

The Martineau Society

Newsletter No. 34

New Year 2014

President: Prof. Ruth Watts
Chairperson: Prof. John Vint
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Martineau Society Subscription Information:

Yearly subscriptions are due on January 1st.

* UK: Individual members £20 // Concessionary rate £10 // Institutional membership £45. Life membership rate is £200.

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Editor's Note

It is surely a reflection of changing social concerns that, after decades of apparent neglect, interest has grown, or should it be, regrown in cemeteries and graveyards. Whether it is their historical, architectural or botanical and wildlife interest or the historical importance of the persons buried there, many cemeteries and their monuments are now being cared for by teams of enthusiastic volunteers. The first secular cemetery in Britain was established in 1821 at Norwich by Unitarians from the Octagon Chapel, which the Martineau family attended, and is now in the hands of a voluntary society and its very active supporters.

Delegates to the Society's Conference in 2012 at Bristol visited Arnos Vale Cemetery, the burial place of the Carpenters and Rammohun Roy, and found it is much visited and well-cared for by hardworking volunteers. Members of the Society have visited the grave of Harriet Martineau and other Martineau family members in Key Hill Cemetery, Birmingham. The Society makes a donation to the voluntary society engaged there in restoration work.

Our member, Rod Voegeli, visited Highgate Cemetery, London, recently in search of James Martineau's grave and found it. The gravestone is in reasonable condition if leaning slightly (see photo below from Rod). Highgate Cemetery contains the graves and often grand monuments of very many historical figures in British life. It seems James is seen as a tenant of middling importance, compared to, say, Karl Marx nearby. Highgate Cemetery has very many visitors, including tourists, so it was sad to read that some visitors have malign intentions – to destroy the urn on the monument to Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis.

This newsletter has little or no reference to James Martineau, his life or works. Harriet and her associates, literary and scientific, fill our pages. Most of our articles were given, wholly or in part, as papers at the Society's 2013 Conference at Oxford. Iain Crawford takes us with Harriet to Ireland. Maiko Yamamoto looks at Harriet's novel, *Deerbrook*, with a scientific eye before we enter the fascinating world of Classical Economics, the influences on Harriet and her *Illustrations of Political Economy*, led by John Vint. Keiko Funaki presses us to acknowledge Harriet's view of Political Economy as the 'New Science' before Ruth Watts tells of the enjoyment

of the 2013 Conference. We must be sure to book early for the Society's 2014 Conference in Liverpool.

Liverpool brings your editor back to James. As we look to our Conference in July at Liverpool, our next newsletter clearly needs an article on James' time there. Meanwhile, our thanks to all our contributors to this, the 34th edition of *The Martineau Society Newsletter*. The errors remain, of course, the sole responsibility of your editor and his struggles with Microsoft Office Word. Should you come upon the errors, please do not let them detract from your interest in the Martineaus and their friends and your enjoyment in reading about them.



The grave of James Martineau and family in Highgate Cemetery
(Courtesy of Rod Voegeli)

Notice of the Society's 2014 Conference in Liverpool

As this newsletter goes to the printers, the preparations for the Society's 2014 Conference in Liverpool from Monday, 21 July to Thursday, 24 July, are well advanced. Members should have received an email invitation from our Conference organisers, Jane Bancroft and Sharon Connor. There are Conference forms in the Newsletter envelope.

The important information is that both the deadlines for registration with the Society Treasurer and for booking your Conference accommodation package at the Alicia Hotel, Aigburth Drive, Liverpool L17 3AA are 31 March, 2014. The Alicia Hotel can be contacted on **0151 727 4411** or email **aliciagm@feathers.uk.com** .

The Conference accommodation package will cost £389 for a single member and £529 for members sharing a double hotel room. In addition there will be a Conference registration fee of £30 per delegate which must be paid to the Society's Treasurer at the time of registering. Please do not overlook the need for insurance.

The draft programme will be published in March and promises the established pattern of speakers, tours and social events, including the auction. The Conference will open properly after dinner on Monday, 21 July, with an address by a local historian on Liverpool's 'Triangular Trade', a source of the city's once immense wealth.

The Alicia Hotel sits in Aigburth Drive, Liverpool, looking over the city's famous Sefton Park. Aigburth Drive was once a line of very grand mansion houses of Liverpool's wealthy merchants, ship owners and captains. In the Park sits the design and construction model for the Crystal Palace of the 1853 Great Exhibition containing full-sized palm trees. There is so much to see in Liverpool. This is a Conference you should not miss.

Harriet Martineau, Daniel O'Connell, and Writing about Ireland

Iain Crawford

This paper on Harriet Martineau and Charles Dickens is a look at a subject in which they had a common interest: the question of Ireland. The focus will be on the way in which Harriet's writing about Irish subjects during 1852 allowed her unobtrusively to reposition herself within British journalism as she moved from being an occasional weekly contributor and became instead one of the most frequently heard and important voices in the daily press. In making this shift, she not only transformed her own career but also opened up enormous new opportunities for other Victorian

women of letters. Examining the nature of that change and its process, then, can offer us new insight into not only her individual career but also into the larger situation of professional women authors at mid-century.

Linda Peterson's essay "Harriet Martineau: Masculine Discourse, Female Sage," offers a helpful contextual framework for exploring and understanding Martineau's journalistic transformation. Peterson argues that, in her effort "to gain access to traditional male domains and to prove that women can master those domains, in both style and content" (178), Martineau consciously eschewed the role of the Victorian sage. That role, one typified by such male authors as Carlyle and Ruskin, was characterized by visionary insight and the use of highly emotive oratory. Instead, she sought to cast herself as a wisdom writer, focusing upon rational analysis and argument and using logos-driven language to persuade a readership primarily understood to be male. In addition, language like this aligned with the substance of her writing in that it added weight to her emphasis upon political economy and the importance of Utilitarian values as the best foundation to ensure Britain's continuing social progress.

What I would like to suggest is that Martineau made the move into the role of wisdom writer at a precise point in 1852 when she transitioned from working as a contributing author for Dickens at *Household Words* and grew into a very different position as leader writer for Frederick Knight Hunt and the *Daily News*. By examining her work in the press during this year and, in particular, by comparing her articles on Ireland in both publications we can see how she moved away from a role in which gendered constraints, shaped both her subjects and her authorial voice and took on instead the mantle of the wisdom writer – adopting a dispassionate, reason-based voice that claimed a public authority that had heretofore been the preserve of male authors.

As Deborah Logan has noted in her recent selection of Martineau's pieces of Irish writing, Ireland was a subject that engaged her throughout her career. While the specifics of her focus inevitably evolved, Martineau was remarkably consistent in her core belief as an unabashed unionist, seeing the nation's best hope for the future lying within the United Kingdom. If her themes remained consistent, however, the ways in which she was able to write for *Household Words* and the *Daily News*, respectively, were bound to be different. By looking at, first, the structure of her contributions to each publication, and, second, the way she varies her authorial voice and her appeal to the implied reader, we can see how different were the opportunities at each venue and just how much more substantial a role became available to her at the *Daily News*.

Early in August 1852, Martineau left for a tour of Ireland, having committed to provide the *Daily News* with three leaders a week during her travels, and she duly delivered the first of her twenty-seven Letters for publication on August 13. The series would continue through mid-October, and Martineau followed it with three further leaders on Irish topics before the end of the year. In parallel, meanwhile, she contributed half a dozen articles on miscellaneous Irish topics that came out in *Household Words* between September 11 and November 13, as well as a final piece on butter that drew in part on the Irish trip and that appeared on Christmas Day.

While they include numerous verbal echoes of one another and often overlap in their subject matter, the two sets of articles took on very different roles in their respective

publications. Ranging in subject from butter to peat bogs, Irish workhouses to the life cycle of the salmon, appearing at irregular intervals, and placed at a variety of positions within the issues, the articles for *Household Words* were inevitably a disconnected set. That “The Irish Union” should have been the lead article on November 6 with its trenchant discussion of the operations of the poor law in Ireland at the end of the famine made perfect sense, for example; but that a much lighter piece on carriage construction in Dublin should have been given the same prominence two weeks earlier was a far less compelling call.

By contrast, the twenty-seven Letters from Ireland in the *Daily News* derive much of their force from their placement and internal structuring. First, by appearing three times a week, placed almost invariably in the same position on page 4 and typically coming immediately before the Court News, for example, they claim authority through their very regularity. In several instances, the stark contrast between their accounts of life in Ireland at the end of the famine and the quotidian details of royal life that follow adds to their gravitas while also implicitly commenting on the misplaced foci of British leadership. Second, in the way she structures the Letters as a group, Martineau repeats a narrative and argumentative pattern she had employed fifteen years earlier in writing *Society in America*: beginning by writing from the most familiar region for her English readers – in this case, Ulster -- she gradually moves further and further away, coming finally to the far “wild west” and thereby carrying her readers on her own journey of exploration of Ireland and its otherness. And, following the precepts she had defined for cultural analysis in *How to Observe Manners and Morals*, she explicitly resists drawing larger conclusions in the early articles, holding off until she has gathered, sifted, and measured a far larger set of data. Only then, as she brings the series to its conclusion, does she allow herself the kind of broad conclusions in measured language that we find in Letter 27:

The miseries of Ireland, it has been often and long agreed, proceed from economical and religious causes. The worst economic maladies are in course of extirpation by a method of awful severity, but one that discloses unbounded promise. The old barriers are thrown down day by day; the country is opened to occupation and industry . . .

Deferred in this way, built towards by an accumulation of evidence, anticipated for the reader by a series of prior accounts, the conclusions she offers acquire the appearance of inevitability and her role in articulating them the power of entirely reasonable logic.

Given the distinction between her articles’ different roles within their respective contexts, it is not, then, surprising that Martineau’s representation of her own voice and definition of her implied readers also contrast markedly between the two publications. To show these differences, let me explore her two very different accounts of the Island of Valentia off the southwest coast of County Kerry. Valentia was the remotest location to which she traveled, the furthest point of remove from Britain, and, most importantly of all, it was immediately adjacent to the home of the Daniel O’Connell, universally known to his contemporaries as “the Liberator.” Although he had died in 1847, O’Connell and the antagonistic radical nationalism for which he stood were still very much a presence in Irish political life. Just as importantly, he embodied a variant of the sage figure Martineau rejected both for his inflammatory rhetorical style and, even more, because in his separatist views he was

so antipathetic to her core beliefs.

“Hope with a Slate Anchor,” which appeared in *Household Words* on October 30, is a largely upbeat descriptive account of the island, its population, and its economic progress. While Martineau touches on some details of agricultural poverty and makes a passing reference to the Cholera Hospital, her emphasis focuses upon the area’s rugged natural beauty, colorful stories of smuggling, and the rambunctious behavior of the local young men recklessly sailing across from the mainland for an evening of drunken partying. She refers briefly to O’Connell’s nearby and now-ruined home and then shifts to the topic anticipated in the article’s title: the local slate quarry. After describing the production process in some detail and referring to the jobs the quarry has created, she closes with an extensive description of the domestic uses to which slate has been put:

No insect can penetrate it; and this indicates the value of slate furniture in India, and in our tropical Colonies, where ants hollow out everything wooden from the foundation of a house to its roof-tree. Hearth-stones of slate were a matter of course in this house; and we wished they had been so in some others, where there has been repeated danger of fire from sparks or hot ashes falling between the joins of the stones composing the hearth. Then, there were a music-stand, a what-not, a sofa-table. . .

This conclusion literally domesticates the scene, normalizing it, collapsing the differences between the remote wilds of Ireland and the English homes in which *Household Words* was read, and appealing in particular to the guardians of those homes – the magazine’s female readership.

Just three weeks earlier, by contrast, Martineau’s 24th Letter from Ireland had offered a far more trenchant reading of Valentia and exemplifies the directive she had given herself and her readers in an earlier Letter: “Our business,” she wrote in Letter 16, “is to tell of things as they are, and not to sentimentalize about how they might be expected to be.” After opening with an account of the island’s name, its connections to Spain, and its colorful past – an account that matches the beginning of her piece for Dickens – she shifts tone and direction dramatically, referencing O’Connell’s importance to the region before moving into a powerful account of the state in which much of the population lives:

The cabins of the rural population are wretched. The thatched roofs are rounded, and have no eaves; and the dwellings are usually set down one before another; so that a hamlet has the appearance of a cluster of Hottentot kraals. In our eyes, they are less respectable than Indian wigwams, because of their darkness, and the infamous filth surrounding them, and the hollows in which they are sunk.

Focusing not on the alignment with English domestic values she emphasizes for *Household Words* but, instead, on the savage otherness into which a nominally civilized society has descended, she is almost Swiftian in her excoriation. Where she provides Dickens’s readers with an extended and enthusiastic account of the production of slate and its domestic uses, here she condenses her treatment of the slate quarry into a single paragraph. What does remain intact in both pieces, however, is her insistence upon the importance of English investment and management both in the quarry and in the fine local inn. In the *Daily News*, however,

rather than becoming an end in itself, this detail is connected back to her initial references to the remoteness of the island and what she considers the pernicious role played by O'Connell as she powerfully closes by emphasizing the value to this location, and, by implication, to Ireland as a whole, of its place within the United Kingdom:

There is no need to explain how earnest is the desire . . . for more and more English to come and settle. Valentia is called the next parish to America. We do wish that the Americans who are sympathizing with repealers, and acting and speaking on the supposition that all Irishmen are praying day and night for release from English oppression, could step into this "next parish" . . . and hear for themselves how much the Irish are thinking about repeal, and what is their actual feeling towards the English, on the one hand, and on the other, towards their own landlords, who would have composed their "Parliament in college-green" long ere this, if the Liberator had had his way.

Writing in a voice that has none of the feminine characteristics allowed for and even required in *Household Words* and making her case through rational logic and carefully crafted composition, Martineau thus concludes her series of Letters firmly established as a wisdom writer, appealing, as it were, as one man of a reason to a like-minded audience.

Martineau's role in the two publications was, of course, crucially shaped by their respective editors. If we turn to her professional relationships with Dickens and Frederick Knight Hunt, we can see how differently each man worked with a woman author and understand why she would find the environment Hunt offered at the *Daily News* so much more congenial to her long term professional success. Where Dickens limited his women authors to a tightly constrained role, Hunt sought to make as wide a use of Martineau's talents as possible and, indeed, to help her fulfil potentials unrealized at the time she joined his staff.

Back in 1850, Martineau had been just one of a number of women writers Dickens had recruited to *Household Words*, evidently as part of an effort to appeal to a female readership. By 1852, she had clearly become one of his more important contributors: her total of 23 pieces during the year, for example, constituted a very substantial presence – all told, indeed, they make up a little under 10% of the journal's total columns for the year. And yet, although Dickens and Martineau had known one another since the late 1830s and even though his comments about her work in his letters to W.H. Wills are mostly positive, we see little or no evidence of direct connection between editor and writer. Indeed, as was generally his management practice, Dickens delegated author relations to Wills, with whom Martineau did have a warm and cordial relationship. As a result, her connection with the magazine's editor was limited to that of paid contributor – just one of the many serving under the Conductor's baton.

In April 1852, however, an entirely different editorial relationship became available to her when she unexpectedly received an invitation from Hunt to contribute leaders to the *Daily News*. She immediately recognized the potential for this to be a professional turning point, writing in her *Autobiography* just three years later how she "saw that this might be an opening to greater usefulness than was likely to be equaled by anything else that I could undertake" (*Autobiography* 610). Wrapping up her immediate commitments for Dickens, she seized the opportunity presented and

began to write for Hunt, relishing the chance to appear in the authoritative role of leader writer for the most progressive national daily.

Almost immediately, however, there was a hitch: the leader was a genre with which she had no prior experience, with demands that were entirely different from the largely descriptive vignettes she had learned to master for Dickens. Clearly things did not go smoothly, and just six weeks after her first piece had appeared, we find her writing to Hunt: “We are not getting on very well, -- are we? My papers are not what you want: & yet, we both know that they might be, if I could have a lesson from you, & learn something of what your paper was before I saw it” (*Letters* 3:235). These early difficulties, however, became an opportunity for their relationship to develop, as Hunt responded actively to his new writer’s appeal. Late that July, he traveled to visit her in Scotland and, as Martineau wrote in the *Autobiography*, “for two half days he poured out so rich a stream of conversation that my niece could not stand the excitement” (*Autobiography* 611). Evidently, treating her as an intellectual equal and making this exceptional effort to tutor her in the requirements of the new genre, Hunt won her loyalty and initiated a close friendship that was only broken by his untimely death just two years later. Replicating her experience with her first editor back in the late 1820s, W.J. Fox at the *Monthly Repository*, he thus provided Martineau with the kind mentoring and intellectual friendship that she deeply valued, found invaluable for her professional growth – and that she did not derive from her relationship with Dickens.

The impact of this difference in her editorial relationships becomes evident if we look at the pattern of her work over the course of 1852, which falls into three distinct phases. First, between January and mid-May she published 10 articles in *Household Words*, all to do with industrial life and almost all of them focused upon specific manufacturing processes. Then, between mid-May and late July she published nothing with Dickens but did see her first twenty-one leaders appear in the *Daily News*. Finally, between late July and the end of the year, she returned to the pages of *Household Words* with another 13 pieces, but she also contributed an additional 46 leaders to the *Daily News*. Although it was not evident at the time, effectively, this was the beginning of the end of her work for Dickens: as we have seen with the differences in her pieces on Ireland, she was discovering a whole new range of possibilities in leader writing. And, indeed, she simply stopped contributing to *Household Words*, not appearing again until December the following year, and wrapped up her contributions with 7 miscellaneous pieces in 1854. By contrast, those 127 leaders for Hunt in 1853 were just a fraction of the more than 1600 she would eventually contribute over the course of her 14-year relationship with the *Daily News*.

In making this move during the course of 1852 from working for Dickens to working with Hunt, Martineau was also being consistent with a larger perennial concern in her life and her career: the changing role of women in Victorian society and male responses to cultural shifts around women and work. Nine of the ten articles she wrote for *Household Words* in the first half of 1852, for example, may have dealt with manufacturing processes, but a recurring note in them is the way in which male industrial workers combined to exclude women from certain areas of employment. As she notes, however, in describing the particular skills female hands bring to needle manufacturing, “women will obtain whatever liberty of occupation is

reasonable.” Her tenth piece in this set of articles, “The New School for Wives,” is quite unlike the other nine. It describes initiatives to provide some basic educational opportunities for Birmingham factory workers in “an age when the position of women is rapidly altering,” and she calls out for particular attention the way in which the students are primarily motivated by the desire to learn to write and how “the learners stick to their writing, as if nothing could discourage them.” As her own opportunity to learn a hitherto unfamiliar genre of writing at the *Daily News* opened up in mid-1852, Martineau discovered new potentialities in herself and a whole new way in which she could engage in the formation of Victorian public discourse by positioning herself as wisdom writer at the heart of the daily press. Little wonder, then, that she seized upon it so eagerly or that she felt able to write to Eliza Meteyard on May 31 that “I do think the vocation of a single life for women is becoming something real” (*Letters* 3: 228). And little wonder, too, that nothing came of the further “10 or 12 papers for ‘Household Words’” she mentioned in a letter to Charles Kingsley the following month. It was not until the following year that Dickens, who had for so long been a hands-off editor, finally woke up to the danger of losing such a significant contributor when he wrote chidingly to Martineau in April 1853:

My Dear Miss Martineau,

I *must* write a few words in reply to your note; first, for the pleasure of corresponding with you, however briefly; and secondly to say how very starry and stripy our Bleaburn experience appears to me to be.

I am anxious to see the result of your Comte labors. I require a good deal to counterbalance your total abstinence from Household Words for so long a time, and have a selfish disposition to be mighty critical. (*Letters* 7: 67)

Clearly, he wanted her to resume writing for him, but by then it was too late. Comte, as she had written to Ralph Waldo Emerson back in February 1852, along “with some desultory work for Mr. Dickens” (*Letters* 3: 223) may have been enough for her a year earlier, but by the following spring Martineau was thoroughly established in her newfound role with the *Daily News* and securely positioned at the influential heart of Victorian daily journalism. And so, as far as continuing to write the kinds of incidental pieces Dickens wanted for his much less authoritative mass-market journal, well, as she put it in one of her last 1852 pieces for him, “sentiment on the subject would be quite misplaced.”

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Harriet Martineau's Deerbrook as a 'Psychological' Novel

Maiko Ohtake Yamamoto

Few people today remember Harriet Martineau as a novelist and even fewer consider her a novelist who had an impact on the development of the novel as a genre. One obvious reason for this is that she wrote only one fully-fledged novel in her career, *Deerbrook* in 1839. However, when one considers the range of her fiction, which includes not only this novel but also a historical romance, tales with specific instructive purposes, children's stories and other works, one is struck by the fact that she wrote so many works of fiction in the course of her career. This paper discusses the significant role Martineau played in the development of the novel and other forms of fiction by introducing a new trend in the representation of the inner lives of the characters.

I would like to do this by examining her description of the inner psychological lives of her characters in *Deerbrook* in contrast to her critical attitude towards the representation of subjectivity in *Villette*, a novel written by Charlotte Brontë in 1853. The seeming contradiction in Martineau's attitudes about the representation of subjectivity in the two novels illuminates the particular position and role she assumed in the development of psychological realism in the early-to-mid Victorian novel.

Deerbrook received mixed reviews when it was published in 1839. The *Edinburgh Review* showed a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward the novel. The reviewer was quick to notice several positive features in it that had already been associated with Martineau's fiction since the *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832-34). The features included 'poetical beauty' of the descriptions, realistically presented

sentiments of the characters, and 'a deep knowledge of human nature.

In fact, the particular appeal of *Illustrations* to the public lay also in these 'literary' merits although the main object of the series was to disseminate the ideas and principles of political economy. It is obvious that Martineau's particular advantages were her skillful representations of the emotional or psychological aspects of human life. However, in *Deerbrook*, such psychological aspects became one of the focal points that divided the opinions of the contemporary readers. The *Edinburgh* reviewer commented:

Of the merits of *Deerbrook*, foremost in our opinion are its able analyses of dispositions, and especially of what may be called the morbid anatomy of human passions.¹

Although it was introduced as one of the 'foremost' merits of the novel, the very words, 'the morbid anatomy of human passions' suggested the reviewer's ambivalent attitude. It suggested an awareness that although the novel's insight into 'human passions' was as complete as to be called an 'anatomy,' it could be, at the same time, repulsive either morally or aesthetically as the word 'morbid' implied.

Deerbrook shows that intense emotion often threatens a character's peace of mind and sometimes erodes their minds from within. It was such a display of emotions and their overpowering effects upon the mind that divided the reactions of the readers. Jane Carlyle recorded a friend's reaction: 'She made wide eyes at me and drew her little mouth together into a button.'³ This eloquently tells of her disapprobation. On the other hand Marian Evans, the future 'George Eliot,' left a somewhat muted neutral comment that she was 'surprised at the depths of feeling it reveals.'⁴ Charlotte Brontë, however, expressed enthusiastic praise in a letter to Martineau, sent under the pseudonym of Currer Bell in 1849. She claimed that the novel had 'really done him good, added to his stock of ideas, and rectified his view of life.'⁵ While there is no knowing exactly what Brontë thought she owed Martineau, it would not be so wrong to assume that she was inspired by what was called 'the morbid anatomy of human passions' in *Deerbrook*.

Three years after this letter, Brontë published her third novel, *Villette*, in 1853. With its extensive analysis of the emotional life, it is tempting to regard it as a direct offspring of *Deerbrook*. However, Martineau severely criticized the novel's subjectivity in her review, published in the *Daily News*:

With all her objectivity, 'Currer Bell' here afflicts us with an amount of subjective misery which we may fairly remonstrate against An atmosphere of pain hangs about the whole, forbidding that repose which we hold to be essential to the true presentment of any large portion of life and experience.⁶

Here Martineau argued that the truth of life could be found in the 'repose' of objectivity and rejected the suffering of Lucy by calling it 'subjective misery.' One may wonder whether Martineau's opposition was not self-contradictory, for Martineau apparently endorsed the significance of subjective experience in *Deerbrook*. It is probable that Martineau's view of the inner life had undergone a considerable change by the time she wrote the review in the early 1850s, nearly fifteen years after she wrote *Deerbrook* in the late 1830s. However, the seeming contradiction makes one suspect that from the outset, *Deerbrook* was written from a

completely different perspective from that of *Villette*. On what principles or theories, then, was the psychological representation in *Deerbrook* based? Before trying to answer this question, I would like to look at the particular relationship between the novels in general and psychological theories during the period from the 1830s to the 1850s.

In her influential work, *Novels of the Eighteen-forties*, Kathleen Tillotson points out that 'the growing tendency to introspection in the novel' from the 1830s had completely set in by the 1850s. As an instance of such a trend, Tillotson records a negative comment by a lady on Charles Kingsley's newly published novel *Westward Ho!* in 1855, in which she complained that it 'had too little of the inward' to satisfy 'one's modern tastes.'⁷ Similarly, Nicholas Dames points out that the same novel by Kingsley was reviewed by George Eliot and contrasted to a certain type of domestic novels in vogue then, which she called "psychological" novel.' According to Dames, this is the first instance where the words psychology and novel were combined to make the phrase 'psychological novel.'⁸

Turning to the nascent science of psychology, the field had become wider and more dynamic by the mid-century. Discourses on the mind emerging from physiology and popular 'pseudo-sciences' like phrenology and mesmerism were becoming increasingly influential and were challenging long established metaphysical or philosophical concepts of the mind. By mid-century, psychology had become, in the words of Rick Rylance, 'largely an eclectic, generalist field.'⁹ Many Victorian novelists were known to have a serious interest in various psychological issues and debates, and their works often revealed their particular views on the mind. Thus, recent critical works have explored the implication of various strands of psychological thought for many mid-to-late Victorian novels.

Since it was written in the late 1830s, in spite of its particular emphasis on the inner lives of the characters, *Deerbrook* has not been the object of serious critical attention in terms of its relationship to any strand of nineteenth-century psychology. Even though the novel's particular importance to the development of the domestic novel has been recognized since the mid-1970s, modern critics share the opinion that Martineau's characters do not have enough psychological complexity. Valerie Sanders suggests the possible reason for this by providing the historical perspective of the nineteenth-century psychology and its implication for the novel:

In the 1830s novelists had not yet developed a sophisticated psychological and emotional vocabulary which might have enabled Martineau to explore [her characters'] feelings more subtly, as George Eliot was to do in *Middlemarch*, drawing on a new scientific range of reference. Martineau, instead, writes a philosophical novel . . .¹⁰

Sanders is right to say that *Deerbrook* is 'a philosophical novel' rather than a novel 'drawing on a new scientific range of reference.' However, this does not automatically mean that *Deerbrook* has little to do with psychological theories. Even though it does not conform to the modern concept of 'science' based on experimental investigation, philosophy was indeed regarded as a most orthodox 'science' of the mind throughout most of the nineteenth-century. It was not because Martineau had no concept or theories of the mind to draw on but rather because the theories that informed her writing were of a different kind that *Deerbrook* appears

lacking in depth from a modern perspective. Martineau was in fact actively involved with the current theories of the mind and explored their implications in *Deerbrook*, just as many later Victorian novelists were to do in their works.

Martineau based her idea of the working of the mind on associationism. Associationism was one of the major schools of philosophical thought in the nineteenth century, the origin of which could be traced back to John Locke, who elaborated the theory in the 1690s. Locke argued that the mind was blank at birth and not only ideas but also the structures of the mind were derived from experience. Associationism proposed a mechanistic linear model of cognition. External stimuli caused sensations, which became simple ideas in the mind. These simple ideas were compounded to formulate complex ideas through the process of association. The fundamental structures of the mind themselves were thought to be established through the repetition of innumerable stimuli and associations in childhood. Since the development of the mind was solely dependent on experience, environment was thought to be very important.

In *Deerbrook*, associationist ideas appear in the early part of the novel. The two heroines, the sisters Hester and Margaret, have recently been orphaned and have just arrived in Deerbrook to stay at their cousin's. When they are exchanging their first impressions of their new friends, their conversation develops into a discussion about the nature and workings of the mind:

'I almost wonder sometimes whether all things are not made at the moment by the mind that sees them, so wonderfully do they change with one's mood, and according to the store of thoughts they lay open in one's mind. If I lived in a desert island (supposing one's intellect could go on to grow there), I should feel sure of this.'¹¹

Hester's impression that all the things she perceives seem to be 'made at the moment by the mind' and that the perception depends on 'the store of thoughts' endorses the doctrine of association. She also considers environment an important factor for the mental development as is suggested by her doubt about the growth of one's intellect on a desert island.

The main plot of *Deerbrook* revolves around the hero Edward Hope's misguided marriage to Hester out of his false sense of duty in spite of his hidden attachment to Margaret. However, contrary to modern expectation, Martineau's psychological analysis is not focused on Hope. It is Hester's emotional crises connected to her personal weakness that constitutes the novel's chief psychological issue. What is presented as her particular defect is her tendency to introspection. In the early stage of his acquaintance with the sisters, Hope writes to his brother about their respective characters. While he praises Margaret as '[s]uch pure existence, without question without introspection, without hesitation or consciousness', he regrets that Hester is 'not exempt from . . . too close a contemplation of self.'¹²

It is obvious that introspection is regarded as a morally problematic act in *Deerbrook*. In this sense, *Deerbrook* stands on a different ground from that of *Villette* by Charlotte Brontë, who does not seem to question the moral implications of introspection. The difference arose because Martineau's view of the mind is within the boundary of 'moral philosophy,' which was the main stream of psychological inquiry from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the first third of the nineteenth

century. According to Michael S. Kearns, psychology in this period 'was a well-defined endeavor' and its general goal was to 'discover the laws of thought and thereby improve human life.'¹² It is obvious that Martineau, who was born in 1802 belongs to this period. Naturally, she had a different perspective on psychology from those of the mid-Victorian novelists, for whom psychology was no longer 'a well-defined endeavor'.

Martineau encountered associationism for the first time in 1818, when she was sixteen through David Hartley's *Observations on Man*, which elaborated Locke's idea. She wrote about its extraordinary impact on her in her *Autobiography*:

That book I studied with a fervour and perseverance which made it perhaps the most important book in the world to me, except the bible; and there really is in it, amidst its monstrous deficiencies and absurdities, so much that is philosophically true¹⁴

Martineau wrote this passage in 1855 when she had already given up her belief in associationism as a valid scientific theory. However, even at this stage, she still valued some elements of Hartley's book as 'philosophically true.' It seems that Martineau's attraction to associationism had much to do with the fact that she embraced its doctrine as 'moral philosophy' of which the ultimate aim is to improve human life.

In *Deerbrook*, introspection is considered especially harmful when it is concerned with one's 'mood' or feeling. For example, Hope checks Hester when she expresses her concern about his seemingly low spirits, telling her not to fall into 'the habit of talking about spirits.' He calls it 'a bad subject to dwell upon.'¹⁵ Margaret, on the other hand, tries to stop Hester's self-victimization based on her ungrounded sense of failure in the matrimonial life. Margaret warns Hester that it is 'wrong to think and talk of [herself]' as she does and that '[t]here is something sickly' about it.¹⁶ Hester's self-tormenting complaint that precedes Margaret's admonishment serves as an effective dramatic representation of what Martineau called 'the subjective misery' in her criticism of *Villette*.

On what theory or principle, then, is this prohibition of thinking about one's own feeling based? We can find a clue to this question in Martineau's early essay, 'On the Agency of Feelings in the Formation of Habits' published in the *Monthly Repository* in 1829. In this essay, she explained the function of feeling:

A frequent repetition of these feelings produces a series of actions, till, by the unflinching power of association, the emotion and consequent action become inseparably connected; and feeling . . . becomes a principle We are not responsible for our feelings They are not so directly in our own power, and are not the subjects of exhortation, approbation, or reproof Our emotions depend so much on circumstances wholly beyond our own control¹⁷

Martineau explains the function of feelings as an instrument to form one's principles and habits, drawing upon the associationist idea that the repetition of sensations and associations creates the structure of one's mind. She goes on to state that the individual is not responsible for his or her feelings because they are dependent on circumstances that are beyond one's control. Her statement that feelings 'are not the subjects of exhortation, approbation, or reproof' seems to echo the warning

against talking about one's own feeling in *Deerbrook*. Here we can observe Martineau's practical application of Hartleyan doctrine. *Deerbrook* can be considered the fictionalized version of her thesis on the human mind, centering on her understanding of emotions.

One may wonder whether it is only such a didactic perspective that informed the psychological representation in *Deerbrook*. Does it present the inner lives of the characters such as Hester's only to give a warning against the morally corrupting effect of introspection? There is, in fact, another kind of introspection in *Deerbrook* that differs from Hester's 'morbid' one. In chapter five of the first volume, there is a long solitary reflection by Maria Young, who is a lame, orphaned governess without any prospect for the future. Looking out from the school-room window at the people gathering flowers in the field, Maria contemplates the working of the mind, such as the nature of emotions, recollection, and imagination:

The delight of a happy mood of mind is beyond everything at the time; it sets one above all that can happen; it steeps one in heaven itself; but one cannot recall it: only remember it was so The imagination is a better medium than the eye Once having received pictures into our minds, and possessing a clear eye in the mind to see with, the going about to obtain more is not of very great consequence. This comforts one for prisoners suffering *carcere duro*, and for townspeople who cannot often get out of the streets; and for lame people like me. I wish there was as much comfort the other way,—about such as suffer from unhappy moods of mind, and know little of the joy of the highest.¹⁸

Even though the subject of her introspection is one's 'mood,' Maria does not brood on her own feelings. Rather, she contemplates the transient nature of feelings, which are irretrievable once they pass. She compares them to visual images, which one can recall and re-experience even more vividly with the help of the imagination.

Once we are aware of the theoretical background of Martineau's idea of the mind, we can see that she took pains to present Maria's solitary reflection as something quite different from what she may call 'subjective misery.' It is obvious that Martineau intended to present Maria's introspection as a 'philosophical' one, directed by her interest in the working of the mind. Martineau represents such intellectual contemplation as something that can be a refuge from one's emotional sufferings. In spite of her unhappy situation, Maria's introspection is far from morbid. Soundness of her introspection is emphasized by the narrator's somewhat strained comment about the state of her mind which followed her long reflection: 'Any one who could at the moment have seen her face, would have pronounced her cheerful at heart; and so she was.'¹⁹ Thus, Martineau's criticism of *Villette* in terms of its representation of subjectivity is not a self-contradiction. Both Martineau and Brontë present an inner life of a governess whose situation in life and sentiment is similar to each other. However, at least from Martineau's point of view, the natures of their introspections are quite different. While one presents a morally beneficial 'philosophical' reflection, the other presents a morally harmful 'subjective misery.'

Modern readers today may fail to recognize Martineau's moral framework and confound Maria's philosophical reflection with a morally dubious act of self-examination. On the other hand, they may also find the moral framework of the author artificial and damaging to the artistic quality of the description. However, in

spite of the rather forced serenity and rationality of the narrator, Maria's introspection is not void of emotion. Her reflection upon the mystery of human mind leaves a lasting impression upon the reader all the more for her quiet yearning for the 'happy mood.' Was it not such a subtle but powerful representation of emotion that made Brontë enthusiastic in her praise of *Deerbrook*? Considering the overpowering ascendancy of the moral intentions that governed Martineau's creative directions, Brontë's praise may have been misplaced. However, there is no doubt that what Martineau achieved in her minute analyses of the inner lives of her characters played an important role in the development of the psychological representations in the novel.

¹ 'Deerbrook; A Novel', *Edinburgh Review* 69 (Jul 1839), 495.

² 'Deerbrook; A Novel', 496.

³ Quoted by Valerie Sanders, *Reason over Passion: Harriet Martineau and the Victorian Novel* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1986), 58.

⁴ Quoted by Sanders 1986, 59.

⁵ Harriet Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, ed. Maria Weston Chapman, vol.2, (1877; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010) 323.

⁶ Miriam Allott ed., *The Brontës: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974) 172.

⁷ Kathleen Tillotson, *Novels of the Eighteen-Forties* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1954), 131.

⁸ Nicholas Dames, "The Withering of the Individual": Psychology in the Victorian Novel,' *A Concise Companion to the Victorian Novel*, Ed. Francis O'Gorman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005) 91-94.

⁹ Rick Rylance, "The Disturbing Anarchy of Investigation": Psychological Debate and the Victorian Periodical,' *Culture and science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, eds. Louise Henson, et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 239.

¹⁰ Valerie Sanders, 'Introduction,' *Deerbrook*, Harriet Martineau (1839; London: Penguin, 2004) xxvii.

¹¹ Harriet Martineau, *Deerbrook*, ed. Valerie Sanders (1839, London: Penguin, 2004) 23.

¹² *Deerbrook*, 97-98.

¹³ Michael S. Kearns, *Metaphors of Mind in Fiction and Psychology* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1987) 45.

¹⁴ Martineau, *Autobiography*, 104.

¹⁵ *Deerbrook*, 219.

¹⁶ *Deerbrook*, 242.

¹⁷ Harriet Martineau, 'On the Agency of Feelings in the Foundation of Habits,' *Miscellanies* (Boston: Milliard, Gray and Company, 1836) 203-205.

¹⁸ *Deerbrook*, 45-46.

¹⁹ *Deerbrook*, 47-48



Harriet Martineau – Wiki-Commons

Harriet Martineau's Illustrations and Classical Economics

John Vint

Harriet Martineau was perhaps the most successful populariser of Classical political economy. In her work she concerned herself with the question of the opposition to machinery and with the more general question of strikes. Both themes are apparent in the early stories 'The Rioters' (1827) and 'The Turn-out' (1829), written before she read political economy, and in the tales 'The Hill and the Valley' and 'A Manchester

Strike' from her *Illustrations of Political Economy* 1832-4. 'The Rioters' is a story of machine breaking in Manchester and the 'The Turn-out' a tale of a strike in a cloth manufacturing town. In her Autobiography she recalls when she first read Jane Marcet's *Conversations*:

It was in the autumn of 1827, I think, that a neighbour lent my sister Mrs. Marcet's "Conversations on Political Economy." I took up the book, chiefly to see what Political Economy precisely was; and great was my surprise to find that I had been teaching it unawares, in my stories about Machinery and Wages. It struck me at once that the principles of the whole science might be advantageously conveyed in the same way, — not by being smothered up in a story, but by being exhibited in their natural workings in selected passages of social life (Autobiography, p.138).

She later said that her 'view and purpose date from my reading of Mrs Marcet's *Conversations*. During that reading, groups of personages rose up from the pages, and a procession of action glided through its arguments, as afterwards from the pages of Adam Smith, and all the other Economists' (pp.138-139). Thus she read the work of the major classical writers and the result was an ambitious project to reveal the key elements of political economy not as contentious history and philosophy as in the theoretical tracts, but as pictures which will illustrate how the principles operate in the real world. As she said in the Preface to the *Illustrations*:

The works already written on Political Economy almost all bear a reference to books which have proceeded, or consist in part of discussions of disputed points. Such references and such discussions are very interesting to those whom they concern, but offer a poor introduction to those to whom the subject is new. There are a few, a very few, which teach the science systematically as far as it is yet understood. These too are very valuable: but they do not give us what we want — the science in a familiar, practical form. They give us its history; they give us its philosophy; but we want its picture. They give us truths, and leave us to look about us, and go hither and thither in search of illustrations of those truths. Some who have a wide range in society and plenty of leisure find this all-sufficient; but there are many more that have neither time nor opportunity for such an application of what they learn. We cannot see why the truth and its application should not go together, — why an explanation of the principles which regulate society should not be made more clear and interesting at the same time by pictures of what those principles are actually doing in communities (*Illustrations*, volume 1, pp. xi-xii).

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* is the only work of political economy mentioned in the Preface and she refers to it as a prelude to the argument in the above passage -- 'a book whose excellence is marvellous when all the circumstances are considered, but which is not fitted nor designed to teach the science to the great mass of the people' (p.x).

The framework she used for the stories in the *Illustrations* followed the structure of the sections in James Mill's *Elements of Political Economy*, 1821: Production, Distribution, Exchange (Interchange in Mill's terminology) and Consumption, although she added other topics, such as slavery in 'Demerara' and poverty in 'Ireland'.

The rest of this paper briefly outlines the key features of Classical economics and explores how Harriet Martineau gave expression in the *Illustrations* to two aspects – the idea of laissez-faire and the theory of population. In both areas she received criticism for her approach – criticism which helped to strengthen her resolve to do the work she loved.

The Background to Classical Political Economy

The Classical period of Political Economy is often seen as beginning with Adam Smith and finishing with John Stuart Mill in 1871. Smith's pioneering work *The Wealth of Nations* was the first in a line of books which stretched for almost a century and which made up the key literature of Classical Political Economy. The main texts were:

1776	Adam Smith	<i>The Wealth of Nations</i>
1798	Thomas Malthus	<i>The Principles of Population</i>
1817	David Ricardo	<i>The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation</i>
1821	James Mill	<i>The Elements of Political Economy</i>
1836	Nassau Senior	<i>An Outline of the Science of Political Economy</i>
1848	John Stuart Mill	<i>The Principles of Political Economy</i> , 1st Edition.
1871	John Stuart Mill	<i>The Principles of Political Economy</i> , 7th Edition

John Stuart Mill's book is mentioned twice in this list – the first edition was a comprehensive statement of where the subject had reached in mid-century. The 7th and final edition is mentioned because it was published just at the end of the Classical period in 1871. From this list Harriet Martineau read Smith, Malthus, James Mill and McCulloch. It is not clear that she read Ricardo's *Principles* but she picked up Ricardian ideas from his mentor (and hers) James Mill. James Mill's son, John Stuart Mill's magisterial summary of Classical thinking was of course written years after Martineau's *Illustrations*.

The approach taken by the Classical Economists was (almost) entirely non-mathematical with some use made of descriptive statistics. Their theories were based on a mixture of induction (from observations) and deduction (from first principles) depending on the writer. Historians argue about essential characteristics of classical political economy but we can point to some key features. At a very general level they are as follows:

- The theory of population and the relation between wages and population growth,
- A concern with growth, development, changing resources, and technical knowledge,
- Attention to broad social classes and very generally those social institutions bearing on economic matters.

Those features found expression in a number of specific topics such as:

- Laissez-faire and the functions of Government
- Population growth in relation to growth in resources
- Poverty, pauperism and the Poor Law
- The wages fund doctrine and the trades unions
- The impact of machinery
- The factory acts

International trade -- Free trade
Monetary economics
Growth and development
Public finance

We now turn to examine how Harriet Martineau made use of Classical concepts in her writing under two of these headings – 1) Laissez faire and 2) Population growth.

1) Laissez-faire and the Functions of Government.

The original influential ideas came from Adam Smith. There are two main works of importance here. The first is his earlier philosophical work *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* of 1759 in which Smith discusses a system of ethics on the basis of a doctrine of natural harmony guided by God with some implications for the economic order on the way. The second work is the now more famous *Wealth of Nations* of 1776 and here Smith engages in a more specialized inquiry into the economic order.

The Theory of Moral Sentiments (TMS)

In this philosophical work Smith argues for a beneficent order in nature which manifests itself through the operation of forces of an external nature and innate propensities implanted in man by nature (moral sentiments, self-interest regulated by natural justice and tempered by sympathy or benevolence). These operate in conjunction with the physical forces to achieve beneficent purposes of Nature. Underlying this is a guiding Providence – given many names – ‘the Author of Nature’; ‘an invisible hand’; ‘Providence’; ‘the Divine Being’ and in rare cases ‘God’.

Beneficence may be absent and society can still exist as long as self-interest and justice operate. So beneficence is desirable but not necessary. One can perhaps appreciate the attraction of Smith’s position to Harriet Martineau with her Unitarian background and especially her belief in Necessarianism.

It must be stressed that in this work there is no express formulation of laissez-faire and no explicit condemnation of government interference with individual initiative, but it is clear that self-interest regulated by natural justice would be sufficient to attain the needs of Nature in the economic world.

The Wealth of Nations (WoN)

There are traces of the above argument in *The Wealth of Nations* but there are also large differences between the two books.

The emphasis on a deity in *Moral Sentiments* as an author/guide of Nature is almost absent in the *WoN*. There is an incidental allusion to the ‘wisdom of nature’ and also to the famous passage where Smith talks of the ‘invisible hand’ but that is all. It has been argued that this enabled Smith to point to problems in the order of Nature without criticizing the Author!

In both books self-interest is important. Man following his own interests also serves the general interest and thus provides the notion of harmony. The self-interested individual will pay attention to his customers, keeping costs down in order to make a

profit. As long as profits are at a 'normal' level, the actions of all these individuals acting in their own interests will benefit society as a whole since national income is the sum of all incomes and all resources will be used efficiently. This is an example of the theory of unintended consequences – in this case positive ones.

In TMS this harmony is universal but in WoN it is qualified. In WoN there is one very famous 'harmony passage':

It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest (pp. 26-27).

But in general in WoN Smith looks at specific cases and takes every point separately, and does not rely on a general argument about harmony. Also although there is a role for benevolence in TMS, it is not to be relied on in WoN.

Smith goes on in WoN to present an extensive programme for the extension of natural liberty – although these were not brought together:

Free choice of occupations – abolish apprenticeship and settlement laws

Free trade in land – repeal restrictions on land transfers

Internal free trade – abolish local custom taxes

External free trade – abolition of duties and bounties and the prohibitions of the mercantilist era and trading monopolies

These restrictions all interfere with the operation of the free market. So in general there is a presumption in favour of the market and a policy of laissez-faire (leave it alone). However, Smith provides a number of exceptions to the doctrine of natural harmony:

Masters and workmen have a conflict of interests over wages – the masters prevail – they can combine and have a stronger bargaining position.

Private initiative cannot be trusted to take care of the roads.

The division of labour impairs the intelligence, enterprise and moral character of labourers (although the division of labour is the necessary consequence of a certain propensity in human nature – to barter and exchange - and is a major factor in economic growth in Smith's work).

The Functions of Government

Given all of this, what was Smith's approach to the functions of Government? Although Smith was aware of these exceptions to natural harmony, his list of the functions of government is small - 1. Defence 2. Justice 3. Certain public works. But why was his 'list' apparently so limited? One reason is that he did not have a proper list – he did not bring all the cases for intervention together as may be done in a modern textbook or monograph. His general attitude towards government was based on his hostility to mercantilism – the earlier period of thought which sought to maximise gold bullion inflow and to regulate and control trade to do so. Government was involved in this and was often corrupt and incompetent.

Harriet Martineau on Laissez-faire and the Functions of Government

This was an important topic for Martineau because as Mark Blaug put it in 'Ricardian Economics' whatever else Harriet Martineau may have preached in the *Illustrations*, the vulgar advocacy of laissez-faire pure and simple is often supposed to be its

'hallmark' (p.138). John Stuart Mill in a letter to Thomas Carlyle wrote that 'Harriet Martineau reduces the laissez-faire system to absurdity by merely carrying it out in all its consequences' (Letters, 1, p.46). As Blaug argues – there are no grounds for saying this – her treatment is a perfectly standard treatment based on Smithian principles.

Thus in 'Life in the Wilds' she believes as Smith does in the notion that the role of government is to free society from obstacles which prevent the market working and thus industry would find its natural reward:

"It is not the duty of the English government," replied the captain, "to inquire who is idle in the kingdom and who is not, and to punish or encourage individuals accordingly. This would be an endless task, and an irksome one both to rulers and the ruled. But the same work may be done in a shorter way. Governments should protect the natural liberty of industry by removing all obstacles, — all bounties and prohibitions, — all devices by which one set of people tries to obtain unfair advantages over another set. If this were fairly done, industry would find its natural reward and idleness its natural punishment; and there would be neither more nor less unproductive labourers than the good of society would require" (pp. 92-93).

However, she also adopts Smith's position that the duties of government also include the provision of public utilities, as seen in 'A Tale of the Tyne':

The same duty of securing the free exercise of industry requires that companies should be privileged to carry on works of public utility which are not within the reach of individual enterprise, as in the case of roads, canals, bridges, &c....(pp.134-135).

Moreover and rather surprisingly she also felt that government expenditure could also be used to provide entertainment for the people, as in the following passage from 'The Three Ages':

Considering that one of the great objects of government is the security, and another the advancement, of the people, it seems as if one of the expenses of government should be providing useful and innocent amusement for the people. All must have something to do in the intervals of their toils; and as the educated can find recreations for themselves, it behoves the guardians of the public to be especially careful in furnishing innocent amusements to those who are less fitted to choose their pleasures well. But where are the public grounds in which the poor of our large towns may take the air, and exercise themselves in games? Where are the theatres, the museums, the news-rooms, to which the poor may resort without an expense unsuited to their means (p.97)?

It is quite surprising how far Martineau was prepared to go in propounding government intervention given her general stance on laissez-faire. Moreover she set out in 'The Three Ages' her desired order of preference for government expenditure. Education, Public Works, Government and Legislation, Law and Justice, Diplomacy, Defence and Dignity of the Sovereign – the reverse, she argues, of the current state of affairs. Not only does she make a case for public expenditure in certain areas to a greater extent than Adam Smith, but anyone doubting her radical credentials would do well to peruse the above list.

A year after his letter to Carlyle quoted above. Mill reviewed Harriet Martineau's 'Moral of Many Fables' in *The Monthly Repository* of May 1834. Here Mill was far more complimentary. He begins by referring to the science of Political Economy and arguing that for Harriet Martineau:

Her object was, not to exhibit the science as a whole, but to illustrate such parts of it as lead directly to important practical results. Having accomplished this, she has now brought together in one series, the principles which she had separately exemplified, and by hanging them each in its place, upon a logical framework originally constructed for the entire science, has given to the "Moral" of her "many Fables," some semblance of an elementary treatise (Essays,p.225)

He goes on to say that it would be unjust to criticise Martineau's 'little' work in a way where most of the elaborate treatises could also be criticised:

To all of them, perhaps, it may be objected, that they attempt to construct a permanent fabric out of transitory materials; that they take for granted the immutability of arrangements of society, many of which are in their nature fluctuating or progressive; and enunciate with as little qualification as if they were universal and absolute truths, propositions which are perhaps applicable to no state of society except the particular one in which the writer happened to live (p.225)

He then goes on:

Miss Martineau's little work is not more subject to the above criticism than works of far greater pretension; but on the contrary, less. And as an exposition of the leading principles of what now constitutes the science, it possesses considerable merit (p.227).

This is praise, albeit spoken with a somewhat patronising voice, and it does go some way to offset Mill's earlier judgement. Clearly he had to see the whole laid out in 'The Moral of Many Fables' before he could appreciate her work – seemingly only able or willing to judge the wood not the trees! The important point is that he complimented her for her exposition of the leading principles of Political Economy as it then stood.

2) Population growth in relation to growth in resources

Malthus in the first edition of the *Principles of Population* proclaims:

'I think I may fairly make two postulata. First, That food is necessary to the existence of man. Secondly, that the passion between the sexes is necessary and will remain nearly in its present state' (*An Essay on the Principle of Population* 1798, p.4).

Malthus then produced his famous ratios for the increase in population and the increase in subsistence:

Population grows as in a geometric metric progression: 2,4,8,16,32, 64,128, 256 etc.

Subsistence grows as in an arithmetic progression: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,12, etc.

Given this, the population growth has a natural tendency to outstrip the means of subsistence. Malthus then went on to outline various checks to population growth:

1 Preventative checks – which operate on the birth rate

Vice – birth control; prostitution

Moral Restraint – delaying the age of marriage

2 Positive checks – which operate on the death rate

War, famine, pestilence

Vice – abortion, infanticide

At the back of all of this lies a ‘master’ check – the means of subsistence defined either as a biological or cultural minimum supply of provisions needed for existence. If population growth outstripped the means of subsistence poverty would be the result leading to the deaths of children and the weak.

In the 1st edition of the *Principles* of 1798 Malthus was pessimistic – he thought that delaying the age of marriage (i.e. moral restraint) is unnatural and may lead to vice – birth control, resort to prostitutes, abortion, and infanticide. This ‘dismal’ prospect (the origin of the ‘dismal science’ epithet) led political economists to argue for improved education and also some knowledge of the ‘truths’ of political economy as well as emigration.

In the 2nd edition of the *Principles* of 1803 Malthus was more optimistic – now he felt that delaying the age of marriage can occur without vice. The theory in this version explains every outcome –had it become just a tautology?

Harriet Martineau and the Malthusian Theory of Population

Malthus was a major influence on Harriet Martineau and she used his ideas often in the Illustrations. For example, she outlines the key Malthusian argument that population grows faster than the food supply in For Each and For All:

“Whence, then, comes all this misery? All this tremendous inequality?”

“The misery arises from a deficiency of food. . . .”

“Well; whence this deficiency of food?”

“From the tendency of eaters to increase faster than the supply of food.”

(p.38)

Like Malthus, Harriet Martineau believed in the preventive check of the delay of marriage as a way of keeping population in line with the supply of food. This was the approach she consistently argued for although she also believed in education, arguing in Ireland that ‘the only method by which the permanent prosperity of the people could be secured was the general diffusion of such knowledge as would make them judges their own condition and controllers of their own destinies’ (p.116). In ‘Weal and Woe in Garveloch’ the preventive check is clear and starkly portrayed. The story is of a man Ronald in love with Katie only to lose her to his friend Cuthbert. Cuthbert dies leaving Katie with four children and although Ronald wishes to marry Katie he refrains from doing so because food on the remote Hebridean Island is in short supply: others living there are imprudent and he does not wish to further add to the island numbers. He is content to look after the family without marriage. This is explained to the bemused Katie by the heroine Ella, sister of Ronald:

We have not the power of increasing food as fast as our numbers may increase; but we have the power of limiting our numbers to agree with the supply of food. This is the gentle check which is put into our own hands; and if we will not use it, we must not repine if harsher checks follow. If the passionate man will not restrain his anger, he must expect punishment at the hands of him whom he has injured; and if he imprudently indulges his love, he must not complain when poverty, disease, and death lay waste his family (p.97).

In 'The Moral of Many Fables' in the Summary passage relating to 'Ella of Garveloch' Harriet reinforces the point:

By bringing no more children into the world than there is a subsistence provided for, society may preserve itself from the miseries of want. In other words, the timely use of the mild preventive check may avert the horrors of any positive check (p.36).

One could argue that the restraint shown here is not just 'moral' but unrealistically heroic and self-sacrificing and takes the Malthusian case to the extreme.

Martineau's work received good and bad reviews but one particularly unpleasant and unfair attack is worth examining. The attack came in the *Quarterly Review* volume XLIX, 1833 and was written by G. P. Scrope, J. W. Croker and J. G. Lockhart, who pointed to the following passage from 'Cousin Marshall':

A parent has a considerable influence over the subsistence-fund of his family, and an absolute control over the numbers to be supported by that fund; whereas the rulers of a state, from whom a legal provision emanates, have little influence over its subsistence- fund, and no control whatever over the number of its members ('Cousin Marshall', p.131).

The reviewers labelled Martineau as 'a female Malthusian. A woman who declaims against marriage!! A young woman who deprecates charity and a provision for the poor!!' Referring earlier to her age and marital status they claimed:

A little ignorance on these ticklish topics is perhaps not unbecoming a young unmarried lady. But before such a person undertook to write books in favour of the 'preventive check', she should have informed herself somewhat more accurately upon the laws of human propagation. Poor innocent! She has been puzzling over Mr. Malthus's arithmetical and geometrical ratios, for knowledge which she should have obtained by a simple question or two of her mamma (*Quarterly Review*, p. 141)

This was an outrageous attack. There was nothing 'ticklish' about the 'preventive check', nothing to be ignorant about, nothing unbecoming a young lady, no question of being a 'poor innocent' – the preventive check was simply about the delay of marriage. Malthus put forward the possibility of the delay of marriage as a preventive check and Harriet Martineau followed strictly in her mentor's footsteps. She knew about contraception – apart from anything else James Mill, another mentor, was explicit about it (for the time) in the *Elements of Political Economy*, referring to two ways in which population may be prevented from increasing:

The one is poverty; under which, let the number born be what it may, all but a certain number undergo a premature destruction. The other is prudence; by

which either marriages are sparingly contracted, or care is taken that children, beyond a certain number, shall not be the fruit (p.232).

Malthus, like most people of the time, was robustly against contraception – for him it was vice. Harriet Martineau followed him carefully on this – the last thing she would have wanted as a ‘young, unmarried lady’ with a huge audience was to proclaim in favour of birth control.

In ‘Weal and Woe in Garveloch’ the Magistrate Mackenzie tells Angus: ‘I should find it difficult to assert that any set of vices could be more to be dreaded than those which arise from extreme poverty’. Angus agrees, arguing that ‘such poverty to be the hotbed of all vices’. Martineau, following Malthus, agrees. In ‘The Moral of Many Fables’: ‘the ultimate checks by which population is kept down to the level of subsistence, are by vice and misery.’ But, as Huzel points out (p.60), by vice Mackenzie and Angus (Martineau) are referring to property crime and fraud, malicious speech, envy and violence among the poor – and, unlike Malthus, not to birth control. So for Harriet Martineau although contraception is a vice she even avoids referring to it when discussing vices – the issue was avoided completely.

Moreover, while the passage referred to by Scrope et al came from the Summary of the tale Cousin Marshall, the relevant passage in the tale itself is as follows:

Some assert the right of every individual born into any community to a maintenance from the state; regarding the state and its members as holding the relation of parent and children. This seems to me altogether a fallacy; — originating in benevolent feelings, no doubt, but supported only by a false analogy. The state cannot control the number of its members, nor increase, at its will, the subsistence-fund; and, therefore, if it engaged to support all the members that might be born to it, it would engage for more than it might have the power to perform (pp.45-46).

In other words the numbers of the indigent are increasing – the state cannot control the numbers. It cannot either increase the ‘subsistence fund’, the amount of food, clothing and other goods needed by workers to subsist – only farmers and manufacturers can do that. It is the inability of the state to control numbers which is the focus of the argument and the notion that the state and its members bear a relationship of parent to child is a fallacy.

It seems likely that Harriet made an error when writing the passage for the Summary. In intending to summarize the point in the text that the state has no control and is ‘not a parent’ she then begins the summary by saying that only a parent can control child numbers – in contrast to the state. This was perhaps clumsy writing, done in haste but it gave Scrope et al just a tiny window to be sarcastic and critical. Individuals practice restraint before marriage by delaying marriage, but a parent is within marriage – the preventive check of delaying marriage is irrelevant. To talk of parents controlling numbers goes against everything she wrote on the preventive check. No one was more forceful about the importance of delay in marriage or more careful – usually - not to allude to contraception. She certainly urged restraint via delay on people in ‘Weal and Woe in Garveloch’ and other Tales, but also was concerned that few would listen and the result would be families in poverty, resulting in illness and childhood deaths.

Scrope et al had read the full tale and not just the Summary and therefore knew the context in which the Summary should be placed. But this made no difference. They were out to undermine Harriet Martineau in whatever manner they could. Scrope et al and the *Quarterly Review* hated political economy and the political economists root and branch. Added to this there was strong gender bias which led them to believe that Harriet Martineau was a high profile and easy target.

Harriet was upset about such criticism and referred in her *Autobiography* to 'the low-minded and foul-mouthed creatures who could use their education and position as gentlemen 'to destroy' a woman whom they knew to be innocent of even comprehending their imputation' (p.206).

But she went on to say that 'my first trial in the shape of hostile reviewing was over, and I stood somewhat enlightened and strengthened'. A few pages on she recalled a later conversation that she had with Malthus himself:

I asked Mr. Malthus one day whether he had suffered in spirits from the abuse lavished on him. 'Only just at first', he answered. - 'I wonder if it ever kept you awake a minute.' - 'Never after the first fortnight' was his reply. The spectacle of the good man in his daily life, in contrast with the representation of him in the periodical literature of the time, impressed upon me more forcibly than anything in my own experience, the everlasting fact that the reformers of morality, personal and social, are always subject at the outset to the imputation of immorality from those interested in the continuance of corruption (p.211).

Clearly Scrope and the others seriously underestimated the young Harriet Martineau.

Concluding comments

We have looked at just two of the range of topics to which I alluded at the beginning of the paper – laissez faire and population. Both were very important pillars for the system of Classical Political economy and for Harriet Martineau's work. Mill's initial unjustified criticism was followed by a later generous review. The ideologically driven, ignorant and hostile outburst by Scrope et al was never redeemed and led to lasting hurt but it may have helped to steel the young Harriet Martineau in her newly found fame and the challenges to come.

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Harriet Martineau and the idea of New Science

Keiko Funaki

1. Introduction

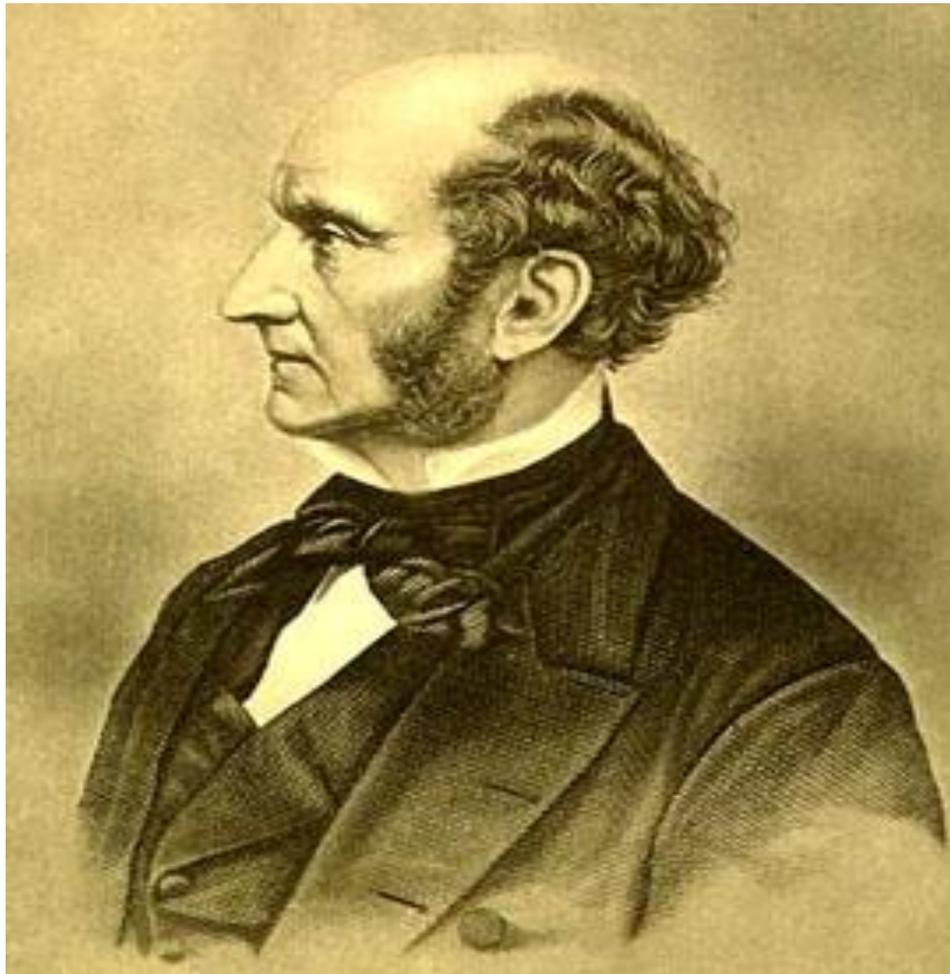
Harriet Martineau described the relationship between political economy and fables in the last essay "The Moral of many Fables" of the *Illustrations of Political Economy*.¹ The key feature of the series was the short summary added to the last of each volume in which she explained how the theory of political economy related to many fables. Her aim was to popularize the theory of political economy and she wanted to explain the theory to all classes of people including women. She did not expect ordinary people to understand a difficult theory completely. She needed to illustrate the theory with an attractive narrative and used fables to ensure that her readers were able to understand the outline of political economy.

Harriet Martineau thought that knowledge of the outline of political economy was very important for people. She also thought it was important for people to know that political economy was bound up with social action. Novels of her day were popular and fables were still more popular sources of information.

What was Harriet Martineau's political economy? How did she foresee future society? This paper analyzes the last volume of *Illustrations of Political Economy*, "The Moral of many Fables" which is the conclusion of the series. It is important that her writing of the last essay is not seen as a fable but an article. I think her article is the guidebook to Harriet Martineau's political economy. Her article is different from the short summary which was attached to the end of each fable. It is unique, in that clearly in the last essay she describes political economy as a science.

She composed this essay using James Mill's method of political economy, Production, Distribution, Exchange, and Consumption. James Mill's *Elements of*

Political Economy was the standard textbook of Political Economy at that time. *Elements of Political Economy* was written at the time Mill was teaching the theory of political economy to his son, John Stuart Mill. David Ricardo published *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* in the same year, but Mill's *Elements of Political Economy* is very simple compared with Ricardo's *Principles*. In modern evaluation, Harriet Martineau belongs to Ricardo's school of theory of political economy but her political economy referred to James Mill's theory of political economy rather than Ricardo's *Principles*. To understand "The Moral of many Fables" in *Illustrations of Political Economy*, we must review her political economy again.



John Stuart Mill - Wiki-Commons

2. Opinion of Harriet Martineau in the Preface

The content of "Moral of Many Fables" is interesting. Below is a structure of her political economy. She divided her political economy into the four parts used by

James Mill, Production, Distribution, Exchange, and Consumption. James Mill used “Interchange” instead of “Exchange”.

The Moral of Many Fables

Introduction-----	1
PART I Production-----	2
-----Large Farms-----	21
-----Slavery-----	27
PART II Distribution-----	32
-----Rent, Wages, and Profits---	41
-----Combinations of Workmen-	48
-----Pauperism-----	62
-----Ireland-----	74
-----Emigration-----	76
PART III Exchange-----	85
-----Currency-----	88
-----Free Trade-----	96
-----Corn Laws and Restriction on labour-----	116
PART IV Consumption-----	127
-----Taxes-----	133

Conclusion

(London: Charles Fox, 67, PATERNOSTER-ROW, 1834)

She structured her article into the four divisions of James’ Mill’s method, but used different titles and contents. Harriet’s PART II, Distribution, is the practical aspects with Combinations of Workmen, Pauperism, Ireland and Emigration. They were current topics of her period. We can understand her aim and anticipation of Political Economy were to civilize the common people and to encourage people to have a better understanding of current affairs.

In the preface, she insisted that she could not yet end the series completely. She wished to write about the problems of tax. Her theory of political economy was an immediate problem:

“The task which I originally proposed to myself is now finished. I have done what I could to illustrate the leading principles of Political Economy. But I cannot leave off without attempting something more which I believe will improve the purpose of what I have already done. Now that Taxation is everywhere considered a subject of deep importance, attention having been called to it in a remarkable degree since my series was planned, I feel that my work is not complete without a further illustration of the practice as well as the principles of Taxation. In the present doubtful state of our financial policy, the few Numbers which I am about to issue may be expected to be of greater temporary, and of less permanent, interest than those which have preceded them. However this may be, I believe myself called upon to offer them, before laying aside my pen for a long interval.”(Preface)

Martineau never describes the roots of her theory of political economy, so we can only find them by analyzing her theory:

“I shall, if I live, recur with quiet occupation and shall hope that the wide friendships which it has originated will subsist when my little volume are

forgotten.” (Preface)

She had no ambition to discover new theories of political economy and because she did not want to be known as a theoretician, she never declared the origins of her political economy. Her political economy was indifferent to the inheritance of doctrine. She wrote:

“Great men must have their hewers of wood and drawers of water; and scientific discoverers must be followed by those who will popularize their discoveries.” (Preface)

Instead, she was ready to be the popularizer of Political Economy. Our modern society requires her concept of realistic political economy. It is political economy which gives people hope. Hers is not the political economy of one percent of people; 99 percent of people can understand it.

Though she states her fables have all been melancholy, she also said that if we adopt political economy rightly, we can have fables of a happier society. She wanted all people to understand political economy. I think that Harriet's words gave hope to people's hearts and I will next analyze her theory of political economy in more detail.

3. Harriet Martineau's Political Economy

Part 1 Production (pp2-31)

At the beginning of Part 1, Martineau mentioned her many fables were considered to be melancholy in nature. She acknowledged it was a fault which had been frequently found with them by others. On the contrary, she professed her fables were not melancholy. She wrote:

“I have been sustained throughout by the conviction that it is not; and I now proceed to exhibit the grounds of my confidence.”

The ground of her confidence is in the theory of political economy as a science. That is to say, her political economy is evidence of her confidence in future happiness. She describes it as “The Science under review” (p.1) and wrote:

“The discipline of the great family of the earth is strictly analogous with that of the small household which is gathered under the roof of the wise parent. It is only by the experience consequent on the conscious or unconscious transgression of laws that the children of either family can fully ascertain the will of the Ruler, and reach that conformity from which alone can issue permanent harmony and progressive happiness”(pp1-2).

This Idea was not from James Mill. When she wrote "laws", she meant the principles of the laws of social science. She wrote:

“For its true principles are already brought to a practical recognition, and nothing remains to be done. Would that we had more cheering tales of happy societies than we have! They will abound in time; but they will be told for other purposes than that of proving **the principles of a new science**. To take care of our sadness, however, let us review the philosophy of labour and Capital.” (p.2)

Martineau had an optimistic attitude as she stated her production theory (p.3). This was wishful thinking. Why was her production theory optimistic like this? She wrote:

“Of that which is necessary and agreeable to mankind, no measure can be taken; the materials being apparently inexhaustible, and the power of appropriation incessantly progressive. There is nothing very melancholy in this; and it is as true as if it was the saddest proposition that ever was made. Is there any known commodity which has failed from off the earth when men desired to retain it? It is not true of every commodity that in proportion as men desire to have more of it, its quantity is increased? The desire prompts to the requisite labour; and we know of no instance where the requisite labour has been universally stopped for want of materials” (pp.4-5)

Martineau encourages free trade emphatically. Her *Illustrations* are unique; Norwegians may want more wheat and materials. Kamchatka people may wish for better clothing. She knows that the supply of both corn and broadcloth is failing, but the accumulation of capital is going on which may supply both the one and the other party with what each needs even if every man, woman, and child should take a fancy for the scarcest productions of nature. That is to say, she is never afraid of diminishing returns.

Her production theory is unique. She states that by combination of the primary materials, not only new materials but fresh powers are discovered, which in their turn, develop further resources, and confound our imaginations with the prospect of the wealth which awaits man's reception (p.5). In this way I think this optimistic idea is connected with her hope in the future.

Part II Distribution (pp.32-84)

“In the early days of society, it is natural enough for man to take what they can find or make, without giving themselves any trouble about analyzing their wealth, or philosophizing about its distribution. When however, the desires of some begin to interfere with those of others, and production does not, in particular instances, do as was expected, and sudden and manifold climes for a provision arise, they can with difficulty be met. Men necessarily begin, however late, to examine their resources, and investigate the demands upon them” (p.32).

Martineau's view was that the bonds of the desire to be wealthy complicate distribution of the wealth. She anticipates that only very remote approaches to a true analysis may be made at first and the consequences of a hundred pernicious mistakes must probably be borne before anything like a fair distribution can be made. Therefore she emphasizes the science of Political Economy. She wrote:

“It has been discovered that the race cannot live upon labour without its reward,”

“It has been discovered that land of itself is not wealth, and that our condition would be deplorable if it were so since land does not improve of itself, but deteriorates as the race which subsists upon it is multiplied.”

“It is discovered that money is not wealth”

She trusts Political Economy will advance the progress of society. She wrote:

“Many other ancient convictions are now found to be delusions; and, what is better still, the grand principles are fully established which may serve as a key to all the mysteries relating to the distribution of wealth. Their application may require much time and patience; but we have them safe.” (pp.22-23)

Therefore we can understand what her expression “a hundred pernicious mistakes” means.

Martineau called the Mercantile System “ancient convictions”, and she thought it was a delusion. At the beginning of her statements on Distribution, she explains the principles of “the inequality of spoils”. She states spoils are the ultimate capital of society. But she thought that Nature is scarcity, so the natural tendency of capital is to yield a perpetually diminishing return. In her Distribution theory, though she takes the “Yield” as a perpetually-diminishing return theory from Classical Political Economy, her conclusion is different from classical economists like Malthus, James Mill and David Ricardo. Namely, she emphasizes the varying facilities and possibilities of future society. She explains the principle, but she also argues her belief clearly. She says before her explanation of the Yield as the perpetually-diminishing return theory from Classical Political Economy:

“Whether we obtain our food from the sea, or from new regions of the earth,—if we could fetch it down from the moon, or up from the center of the globe” (pp.36-7)...

Her optimistic political economy is not that of James Mill’s *Elements of Political Economy* although her style of explanation is in a similar four part structure. While she acknowledged James Mill and Jeremy Bentham’s Greatest Happiness principle, her political economy is very optimistic. She was sure of the happiness of the future:

“The positive checks having performed their office in stimulating the human faculties, and originating social institutions, (the system) must be wholly superseded by the preventive check before society can attain its ultimate aim, - the greatest happiness of the greatest number.”

In Part III, ‘Exchange’, we can find her value theory by which she meant a demand theory related to human wants and wishes. But she stated that labour is exchangeable value and, therefore, naturally depends on cost of production. It is not universal for there are influences causing temporary variations and she emphasizes the duty of Government to intervene when necessary.

In Part IV, ‘Consumption’, Martineau described consumption as of two kinds - productive and unproductive. This is typical classical Political Economics, but we can see her detailed claims in tax theory. She rejected “national” debt as only the debt of the nation and described it as the mischief of future society.

4. Conclusion - What is her new science?

Martineau’s aim of the series was to express her new science. Thus “The Moral of Many Fables” is not a summary. She discussed her political economy within the theories of Classical Economics of that time. As I suggested at the outset, she never declared the origin of her political economy but only explained Classical Political Economics. Her political economy is indifferent to the inheritance of doctrine. Why

did she do so? The purpose of her political economy was different from the purpose of the Classical Economist. She wrote:

“What, then, is the moral of my fables? That we must mend our ways and be hopeful; - or, be hopeful and mend our ways. Each of these comes of the other, and each is pointed out by past experience to be our duty, as it ought to be our pleasure.”

Her conclusion is also different. She wrote:

“The last and best principle which has been professed, if not acted upon, by our rulers, because insisted on by our nation, is “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.”

Martineau had adopted and adapted the ‘Greatest Happiness Doctrine’ of Bentham and suspected the “our rulers” would do so in due course. Unitarianism and Utilitarianism were the systems of British Empiricism. The 18th century philosopher, Joseph Priestley developed the philosophy of British Empiricism by using his scientific method. Bentham’s Utilitarianism of the ‘Greatest Happiness Doctrine’ was also a very scientific principle but presented as a social science. According to Harriet Martineau, who was educated and grew up with Priestley’s science and method, it was very easy to understand Bentham’s economic thought and James Mill’s Political Economy. “Science” was the method, and her phrase the "New Science" contained the term as she applied natural to social science. This is the reason Martineau described Political Economy as a “New Science”.

¹*Illustrations of Political Economy*: 1832-34. No. XXV. Moral of many Fables. I used the text of the Charles Fox version (1834), downloaded from the online library of Liberty Library (2013), and also Thoemmes Press Tokyo: Kyokuto Shoten (2001).

The Martineau Society Conference 25-28 July 2013 at the Oxford Hotel, Oxford

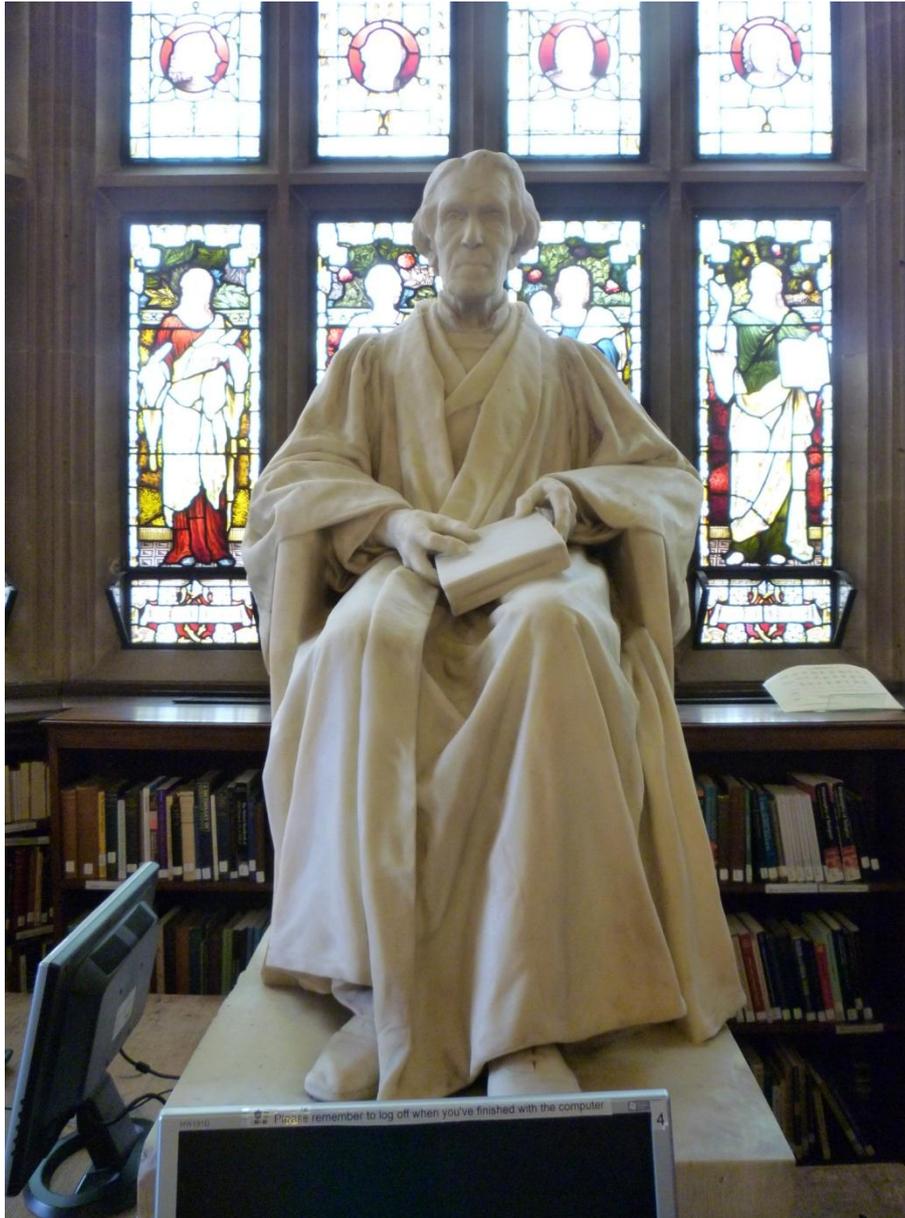
Ruth Watts

This year the Society met in Oxford, this time in a hotel and not where it was launched in Manchester College (now Harris Manchester), July, 1994. With a range of papers, many but not all of them on Harriet Martineau, and the usual variety of social engagements planned, the conference promised to be interesting and did not disappoint. It proved to be hugely enjoyable, although we were all very sorry that our hard-working secretary, Jane Bancroft, was too unwell to attend and that Barbara Todd and Maureen Colquhoun, so long stalwarts of the Society, now felt that ill-health would prevent them from attending anymore. Of course too, we missed deeply the presence of Alan Middleton whose life within the Society was given heartfelt tributes, not least in Sophia Hankinson’s moving session, which, true to Alan’s memory, had plenty of fun in it as well.

The opening session was a lively and informative talk by Sue Killoran, librarian at Harris Manchester College for thirteen years. Her talk was replete with captivating images from the archives at the College together with photos of the library showing how it has been extended and modernized. This was fascinating especially to those of us who knew the College of old but had not seen it in its new state. That everyone was totally absorbed, however, was indicated by the way we kept Sue answering questions well beyond her allotted time. We all looked forward to visiting the College on the Friday afternoon, anticipations which were fulfilled by our hours spent in the Chapel with its beautiful Burne-Jones/William Morris windows, in the library and the archives. We were given a warm welcome and thoroughly enjoyed the chance to explore the place where the statue of James Martineau, the College's Principal for sixteen years in London and President from 1886-88, sits resplendent in the magnificent Library. (Ironically Martineau had opposed the move of the College to Oxford, although he had accepted the majority vote and attended its opening and dedication.)

The papers from Friday to Sunday offered much food for thought. John Warren, Shu-Fang Li, Ian Crawford, Keiko Funaki, Elizabeth Arbuckle, Ruth Watts, Sophia Hankinson, Maiko Ohtake Yamamoto and John Vint gave papers on varied aspects of Harriet Martineau's life considering her writings, her relationships and connections with people such as Robert Browning, Elizabeth Jesser Reid and Elizabeth Gaskell, with Ireland and with classical political economy. Through these we were able to explore so many facets of Harriet's character, ideas and works that there never seemed to be enough time to explore all our thoughts and questions. It was good to hear familiar figures explore new directions of their research but also very stimulating to listen to new voices bringing new dimensions to our understanding.

We also found plenty of time to enjoy the good food and companionship on offer. The 'exotica' of the Social Evening offered an array of singing, reading, dramatic and musical talent, not least John Warren's mastery of lute playing while the Auction after the Conference Dinner allowed us to spend our money freely on both 'Martineau related' articles we had not known we wanted before the conference and eagerly sought-after items such as Carol Chilton's collection of greetings cards with pictures of James and Harriet and many of their friends, including Charles Darwin and the Dickenses. Much fun was expended thus and the auction raised £313.50 for the Society!



James Martineau in the Library of Harris Manchester College

At the Annual General Meeting heartfelt thanks were expressed to Bruce Chilton, Jane Bancroft and Gaby Weiner for organising the conference and to Gaby for so efficiently taking over Jane's role at the conference as well as her own. Thanks were given to all the officers for their work in the previous year and especially to Sophia who had been an excellent President for seven years but announced that she wished to step down. Ruth was elected president in her place while John Vint took over as Chair from Ruth. Different Reports indicated that the Society, albeit small, is faring well.

The improved quality and structure of its Newsletter was universally welcomed by members and thanks expressed to Bruce Chilton and Valerie Sanders for expediting this. The website and the individual activities and publications of the Society's members also contribute to raising public interest. In 2012-2013 there had been two

successful events concerning Harriet Martineau outside of the annual conference: on 28th April Sharon Connor and Jane Bancroft had organized a two-hour discussion on *Deerbrook* at The Women's Organization Cafe in Liverpool's Literary Festival 'In Other Words'; Stuart Hobday had inspired the first of the Harriet Martineau lectures in Norwich at which the famed contemporary writer Ali Smith poured out her admiration of her Victorian forebear, urging her packed audience that Harriet's was the 'questioning voice' society needs today.

Those who attended the conference in Oxford certainly enjoyed the friendliness, intellectual stimulation and sociability of our annual meeting and are looking forward already to next year's conference in Liverpool.

Recent New Members (UK unless stated)

F.A. Agombar, Victoria Harris (New York, USA), Lesa Scholl (New South Wales, Australia, as new Life Member); Clotilde Wang (Norwich).

The Martineau Society

The Martineau Society was founded in the early 1990s by members of the Octagon 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.

Contact Information

www.martineausociety.co.uk

Elisabeth Arbuckle
Jane Bancroft
Bruce Chilton
Sharon Connor
Sophia Hankinson
Valerie Sanders
Barbara Todd
John Vint
Robert Watts
Ruth Watts
Gaby Weiner

elisabeth.sanders.arbuckle@gmail.com
jane.bancroft@btinternet.com
bruce_chilton@hotmail.com
sharonconnor@live.co.uk
sophia.hankinson@btinternet.com
v.r.sanders@hull.ac.uk
btodd06@btinternet.com
j.vint@mmu.ac.uk
watts372@btinternet.com
watts372@btinternet.com
gaby.weiner@btinternet.com

The Martineau Society Newsletter submissions of 2,500 – 3000 words or less may be sent to Bruce Chilton, Newsletter Editor:

*by email and as an attachment, preferably in Microsoft Word, to:

bruce_chilton@hotmail.com

*by post to:

22 Marston Lane, Norwich NR4 6LZ, UK

phone: 0044 (0)1603 506014

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In prospect, nothing appears so attractive as ease and licensed comfort; in retrospect, nothing so delightful as toil and strenuous service. Half the actions of mankind are for the diminution of labour; yet labour is the thing they most universally respect. We should think it the greatest gain to get rid of labour; yet if we could cancel from the past those memorable men in whom it reached its utmost intensity, and whose whole existence was a struggle, we should leave human nature without a lustre, and empty history of its glory. James Martineau *Endeavours, 2nd series, xi.*



Long-term borrower at Harris Manchester College Library
