

The Martineau Society

Newsletter No. 47

January 2022

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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.

* Overseas: Please contact the Treasurer (see above and endpiece).

Editor's Note

The news of widespread mental ill-health in the course of the Covid pandemic raises the question of whether they are connected and, if so, how. The newspapers report of much increased anxiety and depression and one can easily associate these with the isolation of the lockdowns. Does the pandemic also explain sleeping and eating disorders, increased alcohol and substance abuse and worsened chronic illnesses?

Did our nineteenth century forebears suffer in the same way? Medical help was wholly inadequate, save, perhaps, in Norwich if one had gallstones, and very expensive. They clearly knew epidemics – cholera was rife in the Norwich of the Martineaus – and death, especially amongst the young, was commonplace in most families. Perhaps they were inured to it. Thomas Martineau, Harriet and James' father seems to have succumbed to some sort of depressive illness. Perhaps people of their time were made of sterner stuff?

In this edition, we follow the intrepid Harriet in her eastern travels thanks to Josie McQuail and Anne Peart tells us of John Hugh Worthington's upbringing, his all too brief relationship with Harriet and his sad demise of some unidentified mental illness.

It is a delight that the major work by Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle is now well into publication through the Martineau Society's website thanks to the work of Valerie Sanders and Gaby Weiner. The article by David Hamilton and Gaby Weiner is very interesting.

Many thanks to all our contributors. All the errors undoubtedly belong to your editor and his ancient, wayward laptop. Despite them, do enjoy your reading!



Harriet Martineau

By Richard Evans Wikipedia

Report from Martineau Society annual meeting, Scarborough, 2021

by Gaby Weiner

It was with much relief that sixteen of us were able to meet face-to-face for the annual meeting of the Society, at one of the Scarborough's oldest and most celebrated hotels, the Crown Spa. Only one person was able to make it from abroad – Josie McQuail from the US – and the rest of us came from around the UK. The plenary lecture on the first day was given by Bruce Collins, on Victorian Scarborough, and accompanied by maps and pictures, we gained a clear picture of one of the earliest resorts in the UK and how it enlarged and developed during the nineteenth-century and up to the present day. This picture was to stay with us on our various trails in Scarborough and Whitby later in the conference.

The first full conference day began with a paper from David Hamilton and Gaby Weiner (me), reflecting on the legacy of Elisabeth Arbuckle Sanders' online biography of Harriet Martineau. It was argued that Elisabeth's biographical version matched Harriet's general perspective, as pre-disciplinary rather than inter-disciplinary, both opting to investigate the 'unfolding frontiers of life'. Further, it reflected on the reasons for Elisabeth's difficulty in finding a mainstream publisher for her biography yet also celebrated its online availability. The second paper of the morning was by John Vint on "Adam Smith's Daughters" - nineteenth-century female economists, Jane Haldimand Marcet, Harriet Martineau and Millicent Fawcett. Additionally, and helpfully, John provided us with a paper showing the economic principles covered in each of Martineau's *Illustration* tales. Following a short coffee break, Sue Brown provided an account of how Fanny Wedgwood managed to stay friends both with Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Gaskell throughout their lives, despite particularly Martineau's difficult relationships with many of her contemporaries. Sue also informed us that her book on Fanny's daughter, Julia Wedgwood, was due out in the Spring!! The last paper of the day came from new member Bob Stillwell, who argued that Harriet Martineau if not as a Utopian, was someone who could be understood as engaged in an idealistic search for social improvement and perfectibility.

After a sandwich-wrap lunch, with the sun on our backs and guided by Valerie, we embarked on an Anne Brontë trail through Scarborough via the Cliff Bridge (built 1827), plaque on Grand Hotel on the site where Anne died, her gravestone in St Mary's Church, and up to Scarborough Castle and wonderful views. The evening closed with an after-dinner quiz on Scarborough, the Martineaus and General Knowledge, set by Valerie. My group, Black Stockings came 2nd!!

The second full day of the conference began with a presentation by Stuart Hobday on Harriet Martineau's environmentalism, focusing on her active involvement in the creation of a two-acre farm and the claimed benefits of having two cows, one pig and

a variety of poultry – which she asserted, allowed her household to be self-sufficient in milk, cream, eggs and meat! The next presentation, by Josie McQuail, explored the impact on Harriet’s travel arrangements and safety on her trip to the US, of her coming out publicly for the Abolitionist cause. Josie argued that Harriet’s writing on the evils of slavery and prejudice are as relevant today and that we should grasp the opportunity of the heightened interest in Black Lives Matter, to propose her as a foremother of this movement. The morning’s presentations came to an end with a short update from Bob Gamble on his recently published book *Mrs Gaskell’s Personal Pantheon: Illuminating Mrs Gaskell’s Inner Circle*, a paper from which was presented at the 2019 conference. The AGM followed.

After an early lunch, and with the sun still blazing down, we embarked in the afternoon on a coach ride to Whitby, stopping off at the Abbey and then variously, making our way down to the town, harbour and beach, the shops – and for Geraldine and Victorine, an open top bus tour of the town and its cultural history. It had been decided, rather late in the day, to hold a fund-raising auction after dinner on the last night – so many of us spent some time searching for something suitable. As always, the auction proved good fun and raised upwards of £150 for the Society coffers.

The final day of the conference was somewhat cooler. There was only one paper, by Valerie Sanders, on Harriet Martineau’s perception of men and masculinity in her 1830s illustrative tales. Valerie showed that Martineau was able to produce a range of credible male characters from different classes and backgrounds and in so doing, displayed a depth of understanding of male character that was perhaps surprising in such a renowned feminist.

There was one scheduled activity left – a short walk round the corner from the hotel to view some marvellous Pre-Raphaelite, stained glass windows in St Martin’s Church. A guide introduced us to the history of the church as well as the symbolism hidden in the designs. And I learned that the word ‘stunner’ often used by the tabloid press to describe glamorous women, had been first used by Rosetti to denote the stunning effect, for good or evil, of female beauty.

As always, the conference ended with lunch and farewells, and the agreement that despite Covid, the conference had gone remarkably well. It was suggested at the AGM that next year, the conference venue might be Broadstairs on the South Coast – as a seaside venue in late July was preferable to overheated cities and towns. Any other suggestions for venues for next year and subsequent conferences will be greatly appreciated!

Eyes of the World: Re-appraising Harriet Martineau's 'Eastern Life, Present and Past'

by Josephine A. McQuail

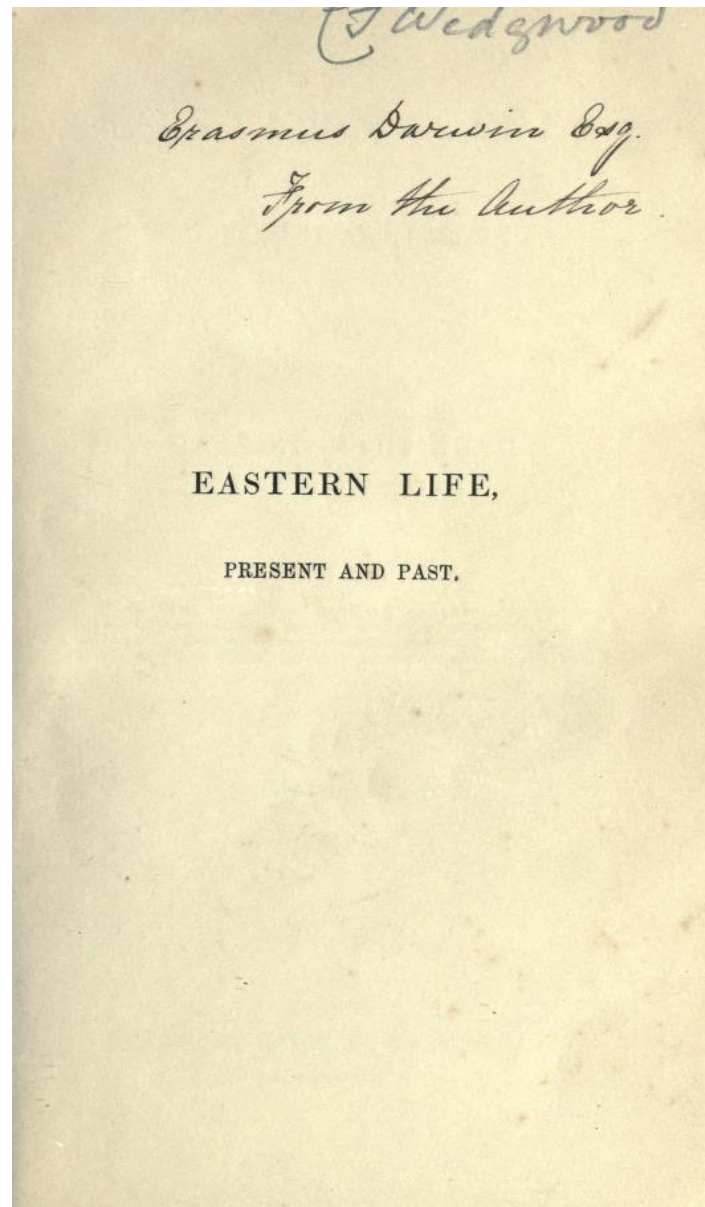
Author's note: There are many editions of *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, and pagination will vary widely. I have tried to distinguish in parenthetical citations which edition is being cited.

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cultural hegemony caused British people (including Mary Wollstonecraft) to believe that "Oriental" or Middle Eastern culture thought of women as "without souls" – to a large degree a Western distortion and denigration of Ottoman customs (see Zonona 600). Such views predisposed Western travelers to the East to form negative opinions based on false interpretations – though Harriet Martineau, being a rigorous social observer and really the first sociologist, at least sought to be more dispassionate. Unfortunately, Martineau's views expressed in *Eastern Life, Present and Past* have been almost universally condemned: in 1903, while praising the scope of Martineau's reading and learning, W. H. Davenport Adams concludes in his book on *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century* - "But in philosophy as in religion, her immense egotism led her astray" (406). We will consider ways in which this is true, and ways ultimately such remarks show how Martineau's work is unjustly appraised and not properly appreciated.

Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) went on her journey to the East, recounted in *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, on a whim – invited by friends Mr. and Mrs. Richard V. Yates, to tag along with them (all expenses paid). Her journey, recorded in her book, was hardly slapdash, however; though she is not adequately acknowledged as the first systematic sociologist, she had already laid out her methods of recording important details of observed societies in her work, *How to Observe Morals and Manners* and written a sociological analysis of her journey to the U.S., *Society in America*. Later, Martineau "said that her Eastern journey shaped and coloured the rest of her life" (Wheatley 260). Vera Wheatley, her biographer, asserts, "It is tempting to rank *Eastern Life, Present and Past* as the best book Harriet ever wrote. It can be read, even to-day, with interest, amusement—admittedly not always visualized by the writer—and considerable admiration" (266). Deborah Logan remarks that after studying Martineau's work she realized "how thoroughly the Empire Question informed all of Martineau's writing" (vii).

Martineau toured Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria. The progression of Martineau's journey aligned with the geographical and chronological emergence of the Abrahamic faiths. Her investigation led Martineau to view religion as a social institution and as a stage in human development (Atkinson and Martineau). Her very frank discussion of religion from the perspective of an atheist caused John Murray, who she had prearranged to publish *Eastern Life, Present and Past* to refuse to do so. Edward Moxon published it, luckily for Murray, as Martineau probably would have sued; Charles Darwin loved it, reportedly. Indeed, Martineau personally dedicated a copy of *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, to his brother Erasmus Darwin (this copy is in the collection of Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley) (see *Eastern*

Life, Present and Past, with DEDICATION TO ERASMUS DARWIN). (Oddly, Murray published a book in 1849 on the Sikhs by Joseph Davy Cunningham – *A History of the Sikhs* – but this book took a “civilizing” perspective, advocating what would later be called Eugenics).



Harriet Martineau, *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, title page dedication of Volume 1 from the author to Erasmus Darwin. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Internet Archive. Creative Commons

Geoffrey Nash in *Travellers to the Middle East from Burckhardt to Thesiger* points out that “Nineteenth century travel writing – especially in a region like the Middle East – is

inextricably linked to the spread of European power, although that does not mean every traveler in this period set out on their journey with the express intention of building or adding to the British Empire". Yet notions of the "écriture féminine" and the assertion by critics such as Hélène Cixous that women by virtue of their gender and oppressed status escape the snares of patriarchy in their writing propose that female writers may transcend the brutal effects of patriarchy; still, contemporary critics are very tough on Martineau when it comes to this issue.

Another critique of *Eastern Life, Present and Past* comes about because Martineau is essentially writing a chronology of the evolution of religion in human history: she falls into the pitfall of what in his *Orientalism and Imperialism: From Nineteenth-Century Missionary Imaginings to the Contemporary Middle East* Andrew Wilcox argues many missionaries stumbled into:

the sciences of philology were seen to be decoding the remnants of an ancient past and the fate of the lost tribes of Israel was a popular theme of 'scientific' speculation. Within the context of a nineteenth-century popular European and American understanding of the Orient these enquiries tended to look beyond the contemporary cultures of the East, which were perceived to be largely irrelevant to the grandeur of past civilizations. Alternatively, the contemporary cultures of the Holy Lands were seen as a means of decoding the Bible as a historical document. This treatment of Oriental cultures nonetheless reduces the region and its peoples to something of a living fossil whose only significance lies in its value in illuminating the past within a Christocentric world view. (36)

Wilcox's point is underscored by the fact that Martineau, in relating what inspired her to write the book that *Eastern Life, Present and Past* became – specifically the kind of book that Murray rejected – were the immense statues and monuments she saw on her travels – especially Egypt: it was watching a procession of colossal statuary proceed by on the banks of the Nile as their boat flowed downstream that Martineau received inspiration for the plan of her book, near the beginning of her journey. It was, in fact, the flow of her journey that inspired the shape of her narrative. Just as Freud would later constantly harp on the city of Rome with its many historical layers, so did Martineau focus on the "layering" of varieties of worship and holiness she saw in the ancient statuary she passed on her boat. Her *Eastern Life, Present and Past* does become a kind of pilgrimage – albeit secular. She relates her inspiration – really an epiphany:

It was not till we had long left the Nile, and were leaving the desert, that the plan of my book occurred to me. . . . [it] instantly approved itself to me. It happened amidst the dreariest part of the desert, between Petra and Hebron,-- not far from the boundary of Judea. I was ill, and in pain that day, from the face-aches, which troubled me in the driest weather, at the hottest part of the desert . . . (Autobiography Vol. 2, 279 [Google])

In view of Freud's "archeological metaphor" of the mind in comparing it to the historically layered city of Rome, we should note that Martineau's title "*Eastern Life, Present and Past*" (emphasis mine) fits the archeological metaphor, too, in moving back from present to past. However, perhaps this is misleading: Billie Melman observes that only five of the twenty-four chapters of *Eastern Life* are concerned with 'modern' Egyptians, and dubs Martineau as belonging to the "myopically ethnocentric"

type of traveler: “Time and again she discloses her total lack of interest in the Muslim Orient and in contemporary Egypt” (63; 242).

In her *Autobiography*, Martineau describes how she relates the epiphany that led to her book to her fellow traveler:

I told him I had just been inspired with the main idea of my book about the East. ‘That is, said he, ‘you think it the best scheme till you prefer another.’ ‘No,’ I replied; ‘there can be but one perfect one; and that completely answers my view. My book will illustrate the genealogy, as it appears to me, of the old faiths, -- the Egyptian, the Hebrew the Christian and the Mohammedan.’ (*Autobiography* Vol. 2, 279 [Google])

In terms of the organization of *Eastern Life, Past and Present* her epiphany appeared during the part of the journey described in part 2, chapters 7-9 – which appears in the second volume of the work in the 3 volume version – whilst, as she says, “We were now certainly on the track of the Hebrews. . . .” (EL II, 2, 27 [Google]). Is it a coincidence that it was while, as she describes it, they were on the verge of “the most sacred region on the earth’s surface” (EL II, 2, 87) that she had her own epiphany regarding the plan of her book? In the text of *Eastern Life, Present and Past* itself, there is no mention of her epiphany; it is only in her *Autobiography* she relates the incident. Martineau has a “pre-epiphany” in the “strange sensation” of seeing “a row of statues precisely alike in all aspects” (EL I, 1, ch. 8 83-4 [Google books]; I 1 137) from the boat, and one of her fervent wishes is that she could convey the effect of the sight of the monuments: “O! how happy I should be if I could arouse in others by this book, as I experienced it myself from the monuments, any sense of the depth and solemnity of the IDEAS which were the foundation of the old Egyptian faith!” (EL I [pt. 1], ch. 9, 106 [Google]). More than once in her descriptions of Egyptian statues she emphasizes the striking image of the same image being repeated: she notes the “The faces of Ramases outside [of the temple at Aboo Simbol] (precisely alike) (EL I, ch. 10, 199 [Bancroft]), and “The eight Osirides are perfectly alike” (EL I, ch. 10, 202 [Bancroft]). Of course, behind the fascination with Egypt and Egyptology is fascination with other empires, and the intersection of the English and the Egyptian was at a symbolic crossroads.

Apparently during this journey, whether from effects of climate or other factors, Martineau’s hearing was partially restored. However, it seems like the SIGHT of the monuments, especially the image of the repeated sameness of statues, is what impressed on her mind the idea for her tome *Eastern Life, Present and Past*. The serial impression of the gargantuan statues as seen from the boat, as previously stated, provided the seeds for her epiphany. In her *Autobiography* also she described the serial accumulation: “It is important for even erudite home-stayers to conceive what is gained by seeing for oneself the scenes of history . . . Step by step as we proceeded, evidence arose of the true character of the faiths which ruled the world . . .” (*Autobiography* Vol. 2, 278-9 [Google]).

In an almost cinematic way, the impression of the sight of the successive row of colossal statues exactly alike from her boat going down the Nile seems to be what inspired Martineau with her grand theory of religion– the *visceral impression that the different statues of deities* expressed the same idea. [see THE COLOSSI George Zepp]



The Colossi of Memnon (Luxor) -- photo courtesy and permission of George Zepp, Historic Rugby, TN.

Another image that fascinated Martineau was “Cleopatra’s needle.” Erected 1450 B.C.E. by Thutmose; in 1819 it was given to England by Muhammad Ali Pasha, but prime minister Robert Jenkinson hesitated on transporting it because of the fear of shipping expenses (“Cleopatra’s Needle”). (This would have been bad publicity, too, at a time when the Napoleonic wars had ended only years before and the people of England were starving):

The contrast is great between these gardens and the sites of Cleopatra’s needle and Pompey’s Pillar,-- curiosities which need not be described, as every one has seen them in engravings. The needle stands on the burning sands, close to the new fortification wall, whose embankment is eighty feet high, and now rapidly inclosing the town. The companion obelisk, which was offered to England, but not considered worth bringing away, is now buried in this embankment. There it will not decay; for there is no such preservative as the sand of Egypt. When, and under what circumstances, will it again see the light? In a time when it may be recognized as an object known now? Or in an age so distant as that the process of verification must be gone over again. Every one knows that these obelisks are of the time of the early Pharaohs, some of whose names they bear inscribed; that they stood originally at Heliopolis, and were transported to Alexandria by the Caesars. (Martineau *EL I*, 21 [Google])

The role of historical artifacts in the underlining of nation formation is a large one for England in the 19th century: the Rosetta Stone and the Elgin Marbles are still in the British Museum. Great Britain's possession of such artefacts – as well as the still disputed Elgin Marbles – announced its status as the new world empire.

This obelisk, in fact, eventually make it to London, but the time capsule installed beneath perhaps implies the English empire is already a bit tilted if not fallen:

On erection of the obelisk in 1878, a time capsule was concealed in the front part of the pedestal containing: a set of 12 photographs of the best-looking English women of the day, a box of hairpins, a box of cigars, several tobacco pipes, a set of imperial weights, a baby's bottle, some children's toys, a shilling razor, a hydraulic jack and some samples of the cable used in the erection, a 3 foot (0.91 m) bronze model of the monument, a complete set of contemporary British coins, a rupee, a portrait of Queen Victoria, a written history of the transport of the monument, plans on vellum, a translation of the inscriptions, copies of the Bible in several languages, a copy of John 3:16 in 215 languages, a copy of Whitaker's Almanack, a Bradshaw Railway Table, and a map of London and copies of 10 daily newspapers. ("Cleopatra's Needle")

The "time capsule" itself is a tribute to the British empire: first of all the portrait of Queen Victoria the most obvious imperial icon, but also railway tables were constantly consulted, and a mark of England's efficiency and status as the first modern industrialized nation. Diurnal objects and the newspapers would of course give an idea of daily life. The 12 photos "of the best-looking English women of the day" would probably not have pleased Martineau, and the Bible quote might have pleased her more had it been from the earlier chapters of John dealing with Moses.

One of the features of contemporary Egyptian life observed by Martineau's was the harem. From phallic monuments to female secret spaces – by the time of Martineau a visit to a harem was *de rigueur*. Upon Martineau's visit to the harem, the "Hareem" – "chief wife" – was ill with grief because of the loss of a baby –but not her own – that of a "white girl in the harem" which is, to Martineau:

a curious illustration of the feelings and manners of the place! The children born in large hareems are extremely few: and they are usually idolised, and sometimes murdered. It is known that in the houses at home which morally most resemble these hareems (though little enough externally), when the rare event of the birth of a child happens, a passionate joy extends over the wretched . . . the child always dies—killed with kindness, even if born healthy. . . . If the child lives, what then? If a girl, she sees before her from the beginning the nothingness of eternal life, and the chaos of interior existence, in which she is to dwell for life. If a boy, he remains among the women till ten years old, seeing things when the eunuchs come in to romp, and hearing things among the chatter of the ignorant women, which brutalise him for life before the age of rationality comes. But I will not dwell on these hopeless miseries." (EL I, [pt. 1] Ch. 22, 261-2 [Philadelphia])

The description of the harem drew the most criticism of Martineau's book. That this particular passage draws attention is probably understandable, since, according to Reina Lewis: "There is no denying it – as a topic, the harem sold books. From the eighteenth century on, whether you wrote about living in one, visiting one, or escaping from one, any book that had anything to do with the harem sold . . ." (12). The topic of harem may sell, but Lucy Duff, given *Eastern Life Present and Past* to read in the nineteenth century, is very harsh:

It is true as far as it goes, but there is the usual defect – the people are not real people, only part of the scenery to her, as to most Europeans. . . . – I have been reading Miss Martineau's book; the descriptions are exact, but she evidently knew and cared nothing about the people, and had the feeling of most English people here, that the difference of manners is a sort of impossible gulf, the truth being that their feelings and passions are just like our own. . . and her attack upon harems outrageous; she implies that they are brothels. (qtd in Nash 41)

Reina Lewis points out the invasion of privacy perpetrated by Western women travellers who wrote about what they saw in the harems

The trouble and awkwardness of the Western harem visit did not always please Ottoman women, who 'object[ed] to being made a show of' ([Anna Jane] Harvey 1871: 9 [qtd. in Reina]) and were not always willing to accommodate foreign curiosity. Nor were they happy to be commodified in published accounts that transgressed Islamic codes of privacy, which forbade discussion of domestic life outside the family. (15)

We must wonder, what did the women of the harem think of the Western women? Musbah Haidar writing of her childhood was contemptuous of Mrs. Bristol, wife of Admiral Bristol, the representative of the American government, to whom her mother was required to show hospitality: dissecting the Orientalist assumptions off foreign visitors and their inability to recognize local class status she pilloried the ignorance of the visiting women who, as he sister complained, 'only come to gape and stare' (qtd. in Lewis 16). Haidar said that Mrs. Bristol was clearly surprised to see a Sèvres tea service being used, and fumed:

What did these people imagine they would find or see? . . . Women in gauzy trousers sitting on the floor?

In their abysmal ignorance these foreigners did not realise that many of the veiled ladies of the Harems were better born, better read, spoke several languages and dressed with a greater chic than some of their own most famous society women. (qtd in Lewis 16)

Martineau's descriptions of women in *Eastern Life, Present and Past* have met with condemnation, but she is possibly inserting an example of her own culture's inscrutability to foreigners in the following passage:

The mourning worn by the lady who went with us was the subject of much speculation: and many questions were asked about her home and family. To appease the curiosity about her home, she gave her card. As I anticipated, this did not answer. It was the great puzzle of the whole interview. At first the poor lady thought it was to do her head good: then, she fidgeted about it, in the

evident fear of omitting some observance: but at last, she understood that she was to keep it. When we had taken our departure, however, an eunuch was sent after us to inquire of the dragoman what "the letter" was which our companion had given to the lady. (EL I [pt. 1] Ch. 22, 263 [Google])

What Martineau's companion had handed to the Harem was a mourning card (see VICTORIAN MOURNING CARD), an artefact which would have had immediate significance for any Victorian from that mourning-obsessed culture, but which the Harem could not make any sense of.



Mourning Card, Catherine Bedford, 1877. From "A Victorian Mourning Card." Kristen Den Hartog. *The Cowkeeper's Wish: A Genealogical Journey*. 17 Aug 2018. Used with permission.

Melman concedes that the labels of anti-feminist and racist are clear misnomers for Martineau, but

her frustration with Eastern women is best seen through civilizing mission ideology. Because slavery and polygamy conflict with the utilitarian principles of productivity, self-development, and social responsibility Martineau is only slightly less distressed by the institutionalized oppression of women resulting from Western marital and social practices. (qtd in Nash 657)

Indeed, Martineau gets very indignant describing polygamy: “I declare that if we are to look for a hell upon earth, it is where polygamy exists; and that, as polygamy runs riot in Egypt, Egypt is the lowest depth of hell” (137). Modern scholars question how much Martineau knew of the realities of Egyptian life. In fact, according to Reina Lewis “Few harems housed more than one wife of any single man and those that were polygamous were usually restricted to two of the total of four wives permitted by religious law” (147). Despite urgings from friends that she remain dispassionate about marital practices in foreign cultures she finds she must condemn polygamy:

Before I went abroad, more than one sensible friend had warned me to leave behind as many prejudices as possible; and especially on this subject, on which prejudices of Europeans are the strongest. I was reminded of the wide extent, both of time and space, in which Polygamy had existed; and that openness of mind was as necessary to the accurate observation of this institution as of every other.” (EL I [pt. 1] Ch. 22, 260 [Google])

Ultimately, Martineau does do more than those Bible scholars and missionaries who only seek the biblical past in the present Middle East. She concludes Part 1, chapter 19: “All knowledge is sacred. All truth is divine. It is not for us to mix up passion and prejudice with our perception of new facts” (EL I [pt. 1] Ch. 19, 229 [Google]) Obviously, Martineau’s book *Eastern Life, Present and Past* was extremely ambitious. It should draw comparison to Freud’s works on religion and civilization; particularly *Moses and Monotheism*. Like *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, Freud’s *Moses and Monotheism* was first met with what may aptly be described as horror: The “scandalous assertion that Moses was an Egyptian and that the Hebrews had murdered him in the wilderness” (Ginsburg and Pardes 1) shocked and puzzled the world.

In *Moses* Freud asserts:

We had assumed that the religion of Moses was to begin with rejected and half-forgotten and afterwards broke through as a tradition. We are now assuming that this process was being repeated then for a second time. When Moses brought the people the idea of a single god, it was not a novelty but signified the revival of an experience in the primaevial ages of the human family which had long vanished from men’s conscious memory. But it had been so important and had produced or paved the way for such deeply penetrating changes in men’s life that we cannot avoid believing that it had left behind it in the human mind some permanent traces, which can be compared to a tradition. (Freud 378)

The notion that there is a foundational concept of monotheism in the human mind very much resembles Martineau’s notion of the single repeated image of a God (sparked in her mind by the repetition of the image of the giant statues as she proceeded down the Nile), which inspired her own notion of Monotheism. An entire book was published in 2006 devoted to Freud’s *Moses* entitled *New Perspectives on Freud’s Moses and Monotheism* (Ginsburg and Pardes). This collection, of course, lacks a close study of Martineau’s *Eastern Life, Present and Past* and Freud’s *Moses and Monotheism*. An interesting project would be to compare Martineau’s *Eastern Life, Present and Past* with Freud’s *Moses and Monotheism*. Knowing how widely Freud read and how freely

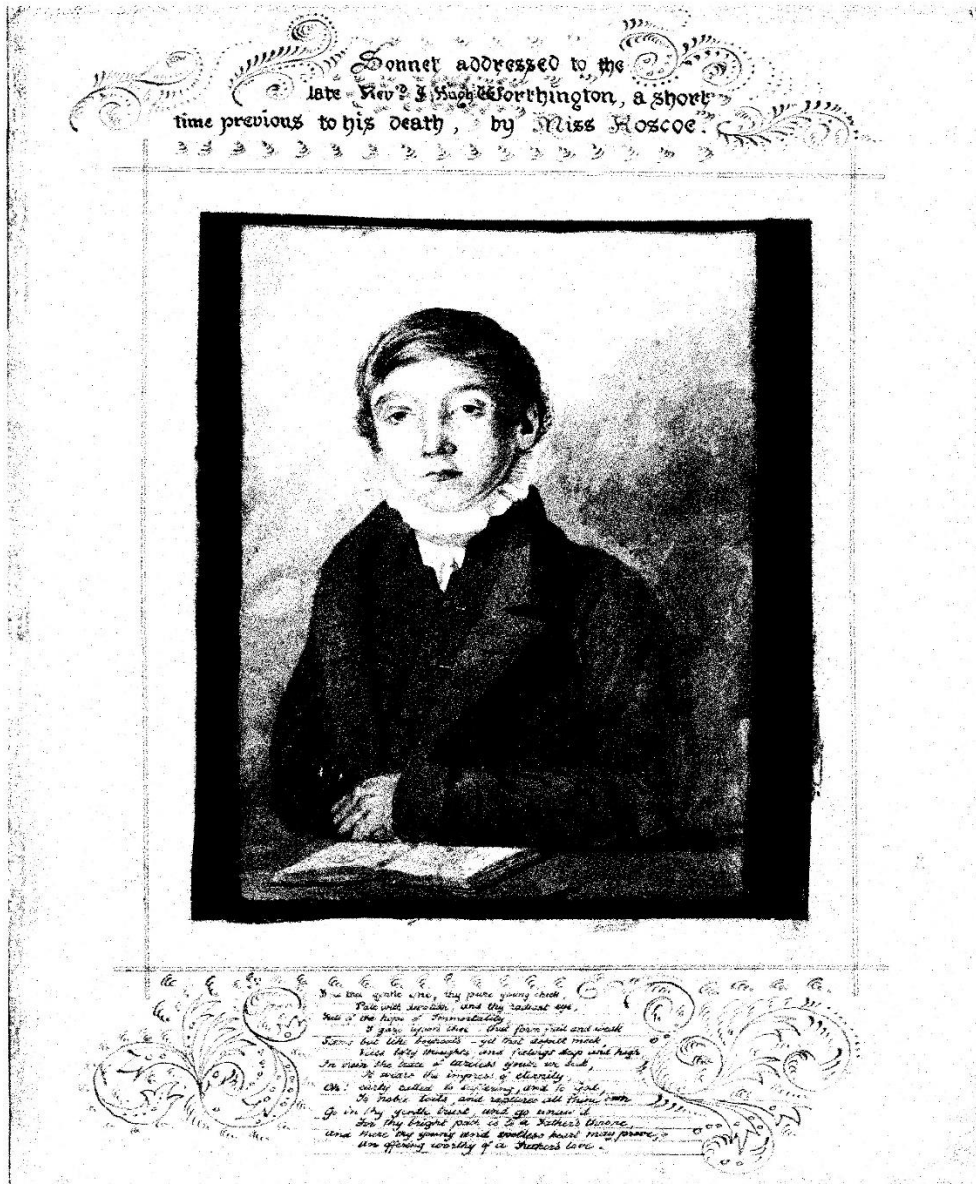
he borrowed ideas, it wouldn't be surprising to discover that he had read Martineau. He had a keen interest in Egyptology and the classics (a statue of the Sphinx lay next to his psychoanalytic couch). He used the archeological image of the city of Rome as an analog for the human mind, just as Martineau sees human religions as a continuum or even evolutionary progression – and we should remember Darwin liked *Eastern Life, Present and Past!*

Valerie Pichanick praises these same theological speculations. Pichanick cites *Eastern Life, Present and Past* as “one of the most interesting and undeservedly neglected of all Harriet Martineau’s major works” which is “probably without peer” and concludes that it is significant “as a portrait of the eastern Mediterranean lands and of Victorian tourism on the eve of imperialism” (qtd in Logan 176). *Eastern Life, Present and Past* is a fascinating work, and certainly deserves more attention. Harriet Martineau’s speculations on the origins of Western religion in *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, encompass the origin of the Law, and indeed, civilization, in a way that is quite likely Sigmund Freud later borrows from in his own radical work. “The ground gained by the human mind is never lost,” writes Martineau at the end of Volume I of *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, “for out of this Valley of the Nile issued Judaism; and out of Judaism issued, in due time, Christianity” (EL I, [pt. 1], p. 336 [Bancroft]). It is perhaps a stretch from Martineau’s idea about the preservation of mental attributes to Freud’s notion of the way the unconscious retains memories, but not that far of one – it is conceptual, that’s all. From 1848, the year Martineau’s work was published, to 1939, when Freud’s *Moses and Monotheism* was published, was a long stretch of history, but it is a credit to Martineau that Freud found himself returning to the eras of ancient history that she had explored almost 100 years before him. Martineau herself asserts that “According to a Mohammedan tradition he [Moses] was a learned priest of Heliopolis” (EL I [pt. 2] Ch. 12, 287 [Google]) – surely as startling an idea as any of Freud’s.

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John Hugh Worthington (1804 – 1827)

Drawing by Miss Roscoe

John Hugh Worthington

By Anne Peart

The Martineau side of the story of Harriet's engagement to John Hugh Worthington has been given in several biographies¹ and the details of the course of their relationship receive considerable attention in the new biography of Harriet Martineau by Elizabeth Arbuckle published on the Martineau Society's web site². However, little seems to have been written about Worthington himself, and this article aims to remedy this omission.

John Hugh Worthington was born on 11 November 1804, into a longstanding nonconformist Leicester family, whose ancestors included several distinguished dissenting ministers, notably his great uncle, Hugh Worthington of Salters' Hall in London, and his great grandfather, also Hugh Worthington (father of the Salters' Hall minister) who was minister at Leicester for over fifty six years, from 1741 to 1797.³

During his childhood, John Hugh was subject to frequent attacks of severe illness, which probably weakened constitution and made him more disposed to sedentary occupations such as reading. One of his obituaries emphasises the importance of his mother (Albina) in guiding his early studies.⁴ He was clearly very bright, and from about the age of eight was taught by the minister at Leicester Great Meeting, Charles Berry, who also ran a school. John Hugh was praised for his proficiency in every branch of learning, with a quick mind, a retentive memory, respectful manners and an obliging temper together with unremitting application.

John Hugh had from an early age expressed a desire to be a Unitarian minister, and when he was approaching sixteen years old it was judged that he was ready to go to college. The first choice was Glasgow University, and as there was a large family to maintain and little money to spare, a scholarship was needed to defray expenses. He applied for a bursary from Dr Williams's Trust, but unfortunately failed to gain this, so an application was made to Manchester College, then at York, where more financial aid was likely to be forthcoming.⁵ John Hugh's application was supported by the required testimonials from three local ministers. These were supplied by Henry Turner of Nottingham, who had examined John Hugh in Latin and Greek and found that he was a very promising student, with knowledge greater than was usual for his age, James Taylor, also of Nottingham, who testified to his knowledge of ancient languages and commented on his amiable disposition, and Robert Hall, who considered that his progress was extraordinary for his age. In addition Charles Berry wrote a letter of support explaining the unusual timing of this November application due to the rejection by the Dr Williams's Trust, requesting a start in the new year, and stressing John Hugh's diligence, talents and good behaviour. An additional reason for the November date was that the college did not accept students under the age of sixteen, and John Hugh attained this on 11 November 1820. His educational record and the references

from the three well-connected local ministers as well as the advocacy of Charles Berry led to the acceptance of John Hugh as a Manchester College student, starting in January 1821. John Hugh's father, also called John, wrote a letter to John Gooch Robberds expressing his gratitude to the gentlemen of the college committee and promising to endeavour to obtain grants from bodies on the printed list supplied so that college funds would be called upon as little as possible. John Gooch Robberds had the dual role of minister at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester and secretary to the college committee, a combination which was to prove helpful to John Hugh.

At Manchester College all ministry students received bursaries covering board, lodging and teaching; several funds, including that of Lady Hewley, contributed to John Hugh's exhibition. He also did quite well in gaining prize money, winning the second prize for junior mathematics in 1821, and the senior prize the following year, together with the second prize for diligence, proficiency and regularity of conduct. In 1823 he was awarded the first prize in this category. At the start of his second year a new ministry student started at the college, James Martineau, who was also aged sixteen at that point, being just over five months younger than John Hugh. The two became close friends, and shared much in their preparation for their future profession. Both were active in forming a student society to promote missionary activities in the area around York, and both worked extremely hard at their studies.⁶ In 1823 James invited John Hugh to visit him at his home in Norwich, and introduced him to the Martineau family, including his older sister Harriet. From then on John Hugh visited several times, certainly at least once every year.

So by the summer of 1825, at the age of 21, John Hugh had completed his studies, and was chosen to be co-minister at Manchester Cross Street Chapel, alongside John Gooch Robberds. Robberds was originally a Norwich man, and of course knew the Martineau family well. His Manchester congregation included Helen Martineau, widow of Thomas Martineau, elder brother of James and Harriet. James and Harriet stayed with Helen on numerous occasions, notably over Christmas that year. Helen was one of the few people who knew of James' unofficial engagement to Helen Higginson, who also visited that Christmas with her sister Emily.⁷ During her summer travels in following year Helen Martineau included a visit to John Hugh's family in Leicester before going on to spend over a month in Norwich with the Martineaus, who had suffered the death of James' father, Thomas in June of that year. She was probably present when Harriet and John Hugh became engaged. Arbuckle's biography contains much detail about the Martineau family reactions to this, and John Hugh's illness, and need not be repeated here. At that time there was a lot of concern about health, including mental health among family members and friends. Both John Hugh and James had suffered during their time at college, with overwork being suggested as a possible cause. Depression seemed rife, notwithstanding the fact that there was a lot to be depressed about, with the deaths or illnesses of several close friends and family, and the collapse of the family textile business during the economic depression of that year weighing on their spirits. The Martineau's shocked and hostile

reaction to the marriage proposal from Edward Tagart to Helen, which also took place that August, complicated matters still further.

After the summer holidays John Hugh returned to his ministry in Manchester, where apparently his preaching was considered to be very spiritual by at least some of the congregation. But at the end of November he suffered a sudden extreme mental illness or disease of the brain, with a violent seizure followed by delirium.. He “went mad” as Webb put it. The cause was not clear, but it was obvious to all that the illness was severe, with Helen Higginson referring to Helen Martineau’s news of “intervals of sanity”, but describing the illness as “a darkness more awful than death”.⁸ Helen (Martineau) seems to be the one who kept the Martineau family and others informed of the news about John Hugh. Neither James nor Harriet was willing to visit John Hugh, though both sympathised with those who had the care of him and were grateful for news from Helen. Reports of his condition varied dramatically, from optimism that it could be cured, from the Worthington family, to “hopeless and alarming” from John Gooch Robberds. However, the illness became more severe and he was moved from Manchester to his family’s home in Leicester in March of the following year. James drafted a letter to John Hugh explaining why he would not visit his erstwhile close friend, writing that he was not accustomed to the sight of severe illness, so it might upset him too much to be of help. In addition he implied that he did not wish to cause any difficulty which might arise as a result of the broken engagement with Harriet. However he did not send the letter to John Hugh, instead he sent it to his sister in law Helen, and asked her advice. She apparently dissuaded him from sending it to John Hugh.

John Hugh Worthington died on 4 July 1827, and his obituaries in the Unitarian press emphasise his spirituality, his academic ability and his promise as a bright new minister.⁹

The only portrait we have in the Cross Street Chapel archives of John Hugh is one done by a Miss Roscoe, who presumably drew it herself, and included it in a “Sonnet addressed to the late Revd J. Hugh Worthington, a short time previous to his death”. The sonnet reads:

D--- thee gentle one, thy pure young cheek,
Pale with devotion, and thy radiant eye,
Full of the hope of Immortality.
I gaze upon thee – that form frail and weak
Seems but like boyhood’s – yet that aspect meek
Veils lofty thoughts, and feelings deep and high
It wears the impress of eternity.
Oh! early called to suffering, and to God
To noble toils, and raptures all thine own
Go in thy gentle trust, and go unaw’d

For thy bright path is to a Father's Home,
And there they young and spotless heart may prove,
An offering worthy of a Father's love.

¹ Webb, Robert K. *Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian*, London: Heinemann. 1960:
Wheatley, Vera *The Life and Work of Harriet Martineau*, London: Secker and
Warburg 1957

² Martineau Society website <https://martineausociety.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Chap.-3-GW-2.pdf> Accessed September 2021

³ Monthly Repository, 1827, pp, 759-762; Thomas, A Hermann *A History of the Great Meeting Leicester, and its Congregation*. Leicester Gee Ratnett & Co, 1908

⁴ Monthly Repository, op. cit.

⁵ Harris Manchester College MS MNC misc12/i p24

⁶ Monthly Repository 1827, p 760

⁷ Peart, Ann 'Forgotten Prophets: The Lives of Unitarian Women 1760-1904'
Thesis.

⁸ Thesis p142 (JRUL 75, Helen Higginson to Helen Martineau, 28 November 1826).

⁹ Monthly Repository, 1827, pp, 759-762; Christian Reformer August 1827 pp372-3.



Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle

By David Hamilton

Harriet Martineau On-Line: Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle's Legacy

David Hamilton and Gaby Weiner

Introduction

This paper focuses on Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle's biography of Harriet Martineau – perhaps the most important development in the history of the Martineau Society (founded 1994). It has been written jointly, combining the overlapping but different perspectives of its authors. David Hamilton provides the background to the decision to prepare an online version of the biography and Gaby Weiner comments on her experiences (with Valerie Sanders) of reading and editing the final online version.

David

I joined the Martineau Society at the annual conference held in Edinburgh (2006). It was organised by Gaby and I assisted participants find their way to the conference meeting room, find their name badges, etc. Notwithstanding such arduous responsibilities, I enjoyed the conference sufficiently to become a member and, eventually, a life member of the Martineau Society.

I remained, however, a relative Martineau outsider. I was ill-prepared and ill-qualified to debate the works of James and Harriet Martineau that had animated the Society's conferences in the 1990s and early 2000s. Yet, I had already a long-standing interest in another aspect of nineteenth century life: the history of science and, in particular, the taxonomic, disciplinary or subject categories that blossomed following the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment. A quick dip into the *Online Etymological Dictionary*, for instance, records the earliest usage of the words biology and sociology, as 1802, 1842 respectively.

I soon realised these two aspects converge. Intellectual categories mirrored social networks. The field of biology, for instance, began to be populated by self-identified biologists. Like others interested in the history of ideas, I found this convergence to be fascinating.

Yet an alternative vision can be found in a volume recommended in 2009 by Stuart Hobday at the Boston Martineau Society conference in 2009 - *Darwin's Sacred Cause: Race, Slavery and the Quest for Human Origins* (Desmond & Moore, 2009). The authors make much of another collaborative network exploring 'human origins' – Darwin's 'sacred cause'. Although Desmond and Moore's oeuvre might not appeal to literary Martineau scholars, its index contains 20 references to Harriet Martineau and, more widely, the authors detail the intersection of Darwin's thought on religion (Wedgwood), philosophy (John Stuart Mill), imperialism (Wilberforce), and taxonomics (Linnaeus).

Desmond and Moore describe Charles Darwin (1809-1882) as a 'global brand'. Their judgement is that *On the Origin of Species* (1859) 'transformed the way we see ourselves on the planet' (p. xv). By the 1830s, Desmond and Moore suggest, Harriet Martineau had also become well-known in such circles (see Hobday, 2017) but she never gained the trappings of a global brand, even if the canvas of her intellectual contribution to the nineteenth century was as broad and variegated as Darwin's.

In judging Harriet Martineau's contribution to human thought, it might also be relevant that Darwin never used the term 'scientist' (which only appeared in 1834), regarding it as a narrow and separatist 'neologism' (Riskin, 2020). Put another way, Darwin was

an eclectic pluralist, not someone who retreated deeper into a disciplinary burrow, knowing more and more about less and less. To use a term that has probably more controversial since the 19th century, Darwin believed, echoing Francis Bacon's seventeenth-century efforts, that there is only one 'method' and, as a consequence only one discipline.

Darwin understood [Riskin suggests] his method as common not only to all living human thought and creation but to living nature itself. His followers, though, ultimately transformed the method utterly turning it from a natural process characterising all of living nature to an artificial one that set science apart from everything else (2020, p. 48).

My own argument is that Harriet's perspective on science was the same as Darwin's. Both shared an historical perspective. They were drawn, that is, to study human origins, a topic that engaged them both in the 1830s around discussions of race and slavery. They were both scientists with a moral passion that they duly applied - over decades - to human life and its diverse manifestations as 'living nature'. Equally, many subsequent commentators have struggled to relate their own times to the thought and writings of both Darwin and Martineau. This was the burden of focus of Gaby's doctoral thesis (1991) and also featured in the framing of the volume that she and Valerie Sanders edited and published in 2016: *Harriet Martineau and the Birth of Disciplines*.

In their introduction, Valerie and Gaby chose an epigraph from Harriet's introduction to her translation of Comte's *Positive Philosophy*' (1853 edition). Harriet starts with a unitary view of science: '*Our science is split up into arbitrary divisions*' which, she felt, had been '*mixed up*' and '*confounded together*'. Valerie and Gaby suggest that Harriet's writings can be seen as a response to '*a state of disciplinary muddle*' where '*the very notion of interdisciplinarity*' had become a '*nightmare*' – and that, for Harriet, Comte's social-evolutionary taxonomy offered a '*rescue*'. Although Harriet Martineau and Charles Darwin lived parallel lives – Harriet was born seven years before Charles who, in turn, lived six years longer than Harriet, they each made massive contributions to a fundamental taxonomic problem that faced the *philosophes* (i.e. lovers of knowledge) or *encyclopaedists* of the European Enlightenment. How were they to face up to the divisions of labour associated with the nineteenth production of knowledge? And was their contribution pre-disciplinary or interdisciplinary (see Sanders and Weiner, 2017, p.7)?

This is an issue which still cuts across the deliberations of the annual Martineau Society conference. What in fact was Harriet's contribution? Is it possible, looking back, to resolve the disciplinary muddle of the 1830s?

Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle's annual contributions to the Martineau Society conferences, also engaged with this problem. Often published in the Society's *Newsletter*, they were, in effect, snapshots from a life. But regular conference

attendees, like the authors of this paper, soon realised that these snapshots were not merely chronological 'stills', but part of a much more substantial wrap-around opus: an extended and detailed biography of Harriet Martineau, of which currently about 50% has been transferred to the Martineau Society website <martineausociety.co.uk>. The culmination of Elisabeth's lifetime of research, the biography offers a more joined-up view of Harriet's work, that, I believe, will stimulate many questions and answers about Harriet's life and times.

As Elisabeth approached her 90th year, informal conference chat suggested that her writing project was nearing completion. It also transpired that, despite being a noted historian, Elisabeth was having difficulty in finding a publisher for what was becoming a multi-volume biography. Publishing was hampered, among other things, by a decline in the publication of academic books by university presses. Some of the Society's committee worried there was a risk that Elisabeth's biography might only appear as a posthumous and unfinished manuscript.

In response, the collective wisdom of the 2017 AGM of the Martineau Society asserted that, whatever else might arise, Elisabeth's digital manuscript should not only be included on the Society's website but also be submitted for inclusion in the holdings of the British Library (that is, just in case the Martineau Society was unable to maintain its website). I contacted the British Library accessions Department (which agreed to accept a searchable pdf file). By the 2018 AGM, it not only emerged that Elisabeth was finalising her manuscript (e.g. checking the endnotes) but also that she had agreed to submit chapters for inclusion on the Society's website.

Gaby

Like David, I have listened to excerpts from Elisabeth's biographical research at various Martineau Society conferences over the years, and also bumped into her one time at the British Library when I was doing some additional research on Harriet Martineau. I had found out to my annoyance, that all the books I wanted were already out – so the puzzle was solved when I spotted her in the library café. As the years went on, some of us became concerned that should something happen to Elisabeth, all this work would be lost – which is when we approached her to see if we could help with publication. As David has already mentioned, she was finding it difficult to get a publisher, so we suggested that one way forward might be to publish it digitally via the Martineau Society website. We knew that she would have preferred a conventional university press publication but, in the end, she was persuaded that this was the simplest way of making her work public. Sadly, Elisabeth passed away before anything could be put in place, and it was largely due to the attendance of her son Michael at the 2019 Martineau Society conference, that we were able to get hold of the work digitally and in its entirety. Since then, Valerie and I have been editing successive chapters and putting them online - we have so far completed 28 chapters out of 55 – so that they are accessible to anyone who might want to read them.

I have been interested in Harriet Martineau since the early 1980s when I was encouraged to write a short chapter about her for a collection entitled *Feminist Theorists*. Since then I have edited reprints of her books, completed a PhD entitled *Controversies and Contradictions: Approaches to the Study of Harriet Martineau (1802-1876)*, and have been responsible for a number of articles and publications on her including the book mentioned above, *Harriet Martineau and the Birth of the Disciplines* (with Valerie Sanders, 2016). So, of particular importance to me was what I might learn from Elisabeth's almost forensic examination of Harriet Martineau's life (in 55 tightly packed chapters), and the impact of putting the text online.

One way of approaching this, as I hadn't yet read the entire work, was to take one chapter (number 28, exactly half-way through the biography), and see what it offers. Chapter 28 concerns one year (1845) and covers Harriet's improving health in Tynemouth, the fallout of her controversial advocacy of mesmerism, a visit to the Lake District where she meets, among others, William Wordsworth and Henry Atkinson for the first time, her decision to settle permanently and purchase two acres of land on the outskirts of the village of Ambleside on which to build a house, and her first publishing failure. The sources Elisabeth uses include various collections of letters to and from Harriet, her autobiography and other published work by her, her friends and acquaintances, and other authors and commentators. The footnotes are an absolute joy, as in all of Elisabeth's works!

What did I learn that was new? This is a tremendous resource, and having access to it digitally means that it is available at the click of a mouse, and to a far wider readership than the usual published text. For my part, I was certainly able to gain a flavour of Harriet's everyday concerns over the year, the visitors she received, the visits she made and the topics which held her attention. In addition, I found out, for example,

that Harriet had started writing the early part of her autobiography (up to the age of 13) when she was in Tynemouth, eventually published more than a decade later.

that the controversy surrounding mesmerism dominated this period of her life to such an extent that she was compelled to leave Tynemouth, and it continued to follow her around the countryside on her various visits to family and friends.

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- that she was concerned about the possible elopement of a friend, the novelist Geraldine Jewsbury, with a noted 'womaniser', London journalist John Robertson of whom she writes to Jane Carlyle "Poor Robertson! Can't he be somehow labelled, so as to guard young ladies from him." Yet another example of Martineau's sharp insight into gender relations!

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- Martineau's immediate liking of Henry Atkinson who was to be her collaborator in the publication of the infamous *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development* (1851).

- Her interest in the Swedish writer Fredrika Bremer, the renowned Swedish writer and feminist reformer, whose *Sketches of Everyday Life* were popular in Britain and the US in the 1840s and 1850s. Indeed, she was regarded as the Swedish Jane Austen. I had been made aware of the importance of Fredrika Bremer when I lived in Sweden!
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- Harriet's (unusual for the time) promise of payment up-front for the raw building materials for the Knoll, and her financial inducement to the builders to pay local workmen on a weekly basis.
- Her first publishing 'failure' - the eight *Forest and Game Law Tales* - started in 1844 and completed in 1845. Elisabeth writes:
- *Only 2,000 of the three volumes were sold, Martineau later lamented. Excitement over repeal of the corn laws stymied current book sales, and at the time it seemed "a total failure; -- my first failure." Though read by young future legislators and "a few young lords and gentry," she had wanted the work to reach "farmers, [to put] strength into their hearts to assert their rights." Counting on a large sale, moreover, Moxon had the work stereotyped. From the nearly 1,000 first sold, she "never received a shilling," at last setting down her "gratuitous labour" as a contribution to repeal of the corn laws.*

2000 copies sold, and only one publishing failure in two decades or more of work – not at all bad to my mind!

Overall, this is one of the more interesting chapters of the biography so far, which illustrates the context of big events in Harriet's life as well as her correspondence, visitors and writing projects. However, certain distinctive features in Elisabeth's writing are also visible here – which might well have been edited out by the conventional university press editor. For example, she seems often to cast a judgemental eye on Harriet's correspondence, such as her boastfulness or tendency towards gossip or 'smug' announcements, which may be 'sniffed' at. In this chapter, for example,

*Her case [cure by mesmerism] had caused "a great sensation," she **boasted** to Maria Chapman: she now had a "very unusual degree of strength," took long walks daily and stood up to "much odious persecution from the doctors."*

OR

***Boasting** to James of the "industry and intelligence" of Robert's boys and the "cheerfulness and brightness" of the girls and their mother, Martineau next **gossiped** that Emily Bache (James's sister-in-law married to Samuel Bache) appeared happy "at the head of a large establishment, more at ease than she seemed to be with her former two little boy pupils."*

OR

*Forwarding to James "a portion of Lord Murray's last letter" concerning him, Martineau announced **smugly** that "'Vestiges,'" was by Hewlitt C. Watson, a bachelor "above 40 . . . living retired in a cottage . . . beloved by his personal friends." "I never believed it as Robert [Chambers], as the Carpenters declared," she **sniffed** (mistakenly).*

Interestingly, Elisabeth seems only to apply these correctives to Harriet, and not to other writers or commentators mentioned in the text. As noted already, presumably a dedicated editor would have queried these remarks - but Valerie and I decided at the onset to leave the text as originally written where at all possible!

A further occasional difficulty I have had with the text, where again an editor might have intervened - is where elements of stereotyping emerge – for example in the footnotes of this chapter, on Atkinson.

Like his bachelor friends of similar tastes, Atkinson was almost certainly homosexual; sexually unthreatening, he evidently allowed Martineau to plunge into a romantic older-woman/younger-man relationship without hesitation; Martineau claimed that his was "not a logical mind," but "free & noble".

This echoes the comments of Harriet's 1960 biographer R. K. Webb, certainly no feminist and certainly a male academic echoing the sexism, misogyny and homophobia of his era. He could not understand why Atkinson would want to collaborate with Harriet.

Atkinson belonged to a type that will always be with us, at least as long as sufficient fortunes can be inherited. He had only to become a dilettante, and seems unlikely that he could have done more. He remained a bachelor.... His last years were spent in Boulogne, a circumstance which could convey a whole covey of doubts to a respectable Victorian...He was very probably a homosexual.... If I am right in this conjecture, the friendship with a mature and relatively sexless woman, who could be no kind of threat, is intelligible if, of course, it is not to be dismissed as part and parcel of his dilettantism (p20).

Webb states that Harriet Martineau had a 'second-rate mind' (p22) – something I have never forgiven him for! - by arguing that Martineau fell out with first rate minds (Dickens, Carlyle, George Eliot etc.), while retaining contacts with second-rate minds (Atkinson, Abolitionists Garrison, Chapman etc.). He continues,

Harriet Martineau was the perfect example of the limited intelligence secure enough in its convictions to challenge its betters. The phenomenon has always existed and will always exist, the bane of genius - and perhaps its salvation (p23)

I suspect that one reason for the difficulty in getting this biography published, beyond its length, is that while she provided hitherto unknown information about her subject, Elisabeth's stance on Harriet Martineau and her contemporaries was outdated,

drawing on earlier viewpoints (Webb for instance) rather than more enlightened biographers and scholars that followed him.

Conclusions (David and Gaby)

Before discussing further concerns about Elisabeth's style and historical judgements, we return to a general issue raised earlier; one that may help to understand the significance of Elisabeth's efforts: was Harriet Martineau an *interdisciplinary* or a *pre-disciplinary* author? And why does that matter? Our purpose is to advance the research on Harriet's life and times. David's argument is that, like Darwin, her work is pre-disciplinary. That is, she ultimately took her cue from Francis Bacon (1561-1626), sometimes remembered as the 'father of empiricism'. For Bacon, science includes the careful observation of events alongside the 'advancement' of knowledge (Bacon's term). To this extent, Bacon's work launched the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and its 'invisible College' - 'The Royal Society of London for the Improving of natural knowledge' – to give its full title). Bacon's ideas were significant if only because he made a break with scholasticism, the medieval idea, favoured by Thomas Aquinas, that divine knowledge always trumps human reason. Bacon rejected this view. Natural knowledge was not a construct created in the minds and writings of medieval philosophers (the Scholastics). In turn, it eschewed the reformulation of knowledge buried in classical texts (e.g. Aristotle). Instead, the creation of natural knowledge was an extensive and inclusive activity based on experience and observation and the resultant creation of new knowledge, including the eventual invention of the word *scientist* by an Anglican clergyman, William Whewell in a review of *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences* (1834) written by the Scottish polymath, Mary Somerville (1780-1872).

Why Harriet took up such a position remains important. Having abandoned organised religion, she had little option as an intellectual. She became, like Bacon and Darwin, a life-long searcher after truth. She was an empiricist who opted to investigate the endless and unfolding frontiers of life, in much the same way that Elisabeth Arbuckle painstakingly chose to unfold the minutiae of Harriet's life and times.

The fact, as Gaby points out, that contentious assumptions may also be buried in her biography gives further colour to Elisabeth's efforts, in the same way that all biographies are coloured by the perceptions of their authors. Had Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle chosen a book-based publisher, her somewhat out-dated twentieth-century views might have been removed at the behest of its editors. But their retention on the Martineau Society website - like the pre-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary discussion described above - will, we hope, stimulate a new wave of critical studies into the life and times of Harriet Martineau – something that both Harriet and Elisabeth would have indeed welcomed.

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Babs Todd examining the bust of Harriet Martineau at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, during the visit in 2009 of the Martineau Society: *Photo Bruce Chilton*

A Memorial for Barbara

Keiko Funaki

I first met Barbara in March 2010. I was lucky enough to get a government-sponsored research grant and came to England to study 19th-century British female economists. I went to universities and libraries throughout the UK to learn about the history of Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Mercet, Cambridge, and Girton College. Shortly before going to England, I'd bought and read a book about Harriet Martineau written by Barbara on Amazon, so I was definitely planning to go to Ambleside.

When I was researching Martineau at the Armitage Gallery and Museum in Ambleside, a female librarian set up a meeting with Barbara. I'm not used to speaking English, so the librarian went with me to Barbara's house, which had also been Harriet Martineau's house.

In front of the warm fireplace, Barbara bluntly said, "I was surprised that you were able to get this book in Japan!" I was only allowed 30 minutes, and with the help of the librarian, I asked as many questions as I could think of. Barbara also showed me around her garden. When I asked Barbara if she still had the sundial that Harriet Martineau had written about in her autobiography, she took me to it. I told Barbara that I wanted to take a picture of the garden and sundial. She looked mortified and said, "Never!" When I asked why, she said, "I don't want Japanese people to see a picture of the garden in winter. If you want to take a picture, come here again in July. I'll introduce you to people who know what you want to learn." She laughed mischievously. I think Barbara wanted to show me a beautiful garden in summer. In fact, I went back in July and discovered that Ambleside was completely different from what it had been in snowy March.

I went to Ambleside again in July, and as Barbara had promised, I was able to participate in the Martineau Society for the first time. In contrast to March, I saw the sundial in a garden full of flowers. Of course, Barbara allowed me to take a picture of it.

This was a wonderful experience for me. I'd hardly ever studied abroad before that time, so when I met Barbara, I was very worried about whether I could convey my thoughts in English. The female librarian from Hong Kong knew Barbara well, and she understood my feelings and went with me. Thanks to Barbara connecting me to the Martineau Society, I learned a lot and was able to convey what I'd learned to the Japanese people. These days, Harriet Martineau has become well known in Japan, but the Unitarians and James Martineau are still unknown there. During the modernization of Japan in the 19th century, Keio University founder, Yukichi Fukuzawa, began inviting Unitarian teachers instead of Anglican church officials. He

even asked the Unitarian headquarters in Essex Street, London, to send a teacher. He may have thought that Unitarianism was needed for the westernization of Japan. The Japanese aren't familiar with Christian denominations, which have been regarded as mysterious. In this way, I learned a lot at the Martineau Society that I wouldn't have without coming here.

Barbara gave me a lot of details about Harriet Martineau that were necessary for my research. She had first editions of Martineau's books and showed me a map of Windermere that had been printed at the time. She kindly told me a lot of things in a loud, clear voice. Also, in order to make sure I understood, she always asked, "Keiko, do you understand what I mean?"

I'm really thankful to Barbara and want to continue my research in the future. My memories of Barbara are memories that connect me with England. I can still hear her unique and wonderful voice.

Recent New Members (UK unless stated)

Dr Fernanda Alcântara (Brazil).

The Martineau Society

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

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

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

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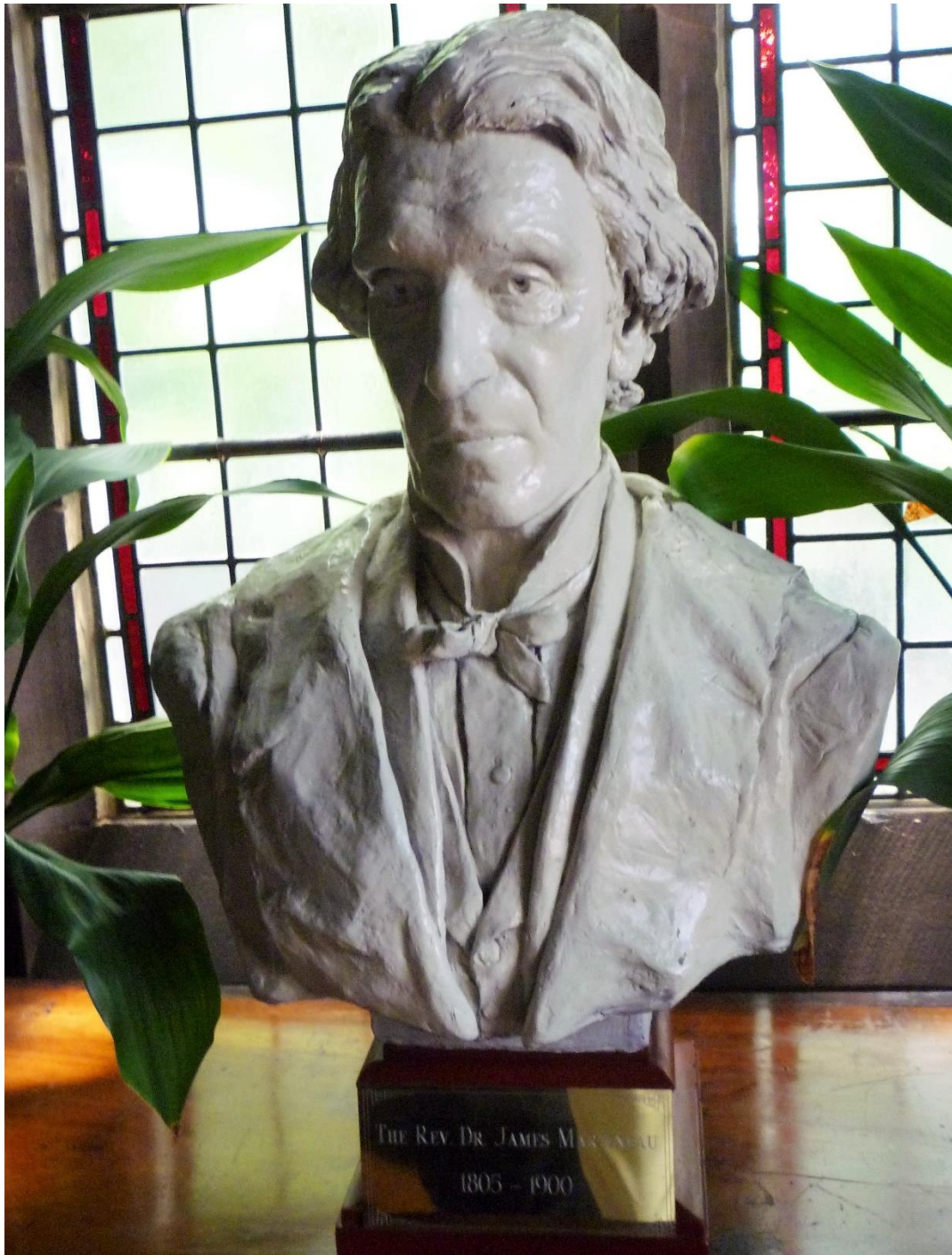
Postscript

We are now prepared for an exact definition of Right and Wrong; which will assume this form: *Every action is Right, which, in presence of a lower principle, follows a higher: every action is Wrong, which, in presence of a higher principle, follows a lower.*

The act of manufacture of adulterated or falsely labelled goods is wrong, because done in compliance with an inferior incentive, the love of gain, against the protest of superiors, good faith and reverence for truth.

This definition appears to me to have the advantage of simply stating what passes in all men's minds when they use the words whose meaning it seeks to unfold ... The exigencies of this truth are met at once by the fundamental principle of the foregoing doctrine, viz. that, our nature comprising a graduated scale of principles of action, of which a plurality presents itself at the crisis of every problem, our moral estimates are always comparative.

James Martineau Types, II, Bk.1. ch.vi.



James Martineau (1805 -1900)

Bust at Ullet Road Unitarian Chapel, Liverpool

