# ***The Martineau Society***

**Journal No. 48** **December 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.

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*Editor's Note*

We are now living at a time with regard to epidemics and pandemics similar to the early lifetimes of Harriet and James Martineau. But now there is little point in trying to run away. Covid infections of different varieties are everywhere. Outbreaks of cholera were rife in Norwich in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Unease, particularly when in the presence of other people must have been general. One could make attempts to guard against infection but most were of little value, at least, not before 1836 when the first Public Health Officer appointed in England established in Norwich that cholera was primarily water-borne and not air-borne. Our response to Covid today seems to be that we also avoid mixing with those we do not know. We have retreated to meetings online (not without modern advantages. It is wonderful to be able to see and talk with friends in other countries.)

The Martineau Society Newsletter has been renamed the Martineau Society Journal. The title has not appeared at the start of the issues and "Journal" reflects better its content as an academic society publication. It has been rather long as a "newsletter" for many years.

This edition has articles given as papers from the 2021 and 2022 Society conferences. The four articles we have are full of interest. As the first issue following a Society conference, it starts with a report on the progress of the conference in July 2022 at Sheffield, again kindly provided by Beth Torgerson.

We are most grateful to our President, Valerie Sanders, for insights on Harriet Martineau's stories of and views on industrial conflicts, strikes, and the differing male attitudes of workers, union organisers and employers at times of economic failures. At the current time of major economic downturn in the UK and elsewhere, comparisons with modern attitudes are unavoidable!

Many thanks also to Ellie Smolenaars for her article on the discipline of Sociology with Harriet Martineau's guide for students, which must mean us all!

John Vint, our Society Chair, gives us a different type of article. How do art and literature act and react on one another? It centres on a painting of 1833 by William Collins of the Royal Academy and is a fascinating read.

Many thanks to all our contributors. Your editor, of course, claims all responsibility for any errors. In the modern, instructing expression – "Do enjoy".

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**Martineau Society Conference 2022, Sheffield, England**

***by Beth Torgerson***

The annual Martineau Society Conference was held at Halifax Hall, University of Sheffield, in Sheffield, England from July 18 to July 21, 2022. Nineteen members were in attendance. On Monday afternoon, July 18, after John Vint's welcome speech, which included the changes in the conference programme due to the heat-wave hitting the nation. Reverend Dr. Ann Peart gave the plenary lecture, entitled "Friends or Networks? Some Reflections on Harriet Martineau's Unitarian Connections, with Special References to William Ellery Channing and Elizabeth Jesser Reid."

In the plenary lecture, Ann Peart argued that Harriet Martineau had started her career, after the failing of her father's business, by calling upon her Unitarian contacts, noting that her work for W. J. Fox in the *Monthly Repository*, which was a monthly Unitarian periodical, led to his brother Charles Fox, also an Unitarian, agreeing to publish her *Illustrations of Political Economy* when no other publisher seemed interested. Ann then discussed Harriet Martineau's friendships with William Ellery Channing and Elizabeth Jesser Reid. Channing was the Unitarian minister in Boston, who hosted Harriet Martineau and her traveling companion Louisa Jeffery twice during Martineau's travels to America, which led to their becoming lasting friends. Thanks to Channing's international influence, the Sheffield Unitarians built and named their new educational and social hall in his honour, Channing Hall, which was built as an extension of the Upper Chapel in 1881. For us to have a better understanding of the significance of the building of Channing Hall, Ann gave some historical background on Unitarians, noting toleration was only granted to Dissenters if they believed in the Trinity, but in 1813, the Trinity Act meant that a rejection of the Trinity was no longer a legal offence, making it legal for Unitarians to be open about their faith. She added that the Dissenters' Chapel Act of 1844 meant that it became legally possible for Unitarians to retain their chapels and trust funds. While the

Sheffield Upper Chapel first dates from 1700, it underwent a massive renovation and enlargement of the chapel in 1848, before Channing Hall was added later in the century.

Martineau's long friendship with Elizabeth Jesser Reid was an important friendship for both women. Reid was a regular visitor to Harriet's sickroom in Tynemouth, and she gave her the telescope that appears prominently in *Life in the Sickroom*. Harriet wrote to Elizabeth of her appreciation of this gift, saying "I spend hours at that telescope." Harriet supported Elizabeth's founding of Bedford College in London, the first Women's College in England. Elizabeth supported Harriet's many projects, including the building of workers' cottages in Ambleside.

On Tuesday, July 19, three presentations were given. Two of these were papers given by Josie McQuail and Beth Torgerson, and, as a break from a more traditional paper presentation, Sharon Connor interviewed Sue Brown on her recently published book on Julia Wedgwood. In her paper, entitled "Public Bodies: Harriet Martineau, Mesmerism, Spiritualism, and Women's Leadership," Josie McQuail placed Martineau's use of and belief in mesmerism in a larger historical context. Josie included Anton Mesmer, the Baron Jules Denis Du Potet, John Elliotson and the O'Key sisters, James Braid, Jean-Martin Charcot, and Sigmund Freud in her historical overview. Josie argued that mesmerism gave many women, including Martineau, access to claiming their autonomy over their bodies and their voices while challenging male bourgeois values of the Victorian era.

Sue Brown's *Julia Wedgwood, the Unexpected Victorian: The Life and Writing of a Remarkable Female Intellectual*, was published in March of this year by Anthem Press as part of their Nineteenth-Century Series (https://anthempress.com/julia-wedgwood-the-victorian-female-intellectual-pdf). Sharon's first questions for Sue related to Sue's use of the phrase "the Unexpected Victorian" in her title: Why the use of the word "unexpected"? How was Julia Wedgwood to be seen as "unexpected"? Sue responded with a three-part answer, first noting that the topics of Julia's writings, similar to those of Harriet Martineau's work, had an unexpected range to them, often covering what were seen only as male topics at the time. Then, Sue explained that because Julia was the eldest of six, it was expected that she would stay and care for her aging parents. Instead, Julia's actions were unexpected. She moved out of her parents' home and chose to live with her Welsh housemaid Marian Hughes. The two women formed a deep friendship that went beyond the usual class-based relationship between a mistress and her servant, which was acknowledged by Julia's leaving generous provisions for Marian in her will. Finally, Sue explained the "unexpected" adjective by noting that Julia has been largely forgotten historically, known only in her relationship to two famous Victorian men. Julia Wedgwood is known as being the niece of Charles Darwin and as the woman whom Robert Browning befriends and possibly attempts to court, upon his return to London after the death of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Sue feels strongly that Julia Wedgwood needs to be rediscovered as a Victorian female intellectual in her own right.

Through the course of this interview, as listeners, we learned many details of Julia's life. Julia was critical of the institution of marriage, seeing the difficulty of couples finding like-minded partners, and chose to remain unmarried herself. While Harriet Martineau had been a friend and role model for her, after the *Atkinson Letters* were published in 1851, she found it difficult to understand Harriet's delight in denying the

afterlife. Florence Nightingale had also served as a role model, but Julia pulled away from her example, too. Julia also had friendships with Elizabeth Gaskell and George Eliot. Julia wrote two novels before turning to writing non-fiction. Her anonymous review in *The Spectator* of Darwin's *Descent of Man* won Darwin's praise for being a "remarkable review," without his knowledge of the fact that his niece was the author. Julia promoted female education and taught for a while at the forerunner of Girton College when it was based in Hitchin. Julia's friendship with Marian Hughes was untypical of Victorian feminism. Another way that Julia was untypical of accepted Victorian feminism was her being critical of the self-serving nature of female philanthropy of the time.

In my presentation "Teaching Charlotte Brontë and Harriet Martineau," I gave an overview of what students learned in a 400-level Major Authors literature course at Eastern Washington University during Winter Quarter 2020. First, I covered topics of students' midterm papers and final papers, and then I discussed class trends and specifics about students' learning expressed in their final take-home exams, which were self-reflective "Learning letters" in which students wrote about their individual learning after taking this class. Overall, the course was a success, with students feeling that they benefited from the in-depth focus on these two major Victorian women writers.

After our conference dinner, Valerie Sanders took charge of the quiz, asking questions she had come up with in three categories: 1) the Martineau family, 2) Sheffield trivia, and 3) general knowledge. Three teams competed to answer these quiz questions. While all of Valerie's questions sparked great efforts, the best question was the final one: What did Valerie Sanders, Elisabeth Arbuckle, and Winnie-the-Pooh have in common? All three teams knew "Sanders" to be the correct response, but at least one team also wrote "They lived in the 100-Acre Woods." The competition was fun and fierce, with Table #2 being declared this year's victors.

On Wednesday, July 20th, thanks to our revised schedule, we spent the larger part of the day at Upper Chapel in downtown Sheffield. Minister Andy Phillips greeted us and took us into the Upper Chapel. For the tour of Channing Hall, Graham and Judy Hague served as our tour guides. Marc Gascoigne, the Chapel Manager, also joined us briefly. After we settled into one of the meeting rooms, Gaby Weiner and Michelle Cunneen presented papers. Gaby Weiner noted that her paper, entitled "Harriet Martineau and Slavery," is a working draft towards a chapter for a book that she is co-authoring with Stuart Hobday for Routledge as part of their series on the founders of Sociology. For the book, instead of using the usual chronological approach taken with Martineau, they are organizing it by sociological issues that Martineau addressed in her writing, such as gender, disability, slavery, education, the environment, *etc.* Gaby showed Martineau was not only good at conveying the horrors of slavery in her fictional work *Demerara* and in her nonfictional *Society in America*, but she was also simultaneously arguing a twofold thesis: 1) slavery is morally and ethically abhorrent and 2) slavery is economically problematic.

In her paper "The Role of Hypocrisy in Slavery: Harriet Martineau in Conversation with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Frederick Douglass," Michelle Cunneen explored how Rousseau's concept of the Social Contract is an important way to understand the work of both Harriet Martineau and Frederick Douglass. She pointed out that Rousseau's line "Man is born free and everywhere is in chains" illustrates a paradox for slaves since they, as slaves, are aware that the social contract is not real but only

an illusion. She worked specifically with Douglass's speech, later published as a pamphlet, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" to point out the hypocrisy inherent in slavery. She also noted the irony of Frederick Douglass endorsing capitalism when he himself had been bought and sold, treated as a "product" rather than as a man. Moving from Douglass to Martineau, Michelle worked with Martineau's denouncing of slavery in *Society in America*. Michelle noted how Martineau addressed not only race-based but also gender-based slavery, since Martineau felt that the women in America were unaware of their true conditions as such, with their being asked to accept "indulgences" instead of "justice." Michelle argued that Martineau and Douglass both dealt with the hypocrisy of slavery within their texts, but also within their own lives. She noted that while they were denouncing slavery, they were still members of societies benefiting from the institutions of slavery, those based on race and those based on gender. She ended her paper by addressing the issue of how universal Rousseau's idea of the Social Contract is.

After these two papers, we had a nice sandwich lunch and then held the Annual General Meeting before everyone set off to explore downtown Sheffield for our free afternoon. People went to various places, including the Winter Gardens, the Millennium Gallery, the Graves Art Gallery, the Moor Market, and various shops and eateries. Later that evening, following our conference dinner, we moved rooms to participate in the annual fundraiser—the Martineau Society Auction. Gaby Weiner and Carol Chilton ran the auction with flare and pizzazz. (Considering the lack of a gavel, they also had some ingenuity). After a fun evening of bidding and laughter, we tallied up and learned that the society had made over £300 through our efforts, enough to fund a student bursary for next year's conference.

On Thursday, the final three papers of the conference were given. A slight adjustment in the conference programme had been made due to the fact that Chris Valeo, who had planned on presenting on "Martineau and Wordsworth as Guides to the Lakes," was unable to attend due to a family emergency. This opening allowed John Vint to move his paper, originally planned for Tuesday, back to Thursday, enabling him to spend needed time on Tuesday in reorganizing the Tuesday/Wednesday conference events, such as the change in the date of the tour, the changes involved in renting the bus for transporting the group, and the changes of meeting rooms and locations, and the costs related to these various schedule changes. All of these changes succeeded in helping us to escape the heat and move forward smoothly with the conference.

Iain Crawford gave the first of the day's three papers, which was entitled "Harriet Martineau and the 1850s' 'Paper-Famine.'" Iain started off with an anecdote about how the shift to using digital resources rather than paper copy that we have experienced during the Covid-19 pandemic helped lead him to this particular topic focused on the nineteenth-century "Paper Revolution," which occurred thanks to the Industrial Revolution's new technologies that allowed for mechanically-produced paper. He explored the Victorians' shift to using mass-produced paper and how they made increasing demands for paper as they kept expanding the ways that paper could be used, giving wallpaper, stationery, and envelopes as examples. Iain referenced Martineau's 1834 tale *The Scholars of Arneside* from *Illustrations of Taxation* that focuses on a paper mill to set up how Martineau's own understanding of the importance of paper shifted over time. To build the historical context, he

explored how issues of costs for paper-making (plant-based versus rags-based) connected to transatlantic competition and to issues of transnational transfer of intellectual property. He also developed historical legal changes on taxes on knowledge, including the abolition of the advertising duty, the abolition of the stamp duty, and the abolition of the paper duty. Iain noted that people like Charles Knight, founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, fought against taxes on knowledge, arguing they were a type of censorship. The paper issue became proxy for the "civilization debate" on whether printed material was positive, leading to the acceleration of civilization, or negative, providing more dangerous ideas to the masses, potentially leading to the downfall of civilization. Iain included more of Martineau's own writings on the paper issue, noting it was a recurring concern for her articles in Dickens' *Household Words* as well as in her leaders in the *Daily News* during 1854 and 1855. He noted her shift in representation from the *Taxation* tale to these later articles, where she promotes paper as necessary in the nation's move towards literacy, education, and individual rights.

In his paper "Harriet Martineau and a Sister Visit Somerset House," John Vint broke away from his former focus on Martineau's political economy to provide us with some interrelated tales of artistic creation that gave us insights into Martineau's understanding about the creative process. John projected William Collins' 1833 painting "Returning from the Haunts of the Seafowl" for us to see, walking us through the painting's visual imagery. Then, he shared a passage from Martineau's *Autobiography* in which she discusses going to see an exhibition at Somerset House that includes her viewing of Collins' painting and her resulting plans to use the young girl in the painting's foreground as the heroine for her next tale that she was about to write. John clarified that the tale in reference is *The Hamlets*. Later, Martineau writes that she met Collins at a music party and that, before she could tell him of her plans to use his painting as the basis for her own creative work, he confessed his use of her tale *Ella of Garveloch* in his creation of his painting. Later, in the *Autobiography*, she writes about her meeting David Wilkie, another Victorian painter, who told her specifics as to how he would paint selected scenes from her *Illustrations*, especially, a scene found in the tale entitled *Ireland* where the protagonist Dora was letting down her petticoat from her shoulders as she entered her cabin. Martineau included Wilkie's thoughts on the connectedness of their mutual creative processes. John used these two instances to develop Martineau's understanding of the interrelationships between art and fiction. He used another of Martineau's references to *The Hamlets* in the *Autobiography*, where she admits to basing the relationship between the young siblings on her own relationship to her brother, to cast light on Harriet's view of her childhood relationship with her brother James, noting the connection between life and fiction.

In the last paper of the conference, entitled "Harriet Martineau and the Utopian Tradition," Bob Stillwell returned to his paper topic from last year and said that this year's paper needed a subtitle of "Further Reflections." After a humorous rendition of a song "Pinocchio Will Level-Up" on his guitar, Bob noted how ever since Thomas More wrote the first utopian novel in 1516, the words connected to utopianism have been presented with both positive and negative discourse. Words such as "democracy," "freedom," and "justice" are what he termed "smile words" whereas words such as "fascism" and "totalitarian" can be seen as "snarl words," yet all can be connected with one person's vision of an utopian society. He asked the question whether or not we understood utopian writing as being able to anticipate and/or

encourage positive changes in society, and he told us that his answer to this question was “Yes, it could and does.” He gave examples, such as Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backwards*, published in 1887. He discussed how Martineau’s *Oliver Weld*, her final novel that she destroyed after George Smith wrote of his reservations about publishing it, should be seen as an utopian novel, written by a progressive writer with a progressive agenda. He indicated how many of Martineau’s other progressive ideas, such as health care, universal education, the enfranchisement of women, the end of the slave trade, the acceptance of women priests, the creation of state utilities for natural monopolies, *etc*., have gone from being “utopian” ideas to concrete realities. After developing an overview of some of the writers on the ideologies of utopia - including Bloch’s idea that utopianism subverts itself since the process is ongoing as, in making positive change, one is again required to take the next newly-understood step towards positive change, which then creates the next step, and so on. Bob ended on the many ways that Martineau contributed to a better future and indicated that Martineau herself should be seen not just as an activist but as an Utopianist.

After a wonderful plenary lecture, seven great papers, an insightful interview, a fun quiz night, a successful fund-raising event, and many lively and ongoing discussions related to the papers that continued over breakfast, lunch, cocktails, and dinner, we had our last lunch together and said our goodbyes, with the hope that we will all be able to meet for next year’s conference to be held in Norwich.

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**Harriet Martineau and 1830s Masculinity: Illustrations of Industry**

***Valerie Sanders***

Harriet Martineau is increasingly acclaimed as a proto-feminist, who throughout her life, but particularly in the 1850s and 60s, drew attention to the personal and professional injustices suffered by women. In the first ten years of her career, however, it might be argued that she was more interested in the plight of working men, whose lives in her *Illustrations of Political Economy* traced an arc very different from her own. Nor was this a passing interest. In her *Autobiography* she mercilessly satirizes the male celebrities she knew in the 1830s, and in the early 1860s, when she was a regular contributor to *Once a Week*, she wrote both a ‘Representative Men’ series (including ‘Self-Made Men’[1] and ‘Political Agitators’), and a set of articles on the health of both men and women in various professions, including ‘The Rural Labourer’ and ‘The Steel Grinder’. It was clear that she saw men’s working lives, in fiction and reality, as full of hazards, both physical and moral. Published at a time

[1] Interestingly, in her sketch of Richard Grainger (1797-1861), the Newcastle street architect she takes as her representative of ‘Self-Made Men,’ Martineau commends ‘[h]is quiet cheerfulness and collectedness,’ ‘healthful composure,’ and skilled management of a strike, adding: ‘He was the friend of his workmen throughout his career’ (‘Representative Men,’ *Once a Week*, 5 October 1861, pp. 405-6): this nearly thirty years after publishing *A Manchester Strike* (1832).

she regarded as 'thrilling...when Providence appoints work to be done & evil to be awaited' (*Collected Letters* I: 108), the *Illustrations* crucially interrogate the many challenges faced by men of all classes, ranging from magistrates, millers, farmers, doctors and landowners to foundry workers, herring-fishermen, trades-unionists, political activists, and benefit-scroungers. Dismayed by a sense that all classes impede both moral and economic progress, Martineau presents men at every level articulately disputing the rights and wrongs of their condition, while their core values are tested and overturned.

Harriet Martineau by Osgood

J. Martineau

The 1830s is a particularly interesting decade to be doing this. Often seen as coinciding with the close of the Romantic period, it is paradoxically both the decade of the 'silver-fork novel' of upper class life, and of liberal new periodicals, such as *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, and *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, aimed more at lower class readers than the heavyweight *Edinburgh, Blackwood's* and *Quarterly*

*Reviews* and magazines. Both *Chambers's* and *Tait's* were launched at the start of 1832, just when Martineau's *Illustrations* began serialization, amid great enthusiasm for inspirational tales of working men who achieved success and independence.

This was something William Chambers, editor of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* promised in his 'Editor's Address to His Readers' in the first issue of his new journal in February 1832, including 'accounts of men who were at one time poor little boys ….[but who] gradually rose to be great statesmen, and generals, and members of learned professions, and distinguished authors…' (CEJ 4 February 1832, p. 2).

These narratives suggest that as long as boys and men work hard and are resilient enough to cope with setbacks, they will be suitably rewarded in adulthood. For Martineau, however, the message in her *Illustrations* becomes much more complicated than this, driven by the multi-faceted nature of her men's lives and the unremitting pressures on them to be good husbands and fathers as well as employees, independent businessmen, or civic leaders, such as magistrates. Their range of relationships is generally wider than that of their female counterparts, and they are more directly exposed to the vagaries of the market and fluctuations of the trade wars. Their ability to cope is decided not just by their understanding of the economic situation, but also by their emotional stability.

Recurrent themes in Martineau's *Illustrations* expose a set of personal as well as economic conditions which perhaps test her men even more than her women. Repeatedly she shows her communities coming under pressure from inadequate resources. Put simply, crops and fish stocks fail, corn prices fluctuate, and families proliferate. Even where birth control as such is not her main target, her message, often repeated is that there is not a secure supply of food and work to sustain everyone who needs them: hence the boom-and-bust rhythms of her communities, as men alternately compete and collaborate. This pattern in turn puts pressure on men's self-discipline and emotional stability as they try to secure food and support for their families.

These issues have been addressed by a number of recent Martineau scholars, especially the relationship between economics and the morality of social behaviour. In domestic economy, she says in her preface, we may observe 'how harmony is preserved within doors by the absence of all causes of jealousy; how good will prevail towards all abroad through the absence of all causes of quarrel.' As Agnieszka Setecka puts it in a recent (2020) comparison between Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* (1849) and Martineau's *Illustrations,* 'Once the rules were properly understood and implemented, Martineau believed, social troubles would be remedied and the whole country would enjoy growing prosperity.'

However, I would argue that economic theory, for Martineau, comes to life when tested by quarrelsome communities who discuss it, ignore it, dodge it, or are

eventually brought down by its inevitable consequences. The message can be more mixed than its purpose implies. For example, Lana L Dalley (in Dzelzainis and Kaplan, 2010) argues that Martineau's first reviewers saw the biggest problem with her *Illustrations* as 'her fusion – or perceived confusion – of economics, emotions and morality' (2010: 103). Restoring the 'domestic to the political,' as Dalley puts it (105), Martineau prefers 'a masculine intellectual tradition and discourse at the expense of her own feminist beliefs' (104). One aspect of this might be the way her *Illustrations* foreground male crises and moral dilemmas arising from the interweaving of her characters' working and family lives. Another is the lengthy debates in many of her tales between men of different social and professional backgrounds: these men-only debates, often between workers and employers or magistrates, range widely across the personal and the political aspects of their lives, which are linked by the emphasis on self-discipline and emotional control.

Ann Hobart (1994) goes further in suggesting that for Martineau, women constitute 'a social problem' (227) which makes the domestic sphere, dominated by small-minded women, 'a disruptive or deadening liability,' destabilized by petty jealousies. She believes that Martineau devalues daily experience associated with women as compared with the 'productive' work of men (228). Nor is this idea confined to the *Illustrations*. The whole plot of *Deerbrook* (1839) for example, revolves around Hester's insecurities, while her husband, Edward Hope, never lets his personal disappointment in his marriage affect his professional work as a doctor.

Of course we know that later in her life Martineau became a powerful advocate of widening employment opportunities for women, but in many of her *Illustrations* women, such as William Allen's wife, are weak and querulous. Martineau, however, is also fascinated by the emotional insecurities of men as they affect their work and family lives, and keeps returning to the issue of how they deal with them through an alternative discursive sphere, away from the home, where they can examine all the injustices and frustrations of their lives. In the process Martineau develops definitions of masculinity which reject the remains of the old Byronic legacies of the Romantic period, and align with the progress narratives of the hardworking and responsible working man.

### *Weal and Woe in Garveloch* (1832)

*Weal and Woe in Garveloch* (1832) is the second story about Ella and Angus, the Hebridean herring fishing family. While it seems to offer a reasonably straightforward debate about masculinity, based on the bravery of men like Angus, it also highlights the influence of mothers and sisters on their sons' and brothers' emotional intelligence. Despite their tough working conditions, this is a place where men are commended for showing their 'feminine' side. Ella, for example, praises her bachelor brother Ronald as very popular with her children: 'The same man that the officers respect above all who are under them is as much beloved by the little ones

as if he were a soft-hearted girl' (2004:71). As her friend Katie reminds Ella, 'You had the making of Ronald, and I give you joy of your work' – a sore point between them as a potential romantic relationship between Katie and Ronald never comes to fruition. Another brother, Fergus, is described as Ella's 'work' – while Katie's son Hugh is also shaping up well: 'he looked as if he was made to carry his own way through the world' (70). In this toughest and most masculine of communities, where the men fish for herring in treacherous conditions, women are presented as key influencers in their mentorship, and 'feminine' qualities in men are seen as commendable, though not without risk.
Ella is particularly concerned about her brothers' ability to handle their emotions and avoid damaging disagreements, as is the case with Fergus: her very pride in him, Ella says, grieves her when she sees his 'temper harassed and soured by care…I am always in dread of a quarrel with one neighbour or another': quarrels that can lead to his nets being cut or his boats cast adrift, which she names specifically as spiteful acts perpetrated by other men: 'thus it is that men shame their race, and spurn the gifts they little deserve' (71). In this story Martineau gives us several examples of men who fall short of expectations: especially Dan O'Rory, a feckless twenty-year-old, who describes himself as 'as tinder-hearted as a lord's lady' (61). Here, his so-called feminine qualities are clearly differentiated from Ronald's, by Martineau's comic, cod-Irish expressions: 'It is because I am so tinder-hearted that I would have nobody bother themselves.' He isn't, however, too 'tinder-hearted' to recoil from blacking his own wife's eye, and he ends up enlisting with a recruitment party of soldiers. Martineau further complicates this episode by also having Ella's son Kenneth enlist. With the decline of his uncle Ronald's barrel-making business, Kenneth defends his decision in an emotional (almost Lawrentian) scene with his mother: '"Mother,' cried Kenneth, at length, bursting into tears, 'you make a child of me by treating me like a man"' (131-2). When his father, Angus, appears, however, the older man better manages his feelings, remembering his own younger 'spirit of adventure': 'He commanded himself when the event was first told him,' and accompanies his son on his journey to join the regiment.

Angus in fact is perhaps the most exemplary embodiment of provident, self-controlled and caring masculinity in the story: braving dangerous conditions at sea to land a catch, and engaging in well-informed conversations with Mr Mackenzie, the local magistrate: a favourite character-type with Martineau, allowing her working men to benefit from conversation with professional, well-educated men of a higher social standing. Years before Elizabeth Gaskell perfected this kind of cross-class conversation in *North and South* (1855), Martineau was employing it in several of her *Illustrations* to the mutual benefit of intelligent and thoughtful men in a range of occupations. Martineau insists that 'Angus's activity and cheerfulness never gave way' (127). He invests his savings in building a platform for a crane, finding 'ample employment' for it, and receiving 'very good interest for the capital laid out upon it' (134). He is, it must be stressed, also sustained by his marriage to an equally strong

wife: a marriage of equals in terms of resilience and temperament, but there are relatively few marriages of this kind across the *Illustrations.*

***A Manchester Strike* (1832)**

Of William Allen, trades unionist representative, of *A Manchester Strike*, Deborah Logan says in her Broadview edition of four *Illustrations* (2004): ‘This working-class hero fades into obscurity and ignominy as a result of simply asserting his principles and articulating his views on human justice’ (139). This, she says, is because his purpose is to warn working-class readers against ‘combining’ against their employers. Again Martineau sets her tale in a febrile situation where feelings run high on all sides. Allen doesn’t want to go on strike ‘out of spite or revenge’ (145), or because of personal enmity to their employers. As a family man he feels he has additional reasons for wanting to avoid a strike, which is also something women traditionally don’t support in their community. Initially respected on all sides for his rationality, Allen finds his values are repeatedly tested by tough dialogues with other men. The first of these is based in the Spread Eagle pub, where the spinners and power-loom weavers meet. ‘Gently, gently,’ Allen urges when the trade unionist leader Clack calls for the masters’ ‘tyranny’ to be put down, adding: ‘where both parties are so necessary to each other, it is a pity they should fall out’ (145). At this point Allen allies himself with ‘a timid-looking man, Hare by name,’ who opposes a strike because of its threat to his family’s welfare. By Chapter 7, the men of the Spread Eagle are losing confidence in Allen as their representative in negotiations with the masters. One says: ‘“You’re so soft, man, you’re not fit for office if you can’t say ‘no’”’ (183). Clack openly declares that some men won’t strike because they’re afraid of their wives (152), and in this earlier scene with the masters when they are waiting for Allen to appear, Clack says, ‘“We shall count his modesty for backwardness if he does not take care”’ (154). It’s clear that judgement of Allen by a chorus of unionists and later masters is always on a knife-edge, much of it hinging on his alleged ‘softness.’

Allen’s other discursive group is the manufacturers, with whom he tries to negotiate terms in Chapter 3. Their dialogues with Mr Wentworth test both Clack’s and Allen’s ability to defend their position, which begins with Wentworth’s telling them a story about Adam and his under-gardeners in the early days of capital and labour. As a family man (unlike Clack, who is only engaged to be married), Allen is responsive to Wentworth, who appeals to the men as fathers, advising them to place their children ‘out to different occupations’ (197) and avoid early marriage, so that they don’t overstock the labour market. Martineau shows how much the men enjoy their debate with Wentworth, which includes a history lesson on James Hargreaves’ invention of the earliest spinning machine: ‘The more the present meeting assumed the character of a conference, the more eagerly the most thinking men in the crowd pressed towards the wagon, and cheered the questions and replies’ (199).

As Martineau herself stresses in this story, however, popularity is a fickle thing, and Allen is the next day accused of wanting to agree a compromise with the masters. His embarrassment at the men's hostility is described in distinctly un-masculine terms: 'He coloured scarlet, and was about to cover his face with his hands'; then, when the strike goes ahead, Martineau stresses its deleterious impact on men's domestic behaviour: they start slamming doors, shaking or beating their children, and speaking 'rough words' to their wives (203). Even Allen's home life becomes strained, and his daughter Martha has to sell her pet bullfinch to help the family survive financially.

Most of Martineau's *Illustrations* end unhappily for at least half the characters, women as well as men, and those with good intentions as well as the wastrels, benefit-scroungers and cheats. In terms of the lesson being taught, William Allen is obviously being punished here for his union leadership, but Martineau complicates her message by showing him to be a moderate and reasonable man of honour who is undermined by his wife, pressurised by fellow-workers, and rendered speechless and resigned by Wentworth's polite refusal to employ him: 'Allen bowed and had no more to say' (213). There is, however, another man in the story, his old friend Bray, the widowed street musician, whose fortunes are juxtaposed throughout with Allen's. Bray and his daughter Hannah make their living outside the factory system, having once been part of it. 'What can a man do,' he asks, 'what can a proscribed man do but get his living, so as not to have to ask for work?' (147). At the end of the story, Bray and Hannah are still there, but ready to move on, having helped Allen redeem his honour by buying back the pawned suit of clothes the union had bought him. Of course Martineau isn't saying it's better to be a travelling street musician than a union activist, but with his habit of perching on the sill of the pub window and banging his drum (185), Bray stands for a totally different kind of masculinity from the other men in this tale: a free spirit, like a (Shakespearian?) court jester, offering his opinions without any responsibility for the consequences. The fact that he is a father whose daughter is now 'fantastically dressed', dancing and playing the triangle, are details Martineau didn't need to give us. The Brays, like Sissy Jupe and the circus people in Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854), are warm-hearted, subversive, ultimately symbolic characters: the intrusion of carnival into the sober realities of Manchester factory routine, and a reminder that both men and children are freer outside the harsh structures of industry. The fact that there is no living wife to insist on domestic order makes its own (perhaps uncomfortable) point about the relationship between men, domesticity and freedom.

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William Chambers (1800 – 1883) c. 1845

by Stephen C. Dickson Royal Museum of Scotland

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***Harriet Martineau's Fifteen Requisites for Travellers***

***Ellie Smolenaars***

First female classic sociologist Harriet Martineau's work *How to observe Morals and Manners* is a refreshing read in the 21st century. Neglected by major 19th and 20th century sociologists, it survived relatively unquoted. Can this work make a leap forward in time? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this early method when studying social realities? Let's dive into the early days of social science and find a remarkable usable list of Requisites for Social Science Travellers.

This essay* time-translates Martineau's list of philosophical, moral and mechanical requisites and explores its empirical visual and travel style qualities. I have this urgent need to share this remarkable early 19th century list! The fascinating question to me is: are there enduring universal principles? Can a tool box for social research be adapted to a wide range of circumstances? Everything will be digital and different and networked and big data and so on. This makes this fundamental question extremely relevant: *which routines possess long-lasting and extensive knowledge powers?!* Let's travel.

**Introduction to the book *How to observe Morals and Manners* (1838)**

Harriet Martineau's early sociological work *How to observe Morals and Manners* (short *How to observe)* reflects on a new subject for science, the Science of Morals and Manners, now known as social science and sociology. The book was published in 1838 in a series on observation and the first publication was about Geology (1835). In the advertisement accompanying that series, its aim was described as "a series of hints for travellers and students, calling their attention to the points necessary for inquiry or observation in the different branches of Geology, Natural History, Agriculture, the Fine Arts, General Statistics, and Social Manners." (De la Bèche, 1835: Appendix:249).

*How to observe* was first written as a chapter in 1834 by the 32-year old Harriet Martineau on a sailing vessel, the *United States,* that was sailing from Liverpool to New York. She had already earned quite a bit of money writing a successful popular series in the British *Illustrations of Political Economy*. Characteristic for those days, she, as a woman, could not attend university. So, supported by her brother James, she organized her own intellectual productions and interdisciplinary surroundings. From an early 21st century perspective, Harriet Martineau is an 'embedded sociologist', or a sociologist not employed in academia (Nyseth et al 2011).

*How to observe* was then published in 1838, the same year Auguste Comte first publicly used the word '*sociologie*' in his *Cours de philosophie positive* (Vol. 4, 1838). It is one of my favourite publications in early sociology. Why? The answer can be relatively straightforward: after reading *How to observe* one wants to *do* sociology. It reads as a refreshing invitation to observe everyday social realities. For anyone with a keen interest in a different historical telling of sociology and its observational methods, the book deserves more attention than it has been given. The book has, so far, remained unknown, or unloved, by sociology students. I suppose many authors, periods or themes – from inequality to groups, digital developments and humans in space – have been more attractive to my students. Why would reading a Victorian writer be useful?

**An open observational mind for social phenomena**

I would like to put forward the argument that, apart from its refreshing invitation, *How to observe* contains a different start of early sociology, with (1) a better integration of isolated input from the Arts and Humanities (2) an open observational mind for a science of social phenomena and not of social problems and (3) an interesting toolbox for researchers. Enthusiasm for Martineau can arise, for example, simply from sentences in *How to Observe,* and I have quoted her in my sociology course description:

*In the footsteps of social traveller Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), we (…) become students of society. Studying society is about finding facts you can touch and measure, about observing Things and about finding human comments on things (Discourse)" (based on Martineau 1838:73).*

Clearly Harriet Martineau cannot be the answer to a kaleidoscope of omissions in the state of the sociology. But *How to observe* may be a good start. What are the strengths and weaknesses of her early 'sociological' publication? Does it contain a way of thinking that unlocks a different historical telling of the discipline sociology? These are the exploratory questions to be answered in the complete paper. In this essay blogpost I present one of the strengths of Martineau's *How to observe:* her List of Requisites. These requisites act as a toolbox, function as an early social research design, as a first sociology-avant-la-lettre**.**

**Knowledge production**

One of the most important points Martineau makes in *How to observe* is that there is no difference between ordinary people and readers, between travellers and the scientist. The traveller is imperfect. Imperfect is a word she likes to use; it is of a modesty often forgotten in the science of today, or not admitted. Martineau writes: "We cannot suddenly make ourselves a great deal better than we have been (…) but we may put a check upon our spirit of prejudice, and carry with us restoratives of

temper and spirits which may be of essential service to us in our task" (ibid. 1838:52). She is not optimistic about the qualities of the testimony of some individuals and calls it "a hopeless enterprise, beginning at the wrong end". A traveller is one in many, and "has no security that those he meets are a sample of the whole". There is no security, it "is a sample of the whole" (ibid. 1838:227) and "unless a traveller interprets by his sympathies what he sees, he cannot but misunderstand the greater part of that which comes under his observation" (ibid. 1838:54).

*Martineau is more than doubtful about the knowledge production of the individual.*

"That eyes, ears, and memory are enough for morals" (ibid. 1838:14), writes Martineau, is not enough; it is too individual and too personal, and would it not "reveal probably more the mind of the observer than of the observed?" (ibid. 1838:16). According to Martineau, we need a skilled Science of Morals and Manners. These skills are summarized in the requisites throughout *How to observe*. For a good report, the traveller needs analytical power and focus, a method and a sense of what is relevant and going on in society. In other words, the traveller wears special glasses and he/she observes social reality through these glasses. This strategy needs emphasizing in terms of its use in education: the Science of Morals and Manners hopes for a different observation, more and better through its use of requisites. In short: social science needs vision and skills.

Harriet Martineau's *How to observe* starts from the traveller's perspective and then structures the experiences of travellers in requisites: moral, philosophical and mechanical requisites. These are identified and summarized in the following list. The bullet list formatting allows the list to functions as a toolbox for a researcher, showing the strength of the contents of *How to observe*.

And now the List!

**Harriet Martineau's List of 15 Requisites for Social Science Travellers****

**Philosophical Requisites: the Traveller (=researcher) needs:**

1. a certainty of what he/she wants to know (analytical power and concentrative thought, focus)

2. principles to serve as a rallying point and test of his/her observations

3. a method that promises any useful results

4. a definite notion on the origin of human feelings of right and wrong (a moral conviction)

5. a sense of the relation between virtues and vices and general influences (knowledge of general trends and how they work out).

**Moral Requisites: the Traveller (=researcher) needs:**

6. sympathy to find his/her way to hearts and minds

7. not to allow him/herself to be perplexed or disgusted by seeing the great ends of human association

8. to think about the dangers of attracting spirits like his/her own.  And be warned that the traveller should not find everything amazing or terrific, mysterious picturesque or classical

9. to be aware that we suddenly make ourselves a great deal better than we have been, for such an object as observing morals and manners

10. no feelings of discouragement, as long as s/he desires to be useful rather than shining.

**Mechanical Requisites: the Traveller (=researcher) needs:**

11. a means of transport where one meets people and has the advantage of being able to approach people and places gradually

12. to distinguish between language in literature and daily language

13. to keep a diary/journal

14. to be aware that a set of queries is better than an individual report

> -- to stand on the highest pinnacle to obtain an accurate general view in contemplating a society as well as a city.

(Edited and condensed from: *How to Observe Morals and Manners* by Harriet Martineau 1838:2-70).

**History of sociology perspective and citizen science**

My second exploratory question was: Does *How to observe* contain a way of thinking that unlocks a different historical telling of the discipline of sociology? From a history of sociology perspective, the most important storyline is the methodological and epistemological storyline. The Traveller is a flat character, but in the end, this Traveller – later known as researcher – is the crucial person, but not better than the reader. Put more strongly: the reader can be the Traveller, can be the researcher. This position allows a different historical telling. It takes us forward in time and brings us to citizen science, that is, science done by citizens. Currently, citizens' science implies participation in particular in the phase of data collection (De Moor 2019). *How to observe* goes further and reads as an invitation to participate in the broader arena of scientific-rational thinking. Following back in history these traces of citizens' participation in research could be worthwhile.

The arguments for including Harriet Martineau's Traveller's perspective in this reconstruction of social science history are good. Her 19th century encouragement has opened opportunities for a broad community of researchers. With a little modesty added to the 'unique individual', as stated in Requisite 10 in the tool box list: "no one observer or recorder ought to feel discouragement, as long as he desires to be useful rather than shining" (Martineau 1838:20-21).

* Ellie Smolenaars 2020 'Harriet Martineau: 15 Requisites for Social Science Traveller'. Social Research & Journalism. Essay. 4th February 2020. This essay is part of the rewritten version of the paper *The Imperfect Social Traveller: Martineau's 15 Requisites for Social Science Research*, presented at the Martineau Society Annual Conference 2018, July 24th – 27th at Dr Williams's Library, London. I would like to thank participants of the conference, and Anne Wegner, for their valuable comments!

** the capital T. in Traveller is mine, not Martineau's. In this paper the traveller becomes a Traveller, an inviting metaphor for the role of researcher.

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Auguste Comte (1798 – 1857) Wiki Commons

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## Harriet and Her Sister Visit Somerset House

***John Vint***

This paper is based on events and ideas covered in Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* Volume 1 pages 227-229 (Cambridge Edition, 2010). Stimulated by a painting, Harriet recalls how incidents at the time mingle with memories of past and current writing. The keystone is a painting by William Collins R.A.

### Harriet's Autobiography pages 227-229

A curious incident occurred, much to the delight of my Edinburgh reviewer, in connexion with that story, — "The Hamlets," — which, as I have said, I enjoyed writing exceedingly. While I was preparing its doctrine and main facts, I went early one summer morning, with a sister, to the Exhibition at Somerset House, (as it was in those days). I stopped before a picture by Collins, (William Collins)— "Children at the Haunts of the Sea-fowl;" and, after a good study of it, I told my sister that I had before thought of laying the scene by the sea-side, and that this bewitching picture decided me. The girl in the corner, in the red petticoat, was irresistible; and she should be my heroine. There should be a heroine, — a girl and a boy, instead of two boys. I did this, and, incited by old associations, described myself and a brother (in regard to character) in these two personages. Soon after, at a music-party, my hostess begged to introduce to me Mr. Collins the artist, who wished to make his acknowledgments for some special obligation he was under to me. This seemed odd, when I was hailing the opportunity for precisely the same reason. Mr. Collins begged to shake hands with me because I had helped him to his great success at the Academy that year. He explained that Mrs. Marcet had paid him a visit when he had fully sketched, and actually begun his picture, and had said to him "Before you go on with this, you ought to read Miss Martineau's description in 'Ella of Garveloch' of destroying the eagle's nest."

*The setting of Harriet Martineau's fourth tale is Garveloch, a Scottish Island. The key theme is the idea of rent. Poor land should pay no rent and this is what the few*

*inhabitants expect. One family is looked after by Ella who has three brothers: Ronald who is older than Fergus by two years and Archie is twelve years old. They are all orphans as their mother died giving birth to Archie. Callum who oversees the land on behalf of the laird who owns it, is a bully and is constantly putting pressure on Ella to try to make the land more fertile so rent can be charged. The laird comes to visit and meets the children and Ella. He is very impressed by her, especially her stern demeanour and masculine gait. In discussing the new arrangements planned*

'Children Returning from the Haunts of the Sea-Fowl' by

William Collins (1788 – 1847)

Wikipedia Commons

*by the sea Ella asks the laird what will the rent be? The laird replies that there will be no rent – it is not reasonable in such a situation. Angus – Ella's love - returns from overseas; they get together and eventually marry in the sequel 'Weal and Woe in Garveloch'.*
*In the episode with the sea fowl – sea eagle Angus teams up with Fergus. The case for the hunt is that the eagle kills a lot of their livestock. They find the nest and when the male bird flies off over the sea to hunt, they climb up and shoot the female and then take the eggs. Ella welcomes them back but did not have any role in the episode.*

*An edited version of Harriet's text is in Appendix 2.*

Mr. Collins did read the passage from Ella of Garveloch, and in consequence altered his picture in almost every part; and now, in telling me the incident, he said that his chief discontent with his work was not having effaced the figure of the girl in the corner. He was reconciled to her, however, when I told him that the girl in the red petticoat was the heroine of the story I was then writing. This incident strikes me as a curious illustration of the way in which minds play into one another when their faculties of conception and suggestion are kindred, whatever may be their several modes of expression.

*The story Harriet Martineau was writing at the time was The Hamlets the second of the four tales in the Paupers and Poor Laws Illustrated series written 'under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge' in 1833.*

*The story relates the fortunes of two young orphans Harriet and Ben who are taken in by Mrs Monk, the wife of Monk the fisherman. The parish overseer had offered to board them with her for eighteen pence a week each. Harriet was a stout girl of ten and her pale-faced brother Ben just turned nine. Over the course of the story young Harriet is indeed fashioned by Harriet Martineau to become her heroine through diligence, courage and hard work. She looks after Ben and develops from a ten year orphaned girl to become the household manager and bookkeeper as Mrs Monk gets older. She finally ends up as head of the household after Mrs Monk's death. The moral is that a young girl of ten years faced with the workhouse has risen by her own efforts to become the head of a household.*

One of my chief social pleasures was meeting Wilkie (Sir David Wilkie) and planning pictures with him, after his old manner, though alas! he was now painting in his new. He had returned from Spain, with his portfolios filled with sketches of Spanish ladies, peasants and children; and he enjoyed showing these treasures of his, I remember, to my mother and me one day when we went by invitation to Kensington, to see them. But his heart was, I am sure, in his old style. He used to watch his opportunity, — being very shy, — to get a bit of talk with me unheard, about what illustrations of my stories should be, saying that nothing would make him so happy, if he were but able, as to spend the rest of his painting-life in making a gallery from my Series. He told me which group or action he should select from each number, as far as then published, and dwelt particularly, I remember, on the one in "Ireland," which was Dora letting down her petticoat from her shoulders as she entered the cabin. I write this in full recollection of Wilkie's countenance, voice and words, but in total forgetfulness of my own story, Dora, and the cabin. I have not the book at hand for

reference, but I am sure I am reporting Wilkie truly. He told me that he thought the resemblance of our respective mind's-eyes was perfectly singular; and that, for aught he saw, each of us might, as well as not, have done the other's work, as far as the pictorial faculties were concerned.

I have one more little anecdote to tell about the heroine of "The Hamlets." I was closely questioned by Miss Berry, one day when dining there, about the sources of my draughts of character, — especially of children, — and above all, of Harriet and Ben in "The Hamlets." I acknowledged that these last were more like myself and my brother than any body else. Whereupon the lively old lady exclaimed, loud enough to be heard by the whole party, "My God! did you go out shrimping?" "No," I replied: "nor were we workhouse children. What you asked me about was the characters."

**Comments**

Two themes emerge somewhat unexpectedly from Harriet's brief discussion:

1 Harriet and both artists are interested in the relationships which can arise between art and fiction – between the word and the image.

2 The extra light cast upon Harriet's views of her relationship between her and her brother.

**Appendix 1: Further notes on William Collins, Sir David Wilkie and William 'Wilkie' Collins**

William Collins was born in 1788 and died in 1847. Elected to the Royal Academy in 1820, he painted *Children Returning from the Haunts of the Sea-fowl* in 1833. The painting was exhibited in the Royal Academy and sold to a Mr Bryant for 250 guineas. Collins was a close friend of Sir David Wilkie.

Sir David Wilke was born in 1785 and died in June 1841. He became an Associate of the Royal Academy at a young age in 1809. He was a very distinguished painter who was initially influenced by the Dutch masters but who later fell under the influence of Spanish and Italian painters. One of his greatest pieces from the earlier period was the *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Waterloo Dispatch* commissioned by the Duke of Wellington in 1817 at the cost of 1200 guineas (£102,000 in 2021 terms). It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1822. The painting now hangs in Apsley House – the town residence of the Duke of Wellington.

Sir David Wilkie was a godfather to William Collins' son who was named after both men – William Wilkie Collins.

William Wilkie Collins was the son of William Collins born in 1824 and died in 1889. He was an English Novelist and playwright best known for *The Woman in White* (1859) a well-known mystery novel and also for *The Moonstone* regarded by some as the first modern detective novel.

**Appendix 2: Ella of Garveloch:**

Chapter 8 Seclusion not Peace: contains a fuller version of the hunt for the sea-eagle

“Where is Fergus? can he go with me eagle-nesting?”

“How happens it that you have time for sport?” replied Ella. “I thought the season would be too short for your tasks at the farm.”

Our poultry suffers,” replied Angus, “We must demolish the eyrie.”

“O, Angus,” said Ella; “are ye certain your eye is as steady and your foot as sure as when this was your daily sport?”

“Fear nothing,” said Angus, smiling. “I long to be dangling over the surf again, with the sea fowl flapping and screaming about me, and I feeling myself lord, like a lion in a wood of chattering monkeys. You see we take heed to stake and rope, and that done, all is safe. I will bring you home an egg that shall beat all that Archie ever gave you.”……

Angus found that his favourite sport had lost none of its charms for having been long unpractised. He forgot his wrath when he found himself alone with Fergus in the wild region which the sea-eagles had chosen for their abode. He loved it all the better for having beheld other scenes of sublimity with which he could contrast it. While climbing steep rocky paths, or springing from one point to another where there was no path at all, while looking round in vain for traces of any but marine vegetation, and casting a glance over an expanse which appeared to have no boundary, he related to Fergus what he had seen in the forests of Canada: how the grass and underwood grow tangled and high, so as to make it difficult to proceed a step; how the trees prevent any thing being seen beyond the stems around; and how, by climbing the highest, no other view can be obtained than closewoven tree-tops spreading, apparently so firm that you might walk over them, as far as the horizon.

“Hist!” said Fergus. “There he sits! his mate is just below on the nest, no doubt. Shall I fire, or wait till he soars?”

“Wait!” said Angus; and he paused to watch the majestic bird, perched on the extreme edge of a jutting crag, and apparently looking abroad for prey. He was motionless, his dusky wings being folded, his black shining talons clasping the verge of the rock, and his large brilliant eye seeming fixed on some object too remote to be distinguishable by human sight. Fergus was going to speak again, but his companion stopped him, only allowing him to intimate by describing a hook, bending his fingers and shuddering, how he pitied the prey that was even now fated to perish under such a beak and talons. Surprised that they were unperceived, and wishing to remain so, Angus pulled his companion back under the brow of the crag to await the departure of the monarch of this solitude. Presently they heard a rushing sound,—whether from a blast among the crags or from the flight of the eagle, they did not for a moment know; but they immediately saw him soaring high and abroad with that peculiar mode of flight which shows that the eagle is not winging his way homewards, but that there is prey beneath. His cry was distinctly heard, even when

he was scarcely visible, and it was answered by one so near them that they both started.

“Now, now,” said Angus, “while he is afar, up, Fergus, and fix the stake! Is your gun loaded? You must shoot her as she hovers, while I take the egg.”

“Wait one moment,” cried Fergus. “He will drop this instant. There, there! see him pounce! He drops plump as if he was made of lead. It is but an instant since he was almost too high and the surge too low to be heard, and now he is like a speck among the foam below.”

With all speed, the stake was made fast, the rope secured at one end to this support, and at the other round Angus's waist. When the knots had been tried and found to be firm, the sports men raised a shrill cry to alarm the mate, and the one prepared to take aim and the other to descend as soon as she should rise. In the midst of the din she rushed forth, was immediately struck beneath the wing, and fell fluttering, tumbling, and screaming, from one point to another of the rocks, mingling her dying cry with the distant echoes of the shot. Angus was by this time scrambling to find the nest, sometimes dangling at the end of the rope and buffeted by the sudden gales as they passed, sometimes finding a step for the foot and a hold for the hand, and a resting place where he could pause for an instant. When he discovered the nest, his heart almost smote him for thus taking by storm the palace of the king of the birds; till the sight of scattered feathers and of a few bones reconciled him to the destruction of the formidable enemies of the farm-yard. The large egg was yet warm. Angus put it in his pouch, sent the stray feathers down the wind, cleared out the hole completely, so as to leave no temptation to the enemy to return, and then ascended.

“You have been quick,” observed Fergus, “yet there he is, just below yon cloud, and with a prey in his talons.”

“One can make more speed with an eagle's nest than with a gannet's,” replied Angus. “One is not dizzied with the flapping of more wings than one can count, or stunned with the din of more cries than one's brain will easily bear. Yonder bird is truly the monarch of the wild now. I could pity him, but for the thought of our fowls.”

“If I were he,” said Fergus, “I would finish my lonely meal, he, and away to find another mate.”

“So would not I,” said Angus; “as long as my dead mate lay below, I would sit all day and watch; and when the tides sweep her bones away, I would build again in the same nook for her sake.”

“But do not you mean to carry her home?” asked Fergus. “She lies within reach from the shore. Let us go back that way.”

“With all my heart, and as we have time, we may as well make a circuit by the bog, and send a shot each among the wild fowl.

No alarm was excited by their appearance on the margin of the reedy pool where the fowl were diving, splashing, sailing or brooding, as suited their several inclinations. They seemed as tame as farm-yard ducks and geese, and were, indeed, little more

accustomed to the report of a gun than they: for Fergus had seldom time for sport, and no one in Garveloch but himself and his brother ever fired a shot. He now offered his gun to Angus…………

William Collins RA (1788 – 1847) in 1828

by Margaret Sarah Carpenter (1793 -1872)

Courtesy of Royal Academy

“Two, four, five at the first shot! Well done, Angus! If the bird-king be still watching us, what murderous wretches he will think us!”

“He will revenge his species, perhaps, when the darkness, that is a thick curtain to us, is only a transparent veil to him. He can carry off a kid or a fowl at midnight as well as when he has been staring at the sun. But I hope he will go and seek society, for we have no more prey to spare him. Come, take your aim, and then let us be gone, for the shadows are settling down in the hollows, and we have a difficult way to make homewards.”

Ella was watching for them; not that they were late, but she had new perplexities to relate.

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**List of Recent New Members** (UK unless stated)

John Martineau and Gwenda Major

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***Recent Deaths of Members*** (UK unless stated)

Barbara Miller

**********

## ***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 Journal* (formerly *Newsletter*) once or twice each year, containing scholarly articles and news of events and publications.

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

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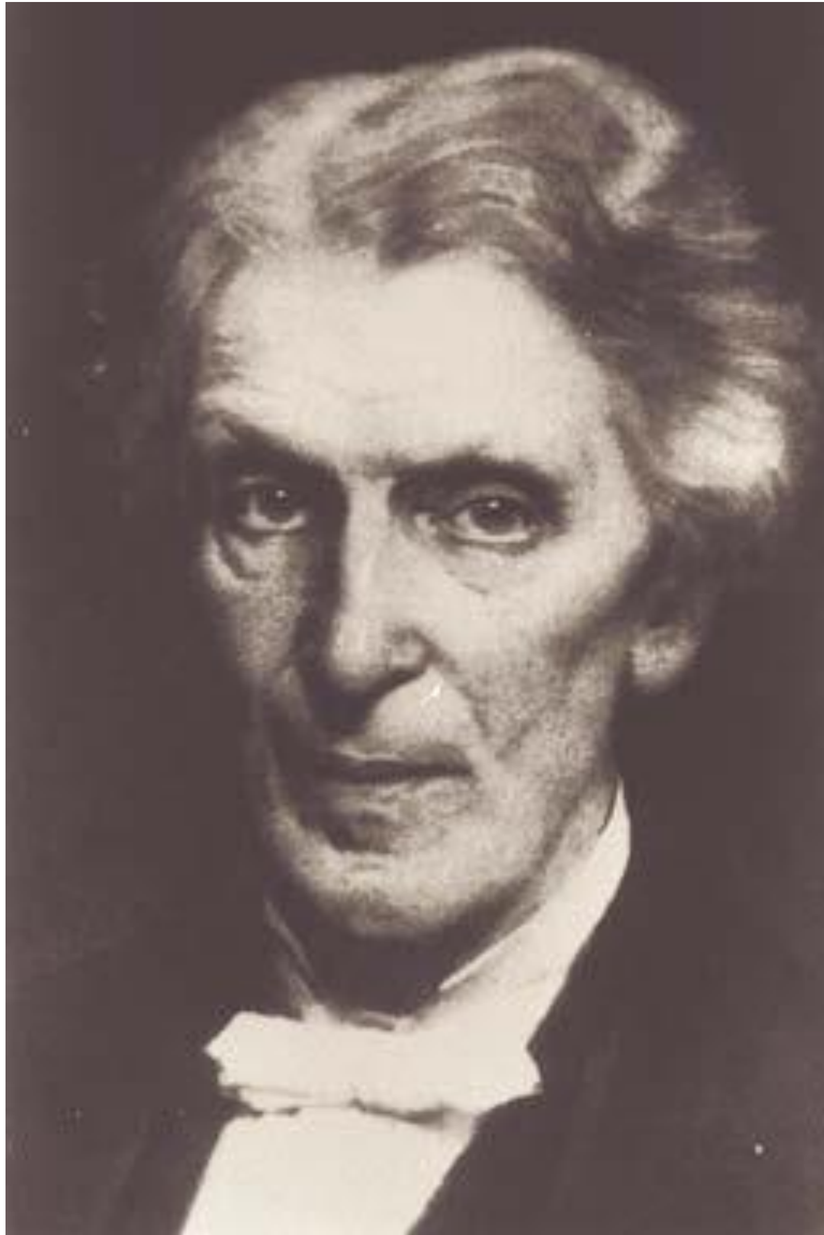
It cannot be pretended that the Priesthood and the Papacy have any fresh title to show, or can make their supernatural claims better that before. Nor can it be said that Nature and Humanity, more deeply known, look less Divine; since it is the very pride of science to have won more room for them in space and time, and to have found them grander , older, more progressive , than anyone had dreamed. So far as the intrinsic merits of their case go, Priest and Atheist never had less excuse than now. But weakness in the intermediate faiths is tantamount to strength in them.

The Reformation did the work of its time, but not of all time. It shifted the authority without essentially remodelling the inherited theory of Christianity; and embodied the old scheme of theological thought in its new ecclesiastical constitutions. Nay, in its recoil from shameless laxities, and its jealousy for Divine holiness, it increased the rigour of the older definitions; it deepened the chasm between man and God and cast into the abyss every bridge of approach except its own hair-line of transit.

*James Martineau – Essays, II, xiii.*



James Martineau in 1888

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