabeth, a former overseas student who came to study with him and had already done most of the work herself (unlike me who needed much help and supervision). I heard then that she had been working hard on Harriet Martineau’s biography in the British library and Oxford. One summer, there were two “Martineau Ladies” coming from the Lake District for Edinburgh’s annual Festival and stayed in his flat. They were Barbara Todd and Maureen



Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle by David Hamilton

Colquhoun who owned and lived at The Knoll. Elisabeth, a third Martineau lady, would also come back to Edinburgh to do some research in the National Library of Scotland. So Wei-Po and I were fortunate to join the happy party, and Elisabeth kindly cooked a special, tasty South American meal for all of us. Ken was more overjoyed than usual in the happy gathering. Afterwards I mentioned the encounter to my landlady Dr. Susan Shatto (the editor of a companion series of Dickens's novels and Professor Fielding's old colleague whose elegance and beauty, I must stress, one was always struck by). She exclaimed about my newly met Martineau lady: "Oh, she is most pretty!" I think friends of Elisabeth or Susan would share what I believe was their life-long enthusiasm for their favourite authors; their gentleness must be one of the reasons for their lasting fairness in looks as well as in their hearts.

Since I joined our society in 2003, Elisabeth and I (and Sophia as well) had the chance to meet up periodically, attending the annual meetings in Oxford, Liverpool, Edinburgh, East Anglia, Cumbria, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, and so on. We sometimes gave talks in the same panels. It brought about a feeling of reassurance and togetherness. In fact, after Professor Fielding passed away in 2005, she became like my mentor, ready to give sensible advice. I remember sitting with her by a river in Oxford, sharing experiences about survival in an academia which was sometimes more favorable to male colleagues. She told me where to find her in the British Library (behind a pillar of one reading room) and about the locker she shared with another eminent scholar there. I remember having a sandwich lunch with her and enjoying the gentle breeze in the lavender garden on the top of the British Library; I also remember having dinner at the Japanese noodle restaurant Wagamama, just behind Brian Lake's Jarndyce Antique Bookstore (a specialist Dickens shop) talking about John Sutherland, also a former student of Professor Fielding's whose thesis on Thackeray he had supervised.

Of course, we chatted about more than just work. She had such exquisite taste. I remember her beautiful scarves and the time when we visited the lovely room in Harriet's old house in Tynemouth (now a guest house) when we discussed interior design. I told her about how I had been trying to have something of William Morris design (a love I also shared with our distinguished member, Alan Middleton, one of our society's founders, former secretary and a dear friend) in my flat while my designer unfortunately hated patterns. I remember visiting shops like card shops and stationery shops with Elisabeth. Spotting something lovely through the shop windows, she would say charmingly: "Isn't it nice?" or "Isn't it a darling?"

On 25 October 2008, she emailed me, saying: "Wonderful! This very day I got internet at home -- after four days of telephone company work on the old lines in my building." So in addition to letters by post, we were able to correspond through emails, often discussing our research. For example, once I came across the mention of Harriet in Elizabeth Longford's biography of Queen Victoria: "Miss Martineau, said to be the ugliest woman in the world, was one of the first to declare that she [the Queen] began to look discontented; others pointed out that she was

putting on weight." I emailed Elisabeth on 22 June 2013 to enquire about Harriet's appearance:

... In fact, I am more interested in the comment on Harriet than the young Queen. I was wondering where does the comment on Harriet's "ugliness" come from? It sounds not so "polite" to comment on her look, and I wonder is it from a man? Or any ironic journalist? How dare? Then, what did she know of this criticism?

I received her prompt reply with an illuminating quote on 28 June 2008:

Happy to hear from you. Jane Carlyle reported that Francis Jeffery called HM "most excessively ugly" but soon became very friendly with her: Carlyle Letters 6: 342.

Good luck with your work! Elisabeth

Time flew, just as she described in the following email she sent me in the winter:

This year has gone by in a flash of light! I hope all is going well for you at your university - are you possibly going to be at next summer's conference in Norwich?

I am slowly putting the whole manuscript of my HM biog. into Word, having used Word Perfect which Mac no longer updates, as I'm sure you know. The exercise is good as I just caught references to Once A Week I'd missed -- and thanks to your book could cite without having to wait to go to the Brit. Library Your publication is a valuable research tool as Ken Fielding must have predicted!

Fondly, Elisabeth [31 Oct. 2014]

On 12 Dec. 2014, she sent me the following message, full of encouragement about my on-going interest in children's literature in relation to Harriet:

It would be nice to hear from you sometime at a Mar. Soc. meeting on H. Martineau's children's stories, including comments on your current assignment in Taiwan. Sophia spoke about "Feats on the Fjord," of course, though I felt she missed significant details like the heroine's belief in non-human creatures and the boy's rescue (but I'll reread Sophia's essay when it appears in the newsletter!).

I'm glad Deborah published your piece on "Life in the Sickroom" too -- the Victorians seem to have loved that work. I'm nearly finished changing my biography from WordPerfect into Word, but it's a tedious process and has stopped me from pursuing the search for a publisher. Our return to Norwich for next summer's conference seems a good idea, especially if we are located in the city where we can look at Victorian surroundings, which I think will be the plan.

I hope to see you soon and please keep up your good work!

Affectionately, Elisabeth

At last, summer was approaching. While awaiting our forthcoming meeting, I received another encouraging message about my work on “more of Harriet,” her tales for children:

I'm delighted to hear you will be at the Mart. Soc. conference!. Harriet's tales for children, published as "The Playfellow" were written some time after the "Illustrations of Political Economy" (when she was an invalid at Tynemouth). So they don't have to have a “moral.” If you have been working on children's literature in general I think it would be interesting to hear how her stories compare with others at the time (1840s) or later. Some of her episodes are quite brutal I think!

Best wishes and good luck with more of Harriet, Elisabeth
[21 May 2015]

I replied immediately and the following day, she wrote again to say: “Good you have Vera Wheatley! HM's characters are quite attractive, I think, and seem to reflect her own early experience in family and town--which makes them SOMEWHAT believable!” Then, after hearing my paper in the annual conference, she wrote with good suggestions, especially the reminder about Professor Fielding’s approach:

It was fun to see you in Norwich. I have a possible suggestion for the title of your paper, especially if you add other examples -- and I think it's a good project. Your subject seems to be "Harriet Martineau's Stories for Young People" -- your title was " . . . for the Youth" [?] which implies one young man only!?

Checking on a quotation from Carlyle I just reread Ken Fielding's introduction to vol. 10, which revived his fanatically exact scholarship putting us all to shame.

Elisabeth [20 August 2015]

And she herself, following our mutual supervisor, set the model of a genuine scholar — inquisitive, committed, persistent and, in spite of anything that might have happened in one’s life, still understanding and humane. Their scholarship is first-rate, and their memories last vividly in my mind.

The last time I met Elisabeth was in 2016 when I went to the British Library to consult some references in one reading room, and Wei-Po was sitting alone outside on a bench working on his laptop. To his surprise, she suddenly popped up and said: “Hello, Wei-Po, where is Shu-Fang?” It is amazing she was able to recognize him among the crowd! We had a nice chat, and the next day, I caught a glimpse of her having coffee alone — but this would be my last sight of her. I missed the society’s meeting in Hull the following year and only stayed in Edinburgh to attend the Blackwood's Bicentenary conference. She wrote to me on 6 August, reporting about the annual meeting:

We missed you in Hull! A paper on Dickens and Blackwoods sounds promising -- I think they sympathized with the Tories so Martineau was not a fan of the journal.

My talk was on HM and her nephews, really just light biographical details. One of the best (to me) was by a newish member, Sue Brown, on Julia Wedgwood, the daughter of Fanny W., Harriet's friend. ... Next year in London should be interesting, possibly even drawing people on James M to participate.

Good luck with your paper! Cheers, Elisabeth

[6 August 2017]

Every year, I always received a Christmas card from her, plus greetings through email. Last year, on 24 December 2018, the following email reached me while we were working as normal in Taiwan:

Dear Shu-Fang,

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year!

Awful that you have to work to the last minute.... I'm in California for the holidays, and Harriet Martineau's biography is almost ready to go on line. Are you doing things with her writings I wonder?

Shall hope to see you next summer!

Love, Elisabeth

I missed our secretary's message about Elisabeth. On arrival at Edinburgh in the summer, the news about Sophia reached me first, and then the news about Elisabeth. Looking up at the clouds floating in the splendid Morningside sky, I felt all seemed so unreal. It is so sad that there is no longer the opportunity to hear "see you next summer" again from both of my dear Martineau friends! What other friends could I talk with, just as I did with them, heart to heart and soul to soul? Not many, I must confess.

Sharing with you my memories about Sophia and Elisabeth, many in their own words, I wonder if they are happily reunited in the clouds above? With their families and acquaintances, including our eminent Professor Fielding, Alan Middleton and their wives (both called Janet). I pray to dear God to bless all of them.

Our Shared Love of Literature

by Valerie Doulton

Elizabeth Arbuckle was a woman who went out of her way to support other professional women younger than herself. This was apparent to me from the first time I attended a Martineau Society Conference, at which she immediately went out of her way to greet me warmly. From this time on a friendship grew between us which I will treasure in my heart for the rest of my life. I remember her participating in

every conference which I shared with her, with this generosity of spirit towards others. She was also blessed with a consummate grace in all she did.

It transpired, some years later, that she spent time in London after our conferences to research her own Martineau work. She was keen to develop our friendship in London too, and so developed many happy hours together in the British Library and other places, sharing meals and teas together while talking about our shared love of literature. I was truly delighted that she also attended the Bronte production I staged at The National Portrait Gallery.

At one point we also discussed the possibility of my visiting her in the West Indies, to run classes/workshops in a local primary school there. This plan sadly never came to fruition.

I know I will not be alone in the future in feeling both the presence and absence of Elizabeth at our conferences. She was such a fine academic, and her contributions to our discussions were always so focused. In so many ways, she was such a fine example to us women who must follow on after her, while missing her presence deeply.

Recent Deaths of Members

Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle and Sophia Hankinson (see above)

Recent New Members (UK unless stated)

Sandi Davis (USA), Julie Donovan (USA) and David R.D. Martineau

The Martineau Society

The Martineau Society was founded in the early 1990s by members of the Octagon Unitarian Chapel, Colegate, Norwich, to foster interest in the descendants of Gaston Martineau, surgeon and Huguenot refugee who settled in Norwich in 1695.

Their skills developed in many fields: medicine, art, writing, engineering, education, religion and industry and the Society publishes papers on their lives and correspondence with others in these fields and with their other contemporaries.

The Society is a registered charity (no. 1064092) and holds an annual conference which includes an AGM, papers and visits to places connected with the Martineau family. The Society issues *The Martineau Society Newsletter* twice each year, containing scholarly articles and news of events and publications.

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The Martineau Society Newsletter submissions of 2,500 – 4,000 words or less may be sent to Bruce Chilton, Newsletter Editor:

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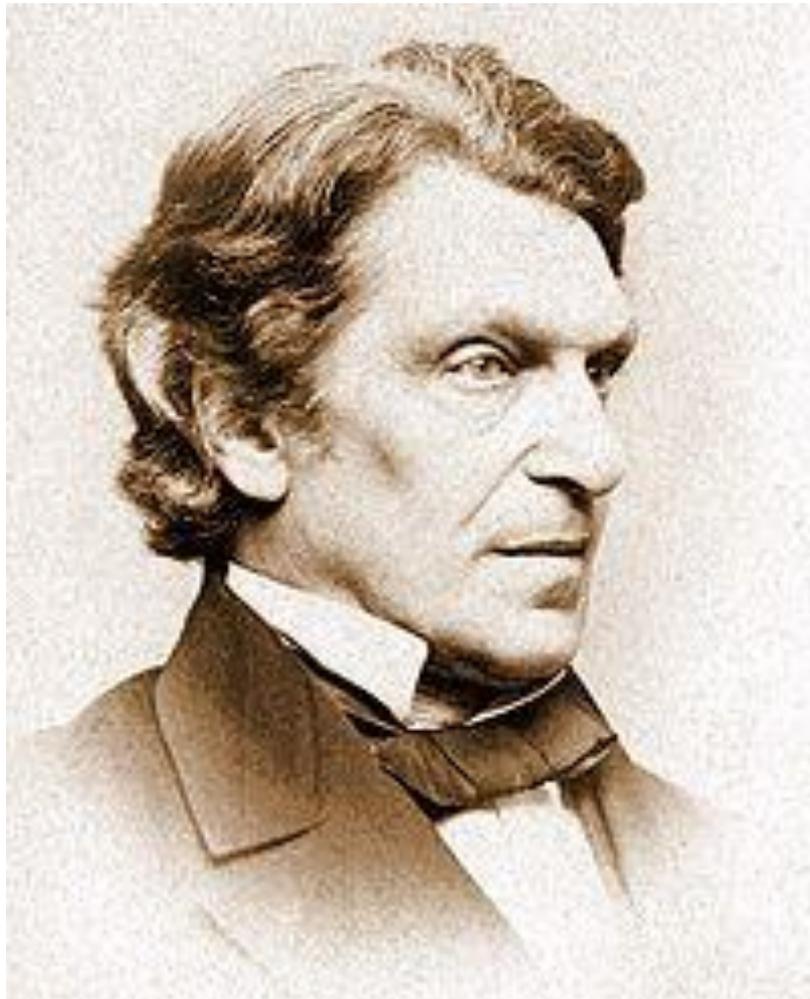
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The essence of sin lies in the conscious free choice of the worse in the presence of a better no less possible. And to make us guilty in its commission three conditions are required – (1) Our mind must be solicited by at least two competing propensities; (2) we must be aware that one of these is worthy and has a claim upon us, and the other not; (3) It must be left to us to determine ourselves to either of these, and we must not be delivered over by foreign causes to the one or the other. Take away any of these conditions, and guilt becomes impossible.

James Martineau in Studies in Christianity:

'Sin'.



James Martineau
by Elliot and Fry c1860s